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THE 'MIROIR HISTORIAL ABRÉGÉ DE FRANCE' AND 'CEST CHOSE PROFITABLE' : A STUDY OF TWO FIFTEENTH CENTURY FRENCH HISTORICAL TEXTS AND THEIR CONTEXT

VOLUME I

Kathleen Daly

St Cross College

Oxford

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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis	The 'Miroir Historial Abrégé de France' and 'Cest chose profitable': a Study of Two Fifteenth Century French Historical Texts and their Context.
Name and College of Candidate	Kathleen Daly, St Cross College
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This thesis examines the 'Miroir Historial Abrégé de France' and 'Cest chose profitable', two unpublished historical texts composed by an anonymous royal official for King Charles VII of France (1422-1461). It seeks to establish the context in which they were produced, the purposes for which they were composed, and the identity of the author(s).

Chapter One classifies manuscripts of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' into two groups and five groups, respectively. In each case, the version most representative of the text prepared for Charles VII is identified. A study of surviving manuscripts indicates that 'Cest chose profitable' enjoyed more success than the 'Miroir Historial'.

Chapter Two examines the illustrations accompanying each text. It is probable that the author supervised the illustration in one manuscript of the 'Miroir Historial'.

Chapters Three and Four compare the major themes of the texts and their political context. Similarities in auctorial methods suggest that they are the work of a single author who has interpreted his historical sources to justify contemporary royal policies in France, and the king's relations with the pope, the emperor and the king of England.

Chapter Five proposes Noël de Fribois, royal notaire et secrétaire (active 1420-1459), as the author of both texts. It indicates how Fribois's career, and contemporary cultural and professional attitudes to history, are reflected in his texts. It concludes that the audience primarily envisaged for the texts was royal or noble, and that their purpose was chiefly to arouse and maintain support for royal policies among the royal entourage.

The thesis also includes appendices presenting edited extracts and manuscript descriptions, and a volume of photographs.

Abstract

The study of medieval historiography has greatly benefited from the development of interest in the 'history of mentalities'. Medieval historical texts are no longer evaluated only according to the amount of 'original' historical narrative which they contain, but also as a source of information about the attitudes and sentiments of their authors, and as a reflection of the milieu and time in which they were produced. Their perspective of the past is seen to provide valuable insights into their own time.

One approach to these sources involves a systematic survey of a large number of medieval texts produced over a period of time ranging from several decades to several centuries, to determine the development of specific attitudes or beliefs in a society. If the results of such investigations are to be valid, however, adequate knowledge of the chronological, political, religious, social and geographical context in which they were produced is required. The influence of the texts should be assessed, to determine whether they exercised any impact on the author's contemporaries, or on succeeding generations. Such attention to detail is frequently impracticable and, in such cases, the historian must rely on existing studies of individual texts and their context. In the case of historical works of primary importance, the necessary information may be readily available, but for a vast corpus of lesser works, which may nevertheless have contributed to the formation or propagation of social, religious and political attitudes, very few studies exist. Some texts may clearly be of greater individual interest than others, providing more information concerning the author and the milieu in which they were produced, and adequate study of these works may provide a useful contribution to future investigations of medieval historiography and the history of mentalities.

The present thesis considers two such texts, the 'Miroir Historial

Abrégé de France' and 'Cest chose profitable'. These provide sufficient information to place them within a temporal, political and social framework. Although the authorship is not explicitly stated, textual evidence indicates that they were composed by a royal official at the command of King Charles VII of France, between 1451 and 1461. Evidence of their origin in the royal entourage during the last decade of Charles VII's reign increases their potential interest as a source for attitudes to the recent resurgence of royal power, marked by the attempted centralisation of military and financial powers in the crown, the expulsion of the English from Normandy and Guyenne and increasing royal intervention in the affairs of powerful and independent vassals. This interest is justified by the distinctive nature of the texts, which not only provide evidence of a careful selection and use of sources by the author, but are distinguished by auctorial interpolations which present useful insights into the purpose for which the texts were composed.

These features drew the attention of nineteenth-century historians, such as Antoine Thomas and Paul Viollet, to 'Cest chose profitable', but the former dismissed that work as essentially derivative in nature and therefore of little importance, while the latter consulted the text only in relation to the development of the exclusion of women from succession to the French throne. If the contents of the text were relatively neglected, the question of authorship and the association of the author with Charles VII aroused greater interest. In 1856, A. Vallet de Viriville associated 'Cest chose profitable' with a royal notaire et secrétaire, Master Noël de Fribois, who had presented the king with a text entitled the 'Abrégé des Chroniques de France' in 1459.

In the twentieth century, historians have consulted the texts for diverse purposes: to support an attribution of a well-known anonymous text to an author named in the 'Miroir Historial' or 'Cest chose profitable', to provide evidence of 'national sentiment', and to present examples of

medieval 'propaganda' against the English. The only systematic attempt to study either text in more depth was made by Alexandre Labat, who prepared an edition of ten manuscripts of 'Cest chose profitable', with a short introduction, in his thesis submitted to the École des Chartes in 1953. This thesis was never published, and the results of his study are not widely known.

Labat's contribution consisted chiefly in his identification of several versions of 'Cest chose profitable', only one of which could be clearly identified as the text prepared for Charles VII. He also drew attention to similarities between 'Cest chose profitable' and the 'Miroir Historial', which might suggest that a single author composed both texts. Accepting the traditional attribution of the former to Noël de Fribois, he proposed that he might also be author of the latter. He also proposed a Norman origin for Fribois, and added certain minor details concerning his career.

Although Labat made a valuable contribution to the understanding of the textual tradition of 'Cest chose profitable', the discovery of additional manuscripts by P.S. Lewis, and by the author of this thesis, requires a reconsideration of the issue. The relationship between the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' and the question of authorship generally were not examined in detail. Labat noted the hostile sentiments of the author of 'Cest chose profitable' towards the English within the context of the end of the Hundred Years War, and compared the text with other contemporary polemical works, assuming that it constituted royalist propaganda: other possible purposes for the text, its intended audience, and its success and influence were not considered. Thus the interest of 'Cest chose profitable' has not been fully explored, while the 'Miroir Historial' remains virtually unstudied.

This thesis endeavours to present a reconsideration of 'Cest chose profitable', and the first detailed examination of the 'Miroir Historial'.

The emphasis of the thesis is necessarily different from that of Labat. Only selected extracts from the texts have been edited, and details of manuscript variants have been curtailed, particularly in the case of 'Cest chose profitable'. In addition, a fully comprehensive study of the sources is not provided: this is considered impracticable within the scope of the present thesis, and only the most important examples have been used, to illustrate the author's method and purpose in composing his texts. The chief emphasis of the present study lies rather in assessing the relationship between 'Cest chose profitable' and the 'Miroir Historial', the intentions of the author in composing them, his intended audience and the success of the texts. It endeavours to establish the connections between the political and professional context in which the texts were produced, and the interpretation of French history which they present.

Chapter One identifies five manuscripts of the 'Miroir Historial' and twenty-one manuscripts of 'Cest chose profitable', classifying them according to the version of the text which they contain. This is particularly important in the case of the 'Miroir Historial' for no manuscript contains the original and complete version of the text which was prepared for Charles VII.

The 'Miroir Historial' survives in two basic versions. Four manuscripts contain a dedication to Charles VII, while Bodl. L. Bodley MS. 968 (O) is dedicated to the king's cousin, Charles, count of Maine (1414-73), and contains many important variant passages. In both versions, the date for the composition of the text is given as 1451. A close examination of text and variants reveals that, with the exception of the dedication, O is more representative of the lost original which would have been presented to the king, while the remaining manuscripts may derive from an earlier version of the text.

The most accurate version of 'Cest chose profitable' is found in

six manuscripts, designated group A. A preliminary version of the text (C) was completed by 1456. An abridgement and two continuations of the text were made in the reign of Louis XI (B, D, E).

'Cest chose profitable' was numerically more successful and more influential than the 'Miroir Historial', and was used by later compilers, including the notaire et secrétaire Nicole Gilles.

Chapter Two considers the relationship between text and image in those manuscripts of 'Cest chose profitable' and the 'Miroir Historial' which contain illustrations.

Only one manuscript of the 'Miroir Historial' (O) contains a full series of illustrations. Their complex iconography suggests the existence of a detailed plan to guide the artist, an associate of the Juvenal Master. A cycle of illustrations of popes, emperors and kings of France, with a very rare example of the depiction of the reditus regni ad stirpem Karoli Magni, projects the major themes of the text in visual terms. Close attention to the text and extensive use of royal symbolism suggest the personal intervention of the author in directing the illustration on behalf of his patron, the count of Maine.

Illustrations of 'Cest chose profitable' are more diverse in style and subject matter. The fullest scheme occurs in E1 (B.N. MS. fr. 4943: in or after 1469) and E2 (Geneva, B. Publ. et Univ. MS. fr. 83), copied from E1 at the end of the 15th century. These indicate how the artist might draw on existing cycles of illustration for historical texts, such as the Grandes Chroniques de France. In other cases, the text has directly inspired the artist. The choice of subjects for illustration once again reflects the major themes of the text and indicates how the reader's attention might be drawn to significant events by the use of images.

O and E thus present valuable evidence of the complementary function of text and image.

Chapter Three considers the choice and use of sources by the author and the major themes of each text. These are compared to provide evidence of common authorship.

In the 'Miroir Historial', the author uses his historical sources to emphasise the essential continuity of French kingship, protected by the special relationship between God and the French crown. Particular attention is given to the transmission of the crown from the Merovingians to the Carolingians and thence to the Capetians, and the legendary reunion of the last two dynasties through the reditus regni ad stirpem Karoli Magni. By emphasising the relevance of historical events for his own time, the author implies that the actions of the ruling king are justified. The Salic Law, the historic frontiers of France, the imperial status of the French crown and its independence of both pope and emperor are expounded through historical narrative and auctorial additions to the text which use legal, theological, polemical and literary sources.

'Cest chose profitable' also emphasises the special relationship of the French crown to God, and its repercussions for the Church, but the chief emphasis of the text is directed against English claims to the French throne. The historical text is interpolated with an exposition of the Valois claim to the throne, while it concludes with an attack on the Treaty of Troyes (1420). The historical narrative is succeeded by a section which includes a list of royal prerogatives, and advice to kings on the conduct of political affairs.

Similarities in auctorial techniques in the choice and use of sources, and the common purpose of each text, suggest that the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' were composed by the same author.

In Chapter Four, the major themes of the texts are examined in the light of events in France circa 1422-1461. The refutation of English claims to the crown in 'Cest chose profitable' and the emphasis on the

continuity of French kingship in the 'Miroir Historial' were inspired by the continuing danger posed by Henry VI's claim to the throne of France. The emphasis on the historical connections between the kingdom and the duchies of Normandy and Gascony, particularly prominent in the 'Miroir Historial', can be explained with reference to the recovery of these territories by the French between 1449 and 1453. Parallels for this approach may be found in polemical literature composed between 1419 and 1461 in the entourage of Charles VII.

Emphasis on the sanctity of the French crown and its independence of the papacy is interpreted in the 'Miroir Historial' as a defence of royal control of the Gallican church, demonstrated in 1438 by the promulgation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. The attention paid in each text to the levy of régales is seen as an assertion of the material power and benefits of the crown, and may represent the author's response to manifestations of independence in ecclesiastical affairs by the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany.

Textual emphasis on the imperial status and prerogatives enjoyed by the French crown is examined in the context of royal efforts to secure recognition of its supremacy by lay and ecclesiastical subjects, particularly the great vassals. In the case of the 'Miroir Historial', emphasis on the imperial status of the crown is accompanied by interest in the historic frontiers of France. This may indicate the author's desire to justify French aggression in the imperial marches of Lorraine in 1444.

This chapter demonstrates how historiography has been used to provide a justification for contemporary royal activity, and how current political concerns have in turn affected the interpretation of the past in the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'.

Chapter Five re-examines the attribution of 'Cest chose profitable' to Noël de Fribois, in the light of textual evidence and additional

details of his career. This attribution is accepted, and the same technique applied to the 'Miroir Historial'. Fribois is a particularly suitable candidate for authorship of the 'Miroir' because of his professional experience as notary to the Council of the Gallican Church at Bourges, and his consequent association with the promulgation of the Pragmatic Sanction. In the absence of more positive evidence for another author for either text, Noël de Fribois is suggested as the author of the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable'.

The milieu of the notaires et secrétaires du roi in particular, and the wider context of the gens du roi is investigated for evidence of the professional and cultural influences which have given these texts their distinctive character. As part of their duties, royal officials might be called on to collect historical evidence for their master's claims and prerogatives. This often included the examination of histories and chronicles, which could be accorded a status comparable to documents. There is evidence that these activities could act as a stimulus to the composition of original historical works by officials, and that this might be encouraged by the ruler. The texts are compared with one such text, the 'Registre Delphinal' (1456) by Mathieu Thomassin, conseiller in the Delphinal Parlement at Grenoble.

The probable purpose of the texts is examined. It is possible that these works were commissioned by Charles VII as a counterpart to the official chronicles of his own reign by Jean Chartier. They may also have provided a source of reference for royal officials, when they wished to ascertain the historical basis for their master's rights. However, contemporary expectations of history demanded moral edification, instruction and entertainment, and the absence of more specific evidence concerning the function of the texts means that only tentative conclusions can be drawn.

The potential value of these texts as instruments of political

persuasion is assessed. The author clearly desired to influence the sentiments of his audience, but it is evident that this consisted of the politically powerful at court, rather than the nation as a whole, for whom other means might be more effective than chronicles. The king himself may have been the primary object of persuasion, while the author and his texts may also have provided a vehicle for the ambitions of groups of courtiers, who were patrons of the author.

In conclusion, the thesis indicates how a royal servant used his professional and cultural knowledge to further the interests of his master, by producing an historical work which reinterpreted the French past to justify the activities of the ruling king.

The thesis also includes appendices presenting edited extracts and manuscript descriptions, and a volume of photographs.

PREFACE

During the preparation of this thesis, I have benefited from the help of many institutions and individuals, and I wish to take this opportunity to thank them.

I am most grateful for the following financial assistance: a Senior Scholarship from St Cross College, Oxford; a bourse from the French Government, enabling me to study in France in 1980-81; grants from the Department of Education and Science and from the Zaharoff Fund; and a Bryce Studentship from the Trustees of the Bryce Fund.

I would also like to thank the staff of all the institutes, libraries and archives which I have used in preparing this thesis, and all the staff who kindly answered queries, or who supplied photographs or microfilms.

I am also indebted to MM. Guy Duboscq and A. Labat for generously allowing me to consult personal copies of their theses, and to other members of the École des Chartes who permitted me to read their theses.

I would also like to thank M. François Avril, Professor Bernard Guenée, Dr. Michael Jones, Dr. R.G. Little, MM. G. Ouy and E. Ornato, Mmes. C. Beaune, N.Grévy, G. Labory, M. Paulmier-Foucart and M. Schmidt-Chazan, Drs. D. Roe, H. La Rue and D.G. Andrews, and all others who have at any stage offered helpful suggestions and advice. My special thanks are due to Mr. P.S. Lewis, All Souls College, Oxford, for many useful discussions and for his generous loan of his own collection of photographs and microfilms.

Above all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Malcolm Vale, St John's College, Oxford, for all his help, encouragement and enthusiasm.

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Note on Citations

Direct citations from original manuscript material consulted for this thesis will be edited according to the conventions described in Appendix A. This does not apply to citations from printed primary or secondary works, where the original manuscripts have not been consulted by me. In such cases, citations will be given in the form in which they appear in the printed source.

Note on Titles and Incipits

Majuscules are used for the major words in original titles of medieval works: where *incipits* have been used as titles, only the first word has a majuscule.

The title 'Mirouer Historial Abregie de France' is rendered 'Miroir Historial Abrégé de France', for the purposes of this thesis. As some doubt persists concerning the identity of the 'Abrégé des Chroniques de France', the *incipit* of the text, 'Cest chose profitable', has been used in the present thesis.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used in the text, and, in the case of manuscripts and periodicals, in the bibliography of this thesis. Others which do not feature in this list have been deemed either in common use, or have been abbreviated in such form as to be comprehensible without further expansion. Titles given in full in the first instance have thereafter been abbreviated, wherever possible.

A. (Bourgogne, Bretagne, Midi)	Annales (de Bourgogne, de Bretagne, du Midi)
Annales E.S.C.	Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations
A. Bull. S.H.F.	Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France
Anselme, Hist.Généalogique	Anselme de Ste.-Marie, Le Père (Pierre de Guibours), Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France (3rd ed., 1726-1733), 9 vols.
A.N.	Archives Nationales
Mus.Arch.Nat.	Musée des Archives Nationales.
art.	article
(G. du Fresne de) Beaucourt, Histoire de Charles VII	G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, Histoire de Charles VII (Paris, 1881-91), 6 vols.
Bibl.Éc.Chartes	Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes
Bibl. Éc.Fr. Athènes et de Rome	Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
B. (Arsenal, Ste Geneviève)	Bibliothèque (de l'Arsenal, de Sainte-Geneviève)
B.Mun.	Bibliothèque Municipale
B.N.	Bibliothèque Nationale
- MS. lat.	- manuscrit latin
- MS. fr.	- manuscrit français
- MS. n.a.	- - nouvelle acquisition
- P.O.	- Pièces Originales
- doss.	- dossier
- Rés.	- Réserve des Imprimés

(Geneva), B. Publ. et Univ.	(Geneva), Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire
(Oxford), Bodl. L.	(Oxford), Bodleian Library
(London), B.L.	(London), British Library
- - Add.MS.	Additional manuscript
B.I.H.R.	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
Bull. Monumental	Bulletin Monumental
Bull. Phil. Hist.	Bulletin Philologique et Historique jusqu'à 1610
Bull. Soc. Fr. Repr. MSS. à Peintures	Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures
Camden Misc.	Camden Miscellany (with volume of miscellany only)
C.N.R.S.	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
Coll. Doc. Inéd. Hist. Fr.	Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France
C.R.A.I.B.L.	Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
(L). Delisle, Cabinet des Manuscrits	L. Delisle, Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Histoire Générale de Paris, 1868-1881), 4 vols.
Grandes Chroniques de France, ed. (J.) Viard	Les Grandes Chroniques de France, ed. J. Viard (S.H.F., 1920-53), 10 vols.
B. Guenée, Histoire et Culture Historique	B. Guenée, Histoire et Culture Historique dans l'Occident Médiéval (Paris, 1980)
E.H.R.	English Historical Review
Gallia Christiana	Gallia Christiana, ed. D. de Sainte-Marthe et al. (New ed., Paris, 1715-1865), 16 vols.
Hist. Litt. France	Histoire Littéraire de la France
J. Gén. Instr. Publ.	Journal Générale de l'Instruction Publique
J. Warb. Court. Inst.	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
(A.) Labat, 'L'Abrégé des Chroniques de France'	A. Labat, 'L'Abrégé des Chroniques de France de Noël de Fribois' (Paris, École des Chartes thesis, 1953)
(A.) Lapeyre, (R.) Scheurer, Notaires et Secrétaires	A. Lapeyre, R. Scheurer, Les Notaires et Secrétaires du Roi sous les Règnes de Louis XI, Charles VIII et Louis XII, 1461-1515, (Coll. Doc. Inéd. Hist. Fr., Paris, 1978), 2 vols.

l. (p., t.)	livres parisis, tournois
Mél. Arch. Hist. Éc. Fr. Rome	Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome
Mém. A.I.B.L.	Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
Mém. et Doc. Soc. Éc. Chartes	Mémoires et Documents Publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes
Mém. Soc. Antiqu. (Fr., Normandie)	Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires (de France, de Normandie)
Mém. Soc. Hist. Arch. Bretagne	Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne
Mém. Soc. Hist. Paris	Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris
(Jean de) Montreuil, Opera, i; ii; iii	Jean de Montreuil, Epistolae , ed. E. Ornato, (Turin, 1963); L'Oeuvre Historique et Polémique, ed. N. Grévy-Pons, E. Ornato, G. Ouy, (Turin, 1975); Textes Divers, Appendices et Tables, ed. N. Grévy-Pons, E. Ornato, G. Ouy, (Paris, 1981).
M.G.H.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
- S.R.M.; SS.	- Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum; Scriptores
Nott. Med. Studies	Nottingham Medieval Studies
Ord. Rois France	Ordonnances des Rois de France de la Troisième Race (Paris, 1723-1849), 21 vols. and index
P.L.	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne (1844-63), 221 vols.
repr.	reprinted
Rev. Hist. Eccl.	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
Rev. Hist.	Revue Historique
Rev. Hist. Droit Franç. et Étr.	Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger
Rev. Quest. Hist.	Revue des Questions Historiques
s.l., s.d., s.f.	No place, or date, of publication, no foliation or pagination (for the last, book and chapter numbers will be given where possible)
Soc. Anc. Textes Fr.	Société des Anciens Textes Français
Soc. Antiqu. Fr., Normandie	See Mémoires
S.H.F.	Société de l'Histoire de France

s. (p., t.)	sols (parisis, tournois)
Trans. Am. Phil. Soc.	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
Vincent (de Beauvais), Speculum Historiale	Vincent de Beauvais, Speculum Historiale, ed. Mentellin (Strasburg, 1473), 4 parts in 2 vols., s.f.
(Rome) Vat.	Rome, Vatican Library
- - MS. reg. (lat.)	(Latin) manuscript from the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden

Introduction

The 'Miroir Historial Abrégé de France' and 'Cest chose profitable' are historical compilations. Each narrates the history of France from the legendary arrival of the Trojans, to 1380 in the case of the former, and 1383 in the original, complete version of 'Cest chose profitable'. Each text is characterised by numerous auctorial interpolations, which provide valuable information about authorship, the interpretation of historical sources and the purposes for which the texts were composed. Neither text contains unequivocal evidence of the author's identity, but it is evident that each was composed for Charles VII of France, and that in each case, the author was almost certainly a royal official. The 'Miroir Historial' was being composed, and may have been completed in 1451; while textual evidence indicates that 'Cest chose profitable' was completed between 1453 and 1461. They provide rare and valuable examples of royal historiography in the later years of Charles VII, and an important source of information about the attitudes of the king and his servants to the history of France.

Until comparatively recently, interest in the texts has been restricted by the attitudes and expectations of modern scholars. Most of the historical narrative is derived from existing and well known sources and, superficially, the texts presented few attractions for the historian in quest of new information on historical events. Antoine Thomas's assessment of 'Cest chose profitable' as a text of no historical value epitomises this approach[1], and although the texts were occasionally consulted[2], they were never studied in their own right.

1. A. Thomas, 'Comptes Rendus. Notices et Extraits', Romania, xix (1890), 604-605.

2. See, for example, P. Viollet, 'Comment les Femmes Ont Été Exclues, en France, de la Succession à la Couronne', Mém.A.I.B.L., xxxiv.2, (1895), 125-178; Richard Lescot, Chronique, ed. J. Lemoine (S.H.F., 1896), pp.xi-xiii; R. Bossuat, 'Nicole Oresme et le"Songe du Verger"',Le Moyen Age, 4th ser. ii (1947), 90; P.S. Lewis, 'War Propaganda and Historiography in Fifteenth-Century France and England', Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc., 5th ser., xv (1965), 9-10, 19-20 n.

Although the contents of the texts were neglected, the problem of authorship aroused greater interest. In 1856, Vallet de Viriville suggested that a certain Master Nöel de Fribois, notaire et secrétaire du roi of Charles VII, was the author of 'Cest chose profitable'[1]. Viriville's attribution was not based on a detailed textual study, but it has remained unchallenged, and the evidence for Fribois's authorship has never been adequately assessed. No serious attempt was made to identify the author of the 'Miroir Historial'[2].

This situation was ameliorated to some extent by Alexandre Labat, who prepared a short study and edition of 'Cest chose profitable' for his thesis at the École des Chartes in 1953[3]. He identified and classified ten manuscripts of the text into two textual families, and noted the existence of a continuation and adaptation of the original version which had been prepared for Charles VII[4]. His chief concern was the preparation of a coherent edition, and he was less interested in other aspects of the text. He provided only a brief description of the manuscripts containing the text, and textual sources. He accepted the attribution of the text to Nöel de Fribois, and added some interesting details concerning the notaire et secrétaire, but he did not place the text in the context of the royal chancellery and its work. Labat concluded that the chief interest of the work lay in the author's attitude towards the English, and that its

1. A. Vallet de Viriville, 'Nöel de Fribois, Chroniqueur Inédit', J. Gén. Instr. Publ., xxv.21 (16 Apr. 1856), 196; xxv.39 (14 May 1856), 239-240.

2. An attribution of the text to Nöel de Fribois by P. Meyer was based on error, and subsequently retracted. P. Meyer, Catalogue des Livres ... Provenant de la Bibliothèque de M. le Comte H. de S[ilva] (Paris, 1869), no.276; idem, 'Comptes Rendus. Notices et Extraits', Romania, xix (1890), 311. A. Thomas's allegation that the text could not have been composed by Fribois was probably prompted by Meyer's mistake: art.cit., 603.

3. A. Labat, 'L'Abrégé des Chroniques de France', passim.

4. Ibid. pp.21-52. A. Thomas had previously distinguished the version prepared for Charles VII, and a continuation, to the reign of Louis XI, but had not examined textual affiliations. Thomas, art. cit., 604.

originality consisted in the incorporation into the historical narrative of polemical material, intended to arouse hostility against the enemy. He believed that it was above all a work of propaganda, presented as a history of France in order to facilitate its dissemination[1].

Labat also drew attention to resemblances between 'Cest chose profitable' and the 'Miroir Historial'. He did not attempt a systematic comparison of the texts, and was unaware of the existence of the most important manuscript of the 'Miroir Historial' (Oxford, Bodl. L. MS.Bodley 968). On the basis of the evidence available to him, he nevertheless suggested that Nöel de Fribois had composed both texts[2].

It is clear that neither text has been thoroughly examined, and that the question of authorship has not been fully considered. Recent historical studies have nevertheless emphasised the potential value of such texts as a source of evidence for ideas, sentiments and attitudes current in the milieu and at the time in which they were composed[3]. It is therefore the aim of this thesis to provide a detailed study of the contents, purpose, authorship and influence of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable', and thus to contribute to present understanding of the uses and interpretation of French history in fifteenth-century France, with particular reference to the entourage of Charles VII.

1. A. Labat, op.cit.,pp.1-74.
2. Ibid.,pp.14-21.
3. For a review of these developments and a bibliography of recent studies, see B. Guenée, 'The History of the State in France at the End of the Middle Ages, as Seen by French Historians in the Last Hundred Years', The Recovery of France in the Fifteenth Century, ed. P.S. Lewis (London, 1971) pp.339-343 [reprinted and translated from Rev. Hist., ccxxxii (1964),pp.331-60]; idem, 'Les Tendances Actuelles de l'Histoire Politique du Moyen Age Français', Actes du 100e Congrès Nat. des Socs. Savantes: Paris 1975. (Paris, 1977),i.45-70, esp. 62-64.

CHAPTER ONE: Text and Manuscripts

The Text and Stemma of the 'Miroir Historial'

Five manuscripts of the 'Miroir Historial' have been identified. These reflect different textual traditions, which are indicated by the omission or addition of chapters and by minor textual variants. None of these manuscripts contains the complete text of the 'Miroir Historial' prepared for Charles VII[1]. Detailed comparison of major and minor variants is therefore indispensable in reconstructing the lost text, and in establishing which of the remaining manuscripts reflects it most faithfully.

A study of major variants enables us to divide the manuscripts into two groups[2]. One textual group is formed by P1, P2, P3 and R. These contain a dedication to King Charles VII, a section of historical narrative omitted by O, and in turn omit a number of passages found in O. These differences between O and the other manuscripts indicate that O belongs to a different textual tradition. This hypothesis is supported by the analysis of minor textual variants. These variants also indicate that the remaining manuscripts can be subdivided, with P1, P2 and R sharing a number of textual variants not found in P3, while P3 is further distinguished by a number of individual variants.

It is necessary to give detailed consideration to the significance of the major differences between O and the remaining manuscripts. In O, a dedication to Charles d'Anjou, count of Maine (1414-1473) replaces the royal dedication found in the other manuscripts[3]. As the text was clearly

1. In the context of the present study, the term 'original' will be used to designate the texts in the form in which they would have been presented to Charles VII.
2. See table of variants and Figure 1,pp.12-18.
3. See Appendix A, pp. 222-225.

lesquelz, en tenant le conseil de Platon, ont en tous commence[ments][a]
de leurs euvres accoustume dappeller[b] laide divine, et ou
nom de Dieu tout puissant donner commencement a leurs
faictz, pour ce que selon la sentence de Torquatus, en
le pretermectant, nul commencement nest fonde droictement[c];
je Lui supplie tres humblement que a ce present commencement
Lui plaise estendre sur moy Ses grace et aide, a ce que je
puisse en ce traictie sainement[d] et veritablement escrire
et icellui deuement parfaire.

Et aincois que je procede plus avans (sic), declaireray
cy la cause impulsive de la composition de ce dit traictie,
qui est pour avoir concordance et / conformite, ainsi que f.2[v]
possible sera, des escriptz des historiens,[e] croniqueurs et
auteurs qui des magnifiques faiz des Francois ont escript es
temps passez; et pour manifester verite, qui est cause de
certitude ou certainete; et reprimer le detraction[f] daucunes
nacions estranges, adversans et contraires aux Francois,
lesquelles nations, ou la pluspars des habitans en icelles,

---

a. P2 scribal omission. P3 gives 'commencement', R gives 'commandemens'.

b. P3 substitutes 'accoustument appeller' for 'ont.....accoustume dappeller'.

c. P3 omits 'droictement'.

d. R: 'seurement.'

e. P3: 'hystoires.'

f. P3: 'declaracion'.

envieux de la tres honnorable renommee et singuliere louenge des memorables faictz diceulx Francois, et eulx efforcans de les calumnier ou reprouver en aucunes parties plus notables, soubz umbre de la diversite et discordance daucuns historiens, que de ce ont escript. Et des historiens, croniqueurs et auteurs tres renommez cy apres alleguez, seront mis les noms et la quotacion des lieux et chapitres de leurs euvres a ce dit traictie pertinens; et puis apres, la translacion du texte et exposicion des mots de latin en clair langage francois, ensemble aucunes incidences des temps, ou il appartendra; et subsequentement, par forme de instruction doctrinalle, aucunes autoritez, questions, determinations et enseignemens daucuns philosphes et docteurs catholiques de plus grant reputacion.

Dedication

O f.1^{r-v}

A lonneur de Dieu et de la couronne f.1^{r} de France, singulierement aornee de grace et prerogative celestiel, comme plus a plain sera cy apres monstre; et aussi en satisfaisant aucunement au tres noble et commendable desir de hault et puissant prince et mon tres redoubte seigneur, mon seigneur Charles, conte du Maine, de Guise, de Mortaing et de Giem (sic), viconte de Chastelerаut et gouverneur de Languedoc et de Guienne,[1] qui en ensuivant / les tres honnourables et vertueuses condicions f.1^{v} des princes de France de tres notable recordacion, a singuliere affection de estre veritablement et briefment informe des commencement originel, erection, dilatacion, magnificence et honneur tres amples et dignes de perpetuelle remembrance du royaume de France tres crestien: sera cy apres, a laide de Nostre Seigneur, de ce faicte declaracion, ainsi que dit est, et mesmement selon les histoires, croniques et traictiez autresfoiz de ce faiz; afin que si haulx et vertueux euvres soient en singuliere exemple a tous princes et seigneurs, et par especial, du sang et lignaige royal de France.

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1. Charles d'Anjou (1414-73) acquired Gien in 1443, Guise in 1444 and purchased Châtellerault from Jean VII d'Harcourt in 1445. Although he became count of Mortain in 1425 and of Maine in 1443, he entered into real possession of these territories only after the expulsion of the English (1448-49). He was Lieutenant-General in Languedoc from 1440 to 1466, and in the duchy of Guyenne from 1440 to 1462, but continued to use the title after losing his office. Guy Duboscq, 'Charles d'Anjou, Premier Comte du Maine',pp. 127 n.3, 155-178; idem, 'Charles d'Anjou', Positions des Thèses...de l'École des Chartes (Paris, 1933), pp. 21-27.

Prologue (O, P1, P2, P3, R)

O, ff. 1^{v}-4^{v}

[a] Et en divisant ce present traictie en trois parties,[a] sera f.1^{v} en chascune dicelles premierement mis le vray texte des saincts docteurs, historiens, croniqueurs et autres qui sur ce ont escript, es lieux ou a faire sera, et puis apres translate de Latin en Francois en clair langaige, pour eviter obscurte, gardee toutes voies la substance du dit texte. Et commencera chascune des dictes trois parties a la mutacion des lignes et genealogies des roys du dit royaume; la premiere depuis le commencement des ducs et roys et mesmement de Clovis, premier roy crestien dicellui, jusques au temps du roy Pepin; la seconde partie depuis le commencement du regne dicellui roy Pepin jusques au temps de Hue le Grant; la tierce partie depuis le temps de son regne jusques a cellui du roy nostre sire qui est a present, Charles septiesme de ce nom, duquel Nostre Seigneur par Sa grace vueille tousjours prosperer les affaires, et apres ce regne transitoire, lui octroier regne pardurable.

Et pour monstrer evidemment comme[b] Dieu par Sa tres grant bonte a singulierement voulu decorer le dit royaume, non pas seulement en honneurs mondains, mais avecques ce en tres especial resplendisseur de miracles et signes celestiels[c] de sainctite, vertu, et notables operacions[c] de sainctes et vertueuses personnes, natifs du dit royaume et dautres pays et regions, qui au temps des regnes diceulx roys ont successivement floury: sera de ce faicte briefve et vraye descripcion par maniere de incidence es lieux ou il sera expedient de le faire.

---

a. P1 P2 P3 R: 'Et pour descendre a la matiere de ce present traictie, appelle le Mirouer Historial de France, il sera divise en trois parties principales, et'...

b. P3: 'comment'.

c. P3 omits 'de sainctite...operacions'.

Et pour avoir certain entendement daucunes briefves et particulieres choses dont sera cy apres traictie, est assavoir que les empereurs et roys ont deux anges deputez leurs propres gardes. Lung par[a] raison de leur personne[b] singuliere comme ont les autres personnes privees: et ces anges sont de la plus basse ordre, selon lordonnance divine, nommee Lherarchie; lautre ange que ont les diz empereurs et roys est par raison de leur dignite ou office imperial ou royal, et sont de lordre qui est nomme Principatus : comme plus a plain le[c] declaire Maistre Nicole de Lire, tres solennel et renomme[d] docteur en Theologie, en sa Postille ou exposicion sur Lapocalipse, ou diziesme chapitre[e] sur ceste partie: Et angelus quem vidi stantem supra mare et supra terram etc.[1] Et pour faire fin de [ce] prologue, plaise a ceulx qui ce present traictie vouldront veoir et lire entierement, en faveur de verite, et pour reverence et honneur des saincts docteurs, historiens et autres tres notables personnes, qui de leurs[f] vertueuses operacions ont especialment voulu eslever, magnifier et honnourer les roys

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a. P3: 'pour'.

b. P1 omits this word.

c. P2 P3 omit this word.

d. P1: 'redoubte'.

e. O omits this word.

f. P3 omits this word.

1. N. de Lira, Glossa, vi. Rev. x. 5. '...imperatores et reges habent duos angelos custodes: unum ratione singulares persone, sicut et ceteri homines...et isti angeli sunt de ordine inferiori. Alterum consideratione dignitatione seu officii singulis enim regnis praesunt angeli qui dicunt principatus, et sunt de ordine inferioris hierarchie, et iste sunt custodes specialiter regum in quantum in eis virtualiter consistunt regna'; also Bernard du Rosier,'Miranda de Laudibus Francie' (1450,o.s.),B.N.MS.lat.6020,f.9^{r}(for this manuscript, see supra, p. 155, n. 3). There is no reference to emperors in the citation given by du Rosier. Kantorowicz knew of this idea only through Charles de Grasaille, Regalia Franciae (Paris, 1538), i.210. E.H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, p. 422 n. 357. It is clear from these examples that the idea was current two centuries before de Grasaille wrote.

et royaume de France, recevoir le dit traictie en charitable affection et benigne supportacion.

Et avant que on descende a la matiere principale, sont cy briefment premises[a] aucunes notables choses pour avoir plus claire congnoissance de la tres excellent dignite et prerogative de la couronne de France.

Et premierement: la significacion des armes ou enseignes de France, selon ce que Saint Bernard[1] le declaire en ung petit traictie quil a de ce fait, ouquel il dit en ceste forme de parolles:

In campo armorum seu insigniorum
preclarissimorum Francie prospicitur[b] celestis dulcor.
Ou champ des tres nobles armes ou ensaignes[c]
de France est veue ou demonstree celestiel doulceur.
In lilio innuitur[d] virtutum[e] suavissimus odor. / f. 2[v]
Ou liz est demonstree tres soueve odeur de vertuz.
In auro accipitur caritatis[f] fulgor.
En lor est demonstree resplendisseur de charite.[2]

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a. P1 'prinses'.

b. P2 'perspicitur'.

c. P1 'et signes'.

d. P2 'invenitur'.

e. O omits this word.

f. P1 'caritas'. P3 'claritatis'.

1. This poem cannot be found in the works of St Bernard. The lines 'In lilio' and 'In auro' appear to have been inspired by Bernadine sermons on the Song of Songs (St Bernard, Sermones in Cantici, ed. Dom. J. Leclercq (Rome, 1958), ii. 210,lines 23-24; 30, line 8. I owe these references to Fr. Edm. Mikkers and the Bureau de la Concordance St Bernard, Achel, Belgium.

2. Compare 'Cest chose profitable', ff. 38[v]-39[r], where the poem is ascribed to St Bonaventure. The poem cannot be found among his published works. The major difference appears in the first line in 'Cest chose profitable': 'In campo insigniorum Francie celitus emissorum prospicitur celestis dulcor', with its reference to the 'armes envoiees du ciel' - an allusion to the Clovis legend (see infra, plate 21 : A3) and a gloss on the third line, 'In auro', on the word 'caritas', the greatest of the 'vertus theologiques': 'on ne trouvera point que entre tous les princes crestiens, il ait eu tele charite comme celle des roys de France'.

Item: a la recommendacion du liz dit ainsi la Glose ordinaire ou douziesme chapitre de Levangille Saint Lucas sur ce pas:[1] Considerate lilia agri quomodo crescunt. Solet per lilium celestis beatitudo significari, ad quam [nos] invitat Dominus. Lilia enim non in silvis sed in ortis nascuntur, sic et [nos] in ortis amenissimis (sic) virtutum crescere debemus. Ceste glose allega Saint Thomas Daquin[2] devant le roy de France qui lors estoit, en la forme de parolles qui sensuit: Par le liz seult estre signifiee la beatitude celestielle a laquelle Dieu invite et amonneste tous et plus singulierement les roys et princes de France, decorez et honnourez de la tres resplendissant fleur de liz, que autres.[a] Les liz ne naissent pas es forests mais es jardins,[a] par quoy est donne a entendre que les roys et princes dessus diz doivent croistre es tres delectables jardins de vertuz. Hec ille in sua propositione facta coram rege Francie.[3]

Apres sensuivent aucunes tres notables loenges et recommendations des roys et royaume de France[b] entre tous autres royaumes. Et premierement la recommendation Saint Gregoire, adrecant aux roys de France[b] qui en son temps regnoyent:

Quanto ceteros homines regia dignitas antecedit, tanto ceterarum

---

a. P3 substitutes 'Les liz que entre les bois ne naissent mais es jardins'.

b. P2 omits this line.

1. Luke xii.27; Strabo, Glossa Ordinaria, p.297. Brackets denote words present in the source, not present in manuscripts of the 'Miroir'.

2. Non inveni.

3. Compare with 'Cest chose profitable', f. 38^{r-v}, where this is attributed to St Bernard.

gentium regna regni vestri profecto culmen excellit. Et sicut magne[a] lampadis splendor in tetre noctis obscuritate, luminis sui claritate fulgescit. Ita fidei vestre claritas inter aliarum gentium regna rutilat et choruscat.[1]

De tant comme la dignite royal est pardessus[b] ou a excellence entre les autres hommes - cest a entendre entre personnes privees - de tant certainement la haultesce de vostre royaume excelle et seurmonte les royaumes des autres gens; et ainsi comme la resplendisseur de grant clarte / reluist par sa lumiere en tres grant obscurte f.3[r] de nuit, ainsi la tres grant clarte de vostre foy resplendist entre les royaumes des autres gens.

[c]Autre louenge des roys et royaume de France selon la cronique de Guillaume, abbe de Malmery, tres solennel et elegant croniqueur des Normans.[2]

Sub regum Francorum[3] moderamine Christi vinea succrescens innumeros fidelium ramos protulit. Ex hoc quippe regno plurima Christianorum[4] proruperunt ovilia, que velut apes ex suis alveariis multimodos ex diversis mundi partibus favos in celestibus obtulerunt

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a. P3: 'magnus'.

b. P1 P2 P3 R omit this.

1. S. Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistularum Libri I-VIII, ed. D. Nordberg (Corpus Christianorum Senes Latina, cxl, 1982), pp.373-74; Gregory to Childebert, 595 A.D. This letter was also cited by Bernard du Rosier, 'Miranda de Laudibus Francie', f. 2[v], and earlier by the Songe du Vergier, ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, ii.268.

2. Not William of Malmesbury but William of Jumièges, Historia Northmannorum, p. 781.

3. Added by author, implied by William of Jumièges in his prologue.

4. Replaces 'monachorum' in the Historia Northmannorum.

sedibus. Ab his regibus[1] perennis Jherusalem fabrica de luto fecis scismatice sepe erecta, coram eterni regibus obtutibus[a] valida virtute pollens, ut stella lucida fulget.

La Translation en substance.[b]

Soubz le modere gouvernement des roys de France, la vigne de Jesu Crist - cest[c] a entendre saincte eglise- successivement acroissant a apporte innombrables raims ou branches de loyaulx crestiens. Et pour certain, de cestui royaume sont yssuz en divers lieux tres grant quantite de tres nobles crestiens, lesquelz, ainsi qui mouches a miel ou avetes, de diverses parties du monde ont offert es sieges celestielz raiz de miel, de pluseurs manieres. De ces roys de France, ledifice espirituel de Saincte Eglise a este souventes foiz releve de la boe et ordure de cisme, lequel espirituel edifice par sa tres grant vertu reluist comme une claire estoile[d] devant le regard du roy eternel ou pardurable.

[e]Autre louenge du dit royaume,
faicte par Leglise Rommaine.

Le tres noble et tres crestien royaume de France resplendist abondamment de trois singulieres lumieres, et sa tres grant clarte

---

a. P3 omits this word.

b. P2 P3 omit this rubric.

c. P1 P2 P3 R substitute 'qui est'.

d. P3 substitutes 'estincelle'.

e. P3 R omit rubric.

1. These words added by author.

espand aux autres royaumes: la premiere lumiere, par noblesce de sang, mais encores plus par purte de courage; la seconde lumiere, par honneur de dignite,[a] mais encores plus par magnificence de tres haulx et vertueux[b] / faiz; la tierce lumiere, par haultesce f.3[v] destat,[a] mais encores plus par precellence de bonte. De ceste tres noble lignie, nostre mere Saincte Eglise a euz filz de benediction et de joye, filz resplendissans par renommee et faiz memorables; et avecques ce, filz daide et faveur especial[c] en ses affaires, par les vertuz et pure devocion desquels nostre mere Saincte Eglise est tres amplement enluminee et aornee. Cest en substance ce qui est escript en une bulle apostolique estant entre les chartres royaulx, qui se commence ainsi apres la salutacion: Sublime regni Francie solum etc., en laquelle translacion on a ensuy au plus pres la elegance du stile dicelle bulle, quant a celle partie.[1]

Autre briefve[d] loenge et recommendacion[d] du dit royaume [e]faicte par Leglise de Romme, ainsi quil appert par bulle apostolique estant avecques les chartres royaulx, laquelle bulle apres la salutacion se commence en ceste forme de parolles: Rex glorie virtutum dominus etc.[2]

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a. P1 omits this line.

b. P3: 'tres vertueux'.

c. O omits this word, present in the source and other manuscripts.

d. P2 omits these words.

e. P2 omits the rest of this rubric.

1. 'Sublime regnum Francorum', bull granted 7 May 1255 by Alexander IV to Louis IX, requiring that special permission must be sought from the Holy See before the king, his wife and heirs to the crown could be excommunicated. Privilèges Accordés à la Couronne de France par le Saint-Siège, ed. A. and J. Tardif (Doc. Inéd. Hist. France, 1st ser. 1855), p.344.
2. Bull granted by Pope Clement V to Philip IV, 5 May 1311, announcing the king's innocence from accusations that he had plundered the Church, Tardif, ed. cit., p.344. For the background to this bull, see J.R. Strayer, The Reign of Philip the Fair (Princeton, 1980), pp.237-295; for the bull, p.294 n.166 and references.

Regnum Francie in peculiarem populum electum a domino in execucione mandatorum celestium specialis honoris et gratie titulis insignitur; ipsius namque regni reges a progenie in progenies zelo catholice fidei inardescentes, ac sacrosanctam ecclesiam Romanam matrem fidelium precipuis venerantes honoribus; nunquam ab ipsius rectitudine fidei[a] deviarunt, quin pocius pro illius conservatione fidei et ecclesie predicte defensione, reges et incole dicti regni se et sua exponere, ac nonnunquam proprium fundere sanguinem minime dubitarunt: sicut et gestorum antiquitas[b] et sacrorum autoritas canonum manifeste declarant.

La Translacion

Le royaume de France, esleu de Dieu en especial peuple pour lexecucion des commandemens celestiels, est aorne de tiltres de grace et honneur especiaulx. Car les roys de ce royaume, de ligne en ligne, embrasez damour singuliere[c] de la foy catholique, honnourans aussi principalment/Leglise de Romme,[d] mere des loyaulx crestiens, ne f.4[r] devierent ou forvoyerent oncques de la rectitude de la foy catholique; ains pour la conservation dicelle, et aussi pour la defense de Leglise Rommaine,[e] les roys et habitans du dit royaume nont point doubte exposer eulz et leurs choses, et espandre leur propre sang: sicomme lanciennete de leurs faiz et lautorite des saincts canons le tesmoignent manifestement.

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a. P2 omits this word.

b. O omits this word.

c. P3: 'tres singuliere'.

d. P1 P2 P3 R: 'Leglise Rommaine'.

e. P1 P2 P3 R: 'Leglise de Rome '.

Que le royaume de France est plus ferme en duracion et permanence que les autres royaumes.[a]

Regni Francie dignitas atque autoritas inter ceteras mundanas dignitates autoritatesque est in permanentia seu duracione fermior (sic):nempe Deus speciali quodam amore eam dignitatem videlicet ordinasse, quoquidem ex eius effectu multiplici ostenditur, videlicet in gloria, devocione, fama et religione Christiana etiam et in honoribus diviciis et civili potencia: que si quidem sunt divini amoris effectus et signa et duracionis principia precipua.[b] Hec Johannes de Parisius sacre Theologie professor, Sancti Thome de Aquino discipulus et postmodum effectus doctor solennissimus et suo tempore famosissimus.[1]

La Translacion.[c]

La dignite et autorite du royaume de France entre les autres dignitez et autoritez mondaines est en permanence et duracion plus ferme, car Dieu par especial amour la ordonnee, comme par pluseurs signes et effects peut apparoir: cest assavoir, en gloire-gloire selon saint Ambroise est noble renommee daucun, avecques loenge- en devocion, en renommee et en religion crestienne; et avecques ce, en honneurs, richesces et puissance civille, lesquelles choses sont signes evidens et commencemens tres especiaulx de plus ferme duracion.[2]/ f.4^{v}

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a. O omits this word.

b. P3 adds 'sunt'.

c. P1 P3 R omit rubric.

1. Non inveni. John of Paris, or Jean Quidort: for his career and influence, see Dom J. Leclercq, Jean de Paris et l'Ecclésiologie du xiiie Siècle (L'Église et l'État au Moyen Age, V, Paris, 1942).

2. There follows a brief description of the world.

Pourquoy les roys et royaume de France sont appellez 'tres crestiens' sera cy apres declairie en son lieu.

Item, est bien a noter ce qui sensuit:

Quicunque orat pro rege Francie habet decem dies indulgentie a papa Innocencio quarto, ut recitat doctor sanctus in quarto sentenciarum, distinctione vicesima prima, articulo tercio.[1]

La Translacion.[a]

Quiconques prie pour le roy de France a dix jours de indulgence ou pardon, octroyez et donnez de Innocent, pape quart de ce nom, ainsi que le recite Saint Thomas Daquin en son quart de sentences en la ving et uniesme distinction, ou tiers article.

The Salic Law (O, P1, P2, P3, R)

O, f. 41^{r-v}

En lan douziesme de lempire de Honorius, les Francois commence- f.41^{r}
rent a user de lois et dicterent ou composerent la Loy Salique, par quatre des plus notables gens dentreulx, a ce esleu entre pluseurs, ainsi nommez: Vusogast, Bosogast, Salagast, Widigast, es villes de Germanie-cest a dire Dalemaigne,[b] appellees Salechaim, Berodaim, Windoaim. Sigibertus.[2]

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a. P3 R omit rubric.

b. 'la basse' deleted.

1. Thomas Aquinas, Scriptum super Sententiis Magistri Petri Lombardi, dist. 20, art.3 (ed. Moos iv. 1030). The indulgence was granted 28 Sept. 1255 (Tardif, op.cit., p.12). The original had been lost from the French royal Trésor des Chartes.

2. Sigebert , Chronica ed. Bethmann, p. 307; Vincent de Beauvais, Speculum Historiale xx. 11, attribute the law to the ninth year of Honorius's empire.

Et est assavoir que ainsi comme len treuve par les histoires anciennes, la Loy Salique est lancien et vray droit des Francois, et est fonde pour la pluspart sur le livre de Tulles,[1] qui se intitule De Republica; et avecques ce, en droit divin et humain. Et par ce droit gouvernerent les premiers roys de France la chose publique de leur royaume, et Charlemaigne en son temps, oultre certains chapitres quil fist, dont mencion est faicte es droiz. Et tant comme le royaume a este gouverne par icelle Loy Salique, ou droit des Francois, il a floury en paix, tranquillite, et en merveilleuses victoires sur les ennemis et adversaires dicellui; aussi en excellence de vertuz et en augmentacion et accroissement; et ny avoit lors aucunes coustumes generaulx ou locaulx, dont tant de questions, debats et altercacions se meuvent chascun jour, comme on le voit par experience. Et pour ce que feu Maistre Gieffroy Vassal, jadis arcevesque de Vienne,[2] afferma a feu Monseigneur larcevesque de Reims, en son vivant chancellier de France,[3] et a Cristofle de Harecourt,[4] quil avoit veu et leu / f.41[v]

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1. There is no explanation for the attribution to Cicero, but see the comments of Jean de Montreuil, Opera ii. 272, and 'Cest chose profitable', infra pp. 266,269.

2. Geoffroy Vassal (d. 1446), counsellor in the Parlement of Poitiers 1420-1436, archbishop of Vienne (1439-44), archbishop of Lyon (1444-46). Beaucourt op.cit. ii, iii, iv,passim, R.G. Little, 'The Parlement of Poitiers', pp. 172-73; Gallia Christiana (1728) iv. 176; (1856), xvi. 114.

3. Renaud de Chartres (d. 1444), archbishop of Reims (1414-1444), chancellor of France 1425, 1428-1444. Gallia Christiana, ix. 135-36; Beaucourt, op.cit., i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

4. Christophe d'Harcourt (d. after 1450), third son of Jacques, lord of Montgomery, and Jeanne d'Enghien, lady of Havrech; counsellor in the Parlements of Paris and Poitiers (1418-1450), and royal counsellor. Anselme, Hist. Généalogique, v.132-136; F. Autrand, Naissance d'un Grand Corps de l'État, p. 197, for a revision of the date of Harcourt's death; Beaucourt, op.cit., ii, iii, iv, passim.

le livre de la dicte Loy Salique, ou droit des Francois, ou monastere ou abbaye de Savigny en Poictou.[1] Leur entencion estoit de le faire transcrire[a] et translater pour le roy, et de ce me parlerent par pluseurs foiz; et aussi fist depuis feu Maistre Girard Machet, jadis evesque de Castres et confesseur du roy nostre sire [2] qui est a present; qui semblablement disoit avoir veu icellui livre en labbaye de Saint Remy de Reims.[3] Et nest pas a entendre que ce soit la Loy Salique dont briefve mencion est faicte es droiz, mais est ung livre particulier, fait par les dessus nommez[b] quatre notables Francois.[b]

The Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni. (O only)[4]

O, ff. 190^{r}-193^{v}

Les Francois, comme dessus est dit, Troyens de naissance, f. 190^{r} encores donnez a la loy payenne, establirent leur royaume en Gaulle, laquelle est deulx maintenant nommee France.[5] Saint Gregoire de Tours, ou second livre de son histoire, traictant des faiz des premiers Francois payens, ou diziesme chapitre, dit quilz aouroyent alors ydoles, et faisoyent formes de forests, de eaues, doyseaulx et de

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a. This word is omitted by P1 P2 P3 and R.

b. O omits 'quatres...Francois'.

1. Probably Notre Dame de Savigny, commune of Vouneuil-sur-Indre, canton of Châtellerault, department of Vienne, founded in the 10th century and under the patronage of the Harcourt family. C. Beaune, 'Histoire et Politique: la Recherche du Texte de la Loi Salique', 31-32; see also supra pp. 129-32.

2. Gérard Machet, (c. 1380-1448), royal confessor from 1422, bishop of Castres, 1432. For Machet's career, see G. Santoni, 'Gérard Machet', passim.

3. Identified by Colette Beaune as B.N. MS.lat. 10758, a manuscript of the Salic Law formerly in the library of the abbey of St. Remy, art.cit., 29. Machet may have found this manuscript during his tenure of a prebend at the cathedral of Reims 1403-1410, Santoni, op.cit., p.41.

4. The Latin version of this passage appears on ff. 188^{r}-190^{v}. Where the French translation differs sensibly from the Latin, annotation will be given.

5. Vincent, Speculum Historiale, xxxi.126. The following 11 lines do not appear in Vincent's account of the reditus nor in the Latin text of the 'Miroir', f.188^{r}.

bestes, et dautres elemens ausquelles ils sacrifioyent.[1] Mais apres ce, par la grace Dieu, quant Clovis leur out remonstre leur ydolatrie, vanite et supersticion, ils, dune mesmes voulente et commun accord, respondirent au dit Clovis, 'Tres bon roy, nous sommes prests de laissier du tout les dieux mortels, et de nous convertir a ung vray et seul Dieu immortel et a la foy catholique'.[2] Et ainsi le firent tous en ung jour, exponsans depuis leur propre sang pour la deffense et augmentacion de la foy, comme plus a plain est cy dessus recite.[3] Lan de Nostre Seigneur quatre cens soixante quatorze, Childeric, / f.190^{v} lors roy des Francois, qui print la cite de Treves, trespasse de ce monde, Clovis, son filz, tint fort son royaume et le accreut et amplia. Il receut de Saint Remy, arcevesque de Reims, la grace de baptesme avecques tous ses subjects,[4] comme dit est. Le dit Saint Gregoire de Tours, ou cinquiesme livre de son histoire, recommende merveilleusement cellui Clovis de pure foy, de proesce, de preudommie, de liberalite, et chastete en mariage.[5] Et Martin en sa cronique le appelle 'tres crestien', et dit quil est a compaignie au nombre des saints de paradis.[6]

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1. Gregory of Tours, Historiae, ii.10 (ed. Arndt, p.59).

2. Vincent op.cit., xxii. 6; Gregory of Tours, op.cit. ii.31 (ed. cit. pp.76-77).

3. This comment does not appear in the Speculum or the Historiae, but echoes the prologue of the 'Miroir Historial'. See supra p. 233.

4. Vincent, ibid., loc. cit. with the date 484. The succeeding six lines do not appear in the Latin text of the 'Miroir', f. 188^{r}.

5. Gregory's commendation of Clovis makes no reference to these attributes. op.cit., v, prologue (ed. cit. p.193).

6. Martin, Chronicon,ed. Weiland, p.455. Also 'Miroir', ff.23^{v}-24^{r}.

De Listoire de France. La lignie de Clovis regna beneureusement jusques a lan de Nostre Seigneur sept cens cinquante, excepte que par quatre vings et huit ans, depuis le temps de Clotaire, roy, et de Saincte Balthide, autrement appellee vulgaument Saincte Baudour, les roys de France, degenerans de leur force et science acoustumee, la puissance du royaume estoit administree et disposee par les plus grans de la maison royal; cest assavoir, par le grant maistre dostel, le connestable, et le chamberier, selon listoire de Hugues.[1]

Sigibert Aux roys de France qui furent durant le temps des dits quatre vings et huit ans estoit de coustume de principer ou regner selon leur ligne, et riens ne faire ou disposer que desraisonnablement mengier et boire, et demourer en leur maison; et es kalendes du moys de may, eulx monstrer et presider devant toute la gent a eulx subgiecte, et saluer et estre resaluez, prendre beaux services et dons, et aussi redonner. Et les dictes kalendes de may passees, demourer en leurs maisons jusques a lautre moys de may ensuivant;[2] et ainsi continuerent jusques au temps de Pepin, comme cy apres sera declaire.

Saincte Balthide ou Baudour, ainsi quil est leu es faiz delle, fut nee du sang royal des Saxons, femme de Clovis, filz du roy Dagoubert. Elle estoit belle de visaige, de chiere lye, grave en contenance, chaste, sobre, saige, caute, humble et gracieuse.[3]

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1. Not Hugh, but Grandes Chroniques, ed. Viard ii. 201.
2. Sigebert, Chronica, ed. cit., p.325. Vincent, op.cit., xxiv. 115.
3. Vincent, op.cit., xxiv. 116.

Hors listoire. Saincte Crothilde, femme de Clovis premier, / f.191^{r} roy tres crestien de France, Saincte Baudour et Blanche, mere de Saint Loys, doivent estre mirouer et example aux roynes et grans (sic) dames de France.

Hugues en son histoire. Comme Clovis, filz de Dagobert, eust regne xv ans, il laissa trois filz, engendrez en la royne Balthide ou Baudour, ses successeurs, cest assavoir: Clothaire, Theoderic ou Tierry et Childeric.[1] Ceste saincte royne fonda le monastere de Sainct Pierre de Corbie,[2] qui est lung des plus notables de ce royaume.

Ou Mirouer Historial de Vincent de Beauvais ou trente uniesme livre:[3] Et pour ce fut fait ou avint que Pepin, qui estoit le plus grant en autorite et gouvernement de la maison royal de France soubz le roy Childeric, il mis en un monastere et tondu et vestu comme moyne ou monastere de Luxeu,[4] es derrenieres limites et methes du royaume de la partie Dallemaigne (Addicion : combien que depuis le fleuve du Rin jusques a la mer par deca, et depuis les Alpes, que on appelle

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1. Hugh of Fleury, Chronicon ed. Rottendorff, p.157.

2. Grandes Chroniques, ed.cit., ii. 200. Sigebert, ed.cit., p.325 and Vincent op.cit. xxiv, 116, mention the foundation of Corbie, but not the patron saint of the monastery.

3. Vincent op.cit., xxxi, 126.

4. There is no reference to Luxeuil in Vincent, Hugh, Sigebert, nor the Grandes Chroniques. It is possible that the author of the 'Miroir' has confused this incident with the exile to Luxeuil of Ebroin, mayor of the palace in the reign of Theodoric. Hugh, ed.cit., p.157.

les mons de lentree Dytalie, jusques a la Mer Mediterranie, qui enclot Prouvence, et jusques aux Mons Pirenes ou de Navarre:[1] tout fut anciennement du vray corps de ce tres crestien royaume; et que le tres vaillant et preux roy Clovis, et depuis ses successeurs ayent tenu et joy paisiblement de tous iceulx pays, qui sont du corps ancien des Gaulles, appert clairement par la verite des plus autentiques et approuvees histoires): Vincent, icellui Pepin fut esleu et constitue en roy des Francois par eulx mesmes; ausquels lautorite apostolique donna lors son consentement, en lan de Nostre Seigneur sept cens soixante.[2] Addicion. Cy apres sera monstre et prouve clairement, par autorite de droit divin et humain, que la tres noble couronne de France celestielment privilegiee, comme dit est, nest tenue de Leglise de Romme, ne de lempire, ne daucun fors que de Dieu. Combien que Boniface, pape huitiesme de ce nom, se efforcast de la subgectir a Leglise de Romme; et pour ce fist / et publia une extravagant, qui se commence: Unam sanctam f.191[v] catholicam etc., et la fist exposer et gloser, premierement par theologiens, et depuis par juristes- a quoy est bien respondu- et apres, se efforca de assubgectir la dicte couronne a lempire, mais les Alemans qui lors estoyent nen tindrent compte.[3]

Sigibert Cestui Pepin fut enoinct et sacre roy des Francois par Sainct Boniface, arcevesque de Mayence, et lequel, en preschant depuis

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1. Non inveni- closest is Hugh, ed.cit., pp.90-91. This is omitted in the Latin text, 'Miroir', f. 188[v].

2. Vincent, op.cit., xxiv. 154:'auctoritate apostolice et Francorum electione'.

3. 'Miroir' ff.203[r]-215[r] for a full discussion of this question.

la foy catholique aux Frisons, fut par eulx martirizie.[1] De Listoire des Francois. Cestui Pepin fut aussi conferme ou royaume de France en leglise de Saint Denis en France par Estienne pape, et il et ses femme et enfans receurent ilec benediction apostolique; et fut leur lignie benoiste en perpetuel heritaige de la succession royal du dit royaume, et tout estrangier interdict par icellui pape, par sentence de la grant excommunicacion ou escommenge, qui se appelle anatheme.[2] Addicion. A ceulx qui sont detenuz par ceste grant sentence sont denyees les choses qui sensuivent: cest assavoir, que on ne parle a eulx, fors que qui daventure les rencontreroit, on leur pourroit dire, 'Dieu te convertisse a Sa loy'; secondement, oroison leur est deniee; tiercement, salutacion; quartement; communion ou communication; quintement, la table. Sigibert Pepin, roy de France, regna dix-huit ans, et en lui, la lignie de Clovis failly au royaume. Item. De Pepin et de Berthe, fille de Eracle lempereur, furent filz Charles le grant et Charlemaigne son frere. Et a cause des diz Pepin et Berthe, a concurrence en Charles le grant de la lignie des Grecs, des Rommains et des Germains ou Alemans; et pour ce, a bon droit fut a lui transferee et baillee lempire.[3] Il receut couronne royal a Noyon, et Charlemaigne son frere la receut a Soissons.[4]

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1. Sigebert, ed.cit., p.332; Vincent, op.cit., xxiv. 154, 157.

2. Vincent, op.cit., xxxi. 126. The author of the 'Miroir Historial' has substituted 'conferme' ('confirmatus', f.188^{v}) for 'ungeretur' in his source, as if to minimise the role of the pope in the change of dynasty, although earlier references to this event mention the papal unction and coronation of Pipin and his sons. See supra pp.50,n.2, 94,n.4. For other examples of auctorial revision of a source and its translation, see supra pp. 90-1.

3. Sigebert, ed.cit., p.332; Vincent, op.cit., xxiv. 161.

4. Hugh, ed.cit., p.169; Vincent, op.cit., xxiv. 161.

Doncques la lignie de Pepin et de Charlemaigne regna ou royaume de France jusques a lan de Nostre Seigneur huit cens vingt six.[1]

Apres ce, Hue Capeth, conte de Paris envayssant / f.192[r] le royaume de France, il fut transfere de la genealogie des Charlois- ainsi les nomme en latin le texte historial, 'Genealogia karolensium'- en la ligne des contes de Paris.[2] Item, Hugues[3] ou siziesme livre de son histoire, ou xxi[e] chapitre: En lan de Nostre Seigneur neuf cens quatre vings et deux, Hugues conte de Paris, duc des Francois, se rebella contre Charles, frere de Louis roy le jeune, pour ce quil avoit [eu] en mariage la fille de Hebert, conte de Troyes, lequel Hugues assembla tres grant ost de gens et assiega Laon, ou le dit Charles et les siens demouroyent lors. Lequel Hugues, voyant quil ne pourroit vaincre le dit Charles, out conseil avecques Ascelin, traitre vieillart et faulx evesque de Laon, car il ne lavoit pas a tiltre juste et canonique;[4] lequel Ascelin estoit principal[5] conseillier du dit Charles. Adoncques Ascelin evesque traitre, baillant en une nuit la cite de Laon a Hugues Capeth, duc des Francois, quant tous ceulx qui dedens estoyent se reposoient et dormoyent, Charles, avecques sa femme, fut prins et lye et mene en garde en une tour en la cite Dorleans. Le dit Charles, prisonnier,

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1. Vincent, op.cit., xxxi. 126, gives 926 as the date.
2. Ibid., xxxi. 126.
3. Historia Francorum Senonensis, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.368.
4. Historia Francorum Senonensis, ed.cit., p.369 'falsus'. No reference is made to Ascelin's title.
5. Ibid., 'consiliarius'.

navoit pas encores este enoinct en roy, resistant a ce Hugues, duc des Francois. Icellui Charles doncques demourant en prison, en une tour au dit lieu Dorleans, engendra en sa femme deux filz, nommez Loys et Charles. En cellui an fut enoinct roy de France en la cite de Reims icellui Hugues, duc des Francois, et en cellui mesmes an, Robert, son filz tres devot et tres debonnaire, semblablement ordonne roy, qui fut prince aorne de grant literature et science.

Cy fault au regard du royaume de France la lignie de Charles le grant.

Il[1] est leu es faiz de Saint Valery et de Saint Riquier, que leurs corps furent translatez de leurs eglises ou monasteres, en leglise ou monastere de Saint Bertin en la ville de Saint Omer, ou diocese de Terouenne; et furent ilec mis, pour craincte des Northmans et Danemarchois, payens, comme en lieu plus sceur. Et comme les / f.192^{v} Northmans feussent au temps de Charles le Simple convertiz a la foy catholique, les corps des diz Sainct Walery et Saint Riquier furent rapportez a leurs eglises. Toutes voyes, ainsi que leurs moynes les demandoyent aux moynes de Saint Bertin, ils detenoyent les diz corps saincts par la violence de Arnoul, leur conte de Flandres.

Adonc Saint Walery se apparu en dormant a Hugues, conte de Paris, la enoinct et sacre roy. 'Va a Arnoul, conte de Flandres, et lui dy, que de leglise de Sainct Bertin il renvoye noz corps a noz propres eglises, car nous aymons mieulx noz lieux que les estranges.' Requis de Hugues le Grant[2] qui estoit cil qui parloit a lui, et qui

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1. The following section has been taken from Vincent, op.cit., xxxi. 126.
2. Vincent, loc.cit., 'Miroir', f.189^{r}, 'ab Hugone'. Vincent's account implies that Hugh Capet rather than Hugh the Great received the prophecy: however, the Grandes Chroniques designates Hugh the Great (ed. cit., vii. 6). It appears that the author of the 'Miroir Historial' has conflated two sources.

   For the confusion in the sources concerning the identity of the recipient of the prophecy, see G. Spiegel, 'The Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni: a New Look', 147, n.5.

estoit son compaignon: 'Je suy,' ce dist il, 'Walery, et mon compaignon est Riquier de Pontieu. Ce que Dieu te commende par moy, fay le hastivement, et ne y dissimule point.' Hugues donc alant pardevers le dit Arnoul, conte de Flandres, lui declaira les choses qui de par Dieu lui avoyent este commendees par Saint Walery, lequel conte de couraige orgeuilleux refusa de rendre les diz corps saincts. Adonc Hugues lui dist de couraige constant, 'Va et garde bien, que a tel jour et en tel lieu, tu me apportes honnestement et de voluntaire courage les diz corps saincts; car se tu ne le faiz de ton bon gre, tu le feras maugre que tu en ayes'. Alors Arnoul, conte de Flandres, contraint par la paour et puissance de Hugues, fist faire deux chasses, quil fist enrichir dor et dargent, esquelles il fist mectre les diz deux corps saincts; et au jour a lui dit par Hugues, vint le dit Arnoul a grant ost arme a Monstereul sur la mer, qui est le chastel des roys de France, et ilec rapporta honnourablement les diz deux corps saincts, lesquels Hugues mist chascun en son eglise ou lieu.[1] La nuit ensuivant, Saint Walery se apparu a Hugues en dormant, et lui dist, 'Pour ce que tu as soigneusement fait les choses qui tont este commendees et nous as rapportez en noz lieux, toy et tes successeurs / f.193^{r} regnerez ou royaume de France jusques a la septiesme generation'. Aucuns dyent, 'en perpetuelle generation', comme recite Vincent ou dit Mirouer Historial General. Cestui Hugues ou Hue Capeth engendra Robert, roy de France, tres debonnaire et actrempe, duquel est cy

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1. Vincent, ibid., loc.cit., 'in loco suo'.

dessus faicte plus ample mention. Robert engendra Henry. Henry engendra Phelipe. Phelipe engendra Loys le Gros. Loys le Gros engendra un autre Loys, lequel engendra Phelipe Dieu Donne, dit le Conquerant, lequel en Elizabeth, fille du conte de Haynau nomme Baudouin, engendra Loys. Cestui Baudouin, conte de Haynau yssi de la lignie de Ermengarde, fille de Charles le Simple, jusques au temps duquel persevera la lignie de Pepin et de Charles le Grant, empereur. Et comme doncques icellui Loys eust succede au royaume/de son pere Phelipe Dieu Donne, dit le f. 193^{v}
Conquerant, il appert evidemment que par le moyen dessus dit, le royaume de France fut en lui reduict a la lignie de Charles le Grant.

Par la revelation faicte a Hue Capeth par Sainct Walery et Sainct Riquier, pour la reduction de leurs corps a leurs anciens et propres lieux, appert assez que la mutacion et translation du royaume de France, de la lignie et posterite de Charles le Grant en la personne et lignie de Hue Capeth, fut par la voulente de Dieu, qui, comme dessus est dit et plus a plain declaire,[1] transporte les royaumes et seigneuries, ainsi quil[2] plaist a sa droicturiere providence, mais non sans tres juste cause.

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1. 'Miroir' ff.103^{v}-104^{v}, 110^{v}-111^{v}.

2. MS. 'lui' deleted.

The Crown and Kingdom of France (O only)

O f. 201^{r-v}

En la premiere partie de ce present euvre a este briefment touche f.201^{r} de monstrer et declairer ou il appartendroit que selon droit divin et humain ce royaume tres crestien, duquel pour ses tres excellentes vertuz on ne pourroit condignement expliquer la louenge, nest en riens subgiet es choses temporelles au pape, a Leglise de Romme, ne a lempire, mais seulement a Dieu; et que listoire presente, qui est du temps du roy Phelipe, appelle le bel, donne cause de ce faire, pour les raisons declairees ou tiers chapitre subsequent.[1] Et apres ce, cest assavoir au temps de listoire du roy Jehan, sera aussi monstre et declaire souffisamment que les Anglois et Navarrois ne ourent oncques droit ou tiltre vray, legitime ou couloure en la couronne de France,[2] singulierement aorne de grace et prerogative celestielle; et que pour aucune reparacion et desdommaigement des maulx, dommaiges et forsfaiz infiniz que par pluseurs et diverses foiz, par invasions et guerres et autres voyes tiranniques et dampnables ils ont faiz, commis et perpetrez en ce dit royaume, on leur a autresfoiz demande vingt millions dor, ainsi que je lay veu en certains articles, que lors avoit devers lui feu Messire Gieffroy Vassal,[3] en son vivant arcevesque de Vienne. Et de ce, et aussi dautres choses, est faicte pleniere mention en certain euvre qui se fait pour le roy nostre seigneur qui est a present, que Dieu par Sa grace vueille tousjours

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1. This refers to the section on ff. 203^{r}-215^{r}.
2. This promise is not fulfilled in known manuscripts of the 'Miroir'.
3. For Vassal, see supra, p. 236, n. 2.

prosperer en ses affaires.

Et pour avoir certaine et claire cognoissance de ces matieres, seront cy premises deux choses. La premiere sera la vraye descripcion des anciens termes, limites et pourprins de ce dit royaume et des meurs des trois principalles nations de Crestiente, cest assavoir Ditalie, Alemaigne et France. Et en declairant ceste premiere chose, est assavoir que selon Saint Gregoire de Tours et autres historiques (sic) anciens et approuvez,[1] les termes et limites du royaume des Francois comprenoyant jadis toute Theutonye, / f.201^{v} que maintenant on appelle la Basse Alemaigne, et aussi toute Gaulle; lesquelles deux regions sont divisees de la part dorient, davecques Esclavonye, Bahaigne et Hongrie, par grans forests et bois; et par devers occident, au regard Despaigne, les Mons pirenees-ce sont les montaignes de Navarre- separent le dit royaume; par devers midy, les mons que on appelle les Alpes- ce sont les mons Ditalie, qui en celle part la divisent de avecques Gaulle; et de la part daquilon, la mer de Frise et de Bretaigne la Grant, qui maintenant est dicte Angleterre, enclot lancien et vray pourprins du dit royaume de France. Ces deux regions ou provinces, Gaule et Theutonie ou la Basse Alemaigne, contiennent gens de diverses meurs et condicions.

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1. This definition is not given by Gregory of Tours. Non inveni.

The Royal Dignity (Appendix: O only)

O ff.218^{r}-220^{v}

Sensuit en brief des choses qui appartiennent f.218^{r}
a loffice et decence de la dignite royal.

Et premierement: de faire observer et garder en son royaume paix et concorde, et les perturbeurs dicelles condignement faire punir, a lexample des autres.

Item: de faire semblablement garder et nourrir tranquillite et dilection entre les gens de leglise, les nobles et le peuple, qui sont les trois ordres, communement appellez les trois estaz; et ne permectre ou souffrir que lun soit injurie, opprime ou foule par lautre, ains sans faveur ou acception de personnes ou estaz faire administrer a ung chascun egalment raison et justice.

Item: et les sedicieux rebelles et perturbans la police, ensemble les crimineux, faire pugnir selon lenormite et diversite de leurs crimes et delicts.

Item: de promouvoir, remunerer et pourveoir les person/nes f. 218^{v}
dignes et qui lont desservy, selon la qualite de leurs vertuz et merites.

Item: de ne permectre ou souffrir venalite de justice, tant au regard des offices touchans icelle, que autres concernans la police et gouvernement du bien publique, car a loccasion de ceste venalite, reprouvee de tout droit, ceulx qui ont eu les diz offices commectent souventes foiz crimes de concussion, et ne cesseront jamais de extorquer des subgiez aus diz offices, injustement et a tort, les sommes de deniers quils ont baillees pour avoir les diz offices.

Item: de pourveoir aus diz offices de personnes ydoines, abilles et experimentez, car par faisant le contraire, maulx et inconveniens innombrables et irreparables en adviennent a la chose publique, comme on la veu par experience. Et dit Sainct Thomas en son escript sur le quart des Sentences,[1] en faisant une notable similitude, que quiconques baille a son roy ou prince temporel aucune personne non ydoine, inhabille ou inutille a aucun office, cellui qui ce fait est envers son dit roy ou prince temporel faulx et desloyal.[2] Et ce pourra len plus a plain veoir ou dit quart de Sentences dicellui sainct docteur.

Des preminences et honneurs de la saincte couronne et des roys tres cretiens de France.

Combien que en toutes nations et gens, la saincte / f.219^{r} couronne de France ait par singuliere louenge tousjours este recommendee, et que elle soit aournee de grace et prerogative celestielle, comme dessus est dit; et aussi que les roys de France ayent este illustrez et honnourez de ce tres digne mot 'tres crestien', et avecques ce decorez de ferme foy, de grant sapience, et de chevallerie tres noble et singulierement renommee, comme leurs vertueux

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1. Non inveni in Sentences, but see S. Thomas Aquinas, Quaestiones Quodlibetales 8. q.4,a.1 ed. R. Spiazzi (Rome, 1949), p.166: 'Si alicui commissum esset a domino suo ut ei fidelem et idoneum ministrorum quaereret, non ageret fideliter erga dominum suum, si praetermisso magis idoneo, minus idoneum acciperet....Si autem eligat quis eam quem reputat minus idoneum ad tale officium, peccat.'

2. See also 'Cest chose profitable' ff.69^{r}-70^{r}.

euvres et faiz lont bien monstre es temps passez, par especial a la defense, exaltacion et augmentation de la foy catholique, ainsi que le tesmoignent les anciennes histoires et les droiz: toutes voys, pour avoir aucune briefve cognoissance des honneurs, preminences et prerogatives de la dicte saincte couronne et du roy de France tres crestien, est cy escript ce qui sensuit.

Le roy de France a Dieu seul en son souverain es choses temporelles, et en icelles ne recognoist aucun autre, et a plein droit de souverainete absolue et en tout son royaume, comme le monstre et preuve elegamment Maistre Jehan de Paris, tres solennel docteur, disciple de sainct Thomas Daquin, en une tres notable question de ce faicte.

Le roy de France a plein droit de prendre les regalles, cest assavoir, les rentes episcopaulx en aucunes eglises de son royaume, quant les eveschiez vaquent, et de conferer les benefices desquelles la collation appartenoit aux evesques, quant ils vivoyent, comme le preuve et monstre le dit Maistre Jehan de Paris en icelle question;[1] et lequel droit de regalles, mesmement / f.219^{v} au regard de la collacion des benefices, le roy de France ne peut aliener, transporter ou mectre hors de soy, car il est en la saincte couronne de France par ferme inhesion et inaufferabilite: cest a dire, quil nen peut estre oste.

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1. This and the preceding passage have been taken from the anonymous treatise, 'Rex pacificus', ed. du Boulay, p.946. They are also cited in 'Cest chose profitable', ff.68^{v}-69^{r}, where the source is given as 'la question premierement mise en Latin, et puis apres translatee en Francois, dont le tiltre est tel: Utrum sceptrum a solo Deo immediate dependeat et teneat'.

Par ce seul mot 'roy' doit estre entendu le roy de France, si comme dit en sa lecture et compilacion des precedens docteurs qui ont escript sur les Clementines Bonifacius de Amannatis, tres solennel docteur en droit canon et civil, en son temps advocat de Leglise de Romme, et saichant les honneurs dicelle, et des pays et regions de Crestiente, et qui depuis fut cardinal.[1] Pour quoy est assavoir que anciennement les roys de France se intituloyent en ceste forme de parolles: Karolus, Dei gratia rex; Ludovicus, Dei gratia rex; Pipinus, gratia preveniente divine majestatis rex, sans y faire addicion de ce mot, 'Francorum', monstrans par ce lexcellence singuliere de leur dignite royal, si comme il appert evidemment par les chartres et lectres par eulx octroyees et donnees en leurs temps.[2] Toutes voys, icellui cardinal dit que les Anglois, qui sont anciens ennemis de ce dit royaume tres crestien, et aucuns autres, leurs alliez, ne confessent pas que ainsi doye estre entendu; mais de ce ne peut chaloir, car leur hostilite ou inimicie, notee par les droiz, des heresies et divers erreurs, ne peut quant a ce prejudicier a lonneur, preminence et glorieuse renommee des roys et (sic) ne du royaume de France, ayans prerogative de tres ample benediction celestielle : par lesquels roys de France la foy catholique a plus este defendue et dilatee, que par nuls autres roys ou nations, si comme le tesmoignent les saincts docteurs et histoires dont mention est faicte en ce present livre. / f.220^{r}

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1. Bonifacius de Vitalinis, Commentarii in Clementinas Constitutiones, p.3^{v}; this citation is also used by 'Cest chose profitable': see f. 48^{v}, edition and notes infra, p. 264, n. 2,3.

2. This is an auctorial interpolation. The word 'Francorum' did form part of the royal style under the Carolingians. See A. Giry, Manuel de Diplomatique, (Paris, 1894), p.318. But Gérard de Montagu, trésorier des chartes to Charles V, noted in his fourth inventory of the royal archive (1372-74) that:'Rex Francie vocat se regem simpliciter, non ponendo Francie', and this may have inspired the author of the 'Miroir'. Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, ed. H.-F. Delaborde, p. cxxxvii. I owe this reference to M.R. Bautier.

Lempereur est appelle advocat de Leglise et le roy de France protecteur et bras dextre dicelle,[1] et a tres juste cause doit estre ainsi dit: car il appert par les histoires anciennes et approuvees que les roys de France ont oste et extirpe de Leglise de Dieu vingt trois scismes,[2] ce que aucuns empereurs, roys, princes ne nations nont fait.

Es conciles generaulx de Leglise universelle, aupres du pape president (bis) ilec, est de la partie dextre, lempereur, et de la partie senestre, le roy de France.[3] Et se lempereur est en estat imperial, le roy de France est en estat royal, lequel quant a la couronne est different des autres roys, car le dessus doit estre rond et joinct ensemble, comme de tyaire imperial: ce que nont pas, ou ne doyvent avoir les autres roys.[4]

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1. Songe du Vergier, i.cxxviii (ed.cit., p.213) gives similar titles to the king of France. The imperial title is given in the 'Somnium Viridarii', ed. M. Goldast, Monarchia S. Romani Imperii (Hanau, 1611); reprinted in Revue du Moyen Age Latin, xxii (1966), 125. The author may not have needed to use the 'Somnium': this imperial title was used by Frederick III in a letter to Charles VII in 1448; Spicilegium ed. L. d'Achery (Paris, 1661),iv.342, while the titles attributed to the king of France were familiar by the fifteenth century.

2. The source of this allegation is not known. In 1414, Pierre d'Ailly calculated that 22 schisms had taken place in the church, including the schism which motivated the Council of Constance. Concordia Astronomice Veritatis et Narracionis Historice, cap. lviii. The author of the 'Miroir' used this treatise (f. 12^{v}) and may merely have added the schism which took place at the Council of Basle (1439) to d'Ailly's list. If this is the source, the reference to the role of the king of France in healing the schismsis pure invention - it is not mentioned by d'Ailly.

3. The seating of the emperor at the right hand of the pope is described by A. Patrizi(Piccolomini) in his book of Ceremonies composed for Innocent VIII in 1488, which drew on many earlier ceremonials. No specific provision is made for the king of France, but Patrizi notes that kings should be seated on the pope's left. A. Patrizi, 'Sacrarum Caeremoniarum ... Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae', ed. C. Marcello, Rituum Ecclesiasticorum (Venice, 1516), pp.lviiii^{r}(sic) - lx^{r}.

4. Patrizi noted that the distinctive features of the imperial crown consisted in its mitre-like form, and in the presence of hoops, ibid., p.xxx^{r}. For the French royal crown at the same period, see supra pp. 59-61 and notes.

Se le pape vient en aucun lieu, et il advient que lempereur et le roy soyent en ce lieu, ils vont a lencontre de lui, assez pres du lieu ou il doit arriver, et descendent a terre, et apres la reverence faicte et la benediction receue, lempereur prent le cheval blanc ou la mulle blanche du pape par la bride du coste dextre, et le roy du coste senestre; et quant il est descendu, il baise lempereur et le roy en la bouche: aux autres roys, il leur tend la joe destre.[1]

Et pour ce que les papes ont acoustume, en ensuivant lumilite de Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist, duquel ils sont vicaires, de descendre a terre quant lempereur et le roy vont a lencontre deulx, et ils sont pres du lieu ou ils viennent, lempereur et le roy / f.220^{v} lembrassent et descendent et font la reverence deue, et il leur donne la benediction et absolucion de leurs pechiez, et les baise en la bouche comme dit est; et alors le prennent par les braz et ont leurs testes nues, et ainsi le menient jusques au lieu ou il doit arriver.[2] Et se lempereur ny est point, le roy fait office dempereur; et se le roy Despaigne y est, il fait loffice du roy de France, et non autre, car es conciles generaulx, le roy Despaigne a lieu apres le roy de France.[3]

Se lempereur et le roy sont a la feste de Noel devers le pape a la

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1. Non inveni. All rulers, including the emperor, were apparently expected to kiss the pope's feet and hands; they were then kissed on the mouth by the pope. Patrizi, op.cit., pp.liiii^{r}, lv^{v}. In 1495, although the pope insisted that Charles VIII should kiss him only on the mouth and cheek according to a contemporary French bulletin describing their meeting, the account implies that this was not customary. J. Burchard, Diarium, ed. L. Thuasne, ii. 660.

2. Non inveni.

3. Non inveni.

messe de mienuit, lempereur, estant en habit et aornemens imperiaulx, dit levvangille: Exiit editum a Cesare Augusto ut describitur universis orbis etc; et le roy dit lepistre: Apparuit benignitas et humanitas etc. Et se lempereur ny est, le roy dit icellui evvangille: Exiit editum etc; et assistent lempereur et le roy au ministere et office en certaines choses declaires es cerimonies de Romme et de France.[1]

Item: se lempereur et le roy sont a heure de disner ou est le pape, lempereur se siet ou banc et le roy de lautre coste, vis a vis de lui; et se lempereur a ciel tendu sur lui, le roy la pareillement: ce que les autres roys nont pas, ou ne doivent avoir.[2]

Et est assavoir que exceptez le pape, lempereur et le roy Despaigne, le roy se pretitule et preordine a tous roys crestiens, et leur escript ou doit escrire en parchemin et non autrement; et en

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1. There is evidence that the emperor read the seventh lesson (the gospel) at the Midnight Mass at Christmas from the early 14th century, and in 1468, the emperor Frederick III performed this office. In 1433, when in Rome for his imperial coronation, Sigismund chanted the gospel at a papal mass. E.Eichmann, Der Kaiserkronung im Abendland (Würzburg, (1942), ii. 306; Gilles le Bouvier, Les Chroniques du Roi Charles VII, ed. L. Celier et al., (S.H.F., 1979), pp. 158-159; J. Mabillon, Museum Italicum (Paris, 1689), ii. 268. The role ascribed here to the king of France is supported by an undated French ceremonial, probably from the second half of the fourteenth century. E. Martène, De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus (2nd ed., Antwerp, 1736), ii.593-4: the tradition is attested in the anonymous tract 'Pour ce que plusieurs' (1464), (B.N. MS.fr. 5056, f.5^{r}) and was still current in the seventeenth century: P.E. Schramm, Der König von Frankreich (Weimar, 1960), ii.140-41, n.3. It has not been possible to find evidence comparable to that for the emperor, that kings of France performed this office.

2. Non inveni. For the development of the baldequin or'ciel', and its appearance among the French royal symbols in the reign of Philip V, see P.E. Schramm, Herrschaftzeichen und Staatssymbolik (Stuttgart, 1956), iii. 722-27: it was clearly not an exclusively French sign of majesty. Although I have been unable to find an example of this protocol at general councils, the dais or baldequin was provided for Charles V, the emperor Charles IV and Wenceslas, king of the Romans, at a royal banquet given during the imperial visit to Paris in 1378. Chronique des Règnes de Jean II et de Charles V, ed. R. Delachenal (S.H.F., 1916), ii.236; in an illustration in the Grandes Chroniques of Charles V (B.N. MS.fr. 2813, f. 473^{v}) reprinted in Fr. Avril, L'Enluminure a la Cour de France au xive Siecle (Paris, 1978), p.109, pl. 35, and in the Grandes Chroniques illustrated by Fouquet: ed. Omont, plate 49.

faisant le contraire est contre le vray et ancien stile royal.[1]

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1. The use of parchment and not paper by public notaries had been prescribed in the kingdom of Sicily in 1231 by Frederick II. The practice was adopted in France and continued to the end of the Ancien Régime. A. de Boüard, Manuel de Diplomatique Française et Pontificale (Paris, 1948), ii. 215-16.

'Cest chose profitable'

Prologue (All manuscripts except A5, B2, B7, C).

A1 ff.2^r-3^r

Cest chose profitable,[a] et qui aux f. 2^r
roys et princes de France doit estre moult
delectable, de savoir et congnoistre les haulx
et vertueux faicts de leurs tres nobles predecesseurs,
afin que ce soit a iceulx roys et princes mirouer et exemple
de bien vivre, et de ensuir a leur povoir leurs diz
predecesseurs; lesquels, par leurs honnorables et
louables euvres, sont aucunement veuz vivre apres
leur mort, mesmement envers leurs successeurs.
Et pour ce quil ne leur est pas possible davoir devers
eulx les histoires qui par divers historiens ont este
de ce faictes, pour leur grandeur et prolixite, ne de
les povoir veoir et bien entendre, obstans la briefte
et fragilite de ceste vie humaine, et les grans affaires
en quoy ils sont souventes foiz occupez pour le bien
de la chose publique: a laide de Dieu, a la gloire
duquel toutes choses doivent estre faictes, comme
dit lapostre, en son epistre adrecant aux Corinthiens
ou diziesme[b] chappitre- sur quoy la glose dit:[1] A la

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a. E: 'tres profitable'.

b. B,D, E: xii^e.

1. I Cor. x.31; W. Strabo, Glossa Ordinaria ed.cit., p. 537.

gloire de Dieu, cest assavoir, a la louenge divine-
aussi a la recommandacion des diz roys et princes
qui de ce monde sont passez, et a linstruction des
vivans, sera cy faicte abreviacion et translacion
de Latin en Francois des croniques et histoires de France:
a commencer depuis la destruction de la
tres noble cite de Troye, jadiz fondee en Frige, en la
partie de Aise qui est la principale du monde;/ f.2[v]
et[a] a finir au temps du roy Charles le debonnaire,
que Dieu absoille, pere du roy nostre seigneur Charles
septiesme de ce nom a present regnant,[b] que Nostre
Seigneur par Sa grace vueille prosperer en ses
affaires.[a] Aussi en ceste presente abreviacion et
translacion seront mises et recitees aucunes
incidences des temps, et autres choses utiles
et proffitables et dignes de memoire. Et saucun par
presumpcion vouloit contredire aux anciens historiens, saincts
docteurs et auteurs tres renommez cy alleguez et veritablement
recitez, garde soy bien quil ne le face pas sans raison
inconvincible, afin quil ne soit veu voluntairement reprendre ou

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a. B1 substitutes: 'et a finir au temps du roy Charles vi[e] de ce nom'. B3, B4, B6 substitute: 'et a finir au temps du roy Charles le debonnaire, pere du roy Charles septiesme de ce nom, que Dieu absoille'. B5, D substitute 'et a finir au temps du roy Louis xi[e] de ce nom, que Nostre Seigneur par sa grace veuille prosperer en ses affaires'. E substitutes: 'et a finir au temps de Charles vii[e] de ce nom, renomme le victorieux, que Dieu absoille, pere du roy nostre sire a present regnant, que Nostre Seigneur par Sa grace vueille prosperer en tous ses affaires, en accroissant son honneur de bien en mieulx'.

b. A7 substitutes: 'nagueres regnant'.

arguer ce que il ne peut raisonnablement contredire ou impuner.

En poursuivant leuvre: sensuit premierement, par forme de exclamacion, brieve louenge du sceptre roial de France. O tres digne sceptre roial de France, singulierement aorne de grace et prerogative celestiele, de benediction divine et dautres tres grans dons espirituelz: certes, on ne te pourroit condignement eslever ne louer. O roiaume que Leglise militant entre les autres roiaumes crestiens a tousjours regarde de ses tres piteux yeulx comme son singulier protecteur et deffenseur. Roiaume tres noble [a] tres franc et tres bel, merveilleusement honore de nobles eglises, et de multitude de notables prelatz de tres grant noblesse; de ducs, de contes, de/barons et de chevaliers de grant prouesce f.3[r] et devocion, et de peuple a toutes nacions aimable; ouquel les estudes de lettres, et par especial en luniversite de Paris, ont tousjours tres notablement fructifie, et ausqueles estudes sont venuz de toute crestiente tres notables gens, comme aux tres delectables et tres abondans fontaines des sciences; dont ceulx qui y ont este aprins et instruiz ont rempli et decore Nostre Mere Saincte Eglise en divers degrez, offices et dignitez, et de laquelle les roys de ce tres crestien roiaume ont oste et extirpe vint trois grans scismes.[1] Et de ceste briefve exclamacion par forme de louenge suffise, quant a present.

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a. Al omits: 'tres noble'.

1. Non inveni; see supra, p. 253, n.2.

The Salic Law (All manuscripts except A5, B2, B7, C)

A1 ff. 5^{v}-6^{r}

Apres ce que les Francois eurent esleu et f.5^{v}
fait sur eulx roy, ils par grant et meure deliberacion
conclurent quils vouloient user de lois. Pourquoy est assavoir
que lan neuviesme de lempire de Honorius, les Francois composerent
un tres bel livre, fonde es droiz, lequel ils appellerent la Loy
Salique, duquel livre furent principaulx composeurs quatre les
plus notables hommes des diz Francois.....

lesquels Francois /f.6^{r}
furent meuz a faire composer la dicte Loy Salique pour extirper
et oster trois mauvaises naissances de causes, lesqueles Sigisbert,
historien tres renomme, ne exprime ne declaire point;[1] et avecques
ce, pour determiner et jugier a tousjoursmais des questions et debats
qui se pourroient mouvoir entre les diz Francois. Ce livre, appelle
la Loy Salique, est en Latin en labbaie de Savigny en Poictou, ainsi
que len dit;[2] et se cestoit le bon plaisir du roy de la faire
translater de Latin en Francois, en claire translacion et par homme
de bon entendement, ce pourroit moult valoir pour approuver, la ou
il appartendroit, listoire du temps du roy[a] nostre seigneur a present
regnant,[a] en laquelle, bien entendue et consideree ainsi que elle

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a. B, D, substitute 'Charles vii^{e} de ce nom, que Dieu absoille'.

1. Sigebert, Chronica, ed.cit., p.307.

2. See 'Miroir Historial', supra p. 237 and n. 1.

le requiert, a plus ample matiere de bien et notablement escrire, que en histoire de choses qui soient advenues depuis que les Francois vindrent et habiterent premierement en France. De ceste Loy Salique[1] seront cy apres, es lieux ou il appartendra, escriptes aucunes choses singulieres pour declaracion des anciens edicts et statuz faicts par les diz anciens Francois, et qui depuis ont este gardez et observez jusques a present.[2]

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1. Al, margin, 'n[ota]'.

2. Al, f.9^{v} (amendment of law by Clovis and Clothaire), f. 19^{v}-20^{r} (addition of 39 chapters by Charlemagne).

The Salic Law (All manuscripts except A7, B5).

A1 ff.48^{r}-53^{v}

Phelippe de Valois fut esleu au gouvernement f.48^{r} du royaume lan mil trois cens vingt six, pour ce que la royne Jehanne estoit demouree grosse. Et quant elle fut delivree dune fille, le dit Phelippe de Valois se fist couronner en roy de France, pour ce quil estoit cousin germain du roy Charles et fils du conte de Valois, second frere germain de pere et de mere du roy Phelippe le bel; et les Anglois maintenoient que mieulx appartenoit au roy Dangleterre, qui estoit neveu du Roy Charles le bel et fils de sa seur. Et fut le dit Phelippe de Valois couronne a Reims lan mil trois cens vint sept.

En cest endroit est a traictier briefment de la Loy Salique et dont elle vint et que par icelle, femme ne doit succeder a la couronne, ne au royaume de France, et aussi par autres raisons de droit divin et humain; et respondre a lauctorite procedant de Dieu, Numeri xxvii,[1] la ou il respondy a Moyse a luys du tabernacle de Dieu pour la succession des cinq filles de Salphaad. Et pour ce mieulx entendre, sont a considerer les choses qui briefment sensuivent, et premierement: Rex Francie de jure judex est in causa sua, ut dicit Baldus de Perusio, utriusque juris doctor famosissimus, capitulo De investitura in maritum facta,[2]

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1. Num. xxvii. 1-11.

2. Baldus [Pietro Baldi degli Ubaldi (1319-1400)], Super Feudis, (Lyon, 1542) C. De investitura in maritum facta, tit. Vassalus, f.38^{v}. The author has clearly manipulated his source.

   ... 'dominus non solum ratione feudi sed ratione jurisdictionis cognoscit tanquam inter suos subditos sive constet quod sunt vassali sive non. Quod verum est de propria causa non cognoscit.... nisi esset imperator vel rex Francorum, qui non recognoscunt superiorem ...'

quia exemptus ab imperio, ut idem Baldus eleganter disputat in capitulo primo, De pace juramento firmanda.[a1] / Debet tamen rex ipse secundum veritatem judicare. f.48v

Le roy de France de droit est juge en sa cause, comme dit Balde de Peruse, docteur tres renomme en droit civil et canon, ou chappitre dessus allegue, car il est exempt de lempire, comme le dispute elegamment le dit Balde en lautre chappitre allegue cy devant. Toutes voyes, le dit roy de France doit juger selon verite.

Omnes homines qui sunt in regno Francie sunt sub potestate et principatu regis Francie et in eis habet imperium generalis jurisdictionis et potestatis. Hec Archidiaconus in capitulo Tributum xxiii q. vii.[2]

Tous les hommes qui sont ou royaume de France sont soubz la puissance et seigneurie du roy de France, et a en eulx et sur eulx seigneurie de generale juridictionet puissance. Ou lieu dessus allegue.

Par ce seul mot roy doit estre entendu le roy de France, par une figure qui est appellee antonomasia,[b] cest a dire, excellence

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a. Al 'firmenda'.

b. B4 gives the correct reading; all other manuscripts give 'anthonomasia'.

1. Ibid., C. De pace juramento firmanda et servanda, tit. Hac edictali, f.67v. Baldus considers the question of the universality of the power of the emperor and considers the propositions that 'rex Francorum est super imperio Romanorum' and that 'regnum Francorum non (est) de Romano imperio' in that context. He concludes that: '...omnes sunt subjecti de jure et merito' to the emperor, 'sed non omnes sunt subjecti de consuetudine et peccant Francigeni et multi alii reges', which is not the interpretation placed on his words by the author of 'Cest chose profitable'.

2. Guy de Baisy, archdeacon of Bologna (d. 1313). Rosarium, p.317r: C. xxiii, q.8, tit., Tributum.

singuliere,[1] comme le dit en sa lecture et compilacion sur les Clementines Boniface de Amannatis, docteur tres solennel en droit canon et civil, grant theologien et cardinal;[2] et dit que les Anglois ne leurs alliez ne le confessent pas.[3] Mais actendue leur hostilite et ennemitie envers/les roys et le royaume de France, f.49r on nen doit tenir compte , mesmement que les plus solennelz docteurs de court de Romme le mectent en leurs euvres publiques. Le roy de France est le braz dextre de Leglise de Dieu et ont les roys de France extirpe et estainct vingt trois scismes, ce que oncques empereurs, roys ou princes, ne nacions crestiennes ne firent.

Ces choses briefment premises, sensuit une briefve question faicte en Latin et translatee en Francois.

Utrum Eduardus, filius Eduardi regis Anglie et Ysabellis, filie Philipi regis Francie, agnominati decori seu pulcri, ad titulum propaginis, gradus et loci dicte Ysabellis sue genetricis, potuerit juste pretendere se habere jus in seu ad regnum Francie aliquomodo.

Et pro parte affirmativa, breviter arguitur quod sic: primo, auctoritate divina. Scribitur enim in libro Numerorum vicesimo septimo capitulo quod sequitur: Accesserunt autem filie Salphaad,

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1. Antonomasia is a rhetorical device involving the use of a common noun to denote the superiority of a person to all others to whom the noun could be applied. For other examples, J.B. La Curne de Ste-Palaye, Dictionnaire Historique de l'Ancien Langue Française (Paris, Niort, 1875), p.472.
2. The author has confused Bonifacius de Vitalinis, commentator on the Clementines and auditor of the Sacred Palace, active from c. 1340-1388, with Cardinal Bonifacius Amanati of Pistoia. J.F. von Schulte, Geschichte der Queller und Literatur, (Stuttgart, 1877), ii.255 and n.5.
3. Bonifacius de Vitalinis, Commentarii in Clementinas Constitutiones, p.3v:'...appellatione regis simpliciter facta debet intellegi de regi Francorum per excellentiam. Hoc tamen jure non probatur nec per Anglicos, nec per alias provincias approbatur.'

filii Epher etc. Et stererunt coram Moise et Eleazaro sacerdote et cunctis principibus populi ad ostium tabernaculi federis atque dixerunt, 'Pater noster mortuus est in deserto etc. Date nobis possessionum inter cognatos patris nostri'. Retulit Moyses causam earum ad judicium Domini, qui dixit ad eum: Justum rem postulant filie Saphaad. Da eis possessionem inter cognatos patris sui et ei in hereditatem succedant.[1] Ex/quibus verbis f.49^{v} clare perpendi potest eciam et inferri, filias parentibus debere succedere.

Secundo: alia ratione probatur, nam secundum jus commune, heres succedit parentibus, videlicet patri et matri, aut sibi proximior in gradu succedendi, nec aliquo jure ab hoc excluditur.[2] Ergo Eduardus, tanquam proximior ratione matris regis Philipi pulcri, debuit eidem in regno Francie succedere, extinctis dicte Ysabellis fratribus suis Ludovico, Philipe et Karolo, qui successive reges Francorum fuere, sed nullum heredem masculum ex eorum corporibus procreatum successorem sibi reliquerunt. Ex quibus rationibus seu argumentis patet Eduardum, filium Eduardi et Ysabellis predictorum, potuisse legitime pretendere jus in seu ad regnum Francie.

Pro responsione succincta ad quesitum, obmissis rationibus que in oppositum adduci possent et fieri, sciendum primo: quod juxta

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1. Num. xxvii. 1-7. This argument may have been inspired by the treatise against the English by Jean de Montreuil. Jean de Montreuil, Opera, ii. 270.

2. Jean de Montreuil attributes this argument to the English, in alleging that the failure of the duchess of Orléans, daughter of Charles IV, to claim the throne of France, does not prejudice the claim of the English king: it occurs only in the French version of his treatise, ibid.,ii.271. 'Mais on nous dira que, supposé que madame d'Orleans laissast aller son droit, ...sy ne vouloit pas pour ce le roy d'Angleterre perdre ce qui lui appartenoit de droit commun, qui est que ung heritier doit venir a la succession de son pere et de sa mere ou autre son plus prouchain en lignage, et que nul droit ne l'en doit forclorre'.

diversitatem regionum et nationum sunt diverse leges, constituciones et modi vivendi; unde dicit Tullius, princeps eloquencie latine, quod Athenis erit[a] una consuetudo et alia Rome. Item: in materia successionis feodorum sunt diversa statuta, diverse ordinaciones et limitaciones.[1] Patet autem ex libris et scripturis antiquissimis constitucionem et ordinacionem nuncupatam legem saliquam, a Romanis quondam emanatam,[2] a primis Francis acceptatam et actenus observatam, extitisse maxime ante Clovis Francorum/regis susceptum baptismam f.50[r] et unctionem celitus emissam; quamquidem salicam legem Karolus magnus Francorum rex et imperator laudavit, approbavit et confirmavit et postmodum Ludovicus eius filius et successor agnominatus piissimus, prout superius succincte dictum extitit.[3] In ipsa quoque lege seu constitucione inter cetera continetur subsequens clausula: Nulla porcio hereditatis mulieri veniat sed ad virilem sexum tota terre hereditas perveniat. Hec quidem clausula excludit mulieres a successione corone Francie.[4]

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a. A1, A4, A5: 'erat', corrected in B4 to 'erit'.

1. Ibid., ii. 272: This argument appears only in the French versions of Montreuil's treatise: 'Disons oultre que coustume passe droit, et que selon la diversité des païs sont diverses constitucions et loiz et manieres de vivre. Et dit Tulles que une loy sera a Athenes, autre a Rome, une ça, autre la; et par espicial en fait et matieres de fiefz a trop d'ordonnances et limitacions.'

2. This argument appears in the Latin and both French versions of Montreuil's treatise against the English, any of which might have inspired the author of 'Cest chose profitable'. Jean de Montreuil, Opera, ii. 168, 226, 274. The annotation 'Lex Salica' appears in A1.

3. This is a conflation of Richard Lescot's account of the Salic Law, and that given by Montreuil. The former has been used by the author of 'Cest chose profitable' in his historical narrative, for the reigns of Clovis, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. Chronique de Richard Lescot, ed. J. Lemoine, p.178. Jean de Montreuil, Opera, ii. 168, 226, 274.

4. This formulation and gloss of the Salic Law were probably taken from Montreuil's treatise (op.cit., ii. 168, 226-227, 274), rather than directly from the Salic Law (Pactus Legis Salicae, ed. Eckhardt, p.223). For the marginal note beside this passage in A1, see plate 19d.

Confirmatur eciam et probatur per ea que Baldus de Perusio, utriusque juris doctor illustris, decidit in terminis in lege prima Digestis. De senatoribus, versu: Item. Nota, quod rex Anglie non potest juste pretendere se habere jus in seu ad regnum Francie aliquomodo ; cuiusquidem doctoris illustris verba sunt hec: Nota argumentum quod masculi pocius quam femine succedunt in regno. Et dicit idem doctor per modum additionis, quod ubi non succedit femina nec filius eius succedit; Extra. De re judicata, capitulo Ad apostolice, libro sexto in Novella. Nam omne quod est ex radice[a] sequitur naturam proprie generationis. Et ideo si filia regis Francorum Ysabellis non successit in regno, ex lege et consuetudine rationabili Francorum, filius eius Eduardus in regno Francie nullum jus potuerit[b] pretendere,/quia in causato non potest esse plus virtutis f.50[v] quam procedat ab influente; et est expressum decima collacione: Qui feudum dare possunt ff Hoc autem notandum est.[1] Ex radice:[c] altera generacio seu propag[aci]o.[d]

[e] Cy est[f] escript au long la quotacion alleguee de droit civil et canon pour ce que les grans princes nont pas acoustume de les entendre au brief, combien que se ilz les entendoient, ce ne seroit que bien fait. [e]

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a. MSS.:'ex traduce'.

b. A1, A6, B3, B4, E: 'potuit'.

c. MSS.:'ex traduce'.

d. MSS.:'propago'.

e. C, E omit these lines.

f. B, D substitute 'Jay cy'.

1. Baldus, In Primam Digesti Veteris Partem Commentaria (Venice,1516), De Senatoribus ff. Vet. Lex. 1, Consularii, p. 49[v].

Sensuit la translacion avecques autres raisons et addicions en Francois.

Assavoirsi Eduouard, fils de Edouard, roy Dangleterre et de Ysabel, fille de Phelippe, roy de France, appelle le bel, au tiltre de la lignee, degre et lieu dela dicte Ysabel, sa mere, a peu justement pretendre avoir droit en aucune maniere au royaume de France. Et pour la partie affirmative, on argue ainsi: premierement, par auctorite divine. Il est escript ou livre des Nombres, ou vingt septiesme chappitre ce qui sensuit: Les filles de Salphaad, filz[a] de Epher etc. vindrent et se tindrent devant Moise et Eleazar, prebstre, et devant tous les princes du peuple, cest a entendre descendu de la lignee Disrael, a luys du tabernacle daliance et lui disrent ainsi: Nostre pere Salphaad est mort ou desert etc. Donnez nous possessions entre/les cousins de nostre pere. Ce oy, f.51[r] Moises raporta la cause des dictes filles, qui en nombre estoient cinq, au jugement de Dieu, lequel respondy: Les filles de Salphaad requirent juste chose. Donne leur possession entre les cousins de leur pere et lui succedent en son heritaige. Esquelles paroles on peut clerement congnoistre et conclurre que les filles doivent succeder a leurs pere et mere.

Secondement: ce est prouve par autre raison, car selon droit commun leritier succede a ses pere et[b] mere ou le plus prouchain

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a. A1, A2, A3, A4 , A5: 'filles'.

b. A1 omits 'et'.

en degre de succeder, ne par aucun droit nest de ce forclos; doncques sensuit que Edouart comme plus prouchain par raison de sa mere de Phelippe le bel lui devoit succeder ou royaume de France, apres la mort des freres de sa mere, ses oncles, cest assavoir de Loys, Phelippe et Charles, qui successivement furent roys de France et ne laisserent aucun heritier masle procree de leurs corps leur successeur a la couronne de France. Par lesqueles raisons ou argumens appert que Edouard dessus nomme, fils de Edouard, roy Dangleterre et de Ysabel, fille du roy Phelippe le bel, a peu legitimement pretendre droit au royaume de France.

Pour donner briefve response a ceste question, qui aussi est brieve, laissees les raisons qui pourroient estre amenees / f.51^{v} et faictes, est premierement a savoir que selon la diversite des regions et nacions sont diverses lois, constitucions et manieres de vivre; et pour ce dit Tulles, prince de eloquence Latine, que a Athenes sera une coustume et a Romme une autre. Item: en matiere de successions des fiefs sont diverses ordonnances, divers statuz et limitacions. Il appert aussi, par livres et[a] escriptures tres anciennes, la constitucion et ordonnance nommee la Loy Salique, jadis emanee et descendue des anciens Rommains, avoir este acceptee et receue par les premiers Francois, mesmement devant le baptesme et la saincte onction envoiee du ciel dont fut enoinct[b] Clovis, premier roy crestien de France; laquelle Loy Salique Charles le Grant, empereur et roy des Francois, loua, approuva et conferma, comme

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a. 'Et' present only in A5, B4, E.

b. A1, A5: 'enjoinct'.

dessus est dit, et apres Loys, son fils et successeur, appelle le tres debonnaire, si comme dessus est briefment dit. En celle loy ou constitucion est entre autres choses contenue la clause qui sensuit:

Aucune porcion deritaige ne viengne a la femme, mais tout leritaige de la terre viengne au sexe virile, cest a entendre domme. Ceste clause deboute et forclot les femmes de succeder a la couronne de France.

Balde de Peruse, Ytalien, tres notable docteur en droit canon et civil, decide en termes/en la loy premiere, ou tiltre De f.52^{r} senatoribus es Digestes, ou vers, Item. Nota, que le roy Dangleterre ne peut justement pretendre avoir droit au royaume de France en aucune maniere, duquel tres notable docteur les paroles sont teles: Item: note argument que les masles mieulx que les femelles succedent a royaume. Et adjouste icellui docteur: Que la ou femme ne succede, son fils ne succede point, selon ce que est allegue a ce propos ci dessus, car toute chose qui est dautre propagacion ou generacion ensuit la nature de sa propre generacion. Et pour ce, se Ysabel, fille de Phelippe, roy de France, ne succeda au royaume de France, par la loy et constitucion raisonnable des Francois, son fils, Edouard Dangleterre, ny povoit pretendre aucun droit; car en la chose causee ne peut estre plus de vertu que en celle qui procede de la chose influant, ou donnant la chose causee. Et ce est expres en la diziesme collacion, selon la allegacion faicte ou latin ci dessus.

Ex radice,[a] cest a dire: autre generacion ou propagacion.

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a. MS.:'ex traduce'.

[a] Les causes qui jadiz meurent les anciens Francois a prandre et accepter des anciens Rommains la constitucion appellee la Loy Salique sont douze, fondees es droiz naturelz, civilz et canoniques,[1] lesquelles causes ne sont cy recitees pour cause de briefte; mais se cestoit le plaisir du roy, elles seroient bien assises en listoire de son temps, par cellui auquel il plaira au roy de la commectre a faire.[a] / Response aux raisons pour la f.52[v] partie affirmative. A la premiere, des filles de Salphaad, la glose interlineaire met ce mot, in plebe,[2] cest a dire que telles distribucions de possessions de heritaiges se doivent entendre entre gens populaires, non pas en successions de Royaumes ou autres grans seigneuries, pour les raisons que les droicts y mectent, qui sont tres notables, et que les roys et grans princes doivent avoir en especial souvenance, lesquels , comme dessus est dit, ne sont cy recitees pour cause de briefte. A la secunde raison: response que proximite en matiere de succession se doit entendre selon la loy et civilite du lieu ou est la succession. Or ne sera il pas trouve par escriptures ne autrement que femme succedast oncques, ne donnast lieu de succeder a personne quelconque, feust male ou femelle,[b] au royaume ne a la couronne de France;[3] par quoy sensuit

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a. B2, B3, B4, C and family E omit these lines.

b. A1, B2, B3, B4, E add: 'de succeder'.

1. The source of this information is not known.

2. An elaboration of an argument used by Montreuil: '..Saphat nestoit mie roy, duc ne conte, mais homme de petit estat, a qui aussi on ne trouvoit heritier a succeder que ses filles seulement'. Montreuil, Opera,ii.173,275 (French versions of his treatise against the English).

3. The argument is used by Montreuil in both French versions of his treatise against the English: the formulation given here has been taken almost verbatim from the later version. Jean de Montreuil, Opera, ii. 272.

clerement que le dit Edouard ny povoit, ne devoit pretendre droit au moyen et tiltre de Ysabel, sa mere, laquele, par les raisons dessus dictes, estoit inhabille a succeder au royaume de France. Et dabondant, quant aucun veult tendre ou venir a une fin ou effect par moyen inhabille et reprouve ou non approuve, il est de droit fraude et frustre de sa fin et de son esperance.[1] Or il est certain que le moyen du dit Edouard a cause de Ysabel sa mere est inhabile, comme dessus est dit; par quoy sensuit quil/doit estre frustre de son entencion. f.53[r] Item: chose qui de sa nature est mauvaise et fondee sur faulx, comme celle du dit Edouard, ne peut estre faicte bonne par demeure ou laps de temps.[2] Item: ceulx qui descendent des masles sont preferez especialement en grans seigneuries a ceulx qui ne viennent seulement que des femelles.[3] Par ces briefves raisons, je conclus comme dessus[a] en la partie negative.[a]

Et saucun demandoit de quele auctorite on parle en ceste matiere qui est si haulte, response: que aucunes des choses dont ci dessus est faicte brieve mencion ont este prinses en plusieurs histoires et croniques faictes par notables clercs, et mesmement en listoire de Ammoinus, historien du temps de Charlemaigne, dont les euvres sont a Sainct Denis en France, lequel Ammoinus fut tres curieux

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a. A6, B, C, D, E omit: 'en...negative'.

1. Ibid., 166, 271. 'Il est de droit fraudé de la fin de son esperance'.

2. This assertion is made by Montreuil in the French and Latin versions of his treatise against the English. Jean de Montreuil, op.cit., ii, 177-178, 238, 284-285.

3. This argument is used by Montreuil in both French treatises, but the later version is the source of this passage. Ibid., p.276.

en teles besoingnes; et avecques ce, en listoire de Maistre Guillaume de Nangy, semblablement historien et grant investigateur ou encercheur des faicts de France et Dangleterre;[1] et aussi de plusieurs autres notables clercs ci devant alleguez. Et en ensuivant a mon povoir la doctrine de Sainct Jheroime, qui au commancement de ses euvres respondoit tousjours aux detracteurs: saucun disoit que escrire en ceste matiere nestoit besoing et que autres en ont autres foiz escript, response: il est vray que autres en/ont autres fois escript, desquelz jay veu les escriptz, f.53^{v} mais que aucun en ait escript en ceste forme, ne que en ses escripts il ait allegue raisons de droit civil et canon si adaptables, ne si convenables a ceste matiere, ne de si grant efficace comme sont celles dudit Balde quant a droit civil et canon. Ceulx qui par detraction en vouldroient parler ne le sauroient monstrer, pour ce que depuis ceulx qui paravant y auroient escript, le dit Balde, nouvel docteur, a fait ses euvres, comme il est tout notoire, et ainsi a tels detracteurs on ne doit adjouster foy.

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1. The author's invocation of the authority of Aimoin of Fleury (c. 965-1008) and Guillaume de Nangis (d. 1300) provides further evidence of his debt to Montreuil's treatise against the English; the formulation of the passage suggests that the second French version rather than the Latin version is the source. Jean de Montreuil, op.cit., ii. 288-289.

Montreuil makes no reference to the location of the works of Aimoin; this may indicate that the author of 'Cest chose profitable' had used the library of St Denis, or at least knew about its contents: at least one manuscript of Aimoin's history was still in the abbey in 1445, supra,p. 186,n.2. The author of 'Cest chose profitable' does not appear to have used Aimoin's history elsewhere in his text.

The Royal Dignity (A1-A6, B1 only).

A1 ff. 65^{v}-66^{r}.

Sensuivent aucunes choses notables et singulieres et dignes de memoire, pour aucune declaracion et ampliacion de ce present traictie, lesquelles ny ont peu estre assises ne mises, par ce que alors je ne les avoye pas. Et premierement de la dignite royal. f.65^{v}

La dignite royal est la premiere et souveraine entre toutes les autres dignitez ou puissances terriennes ou seculieres; ne a ceste dignite royal nest aucune autre souveraine ou pareille in genere vel ordine suo[1] - cest a dire, en son genre ou en son ordre, comme le traictent les philosophes et saincts docteurs de Leglise en plusieurs et divers lieux. Lesquelles choses Maistre Nicole Oresme, evesque de Lisieux, tres excellent philosofe et theologien, instructeur en ces sciences du roy Charles le quint, a lexortacion de lui recueilly et en fist un beau traictie que jay,[2] et pour ce, en ay cy fait brieve mencion a mon propoz.

Des empereurs.

Les empereurs sont roys, et nest aucune dignite, puissance ou dominacion oultre ou pardessus la dignite royal. Ce tres noble et tres excellent nom de roy est nom de activite et de puissance, et ne derogue en riens a lonneur imperial. Cellui doncques nest pas roy, qui est subgiet a autre roy; car il nest pas entierement franc qui est subgiet au roy, pour ce que necessairement il lui convient

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1. 'Miroir Historial' f. 211^{v} attributes this citation to Thomas Aquinas, and to William of Auvergne, or Paris, 'De Universo': Guillelmi Alverni Opera Omnia (Paris 1674 repr. 1963, Frankfurt-am-Main) i. 593-1074. Non inveni.
2. For the career and writings of Nicole Oresme, (born c. 1320-25, died 1382) see Maistre Nicole Oresme, 'Le Livre des Politiques' ed. A.D. Menut, Trans. Am. Phil. Soc., lx.6 (1970), 13-20.

obeir et servir/a son seigneur. Libertas enim omnium dignitatum f.66[r]
veri nominis ac rationis fundamentum est: cest a dire que liberte est le fondement du vray nom et de la raison de tous honneurs et dignitez. Hec ille.[1]

De prince....[2] (A1-A6, B1 only).

A1 ff.83[r]-84[r]

Tous offices humains appartenans a singulieres personnes, f.83[r]
avecques quelxconques ordres quils aient similitude ou semblance, sont adrecees par le derrenier ordre, en tant comme ils participent les vertuz des souverains ordres. Mais les offices qui appartiennent a multitude sont adrecez par les princes ou principats, ou par les arcanges. Et pour ce, tout homme qui est constitue en prelacion est enlumine dun ange du plus bas ordre des choses qui appartiennent a lestat de sa personne; mais des choses qui appartiennent[3] / f.83[v]
au gouvernement de la multitude, il est enlumine dun ange prince.[4]

Et pour ce que toute puissance est de Dieu, et par ce, selon la distinction de la collacion divine-cest a entendre, du don de Dieu- es offices doit avoir distinction et difference; autrement ce cherroit en confusion pernicieuse ou de tres mauvais exemple. Le prince, selon les droiz civils et aussi selon Sainct Thomas Dacquin

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1. 'Miroir Historial', f.211[v], with attribution to Aquinas. Non inveni.
2. The Latin passage which follows in the text has been omitted in this edition.
3. In A1, 'a lestat ....appartiennent' has been added in a different script, also used on ff.84[v]-86[r].
4. Non inveni, but see 'Miroir Historial', supra p. 227, n. 1. This passage may be a paraphrase of the same source.

en sa Somme, est loy animee en terre.[1] Le prince aussi habonde en biens temporelz quant ses subgetz y abondent: qui est bien a noter, considere ce qui en est escript en droit divin et humain.

Comment un royaume ou autre grant seigneurie peut estre par long temps conserve et garde en prosperite et en la dilection et bienveillance des subgiez envers leur roy ou prince et de ses successeurs: semble que pour la decoracion de listoire du roy et autres consideracions raisonnables, qui sont de tres grant pois, ce sera bien assiz en listoire du roy, et je le bailleray voulentiers, pour honneur du roy, a cellui quil lui plaira commectre a ce faire.

Et pour ce que lordre de ceste presente histoire de France abregee commance aux princes, en laquele abreviacion, a laide de Dieu, qui est fondement, commancement et directeur ou adreceur de tout bon euvre, jay procede jusques au temps du regne de Charles sixiesme de ce nom, jadis roy de France, que Dieu absoille; et pour con/clusion finale dicelle, esperant que par la clemence divine je puisse gaigner dix jours de indulgence et pardon, que Innocent pape quart de ce nom a donnez a tous ceulx qui prient pour le roy de France,[2] comme le recite Sainct Thomas Daquin en son escript sur le quart livre de sentences en la fin de la quarte question de la vingtieme distinction, et aussi pour recongnoissance, non pas telle comme je suy tenu, mais comme je la puis faire, de lonneur quil a pleu f. 84r

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1. For the concept of the prince as 'legibus solutus': Aquinas, Summa, Ia IIae, q. xcvi a. 5 r.ad. 3 (ed. Paulinae, pp. 965-66). For the prince as 'lex animata in terra' in canon and civil law, see E.H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, pp. 127-135.

2. See supra, p. 235, n. 1.

au roy de sa bonte naturelle a moy faire, en moy retenant en son tres humble serviteur apres mon exil par les Anglois, ouquel service royal je fu retenu passez sont trente six ans: je prie Dieu, qui est prince des roys de la terre, quil doint au roy (qui par singuliere resplendisseur de ses tres nobles vertuz, et mesmement par sa tres grant prudence, a tousjours soigneusement entendu a augmenter lonneur de la royale lignee de France, aornee de prerogative celestielle, et aussi la tres ancienne et honnorable renommee de ce royaume) prosperite en tous ses affaires, et a ceulx qui loyaument layment, honnorent et servent, condigne remuneracion; et apres son royaume terrien et temporel, parvenir au royaume celestiel et eternel. Amen.[1]

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1. Al only, added in another script: 'Explicit cronica magistri Natalis [Nicolai deleted] de Friboes.'

APPENDIX B: Manuscripts of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'

The following catalogue is intended to supplement the first chapter of this thesis, by providing the evidence on which the conclusions in that chapter have been based, in more extensive form than was appropriate in the chapter itself. Only material considered relevant to the requirements of the thesis has been included. Thus, although details of ornamentation and quiring have been retained, in order to present an impression of the quality and organisation of the manuscript, detailed descriptions of watermarks of a common type, but which do not accord exactly with examples given by Briquet[1], have been excluded.

A plate of each manuscript has been included, to which reference may be made for details of the style of script and the organisation of the written space. Major changes in these features are noted in the catalogue. Details of other texts in the same manuscripts, including illustrations, are minimised.

In the absence of firm evidence of the date of a manuscript, dates given in the catalogue are approximate[2].

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1 C.M. Briquet, Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques de Papier (Paris, 1907, repr. Amsterdam, 1968), 4 vols., abbreviated to Briquet, with the appropriate number. All unidentified watermarks resemble those found in Briquet and conform to types common in France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

2. The dates of the various redactions of the texts, as given in Chapters One and Five, pp. 4-11,19-26, 167-173, have been taken into account in estimating the dates of the manuscripts.

Oxford, Bodl. L. MS. Bodley 968 (O)

Date xvth Century (c.1451)

Contents 'Miroir Historial Abrégé de France' (ff. 1^{r}-220^{v})

Incipit: 'A lonneur de Dieu et de la couronne de France'

Explicit: 'Et en faisant le contraire est contre le vray et ancien stile royal. Explicit'

2nd folio: 'Et pour avoir'.

Codicology

Material 224 vellum folios, 50 cm x 28 cm

Construction 2 blank flyleaves; quires 1-27^{8}; change of script in quire 25, ff. 196^{r}-199^{r}; quire 28^{4}; 2 blank flyleaves. Quire 6 has been wrongly bound, ff. 41^{r}-48^{v}, and should be placed after quire 1. Catchwords. Leaf signatures.

Rubrics Red lettering or black lettering underlined in red ink is used for the very numerous rubrics. Gold lettering one line in height appears on f. 2^{r-v} and gold and blue lettering of the same size occurs on ff. 4^{v} and 5^{r}. Blue and gold lettering of two lines in height accompanies all miniatures except on ff. 147^{r} and 151^{v} where blue is used alone, and f. 89^{r} when black and gold are used. Red and blue lettering occurs in the text on f. 219^{r}. Calligraphic flourishes are used on ff. 40^{v} and 57^{r}, with yellow wash on capitals in the text.

Line endings are common, executed in blue and burnished or painted gold. In quire 25, their execution is less accomplished.

Paragraph signs are common, executed in gold and flourished with black ink or in red flourished with blue ink. In quire 25 the gold signs have not been completed with ink decoration.

Initials Five- and six-line initials accompany miniatures, except for a six-line initial on f. 5^{r} which marks the beginning of the first book of the text, and a five-line initial on f. 201^{r} which marks a major division in the text. Four-line initials are used with miniatures less frequently, and a three-line initial only once. More frequently, they

mark important divisions in the text. Two-line initials indicate chapters and minor textual divisions. Blue or mauve with decoration in white filigree is used for the initials, usually on a field of burnished gold, but occasionally on a purple or blue field. Initials are infilled with schematised tendrils, ivy leaves, trefoils, and more rarely, acanthus leaves, using blue, red, mauve, purple, and occasionally green. On ff. 108^{r} and 117^{r}, vases filled with gold and green leaves and red, blue and green flowers fill the initial.

Border decoration accompanies initials and miniatures. Full borders accompany the initial on f. 5^{r}, and all miniatures. 'E' shaped borders accompany other initials of three or more lines; and six-line borders accompany two-line initials. Curvilinear tendrils, seed pods, tiny balls and ivy leaves in burnished gold, fruit, stylised but recognisable, imaginary or occasionally realistic flowers, green and gold leaves and acanthus stems and leaves in blue and brushed gold are characteristic elements of the borders. Birds are a common feature of the borders, and in two borders accompanying miniatures, human figures have been painted in the lower border (ff. 72^{r}, 75^{r}).

Illustrations

The manuscript contains fifteen miniatures.

f.		Plate
1^{r}	God crowns a king of France	6
72^{r}	Mohammed, attended by his wives	1
75^{r}	The tomb of Mohammed. A devotee blinds himself	2
89^{r}	Constantinus IV presides at the sixth synod of the Church, at Constantinople	12
108^{r}	Pope Stephen II crowns King Pipin the Short, in the presence of his sons, Carloman and Charlemagne	7
117^{r}	Carloman and Charlemagne, kings of France	8
125^{r}	The monks of St Martin of Tours are punished for their sins	

f.		Plate
127^{v}	The emperor Charlemagne with his sons Charles, Louis and Pipin	10
143^{v}	The Vision of Turpin. 1. Turpin converses with the devil	
147^{r}	The Vision of Turpin. 2. Devils dispute for Charlemagne's soul, which is rescued by St James the Great	3
150^{r}	The emperor Louis the Pious and his sons Lothar, Louis, Pipin and Charles	11
151^{v}	The Battle of Fontenoy-en-Puisaye	4
165^{v}	Hugh Capet and Robert the Pious	9
173^{r}	The Battle of Hastings	5
185^{r}	The reditus regni ad stirpem Karoli Magni	13

Style The miniatures occupy about 20 lines of the written space, and are surrounded by an arched and engrailed frame executed in black ink and gold. The style of execution of the miniatures, the artist's palette and recurrent elements in the background of the scenes indicate that the illustration is the product of a single workshop.

The depiction of human figures is characterised by the artist's predilection for elongated figures, angular faces viewed in profile or three-quarter view, marked by pronounced features, and heavy-lidded eyes, often with averted glance. Male figures are frequently depicted with long forked beards, with white highlights, or short beards, suggested by shading, rather than painted. Their faces are painted in dark flesh hues. Female figures are round-faced, with delicate features, and their skin is pale almost to whiteness. Movement in the miniature is suggested by the hands of the figures, which gesticulate, frequently directing attention to the central figure. Depth and volume in clothes and draperies are suggested by the use of heavy vertical lines in a deeper shade of the

base colour, and by folds formed by parallel hatching, shading and highlights.

For scenes which take place in a room or building, two methods are used. The artist creates the impression that a wall of the building has been removed, so that both the interior and the exterior of the building can be viewed, or alternatively, he depicts only the interior of the room. Recessed windows, passages which lead away from the chamber, the convergence of horizontal and diagonal lines on a central feature of the miniature, such as the tip of the cone-shaped crown of an emperor or pope, are used in an attempt to create a sense of depth and volume: but columns or turrets frequently appear to be leaning at an angle, and seem two dimensional.

Windows, or scenes taking place outside, provide views of the countryside. These views are detailed, and characterised by the employment of recurring motifs: the turrets and towers of distant cities; lakes and rivers with boats, and occasionally watermills; a shepherd or shepherdess with sheep; a man driving a donkey; a mounted man accompanied by a dog. The lack of perspective and sense of distance between figures or objects is shown by the relative sizes of trees or birds in the foreground and background of the picture. Crimson and blue predominate in the palette; pale mauve is used for clothes and architecture; lilac, green and brown, black and more rarely, vermilion are also used. Gold appears in the details of architecture and decoration for garments, and the thin, trailing serpentine clouds which are characteristic of the artist. Crowns, orbs and sceptres are also depicted in gold.

The Artist

The master of the Oxford manuscript, who will be referred to as the Bodley Master, has recently been identified as one of a group of artists active in Western France from c.1435, and of whom the best known at present

is the Juvenal Master[1]. The relations of the Bodley Master with this group and the chronology of his works have not been fully explained. Eberhard König has recently identified three manuscripts which were illustrated by the same artist, but as these bear no firm indications of date and rarely of provenance, they do not elucidate the problems raised by the Oxford manuscript, which König believes to represent the earliest of the group[2]. The unusual iconography of the Oxford manuscript distinguishes it from other manuscripts by the same artist, but a possible model for the figure of God is found in a manuscript of an 'Histoire Ancienne' in a miniature by the Juvenal Master, c. 1435[3]. I have not been able to find models for other illustrations in the Oxford manuscript in other manuscripts by the Juvenal Master and his associates which I have been able to examine.

Another manuscript illustrated by the Bodley artist, and not mentioned by König, was also executed for the count of Maine, and depicts Charles d'Anjou in the frontispiece illustration[4]. The elongated body and

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1. Eberhard König, Französische Buchmalerei um 1450: der Jouvenal-Maler, der Maler des Genfer Boccaccio und die Anfänge Jean Fouquets (Berlin, 1982), passim; pp.13, n.38; 105, 253 for the Oxford manuscript. The same artist illustrated: Dijon,B.Mun. MS.527 (Roman du Saint Graal) : for a reproduction, see C. Oursel, 'Manuscrits à Peintures de la Bibliothèque de Dijon', Bull.Soc.Fr.Repr.MSS. à Peintures, vii (1923), pl.xv; Chantilly, Musée Condé MS. 404 (Roman de Tristan): the arms of Jean du Mas, lord of Lisle (d.1495) have been added in the borders. For a reproduction of f. 204^{v}, where the background is very similar to that of some miniatures in O, see J. Meurgey, 'Les Principaux Manuscrits à Peintures du Musée Condé à Chantilly', Bull.Soc.Fr.Repr. MSS. à Peintures, xiv (1930), plate lxvi. My own examination of these manuscripts leads me to agree with König. I have not been able to examine the remaining manuscript, New York, Publ. L. MS. Spencer 34 (Livre du Petit Artus) owned by Jacques d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours (d.1477), but five illustrations are reproduced by W.R. Leech, 'MS. Spencer 34', Bulletin of the New York Public Library, xxxii (1928), 391-96; and another is published by J. Plummer, The Last Flowering: French Paintings in Manuscripts 1420-1530 (New York, London, 1982), pp.35-36, plate 47, and these suggest that König is correct in his attribution .

2. See previous note for references. The date given by König for the Oxford manuscript (1443) is evidently erroneous, but his stylistic observations support an early date for the manuscript. Plummer, op. cit., pp.35-36 suggests a date of 1470 for the 'Livre du Petit Artus', without reference to König, presumably on stylistic grounds.

3. Plate 6; Plate 14a, B.N. MS.fr. 15455, f.1^{r}. This illustration is earlier than other miniatures in the manuscript. For the manuscript and dating, see König, op.cit., pp.193-95. (continued on next page)

pronounced facial features of the seated figure, the organisation of the pictorial space, the execution of the architectural framework and the window, with serpentine cloud, emphasise the common origin of this manuscript and the Oxford 'Miroir Historial'.

Binding is an English eighteenth century, crimson velvet binding, with decorative metalwork and gold, crimson and black endpapers[1].

Provenance Arms appear in the borders of miniatures on ff.1^r, 72^r, 89^r, 151^v, 165^v, where they have been painted in oils over the border decoration: argent, a lion rampant gules, armed, crowned and langued or, accompanied by the motto 'Si mieulx non pis'. This coat of arms has been identified as that of Isabelle of Luxemburg , whose marriage to the count of Maine took place in 1444. The blazon differs from that normally associated with the Luxemburg counts of St Pol: argent,a lion rampant gules, queue fourchee, armed, crowned or, langued azure[2]. The motto which accompanies the text does not appear to be associated with the Luxemburg family or the count of Maine[3]. It is possible that arms and motto may be a later addition to the manuscript.

The manuscript came into the possession of William Bouverie, 5th earl of Radnor (d.1776) at an unknown date, and was presented by him to the

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(continued from previous page)

4. B.N. MS.lat. 6749 A ('De Avibus'), f.1^r (Plate 14). I owe this reference to M. François Avril.

1. G. Barber, Textile and Embroidered Bindings (Bodleian L., Oxford, 1971), pl. 28, 29.

2. O. Pächt, J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1966), i.57. For the count's coat of arms, see Plate 14 and E. Hucher, 'Sigillographie du Maine: Le Sceau de Charles IV, Comte du Maine', Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture, Sciences et Arts de la Sarthe, xxi (1871-72), 1-7. For the Luxemburg arms: Jean Le Fèvre, sire de Saint-Rémy, A European Armorial, ed. R. Pinches, A. Wood (London, 1971), pp.12, 13, 182-83.

3. This motto was used by the Seyturier family of Bresse; their coat of arms is not present in the Oxford manuscript, and there is no evidence that the manuscript belonged to them. J. Dielitz, Die Wahl-und Denksprüche (Frankfurt, 1884, repr. Vaduz, 1963), p.298; R. Rietstap, Armorial Général, ii. 770, v.pl. cccv.

Bodleian Library in 1767[1].

Additional Comments

This is the sole manuscript with a dedication to Charles d'Anjou, count of Maine. Although there are no marks of ownership which show conclusively that it belonged to him, a number of factors indicate that this must be the presentation copy for the count. The quality of the manuscript and the rich and unusual illustration suggest that it was prepared for a prince of the blood. As the object of the dedication, the count would seem to be the most suitable candidate. Similarities between the style of illustration in this manuscript and another undoubtedly prepared for the count provide further support for this theory. If the arms are indeed those of the countess Isabelle, they suggest that the manuscript may have been given by the count to his wife.

The date of the manuscript is clearly important in determining the date at which this version of the text was composed. The illustrations provide valuable evidence in this respect. Eberhard König's study of manuscript illumination in the second quarter of the fifteenth century supports the thesis that the Oxford manuscript was illustrated in or shortly after 1451. This is strengthened by the affinities in the style of armour in the Oxford manuscript, and a manuscript of the 'Arbre des Batailles' by Honoré Bouvet, illustrated by another associate of the Juvenal Master, for Arthur, count of Richemont, and clearly dated 1450[2]. Although the Oxford manuscript cannot be irrefutably dated to 1451, when the evidence of the illustration and text are taken into consideration, there is considerable support for the hypothesis that manuscript and text were produced in 1451, and it is plausible to suppose that the Oxford manuscript was made with another, intended for the king, and bearing a different dedication.

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1. F. Madan, Summary Catalogue..of the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1905), v. 57.

2. B. Arsenal, MS. 2695, f.6^{v}. For a reproduction of this illustration, see M.G.A. Vale, War and Chivalry, plate. 2.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 4950 (P1)[1]

Date xvith Century (first half)

Contents 'Miroir Historial', ff.1^{r}-220^{v}.[2] Incipit: 'A lonneur et louenge de Dieu'. Explicit: 'porte ou monastere de sainct Denis en France. Explicit. G. Thierry.'

2nd folio: 'subsecutivement par forme'.

Codicology

Material 233 paper folios, 26.5 cm x 20.4 cm. 4 unidentified watermarks: A. flyleaves; B. quires 2-8. C. quire 12. D. quires 13-18.

Construction 4 blank flyleaves; quires 1-11^{12}; quire 12$^{14-1}$ (f.138 missing); quire 13-16^{12}; quire 17^{14}; quire 18^{16}; 6 blank flyleaves. Catchwords. Leaf signatures.

Rubrics Ink in same style as the text: very incomplete. Blank lines marked with a dot of red ink may indicate a guide for rubrication in red ink, which was not executed (e.g. ff.36^{v}-37^{r}).

Initials

Three-line red and blue painted initials introduce the prologue and historical text; two- and one-line initials in blue are used elsewhere.

Binding The manuscript is bound in lemon morocco, tooled and decorated with gold and stamped with the arms of Louis XIV.

Additions The name 'G. Thierry' and 'Thierry' occurs on ff.220^{v}, 225^{v}, in a sixteenth century hand. This suggests that it is the name of the scribe, who may also have been the original owner of the manuscript. He has not been identified. Manchettes and notanda in a 17th century hand occur throughout the manuscript.

Provenance G. Thierry (?)

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1. Plate 15.
2. ff. 1^{r}-11^{v} are badly mutilated.

Philippe Hurault, bishop of Chartres (1598-1620).

The volume entered the French royal library in 1622[1].

1. 'Inventaire des Manuscrits de Hurault, Acquis pour la Bibliothèque du Roi en 1622', ed. H. Omont, Anciens Inventaires de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1909), ii.425.

Paris, B.N. MS. n.a. fr. 1858 (P2)[1]

Date xvith Century (before 1521)

Contents 'Miroir Historial', ff.2^{r}-222^{v}. Incipit: 'A lonneur et louenge de Dieu'. Explicit: 'porte ou monastere de Saint Denis en France'. 2nd folio 'langage pour eviter'.

Codicology

Material 232 paper folios, 22 cm x 14.5 cm. 3 unidentified watermarks: A. quires 1-14. B. quires 15-18. C. quires 18-19.

Construction 2 blank flyleaves; quires 1-18^{12}; quire 19^{14} Catchwords; leaf signatures.

Rubrics The title of the text, 'Collectanea ex Cronicis Francorum', is written in pale red ink in lettering of one line in height. Red ink is also used for running headings for the reign of each king. Rubrics in the text are written in brown ink.

Initials in ink. A two-line initial introduces the text. One-line initials are used throughout the text.

Binding Dark brown leather on wooden boards, with the marks of clasps still visible. An intricate geometric pattern is stamped on the leather: the title 'Miroir Historial de France' in gold lettering on red paper has been glued to the spine. The binding appears to be contemporary with the manuscript.

Additions Numerous manchettes and notanda in a seventeenth-century hand occur in the manuscript. A note describing the weather for 28 June 1521 in a sixteenth century hand on the penultimate flyleaf, indicates a terminus ad quem for the manuscript's composition. A brief description of the volume's contents in Italian, dating from the nineteenth century, occurs on the verso of the first flyleaf.

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1. Plate 16.

Provenance The early history of the manuscript is unknown, until its appearance in the library of Count H. de Silva. It was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at the sale of the de Silva library[1].

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1. The following numbers occur in the manuscript: '119', (f.1^{r}) 'R.C. b.147', 'g 46' (f.1^{v}). These cannot be identified. The stamp of the count de Silva occurs on f.222^{v}. For the catalogue of the sale of his library and a description of the manuscript, P. Meyer, Catalogue des Livres...Provenant de la Bibliothèque de M. le Comte H. de S[ilva], no.276.

Paris, B.N. MS. n.a. fr. 6853 (P3)[1]

Date xv^th Century (last quarter)

Contents 1. Pactus Legis Salicae[2], ff.1^r-25^v. 2. 'Miroir Historial' (ff.26^r-285^r). 3. King-list (ff.285^v-288^v)[3].

Incipit: 'Si quis ad malum legibus', f.1^r. Explicit: 'Moys (sic) x^e de ce nom, fils de Charles vii^e de ce nom regna.'

2nd folio 'Si quis in porcos'.

Codicology

Material 292 paper folios, 28 cm x 21 cm. 4 unidentified watermarks: A. flyleaf. B. quire 2, 3, 13-18. C. quires 4-10. D. quires 18-20.

Construction 2 blank flyleaves: quire 1^{12}; quire 2^{12+1} (added half folio (f.14) quires $3\text{-}24^{12}$; blank flyleaf.

Catchwords; leaf signatures.

Rubrics in ink.

Paragraph signs occasionally preface rubrics.

Initials

All initials are executed in red paint.

1. Four-line initials introduce the prologue and books of the Salic Law, three-line initials introduce chapters and one-line initials introduce clauses.

2. A seven-line initial introduces the prologue and a six-line initial the historical text of the 'Miroir Historial'. These are unfinished: clearly another colour was originally intended to accompany red. Chapters

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1. Plate 17.

2. Pactus Legis Salicae. I. 1 - LXII. 5 (ed. Eckhardt, pp.19-221). The prologue of the Salic Law has been omitted in this manuscript, and it is incomplete at the end: only the rubric for LXII.6 remains. This manuscript was unknown to Eckhardt, and appears to have a unique variant, 'vel hereditate', in the rubric of clause LXII.6. Elsewhere, it appears to follow redaction K.

3. The king-list indicates an approximate date of 1483-1498 for this manuscript.

and subdivisions in the text are indicated by two- and one-line initials.

3. Two-line initials preface the references to each king.

Binding

The manuscript is bound in brown leather on wooden boards, with rose and white marbled endpapers. with the title and a simple decorative motif in gold on the spine, probably dating from the eighteenth century. A depression in the paper of the manuscript indicates that a former binding had clasps.

Additions Numerous manchettes, notanda or simple trefoils in a post-medieval hand accompany both texts.

Provenance The manuscript was donated at an unknown date by one 'Monsieur Cignogne' to the Augustinian convent of St Pierre at 'Monastereulio' (f.1^{r}), Neither of these has been identified but the similarity of 'Monastereulio' to 'Monasteriolum', the Latin form of Montreuil, may indicate a North French, or Norman provenance[1].

The manuscript was acquired by Sir Thomas Philipps between 1824-1837 and was sold at Sotheby's in 1899. It entered the Bibliothèque Nationale the same year[2].

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1. Cte.de Losne, Dictionnaire Topographique..du Département du Pas de Calais (Paris, 1907), pp.261-62; Pouillés de la Province de Rouen, ed. Longnon, passim.

2. Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliothecae Medio Montanae D. Thomae Philipps (s.d., s.l.), p.3; Bibliotheca Philippica (Sotheby, 1899), p.38, no.368.

Rome, Vat. MS. reg.lat. 767 (R)[1]

Date xvth Century (third quarter - after 1451)

Text 'Miroir Historial' ff.1^{r}-142^{v}. Incipit: 'A lonneur de Dieu'. Explicit: 'Le tiers Jehan'.[2]

f.2^{r}: 'memorables faicts'.

The text in this manuscript is incomplete. After f.41^{v}, the majority of the Latin text has been omitted. The Latin rubrics for these sections have frequently been retained, while the French rubrics have been omitted, which suggests that either an exemplar or the manuscript itself represented an abridgement of the text found in P1, P2 and P3. The text ends abruptly on f.142^{v} and the final chapters are missing, as a result of the mutilation of the manuscript.

Codicology

Material 141 paper folios, 28.5 cm x 19.8 cm.

Watermarks One watermark throughout, Briquet no.1739 (1458)

Construction

Quire 1^{8+1} (first folio added); quires 2-8^{8}; quire 9$^{8-1}$ (last folio missing); quires 10-17^{8}; quire 18$^{8-3}$ (wants last three folios).

Catchwords, leaf signatures.

Rubrics are executed in two styles: red lettering, or ink underlined in red.

Paragraph signs (ff.45^{r}-129^{r} only) in blue and red.

Line endings Blue and red.

Initials Four-line initial f.1^{r} (Prologue) decorated, with pen sketch of a man's face; three-line initial f.7^{r}, two- and one-line initials in red or blue paint throughout text.

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1. Plates 18, 18a.
2. O, f.216^{r}.

Miniatures

Nine miniatures were planned to illustrate the manuscript. Pen drawings have been made for three, and space left for the remainder.

f.6^{r} The siege of Troy. 'Post illud famosum...' (25 lines)

f.61^{v} Mohammed as a child with his uncle, in a mosque (19 lines)[1]

f.62^{r} Saracens pray near a mosque. Mohammed suffers an attack of epilepsy, observed by his horrified wife, Cadogan. 'Mahommet fut pupille en lostel de son oncle' (25 lines)[1]

f.94^{v} A space of 23 lines for a miniature 'En ce temps les moynes de Sainct Martin de Tours..'[1]

f.96^{r} A space of 22 lines for a miniature. 'Charles le grant, comme il eust sa regne sur les Francoiz..'[1]

f.110^{r} 13 line space for a miniature 'Jestoye a Vienne...'[1]

f.111^{r} 24 line space for a miniature 'Charles lempereur fut tres honnorablement ensevely..'

f.113^{v} 24 line space for a miniature 'Loys le debonnaire, fils de Charles le grant, empereur...'[1]

f.117^{v} 24 line space for a miniature 'Charles le chauve, quart filz de Loys le debonnaire...'

Artist

The artist responsible for these drawings has been identified as the Coëtivy Master, active from the middle of the fifteenth century until about 1475-80. It has recently been suggested that this anonymous master may be identified as either Conrard Vulcop, painter to Charles VII from 1448-59, or his brother Henri, painter to Queen Marie and after her death, to Charles of France (c.1454-64), or that the works attributed to

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1. The position of these miniatures, in relation to the text, shows affinities with the scheme of illustration in O.

this master may be the work of both brothers[1]. The absence of any work which is indisputably due to the Vulcops precludes a definitive identification of this artist as one or both of the Vulcops[2]. The surviving works of the artist indicate connections with the court milieu and it is possible that the Vatican 'Miroir' was intended for a member of the court, but this cannot be proved in the absence of coats of arms or comparable evidence.

Binding White parchment, stamped with the arms of Pope Leo XIII, with modern endpapers.

Additions Numerous manchettes and notanda in a post medieval hand, some of which may be due to Claude Fauchet, president of the royal Cour des Monnaies ; his signature appears on f.1^{r}. Fragments of an account have been inserted on a blank folio (f.71^{v}).

Provenance Claude Fauchet[3]; Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689).

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1. For this artist, and particularly the attribution of this manuscript to him, see N. Reynaud, 'La Résurrection de Lazare et le Maître de Coëtivy', Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France, xv (1965), 171-82; idem, 'Un Peintre Français Cartonnier de Tapisseries au xve Siècle: Henri de Vulcop', Revue de l'Art, xxii (1973), 6-21, esp. pp.9, 10, figs. 6, 7, 24, 26.

2. Reynaud, 'Résurrection de Lazare', 182; 'Un Peintre Français', 11.

3. See Claude Fauchet, Origines des Dignitez et Magistrats de France (Paris, 1600), p.39, for a citation from the 'Miroir Historial', f.133^{r}.

Rome, Vat. MS. reg.lat. 829 (A1)[1]

Date xvth Century (last third)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.2^{r}-85^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose profitable'. Explicit: 'et en ses affaires prosperer'.

2nd folio: 'barons et de chevaliers'.

Codicology

Material 88 vellum folios, 24 cm x 16.5 cm.

Construction 2 leaves, originally blank; quires 1-10^{8}; quire 11^{6}. Catchwords, leaf signatures.

Rubrics Pale red ink lettering is used for chapters and verses, with sources in ink, underlined in red paint or ink.

Paragraph signs red or blue. Line endings Red and blue.

Initials One six-line decorated initial appears on f.2^{r}, executed in blue on a crimson ground, with gold decoration. Two-line initials and, less frequently, one-line initials in blue or red are used throughout the manuscript.

Binding Contemporary with the manuscript: wooden boards covered with leather, stamped with friezes of animals, quatrefoils and flowers, with traces of original clasps.

Additions Notes on the 'ducs et roys de France selon la Mer des Histoires' from Ibros to Charles VIII, have been added to the blank folios at the end of the manuscript, in a late 15th-century hand (ff.86^{r}-87^{r}). Notes in a different script include the oath of homage of Count John of Brittany to Louis IX in 1239, taken from the St Just register of the royal Chambre des Comptes; a note on the dispute between Philip III and Charles of Anjou concerning their respective claims to the appanage of Alphonse of Poitiers, from Memorial L, and on the appanage of the children of

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1. Plate 19.

Philip IV and Charles VI, from Memorials B and D respectively (f.1^{r}). This hand has added a marginal note on f.13^{v}, to emphasise the subjection of the Bretons to the kings of France from the time of Dagobert; another note on f.19^{v} asserts the independence of France from the empire, with reference to an anecdote from the reign of Charlemagne; another note on f.50^{r} refers to appanages[1]. Notanda apparently by the same hand, occur throughout the manuscript.

A contemporary hand, possibly different, has noted on the inside flyleaf of the front cover 'la cronique maistre Noel de Fribois', and on f.84^{r}, 'Explicit cronica magistri Natalis (Nicolai deleted) de Friboes'.[2]

Provenance

The names 'Maistre Robert de Cossar' (f.2^{r}) and 'Hue le Goes' (?), partially erased, (f.87^{r}) indicate sixteenth century owners of the manuscript, whom it has not been possible to identify. It is possible that this manuscript originally belonged to Jacques Le Picart, notaire et secrétaire and clerk in the royal Chambre des Comptes (d.1505) although his name does not occur in it[3]. It was acquired by Queen Christina of Sweden in the seventeenth century.

Additional Comments

A change of script ff.84^{v}-86^{r} suggests that the third section may have been copied by a different hand, which also seems to have been responsible for corrections in the text in other sections of the manuscript (for example, ff.76^{v}, 83^{v}). This suggests that, in spite of differences in style, this section is contemporary with the rest of the manuscript.

The annotations indicate a connection between the owner and the Chambre des Comptes. This manuscript is particularly important because it is the sole testimony connecting this text with Noël de Fribois. The

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1. See plates 19a-19d.
2. Plate 19e.
3. For this hypothesis, see supra pp. 35-38, and Plates 19f, 19g.

attribution indicates that a tradition, or genuine knowledge of Fribois's authorship was current in the milieu of the Chambre des Comptes in the fifteenth century.

England, London B.L. MS. Add. 13961 (A2)[1]

Date xvth Century (last quarter)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.2^{r}-95^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose proffitable'. Explicit: 'en ses affaires prosperer'.

2nd folio: 'tousjours regarde' (f.3^{r})

Codicology

Material 96 fine vellum leaves; a modern paper flyleaf. 23 cm x 16 cm.

Construction Flyleaf (blank); quires 1-12^{8}. The last two folios of the last quire are blank and unfoliated.

Rubrics in red ink.

Line endings Blue and red.

Paragraph signs Blue.

Initials A six-line decorated initial, infilled with gold letters C, linked by a cordelière, accompanied by a three quarter page border appears on f.2^{r}. A four-line decorated gold initial appears on f.3^{r}. Two- and one-line initials in blue or red occur throughout the text.

Binding Modern, red leather half-binding and endpapers.

Additions The motto 'Tout a temps, Montmorancy' and an erased inscription: 'Jehan (?) Monsr le conte de Hornes'; a citation from Cato and the date 1557, apparently in the first hand; pen doodles (f.1^{r}).

Provenance A member of the house of Montmorency, counts of Horn (Belgium). John II, count of Horn or Hornes since 1531, married Anne of Egmont, who had previously been married to Josèphe de Montmorency, lord of Nivelle. Her son by her first marriage, Philippe II de Montmorency, was made heir to the county of Horn by his stepfather. This manuscript and another with an identical inscription at Chantilly[2], belonged to the count of Horn, and

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1. Plate 20.

2. Chantilly, Musée Condé MS. 1694 (Jean Petit, Justification for the Murder of the Duke of Orleans), ff.ii^{r}, iii^{r}.

presumably, afterwards to Philippe II de Montmorency[1]. It entered the British Library in 1843.

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1. Anselme, Hist.Généalogique, iii.574-78, for the Montmorency family; Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien I et de Marguerite d' Autriche, 1507-1519, ed. E. Leglay (S.H.F., 1839), i.475 n., for John II, count of Horn.

Paris, B. Arsenal MS. 3430 (A3)

Date End of the xvth Century

Contents 'Cest chose profitable' (ff.1^{r}-104^{v}). Incipit: 'Cest chose profitable'. Explicit: 'vueille tousjours garder et en ses affaires prosperer. Amen. Droulin'.

2nd folio: 'ble cite de Troye'.

Codicology

Material 105 fine ivory vellum folios 23 cm x 16 cm.

Construction Quires 1-13^{8}: blank flyleaf

Rubrics in red ink are numerous. Yellow wash is used for capitals in the text.

Paragraph signs Blue with red pen decoration; gold with black pen decoration.

Line endings Burnished gold and blue

Initials A five-line initial in brushed gold, with the arms of France modern superimposed on the letter is found on f.1^{r}; a three-line initial in gold and blue paint occurs on f.81^{v}, introducing the second section of the text. Two- and one-line initials in blue, decorated with red ink, or gold, decorated with black ink are used throughout.

Illustration An illustration of the legend of Clovis appears on f.1^{r}.[1] The artist has not been identified; the miniature resembles the work of the Master of Monypeny[2], indicating a Bourges provenance for the manuscript.

Binding Modern

Provenance Unknown before the manuscript entered the collection of the Marquis de Paulmy, and the Arsenal.

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1. Plate 21. For a discussion of the iconography of this miniature, see P.S. Lewis, 'Two Pieces of Fifteenth Century Political Iconography: a. Clovis touches for the King's Evil', J.Warb.Court.Inst., xxvii (1964), 317-319, fig.a.

2. For reproductions of miniatures by this artist, see N. Reynaud, 'Georges Trubert', Revue de l'Art, xxxv (1977), 53, figs. 37, 38.

Additional comments

The name 'Droulin' (f.104^{v}), written in the same style as the text, is probably the name of the scribe.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 1233 (A4)[1]

Date xv^th Century (third quarter, after 1459)

Contents 1. Frontinus, Stratagems, translated by Jean de Rovroy[2], ff.1^r-83^r. 2. 'Cest chose profitable', ff. 84^r-127^r.

Incipit: 'A tres crestien, tres hault et tres puissant prince Charles septisme (sic)'. Explicit: 'Et en ses affaires prosperer. Amen. Deo gracias'.

2nd folio: 'Combien que aprendre'.

Codicology

Material 131 vellum folios, 26 cm x 18.5 cm.

Construction Quires 1-9^8; quire 10^10+1 (last folio added); quires 11-16^8. Catchwords.

Rubrics in both texts are executed in red; and in the second text, occasionally in ink, underlined in red. Yellow wash is used on capitals throughout the manuscript.

Initials are executed in the same style in each text, with a five-line initial on f.1^r, a four-line initial on f.84^r, in red and blue; and elsewhere, two-line initials in red or blue, with some one-line initials in red or blue in the second text.

Binding Red morocco, tooled in gold with the arms of Louis XIV.

Additions Notanda and manchettes in a post-medieval hand accompany the second text.

Provenance Philip Hurault, bishop of Chartres (d.1620). The manuscript entered the royal library in Paris in 1622[3].

Additional comments The manuscript appears from the script, page and decoration to have been conceived as a single work.

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1. Plate 22.
2. For this text, see R. Bossuat, 'Jean de Rovroy, Traducteur des Stratagèmes de Frontin, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, xxii (1960), 273-286, 469-489.
3. Anciens Inventaires, ed. H. Omont, ii.426 (no.132).

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 4949 (A5)[1]

Date Late xvth Century

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', mutilated, ff.1^{r}-43^{r}.[2]

Incipit: 'Et avoir les yeulx crevez et a recevoir mort'.[3]

Explicit: 'et en ses affaires prosperer. Amen. Qui scripsi scribat, semper cum domino vivat'.

2nd folio: 'et contre droit civil'.

Codicology

Material 10 vellum and 36 paper folios, 26 cm x 19 cm. Two watermarks: A. quires 1-2, Briquet 1657 (1481). B. quire 3, Briquet 11422 (1486-90).

Construction quire 1^{16-2} (wants 3rd and 14th leaf); quire 2^{16-1} (wants 8th leaf); quire 3^{16-2} (wants 3rd and 13th leaf); three blank leaves.

Rubrics in ink, with one blank line separating rubric and script. Yellow wash is used for capitals.

Paragraph signs Red or blue.

Binding Red morocco, stamped with the arms of Colbert.

Additions Manchettes and notanda in a seventeenth-century hand.

Provenance Colbert; no.3657 in his library (f.1^{r}).

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1. Plate 23.
2. The manuscript was bound in the seventeenth century with two other texts: 'Memoires de Thomassin', ff.47^{r}-74^{r}, consisting of notes from the 'Registre Delphinal' and 'Brevaire' of Mathieu Thomassin in a sixteenth century hand; and 'La Vie, les Miracles et les Eminentes Vertus de St Brieuc', ff.75^{r}-87^{v} (seventeenth century).
3. A1, f.20^{r}.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 5701 (A6)[1]

Date xvth Century (last third)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r}-74^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose profitable'. Explicit: 'en ses affaires prosperer'.

2nd folio: 'briefve louenge'

Codicology

Material 93 vellum leaves, 21.5 cm x 14.5 cm

Construction 5 blank leaves: quires 1-8^{8}; quires 9-10^{6}; quire 11^{8}, quire 12^{4} (blank but ruled).

Catchwords.

Rubrics in red are numerous.

Paragraph signs in red and blue occur infrequently

Initials There is a space for a six-line initial on f.1^{r}. Two-line and one-line initials in blue or red paint occur throughout the text.

Illustration A space of 17 lines has been left on f.1^{r}: the present illustration of the arms of France modern, supported by two angels, executed in oils, appears to be a later addition.

Binding Seventeenth century, in brown calf, tooled in gold.

Additions Manchettes and notanda in a post-medieval hand appear throughout. The inventory number '765' appears on the second flyleaf.

Provenance Unknown.

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1. Plate 24.

Paris, B. Ste Geneviève MS. 3034 (A7)[1]

Date xv^th Century (last quarter)

Contents 1:'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^r-47^v.[2] 2: Chronicle of France, from the reign of Louis IX to the death of Charles V, ff.48^r-121^r.

Incipit: 'Cest chose proufitable et qui aux roys est moult delectable'.

Explicit: 'quelconque ordonnance que euste faicte le dit feu roy en son vivant son pere etc. Deo gracias'.

2nd folio: 'et a finir aux temps'.

Codicology

Material 128 folios of fine ivory vellum, 18 cm x 13 cm.

Construction 4 blank, ruled flyleaves; quires 1-2^8; quire 3^8-2 (wants 4th and 5th leaf after present f.19); quires 4-15^8; quire 16^4; two blank flyleaves. Catchwords.

Rubrics Brown ink. Paragraph signs in gold on a blue or crimson ground introduce rubrics, citations, Latin passages.

Initials Three-line initials on f.1^r, f.48^r in blue paint, decorated with gold, accompany miniatures. Two-line initials are used throughout the first text; two- and one-line initials appear in the second text. All initials are executed in burnished gold on a painted ground.

Illustration f.1^r: A king of France (Clovis?). f.48^r: A king of France (Louis IX?)[3]. In each miniature, blue, red and ochre are used for the figures, dark violet-grey for architecture and pale violet and green for the floor of the chamber. The architectural framework of the miniature is decorated in gold. The artist of the second miniature appears more skilled in his moulding of features and in the use of light and shadow

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1. Plate 25.
2. The fragment corresponds to A1, ff.2^r-36^r.
3. The first miniature introduces the first text; the second introduces the second text, occurring at the beginning of the account of the reign of St Louis. The kings have no distinguishing features which allow more accurate identification.

in the illustration. Differences between the miniatures suggest that two artists may have been employed; neither has been identified.

Binding Parchment with leather thongs (seventeenth century?).

Additions Notanda and manchettes in a post-medieval hand are found throughout the manuscript. The names 'Francois de Mot' and the signature 'Francois Vert, Carpentras' occur in f.124^{v}.

Provenance A coat of arms accompanies each miniature, accompanied by a crest on f.48^{r}: a chief or, paley of six argent and gules; above the shield, a helm with a mantling gules and argent, and on a wreath of the same, a garb.

In 1591, the manuscript belonged to François Vert of Carpentras (f.124^{v}). It has not been possible to ascertain whether the coat of arms is that of François Vert, or another, unidentified owner.

Additional comments The organisation of the manuscript, dimensions of the written space, script, decoration and illustration show that this manuscript is a unity. 'Cest chose profitable' and another chronicle have been combined to produce a history of France. The second text gives a fuller account of the reigns of Louis IX and his successors than 'Cest chose profitable', which may explain why it was used in place of the rest of that text. Alternatively, 'Cest chose profitable' may have been selected for its brief account of the kings of France preceding Louis IX, and thus used to supplement the second text.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 10141 (B1)[1]

Date xvth Century (last third)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r}-57^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose profitable'. Explicit: 'parvenir au royaume celestiel et eternel. Amen.' 2nd folio: 'des lettres et par'.

Codicology

Material 65 folios of ivory vellum, 30 cm x 22 cm.

Construction 3 blank leaves; quires 1-7^{8}; quire 8^{4} and 2 blank leaves. Catchwords.

Rubrics in red are numerous.

Paragraph signs in gold on a painted ground are numerous.

Line endings in gold on a painted ground are numerous.

Initials Five-line initials on f.1^{r}, f.44^{v}, introduce the first and second sections of the text. Three-line decorated initials accompany miniatures; elsewhere two-line initials and occasionally one-line initials are used. All are executed in paint on a burnished gold ground.

Illustration

1. Presentation scene: the author presents his work to Charles VII, who is surrounded by his court: f.1^{r}.
2. The emperor Charlemagne, with orb and sceptre: f.13^{v}.
3. Louis IX, with nimbus, holding a sceptre and reading: f.26^{r}.

The palette of the artist is predominantly brown, blue, green, pastel shades of violet and blue-grey, mauve, crimson and, rarely, vermilion. Gold is used for the details of costumes and for cross-hatching and highlights on garments. The miniatures are accompanied by borders: the first and third by a three-quarter page border, the second by a half page border. Flowers and plants,

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1. Plate 26.

animals and grotesques, some playing musical instruments (f.1^{r}) occupy the borders.

The Artist

This manuscript was illustrated by one of a group of artists, active in Tours and Bourges in the last third of the fifteenth century, whose style was greatly influenced by that of Jean Fouquet.[1] The same artist collaborated with Jean Colombe, another follower of Fouquet, in the illustration of the Hours of Louis de Laval (B.N. MS. lat. 920). The miniatures for which he was responsible were derived from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier, while the presentation scene in 'Cest chose profitable' was modelled on a scene from the Grandes Chroniques illustrated by Fouquet[2]. It is possible that the illustration in the Grandes Chroniques did not provide direct inspiration for the present manuscript, for it displays fewer affinities with the Fouquet original than do miniatures in the Hours of Laval with the Hours of Étienne Chevalier. For this reason, the possibility of another, intermediate source for this illustration - perhaps even an existing, earlier manuscript of 'Cest chose profitable', depicting the original presentation - cannot be discounted.

Binding A binding contemporary with the manuscript; wooden boards covered with leather, stamped with 8 panels of animal and vegetal motifs.

Additions Notanda in a contemporary script.

Provenance The arms of Espinay quartered with those of Montauban (f.1^{r})[3] show that, like the Hours of Laval, this manuscript belonged to a Breton

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1. For the influence of Fouquet, and an examination of his apprentices and collaborators, see C. Schaefer, 'Recherches sur l'Iconologie et la Stylistique de l'Art de Jean Fouquet' (University of Paris IV, doctoral thesis, 1971), i.323-331. B1 is not included in Schaefer's study, and I owe this identification to M. Fr. Avril.

2. B.N. MS. lat. 920 (1469-89), ff.300^{v}, 304^{r}, 305^{r}, 309^{v}, 310^{v}, 312^{v}; for B1 f.1^{r} and the Grandes Chroniques (B.N. MS. fr. 6465 , f.301^{v}) see Plates 26, 26a.

3. Quarterly, 1 and 4 gules, a lion rampant gules and vert; 2 and 3, or masculee gules, a label of three points argent. According to Anselme, the marriage took place in 1435. Hist.Généalogique (1728), iv. 77.

lord: in this case, to Richard, lord of Espinay (d. after 1468)[1] and Beatrix, lady of Montauban, or one of their descendants. In the latter case, the absence of marks of cadency might suggest that it belonged to their eldest son Guy, eighteenth lord of Espinay (d.1501).[2]

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1. I owe this detail to Dr Michael Jones. I have not been able to ascertain the date of Richard's or Beatrix's deaths, nor of the succession of Guy.

2. For further details, see supra, pp. 204, n.2, 205.

Lille, B.Mun. MS. 322 (B2)[1]

Date xv^th Century (last quarter)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.89^r-112^r. Incipit: 'Cestuy Baudouyn commenca', f.89^r.[2] Explicit: 'quant aux genealogies et brieves incidences des temps etc.'

2nd folio: 'infra metas' (f.2^r).

Codicology

'Cest chose profitable' forms part of a manuscript of 116 folios of paper, 27 cm x 20 cm, with one watermark throughout the manuscript. The text occupies two sexternions (quires 10, 11).

Rubrics are written and underlined in brown ink with a yellow wash on capitals.

Initials Two-line initials in red or blue.

Paragraph signs in red.

Binding Modern parchment half-binding.

Additions Notanda and manchettes in a post-medieval hand.

Provenance The library of the cathedral chapter of St Pierre at Lille.

Additional comments In this manuscript, 'Cest chose profitable' forms part of a collection of texts, copied by a single scribe. In addition to 'Cest chose profitable', the manuscript contains: transcriptions of the treaties of Bretigny and Troyes; the text of 'Pour ce que plusieurs', the anonymous treatise which, like 'Cest chose profitable', was directed against English pretensions to the crown of France; Jean Juvenal des Ursins, 'Audite Caeli', inspired by similar motives; and material relating to Joan of Arc. The collection appears to have been inspired by interest in the justification of the cause of the French crown in the Hundred Years War.

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1. Plate 27. This description is intended to provide comparative material for manuscripts of 'Cest chose profitable'. A full and accurate description of the manuscript is given in the Écrits Politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ed. P.S. Lewis, i.116-20.

2. A1, f.22^r.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 5026 (B3)[1]

Date xvth Century (last quarter)

Contents 1. Christine de Pisan, 'Épître d'Othéa' (ff.1^{r}-38^{v}).

2. 'Cest chose profitable' (ff.41^{r}-72^{v}). Incipit: 'Tres haulte fleur par le monde louee'. Explicit: 'quant aux geneologies et briefves incidences des temps. Explicit'.

2nd folio: 'Othea deesse de prudence'.

Codicology 76 folios of fine ivory vellum, 24 cm x 17 cm.

Construction 2 blank flyleaves: quires 1-9^{8}; 2 blank flyleaves. Catchwords, leaf signatures.

Rubrics for the gloss appear in the margin, in ink, introduced by a paragraph sign, and underlined in red in the first text. In the second text, only paragraph signs are used to indicate rubrics. Yellow wash is used for the capitals in both texts.

Line endings are red and blue in both texts.

Paragraph signs Alternating blue and red paragraph signs throughout.

Initials One six-line initial (f.1^{r}), a four-line initial (f.2^{r}) and a five-line initial (f.41^{r}) executed in burnished gold, appear in the manuscript.

Binding Red morocco, tooled in gold with the arms of Louis-Philippe I, duke of Orleans, 1725-1785, and marbled endpapers.

Additions Notanda and manchettes in a post-medieval hand occur throughout, but are more numerous in the second text. The name 'Olive la Gorriere Deu (d'Eu?) appears in a sixteenth century script, with pen-trials, on f.72^{v}. '230' appears on f.1^{r}.

Provenance 'Olive la Gorriere d'Eu' cannot be identified. The manuscript later belonged to Louis-Philippe I, duke of Orleans.

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1. Plate 28.

Additional comments The dimensions and organisation of the page, colour of ink and style of script, and style of initials indicate that the texts were prepared together to form a single manuscript.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 5705 (B4)[1]

Date xvth Century (last quarter)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r}-84^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose profitable'. Explicit: 'quant aux genealogies et briefves incidences des temps. Explicit'.

2nd folio: 'exclamacion brieve'.

Codicology

Material One parchment and 87 paper folios, 20 cm x 14.5 cm.

Watermark One unidentified watermark throughout the text.

Construction A paper and a vellum flyleaf, blank; quires 1-6^{12}; quire 7^{12+1} (last folio blank, glued to last leaf of quire); two blank flyleaves.

Catchwords. Leaf signatures.

Rubrics are executed in ink, and underlined in red. A red line bisects capitals in the text.

Paragraph signs in blue or red introduce rubrics.

Initials A red and blue initial decorated with ink, four lines in height, introduces the text. Three two-line and, less frequently, one-line initials in red or blue occur throughout the text.

Binding Modern, red morocco leather half-binding, with the title 'Chronique de France jusqu'à Charles VI' on the spine, and with modern endpapers.

Additions There are numerous manchettes, and pen trials on f.85^{r}, and a brief description of the contents of the manuscript (eighteenth century) on the second flyleaf.

Provenance Unknown.

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1. Plate 29.

Rome, Vat. MS. reg.lat. 725 (B5)

Date xvth Century (1470-1480? Before 1485).

Contents 1. 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r} -14^{v} .[1]

2. Chronicle of France from the reign of Louis IX to Charles V, ff. 27^{r} -290^{r} .

Incipit: 'Cest chose proffitable'. Explicit: 'comme elles sont advenues par ce fait cy. Ainsi que vous orriz ou livre'.

2nd folio: 'est dicte Paris'.

Codicology

Material 340 paper and three vellum folios, 37.5 cm x 28 cm.

Watermarks: A. flyleaves, quires 1,2. B. quires 4-27 , Briquet 7252 (1474)?[2]. C. quire 8, Briquet 392 (1463).

Construction 7 blank flyleaves; quire 1^{16} (ff.15, 16 blank but ruled); quire 2^{12} (blank, ruled); 3-7^{12}; quire 8^{8}; quires 9-28^{12}.

Catchwords. There is a post-medieval error in foliation after f.278 for the following 40 folios.

Yellow wash on capitals.

Initials There is a four-line initial in blue and red on f.1^{r}. Two-line initials in blue and red appear throughout both texts: the shade differs between the first and second text.

Illustration There are nine miniatures in the second text. The artist is not known; the style closely resembles that of the illustrations in B7, and suggest a date of c.1470-1480 for this section of the manuscript.[3]

Binding Yellow parchment.

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1. Plate 30. Fragment: A1, ff.2^{r}-36^{r}.
2. This watermark is identical to watermark B in B7. Infra, p. 317.
3. See B7 and references, infra, p. 317.

Provenance 'Estienne Boucherat, marchant demourant a Troyes[1], a la Galee' with monogram and date 1485; signature of Antoine, his son, 'marchant et bourgeoys de Chaalons, frere de venerable et religieuse dame Magdalene Le Boucherat, abbesse Dargensolles' (undated)[2]. Queen Christina of Sweden.

Additional comments Although there are differences in the style of script and the dimensions of the written space, the complementary nature of the texts suggest that they were united in a single manuscript either at the origin, or that one manuscript was added to the other before 1485, to provide a complete chronicle from the Trojan origins of the French to the death of Charles V. The marks of ownership indicate the interest of a merchant family in the history of France.

This manuscript appears to be almost exactly contemporary with B7.

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1. It is not known whether this family was related to Jean Le Boucherat, procureur du roy at Troyes in 1421. (A.N. P 118, p.114: index to the Memorials of the Chambre des Comptes in Paris; Memorial H, f.145^{v}).

2. Magdalene Le Boucherat, or Boucherat, abbess of Argensolles, haute commune de Moslins, diocese of Soissons, elected in or before 1520, died 10 August 1534. Gallia Christiana (1751), ix.480; A. Longnon, Dictionnaire Topographique du Département de la Marne (Dictionnaire Topographique de la France, Paris, 1891), p.6.

Switzerland, Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS. 560 (B6)[1]

Date xv^th Century (last quarter)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^r-77^v. Incipit: 'Cest chose prouffitable'. Explicit: 'fin de ce present livre nomme la genealogie des roys de France'.

2nd folio: 'quil ne soit veu'.

Codicology

Material 81 paper folios, 20.3 cm x 13.7 cm. Watermarks: A. flyleaves, Briquet 8662 (1478). B. Quires 1-6, Briquet 8215 (1485). C. Quires 7, 8. D. Quire 9.

Construction Flyleaves i-iii blank; quires 1-7^8; quire 8^10; quire 9^12. Catchwords, leaf signatures. The present folios 69, 70 have been misplaced and should be placed after f.66.

Paragraph signs red or blue, appear on f.1^r-v.

Initials are executed in red or blue paint, with three-line initials on ff.2^r, 2^v, 24^r, 51^r, and two-line initials, some incomplete, elsewhere.

Binding Seventeenth century, in brown morocco, stamped with a trellis design.

Additions Notes, manchettes in a sixteenth-century hand. The ex-libris of 'Maistre Jacques Preliau, seigneur de Farsel (?) 22 aout 1557' appears on f.i^r, with a note on f.iii^r that Jacques Preliau owed 88 l.t. to Jacques Leber, 'sire de Mante', 20 Aug. 1557; and a list of dead and wounded at the battle of St Quentin, 10 Aug. 1557, and a note of the capture of St Quentin, 29 Aug. 1557, in the same hand.

Provenance In the sixteenth century, the manuscript belonged to Jacques Preliau, lord of Farsel (?), whom it has not been possible to identify. It was acquired by the Bern library before 1770.[2]

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1. Plate 31.
2. J.R. Sinner, Catalogus Codicum MSS. Bibliothecae Bernensis (Bern, 1770), ii.49-51.

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. Walters 306 (B7)

Date xvth Century (1470-1483?)

Contents 1. Guillaume de Nangis, 'Chronique Abrégée', ff.11^{r}-309^{r}.

2. 'Cest chose profitable': fragment ff.310^{r}-317^{r}, with a variant ending[1]. Incipit: 'Pour ce que moult de gens, mesmement les haulx hommes'. Explicit: 'en accroissance de bien en mieulx'.

2nd folio: 'a commence moult' (f.12^{r}).

Codicology

Material 321 paper and six parchment leaves, 39 cm x 28 cm. Four unidentified watermarks: A. Flyleaf 1^{r}, quire 26. B. Quire 1-5, 7, 8, Briquet, 7252 (1474)? C. Quires 3,5,8-25. D. Quire 8.

Construction 10 blank flyleaves; quires 1-24^{12}; quire 25$^{12-1}$ (wants last folio); quire 26^{14}; 4 blank flyleaves.

Catchwords, leaf signatures for first text only.

Rubrics are in brown ink, like the text.

Initials Four-line decorated initials in paint and gold (f.11^{r}) and in paint (f.245^{v}), and three-line red or blue initials (ff.15^{r}-304^{v}) appear in the first text and two-line initials in red or blue are found in remainder of manuscript.

Illustration Eight miniatures illustrate the 'Chronique Abrégée'. The artist has been identified as a follower of the Coëtivy Master[2].

Binding Nineteenth century red morocco.

Provenance Ashburnham collection; acquired by H. Walters in 1909.

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1. Plate 32. A1 ff.45^{v}-65^{r}. The variant ending consists of a paragraph summarising the achievements of Charles VII, and the succession of Louis XI 'qui a present regne' (f.317^{r}).

2. For a study of the illustration, see S. Hindman, G.M. Spiegel, 'The Fleur-de-lis Frontispieces to Guillaume de Nangis's "Chronique Abrégée": Political Iconography in Late Fifteenth Century France', Viator, xii (1981), 381-407. Spiegel and Hindman give an approximate date of 1470-1480 for these illustrations. The addition from 'Cest chose profitable' may be later, but apparently dates from before the death of Louis XI.

Additional comments A change in the organisation of the page and in script in the second text suggests that the manuscript may not originally have been planned to include an extract from 'Cest chose profitable', and that the second text may have been added to the 'Chronique Abrégée' soon after its completion.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 13569 (C)

Date Mid xvth Century (before 1456)

Contents 1. 'Cest chose profitable', mutilated, ff.1^{r}-52^{v}.[1]

2. Translation of part of the Chronicle of the anonymous monk of St Denis into French, with additions, ff.54^{r}-185^{r}.[2]

Incipit: 'Apres les grans et merveilleuses victoires de Clovis'.

Explicit: 'cheuent en tres grant mendicite. Explicit'.

2nd folio: 'secte de Mahommet' (f.2^{r}).

Codicology

Material 185 paper and 4 vellum folios, 20.4 cm x 13.4 cm.: one watermark, unidentified.

Construction 4 blank flyleaves; quire 1^{10}; quire 2^{12}; quires 3-5^{10}; quire 6^{1+10} (1st leaf added); quires 7-16^{12}; quire 17^{2}.

Catchwords.

Rubrics are in ink, underlined in red, with a yellow wash on capitals.

Paragraph signs are in burnished gold, decorated with blue ink, or in red with blue ink decoration.

Initials The first text contains three-line, two-line and one-line initials in blue or red; two-line initials in blue or red appear in the second text.

Binding is nineteenth-century, in marbled green and red morocco, tooled in gold, with marbled end-papers.

Additions

Numerous marginal notes in a script contemporaneous with that in the main text appear throughout the manuscript. Many are manchettes. Others, which occur only in 'Cest chose profitable' present directions

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1. Plate 33; A1 ff.11^{v}-64^{v}.
2. Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, ed. L. Bellaguet, iii.13-iv.446: selected passages only. See also D4, pp. 326-7.

for the revision of the text. They may be contemporary with the rest of the manuscript, or may have been added at a slightly later date.[1] The signature 'Le Begue' occurs on f.185^{r}, and a poem, apparently by the same hand, appears on f.185^{v}.

Provenance

Jean Le Bègue (1368-1456).[2] Although the signature is not accompanied by other marks of ownership found in manuscripts belonging to Le Bègue, the notaire et secrétaire's proven interest in history supports this attribution.[3]

Additional comments

Le Bègue's death provides a terminus ad quem for text and manuscript, and indicates that soon after its composition, the text was circulating in the milieu of the royal Chancellery and Chambre des Comptes.

It is interesting to note the presence of a translation of the chronicle of the reign of Charles VI in this manuscript. Codicological evidence indicates that this and 'Cest chose profitable' were intended to form a unity: the former may have been intended as a continuation of the latter, although the mutilation of the manuscript makes it impossible to be certain. The translation is noteworthy because of its emphasis on the rivalry of the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy: relevant passages have been selected by the translator, who appears to have been favourable to the Orleanist cause. He has interpolated his translation with occasional comments which recall the style of the author of 'Cest chose profitable', and it is tempting to suggest that one author was responsible for both texts. Unfortunately, these comments provide little information about the author. The mutilation of both surviving manuscripts containing this translation may have removed a prologue, which might have provided important indications of his identity.

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1. For further details, see supra pp. 22, 25, n.1.
2. Plate 33a. Le Bègue's name is occasionally written as Lebègue.
3. For Le Bègue's career in the Chambre, see H. Jassemin, La Chambre des Comptes de Paris au xve Siècle (Paris, 1933), pp.18, 67, 298 n.,

(continued overleaf)

299 n.,341; for details of his life, see G. Ouy, 'Le Songe et les Ambitions d'un Jeune Humaniste Parisien', pp.371-75, and for his library, ibid., pp.373-75, and E. Hallaire, 'Quelques Manuscrits de Jean Le Bègue', 291-292.

Paris, B. Ste Geneviève OE xv.s.490 (D1)[1]

Date 2 July 1483

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.i^{r}-xlii^{r}. Incipit: 'Cest chose proffitable'. Explicit: 'non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam. Amen. Deo gracias. Achevees par moy, Mazalon 1483. 2ieme jour de juillet. Mazalon'.

2nd folio: 'pestilences et adversitez'.

Codicology

Material 44 paper folios, 27.5 cm x 19.5 cm. Two watermarks: A. quires 1-4. B. quire 5: unidentified.

Construction quires 1-5^{8}; quire 6^{4} (the last three folios were originally blank).

Catchwords, leaf signatures.

Rubrics are written and underlined in brown ink. Paragraph signs in blue or red introduce rubrics, and occur elsewhere in the text.

Initials There is a three-line initial in blue and red on f.1^{r}; two-line and occasionally one-line initials in blue or red occur throughout the text.

Binding dates from the nineteenth century, and is of dark brown calfskin on boards with brown marbled endpapers, and modern flyleaves.

Additions There are notes of financial loans (f.xlii^{v}) and proverbs (f.xliii^{v}) with the date 1586, and a 'Table des croniques de France', from Priam to Dagobert, in the same hand (f.xliii^{r}).

Provenance The scribe 'Mazalon' may have owned the manuscript; the library of the abbey of Ste Geneviève acquired it before 1752 ('n.128' and date on flyleaf of volume), and possibly at a much earlier date.

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1. Plate 34.

Additional comments The manuscript is bound with two incunabula, Werner Rolewinck, Fasciculus Temporum (Venice, 1479) and Albertus Trottus, De Horis Canonicis (Lyon, c.1478).[1] The manuscript may have originally been bound with the incunabula much earlier than the eighteenth century and possibly soon after its completion.

1. For these texts, see L.M. Michon, M.J. Bonner, Inventaire des Incunables de la Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève (Paris, 1943), p. 490 and refs.

France, Bordeaux B. Mun. MS. 728 (D2)

Date xvth Century (last quarter)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r}-91^{v}. Incipit: 'autres royaumes crestiens ont tousjours regarde'.[1] Explicit: 'non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam'.

2nd folio: 'lui envoya'.[2]

Codicology

Material 95 paper folios, 21 cm x 14.4 cm; one unidentified watermark.

Construction Blank flyleaf glued to endpaper; quire 1$^{16-2}$ (wants 1st and 15th folios); quires 2-6^{16} (last 2 folios of last quire originally blank). Catchwords.

Rubrics in red ink.

Paragraph signs Alternately red and blue.

Line endings red.

Initials Two-line initials, alternately red and blue, some incomplete, and more rarely, one-line initials appear in the manuscript.

Binding Nineteenth-century brown and black paper binding on boards; marbled endpapers.

Additions Manchettes, notes in post-medievalhands occur throughout, with extracts from psalms and prayers (f.92^{r}); a note relative to the funeral of Francis I, king of France, 1547, notes on events in Paris between 1561-63 and the death of Charles IX in 1572 (ff.92^{r}-94^{r}).

Provenance is unknown; notes in the manuscript suggest it was owned by a Parisian in the mid-sixteenth century.

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1. Plate 35. A1 f.2^{v}.
2. The present f.1^{r} would have been the original second folio. Modern foliation ignores the missing folios 1 and 15.

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek MS. Cod. Guelf. Helmstadt 1051 (D3)[1]

Date xvth Century (last quarter)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r}-95^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose proffitable'; explicit: 'faisans la deuil et plusieurs aultres grans seigneurs'.[2]

2nd folio: 'dautres tres grans dons' (f.2^{r}).

Codicology

Material 95 vellum folios.

Construction quires 1-11^{8}; 12$^{8-1}$ (wants 1st folio); quire 13 missing.[3]

Catchwords. Leaf signatures.

Rubrics in red, with a yellow wash on capitals.

Paragraph signs are numerous, and decorative, executed in paint and ink.

Initials There is a three-line initial with a full border on f.1^{r}, and two-line initials and partial borders throughout the manuscript.

Binding Modern

Additions Manchettes, notanda in post-medieval hands.

Provenance Unknown.

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1. Plate 36. It has not been possible to examine this manuscript, and this description has been established with the assistance of Dr W. Milde, Librarian of the Herzog August Bibliothek, and with a microfilm of the manuscript.
2. Two or three folios of text are missing.
3. Catchword for quire 13 on f.95^{v}.

Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket MS. D. 1281 (D4)[1]

Date xv^th Century (last quarter)

Contents 1. Fragment of a translation of the Chronicle of Charles VI, by a monk of St Denis, ff.1-100^v.[2] 2. 'Cest chose profitable'. ff.101^r-188^v.

Incipit: 'Autre deffiance du duc Dorleans contre le dit roy Henry. Finablement le duc Dorleans...' Explicit: 'non nobis Domine non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam'.

2nd folio: 'cy et Phelippe duc'.[3]

Codicology

Material 189 paper folios, 28.5 cm x 20.5 cm. 4 watermarks: A. quire 1 (f.1), Briquet 1557 (1476). B. quire 1 . C.(ff.16-100), Briquet 1041 (1473-1518). D. Second text only: Briquet 7549 (1455).

Construction Catchwords, ff.56^v, 88^v, 100^v (sexternions?); 116^v, 132^v, 148^v, 164^v, 180^v (quires of 16 folios).

Rubrics Ink.

Paragraph signs Numerous.

Initials Four-line initials in red and blue paint occur on ff.101^r, 123^v, 145^v. Painted blue and red two-line initials occur throughout the manuscript.

Binding in white parchment is possibly original.

Additions occur on f.188^v, in a late fifteenth-century script: 'Liber iste pertinet magistro Roberto Brigue, presbytero curato de Longuevillari, Carnoten. dyocesis', f.189^r; in a sixteenth-century script, 'Cest present livre est a Ltenant Aymee (?). Mr Legrand (the signature is obscured by stains). Pen trials.

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1. Plate 37. I have not been able to examine this manuscript. This description has been established with the aid of microfilm, and the assistance of Assistant Keeper of the Stockholm Library, Dr Eva Andersson.
2. See Manuscript C.
3. The first words of this folio have been torn away; this folio is not the original second folio, which has clearly been lost.

Provenance Robert Brigue, curé of Longueville. Aymee Legrand (?). Neither of these has been identified. Queen Christina of Sweden.

Additional comments

The texts are written in a similar script, possibly by the same scribe. The manuscript clearly contained both texts at its origin. The order of the texts in this manuscript is the reverse of that in C, and as 'Cest chose profitable' in this manuscript derives from a different textual group from C, C cannot have been the exemplar for D.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 4943 (E1)

Date xvth Century (c.1469?).[1]

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r}-49^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose tres profitable'. Explicit: 'dalphinos conterit unde dolent'.[2]

2nd folio: 'O royaume que'.

Codicology

Material 53 vellum folios, 26 cm x 16 cm.

Construction Quire 1^{4}; quire 2^{16}; quire 3^{16-1} (last folio cancelled); quire 4^{4}; quire 5^{10}. 4 blank leaves.

Leaf signatures.

Rubrics Red paint is used for the numerous rubrics, for some Latin passages of text, and for chronograms concluding the text (f.49^{v}); ink underlined in red is used for sources and some Latin citations. Yellow wash is used for capitals.

Paragraph signs are alternately blue and red with gold or indigo decoration, and are numerous.

Line endings are in blue or red paint, and gold.

Initials Five-, four-, three- and two-line initials accompany miniatures. They are executed in burnished gold and blue paint, with pen decoration. Exceptionally, a nine-line initial introduces the reign of King John the Good (f.39^{v}), without a miniature. Two-line initials in blue or gold, with a pen decoration, occur throughout the text.

Illustration The manuscript contains 27 illustrations.[3] The predominant colours are azure for distant features and sky, sombre shades of blue,

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1. See supra, p. 23.
2. The historical text concludes with the words: 'et enregistrees aux croniques du dit roy Charles septiesme, pere du dit seigneur Loys, a present roy de France'. This is followed by three chronograms. It is not clear whether these form an integral part of the text. See Chapter One, p. 24, n. 4.
3. See list of illustrations pp. 334-6, and plates 38-47.

mauve, violet and grey, green, brown, and more rarely crimson, vermilion, orange and yellow. Pastel shades are frequently used. Gold is used for highlights in scenery and garments.

Human figures are characterised by the heavy moulding of facial features, and exaggerated expressions. Their bodies are usually thick-set and short. The numerous battle scenes are distinguished by the violent gestures and contorted poses of the combatants. The background of the miniatures is characterised by wide horizons and skies, scattered with tall cone-shaped trees with long slender trunks, and cities, with distinctive and unusual crenellation and towers.

This style is reminiscent of the Coëtivy Master, active in the Loire region in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, who executed a number of manuscripts for princely or noble patrons, including Olivier de Coëtivy and his wife, Marguerite de Valois, natural daughter of Charles VII, and Charles VII's legitimate son, Charles of France; and on at least one occasion, for the trésorier des chartes, Jean Budé.[1]

Binding is in marbled brown paper with modern flyleaves.

Additions There is a long marginal note on the descent of the house of Dreux from Count Robert of Dreux (d.1188), son of King Louis VI, on f.19^{r}, which appears to be contemporary with the manuscript.[2]

Provenance Unknown. The note on the House of Dreux suggests an interest in that noble house, but there is no evidence of ownership. The quality

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1. The similarity of the styles of this artist and the Coëtivy Master was noted by François Avril, cited by B. Gagnebin, L'Enluminure de Charlemagne à François Ier: Manuscrits à Peintures de la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève (Geneva, 1976), p.141. No detailed analysis of the illustration has been published. For the Coëtivy Master, see N. Reynaud, 'La Résurrection de Lazare', esp. figs.2 and 3, particularly close in style to E1, and fig. 30, where the kneeling figure of the author seems to have inspired the composition in E1, f.1^{r},

2. The sources of this passage have not been satisfactorily identified. The passage concludes with a description of the arms of Dreux, 'Lesquier dor et dasur, borde de gueulles'. With the exception of the reference to the coat of arms, this passage also appears in a contemporary manuscript, another anonymous chronicle of France, compiled during the reign of Louis XI, B.N. MS. fr. 24976, f.28^{v}.

of the manuscript and the numerous illustrations indicate a wealthy owner. If, as appears probable, this manuscript was made by an artist collaborating with, and possibly working in the workshop of the Coëtivy Master, it was probably commissioned by a prince, a noble or a civil servant, like other manuscripts illustrated by that group of artists. It is possible that the king himself may have commissioned the manuscript, but there is no clear indication of the patron.

The manuscript had entered the royal library by 1682, for it appears in the catalogue made in that year.[1]

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1. Anciens Inventaires, ed. H. Omont (1921), v.164.

Geneva, B. Publ. Univ. MS. fr. 83 (E2)

Date After 1485, in or before 1503.

Contents 1. 'Cest chose profitable', ff.3^{r}-59^{r}, with a continuation to 1483, ff.59^{r}-84^{r}. 2. History of the kings and kingdom of Sicily by Jean de Candida, translated by Charles Guillart,[1] ff.84^{v}-100^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose tres proffitable'. Explicit: 'et tout autre de droit estre deu a la maison de laquelle il porte les armes'.

2nd folio: 'ment aourne de grace' (f.4^{r}).

Codicology

Material 106 folios of fine vellum, 27.5 cm x 17.5 cm.

Construction Two blank flyleaves: quires 1-13^{8} (last folio glued to binding). Catchwords, leaf signatures.

Rubrics in red are numerous. They are also used for Latin citations and sources. Yellow wash is used on capitals.

Paragraph signs and line endings in red are numerous.

Initials There are five-line initials in gold and blue on f.3^{r}, and in blue and red on ff.17^{r}, 26^{v}, 84^{r}; elsewhere, four- or three-line initials in blue and red, two-line initials in blue, red or gold, are used.

Illustration[2] The choice of subject for the illustration has been taken from E1. The palette used for E1 also appears to have inspired that of E2. The costumes of figures in E1 have been replaced in E2 by contemporary styles. Occasionally, important details in E1 have been omitted by the artist of E2.

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1. For this text, see C. Couderc, 'Jean de Candida, Historien', 323-41. For Charles Guillart, or de Guillard (1456-1537), see article on him by B. Haureau, Histoire Littéraire du Maine (Paris, 1873), vi.45-50.

2. See list of illustrations, infra pp. 334-6, and Plates 48-51.

Binding is seventeenth-century, in brown calf, tooled in gold with the arms and motto of Alexandre Petau, with endpapers.

Additions Extracts from chronicles and classical works, in a neat script contemporary with the manuscript (ff.101^{r}-105^{r}).

Provenance The arms of André de Chauvigny, baron of Châteauroux and Raïs (d.1503) appear on f.2^{v}.[1] The arms and motto of Alexandre Petau appear on f.3^{r}, with added border.

Additional comments

This manuscript is clearly a copy of E1, and was probably copied directly from that manuscript, for it follows E1 in textual variants as well as illustration, and a marginal note on the counts of Dreux has been incorporated into the text of E2. The text has been supplemented with an addition for the reign of Louis XI, concluding with the accession of Charles VIII, who is referred to as the reigning king. The second text is not distinguished from the first, and omits the title which is found in another manuscript of the same text, by which it can be identified as the French translation of a lost Latin chronicle of the kingdom of Sicily by Jean de Candida. The original text was composed between 1485-88, and translated at an unknown date, before the death of Charles VIII, by Charles Guillart.[2] The death of André de Chauvigny in 1503 provides a terminus ad quem for the manuscript: as his arms are not impaled by those of either his first or second wife, it is possible that the manuscript may have been made before his first marriage in 1494.[3] The subject matter of the second text makes this hypothesis quite feasible: a French translation of Jean de Candida's work, which justified French royal claims to the kingdom of Sicily, was particularly appropriate in the atmosphere which preceded the departure of Charles VIII for Italy.

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1. For André de Chauvigny, see J.J. Meunier, 'Histoire de Déols et de Châteauroux', Revue de l'Académie du Centre, xciii (1967), 8-43.
2. See Couderc, art.cit., 326.
3. He married Anne d'Orléans-Longueville (died 1498) in 1494, and Louise de Bourbon-Montpensier, who survived him, in 1499.

André de Chauvigny took part in this expedition, and was present at the battle of Fornova.

The presence of the second text suggests that the manuscript was probably commissioned by André de Chauvigny himself. In these circumstances, it is interesting to note the presence of two texts justifying the prerogatives of the Valois kings - the first in France itself, the second, by right of inheritance, in Italy.

MSS. E1 and E2

Illustrations		Folio	
1.	Presentation scene	E1 1^{r}	(Plate 38)
		E2 3^{r}	(Plate 48)
2.	Siege of Troy	E1 2^{r}	
		E2 4^{r}	
3.	Coronation of Pharamond	E1 3^{v}	
		E2 5^{v}	
4.	Foreground: baptism of Clovis	E1 5^{r}	
	Background: battle scene (Clovis defeats Alaric the Goth?)	E2 7^{r}	
5.	a. Coronation of Pipin	E1 10^{v}	(Plate 43)
	b. Battle scene (Pipin defeats the Saxons?)	E2 13^{v}	
6.	a. Pipin meets the exiled pope Stephen II	E1 11^{r}	(Plate 44)
	b. The pope blesses Pipin and his sons	E2 14^{r}	
7.	Pipin and Bertha enthroned, with Charlemagne	E1 12^{r}	(Plate 45)
		E2 15^{r}	
8.	a. Battle scene - Charlemagne frees the city of Jerusalem from the Saracens	E1 12^{v}	
		E2 15^{v}	
	b. The emperor of Constantinople presents Charlemagne with the relic of the Holy Nail		
9.	The vision of Turpin.	E1 13^{v}	
	a. The soul of Charlemagne is saved by the intervention of St James the Great	E2 16^{v}	
	b. Turpin demands an account of the judgement of Charlemagne from the devil		
10.	a. Battle scene (the emperor Louis the Pious attacked by his sons and nobles?)	E1 14^{r}	(Plate 39)
		E2 17^{v}	
	b. The blinding of King Bernard of Italy in punishment for his treason against Louis the Pious		

Illustrations		Folio	
11.	a. Battle scene	E1 14^{v}	
	b. The soul of the emperor Lothar, as a monk, is rescued through the prayers of his fellow monks	E2 18^{r}	
12.	Relics are brought to a monastery (Compiègne or St Denis)	E1 15^{r} E2 18^{r}	
13.	Battle of Soissons, between Charles the Simple and Robert of Vermandois	E1 16^{v} E2 19^{v}	
14.	a. King Lothar of France attacks the emperor Otto in Aix-la-Chapelle	E1 17^{r} E2 20^{v}	
	b. After attacking Paris, the emperor Otto is put to flight by King Lothar		
15.	a. St Valery and St Richer appear in a vision to Hugh Capet, king of France	E1 18^{r} E2 21^{v}	(Plate 47)
	b. The relics of saints Valery and Richer are brought back to France under the supervision of King Hugh; the benediction of King Hugh by Saints Valery and Richer		
16.	a. Coronation of Philip II Augustus	E1 19^{v}	(Plate 42)
	b. Battle of Bouvines	E2 23^{v}	
17.	Louis IX receives the relic of the crown of thorns from the emperor of Constantinople	E1 21^{v} E2 26^{r}	
18.	Philip III and his troops sack the city of Elne	E1 26^{r} E2 31^{r}	
19.	a. Battle scene	E1 28^{r}	(Plate 40)
	b. Edward I pays homage to Philip IV of France (1286)	E2 33^{v}	(Plate 49)
20.	a. Battle against the Flemings	E1 33^{r}	(Plate 41)
	b. Edward III pays homage to Philip VI of France (Homage of Amiens, 1329)	E2 40^{r}	(Plate 50)
21.	The English kill their kings	E1 41^{v}	(Plate 43)
		E2 49^{v}	(Plate 51)
22.	King John of France puts to flight Prince Edward (the Black Prince)	E1 42^{v} E2 51^{r}	

Illustrations		Folio
23.	a. Battle scene	E1 44^{v}
	b. The construction of the Bastille St-Antoine	E2 53^{r}
24.	Battle against the Flemings (Roosebeke)	E1 46^{r} E2 55^{r}
25.	Battle scene	E1 47^{r} E2 56^{r}
26.	French troops led by the dauphin, Louis, attack the bastille at Dieppe	E1 48^{r} E2 57^{r}
27.	French troops, led by the dauphin Louis, attack the Swiss (battle of St Jacob an der Bir)	E1 49^{r} E2 58^{r}

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is not intended to provide an exhaustive list of all the sources consulted during the preparation of this thesis. It includes only those sources which have been directly cited in the thesis, or which have been particularly useful in the present study.

The bibliography comprises three sections:

I. Manuscript sources, including references to microfilm. Manuscripts of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' have been listed in order of country, town, archive, library and collection, and precede other related manuscript sources, which have been arranged in the same manner.

II. Printed primary sources, including incunabula, facsimiles arranged according to the first major word in the title, and chronicles. Anonymous works and collections of source material, or composite works, such as Gallia Christiana, have been arranged according to title. Other works are arranged according to the Christian name or surname of the author, as appropriate. This section includes some secondary works which have been consulted for the printed documents which they contain.

III. Secondary sources. Where several essays consulted for this thesis appear in the same volume, only a brief reference to that volume will be given with the author and title of the essay, and a full reference will be given under the names of the editors.

I. Manuscript Sources

The 'Miroir Historial Abrégé de France'

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Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 4950

- - MSS. n.a. fr. 1858, 6853

Rome, Vat. MS. reg. lat. 767

'Cest chose profitable'

London, B.L. MS. Add. 13961

Bordeaux, B. Mun. MS. 728

Lille, B. Mun. MS. 322

Paris, B. Arsenal MS. 3430

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Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek MS. Cod. Guelf. Helmstadt 1051

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- - JJ 28; JJ 177; JJ 214 (Registers of the Trésor des Chartes)

- - K 64^{15}; K 67^{6} (Monuments Historiques)

- - KK 51 (Chambre des Comptes: argenterie et hôtel du roi)

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- MSS. fr. 2099, 2811, 2813, 4054, 4924, 5026, 5734, 6465, 6965, (Collection Legrand, vi), 10988, 14371, 15455, 15490, 17511, 18441, 23083, 23871 (extracts from Memorial L of the Chambre des Comptes), 24976, 25159, 26978 (P.O. 494, Bras-de-Fer), 27734 (P.O. 1250, Fribois), 29310 (P.O. 2826, Thierry), 31032 (Cabinet d'Hozier 151, Fribois), 32511 (extracts from the royal accounts and documents in the Chambre des Comptes, 1404-1532, made by Caille du Fourny).

- MSS. n.a. fr. 1417, 5026, 5084, 6860, 7670 (Portefeuilles de Fontanieu, 121-22)

- Collection Clairambault 58 (Harcourt)

- MS. Doat 212

- MS. Dupuy 762

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Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS. Cod. Gall. 6, f.2^{v}

Rome, MSS. reg. lat. 499, 550

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II. Primary Printed Sources

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feust oncques bailliee a Rollo par Charles le Simple'[1].

The account in the 'Miroir' and the implications of the reference to Brittany in 'Cest chose profitable' link these texts with the views expressed by des Ursins. However, the political situation had increased the requirement for clear identification of the duchy with the kingdom, for the crown of France was competing with the king of England for the allegiance of the Breton dukes. In 1446, Francis I had paid homage to Charles VII. Although the king and his counsellors failed to secure an admission that this was liege homage, the duke could at least be numbered among the French king's allies and subjects. But in 1448, Henry VI had referred to the duke as an English subject. This threatened both the French claims to supremacy and the safety of the duke and his subjects, which was dependent on the terms in which they were included in Anglo-French truces[2]. English determination to coerce the Breton dukes into their allegiance, and French determination to enforce their king's sovereignty were crucial factors in the seizure of Fougères in 1449 and the renewal of hostilities. The French king declared his intention to defend his kinsman and subject, the duke of Brittany, and to avenge the slight to his own sovereignty, implicit in the attack on Fougères. Although Breton interests at the royal court were instrumental in promoting the prosecution of the war, it is notable that the dukes themselves continued to show reluctance to admit the absolute sovereignty of the king. In 1450, a year before the 'Miroir' was composed, renewed attempts to exact the admission of liege homage from Francis's successor, Peter II, had ended in a compromise[3]. The continual danger of renewed English attacks, and the uncertain loyalties of the Breton dukes, explain why the author was particularly

1. 'Traictie Compendieux', f. 15^{v}-16^{r}.
2. For what follows, see M.G.A. Vale, Charles VII, pp.115-119; for Breton homages, P. Jeulin, 'L'Hommage de la Bretagne en Droit et dans les Faits', A. Bretagne, xli (1934), 380-473: 446-48 for Francis I's homage in 1446, and Peter II's in 1450.
3. For problems associated with these homages, Jeulin, art.cit., 449-452.

concerned to emphasise that the Bretons were subjects of the king of France, justifying a war initially undertaken to defend the duke, and emphasising the requirement of the Bretons to display loyalty and obedience to their lawful ruler.

The renewal of war and the recovery of English possessions in France explains the emphasis in each text on the vices of the English, and the harm which they caused both in France and their own country. The author of the 'Miroir' notes the existence of a document which he had seen in the possession of Geoffroy Vassal, late archbishop of Vienne, illustrating that 'pour aucune reparacion et desdommaigement des maulx, dommaiges et forfaiz infiniz, que par ..... voyes tiranniques et dampnables ilz ont faiz, commis et perpetrez en ce dit royaume, on leur a autresfoiz demande vingt millions dor'[1]. It has not been possible to identify this document, nor the occasion on which it may have been seen by the author. The reference to Geoffroy Vassal suggests that the 'articles' referring to reparations must have been drawn up before 1446, and possibly before Vassal's translation to the see of Lyon in 1444[2]. It is highly probable that they were drafted either in connection with the Congress of Arras, to indicate the damages suffered by the kingdom of France since the English invasion, or in preparation for negotiations for the meeting at Oye and Gravelines, or as part of a diplomatic dossier, to be used in discussions with the English before and after the Truce of Tours[3]. Whatever

1. 'Miroir', f. 201^{r} (Appendix A, p.247).
2. For Vassal, see Appendix A, p.236, n. 2.
3. This may have resembled a document published by Beaucourt, Histoire de Charles VII, v. 438, when the French estimated damages resulting from the attack on Fougères by Suriennes at 2 million gold livres. It is possible that it refers to negotiations concerning the levy of appatis: Vassal was present in the council, when powers were given to French commissioners to regulate their levy, 20 May 1444. E. Cosneau, Les Grands Traités de la Guerre de Cent Ans (Paris, 1888), pp.84 n., 159-62, 169. It is also possible that the figure was reached by a computation of probable damage caused in France by the Hundred Years War, including King John's ransom: but there is no independent evidence of this.

the origin and purpose of the document, the appearance of this reference in the 'Miroir' is clear: to emphasise the injustice of English attacks on France and, by implication, to justify the actions of Charles VII. A similar method was used by Blondel, who asserted that the English had extorted millions from the French in the past[1]. The point was made more emphatically in 'Pour ce que plusieurs', where the author first alleged that the English had caused so much damage that 'si le royaulme de Dangleterre et toutes les facultez, richesses et valeurs dicelluy ... estoient toutes ensemble, elles ne seroient pas souffisantes a reparer les choses'; and then proceeded to estimate that damage at eight million in gold. The explicit aim of this treatment was to justify the breaking of the truces and the recovery of English lands in France in 1449[2].

The reference in the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable' to the homage and subjection of the English king to the king of France were probably inspired by comparable motives. This aspect is particularly pronounced in the latter, where the author notes that Henry II, 'in sign of subjection' touched the crown, as a peer of France at the coronation of Philip II Augustus[3]. The references to homages, although less pronounced and emphatic than those of contemporary royal apologists, also accentuate the subservience of the English king. It is then possible for the authors to note the 'perfidious' nature of the English, for they have betrayed their liege-lord, the king of France[4]. References to the barbarity of the English in the past served to alert contemporary Frenchmen to the danger of trusting them. They are heretics and regicides, who easily change allegiance; a point made most forcefully in 'Cest chose profitable'. These methods and sentiments are entirely consistent with the attitudes of the author's contemporaries: the same technique appears in the work of

1. R. Blondel, Oeuvres, ed.cit., i. 271.
2. 'Pour ce que plusieurs', MS. cit., ff. 18^{r}, 20^{v}-22^{r}.
3. 'Cest chose profitable', ff. 32^{v}-33^{r}.
4. Supra, pp. 103, 114-5.

Blondel and Jean Juvenal des Ursins[1]. The author of the 'Miroir' notes the evil deeds of the English, but urges a positive response from Frenchmen, through his emphasis on the rewards of patriotism, and death in the service of one's country.

Thus it is clear that in each text, the author is greatly influenced by contemporary events. Like the work of contemporaries, whose interests and methods show considerable similarities with the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable', the texts use historical and moral arguments to justify the renewal of hostilities against the traditional enemies of France.

'Rex Christianissimus': The King of France and the Church

Comparable connections between the interpretation of French history in the texts and current political concerns may be found in the portrayal of the relations of the French king with the pope on the one hand, and the Gallican church on the other. Although the texts emphasise the generally harmonious relationship between the king and the pope, it is noticeable that the 'Miroir Historial' attributes particular importance to the dispute between Boniface VIII and King Philip IV, which threatens to tarnish the image of the French crown as the protector of the Holy See. The author's bitter attack on the pope as a prospective usurper of French liberties, and his inclusion of the treatise 'Rex pacificus', which justifies Philip's resistance[2], suggest that Charles VII's reign may have witnessed a comparable threat to royal control within the French church. The reason for the author's interest in and interpretation of the dispute must be sought in the events immediately preceding the composition of the text.

It is possible that he intended to provide a defence of a recent

1. 'Traictie Compendieux', ff. 33^{r}-34^{v}, 38^{r}; R. Blondel, Oeuvres, ed.cit., i. 175-6, 183-4; 352-3 for a passage added by the translator in 1460. See also supra p. 116.

2. Supra pp. 95-6.

manifestation of the king's authority in the affairs of the Gallican church: the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, promulgated in 1438[1]. Between May and June of that year, an assembly of the French clergy in the obedience of Charles VII debated the reforming decrees issued by the Council of Basle, of which the validity was in doubt, as a result of the rift between the Council and Pope Eugenius IV. The assembly was summoned on royal initiative; the king and leading counsellors attended some of its sessions, and its decisions were confirmed by royal ordinance. These imposed severe restrictions on some papal prerogatives, and notably on papal finance and the collation of benefices in the French church. The liberties of the Gallican church were confirmed, to the advantage of the ordinary, but also of the king, in the matter of collations to benefices. Although there is evidence to show that the effects of the ordinance were diluted by the willingness, even of supporters of the Pragmatic Sanction, to resort to papal provisions to secure a coveted benefice, it is equally true that Eugenius IV was anxious to secure the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, while its adherents were equally determined to maintain it. In view of the author's evident interest in secular legislation in the church, notably in the time of Clovis, it is pertinent to ask whether he may have been among the supporters of the ordinance, and whether the inclusion of 'Rex pacificus' in 1451 was a response to attempts to abolish it on the part of the pope and his ambassadors, most recently through the mission of Cardinal d'Estouteville[2].

A possible support for this hypothesis is provided by the author's acquaintance with Gérard Machet, bishop of Castres[3]. Machet had played an

1. For this paragraph, see N. Valois, Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges sous Charles VII (Paris, 1906), esp. pp.lxxviii-clvi for the immediate context of the 'Miroir Historial'.

2. For successive papal attempts to secure the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction between 1443-1453, see Valois, op.cit., pp.cxxviii-clxxxv, who notes that fears for its revocation were particularly strong in 1450; P. Ourliac, 'La Pragmatique Sanction et la Légation en France de Cardinal d'Estouteville,1451-53', Mél.Arch.Hist.Éc.Fr. Rome, lv (1938), 403-432.

3. For Machet's involvement with the Pragmatic Sanction, see Valois, op.cit., pp.lxxviii-lxxxii, clix-clxxi. Although Valois doubted that

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important role at the Council of Bourges of 1438, where he had been chosen as an orator by the king and council. He was an exponent both of the superiority of the general council to the pope and of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. His letters reveal his anxiety that attempts to abrogate it might prove successful. Machet died in 1448, several years before the composition of the 'Miroir'. But he may have been instrumental in producing a document intended to support the legitimacy of the Pragmatic Sanction, which was first cited at the Council of Bourges in 1450, two years after Machet's death and only a year before the 'Miroir' was written. This document purported to provide a precedent for the actions of Charles VII, and was known as the Pragmatic Sanction of St Louis. Like the fifteenth century ordinance, it emphasised the royal initiative in reforming papal abuses in the French church and upheld Gallican liberties. This document was clearly a forgery, but if it was accepted as genuine, the activities of one of the French royal saints could provide important historical justification for royal intervention in church affairs, and thus disarm critics of the Sanction's validity. There is evidence to suggest that Machet knew of the False Pragmatic Sanction: in a discourse attributed to him, the example of St Louis as a precedent for the promulgation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges is specifically invoked. The interest shown by the bishop of Castres in the manuscript of the Salic Law would certainly support the thesis that Machet was instrumental in 'discovering' this document, and provides a further example of the awareness in the entourage of Charles VII of the value of history as a justification for contemporary actions. As in the case of the Salic Law, the author of the 'Miroir' may have been privy to the bishop's investigations, and may have shared Machet's support for the Pragmatic Sanction.

The silence of the 'Miroir' on this issue, and the absence of any

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Machet was the forger of the False Pragmatic Sanction of St Louis, P. Santoni suggests that it was possible. Santoni, 'Gérard Machet', pp.127-149.

reference to the False Pragmatic Sanction, even in the account of the reign of Louis IX, means that no definite conclusion may be drawn on the author's attitudes to or involvement with these issues . However, it is interesting to note that as a result of the problems aroused by the False Pragmatic Sanction, it was suggested at the Council in 1450 that an investigation should be undertaken in the royal archives, to establish the liberties of the Gallican church.[1] It is possible that such a search was undertaken by royal officials, possibly including the author of the 'Miroir', and that treatises concerning the controversy between Philip IV and Boniface VIII, including 'Rex pacificus', were discovered in the course of this investigation[2]. The relevance of such texts for current events might have persuaded the author to include a translation of the treatise in the 'Miroir Historial', as a justification of the principles expounded in the False Pragmatic Sanction and the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII, and of Gallican liberties.

It is possible that the emphasis on royal control of the French church was not only a consequence of the author's support for the Pragmatic Sanction, but more generally a response to the reactions of papal apologists, both to the Pragmatic Sanction and to its catalyst, the Council of Basle. In their determination to defend the authority of the pope, they expounded theories of papal supremacy which could exercise an important influence on the temporal sphere. One of the most emphatic exponents of papal supremacy

1. Valois, op.cit., pp.clxxi-clxxiv, 199. The silence of the 'Miroir' is not unusual. Although the False Pragmatic Sanction was cited by Nicole Gilles (supra p. 38, n. 2), I have been unable to find a reference to it in accounts of the reign of St Louis in any other fifteenth century French histories.

2. The presence of the 'Quaestio in Utramque Partem' [published by Goldast, Monarchia S. Romani Imperii (Hanau, 1611), pp.39-57)] in the chancellery register of Pierre d'Étampes, A.N. JJ 28, ff. 239^{v}-257^{v}, indicates that relevant material from the Franco-papal dispute had been conserved in the Trésor des Chartes, and would have been available to royal officials. There is no record of a manuscript of 'Rex pacificus' in the royal archives, but a manuscript could have been found in Paris, in the Sorbonne (B.N. MS. lat. 15690), while B.N. MS. lat. 15004 had recently been copied for the library of St Victor.

was Piero dal Monte, author of 'Contra Impugnantes Sedis Apostolici Auctoritatem'. In this treatise, dal Monte attributed power over all orders and all jurisdictions to the pope, as the Vicar of Christ, with sole authority over the church, empowered to confer all benefices, and judge in first and last instance, from whom there was no appeal[1]. These assertions are particularly important in the context of the 'Miroir', for the papal claim to confer all benefices violated the traditional claims of the French crown, while a papal monopoly of ecclesiastical justice annulled the jurisdiction of the king of France in Parlement, which had come to occupy an increasingly important role in judging cases of disputed benefices[2].

The impact of such writings in France is difficult to assess. There were a number of channels by which they might reach the king and his counsellors. It appears that in 1439, a treatise expounding papal plenitude of power had reached the royal council, and even the king's own chamber[3]. Royal ambassadors to the Council of Basle or papal embassies to France may also have assisted in disseminating these ideas. In 1442, dal Monte himself harangued the king during his legatine mission to France, principally to ensure that the king did not support the Council of Basle, and to counter a project for a third general council, which was current in the royal entourage and had been approved by the king himself. In the course of this harangue, dal Monte expressed theories on the papal plenitude of power and especially in financial and judicial matters, which were to be incorporated in his treatise[4].

1. For the background to these ideas, see A.J. Black, Monarchy and Community: Political Ideas in the Later Conciliar Epoch (1430-50) (Cambridge, 1970), passim. For dal Monte, see P. Ourliac, art.cit., 408-12.

2. For the development of the competence of Parlement, see V. Martin, Origines du Gallicanisme (Paris, 1939), 2 vols., and G. Mollat, 'Origines du Gallicanisme Parlementaire', Rev.Hist.Eccl., xliii (1948), 90-147.

3. N. Valois, La Crise Religieuse au xve Siècle: le Pape et le Concile (Paris, 1909), ii. 168.

4. E. Delaruelle, E.R. Labande, P. Ourliac, L'Église au Temps du Grand Schisme et de la Crise Conciliaire (A. Fliche, V. Martin, Histoire de l'Église, xiv, 1962-64), iv. 283-84.

It is also feasible that the author of the 'Miroir' included the treatise because of the challenge from within France to royal jurisdiction in church matters. In 1439, the Estates of Languedoc had criticised the harshness of royal policy towards the pope, while emphasising papal supremacy. The papal cause was espoused by Bernard du Rosier, a professor at the University of Toulouse, and later archbishop of Toulouse. In a treatise composed against the Pragmatic Sanction in 1444, du Rosier denied all validity to the Bourges Assembly of 1438, and implicitly to royal authority over the church, because it lacked papal approval. Du Rosier also asserted that the pope was the sole master of all benefices within the church[1].

'Rex pacificus' contained arguments which justified royal intervention in ecclesiastical affairs, and limited the power of the pope. The papal justification was expounded at length and refuted. In view of the challenge to royal prerogatives in the climate of mid-fifteenth century France, it provided a useful vehicle for justifying royal claims. The association of 'Rex pacificus' with Jean Quidort provided the treatise with a venerable pedigree: the author's exposition of the historical context of its composition served to emphasise the justice of Philip IV's defence of the 'celestial' prerogatives of the crown of France[2].

One of these prerogatives is specifically mentioned in both texts: the royal claim to temporal and spiritual régale. In the 'Miroir', the inclusion of the false bull 'Deum time' indicates the threat to this royal prerogative which was embodied in the papal challenge to the exercise of this customary right by the king of France. A passage in 'Rex pacificus' reasserts the royal claim to régale and, in the context of that treatise,

1. N. Gazzaniga, L'Église du Midi à la Fin du Règne de Charles VII (Paris, 1976), p.76, suggests that du Rosier may have been the instigator of the Languedoc Protest, 1439. For a brief account of this protest, see Valois, Le Pape et le Concile, ii. 221-224. For du Rosier's unpublished treatise, 'Accensus Veri Luminis Francorum Christianissimi Regis et Regni Contra Tenorem Pragmaticae Sanctionis' (30 Nov. 1444), see Ourliac, 'La Pragmatique Sanction', 406 n.3, 407.

2. Supra pp. 95-6, and notes.

it appears that the preceding theological and historical arguments were designed to justify its exercise. Although the use of this passage by the 'Miroir' provides a natural response to the papal bull, it has been detached from its context, and included among a list of royal prerogatives. In 'Cest chose profitable', the question of the régale is totally dissociated from the dispute between Boniface VIII and Philip IV, which is ignored in the text, and the prerogative is included in a list of royal privileges which introduces the second section of the text[1]. Why has the issue of the régale been specifically selected?

There is little evidence of a direct papal challenge to the royal exercise of the régale in the years preceding the composition of these texts. The major limitations and potentialities of the prerogative had been established well before the reign of Charles VII[2]. In the fourteenth century Franco-papal relations had been strained by rival claims to collate to benefices, when the royal right of spiritual régale, never canonically approved, conflicted with the developing papal prerogative of reservations. The weakness of the Holy See during the Great Schism had facilitated the consolidation of royal rights, assisted by the activity of the Parlement of Paris[3]. The question of régale had vanished from the mainstream of diplomatic negotiations between the king of France and the papacy by the fifteenth century, and the difficulties of the popes with the Council of Basle encouraged a policy of conciliation with the French king, rather than confrontation. In 1436, a French royal embassy reminded the pope that the Council of Constance had decreed that the pope should not levy the fruits of vacant benefices, but no specific reference was made to the régale[4].

1. Supra, pp. 96,117. An account of the bulls is present in manuscripts of family E: E1, f. 29^{r}.
2. For the historical background to the régale, see J. Gaudemet, La Collation par le Roi de France de Bénéfices Vacants en Régale, des Origines à la Fin du xive Siècle (Paris,1935), and idem, 'Régales', Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique, ed. G. Mollat (Paris,1965), vii. 518-20.
3. G. Mollat, 'Origines du Gallicanisme Parlementaire', 90-147.
4. Valois, Pragmatique Sanction, p.lxviii (30 Mar. 1436).

Can this apparent lack of interest in the régale be explained with reference to the exercise of the right in France? Certain features might indicate that the right was accorded little attention. The temporal régale was frequently granted to third parties, while its profits were reduced by the grant of the temporalities of a bishopric to the incoming prelate on the payment of an oath of fealty by his proctor, rather than by the bishop himself[1]. However, it must be noted that the king did not alienate his right to the temporal régale, but merely transferred the profits - and the administration - to a third party. In this way, it might be possible to relieve pressure on other sectors of royal finance. In the Treaty of Arras, Charles VII granted the duke of Burgundy the profits of certain royal rights, including the temporal régale, in the city and county of Mâcon, but the right itself was expressly reserved by the king[2]. A further distinction should be made between the temporal and the spiritual régale. The royal ordinance of 1366 had declared that the king had the right to the 'collacio dignitatum officiorum et beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum in ecclesiis regni nostri': more sweeping in its implications than the claims made in 'Rex pacificus', the 'Miroir' or 'Cest chose profitable'. It was the right to collate to spiritual régale that the king showed most reluctance in curtailing. In 1451 the bishop of Thérouanne was granted the temporalities of his see after his proctor had sworn fealty on his behalf, but the king reserved his right to collate to benefices vacant during régale, until the bishop had given his oath in person to the king[3].

It is possible that the use of the passage concerning régales in our texts was elicited by the threat to this royal prerogative embodied in

1. For examples see Gaudemet, 'Régales', 519, 520. See also the allegation by Jean Juvenal des Ursins of the frequency of this practice, 'Loquar in tribulacione' (1445), ed. P.S. Lewis, Écrits Politiques, i. 495.
2. E. Cosneau, Les Grandes Traités, p.138.
3. For these points, see Gaudemet, 'Régales', 504, 520.

the claims of papal apologists for the supremacy of the pope as universal collator to benefices. It may once again be associated with the challenge to the Pragmatic Sanction, which had tacitly confirmed the exercise of régale, in its protection of the rights of the king and other 'patrons' as well as those of the ordinary collators[1].

Another possibility that should be taken into account is that the passage on régales was included in the text, not primarily in response to a papal challenge, but as an assertion of the power of the French king in his kingdom, particularly with regard to his vassals. It is clear from instructions prepared in 1446 for a French embassy to the Holy See that the king was perturbed by the pope's willingness to accord equal status to the king of France and certain of his subjects in ecclesiastical matters. A major French grievance was the address of papal bulls of confirmation of a new prelate, not to the king, but to 'aucuns ducs ou seigneurs, subgiez du roy'. The pope was reminded of the king's role as exclusive protector of all cathedral churches in the kingdom, from whom the temporalities of the see were held, and to whom only they were subject. This violation was intolerable to the king, and 'à la grant foule et deshonneur de la couronne'[2].

Although régales are not specifically mentioned, they provided an obvious manifestation of royal control over French bishoprics. The privilege was clearly coveted by one of the king's most powerful vassals, the duke of Burgundy. The previous year, Burgundian ambassadors were instructed by the duke to invoke the Treaty of Arras to justify ducal attempts to collate to benefices in régale during the vacancy of the see of Thérouanne. If the royal envoys argued that the right was inalienable, the ambassadors were to demonstrate, with historical examples, that the prerogative was not dependent on royal status, and to argue that 'tant aux roys, comme aux princes et autres, peuvent de coustume ancienne apartenir tels droits de

1. N. Valois, Pragmatique Sanction, p.lxxxviii.
2. N. Valois, op.cit., pp.160-161.

régales en eglises cathédrales et autres'[1]. This argument was probably an opening gambit in diplomatic negotiations, rather than a serious challenge to an established royal prerogative. But the reference to 'custom immemorial' was clearly applicable to another powerful vassal, the duke of Brittany.

The Breton claim to exercise the temporal régale had a much longer pedigree than that of the duke of Burgundy to the spiritual régale. It was given greater emphasis by Breton claims that the duchy had once been a kingdom, and that even after it had become part of France, its rulers had retained certain royal prerogatives, including régales[2]. Ducal independence in ecclesiastical affairs had recently been demonstrated by refusal to implement the Pragmatic Sanction, and the conclusion of a separate agreement with the pope, through the Concordat of Rédon (1441)[3]. There was no concerted royal attack on ducal exercise of the régale in 1451, but in view of the importance of the issue in the dispute between Louis XI and Duke Francis II between 1462-65[4], it is probable that this tolerance resulted from realpolitik, as in the issue of liege homage[5], or lack of opportunity, rather than acceptance of ducal claims. Four years after the composition of the 'Miroir Historial', a suitable opportunity was provided by a dispute concerning régales between the bishop of Nantes and Duke Peter II, which was brought before the Parlement of Paris.

1. 4 Mar. 1445. Plancher, Hist.Gén.Bourgogne, iv. clxxviii-ix.

2. For the use of this allegation in 1341 by John de Montfort's envoys, see M. Jones: 'Some Documents Relating to the Disputed Succession to the Duchy of Brittany', Camden Misc., xxiv (1972), 23. The historical background to Breton claims is described by B. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, Les Papes et Les Ducs de Bretagne (Bibl.Éc.Fr. Athènes et de Rome, cxxxiii, 1928), i. passim.

3. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, op.cit., ii. 577-87, 606-609, 627.

4. Ph. Contamine, 'The Contents of a French Diplomatic Bag in the 15th Century: Louis XI, Regalian Rights and Breton Bishoprics, 1462-65', Nott.Med.Studies, xxv (1981), 52-72; P.H. Morice, Mémoires pour Servir de Preuves à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique et Civile de Bretagne (Paris, 1746), iii. 48-57. It is interesting to note the active role of the count of Maine in these negotiations.

5. Supra p. 141,n. 2,3.

The Parlement ordered an inquest into ducal claims to exercise what it considered to be an exclusively royal prerogative[1]. The 'Miroir Historial' may therefore have been affirming royal rights which, even if they are violated, are not diminished, and must be enforced when practicable. The inclusion of the same passage in 'Cest chose profitable' may be explained in the same manner. However, if the latter was composed after 1455, the régale may have assumed additional relevance, as a result of the issue of the Breton régale, which had not been fully settled before the death of Charles VII.

Thus there is evidence that the attitude expressed to the royal exercise of the right of temporal and spiritual régale in our texts reflects the author's response to challenges to royal supremacy from within and outside the kingdom. The régale may have been chosen by the author to symbolise royal control over the temporal affairs of the church, within the kingdom of France. There is evidence that this interpretation of the right was current in the royal Parlements, where both the régale and the Pragmatic Sanction were interpreted as manifestations of the legitimate exercise of royal power and prerogatives by the king of France. The arguments used to justify royal intervention in ecclesiastical affairs are particularly instructive for they illustrate attitudes and sentiments akin to those of the author of the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable'. Between 1446 and 1457, pleadings in the Parlement of Toulouse emphasised the status of the king of France as 'brachium dextrum ecclesie' and 'christianissimus', who exercised many privileges in his kingdom, 'et a régale, et durant icelle, il donne les benefices vacans en régale et prend et distribue les fruiz'[2]. These assertions had a practical aim: to increase the likelihood that the advocate or his client would win the Parlement's support for a

1. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, op.cit., ii. 696-714; Morice, op.cit., ii. 1651-68.

2. Gazzaniga, op.cit., pp.171, n.19, 21. See also p.122 on the purposes for which the régale was invoked.

particular case, either in connection with the régale, or the Pragmatic Sanction. But they also reflect the familiarity of the parlementaires with the extent of the prerogatives attributed to the crown, and the justification of their exercise as a manifestation of the special sanctity of the crown of France.

The texts emphasise not only the prerogatives of the crown, but also the extraordinary services and protection afforded to the pope and the universal church by successive kings of France, and provide historical examples to substantiate these claims. This technique was also employed by royal ambassadors. In 1459 and 1478, the divine attributes of the French crown and the contribution of French kings to the propagation of the faith were invoked in an attempt to secure privileges for the ruling king of France, or to justify the exercise of existing prerogatives, including the régale[1].

By presenting royal privileges in an historical context, the texts imply that they are just and legitimate. This technique is perfectly consistent with contemporary practice, both in the Parlement and in diplomatic negotiations[2]. It is also employed in a short treatise entitled 'Miranda de Laudibus Francie', composed in 1451, and attributed to Bernard du Rosier[3]. The traditional protection given by the king of France to the Holy See justifies his exercise of judicial and financial

1. Beaucourt, Histoire de Charles VII, vi. 256. J. Combet, Louis XI et le Saint-Siège (Paris, 1903), pp.257-261.

2. In addition to the arguments given above, see the historical arguments used in a protestation of the Parlement to Louis XI to urge the maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction (27 Nov. 1464), Ord.Rois France (Paris, 1811), xv. 195-201.

3. B.N. MS. lat. 6020, ff. 1^{r}-12^{v}. The author's name is not given in the text, and the attribution rests on the appearance of the 'Miranda' among texts by du Rosier in the same manuscript. The text bears the date 1 Jan. 1450 (o.s.) f. 1^{r}: this manuscript was made in 1465 (f. 12^{r}). For an argument in favour of du Rosier's authorship, see infra p. 156,n. 2.

prerogatives[1]. The codification of royal prerogatives in this treatise is systematic, and far more extensive than that found in the 'Miroir' or 'Cest chose profitable'. It is interesting to note that the régale is excluded in the 'Miranda de Laudibus Francie'; in fact the treatise specifically denies that the king has jurisdiction over priests, or can appropriate priestly offices or ministry to himself, and although the spiritual régale theoretically encompassed only benefices without cure of souls, it is possible that the author of the treatise considered that it was too closely related to the priestly office to be included[2]. As the treatise and the 'Miroir' are exactly contemporary, the omission by the 'Miranda de Laudibus Francie' of a generally admitted royal prerogative may clarify the purpose for which it was included in the 'Miroir', and later in 'Cest chose profitable'. If that omission was deliberate, it may signify a difference of opinion between some of the gens du roi concerning the régale and its exercise. The abuses associated with the exercise of this right had been criticised by Jean Juvenal des Ursins several years previously[3], and although the right was not directly questioned, it may have aroused opposition among some ecclesiastics. If so, this adds another dimension to its invocation in the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable' as an inalienable and indisputable prerogative of the crown: that of reconciling the king's subjects, and particularly ecclesiastics, to royal control of the church, epitomised by the exercise of the régale.

1. MS. cit., ff. 4^{v}-6^{r}. These include the right to summon councils of the French church, to delegate the judgement of possessory cases to the royal baillis and sénéchaux, to take the temporalities of a bishopric into his hand when a possessory case is pending in Parlement, or if a prelate has rebelled; to employ the fruits of a benefice for the repair of damaged or decayed churches and to constrain other ecclesiastics to contribute to their repair.

2. MS. cit., f. 11^{r}. The reservations of the author on royal authority over the Church increase the probability that this was indeed the work of du Rosier. But if du Rosier is the author, his ideas on papal plenitude of power appear to have been modified in the course of his career. See supra p. 149, n. 1.

3. 'Loquar in tribulacione' (1445), ed. Lewis, Écrits Politiques, i. 493-95.

'Rex-Imperator'

The assertion of royal supremacy in the French church is one aspect of another major theme in the texts: the imperial status of the crown of France, and the subjection of all the inhabitants of the kingdom to the authority of the French king. The application of the formula 'le roy est empereur en son royaume' by the Parlement of Paris during the fifteenth century helps to clarify the significance of the imperial theme in the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'. The concept of the supremacy of imperial power, derived from Roman Law, was fused with the feudal principle of the king as the supreme lord in his kingdom, who had no temporal superior. André Bossuat's study of the Parlement during this period has indicated that the principle was invoked most frequently to assert the supremacy of royal authority and jurisdiction throughout the kingdom of France, encompassing all the king's subjects, whether lay or ecclesiastical. This concept is clearly essential to any interpretation of the imperial status of the kings of France in the 'Miroir': the references to empire are clearly directed against clerical and papal encroachments on the royal supremacy[1].

In 'Cest chose profitable', it may have been used for another purpose. One case cited by Bossuat is of particular significance for clarifying a passage in the text. In 1443, Jean Juvenal des Ursins applied the maxim in a case which concerned the validity of Charles VII's jurisdiction, past and present, in territories which had been occupied by the English. Des Ursins asserted that 'le roy est empereur en son royaume en la temporalité, et a toute justice temporelle sur tous ceulx qui sont en ce royaume en quelque manière quil y soit venu, de droit divin, canonique et civil'[2]. This is

1. A. Bossuat, 'La Formule: "le Roi est Empereur en Son Royaume": son Emploi devant le Parlement de Paris', Rev.Hist.Droit Franç.et Étr. (1961), 371-81.
2. Ibid., 376.

remarkably close to the formulation of supreme royal jurisdiction throughout the kingdom in 'Cest chose profitable', and it is possible that the same source has been used in each case[1]. The purpose is the same: to refute English claims to jurisdiction in France. In 'Cest chose profitable', the assertion is made more emphatic by the treatise against the English claim to the crown which follows. The author may have intended to show that the very presence of the English king in France automatically made him a subject of the French king, who was thus empowered to 'judge in his own cause' in the matter of claims to the succession[2]. The destruction of English claims to the succession in turn destroys the claim that the English king, as king of France, has supreme jurisdiction in the kingdom. This had important implications for those who had accepted English rule, for the application of this principle implied that those who had obeyed the invaders were traitors. Although the recovery of occupied lands was generally marked by a policy of conciliation, the principle was useful as a means of asserting royal supremacy over independent vassals[3].

The same advantages were provided by the exaltation of the king above his greatest subjects, through emphasis on the divine attributes and protection associated with his office and the exclusive nature of the prerogatives which he exercised by right of his kingship. This preoccupation emerges clearly in both texts. The quasi-divine status of the king of France accentuates his separation from his subjects. 'Cest chose profitable' emphasises the king's monopoly of justice. As 'lex anima in terra' he alone is entitled to make laws for the kingdom. The author was evidently

1. The source of des Ursins' argument is not given, but see 'Cest chose profitable', edition, Appendix A, p. 263, n. 2.
2. These arguments had obvious relevance for English claims that Gascony was an allod. See supra, p. 136,n. 5.
3. For the development and application of this concept and the enforcement of penalties, see S.H. Cuttler, The Law of Treason, and Treason Trials in Later Medieval France (Cambridge, 1981), passim, esp. pp. 4-54, 181-194.

directing his assertions against the king's subjects, for he noted: 'Ceulx doncques qui en ce royaume, ouquel le roy est supremus monarcha, font de leur auctorite privee et indeue, lois, constitucions et establissemens contre et ou prejudice de la chose publique en sont a pugnir a lexemple de tous autres'[1].

These comments should be considered in the context of the king's relations with his great vassals during this period. The difficulties of the French monarchy during the Hundred Years War had greatly facilitated the independent stance of their vassals. By the fifteenth century, not only the dukes of Brittany, but also the counts of Armagnac, as vicomtes of Rodez, were crowned at their inauguration[2]. The dukes of Brittany had used the title 'by the grace of God' from the reign of John V[3]: its use by the counts of Foix had an even longer pedigree[4], and it had more recently been claimed by the duke of Burgundy. These abstract claims to God-given power were accompanied by more tangible and profitable rights. In 1415, Bernard, count of Armagnac and Rodez had ordered an investigation into his rights in his lands[5]. The resulting report aptly described them as 'droits de regale'. A comparable investigation to establish the 'droits royaulx' of the duke of Brittany was ordered by Duke Peter II in 1455[6]. By implication, their coronation entitled them to exercise rights which were associated with kingship. This included the minting of money, the legitimation of bastards, ennoblement, and in the case of the duke of Brittany, sovereign justice, through the Breton Parlement. Whether or not

1. 'Cest chose profitable', f. 81^{r}.
2. C. Samaran, La Maison d'Armagnac au xve Siècle (Mém.et Doc.Soc.Éc. Chartes,vii, Paris,1907), esp. p.6 for the iron crown of Rodez.
3. See for example, R. Blanchard, Lettres et Mandements de Jean V (Archives de Bretagne, iv, Nantes 1889), p.xxxiv, for the regular use of the title (from 1418).
4. A memorandum produced by the comital archivist Michel du Bernis in 1446 indicates that the title was used at least from the 13th century. H. Courteault, 'Un Archiviste des Comtes de Foix au xvème Siècle',A.Midi, vi (1894), 272-300: esp. 296-300.
5. B.N. MS. Doat 212, f. 157^{r} (report of the count's commissioners, 1415).
6. Morice, op.cit., ii. 1651-68.

de facto independence accompanied these claims, the readiness of the nobility to form independent alliances with the king's enemies, or to form coalitions among themselves in order to secure the redress of grievances or the fulfilment of their ambitions, contradicted the theory of the supreme power of the monarchy, as it was expressed by parlementaires, treatises such as the 'Miranda de Laudibus Francie', and the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable'.

The later years of Charles VII's reign indicate an increasing determination on the part of the king and his servants to match theory with practice. The reforming ordinances of 1439 and 1445 centred control of the armed forces in the king; the taille for war finance belonged exclusively to him, and nobles held military commands only by grace of the king. These administrative developments were accompanied by the king's assertion of his exclusive right to rule 'by the grace of God'. In 1446, Gaston IV, count of Foix was forced to abandon his claim to the title, although he had documentary evidence to prove that it had been used for two centuries[1]. Although Philip, duke of Burgundy was permitted to use the title in 1449, it was necessary for the duke to emphasise that his claim was founded on his imperial lands in Brabant and Limburg, and not on his French possessions[2]. Other customary claims were also challenged. The inquest into the ducal rights in Brittany in 1455 was a response to a royal instruction, to establish what privileges could be claimed by the duke and which belonged to the king[3].

The extent to which the king was personally involved in the reassertion of royal rights and privileges is difficult to assess. In theory, he

1. Courteault, art.cit., 273-74.
2. B.N. MS. Fontanieu 121-122, f. 23^{r-v}: ducal petition and royal grant of permission to use the title 'by the grace of God'. Burgundian claims to use this formula had been challenged by the king in 1446. For this issue, see Beaucourt, Histoire de Charles VII, iv. 336-67, 381-84.
3. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, op.cit., 696-714.

was bound by his coronation oath not to alienate the possessions of the crown. But it was necessary to discover what exactly the royal prerogative comprised. It is possible that the composition of the 'Miranda de Laudibus Francie' and the definition of certain royal prerogatives in the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable' were a response to this need. If so, they might be compared to a similar codification of royal rights which had been undertaken in the reign of Charles V, both in the form of the Montpellier ordinance of 1372, and in the discussion of royal rights in the Songe du Vergier[1]. The latter was available to the gens du roi, and there is evidence that the former was consulted by Charles VII and his counsellors. In 1456, the Parlement was instructed to extract and copy the Montpellier ordinance by the procureur général of the king. This ordinance was subsequently copied into the Memorials of the Chambre des Comptes[2]. There is unfortunately no indication why this ordinance was required: it is possible that it was intended to provide evidence in the preparations for the trial of the duke of Alençon, whose arrest had taken place a few months earlier. The document includes nothing directly relevant to the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable'. Nevertheless, it indicates the material available to the king and his counsellors for the definition and justification of royal rights, and may be indicative of a desire to clarify them, in the political climate of the last years of Charles VII[3].

As the status of kingship was enhanced, and its practical power

1. Le Songe du Vergier, ii. ccli (ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, pp.201-203); E. Lavisse, 'Le Pouvoir Royal au Temps de Charles V', Rev.Hist., xxvi (1884), 233-280; R. Fawtier, F. Lot, Histoire des Institutions Françaises au Moyen Age (Paris, 1958), ii. 40-43.

2. B.N. MS. fr. 23871 (collection of extracts from the 'Memorials' of the Chambre des Comptes of Paris), ff. 77^{r}-80^{r}: without reference to source, but index of contents of Memorial L indicates it originally occupied f. 112^{r} in that Memorial (A.N. P 118, p.44); noted, without reference, by A. Grün, 'Notices sur les Archives du Parlement de Paris', ed. E. Boutaric, Actes du Parlement de Paris (Paris, 1863), i. cxlv n.1.

3. Some of the problems of assembling information about royal rights and enforcing them are discussed by G. Dupont-Ferrier, 'Ignorances et Distractions Administratives en France aux xive et xve Siècles', Bibl.Éc.Chartes, c (1939), 145-156.

increased, a corresponding change can be noted both in attitudes towards resistance of royal authority, and the measures taken against it. Plots against the king, or even his interests, could be qualified as treason and lèse-majesté[1]. The discovery of such plots could entail disgrace, imprisonment or death. 'Cest chose profitable' reflects awareness of such ideas. The capture of King John II at Poitiers constitutes lèse-majesté[2]. The author also advises that a future history for the king should contain a description of traitors, and methods of identifying them[3]. His warning to nobles and princes of the blood against following the example of Bernard, king of Italy may well have been a response to the recent noble coalitions, and possibly to the trial for treason for the duke of Alençon in 1458, as a consequence of his projected alliance with the English against the king[4]. The comment in the 'Miroir' concerning the caution necessary in appointments to frontier bishoprics reflects contemporary royal concerns that loyal subjects should be appointed to benefices in politically vulnerable places in the kingdom[5].

Although the texts emphasise the supremacy of the crown, they reflect a traditional attitude to the way in which power should be exercised. The king should differ from the tyrant, in his wise exercise of power for the benefit of his subjects[6]. This applies especially in the

1. Cuttler, op.cit., pp.20-27, 54.
2. 'Cest chose profitable', f. 60^{r}: 'Cy commist le dit prince de Galles envers ... son souverain seigneur crimes de felonnie et de lese majeste'.
3. Incomplete in A f. 24^{r}: in B1 f. 17^{r}, revised to refer to Charles VII as the 'late king': 'De la matiere de traison, et comment on peut congnoistre un traictre, devroit escrire celui qui aura la charge de faire et composer listoire ou cronique du temps de Charles vii^{e} de ce nom, que Dieu absoille'.
4. For the trial of Alençon and its implications, see M.G.A. Vale, Charles VII, pp.154-62, 204-210; Cuttler, op.cit., pp.103-106, 210-12.
5. 'Miroir', f. 164^{v}.
6. See P.S. Lewis, 'Jean Juvenal des Ursins and the Common Literary Attitude towards Tyranny in Fifteenth Century France', Medium Aevum, xxxiv (1965), 103-21; J. Krynen, Idéal du Prince, pp.326-332.

distribution of offices and particularly those concerned with the administration of justice. The sentiments which are expressed in the texts reflect attitudes which had developed in the previous two centuries, when judicial offices were distinguished from other public offices, in the requirement that venality should never be permitted. As the principle was reiterated in the judicial reforms of 1454, it is probable that the inclusion of these passages in the texts reflects current royal concern with the administration of justice in France[1].

Current political concerns therefore clarify some possible uses of the concept of the imperial status of the king of France, as it is used in the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable'. It served to emphasise both the all-embracing nature of royal jurisdiction and the superiority of the king to his vassals, even the most powerful. It is consistent with contemporary efforts to reduce the status of powerful nobles, whose claims to divine authority for their rule, or to regalian rights, challenged the exclusive prerogatives of the king. In the context of the 'Miroir', it is probable that the emphasis on empire was also designed to support royal pretensions to lands subject to imperial jurisdiction.

The author provides a detailed description of the original boundaries of France in the time of the Merovingians. He alleges that France originally contained all of Gaul and 'Lower Germany', stretching from the borders of Bohemia and Slavonia to the English channel on the north, the Atlantic on the west, and the Alps and Pyrenees in the south. The author thus seeks to demonstrate that these frontiers had existed from the earliest history of the kingdom, and many years before the accession of Charlemagne to the imperial throne.[2] The choice of frontiers noted by the text is

1. Ord.Rois France (Paris, 1790), xiv. 284-314 (304 for venality). For the ethics of appointments to public office: C. Lefebvre, 'Juristes du Moyen Age et la Vénalité des Charges', Miscellanea Historica in Honorem Leonis van der Essen (Paris,1947),i.273-85. For practice in fifteenth-century France, C.W. Stocker, 'Office as Maintenance in Renaissance France', Canadian Journal of History, vi. (1971), 21-43; and in the Parlement of Paris, F. Autrand, Naissance d'un Grand Corps de l'Etat: les Gens du Parlement de Paris, 1345-1454 (Paris, 1981), pp.104, 300, 301.

2. Appendix A, p. 248; also f. 141^{r}.

particularly important, for it provides justification for a recent event[1]. In 1444, royal forces crossed the frontiers of the kingdom and occupied the town of Épinal, threatening other cities under nominal imperial jurisdiction. Épinal yielded to the king, and the royal letters issued to the town indicate that, by taking the town under royal protection, the king considered that he was recovering French territory. The terms are reminiscent of those issued later for the recovery of Normandy. The expedition into imperial territory was described as 'provision et remede à plusieurs usurpations et entreprinses faites sur les droitz de noz Royaume et Couronne de France .. estans deçà la rivierre de Rein, qui dencienneté souloient estre et appartenir à nos Predecesseurs Rois de France, et icelles remettre et réduire à nostre Seigneurie et bonne obéissance'. The citizens had recognised the king as 'leur naturel et souverain seigneur' and themselves as his 'vraiz hommes liges et subjetz'. The 'recovery' of Épinal is generally believed to illustrate awareness in the royal entourage of the Treaty of Verdun, which extended the borders of France to the Rhine, and would thus have included Épinal and Lorraine.[2] It is possible that the 'Miroir' is reasserting the possession of these territories before the accession of Charlemagne, thus associating them with the French crown, rather than the empire.

The emphasis in the 'Miroir' on the imperial status of the king and the crown of France may also be intended to recall the territory ruled by Charlemagne and his successors, and to increase the French claim to lands under the jurisdiction of the contemporary emperor. As in the case of Guyenne, French territorial claims are associated first with the earliest kings of France, then with the French emperor, Charlemagne.

The French attack on another imperial town provides important indications of the possible reasons why the 'Miroir' considered these

1. Beaucourt, Histoire de Charles VII, iv. 52-55: Ord.Rois France (1782), xiii. 408-410 (11 Sept. 1444: letters 'reuniting' Épinal and Rualmenil to the crown of France).

2. For another contemporary example, see Gilles Le Bouvier, Livre de la Description du Pays,ed. E.T. Hamy (Recueil des Voyages...,1908),p. 52; also Blondel's comments in the 'Oratio Historialis', ed.cit.,i.208-10.

issues[1]. Shortly after the reduction of Épinal, royal troops moved against Metz. When the town sent a deputation to the king to protest, they were harangued by Jean Rabateau, president of the Parlement of Paris. Rabateau alleged that rival royal and imperial claims to Metz had been exploited by the citizens to escape allegiance and subjection to either ruler; he cited the evidence of 'chronicles and histories' to prove that the town belonged to the crown of France. The description of frontiers in the 'Miroir' established the justice of such claims. It is further evidence of the awareness in the royal entourage of the value of history, as an instrument for justifying current political ambitions.

Was it the author's intention to encourage or justify more extensive royal aspirations, not only to imperial lands but also to the imperial throne? The success of the expedition to Lorraine clearly aroused the hopes of Mathieu Thomassin, delphinal chronicler and a contemporary of the author, that it would be a prelude to the 'return' of the empire to the French.[2] Royal ambitions might have been fostered by the tradition that the last world emperor and Second Charlemagne would be French, most recently voiced in prophecies addressed to Charles VII in 1445, and predicting that 1451 would be the crucial year for their fulfilment[3].

As the author provides no evidence that he was directly influenced by such considerations, and no exhortation to Charles VII to recover the empire appears in the text, it seems probable that emphasis on imperial antecedents was designed to secure more limited political objectives. The

1. Beaucourt, op.cit., iv. 52-55.
2. Infra, p. 194.
3. N. Valois, 'Conseils et Prédications Adressés à Charles VII en 1445 par un Certain Jean du Bois', 201-38; M. Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford, 1969), pp.329-30.

recent extension of the eastern borders of the kingdom, the desire to extol the glory of the French king and his imperial ancestry, in contrast to his English rivals, and to provide further justification for his 'imperial' prerogatives within the kingdom of France, present more obvious explanations for the treatment of emperors and empire in the 'Miroir Historial'. Although the king of France is represented as the equal and associate of the emperor within the universal church, the 'Miroir', like the Songe du Vergier, implies that he could have no more glorious title than the one already in his possession[1].

This analysis of the political and ideological context in which the texts were produced demonstrates the close connection between the actions and ambitions of the ruling king and his entourage, and the interpretation of French history produced for him by one of his officials. The reasons for these connections can be more fully appreciated when the author and the milieu which influenced his work have been examined.

1. Appendix A, pp. 274, n. 1, 275, n. 1; Songe du Vergier, i. lxxxviii (ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, i. 155).

CHAPTER FIVE: The Professional and Cultural Context of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'

The Author and his Milieu

'Cest chose profitable' has traditionally been identified with a text entitled the 'Abrégé des Chroniques de France', presented to Charles VII in June 1459 by his counsellor, Master Noël de Fribois. This reference was discovered in the royal comptes de l'Argenterie for the years 1458-59 by Vallet de Viriville in 1856. Viriville identified Fribois as a notaire et secrétaire du roi who had been in royal service since 1425[1], although he was initially unable to find a manuscript of the 'Abrégé des Chroniques'. Although he knew of the existence of A1, containing Fribois's name, Viriville had not studied it himself. Misled by catalogue descriptions, he assumed that the text ended in the year 1329, and could thus be at most a fragment of the original work, which continued to the reign of Charles VI. Shortly after the appearance of his article, Viriville learnt of the existence of E2[2], also attributed to Fribois. Subsequent research by Delisle, Langlois and Thomas revealed other manuscripts containing the same text, while du Fresne de Beaucourt added details about Fribois[3]. These tasks were continued by Labat[4].

The chief argument in favour of the attribution to Fribois was provided by the reference in the royal accounts. The description of the text as an 'Abrege des croniques de France, avec autres choses singulieres dedans contenues, jusques au temps du pere du roy nostre dit seigneur',

1. A.N. KK 51, f. 97r (1458-59); A. Vallet de Viriville, 'Noël de Fribois, Chroniqueur Inédit', J.Gén.Instr.Publ., xxv.21 (1856), 196.
2. Idem., J.Gén.Instr.Publ., xxv.39 (1856), 239-40.
3. L. Delisle, Cabinet des Manuscrits , i.72; E. Langlois, 'Notices des Manuscrits Français et Provençaux de Rome Antérieurs au xvie Siècle', Notices et Extraits, xxxiii (Paris, 1889), 61-64; A. Thomas, 'Comptes Rendus . Notices et Extraits', Romania, xix (1890), 604-5; G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, Histoire de Charles VII, vi.405-6.
4. A. Labat, 'L'Abrégé des Chroniques de France', pp.1-74.

although vague, is entirely consistent with 'Cest chose profitable' in version A[1]. This alone might not be sufficient evidence of Fribois's authorship. It is clear that another chronicler, Master Jean Domer, regent of the University of Paris, had also composed a short history for the king in the same year[2]. This text was in rhyme, and cannot therefore be identified with 'Cest chose profitable', but the reference provides an indication that Fribois was not the only historiographer employed by the crown. This point is noteworthy, for the royal accounts for this period are regrettably incomplete. Evidence of historiographical activity in other branches of - or totally independent of - the royal administration indicates that the chancellery and its officials had no monopoly of royal historiography[3]. In addition, none of the identified manuscripts of the text contains the date or title attributed to the text in the royal accounts[4].

Is there corroborative evidence which enables us to associate text and author more closely? A1 is clearly important in this respect. It is the only manuscript which contains a reference to Noël de Fribois. In addition, there is evidence that it belonged to a notaire et secrétaire, Jacques Le Picart. Le Picart's presence in the college of notaires et secrétaires du roi is attested in 1475 at the latest[5], thus only sixteen years after Fribois composed his text. It is entirely feasible that the attribution of the text to Fribois by a fellow notaire et secrétaire is reliable. An earlier version of the text was owned by the notaire et secrétaire du roi Jean Le Bègue, and as both Jacques Le Picart and Jean Le Bègue were also

1. A.N. KK 51, f. 97[r].
2. Ibid., f. 122[v]; Beaucourt, op. cit., pp. 405-6. Master Jean Domer was a regent in the French nation of the University by 1443. Liber Procuratorum Nationis Gallicanae(Franciae) in Universitate Parisiensi , ed. C. Samaran, A.A. van Moë (Auctoriarum Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis, v, 1942), p. 9.
3. Infra, pp. 185, 189, n. 1.
4. In group A and B1, the work is described in the text as the 'histoire de France abregee'. See Appendix A, p. 276.
5. A1: Appendix B, pp.295-7 ; Lapeyre, Scheurer, Notaires et Secrétaires, i.199.

members of the royal Chambre des Comptes, the tradition of Fribois's authorship may also have been preserved in the Chambre[1].

Further corroboration may be obtained by comparing the known facts of Fribois's career with the evidence of authorship in 'Cest chose profitable'. The author of 'Cest chose profitable' was a Norman, exiled by the English. He had been in royal service for more than thirty-six years when the text was composed. He may have had a special affection for St Michael, who is one of three saints whom he describes in detail in his text. He appears to have had a special interest in ecclesiastical affairs, and to have had legal training[2].

There is evidence that Noël de Fribois was also a Norman. A minor noble family called de Fribois was associated with the small hamlet of St-Loup de Fribois[3], between Caen and Lisieux, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In 1350, one Pierre de Fribois had been patron of the chapel there, which was a dependency of the priory of Ste-Barbe-en-Auge[4]. A branch of the family remained in the area: in 1411, one 'Jehan de Fribois, écuyer' was among the men-at-arms guarding Ste-Barbe, and he, or a homonym owned a house in Caen in 1401[5]. Members of the family may have moved to other parts of Normandy before or during the fifteenth century. In 1460, Robert de Fribois, écuyer, acquired a fief held of the king, in the bailliage of Caux. Before his death in 1482, he held land in Montivilliers[6].

1. C: Appendix B, p. 320 ; supra pp. 21, 36-39.
2. Supra, pp. 108-20; 'Cest chose profitable', ff. 12^{r-v}, 83^{v}, 84^{r}.
3. Modern canton of Mézidon, department of Calvados. C. Hippeau, Dictionnaire Topographique du Département du Calvados (Paris, 1883), p.124; Labat, op.cit., pp.9-10.
4. Pouillés de la Province de Rouen, ed. A. Longnon (Recueil des Historiens de la France, xi, 1903), col.1257. The same man, or a homonym or relative, donated the chapel of Fribois to the priory of Ste-Barbe in 1317: Extraits des Chartes et Autres Actes...dans les Archives du Calvados, ed. A.L. Lechaudé d'Anisy (Soc.Antiqu. Normandie, Caen, 1834-35), i.122. The name 'de Fribois' can be traced to the end of the twelfth century. Anisy, ibid., i. 105.
5. Anisy, op.cit., i. 126, ii. 99.
6. B.N. MS. fr. 27734, doss. 27970 (P.O.1250: Fribois).

In 1480, there is evidence of another branch of the family near Argentan[1]. It has not been possible to clarify the connections between the families in Caen, the Caux and Argentan, but it is possible that they were closely related.

It is interesting to note that Robert de Fribois's lands, which may have been held by the family at the beginning of the century or earlier, were close to the fiefs of the counts of Aumâle and Tancarville. Before May 1420, Noël de Fribois had entered the service of John VIII, count of Aumâle, lieutenant for the king and the dauphin on Mont-St-Michel[2]. Caen had fallen to the English in September 1417, and Rouen in January 1419: between these dates, Fribois, like the author of 'Cest chose profitable', may have been driven into exile. He may already have been secretary to the count, or may have joined his entourage after fleeing from the English. In August, 1420, Fribois was with the count at Durestal and in April 1421 at Tours[3]; between this date, when he was still acting as the count's secretary, and July 1425, he became a royal notaire et secrétaire[4]. He may have obtained this coveted office through the patronage of a great noble or royal counsellor, possibly John VIII himself.[5]

1. In 1480, Martin de Fribois was lord of Les Cours, Giel, canton of Putanges, department of Orne, B.N. MS. fr. 31032, doss.3889 (Cabinet d'Hozier, 151, f. 10^{r-v}). His eldest son and successor was christened Noël, like the notaire et secrétaire. Possible connections with Jean de Fribois are indicated by the marriage of Martin's daughter to Michel Bras-de-Fer before 1499. In 1411, one Michel Bras-de-Fer, probably a relative, had been Jean de Fribois's captain at Ste-Barbe, Anisy, ed.cit., i. 126. One Michel Bras-de-Fer, possibly the same, was avocat et conseiller du roi in the vicomté of Falaise between 1420-27. B.N. MS. fr. 26978, doss.11120 (P.O.494; Bras-de-Fer).

2. Letters signed by Fribois at this date are published in the Chronique du Mont St Michel, ed. S. Luce, ii.97-99. The originals were destroyed in 1944.

3. Quittance signed by Fribois on behalf of the count, for wages due to him as lieutenant of the king and dauphin at Mont St Michel, 15 Aug. 1420; for the same, 7 Oct. 1420 (s.l.): B.N. MS. Clairambault 58, pièces 4396, 4397 (plate 52); letter from the count to forces on Mont St Michel, 1 Apr. 1421: Chronique du Mont St Michel, ed.cit., ii. 108.

4. B.N. MS. fr. 6965, f. 6^{v} (Collection Legrand, vi) contains a reference to Noël de Tribois (sic) 'secretaire du roy' who had been entrusted with 'certains lettres blanches'.

5. It is also possible that Christophe d'Harcourt, cousin of the count, may have obtained an office for Fribois. At least one of Harcourt's

(continued on next page)

Fribois's presence with the king is attested by a dozen letters, signed between 1436 and 1444[1]. On 13 Feb. 1444, he resigned his office, which was given to Jean Thierry: the account of the resignation suggests that Fribois may have retained rights to half the bourses associated with the office[2]. There is evidence that Fribois had other duties in addition to his work in the chancellery, for in 1438 he was appointed 'notaire de la saincte congregation representant leglise du royaume et de Dalphine' at Bourges in 1438.

His participation in the Council of Bourges and his association with the promulgation of the Pragmatic Sanction deserve particular attention. Alexandre Labat discovered a document attesting the status of Noël de Fribois as notary to the Council of Bourges, which ~~not only provides the seign manuel of the notaire et secrétaire, but~~ includes important details of Fribois's qualifications. The author of 'Cest chose profitable' was clearly familiar with civil and canon law: in this document Fribois is described as 'licencie en loys et bachelier en decret'[3]. It has not been possible to determine where Fribois acquired his qualifications, although

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servants, André du Beuf, became a royal notaire et secrétaire. Dickinson, Congress of Arras, p.8. Lapeyre, Scheurer, Notaires et Secrétaires, i. 116.

1. B.N. MS. n.a. fr. 5026, nos. 414, 415, 418, 419 (Vallet de Viriville's notes for a history of Charles VII: art. Fribois); A.N. J $941^{1,3}$; JJ 177, ff. 56^{v}, 57^{r} (Ord.Rois France, xiii.394); JJ 214, f. 34^{v} (ibid., 256); K 64^{15}; K 67^{6}; Gazzaniga, L'Église du Midi, pp.276-78, for letters signed by Fribois.

2. B.N. MS. fr. 29310, doss. 62803,pièce 6 (P.O. 2826: Thierry); Lapeyre, Scheurer, Notaires et Secrétaires, i. 131. Thierry was granted the wages of 6 s.p. a day with 10 l.p. for robes, but only half the bourses. Fribois's resignation suggests that he cannot be the 'Noël de Fabois' who paid a marc d'or to the college of notaires et secrétaires between 1471-76, noted by A. Tessereau, Histoire de la Grande Chancelerie de France (Paris, 1676), p. 51.

3. A.N. J 945^{3} (9 Jul. 1438), Labat, op.cit., p.75: attestation of the identity and seign manuel of Noël de Friboys (sic) before the garde du scel aux contrats of the prévôté of Bourges. The seign manuel which originally accompanied this document has been lost, but Fribois's signature and seign manuel have been preserved in A.N. J 945^{2} (8 Jul. 1438). See plate 53 . For the Council, see supra p. 145.

his admiration for the University of Paris may indicate that he studied there[1]. Fribois's association with the Pragmatic Sanction survived his resignation of his office as notaire et secrétaire du roi. In September 1452, he was paid 40 l.t. 'pour plusieurs escriptures faites a Bourges sur le fait de la Pragmatique', obviously in connection with the meeting of French clergy in August that year, in response to the mission of Cardinal Estouteville, designed to secure the abrogation of the decree[2]. Fribois's connection with the Pragmatic Sanction is also consistent with the interest shown by the author of the 'Cest chose profitable' in the appointment of worthy prelates.

Fribois concluded his career with an office of conseiller du roi, which he had acquired by 1452 and which he still retained in 1459[3]. Surviving documents provide no evidence of his presence at meetings of the council[4], and the position may have been purely honorific. Alternatively, it may have been intended to remunerate Fribois for other services, and more specifically, in connection with royal historiography[5].

Thus, Fribois, like the author of 'Cest chose profitable', was a Norman, probably exiled by the English, and certainly present in the royal chancellery during the exile of Charles VII at Bourges. Although the small number of documents restricts any assessment of his career as a notaire et secrétaire, they do indicate that he followed the king or council, and was

1. Appendix A, p. 259 ; noted by Labat, op.cit., p.10. Fribois's name does not appear in the university records edited by E. Chatelain, H. Denifle, Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis (Paris, 1894, 1897), iii, iv. However, the majority of students from Norman dioceses mentioned in the rôles des suppliques in 1403 attended the University of Paris. J. Verger, 'Le Recrutement Géographique des Universités Françaises au Début du xve Siècle', Mél.Arch.Hist.Éc.Fr. Rome, lxxxii (1970), 879, 895-900.

2. B.N. MS. fr. 32511, f. 158^{r}; Beaucourt, op. cit.,vi.405; for the council of the Gallican church in 1452, see Valois, Pragmatique Sanction, pp.clxxix-clxxxiii.

3. B.N. MS. fr. 32511, ff. 158^{r}, 173^{v}; A.N. KK 51, f. 97^{r}.

4. The records are very incomplete: Fribois's name does not appear in the surviving council register for the year 1455. N. Valois, Le Conseil du Roi aux xive, xve et xvie Siècles (Paris, 1888), pp.231-323.

5. Infra, pp. 190-3.

not based either in Bourges, or later, in Paris[1]. The relative paucity of documents signed by Fribois may itself be indicative that the notaire et secrétaire was engaged in other tasks on behalf of the king[2], of which the Council of Bourges provides some evidence, but which unfortunately cannot be supplemented with further examples, due to lack of evidence. In view of Fribois's historiographical offices at a later date, it is tempting to speculate that these tasks may have required some historical investigation. His legal training satisfies another requirement for the author of 'Cest chose profitable'. His personal experience of exile and his service of the exiled king would have given Fribois ample opportunity to become familiar with arguments against the English claims to the French throne, used in 'Cest chose profitable'. Thus the available evidence from Fribois's career and from the text itself, supports the attribution of 'Cest chose profitable' to the royal notaire et secrétaire. In these circumstances, the reference to the duration of the author's career in royal service in 'Cest chose profitable' indicates that Fribois had become a notaire et secrétaire in or before 1423[3].

Can the 'Miroir Historial' also be attributed to Fribois? The probabilities of a common origin for both texts, which have already been discussed, evidently provide support for this theory, but it can be further strengthened by examining the 'Miroir Historial' in the light of evidence of Fribois's career. The Norman origin of the author is clearly applicable to Fribois: the connection between the author of the 'Miroir' and the Harcourt family provides further evidence to associate the text with the notaire et secrétaire. Christophe d'Harcourt was first cousin of

1. A.N. JJ 214, f. 34^{v} (Montpellier, April 1437) and K 67^{6} (Paris, 15 Sept. 1441) were signed 'par le roy a la relacion du grant conseil'; A.N. K 64^{15} (Melun, 4 Nov. 1437) 'par le roy'; Gazzaniga, op.cit., p.278 (Bourges, 2 Nov. 1440), 'de mandato verbali et expresso regis'.

2. Fribois was not present at the only meeting of notaires et secrétaires during his tenure of office for which documentation survives: A.N. V^{2} 26, ff. 136^{r}-37^{r} (Proceedings of the college of notaires et secrétaires at Tours, 1433). For the significance of Fribois's membership of this group, see infra pp. 177-181 and notes.

3. Infra, Appendix A, p. 277.

John VIII[1]. Even if it is argued that the reference to Christophe d'Harcourt is coincidental, and does not indicate a personal connection between the author and the family, a reference in the text to another Harcourt connection, the count of Tancarville-Melun, does indicate a stronger link. The author was aware that the count of Tancarville was accustomed to read chronicles at solemn feasts, in the presence of the king[2]. Unless this indicates the author's own presence on these occasions - which appears unlikely - it is entirely feasible that he knew of it through the Harcourt family.

The author's acquaintance and discussions with Renaud de Chartres, Machet and Vassal are also consistent with the known facts of Fribois's career. As royal notaire et secrétaire, he may have been entrusted with business concerning the Congress of Arras, or negotiations for the Truce of Tours. Royal secretaries and notaries frequently participated in embassies, and recorded their proceedings. There is no evidence in the text that the author himself acted as secretary to an embassy, or as ambassador, but he may have been involved in the preparation of dossiers for the ambassadors. As notaire et secrétaire, he may also have recorded discussions at meetings of the royal council. No minutes survive for the earlier years of Charles VII's reign, but records for a later period (1455-6) indicate the regular presence of a royal notaire et secrétaire[3]. The reference in the 'Miroir Historial' may indicate informal discussions, but it is also possible that they indicate a formal discussion in the royal council, at which the author was present, in his official capacity as royal notaire et secrétaire. He was clearly well informed concerning the French case against the English, as Geoffroy Vassal showed him documents

1. For these connections, see G.A. de La Roque, Histoire Généalogique de la Maison d'Harcourt (Paris, 1662), i.338; Anselme, Hist. Généalogique, v. 132-37.
2. 'Miroir Historial', f. 133^{r}.
3. N. Valois, op.cit., pp. 231-323.

concerning French demands for reparations. He was also aware that this was part of a larger project to collect evidence of royal rights[1].

Noël de Fribois's presence in the entourage of the exiled Charles VII would have provided ample opportunities to associate with the chancellor and other royal counsellors, not only those mentioned in connection with the Salic Law, but also with the king's cousin, Charles d'Anjou. Viriville's analysis of the composition of the royal council, based on the evidence of royal letters, indicates that these men were frequently present, individually or together, between 1430 and 1444[2].

Fribois's participation at the Council of Bourges in 1438 and evidence of his subsequent connections with the Pragmatic Sanction provide even stronger grounds for believing that he may be the author of the 'Miroir Historial'. It has already been suggested[3] that the author's connection with Gérard Machet could link his treatment of relations between church and state with the Pragmatic Sanction. Fribois's role as notary to the congregation at Bourges, commissioned to record the decisions and affairs of the council, would have provided him with direct contact with reforming ideas, and with theories of royal supremacy in temporal matters in the French church. He would also have been in a position to hear arguments in favour of papal supremacy, presented by the pope's ambassadors. He was evidently associated with the ecclesiastical council summoned in 1440 and 1452; it is equally possible that he was involved in earlier councils connected with the Pragmatic Sanction, between 1438 and 1452. Fribois would probably have had access to material collected in defence of the crown's supremacy: the author of the 'Miroir Historial' cites two documents from the royal Trésor des Chartes[4] which were crucial to the establishment

1. See infra, p. 198, n. 2.
2. A. Vallet de Viriville, Charles VII, Roi de France et ses Conseillers [1403-61] (Paris, 1859), passim.
3. See supra, p. 146.
4. Appendix A, pp. 231-3.

of royal control in the French church, and independence of papal intervention. 'Rex pacificus', as an important apology for this relationship, could also have been known to Fribois, or to other counsellors who supported the Pragmatic Sanction, who could have communicated it to the notaire et secrétaire.

Other, minor details support the hypothesis that the author of the 'Miroir' was associated with the royal chancellery. A comment concerning the protocol of royal letters, although not conclusive evidence of a chancellery origin, is perfectly in keeping with the professional training of a notaire et secrétaire. It was necessary for the notary to draft letters in the correct form. During the reign of Charles VII, Odart Morchesne, himself a royal notaire et secrétaire, composed a manual as a guide to the style and characteristics which distinguished different types of royal letters. Although there is no reference in this work to the comments made by the author of the 'Miroir', both are indicative of the same mentality[1].

It is thus extremely probable that Noël de Fribois composed both the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'. In the case of the latter, the attribution is supported by the association of one of the manuscripts with this notaire et secrétaire, who is known to have presented a work to Charles VII in 1459, which fulfils the criteria for the date and character of this text and the career of its author. In the former, there is convincing evidence that it was composed by the same author, and the known details of Fribois's career provide independent testimony to support his candidature as the author of the 'Miroir Historial'. The absence of direct reference to the name of the author in either text means that this conclusion may be subject to revision if additional evidence comes to light. At present, Fribois remains the most suitable candidate

1. 'Miroir Historial', ff.219^{v}, 220^{v}; infra, pp.252, n.2, 255-6. G. Tessier, 'Le Formulaire d'Odart Morchesne', Mélanges Félix Grat (Paris, 1949), ii. 75-102.

for authorship of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'.

The connection of these texts with Noël de Fribois provides an important supplement to our knowledge of the author. The notaire et secrétaire provides another example of the Norman contribution to the literary defence of royal interests, with Alain Chartier, Robert Blondel, and the anonymous royal clerk from Rouen who translated Blondel's 'Oratio Historialis' for Charles VII in 1460[1]. It is now necessary to place author and texts in the context of the royal chancellery in the reign of Charles VII, to determine how this milieu may have influenced Fribois and his work.

Noël de Fribois's office as notaire et secrétaire du roi involved him with an important section of the royal administration[2]. The notaires et secrétaires had established a monopoly of the signature of royal acts, without which an act was invalid. They formed an élite among the clerks of the royal administration: they provided personnel for the most confidential secretarial duties, as well as the great administrative bodies, the Chancellery, Chambre des Comptes and Parlement. They enjoyed the privileges of their office, in the form of exemption from the taille and from onerous guard duties. The benefits of office were not confined to these exemptions, and the remuneration for their notarial duties, in the form of bourses and gaiges: the office itself was a marketable commodity. Resignation

1. A. Chartier, Le Quadrilogue Invectif, ed. E. Droz, pp.v-vii. A. Vallet de Viriville, 'Notice sur Robert Blondel', Mém.Soc.Antiqu.Normandie, ix (1851), 211; Robert Blondel, Oeuvres, ed. Héron, i. 295-6.

2. There is no analysis of the notaires et secrétaires of Charles VII, comparable to that of Lapeyre and Scheurer for the succeeding three reigns. Some information on the members of the college during Charles VII's reign may be found in Lapeyre, Scheurer (index: Charles VII for references). See also G. Ouy, G. Tessier, 'Notaires et Secrétaires du Roi dans la Première Moitié du xve Siècle, d'après un Document Inédit',Bull.Phil.Hist. (1963), 861-890, for an edition, and commentary on the 'genealogy' of the transmission of offices among notaires et secrétaires c.1418-1450, drawn up by the notaire et secrétaire Nicole Aymar . Useful information on the status and activities of notaires et secrétaires in the 'kingdom of Bourges' 1418-1436, is given by R. Little, 'The Parlement of Poitiers and the "Kingdom of Bourges"', pp.110-123. See also O. Morel, La Grande Chancellerie Royale et l'Expedition des Lettres Royaux ... [1328-1400], (Mém. et Doc. Soc. Éc.Chartes,iii.1900), esp. pp.54-84; R-H. Bautier, 'Les Notaires et Secrétaires du Roi des Origines au Milieu du xvie Siècle', in Lapeyre, Scheurer, Notaires et Secrétaires, i. x-xxxiii. For the genesis and functions of the confraternity to which all

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in favour of a third party clearly existed when Noël de Fribois acquired and resigned his office; this might be motivated by nepotism, or purely by venality[1]. The office itself could be divided, so that one party received the bourse and the other the gaiges. The office might be purely honorific: duties could be exercised by a deputy, while the incumbent enjoyed the profits of office. It could be used as a form of remuneration for former services to the king: alternatively, it could provide a route to royal confidence and favour. Among the notaires et secrétaires, one group was particularly privileged. Its members received higher wages and were selected for special duties: for the greffe of the Parlement or the Chambre des Comptes, for the signature of financial documents; and in the reign of Louis XI, even for the signature of letters from the king's own hand[2]. Their presence at council meetings, their participation in embassies and in special missions in France associated them with the responsibility and exercise of royal power, and also with its benefits. The post of notaire et secrétaire provided a route to greater and more profitable office; Étienne Chevalier and Jean Le Picart became trésoriers of France[3]. As an initial step to a career in royal service, it could provide the route to considerable wealth. Some families retained one or more offices, transmitting them to relatives, or from generation to generation[4].

The office was therefore coveted, and there was considerable competition for its possession. Recruitment from the servants of nobles ,

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notaires et secrétaires du roi belonged during this period, see P. Robin, La Compagnie des Secrétaires du Roi [1351-1791] (Paris, 1933), passim.

1. Some examples of the status, privileges and venality of notaires et secrétaires in the kingdom of Bourges are given by Little, op.cit., pp.114-117. For Fribois's resignation, see supra p.171, n.2.

2. Ouy, Tessier, art.cit., 877; Bautier, op.cit., xxvi-xxxiii.

3. For Chevalier's career, see The Hours of Étienne Chevalier, ed. C. Schaefer , pp.17-18; Lapeyre, Scheurer, op.cit., i.94; for Le Picart: Ouy, Tessier, art.cit., 872.

4. See for example, the Budés, Le Picarts and Chevaliers: Lapeyre, Scheurer, op.cit, i.passim, ii (genealogies); Ouy, Tessier, art.cit., 873 for the Mauloué family.

prelates or princes of the blood in royal favour or influential in the government, or through the service of another royal official, either in the Chancellery, or in the royal council, were common methods of preferment[1]. There is evidence that the office frequently attracted cultured and educated men. There is no study comparable to that of Françoise Autrand for the milieu of the Parlement during this period, but the careers and cultural interests of individual notaires et secrétaires provide some indications of the resources and talents of the colleagues of Fribois[2]. A degree was by no means rare: Fribois was not alone in possessing a degree in both canon and civil law. In some cases, notaires et secrétaires in turn became teachers, through manuals which incorporated their own experiences and attempted to codify procedure. Odart Morchesne composed a manual for notaires et secrétaires which survives in several copies : Jean Le Bègue, notaire et secrétaire and greffier in the Chambre des Comptes, composed a guide to practice in the Chambre[3].

Their interests were not confined to their profession. Like their fourteenth century predecessors the clercs du roi[4], the notaires et secrétaires of Charles VI and Charles VII contributed to the literature of their time. Jean de Montreuil and Gontier Col, both notaires et secrétaires of Charles VI, were notable contributors to the development of French humanism. This tradition did not end with their deaths and the departure of many of

1. Robert Mallière entered royal service through the service of the house of Orléans, Jean Bouju through the house of Anjou, Étienne Chevalier through that of High Constable Richemont; Nicole Aymar began his career as clerk of Henri Mauloué, audiencier in the Chancellerie. Ouy, Tessier, art.cit., 872; Lapeyre, Scheurer, op.cit., i. 13, 85; Schaefer, ed.cit., p.17.

2. F. Autrand, 'Culture et Mentalité: les Librairies des Gens du Parlement au Temps de Charles VI', Annales E.S.C. (1973), 1219-1244; considerable information may, however, be obtained from Lapeyre, Scheurer, Notaires et Secrétaires, i. passim.

3. G. Ouy, 'Un Jeune Humaniste Parisien (Jean Le Bègue)', p.371.

4. See for example, Jean Maillart (active 1286-1316), Le Roman du Comte d'Anjou, ed. M. Roques (Classiques Fr. du Moyen Age, lxvii, 1931): Maillart was a notary in the royal household, and possibly clerc du secret. Gervais du Bus (active 1313-38), Le Roman de Fauvel, ed. A. Långfors (Soc.Anc.Textes Fr., 1919); du Bus was clerc-notaire du roi in the royal chancellery.

their colleagues from Paris. The purchases of books by Jean I Budé, and the literary work of Alain Chartier testify to the continuing cultural interests of these royal officials[1]. An important link between these groups was provided by Jean Le Bègue, and it may have been crucial to the author of the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable'. Le Bègue had remained in Paris during the English occupation but he retained his office after the recovery of the capital by the forces of Charles VII. There is no evidence that his career had been jeopardised by his association with the Anglo-Burgundian regime. Le Bègue's cultural interests are testified by his library, one of the very few which is documented for royal notaires et secrétaires during this period[2]. It included classical works and those by French and Italian humanists, including Leonardo Bruni and Jean de Montreuil. Le Bègue was evidently interested in ancient and modern history, and is also credited with a translation into French of Bruni's Latin history of the Punic Wars, for Charles VII in 1445. The connection between Le Bègue and 'Cest chose profitable' has already been established: his possession of a corrected manuscript may indicate a closer personal association with the author. There is some evidence to corroborate this impression in the 'Miroir Historial', which indicates that the author may have shared some of Le Bègue's humanistic interests and even may have consulted him. The 'Miroir' includes a reference to Bruni, which indicates that he knew the 'Cicero Novus'. A manuscript of this work was owned by Le Bègue[3]. A reference to Petrarch in the 'Miroir' cannot be traced to the author, but the relevant citation, with reference, occurs in two letters by

1. Bautier, op.cit., i. xxxiv and references, for Montreuil, Col and Chartier; for Budé, see G. Ouy, 'Histoire "Visible" et Histoire "Cachée" d'un Manuscrit', Le Moyen Age, lxiv (1958), 115-38.

2. Twenty-two volumes have been identified. E. Hallaire, 'Quelques Manuscrits de Jean Le Bègue', Scriptorium, viii(1954), 291-2; G. Ouy, 'Un Jeune Humaniste Parisien', pp.373-5.

3. 'Miroir Historial', f. 187^{r}: B.N. MS. lat. 6258, ff. 3^{r-v}, 30^{v}-31^{r}. The citation in the 'Miroir' is ad sensum rather than literal; there is no justification for the author's claim that Cicero added more than three thousand Greek words to the Latin language, in Bruni's text.

Jean de Montreuil, known only through one manuscript, which also appears to have belonged to Le Bègue[1]. The transmission of manuscripts between friends and colleagues is certainly documented for Montreuil's time[2], and there is evidence that a similar practice was operating in the Chambre des Comptes at the date of the composition of the 'Miroir'. In 1451, Le Bègue's clerk, Pierre Amer, was shown an abridged history by Master Jean Lescuier, and Amer subsequently copied extracts into his manual of practice in the Chambre des Comptes[3]. Thus although no direct link between the author and Le Bègue can be proved, there is a strong probability that they were acquainted, or at the least, that they shared the same cultural interests, as well as a similar professional background.

The interest in history on the part of Le Bègue and his colleagues provides further evidence of the milieu in which the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable' were produced. Although history did not enjoy the status of an academic discipline, such as theology and law, it was an important auxiliary science for royal servants, particularly those whose tasks involved contact with the past. The renewal of royal privileges, ordinances, or charters frequently required recourse to a document already in existence. A basic knowledge of chronology, and particularly the reigns of kings of France, popes and emperors, is reflected in the lists of these rulers, which appeared in chancellery register E during the reign of Philip Augustus[4]. In the early years of Louis XI's reign, genealogies of the kings of France with a short account of their reigns were incorporated into a

1. 'Miroir Historial', f. 187^{v}; B.N. MS. lat. 13062, ff. 67^{r}, 108^{r}, Jean de Montreuil, Opera, i, ep. lines 102, 43-44, ep. 154, lines 42-46. I owe this reference to N. Grévy and E. Ornato.

2. For examples, see Montreuil, Opera, iii. art., 'Manuscrits'.

3. B.N. MS. fr. 10988, f. 31^{r}. The collection includes dated documents ranging from 1454-1483, suggesting that the 'Manuale' was compiled between these dates.

4. For these lists and their implications, see Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, ed. H.F. Delaborde (Paris, 1916), i. xxxiii-iv (register E) and E.A.R. Brown, 'La Notion de Légitimité et la Prophétie à la Cour de Philippe-Auguste', La France de Philippe Auguste - le Temps des Mutations [1980] (Colloques du C.N.R.S., 602 ,Paris, 1982), pp.71-104, especially 77-8, 83-90, 97-98 and note 30.

chancellery formula, probably prepared for a notaire et secrétaire[1].

In the case of Jean Le Bègue, contact with historical documents, in the form of the 'Memorials' of the Chambre des Comptes, prompted him to record the most interesting historical details in his manual[2]. The best example of this procedure is illustrated by the manual of Pierre Amer. Although Amer was not a notaire et secrétaire, he had begun his career in the Chambre des Comptes as Le Bègue's clerk, and his manual reflects some of Le Bègue's own historical interests. It also indicates the methods and purposes for which historical evidence might be collected, and, in the absence of any comparable evidence for the milieu of the Chancellery at this time, it gives valuable insight into the methods which might have been used by the author of our texts. Amer's manual incorporates material which he had found useful or considered essential to the tasks which confronted him in the Chambre. The majority of information is taken from the 'Memorials' and indicates his considerable knowledge of the archives. Some extracts from the 'Memorials' present the appearance of rudimentary historical research: Amer has extracted the dates of coronations, the names and dates of birth of royal children, with details of royal and princely genealogies[3]. These genealogies frequently preface lists of documents concerning the lordships ruled by these families. Amer further supplements them with evidence drawn from chronicles. Details of documents referring to Bourges and Gâtinais are prefaced by short extracts from the abridged chronicle belonging to Jean Lescuier: an extract from the Latin chronicles of St Denis describes the origin of the Lendit fair[4]. It is clear that Amer used his critical judgement of documents to assess the value of these sources: a description of the origins of the kingdom of Yvetot is prefaced by the comment that it was taken 'a quadam cronica que

1. B.N. MS. fr. 14371, f. 325^{r}.
2. 'Manuale' of Pierre Amer, B.N. MS. fr. 10988, f. 50^{r}.
3. Ibid., ff. 28^{r}-31^{r}, 59^{r-v}, 82^{r}-83^{v}, 101^{r}-145^{v}, 224^{v}-227^{r}.
4. Ibid., ff. 31^{r}, 134^{r}.

non est reputanda autentica'[1]. This term is reminiscent of the author of the 'Miroir', who insisted on the 'authenticity' of his sources. As a notaire et secrétaire, who dealt with the authentication of documents, he, like Amer, was probably aware of the significance of the word in its application to chronicles.

Amer's manual is an excellent example of the use of historical research for professional reasons. It is a record of the privileges and rights of the French monarchy, justified by historical precedents, based on the archives of the Chambre, supplemented by information from non-archival sources. It also testified to his cultural interests. A similar process is reflected in the chancellery formula from Louis XI's reign, where genealogies are accompanied by a eulogy of the French nation and a list of prerogatives of the French monarchy[2]. These examples provide some explanation for the form chosen by the author for the 'Miroir Historial', which incorporates material relevant to royal privileges in the historical narrative and as an appendix. It is probable that this combination reflects the author's professional experience of defending royal interests with historical precedents.

What form might this have taken? As in the case of Amer, the most common contact with the past for royal servants might be provided by the location and use of documents. The major archive for the Chancellery was provided by the royal Trésor des Chartes, and the close connection between them was reflected in the appointment of a royal notaire et secrétaire, who was also audiencier in the Chancellery, as trésorier des chartes[3]. It is

1. Ibid., ff. 98^{v}-99^{r}.
2. B.N. MS. fr. 14371, f. 325^{r}.
3. For the royal Trésor des Chartes, see L.J. Dessalles, 'Le Trésor des Chartes: sa Création, ses Gardes et leurs Travaux', Mém. A.I.B.L., 1st ser., i (1844), 365-461; 428-446 for the fifteenth century; Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, ed. H.F. Delaborde (Archives Nationales: Inventaires et Documents, v, 1909), pp.clxvii-clxxiv for the fifteenth century. A collection of royal mandements to the trésorier des chartes during the reign of Charles VII survives in A.N. J 476, 16^{1-10}.

probable that the trésorier was chiefly responsible for finding the requisite document and sending the original or a vidimus to the officer who required it. But other royal officials might also participate. For embassies or royal commissions, the officers best equipped to recognise relevant documents were the ambassadors or commissioners themselves, and these would accompany the archivist. In 1457, the trésorier Dreux Budé was accompanied by Jean Dauvet, procureur du roi, Jean Symon, avocat du roi and Raoul I de Refuge, mâitre-lai in the Chambre des Comptes, in the task of collecting past treaties between kings of France, and the kings of Hungary and Bohemia or emperors and dukes of Austria. Relevant extracts from the documents were copied and sent to the royal council, during negotiations for an alliance between Charles VII and Ladislas, the reigning king of Hungary and Bohemia[1].

Fribois may have undertaken comparable tasks, but there is little evidence in his texts, for he cites very few documents. Although this need not necessarily indicate that he had no experience or interest in documents, it does concentrate attention on his use of chronicles. The testimony of 'reputable' historians and chroniclers is clearly accorded a status comparable to documents. This attitude is comprehensible when it is considered in the context of their use in fifteenth century France. Pierre Amer's use of chronicles in his manual was not fortuitous: it is reflective of the recognition of their value in legal or diplomatic disputes. In the following reign, Louis XI's commissioners engaged in extensive historical investigations to find chronicles which justified the royal claim to levy régales in Brittany: a policy which was also pursued by the king's rival, the duke of Brittany, to prove the converse[2]. Although there is no comparable evidence for the reign of Charles VII, the activity

1. B.N. MS. fr. 2811, ff. 35^{r}-36^{r}, 28 Dec. [1457] (report of procureur Dauvet to the conseil du roi, on research in the royal archives, ordered by the conseil). For these negotiations, see Beaucourt, op.cit., vi. 155-66.
2. Ph. Contamine, 'The Contents of a French Diplomatic Bag', 52-72.

of Gérard Machet and his colleagues in their search for the Salic Law indicates that Noël de Fribois's contemporaries were equally capable of such a task.

A major resource for such investigations was provided by the library of the abbey of St Denis. The abbey was renowned as the centre of royal historiography, and the connection between St Denis and the crown was re-affirmed by Charles VII in 1437, when he appointed Jean Chartier, monk and chanter of the abbey, as royal cronographus, to compose the history of his reign[1]. The chronicler appears to have been the custodian of the library, including the Latin chronicles from which the French Grandes Chroniques derived[2]. As their account was chiefly favourable to the pretensions of the crown, their testimony might be of great value to support royal claims. They were consulted in 1463-4 in preparation for negotiations between the king of France and the duke of Brittany, and preparatory to Anglo-French negotiations in 1478[3]. There is no comparable evidence for the reign of Charles VII. However, Gérard Machet's letter to Pierre de Versailles in 1441 indicates their intention to visit the abbey of St Denis for unspecified business in connection with the chronicles[4], and these were probably consulted again in 1459[5]. An excellent illustration of the use of

1. In spite of serious losses, the abbey library was estimated at 16,000 volumes in 1465. C. Samaran, 'Études Sandionysiennes: Notes sur la Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de St-Denis au xve Siècle', Bibl.Éc.Chartes, civ (1943), 7, 13. For Chartier's appointment, see idem, La Chronique Latine Inédite de Jean Chartier (Bibliothèque du xve Siècle, xxxvi, 1928), pp.87-88.

2. In the previous reign, the abbey chanter and chronicler had shown Jean de Montreuil a manuscript of the Salic Law. Montreuil, Opera, ii. 132. For Jean Chartier's custody of the abbey chronicles, see infra p. 186.

3. B.N. MS. Dupuy 762, f. 243^{r}, Contamine, art.cit., 64, where the chronicles are described as 'les plus approuvees de ce royaume'. For their use in 1478, see Lettres de Louis XI, ed. J. Vaesen, E. Charavay (S.H.F., 1900), vii. 31-33.

4. The nature of Machet's mission is not stated in the letter: 'agebam cum rege super facto cronicarum examinandarum, qui voluit et ordinavit que per vos [Pierre de Versailles] et me, una quando vacare libebit, examinentur et visitantur, et hoc nottificare curabo illi qui ad hec agenda deputatus est et electus [MS: illectus]'. It is also possible that the 'illi' refers to Jean Chartier, and thus that Machet's mission was to examine Chartier's chronicle of the reign of Charles VII. B.N. MS. lat. 8577, f. 22^{r}, P. Santoni, 'Gérard Machet',i. 94 n.

5. Infra, p. 191, n.2.

chronicles as evidence, and also of the fame of the chronicles of St Denis, is provided by a charter granted by Charles VII to the inhabitants of Gerona, Ampurias and Catalonia, in October 1445[1]. Two inhabitants of Gerona, a priest and a merchant, had travelled to France and consulted the abbot of St Denis, hoping to find evidence that the city had been freed from tribute in the time of Charlemagne. The abbot had referred the request to Jean Chartier, who discovered the requisite information in a manuscript of the Pseudo-Turpin chronicle. This mythical account of Charlemagne's conquests in Spain included an account of an attack and conquest of Galicia, the imposition by the emperor of a tribute on those who refused to accept the Christian faith, and the grant of a dispensation from tribute to all those who contributed to the construction of the abbey of St Denis. The Sandionysian manuscript was clearly exceptional, for it contained interpolations which implied that the tribute imposed by Charlemagne on the infidels was to apply only to three generations, and that the dispensation from tribute associated with St Denis, which in most manuscripts was limited to Gaul, extended to Catalonia, Gerona and Ampurias[2]. These extracts were collated and verified in the presence of a public and imperial notary, witnessed by the abbot and monks of St Denis, and incorporated into royal letters, by which Charles VII, in memory of his ancestor Charlemagne, and as his successor, released the inhabitants of Gerona, Ampurias and Catalonia from tribute.

1. A.N. JJ 177, ff. 57^{r}-58^{r}.

2. For editions and manuscripts, on which these conclusions are based, see Turpini Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi, ed. F. Castets (Montpellier, 1880); Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique de Pseudo-Turpin, ed. C. Meredith-Jones (Paris, 1936); The Pseudo-Turpin [B.N. MS. lat. 17656], ed. H.M. Smyser (Cambridge, Mass., 1937). None of the 49 manuscripts examined in these editions contains the aberrants found in the Sandionysian manuscript. The latter may be identified with a thirteenth-century manuscript belonging to the abbey, now Rome, Vat. MS. reg.lat. 550, where the aberrant readings have been interpolated into the text by a later fourteenth-century hand on ff. 139^{r}, 153^{r}. But as a further 121 manuscripts of the text have been found, but not studied in detail, it is possible that these corrections were copied from another abbey manuscript, which has not yet been identified. For a list of manuscripts, see I. Short, 'The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle: some Unnoticed Versions and their Sources', Medium Aevum, xxxviii (1969), 1-22.

The effect of this document on the king of Aragon is not known. But the incident demonstrates the positive role which might be played by histories and chronicles in supplementing archival resources, and, in this case, indicates that they could be incorporated into legal documents. Although this is the best documented example of such attitudes during the reign of Charles VII, it was not unique: in 1493, Charles VIII ordered that extracts should be made from the chronicle of Nantes, in the presence of two notaries, 'en forme publicque et autentique, que foy y soit ajoutee'. In such circumstances, references in the 'Miroir' to sources which are 'autentiques et approuves' assume additional significance[1].

Such contacts with the past evidently acted as a stimulus to certain royal officials, who combined their personal historical interests and professional skill in producing historical works. Although the Chancellery did not monopolise historiographical production in the fifteenth century, notaires et secrétaires made a notable contribution. Among these, the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable' hold an important place, because they were composed much earlier than other texts which can be identified as the work of notaires et secrétaires[2]. Both texts reflect another influence of the milieu in which they were produced, namely, the author's identification with the crown, and the use of his talents to promote royal interests. There was clearly a precedent for this in the works of Jean de Montreuil, where the author's learning, including history, and rhetoric were employed to rally his compatriots to the cause of Charles VI, and against the invading English. His example was followed by another notaire

1. Chronique de Nantes, ed. R. Merlet (Paris, 1896), pp.ix-x. The chronicle had been personally examined by Charles VIII, who had ordered the extract to be made.

2. For Nicole Gilles and Jacques Le Picart, see supra, pp.36-9. For histories of St Denis and St Louis by Louis Le Blanc (notaire et secrétaire and greffier in the Chambre des Comptes from 1471 to 1509) see M. François, 'Les Rois de France et l'Abbaye de St-Denis à la Fin du xve Siècle', Mélanges Félix Grat (Paris, 1946), i. 367-382. For the historical works of Jean de Candida, see C. Couderc, 'Jean de Candida, Historien', Bibl.Éc.Chartes, lxxxiv (1924), 323-341, and infra Appendix B, pp. 331, n.1, 332.

et secrétaire, Alain Chartier, when he composed the Quadrilogue Invectif in 1422 to rouse support for the dauphin Charles[1]. After Chartier and until the composition of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable', the defence of royal interests does not seem to have received any contribution from the notaires et secrétaires: the tradition was continued by Jean Juvenal des Ursins, who was trained as an avocat in the Parlement, not in the Chancellery, and Robert Blondel, who was employed by the duke of Brittany, not by the crown, when he composed his major polemical works[2]. The 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' indicate that this silence did not reflect a lack of interest or awareness on the part of notaires et secrétaires. Fribois was informed of other authors who had considered the problem of the Valois succession, notably Jean de Montreuil, although he does not mention him by name. By the reign of Louis XI, knowledge of polemical material was clearly considered essential for a chancellery official: the copy of Odart Morchesne's formulary, mentioned above, also contains an extract from Jean de Montreuil's Latin treatise against the English, which has been inserted into a genealogy of the kings of France to justify the Valois succession[3]. The circulation of such material among royal servants is further testified by manuscripts of 'Cest chose profitable'. Noël de Fribois's career is unfortunately insufficiently documented to determine whether he had been personally involved with the collection of material for diplomatic dossiers, although his connection with the Pragmatic Sanction indicates how identification with royal interests in ecclesiastical affairs affected his treatment of such issues in the 'Miroir Historial'.

The experience and sentiments incorporated into the 'Miroir

1. Montreuil, Opera, ii., passim; A. Chartier, Quadrilogue Invectif, ed. E. Droz.
2. Robert Blondel, Oeuvres, i.xiii, xix; Lewis,'War Propaganda', 11.
3. B.N. MS. fr. 14371, ff. 287^{v}-288^{r}; Montreuil, op.cit., ii. 224-226 (lines 90-148).

Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' reflect not only the influence of the Chancellery, but of a wider milieu: those engaged in royal service, whose work may have involved the collection of material relating to royal rights, either in the course of regular duties, or for special missions. In the Chancellery and in the Chambre des Comptes, the defence of royal rights might be personally espoused by a royal official, who employed his experience and talents to convince his compatriots; or contact with historical documents might stimulate an author to compose a history[1]. Both elements are combined in the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable': but in contrast to some other texts produced by royal servants, these were composed in response to a direct royal command. It is therefore necessary to consider the influence of royal requirements on the character of the texts.

The Purpose and Influence of the Texts

Charles VII's reasons for commissioning the texts may be better understood when the status of the author is clarified. The king of France already employed a royal chronicler to record events during his reign. The comparative speed of Chartier's appointment indicates the awareness on the part of the king and his counsellors of the value of a contemporary history favourable to Charles VII. It is possible that Chartier's appointment represented an innovation in the relationship between royal chroniclers

1. Examples of historiography in the Chambre des Comptes are provided by 'Pour vraye cognoissance avoir' (B.N. MSS. fr. 15490, 25159), composed in 1471 by one 'Louis' whom it has not been possible to identify and which takes the form of a genealogy of the kings of France, intended to justify the Valois claim to the French throne. For the polemical content of this text, see P.S. Lewis, 'War Propaganda', 5-6, 11, 20 n.1. Another anonymous text, the 'Origo Regum Francorum', contains references to the registers of the Chambre and may well have been composed by a member (B.N. MSS. fr. 4924, lat. 5932 A, 5940, 6185: in the last, references to the registers appear on f. 31^{r}). This takes the form of a history of France from the legendary arrival of the Trojans in France, until the accession of Charles VI, with additions in some manuscripts to the reigns of Charles VII, Louis XI and Charles VIII. For historiography in the royal chancellery, see p. 187, n. 2, supra.

and the king. A dispute between the canons of Notre-Dame de Paris and the monks of St Denis in 1410 indicates that the status of the chronicler was still unclear. Although the monks maintained that he was a royal official, receiving royal livery and swearing an oath of fealty on his admission to office, the canons maintained that he was an official of the abbey, not of the king. It is perhaps significant that the contemporary chronicler and author of a history of Charles VI's reign provides no details of his appointment[1]. There is no doubt about Chartier's position, for he announces it in the course of his chronicle; in addition to royal livery, and the oath of office, his position entitled him to a stipend of 250 l.t.[2]. This is the first reference to a pension in connection with the royal chronicler; his official status, in the strictest sense of the word, was no longer in doubt.

These apparent innovations make it pertinent to ask whether Fribois and his texts provide evidence that Charles VII had created a new historiographical office. Was he instructed to compose a work which would complement Chartier's chronicle, recounting the history of France before the accession of Charles VII? Did he receive a stipend, to enable him to devote his time to the collection of material and the compilation of historical works? It is clear that Fribois's historical investigations did not cease with the completion of 'Cest chose profitable'; in the same year, he received 60 l.t. for unspecified work 'touchant le fait des chroniques de France', which he had undertaken in July, August and September 1459, and which was evidently independent of the text presented to the king in June[3]. Such payments ex gratia do not provide evidence that

1. H.-F. Delaborde, 'Le Procès du Chef de St-Denis en 1410', Mém.Soc. Hist.Paris, xi (1884), 387; idem, 'La Vraie Chronique du Religieux de St-Denis', Bibl.Éc.Chartes, li (1890), 96, 98; Chronique du Religieux de St-Denis, ed.cit., passim.
2. Samaran, La Chronique Latine, pp.87-88.
3. B.N. MS. fr. 32511, f. 210^{v} (accounts of the receveur du Languedoïl, 1458-59).

Fribois was in receipt of a pension comparable to Jean Chartier. However, Anselme cited a document, which it had not been possible to trace, which indicated that Fribois received 300 livres as a pension, apparently for work on the 'Chronique de France', to be paid from the receipts of Normandy in 1459[1]. It seems that Fribois may have had a collaborator, for Anselme also records a payment to Jean Domer, who had spent 66 days in making extracts at Paris and St Denis, presumably from the chronicles there[2].

What form might this work have taken, and what connection may it have had with Chartier's work? It has been suggested that the 'Chroniques de France' referred to in these payments are the Grandes Chroniques illustrated by Jean Fouquet[3]. There seems to be no independent evidence to corroborate this, and it is equally possible that these payments were made for a new work. Charles VII's contemporary, Philip the Good, and his successor Louis XI each encouraged the preparation of works relating to the history of France as well as accounts of their own reigns. Although Georges Chastellain had been engaged in composing a history of the ruling duke since 1455, Philip the Good paid Hugues de Tolins 'son chroniqueur' in 1460, 'pour enquerir et sçavoir, tant par les fondations des esglises comme autrement, les noms des Rois et Ducs, qui ont esté en Bourgogne le temps passé et les fondations et choses par eux faictes durant leurs vies, afin d'icelles rédiger et faire chronique'[4]. Before 1465 and until 1472,

1. Anselme, Hist.Généalogique, i. 117.
2. Anselme, loc.cit.
3. Most recently by N. Reynaud, Jean Fouquet, p.60, n.175, 176. Although it is feasible that Fribois may have been instructed by the king to assist in the completion of the manuscript, if indeed this was a royal exemplar, the description in the royal accounts is too vague for any definite conclusion to be drawn.
4. H. Naïs, '"Grands Temps et Longs Jours Sont, Monsieur l'Indiciaire"', Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature Publiés par le Centre de Littératures Romanes de l'Université de Strasbourg, xi (1973), 216; G. Doutrepont, La Littérature Française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne (Bibliothèque du xve Siècle, viii, 1909), p.451.

Guillaume Danicot, Benedictine monk and royal counsellor, was royal 'istoriografe' (sic) or 'istoriograffus'[1], commissioned, like Tolins, to collect all the legends and historical facts concerning the kingdom of France, 'et icelles mectre par livres especiaulx'[2]. Whereas the royal chroniclers Jean Chartier and his successor Jean Castel (1464-76) received pensions and were entrusted with the task of composing the history of the ruling king, Danicot's task was apparently to write a more general history of the French monarchy. There is no evidence that he received a regular pension, and his title appears to have been personal[3], like that of indiciaire, current at the Burgundian court during the same period[4].

It is possible that Domer and Fribois had been entrusted with a comparable task: as apparently neither their texts, nor that of Danicot have survived, if indeed they were ever completed, it is not possible to determine whether credit for the project for a general history of France should be given to Charles VII, rather than to his successor. Unlike Danicot, neither Fribois nor Domer are given the title of historiographer in surviving documents, although Domer is described on one occasion as a 'cronizeur'[5], and it is possible that Danicot was the first to receive it. But if Fribois received his pension for historiographical work, he was distinguished both from his colleague and from Danicot, and may have held

1. J. Lesellier, 'Un Historiographe de Louis XI Demeuré Inconnu: Guillaume Danicot', Mél.Arch.Hist.Éc.Fr.Rome, xliii (1926), 1-42; C. Samaran, 'Un Ouvrage de Guillaume Danicot, Historiographe de Louis XI',8-20.

2. This description of his task is given by Danicot himself in the only text which has been attributed to him, the 'Vie de St Julien', B.N. MS. fr. 2099, f. 1^{r-v}; identified by C. Samaran, ibid., 15 for this passage.

3. Lesellier, art.cit., 25-29; Samaran, art.cit., 19-20.

4. Naïs, art.cit., 207-218.

5. The original sources which I have examined give Fribois the title of conseiller. For Domer, see the comptes de l'Argenterie du roi, 1458-59 , A.N. KK 51, f. 122^{v}, where he is called 'cronizeur', but not 'cronizeur du roi'. It is possible that this is a descriptive title of Domer's occupation at that date, rather than an official title.

a position equivalent to that of Chartier. It is possible that he held a distinct office, for which he received a stipend, and that he had been commissioned to compose a history of France, as he had already written the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable', but of greater length and scope. In the absence of either the text or firm evidence of this appointment, it is also possible that the pension was awarded for some other reason and that Fribois and Domer were merely two of a number of chroniclers who were commissioned to write histories for Charles VII and who received payment on their completion.

Even if Fribois was not a royal historiographer when he composed the 'Miroir Historial' or 'Cest chose profitable', these texts were still 'official history' in the sense that they had been commissioned and sanctioned by Charles VII. Thus to contemporaries, they might appear to be 'authentique et approuvé': their veracity was attested not by their antiquity nor by public reputation, but by the approval of a recognised authority[1]. The motives of the king and the author must therefore be considered in the context of such official historiography and its purposes in fifteenth century France. The best comparable example of the composition of historical works for a specific purpose is provided by the 'Registre Delphinal', commissioned by the dauphin Louis in 1456, and composed by a conseiller in the Parlement of Dauphiné, Mathieu Thomassin[2]. Although

1. B. Guenée, '"Authentique et Approuvé": Recherches sur les Principes de la Critique Historique au Moyen Age', in idem, Politique et Histoire au Moyen Age: Recueil des Études sur l'Histoire Politique et Historiographie Médiévales [1956-80] (Paris, 1981), pp.265-78; see also the definitions of 'authenticity' given by the monks and canons in 1410: H.-F. Delaborde, 'Le Procès du Chef de St Denis', 323, 376, 398, 401.

2. Grenoble, B.Mun. MS. U 909-10, ff. i^{r}-114^{r} (sic). This manuscript also contains three earlier historical works by Thomassin. For these texts and Thomassin's career, see G. Letonnelier, 'Mathieu Thomassin et le "Registre Delphinal"', Annales de l'Université de Grenoble, Section Lettres-Droit (1er trimestre 1929), 1-33. Also, R. Fédou, Les Hommes de Loi Lyonnais (Paris, 1964), pp.401-411. I have been unable to consult an unpublished thèse de T.E.R. by N. Géroudet, 'Mathieu Thomassin, Juriste et Dauphinois au Service de Louis II' (University of Grenoble, Section Histoire et Histoire des Arts, 1972).

Thomassin was not a secretary, he had many features in common with Noël de Fribois. He had received a degree in law. He was apparently on familiar terms with Gérard Machet, and appeared to share Machet's attitude to the Pragmatic Sanction[1]. His career spanned approximately the same period (1422-1463) as that of Fribois, although his activities are better documented. His professional tasks had evidently been crucial in promoting his interest in history. Many of the references to documents and to chronicles in his historical text had been painstakingly collected in the course of missions to defend delphinal rights against the encroachment of lay and ecclesiastical rivals[2].

Thomassin composed a history of the Dauphiné and its rulers, and not a history of the kingdom of France, but his text reflects similar sentiments to those of Noël de Fribois, and the texts share many common features. The first is the evident loyalty of their authors to the king of France, and their determination to emphasise the superiority of the crown to all other temporal powers. Although Dauphiné was technically imperial land, Thomassin prefers to emphasise its early connections with the French crown, as part of Gaul, and later as territory ruled by Clovis. His interest in the imperial rulers of the Dauphiné is confined to descendants of Charlemagne[3]. The imperial status of the kings of France is emphasised for two reasons. Thomassin clearly regrets the 'ingratitude' of the Roman church, which permitted the separation of the empire from the kingdom of France[4]. He also deplores the indiscipline of French troops during the expedition to Metz in 1444, which, he believed, might have restored the empire to the French crown, in the person of the dauphin, Louis[5].

1. B.N. MS. lat. 8577, f. 60^{r}, P. Santoni, 'Gérard Machet', ii.295, n. for a letter from Machet to Thomassin (1444-45). 'Registre Delphinal', ff. x^{r}-xii^{r}, for comments on the Pragmatic Sanction.
2. Letonnelier, art.cit., 17. K. Daly, 'Some Seigneurial Archives and Chronicles in Fifteenth Century France', Peritia, ii (1983) - publication pending.
3. 'Registre Delphinal', MS.cit., ff. xx^{r}, xxii^{v}-xxiii^{v}.
4. Ibid., f. xxiii^{v}.
5. Ibid., f. 113^{r}.

These aspirations indicate that the 'Miroir' was not unique in its emphasis on the French imperial past, and that Fribois may have shared Thomassin's belief in the restoration of a French emperor. Thomassin also stresses the imperial attributes of the crown to denote the supreme power of the king of France within his kingdom[1]. In one instance, this is evidently a defiance of the dominion of the emperor, for he criticises the action of Sigismund in dubbing a knight in the Parlement of Paris: ennoblement was a prerogative of the king of France, as emperor in his kingdom. Thomassin dates this freedom from imperial control, not to the time of Charlemagne, but to the reign of Clovis.

Like Fribois, Thomassin nevertheless emphasises the superiority of the royal to the imperial title[2]. He is equally aware of the rhetorical figure, that 'king' should be interpreted as the king of France, 'comme au plus excellent de crestiente'. He also provides a list of the principal attributes of the crown; the king is 'tres crestien', 'chef de toute cretiente', who is entitled to use the words 'par la grace de Dieu' in his letters[3]. The kings of France have never erred from the true faith; they have restored several popes to Rome; they are the 'principaulx protecteurs de leglise crestienne'. The king of France has been ordained and established by God; 'son vicaire en la temporalite en son tres noble et tres puissant royaulme de France .. estably seigneur en la temporalite de Dieu le pere et sans souverain, si ce nest Dieu seulement'. For this reason, the emperor cannot claim dominion over, nor French subjects equality with the king. He cites the sanctity of previous kings of France, and the protection shown by God to Charles VII, notably through the mediation of Joan of Arc. He lists the royal miracles: the holy unction which endows the king with divine grace, and the curing of scrofula. He notes that in the

1. For what follows, ibid., ff. xxv^{r-v}, $1v^{v}$.
2. Ibid., ff. iii^{r-v}, vi^{v}, xxv^{r-v}.
3. For this and the following comments, ibid., ff. lvii^{v}-lxi^{v}.

Parlement of Paris, the advocate of the duke of Burgundy was reproved for the exorbitant claims that he made for the prestige of his employer by the first president Adam de Cambray, who reminded him that only the king could cure scrofula. The exceptional status of the king is also reflected in the privileges which he enjoys from the Holy See, and in the transmission of the crown only to male heirs.

Like Fribois, Thomassin is aware of encroachments on the king's exceptional powers by the church. A short treatise justifies the superiority of royal - or delphinal - power in the temporal sphere. Thomassin had had ample opportunity to develop his arguments, for he had been instrumental in preparing the delphinal case for temporal authority in the archbishopric of Vienne in 1448[1].Thomassin's experiences as a delphinal official are reflected in other sections of the 'Registre Delphinal'. His career provided access to information which he incorporated into his text, but it also determined the interpretation which he gave it, for it indicated the importance of this material for the defence of delphinal rights[2].

These features are evidently of considerable interest for our interpretation of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'. Each contains a blend of historical information, a disquisition on the supremacy of the French crown, and accounts of the privileges which it enjoys. Some of these similarities can be explained by a common milieu. Although Thomassin was a delphinal officer, he had obtained his legal training in Orléans, and had spent several years in attendance at the Parlement of Paris[3]. Charles VII and his counsellors had close links with the Dauphiné; many delphinal officers, including Thomassin, remained loyal to the king when Louis II fled to Burgundy in 1456[4]. The 'Registre Delphinal'

1. Ibid., ff. lxi^{v}-lxiii^{r}.
2. Daly, art.cit., for examples.
3. 'Registre Delphinal', ff. 75^{v}, 87^{r}, 89^{r-v}.
4. Direct government of the Dauphiné was resumed by Charles VII on 8 April 1457. Vale, Charles VII, p.167-8.

evidently reflects considerable knowledge of royal as well as delphinal interests. But can these similarities also be explained by a common purpose for the texts?

Thomassin's instructions were quite specific. The dauphin declared that

> 'chose convenable soit que des droiz, faiz et gestes et choses touchans nos diz pays, perquis et cueillis en pluseurs lieux, et selon les qualitez et mutacions des temps et des seigneuries, se facent livres, registres et escriptz pour la conservacion de noz droitz et memoire perpetuelle des diz gestes'.

Thomassin was commanded to examine all relevant material in the keeping of delphinal officers, churches, or any of the dauphin's subjects,

> 'et tout ce que en trouverez, enregistrez.. en livre et registre deu, pour estre mys et garde en nostre chambre des comptes a Grenoble, a perpètuelle memoire.'[1]

The text was therefore intended to be readily available to delphinal officers who wished to consult it.

The dauphin employed the officer who was most experienced in defending his interests to select and include relevant material, which might assist in future disputes, or which preserved a record of his rights and privileges. Louis's departure from Dauphiné shortly after he had commissioned the 'Registre' means that it is not possible to determine whether the text met with his approval, nor whether it was ever placed for consultation in the Chambre des Comptes. But the dauphin's original instructions indicate that historiography might play an important part in the maintenance of the patron's rights, and the justification of his interests. It is evident that these possibilities were appreciated by Charles VII's subjects. Two chronicles were commissioned by Gaston IV, count of Foix, in 1445 and 1456. In 1446, Edmond de Dynter, secretary of Philip the Good, as duke of Brabant, composed and presented a Latin chronicle of the dukes of Brabant. In these, chronicles and documents were combined to

1. 'Registre Delphinal', f. i^{r-v}.

justify the territorial ambitions of the reigning princes[1].

The 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' were evidently inspired by a similar awareness on the part of Charles VII. Like his son and his vassals, he benefited from the experience and ability of one of his officials, who was well informed of current political concerns and competent to interpret the past in a manner which provided a justification for royal actions. The king and his counsellors were evidently engaged in collecting information to justify royal claims and policies at the time when the 'Miroir' was composed, for the author refers to 'certain euvre qui se fait pour le roy', which included French claims to reparations from the English[2]. The exact nature of this work cannot be established from this cryptic description, and it has not been possible to identify it. It is feasible that it might have been a prototype for the 'beaulx livres' which were to justify French claims in disputes, not only with the English, but also the pope and the emperor, the Flemings and the Spanish, and which were referred to in an undated council memorandum probably composed at the beginning of Charles VIII's reign[3]. If Charles VII's 'book' was intended as a comprehensive dossier of the ruler's rights, on similar lines, the historical works of Noël de Fribois may have been intended to fulfil a complementary role presenting, in abridged and literary form, the historical background and justification for royal claims. In this respect, Fribois's texts differ from the 'Registre Delphinal' which combines both functions. But could the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable', 'approved' by royal authority , have been intended to provide an historical reference work for the officials of Charles VII, as the 'Registre Delphinal' purported

1. For these points, Daly, art.cit., and references.
2. 'Miroir' (MS. O only), f. 201^{r}. See Appendix A, p.247.
3. B.N. MS. fr. 4054, ff. 241^{r}-243^{r}; as in the case of the 'Registre Delphinal', these were to be placed at the disposal of royal officials, in this instance by their deposit in the royal Chambre des Comptes and Trésor des Chartes. Noted by P.S. Lewis, 'War Propaganda', 17 n.4.

to offer the servants of the dauphin? It was evidently important that royal officials should be 'well informed' of the historical basis of their master's rights: an abridged history, such as 'Cest chose profitable', might provide a useful means of establishing this, while auctorial commentary, such as the treatise against the claims of Edward III, would direct attention to crucial events, and their significance for the reigning king. Manuscript evidence has indicated that 'Cest chose profitable' may well have been regarded in that light by some royal officials[1], although there is no firm indication that either text was composed specifically for that purpose, nor that they were cited in terms comparable to the Grandes Chroniques or the Chronique de Nantes[2].

The value of such texts to the king himself must also be taken into account. This was evidently recognised by Jean de Montreuil in the previous reign, when he dedicated one of his treatises to the current dauphin, John, so that the prince would be knowledgeable concerning the history of Anglo-French relations[3]. Charles VII may have been motivated by his desire to be well-informed about the historical basis for his rights to the crown and French territories. There is little surviving evidence of his library, but there are indications that he was interested in history. A contemporary description depicts the king reading a chronicle during his visit to the Norman abbey of Ardenne, probably during the Norman campaign, in 1450[4]. He may have recognised the value of a summary of French history when he commissioned the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'. The former provided a brief account of the expansion of the kingdom and the successive acquisitions of territory by his predecessors, while both

1. Supra, pp. 36-40.
2. Supra, pp. 185-7.
3. Jean de Montreuil, Opera, ii. 266.
4. B.N. MS. n.a. fr. 5086, ff. 115^{v}-116^{r} (Vallet de Viriville's notes on the itinerary of Charles VII, 10 Jun.-6 Jul. 1450); Vale, Charles VII, pp.139, 198.

texts summarised the prerogatives associated with the crown, and directed royal attention to the chief threats to their enjoyment by the king. The king was thus presented with information about the ancestral rights which he was morally obliged to preserve and defend[1].

It is possible that the king had other intentions when commissioning these 'official' histories, and that he desired not only to provide information for himself and his officials, but also to inform his subjects of his rights and to excite their support[2]. It is necessary therefore to consider what advantages were presented by historical works which might encourage the author and the king to use them as a vehicle of persuasion, for whom they were intended, and how effective they might be.

Initially, the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' do not appear to provide the most effective method of arousing support for the king. Although it is clear that historical arguments were used to defend royal policies in treatises composed before and after our texts, they were generally presented in a more precise and concentrated form, which left the audience in little doubt concerning their authors' intentions. Their declared aim was frequently to abridge or simplify existing arguments, so that they would be more comprehensible to their audience[3]. In the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' these features are only apparent in interpolations in the texts, or in the sections which include or paraphrase polemical material. Thus it is debatable whether the primary purpose of the texts was to diffuse propaganda. If so, it appears that the vehicle chosen by the author would not have been very satisfactory, for a shorter treatise, presenting the cruces of his arguments, might have been more effective.

1. See Appendix A, passim.
2. For this interpretation of the use of historiography, see B. Guenée, Histoire et Culture Historique, pp.332-346; and for the court of Burgundy, Y. Lacaze, 'Le Rôle des Traditions dans la Genèse d'un Sentiment National au xve Siècle: la Bourgogne de Philippe le Bon', Bibl.Éc.Chartes, cxxix (1971), 304-85.
3. For the treatises of Montreuil, des Ursins and Blondel, see supra, pp. 111-4,127-44. For further examples, see P.S. Lewis, 'War Propaganda', passim.

This was particularly important because of the restrictions imposed by contemporary hazards on the successful dissemination of the texts. The surviving manuscripts of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' indicate that some of the material most favourable to royal pretensions might be lost, either accidentally, during the transmission of the text, or as a result of the deliberate choice of the editor, entrepreneur or purchaser[1].

The influence of the texts is more difficult to assess, but auctorial interpolations designed to deter potential rebels might never have reached their intended audience. Those who represented the greatest threat to royal authority, and whom the author might be most anxious to influence, might not purchase the texts, nor be present at court if they were read. If a work did come to the attention of a great noble, it is difficult to estimate what effect it might have on his actions. An extreme case is provided by the count of Maine[2]. He personally commissioned a manuscript remarkable not only for its textual exaltation of royal power, but also for its iconography. Yet his conduct during the War of the Public Weal in 1465 was sufficiently ambivalent to arouse the suspicions of Louis XI, and the count may even have been plotting to join the rebellious princes. In 1472, he was once more implicated in plots connected with Charles of France. Under such circumstances, it seems unlikely that a rebellious prince, who believed that he had legitimate grievances against the king, would be greatly affected by texts such as the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'.

In contrast, public ceremonies, whether the trial of Alençon in 1458, or royal entries into cities recovered from the English, or more regular manifestations of royal majesty, as the king travelled from one

1. See supra, pp. 4-14, 19-20, 41 .
2. G. Dubosçq, 'Charles d'Anjou, Premier Comte du Maine, 1414-73' (Paris, École des Chartes thesis, 1933), pp.108-33; H. Stein, Charles de France (Paris, 1919), pp.430-31.

royal residence to another, might be expected to convey royal power and dignity to a greater multitude than texts such as the 'Miroir' and 'Cest chose profitable' might hope to reach[1]. Support for specific royal activities could be obtained by more effective means: a royal pension might be a greater incentive to encourage loyalty to Charles VII than an historical account of the superior Valois claim to the French throne. Embassies and royal interviews with foreign envoys presented more direct opportunities for the defence of royal activities. Royal letters and proclamations provided a more effective means of publicising royal policies and their justification[2].

Nevertheless, such texts might still be considered effective by their authors or patrons. The gift of existing historical works or the composition of new ones clearly played a part in foreign diplomacy. In 1416, the duke of Berry lent the emperor Sigismund one of the chronicles of St Denis, so that Sigismund might have it copied before he left Paris[3]. No text could present the French case against the English more effectively. In 1461, Louis XI was presented with an account of the life of Charlemagne in the course of a Florentine embassy. It had been composed by Donato

1. B. Guenée, F. Lehoux, Les Entrées Royales Françaises, pp.70-86, 156-60, 160-62; Vale, op.cit., pp.194-217.

2. For pensions and other incentives, see P.S. Lewis, Later Medieval France: the Polity (London, 1968), pp.220-37; the loss of pensions and favour, however, could be a major factor in promoting revolt among disaffected nobles. For the use of embassies for the promotion of royal interests see supra p. 155 : for the publication of royal policies by means of letters in France and abroad, see B. Chevalier, 'The "Bonnes Villes" and the King's Council in Fifteenth Century France', The Crown and Local Communities, ed. Highfield, Jeffs, pp. 118-19, 122-24 n.35, 37; G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, Les Sources Allemandes de l'Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc: Eberhard Windecke (Paris, 1903), pp.139-143; R.G. Little, op.cit., pp.212-18, for the application of these methods to promote interest in the mission of Joan of Arc; and C. Samaran, La Chronique Latine Inédite de Jean Chartier, p.48, for their use during the recovery of Normandy and expedition to Guyenne, 1449-51.

3. H.-F. Delaborde, 'La Vraie Chronique du Religieux de St-Denis', 98 n.3, identifies this text as the Latin chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis.

Acciajuoli, one of the ambassadors, to encourage the king of France to emulate his predecessor in assisting the city of Florence[1]. One of Montreuil's treatises was intended for a foreign audience, and was possibly composed for presentation during an embassy[2]. It is conceivable that such considerations may have inspired a parallel French and Latin text in the 'Miroir'.

It is evident that in such cases, care was taken to ensure that the text reached its intended audience. The king's subjects were aware of this factor. In 1448, Charles VII was presented with a Latin history of Milan by Antonio Astesan, secretary to the duke of Orléans. There is little doubt that it had been composed to persuade the king to assist the duke in his pursuit of his claim to the duchy of Milan[3]. Blondel's 'Oratio Historialis' was intended to encourage Charles VII to protect the duke of Brittany against the English, after the fall of Fougères[4].

It is important to establish what audience was envisaged for the texts, for this may explain the form taken by the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'. In spite of the warnings in the text of the punishment for rebellious princes, it may be asked whether the author was necessarily interested primarily in the king's enemies, or whether the texts were not principally addressed to those in the royal entourage, who may have sympathised with the ideas expressed by the author. This is clearly applicable to the count of Maine. In addition to the glorification of his ancestry, which he shared with the king, the count might have found

1. J. Monfrin, 'La Figure de Charlemagne dans l'Historiographie du xve Siècle', A.Bull.S.H.F. (1964-65), 77.
2. Jean de Montreuil, Opera, ii. 224; see also his letters, addressed to an English prince (John of Gaunt?), the emperor Sigismund and an unnamed French lord, which present the cruces of arguments contained in his treatises, and were clearly intended to promote support for the Valois cause. idem iii, nos.232-34.
3. B.N. MS. lat. 6166; Delisle, Cabinet des Manuscrits, i. 72.
4. R. Blondel, Oeuvres, i. 155-294.

justification in the 'Miroir Historial' for royal policies which had brought material benefits to him and his relations. The count had a personal interest in the expulsion of the English for he was unable to enter into complete possession of his counties of Maine and Mortain until the enemy had been driven out of Normandy. He also had reason to identify with royal interests in the east, for the expedition to Lorraine brought financial advantages to his brother, René d'Anjou. Charles d'Anjou may have had other reasons for approving of the sentiments expressed in the text. Its account of the expansion of the kingdom, and the military valour of the French might have found an echo in the count's own experiences. He had been active in military campaigns to recover Paris and the Île de France, Normandy and Guyenne from the English (1434-49, 1453), and in the expedition to Lorraine in 1444. He had taken part in the ceremonial entry of Charles VII into Paris in 1437, which celebrated the recovery of the capital: his archers had formed part of the royal cortège[1].

There is regrettably little evidence of contemporary owners of the texts, to determine whether they were initially disseminated in the royal entourage, and thus to a potentially sympathetic audience. However, later manuscripts indicate that the audience of 'Cest chose profitable' may have been favourable rather than hostile towards the ideas expressed by the author. Although Richard and Guy, lords of Espinay[2], were faithful servants of the last independent duke of Brittany and the duchess Anne,

1. The count may also have had a personal interest in arguments against papal claims for plenitude of power, and in support of the Pragmatic Sanction: they were used by his proctor, Henri Boileau, in the Parlement of Paris in 1451, against the canons and chapter of Le Mans, who had attempted to deny that the count had temporal jurisdiction over them. A.N. X 1^a 8304, ff. 512^r-513^r (16 Jul.1451). Details of the count's career have been taken from G. Duboscq, 'Charles d'Anjou, Premier Comte du Maine', pp.29-74; Beaucourt, Histoire de Charles VII, iv. 17, 47.

2. B1: Appendix B, pp. 308-9 . A. du Paz, Histoire Généalogique de Plusieurs Maisons Illustres de Bretagne, pp.294-95; H. Busson, 'Dans l'Orbe de la Pléiade: Charles d'Espinay, Evêque de Dol (1531?-1591)', 1-7.

the family also provided faithful servants for the king of France. Guy's mother had been related to the dukes of Orléans and the accession of Louis XII meant that the Espinays were cousins to the French king. The family benefited from the union of kingdom and duchy: Guy's son and successor became chamberlain to Louis XII. Although Richard or Guy d'Espinay acquired the text before these events took place, it is conceivable that they did not find its exposition of royal power incompatible with loyal service to the duke of Brittany. André de Chauvigny may also have had a comparable interest in the defence of royal interests in 'Cest chose profitable': he was clearly sufficiently in sympathy with Charles VIII's prosecution of his claim to the kingdom of Naples to own a treatise justifying royal pretensions to it[1].

This implied community of interest between the king and these nobles may be extended to other owners of manuscripts of the texts. The most obvious examples are provided by royal servants, and particularly those who, like Fribois, were notaires et secrétaires du roi. Under such circumstances, it seems that the author was 'preaching to the converted', and that his success was determined by the sympathy of his audience for the ideas expressed in the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'.

If the circulation of the texts was moderate, the status and power of those who read them and might be influenced by them, could amply compensate for this deficiency. If their message failed to reach or convince hostile nobles, they might create a suitable ambiance among those who accepted the legitimacy and authority of the Valois kings. In the immediate entourage of the king, they might ensure practical assistance from the princes obedient to the king, by promoting a sense of common identity with the aims of the monarchy, and reverence for the crown of France. Emphasis on the divine prerogatives of the crown, and the temporal plenitude of power attributed to the king might serve to justify and win

1. E2: Appendix B, pp. 332-3.

support for the practical implementation of royal authority. The summary of historical claims to lands held by the English or subject to the empire could be used to justify both the king and the nobility when they waged a 'just' war to recover them[1]. Emphasis on the crown as the apex of legitimate power and authority in the kingdom might serve to provide a moral justification for those who transferred their allegiance from the English king to Charles VII or from great princes such as the dukes of Burgundy or Brittany, to their temporal superior, the king[2].

In his choice of a royal official to compose historical works, and more particularly, by his decision to entrust them to a notaire et secrétaire Charles VII showed his recognition of the intellectual capacity and professional skill of this group of royal servants. The influence of the king on the form and content of the texts can only be conjectured. He may have played a decisive role in determining their character, as historical works which not only justified his recent activities through reference to the deeds of his ancestors, but classified and defined the prerogatives and dignities which distinguished the French crown from its subjects and its neighbours. If so, it is conceivable that the king intended the text as an apology for his activities and as a means of influencing opinion, however exclusive the audience, to induce respect for the supreme dignity of the monarchy, and the practical exercise of royal power.

1. P.Contamine,'L'Idée de Guerre à la Fin du Moyen Age',C.R.A.I.B.L.(1979), 80-83.
2. For the importance of these considerations to the nobility, see Lewis, Later Medieval France, pp.187-89. For an examination of the problems presented by, and attitudes towards changes of allegiance from duke to king in the duchy of Brittany, see M. Jones, '"Bons Bretons et Bons Francoys": the Language and Meaning of Treason in Later Medieval France', Trans.Roy.Hist.Soc., 5th ser., xxxii (1982), 91-112. For the use of chivalric orders to secure exclusive allegiance of vassals to the lord, see M.G.A. Vale, War and Chivalry (London, 1981), pp.32-62. The implication of membership for ducal vassals was particularly prominent in the Burgundian 'Toison d'Or' in 1468, when two members were reprimanded for having accepted royal pensions and offices and Jean de Nevers was degraded and disgraced for having preferred royal to ducal service: ibid., pp.49-51.

But allowances must also be made for auctorial initiative, and pressures on the author, which did not emanate directly from the king. The author's personal loyalty to the king and his abhorrence of the English, as well as his professional experiences in defending royal interests, may have determined his choice of subject and methods for his texts[1]. Influential acquaintances and friends, members of the royal council or the author's professional superiors, such as Machet, Vassal, Harcourt and Renaud de Chartres, or his other patron, Charles d'Anjou, may have affected the causes which the author chose to defend in his texts.

In addition, the author was subject to contemporary conventions, both in the composition of historical works and in their dissemination. Although the works were initially composed for the king, the author, like his contemporaries, probably desired that they should be read at the least by other powerful members at court, who might become future patrons. He therefore intended to entertain and edify, as well as educate royal subjects in their duty to the crown.

For this reason, it is probably more misleading than helpful to describe these texts, and others of comparable form, as 'royal propaganda'. The king himself might be the object of the author's message at least to as great an extent as his subjects. The king himself might desire the texts as a personal justification and reassurance for his actions, and a celebration of the distinction and nobility of his antecedents. Like the 'Registre Delphinal', they may have been intended to provide information for the king's own followers and officials, rather than for general dissemination. Thus, although the texts incorporate polemical material which displays the attributes of modern propaganda, the intention of the author in composing these works was probably far more complex. Their chief interest lies in the combination of such material with a historical narrative,

1. See for example the author's apology to the king, that: 'toutes fois que je suis en matiere qui touche les Anglois, je ne puis contenir ma plume, que elle ne sacquite aucunement, selon les cas occurrens'. 'Cest chose profitable', A1, f. 53^{r}.

to create texts which are reflective of attitudes towards French history, and its interpretation, in the royal entourage during the reign of Charles VII.

CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion

This thesis has investigated the contents, purpose, authorship and influence of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'. It has examined various redactions of the texts to identify the versions which would have been prepared for and presented to Charles VII. It has demonstrated the degree to which the texts reflect the current political preoccupations of the king and his entourage. It has endeavoured to clarify the problems surrounding the identity of the author, by establishing the probability that both texts were composed by the same author, and that they may be attributed to Master Noël de Fribois, notaire et secrétaire from at least 1423 until 1444, and still active in royal service in 1459. It has considered textual evidence to determine the purpose for which the texts were composed and, by examining surviving manuscripts and other indications of the success of the texts, to establish the influence of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'. By these methods, the thesis has endeavoured to present an assessment of the relationship between historiography and politics in the royal entourage, with reference to two texts composed by a royal official for Charles VII.

This examination of surviving manuscripts has indicated the complexity of the textual tradition of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'. It has nevertheless been possible to establish the superiority of the version of the 'Miroir Historial' represented by O, which, in spite of its variant dedication, includes information which must have been present in the manuscript prepared for Charles VII. Although the exact relationship between this version and the redaction found in the remaining manuscripts cannot be fully clarified, the latter may represent an earlier and incomplete version of the 'Miroir Historial', and may indicate the auctorial method of preparing the text. A comparable process

may be observed in the evolution of the text of 'Cest chose profitable'. The existence of C, composed before 1456, suggests that the author prepared an early version of his text, which may have been independent of royal patronage; that this was revised at royal command to produce A; and that the text was successively adapted, possibly by the original author, or perhaps by another, after 1461 and 1469, to produce versions B, D and E.

A study of the major themes of each text indicates the author's skill in selecting and adapting existing source material to present his interpretation of the history of France. In the 'Miroir Historial', the author emphasises the continuity of French kingship, from the foundation of the kingdom until his own time. Dynastic continuity is an important element in the 'Miroir Historial': the author gives particular prominence to the fiction of the reditus regni ad stirpem Karoli Magni, which he has taken from the Speculum Historiale of Vincent de Beauvais. He uses this to establish the connections between the Carolingians and their Capetian successors, and thus, by implication, with the ruling Valois king, Charles VII. Inheritance through blood provides only one aspect of the continuity of French kingship; the author recognises that a change of dynasty may appear to disrupt the image of permanence which he ascribes to the kingdom of France but he does not seek to establish indisputable blood-links between the three dynasties, although there were reputable precedents for such a method. Instead, he emphasises that the kings of France are united by their office and through their association with the crown of France. This has been endowed with 'divine and celestial prerogatives', and it is held by the king directly from God. The author seeks to show that God has intervened directly in the transmission of the crown from one dynasty to another, when the weakness or immorality of the reigning king has jeopardised the kingdom. The appurtenances of the crown have also been acquired through divine favour: the great expansion of the kingdom under Clovis and Charlemagne was both a result and a manifestation of divine approval. Once they have

been joined to the crown, the author implies, these territories can never be alienated de jure; if they are lost by a weak king, they should be recovered by his more able successors. Previous kings have won other privileges, equally inalienable, for the French crown. Thus French kings are emperors, and their kingdom has been endowed with imperial status through association with Charlemagne. They acknowledge neither the pope nor the emperor as temporal superior; the author emphasises that it is the duty of the reigning king to resist encroachment on his prerogatives over the temporal affairs of the kingdom, whether in the French church or in secular affairs, as Philip IV resisted Boniface VIII and the emperor.

Nevertheless, the author suggests that the king, pope and emperor are united in their concerns for the safety of the universal church. Thus it is incumbent on the French king to assist the pope, who has traditionally found refuge in the kingdom, while the emperor and the king must each fulfil their complementary tasks as the 'advocate' and 'right arm' of the church. The author uses historical, theological and legal sources to project the image of the 'saincte couronne de France' the unique status of which is justified not only by the evidence of history, but also through the will of God.

Emphasis on the 'saincte couronne' in the 'Miroir Historial' is echoed in 'Cest chose profitable'. The author once again demonstrates how divine favour has assisted the kings of France, who have in turn manifested their merit by their protection of the church or of the 'celestial' prerogatives of the crown. The text differs from the 'Miroir Historial' in devoting considerable attention to the succession dispute between the French and English descendants of the last Capetians. The author endeavours to prove the superior claim of Philip VI and his reigning descendant Charles VII, and refutes more recent English pretensions through the disinheritance of the latter, by the Treaty of Troyes. He also emphasises the evil character of the English.

In certain manuscripts, the meaning of the texts is clarified or emphasised by the use of illustration. This is particularly evident in O, which belonged to Charles, count of Maine. The iconography reflects the prominence given in the text to the special relationship between God and the crown of France; to the imperial status of the kings of France; and to the continuity of French kingship, through an extremely rare depiction of the reditus. The unusual and complex imagery suggests the intervention of the author in directing the illustration of this manuscript. Although the iconography in El shows less originality, it provides an important complement to the text of 'Cest chose profitable', by drawing attention to themes and events which are prominent in the text. Thus there are two depictions of the homage of English kings which emphasise their vassal status and inferiority to the kings of France, while another miniature depicts the brutal massacre by the English of their own rulers and St Thomas Becket. These features suggest the probable intervention of the author or compiler of this version of the text, and indicate that the manuscript may have been intended for an important political figure, perhaps King Louis XI. These manuscripts provide excellent examples of the value of examining illustration as well as text, when assessing the possible impact of a work on its audience.

Text and image reflect the ideological and political concerns of the royal entourage in the reign of Charles VII. Auctorial concern to emphasise the continuity of French kingship and the implicit right of the Valois and their successors to inherit the crown of France reflects the anxieties of the early years of Charles VII, in the aftermath of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance and the Treaty of Troyes. It was necessary to establish the legitimacy of Charles VII's government and to extend the area of territory under his control. The texts provide evidence of some of the arguments developed during these years, initially to establish the right of Charles VII to succeed to Charles VI and, with French success in recover-

ing territory occupied by the English, to establish royal authority even in land traditionally obedient to English rule. Both texts indicate awareness in the royal entourage of the use of the Salic Law as an argument against the succession of women and their descendants. 'Cest chose profitable' indicates the importance attributed to the refutal of the claims of Edward III and the validity of the Treaty of Troyes, even in the later years of Charles VII.

Emphasis in the 'Miroir Historial' on the historic frontiers of France, encompassing Normandy and Guyenne, reflects a comparable concern to justify the recovery of Normandy and the conquest of Gascony. The reditus has enabled the author to associate continuity in the transmission of the French crown with the territorial integrity of the kingdom which, according to his interpretation, had been established under divine guidance by the first Christian king.

The texts reflect contemporary concern about the relationship between the king of France and the Church. Although the theme of the sanctity of the French crown is present in both texts, it is given most prominence in the 'Miroir Historial', where it is used to justify the special position of the king within the French church. The author's treatment of the dispute between Philip IV and Boniface VIII suggests that he may have desired to present a precedent and justification for the actions of Charles VII, prompted by the royal promulgation of the Pragmatic Sanction, and the desire of the author and other members of the royal entourage to thwart attempts to secure its abrogation. These considerations are reflected both in the historical text, which indicates the moral and historical basis for royal authority, and in the inclusion and translation in the 'Miroir Historial' of the treatise 'Rex pacificus', presenting a reasoned and theoretical basis for royal control of the church in France, in temporal matters. These arguments also provide an implicit justification for the material benefits enjoyed by the crown, such as the

régale. These considerations have also influenced the author in composing 'Cest chose profitable', although the theme is less prominent.

The development of the imperial theme in the 'Miroir Historial' and to a lesser extent, in 'Cest chose profitable', was relevant for royal policy in France and abroad. The concept provided a means of asserting and justifying royal control within the kingdom, whether over subjects in territory occupied by the English, over clerics, or over powerful princes, whose independence and authority had been consolidated during the Hundred Years War. Although the imperial status of the French crown had been acknowledged in theory from the reign of Philip Augustus, it was given renewed relevance by the consolidation of royal power in the second half of Charles VII's reign, when military and financial reforms and the development of legal practice for the prosecution of rebellious subjects vested increased power and authority in the crown. In the case of the 'Miroir Historial', the emphasis on the imperial connections and the Carolingian heritage of the French crown may also have been inspired by the extension of French influence in the east, through the expedition to Lorraine in 1444.

The themes, auctorial methods and attitudes in the texts suggest that they are the work of a single author, while awareness of existing literature to justify royal pretensions, and the development or adaptation of traditional arguments to provide an historical and ethical basis for the claims and actions of Charles VII, indicate the close association of the author with the royal entourage. Although regrettably little is known about Noël de Fribois, the details which are available are compatible with evidence of authorship in the texts. Fribois was a Norman who, like the author of 'Cest chose profitable', was driven into exile by the English. As a former secretary of John VIII, count of Aumâle, Fribois, like the author of the 'Miroir Historial', might have acquired information on the duties of the count of Tancarville, and have been

introduced to Christophe d'Harcourt. As a royal notaire et secrétaire, who shared the exile of the king and his entourage in the 'kingdom of Bourges', Fribois would have been suitably informed of arguments defending Charles VII's claim to the throne and, like the author of the 'Miroir Historial', he could have been privy to discussions between Vassal, Machet, Harcourt and his immediate superior, the royal chancellor, Renaud de Chartres. Fribois's appointment as notary to the Council of Bourges is one of the best reasons for attributing to him the authorship of the 'Miroir Historial', for he would have been informed of arguments for and against the Pragmatic Sanction, and the competing claims of pope and king for control of the French church, with which the author was clearly familiar.

The attribution of the texts to a notaire et secrétaire is perfectly compatible with evidence of the cultural and professional interests of these royal officials. There is testimony of their interest in literature, history and the defence of royal interests before the reign of Charles VII, and particularly in the career of Jean de Montreuil, notaire et secrétaire to Charles VI, who systematically developed and popularised historical argument in the service of the Valois, against their English rivals. The Valois cause was also espoused by Alain Chartier, Fribois's contemporary in the chancellery of the'kingdom of Bourges'. Fribois appears nevertheless to mark a new departure in the direction taken by the notaires et secrétaires in combining their personal loyalty and culture with their professional identification with the crown and its interests. He appears to be the first to have composed texts which were primarily histories, rather than pièces d'occasion justifying individual aspects of French policy or defending particular interests, such as Montreuil's treatises against the English.

Both texts were commissioned by the king, and it is possible that Fribois enjoyed special status, as royal historiographer, and received a

pension, but there is insufficient evidence to prove this. Fribois's work may nevertheless have been invested with particular authority, by royal patronage , and it is possible that Charles VII envisaged these works as a means of justifying his own activities through reference to the past. His choice of a notaire et secrétaire reflects the close association of this group of royal officials with the crown. Their chief duty was to record the actions of the crown for posterity, in the form of royal letters, charters and ordinances. These tasks suggested to Louis XI - or the secretary who drafted his letters - an analogy between the royal notaires et secrétaires and the four evangelists who recorded the acts of Christ[1]. But the king's choice was also symptomatic of a more general trend; the French chancellery was far from unique in providing historiographers: the duke of Brabant found an historian in the ducal secretary Edmond de Dynter and, further afield, the city-state of Florence was provided with a history of Florence by the secretary and future chancellor Leonardo Bruni[2].

But official history, even if it is acceptable to the ruler, does not necessarily constitute propaganda. In the case of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable', it is evident that the author intended to provide guidance for the political and moral conduct of the prince as well as for his subjects. Historiography could be used to promote the ideas and interests of the author or factions in the royal council, or other patrons, as well as those of the king. Although the author may have

1. Letters reducing the number of notaires et secrétaires to the statutory number of fifty-nine, Jul. 1465, Ord.Rois France (1814), xvi. 335-338: esp. 336; letters confirming their privileges, Nov. 1482, ibid.(1835), xix, 62-63.

2. Edmond de Dynter, Chronique des Ducs de Brabant, ed. P.F.X. de Ram, (Brussels, 1854-60),5 vols.; and see Daly, art.cit.; for Bruni, see H. Baron, The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance (revised ed., Princeton, 1966), passim, esp. 60-67; some of Baron's theories on political influences on Bruni's literary work have been challenged by J. Siegel, 'Civic Humanism or Ciceronian Rhetoric: the Culture of Petrarch and Bruni', Past and Present, xxiv (1966), 3-48.

hoped to discourage potential rebels and traitors, the texts were primarily intended to guide the conduct of those who accepted the legitimacy of the king. The lessons of history and the summary of royal rights and privileges were apparently to be of use to royal officials or princes, who might be called upon to defend those rights. Such knowledge was necessary for the king himself.

The influence of the texts beyond the entourage of Charles VII is a matter for conjecture. There is evidence that later manuscripts found popularity among nobles and royal officials at the court of Louis XI and Charles VIII, while there are indications that 'Cest chose profitable' influenced later notaires et secrétaires when composing their own historical works. The 'Miroir Historial' was clearly more restricted in its circulation, and presumably in its influence, than 'Cest chose profitable'; while the latter may have found favour with an audience beyond the immediate entourage of the French kings.

This study of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' has indicated the close connections between historiography and politics in the royal entourage. In these texts the past has been used as a mirror for the France of Charles VII: French history has been studied and re-interpreted in the light of current events. This must not necessarily be seen as a deliberate falsification of the past: the author could find justification for his interpretation in existing and reputable sources. But certain events assumed new relevance, when the apologists of Charles VII sought justification for the powers claimed by the king, or for his actions. History, 'le tesmoing des temps passez, lumiere de verite, la vie de memoire, la maistresse de vie, la messagiere danciennete'[1], could furnish arguments which concealed a new departure. Thus, in comparison to the conquests of Clovis and Charlemagne, English possession of Gascony

1. 'Miroir Historial' (O), f. 186^{r}, translating Cicero, De Oratore, ed. A.S. Wilkins (Oxford, 1902, repr. 1946), ii.9.36.

for three centuries seemed insignificant, and its 're-union' with the France of Charles VII appeared to be a restoration of the historical frontiers of the kingdom.

Such texts were of little interest to political historians of the last century, for their value as a source of evidence for their own time can only be fully appreciated through a study of their attitudes to, and interpretation of, the past. It has been the purpose of this thesis to demonstrate that the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' merit the attention of 'historians of historiography' and of political mentalities. In their account of the past, the texts reflect the concerns of their own time and milieu: they indicate the attitude of the author, the king and his entourage to the political entity of the kingdom of France in the middle of the fifteenth century.

APPENDIX A: Edited Extracts from the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'.

The following appendix of edited extracts from the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' is intended to present some of the most important passages cited in the text of this thesis. The text of the 'Miroir Historial' has been established using O, supplemented where necessary by P2, which appears to be less erroneous and more complete than the other surviving manuscripts. The text of 'Cest chose profitable' has been established using A1, probably the most accurate of the identified manuscripts of this version of the text. The remaining manuscripts in this and other textual families have been used to correct erroneous variants, or to fill lacunae.[1]

In each text, minuscules are used to indicate rejected lessons in the editorial manuscripts, substitutions justified by other manuscripts of the text, and manuscript variants.[2] In the case of the 'Miroir Historial', the small number of manuscripts and the absence of any previous study of the text warrant particular attention to variants, to construct the stemma. Only the most significant variants, which indicate the five textual groups, or major divergences within them, have been noted in the case of 'Cest chose profitable'. Where a word is missing from the text as it appears in the identified manuscripts, it has been substituted within square brackets.[3]

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1. For textual families and stemma, see supra, Chapter One, pp. 4-28.

2. Repeated minuscules, as a....a, indicate a variant or omitted phrase, or several words.

3. In the case of a substituted lesson, a minuscule is used.

Standard abbreviations have been expanded in this edition without note, but in case of doubt, a reference is given in the footnotes.

There is no universally accepted system for the edition of medieval French texts. Existing methods have been considered, to determine which would best fulfil the aims of this appendix and the character of the material, which is primarily historical rather than linguistic. Where possible, the text has been presented in the form in which it would have appeared in a medieval manuscript; the original orthography has therefore been retained. In certain cases, medieval scribal practice has created difficulties: for example, in manuscript A1, it is not clear whether the scribe intended to write 'autres foiz' or 'autreffoiz', 'escript' or 'estript'. In these and similar cases, the reading which is most readily comprehensible, and justified by the other manuscripts, has been chosen. A different problem is presented by the general lack of distinction in medieval manuscripts between 'i' and 'j', 'u' and 'v'. These have been rendered in their modern form, in the absence of linguistic evidence against this practice.[1]

The Société de l'Histoire de France has adopted certain rules for the use of acute accents, dieresis and apostrophes for its publication of medieval texts.[2] These devices to aid the modern French reader have not been adopted in the present edition. There is no general consensus that they are indispensable to the understanding

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1. On this point, see Paul Meyer, 'Instruction pour la Publication des Anciens Textes Français', Bibl. Éc. Chartes, lxxi (1910), 226.

2. These were suggested by Paul Meyer, art. cit., 226-8, 230, and later modified by him in 'Règles Pratiques pour l'Édition des Anciens Textes Français et Provençaux', Bibl. Éc. Chartes, lxxxvii (1926), 453-9.

of a medieval text.[1] In the present case, it is felt that they are not necessary, and that the meaning of words where such a device might be used will be made clear by their context.

This is not the case for punctuation. The transcription of the original punctuation of the texts, which performed different functions from its modern equivalent, is of little use in clarifying the meaning of the texts. Modern punctuation has been added where necessary to elucidate the sense of the text, although the contorted style of the author's syntax has been retained where possible.

Certain material features of the manuscripts have been suppressed, notably the use of majuscules except for proper nouns; where these are absent, they have been added. Paragraph signs, line endings and rubricated words have not been included. Modern paragraphs have been used, where they are justified by the sense of the text. Rubrics which indicate the beginning of a section or a chapter in the editorial manuscript have been retained. Those which occur in other manuscripts have not been inserted.

Where necessary, the texts have been annotated by arabic numerals, with references to the sources used by the author. Where they have been altered, manipulated or misunderstood, the relevant passage of the source is given in a footnote.

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1. For an alternative approach, see The War of St Sardos [1323-1325]: Gascon Correspondence and Diplomatic Documents, ed. P. Chaplais (Camden Ser., 3rd ser., lxxxvii, 1954).

THE 'MIROIR HISTORIAL'

Dedication and Prologue (P1, P2, P3, R)

P2 f. 2^{r-v}

[a] A lonneur et louenge de Dieu et de la saincte f.2^{r}
coronne de France,[a] aornee de singuliere prerogative
de grace celestielle, comme plus a plain sera cy
apres declairie; et en obtemperant a mon povoir a
vostre tres commendable desir, roy tres excellent et tres
puissant, especialment honnore de ce tres digne mot:[b]
tres crestien, qui desirez avoir vraie[c] cognoissance de
la tres noble generacion et ancienne extraction des Francois,
paravant appellez Troiens,[d] et aussi de la fondation
et augmentatione (sic) de ce[e] royaume tres cristien: je,
considerant que nous sommes tous nez a labeur et que
mon labeur ne puis mieulx emploier que pour ung [f]
tres vertueux et bon roy;[f] et en ensuivant, en tant
quil mest possible, la forme de ceulx qui es temps passez
ont escript des faiz[g] des nations et royaumes,

---

a. P3: 'A lonneur de Dieu et de la couronne de France.'

b. R: 'nom.'

c. P3 omits 'vraie'.

d. R: 'curiens.'

e. P2 omits 'ce'.

f. P3: 'tres bon et victorieux roy.'

g. R: 'Francois.'

lesquelz, en tenant le conseil de Platon, ont en tous commence[ments][a]
de leurs euvres accoustume dappeller[b] laide divine, et ou
nom de Dieu tout puissant donner commencement a leurs
faictz, pour ce que selon la sentence de Torquatus, en
le pretermectant, nul commencement nest fonde droictement[c];
je Lui supplie tres humblement que a ce present commencement
Lui plaise estendre sur moy Ses grace et aide, a ce que je
puisse en ce traictie sainement[d] et veritablement escrire
et icellui deuement parfaire.

Et aincois que je procede plus avans (sic), declaireray
cy la cause impulsive de la composition de ce dit traictie,
qui est pour avoir concordance et / conformite, ainsi que f.2[v]
possible sera, des escriptz des historiens,[e] croniqueurs et
auteurs qui des magnifiques faiz des Francois ont escript es
temps passez; et pour manifester verite, qui est cause de
certitude ou certainete; et reprimer le detraction[f] daucunes
nacions estranges, adversans et contraires aux Francois,
lesquelles nations, ou la pluspars des habitans en icelles,

---

a. P2 scribal omission. P3 gives 'commencement', R gives 'commandemens'.

b. P3 substitutes 'accoustument appeller' for 'ont.....accoustume dappeller'.

c. P3 omits 'droictement'.

d. R: 'seurement.'

e. P3: 'hystoires.'

f. P3: 'declaracion'.

envieux de la tres honnorable renommee et singuliere louenge des memorables faictz diceulx Francois, et eulx efforcans de les calumnier ou reprouver en aucunes parties plus notables, soubz umbre de la diversite et discordance daucuns historiens, que de ce ont escript. Et des historiens, croniqueurs et auteurs tres renommez cy apres alleguez, seront mis les noms et la quotacion des lieux et chapitres de leurs euvres a ce dit traictie pertinens; et puis apres, la translacion du texte et exposicion des mots de latin en clair langage francois, ensemble aucunes incidences des temps, ou il appartendra; et subsequentement, par forme de instruction doctrinalle, aucunes autoritez, questions, determinations et enseignemens daucuns philosphes et docteurs catholiques de plus grant reputacion.

Dedication

O f.1^{r-v}

A lonneur de Dieu et de la couronne f.1^{r} de France, singulierement aornee de grace et prerogative celestiel, comme plus a plain sera cy apres monstre; et aussi en satisfaisant aucunement au tres noble et commendable desir de hault et puissant prince et mon tres redoubte seigneur, mon seigneur Charles, conte du Maine, de Guise, de Mortaing et de Giem (sic), viconte de Chastelerаut et gouverneur de Languedoc et de Guienne,[1] qui en ensuivant / les tres honnourables et vertueuses condicions f.1^{v} des princes de France de tres notable recordacion, a singuliere affection de estre veritablement et briefment informe des commencement originel, erection, dilatacion, magnificence et honneur tres amples et dignes de perpetuelle remembrance du royaume de France tres crestien: sera cy apres, a laide de Nostre Seigneur, de ce faicte declaracion, ainsi que dit est, et mesmement selon les histoires, croniques et traictiez autresfoiz de ce faiz; afin que si haulx et vertueux euvres soient en singuliere exemple a tous princes et seigneurs, et par especial, du sang et lignaige royal de France.

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1. Charles d'Anjou (1414-73) acquired Gien in 1443, Guise in 1444 and purchased Châtellerault from Jean VII d'Harcourt in 1445. Although he became count of Mortain in 1425 and of Maine in 1443, he entered into real possession of these territories only after the expulsion of the English (1448-49). He was Lieutenant-General in Languedoc from 1440 to 1466, and in the duchy of Guyenne from 1440 to 1462, but continued to use the title after losing his office. Guy Duboscq, 'Charles d'Anjou, Premier Comte du Maine',pp. 127 n.3, 155-178; idem, 'Charles d'Anjou', Positions des Thèses...de l'École des Chartes (Paris, 1933), pp. 21-27.

Prologue (O, P1, P2, P3, R)

O, ff. 1^{v}-4^{v}

[a] Et en divisant ce present traictie en trois parties,[a] sera f.1^{v} en chascune dicelles premierement mis le vray texte des saincts docteurs, historiens, croniqueurs et autres qui sur ce ont escript, es lieux ou a faire sera, et puis apres translate de Latin en Francois en clair langaige, pour eviter obscurte, gardee toutes voies la substance du dit texte. Et commencera chascune des dictes trois parties a la mutacion des lignes et genealogies des roys du dit royaume; la premiere depuis le commencement des ducs et roys et mesmement de Clovis, premier roy crestien dicellui, jusques au temps du roy Pepin; la seconde partie depuis le commencement du regne dicellui roy Pepin jusques au temps de Hue le Grant; la tierce partie depuis le temps de son regne jusques a cellui du roy nostre sire qui est a present, Charles septiesme de ce nom, duquel Nostre Seigneur par Sa grace vueille tousjours prosperer les affaires, et apres ce regne transitoire, lui octroier regne pardurable.

Et pour monstrer evidemment comme[b] Dieu par Sa tres grant bonte a singulierement voulu decorer le dit royaume, non pas seulement en honneurs mondains, mais avecques ce en tres especial resplendisseur de miracles et signes celestiels[c] de sainctite, vertu, et notables operacions[c] de sainctes et vertueuses personnes, natifs du dit royaume et dautres pays et regions, qui au temps des regnes diceulx roys ont successivement floury: sera de ce faicte briefve et vraye descripcion par maniere de incidence es lieux ou il sera expedient de le faire.

---

a. P1 P2 P3 R: 'Et pour descendre a la matiere de ce present traictie, appelle le Mirouer Historial de France, il sera divise en trois parties principales, et'...

b. P3: 'comment'.

c. P3 omits 'de sainctite...operacions'.

Et pour avoir certain entendement daucunes briefves et particulieres choses dont sera cy apres traictie, est assavoir que les empereurs et roys ont deux anges deputez leurs propres gardes. Lung par[a] raison de leur personne[b] singuliere comme ont les autres personnes privees: et ces anges sont de la plus basse ordre, selon lordonnance divine, nommee Lherarchie; lautre ange que ont les diz empereurs et roys est par raison de leur dignite ou office imperial ou royal, et sont de lordre qui est nomme Principatus : comme plus a plain le[c] declaire Maistre Nicole de Lire, tres solennel et renomme[d] docteur en Theologie, en sa Postille ou exposicion sur Lapocalipse, ou diziesme chapitre[e] sur ceste partie: Et angelus quem vidi stantem supra mare et supra terram etc.[1] Et pour faire fin de [ce] prologue, plaise a ceulx qui ce present traictie vouldront veoir et lire entierement, en faveur de verite, et pour reverence et honneur des saincts docteurs, historiens et autres tres notables personnes, qui de leurs[f] vertueuses operacions ont especialment voulu eslever, magnifier et honnourer les roys

---

a. P3: 'pour'.

b. P1 omits this word.

c. P2 P3 omit this word.

d. P1: 'redoubte'.

e. O omits this word.

f. P3 omits this word.

1. N. de Lira, Glossa, vi. Rev. x. 5. '...imperatores et reges habent duos angelos custodes: unum ratione singulares persone, sicut et ceteri homines...et isti angeli sunt de ordine inferiori. Alterum consideratione dignitatione seu officii singulis enim regnis praesunt angeli qui dicunt principatus, et sunt de ordine inferioris hierarchie, et iste sunt custodes specialiter regum in quantum in eis virtualiter consistunt regna'; also Bernard du Rosier,'Miranda de Laudibus Francie' (1450,o.s.),B.N.MS.lat.6020,f.9^{r}(for this manuscript, see supra, p. 155, n. 3). There is no reference to emperors in the citation given by du Rosier. Kantorowicz knew of this idea only through Charles de Grasaille, Regalia Franciae (Paris, 1538), i.210. E.H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, p. 422 n. 357. It is clear from these examples that the idea was current two centuries before de Grasaille wrote.

et royaume de France, recevoir le dit traictie en charitable affection et benigne supportacion.

Et avant que on descende a la matiere principale, sont cy briefment premises[a] aucunes notables choses pour avoir plus claire congnoissance de la tres excellent dignite et prerogative de la couronne de France.

Et premierement: la significacion des armes ou enseignes de France, selon ce que Saint Bernard[1] le declaire en ung petit traictie quil a de ce fait, ouquel il dit en ceste forme de parolles:

In campo armorum seu insigniorum
preclarissimorum Francie prospicitur[b] celestis dulcor.
Ou champ des tres nobles armes ou ensaignes[c]
de France est veue ou demonstree celestiel doulceur.
In lilio innuitur[d] virtutum[e] suavissimus odor. / f. 2[v]
Ou liz est demonstree tres soueve odeur de vertuz.
In auro accipitur caritatis[f] fulgor.
En lor est demonstree resplendisseur de charite.[2]

---

a. P1 'prinses'.

b. P2 'perspicitur'.

c. P1 'et signes'.

d. P2 'invenitur'.

e. O omits this word.

f. P1 'caritas'. P3 'claritatis'.

1. This poem cannot be found in the works of St Bernard. The lines 'In lilio' and 'In auro' appear to have been inspired by Bernadine sermons on the Song of Songs (St Bernard, Sermones in Cantici, ed. Dom. J. Leclercq (Rome, 1958), ii. 210,lines 23-24; 30, line 8. I owe these references to Fr. Edm. Mikkers and the Bureau de la Concordance St Bernard, Achel, Belgium.

2. Compare 'Cest chose profitable', ff. 38[v]-39[r], where the poem is ascribed to St Bonaventure. The poem cannot be found among his published works. The major difference appears in the first line in 'Cest chose profitable': 'In campo insigniorum Francie celitus emissorum prospicitur celestis dulcor', with its reference to the 'armes envoiees du ciel' - an allusion to the Clovis legend (see infra, plate 21 : A3) and a gloss on the third line, 'In auro', on the word 'caritas', the greatest of the 'vertus theologiques': 'on ne trouvera point que entre tous les princes crestiens, il ait eu tele charite comme celle des roys de France'.

Item: a la recommendacion du liz dit ainsi la Glose ordinaire ou douziesme chapitre de Levangille Saint Lucas sur ce pas:[1] Considerate lilia agri quomodo crescunt. Solet per lilium celestis beatitudo significari, ad quam [nos] invitat Dominus. Lilia enim non in silvis sed in ortis nascuntur, sic et [nos] in ortis amenissimis (sic) virtutum crescere debemus. Ceste glose allega Saint Thomas Daquin[2] devant le roy de France qui lors estoit, en la forme de parolles qui sensuit: Par le liz seult estre signifiee la beatitude celestielle a laquelle Dieu invite et amonneste tous et plus singulierement les roys et princes de France, decorez et honnourez de la tres resplendissant fleur de liz, que autres.[a] Les liz ne naissent pas es forests mais es jardins,[a] par quoy est donne a entendre que les roys et princes dessus diz doivent croistre es tres delectables jardins de vertuz. Hec ille in sua propositione facta coram rege Francie.[3]

Apres sensuivent aucunes tres notables loenges et recommendations des roys et royaume de France[b] entre tous autres royaumes. Et premierement la recommendation Saint Gregoire, adrecant aux roys de France[b] qui en son temps regnoyent:

Quanto ceteros homines regia dignitas antecedit, tanto ceterarum

---

a. P3 substitutes 'Les liz que entre les bois ne naissent mais es jardins'.

b. P2 omits this line.

1. Luke xii.27; Strabo, Glossa Ordinaria, p.297. Brackets denote words present in the source, not present in manuscripts of the 'Miroir'.

2. Non inveni.

3. Compare with 'Cest chose profitable', f. 38^{r-v}, where this is attributed to St Bernard.

gentium regna regni vestri profecto culmen excellit. Et sicut magne[a] lampadis splendor in tetre noctis obscuritate, luminis sui claritate fulgescit. Ita fidei vestre claritas inter aliarum gentium regna rutilat et choruscat.[1]

De tant comme la dignite royal est pardessus[b] ou a excellence entre les autres hommes - cest a entendre entre personnes privees - de tant certainement la haultesce de vostre royaume excelle et seurmonte les royaumes des autres gens; et ainsi comme la resplendisseur de grant clarte / reluist par sa lumiere en tres grant obscurte f.3[r] de nuit, ainsi la tres grant clarte de vostre foy resplendist entre les royaumes des autres gens.

[c]Autre louenge des roys et royaume de France selon la cronique de Guillaume, abbe de Malmery, tres solennel et elegant croniqueur des Normans.[2]

Sub regum Francorum[3] moderamine Christi vinea succrescens innumeros fidelium ramos protulit. Ex hoc quippe regno plurima Christianorum[4] proruperunt ovilia, que velut apes ex suis alveariis multimodos ex diversis mundi partibus favos in celestibus obtulerunt

---

a. P3: 'magnus'.

b. P1 P2 P3 R omit this.

1. S. Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistularum Libri I-VIII, ed. D. Nordberg (Corpus Christianorum Senes Latina, cxl, 1982), pp.373-74; Gregory to Childebert, 595 A.D. This letter was also cited by Bernard du Rosier, 'Miranda de Laudibus Francie', f. 2[v], and earlier by the Songe du Vergier, ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, ii.268.

2. Not William of Malmesbury but William of Jumièges, Historia Northmannorum, p. 781.

3. Added by author, implied by William of Jumièges in his prologue.

4. Replaces 'monachorum' in the Historia Northmannorum.

sedibus. Ab his regibus[1] perennis Jherusalem fabrica de luto fecis scismatice sepe erecta, coram eterni regibus obtutibus[a] valida virtute pollens, ut stella lucida fulget.

La Translation en substance.[b]

Soubz le modere gouvernement des roys de France, la vigne de Jesu Crist - cest[c] a entendre saincte eglise- successivement acroissant a apporte innombrables raims ou branches de loyaulx crestiens. Et pour certain, de cestui royaume sont yssuz en divers lieux tres grant quantite de tres nobles crestiens, lesquelz, ainsi qui mouches a miel ou avetes, de diverses parties du monde ont offert es sieges celestielz raiz de miel, de pluseurs manieres. De ces roys de France, ledifice espirituel de Saincte Eglise a este souventes foiz releve de la boe et ordure de cisme, lequel espirituel edifice par sa tres grant vertu reluist comme une claire estoile[d] devant le regard du roy eternel ou pardurable.

[e]Autre louenge du dit royaume,
faicte par Leglise Rommaine.

Le tres noble et tres crestien royaume de France resplendist abondamment de trois singulieres lumieres, et sa tres grant clarte

---

a. P3 omits this word.

b. P2 P3 omit this rubric.

c. P1 P2 P3 R substitute 'qui est'.

d. P3 substitutes 'estincelle'.

e. P3 R omit rubric.

1. These words added by author.

espand aux autres royaumes: la premiere lumiere, par noblesce de sang, mais encores plus par purte de courage; la seconde lumiere, par honneur de dignite,[a] mais encores plus par magnificence de tres haulx et vertueux[b] / faiz; la tierce lumiere, par haultesce f.3[v] destat,[a] mais encores plus par precellence de bonte. De ceste tres noble lignie, nostre mere Saincte Eglise a euz filz de benediction et de joye, filz resplendissans par renommee et faiz memorables; et avecques ce, filz daide et faveur especial[c] en ses affaires, par les vertuz et pure devocion desquels nostre mere Saincte Eglise est tres amplement enluminee et aornee. Cest en substance ce qui est escript en une bulle apostolique estant entre les chartres royaulx, qui se commence ainsi apres la salutacion: Sublime regni Francie solum etc., en laquelle translacion on a ensuy au plus pres la elegance du stile dicelle bulle, quant a celle partie.[1]

Autre briefve[d] loenge et recommendacion[d] du dit royaume [e]faicte par Leglise de Romme, ainsi quil appert par bulle apostolique estant avecques les chartres royaulx, laquelle bulle apres la salutacion se commence en ceste forme de parolles: Rex glorie virtutum dominus etc.[2]

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a. P1 omits this line.

b. P3: 'tres vertueux'.

c. O omits this word, present in the source and other manuscripts.

d. P2 omits these words.

e. P2 omits the rest of this rubric.

1. 'Sublime regnum Francorum', bull granted 7 May 1255 by Alexander IV to Louis IX, requiring that special permission must be sought from the Holy See before the king, his wife and heirs to the crown could be excommunicated. Privilèges Accordés à la Couronne de France par le Saint-Siège, ed. A. and J. Tardif (Doc. Inéd. Hist. France, 1st ser. 1855), p.344.
2. Bull granted by Pope Clement V to Philip IV, 5 May 1311, announcing the king's innocence from accusations that he had plundered the Church, Tardif, ed. cit., p.344. For the background to this bull, see J.R. Strayer, The Reign of Philip the Fair (Princeton, 1980), pp.237-295; for the bull, p.294 n.166 and references.

Regnum Francie in peculiarem populum electum a domino in execucione mandatorum celestium specialis honoris et gratie titulis insignitur; ipsius namque regni reges a progenie in progenies zelo catholice fidei inardescentes, ac sacrosanctam ecclesiam Romanam matrem fidelium precipuis venerantes honoribus; nunquam ab ipsius rectitudine fidei[a] deviarunt, quin pocius pro illius conservatione fidei et ecclesie predicte defensione, reges et incole dicti regni se et sua exponere, ac nonnunquam proprium fundere sanguinem minime dubitarunt: sicut et gestorum antiquitas[b] et sacrorum autoritas canonum manifeste declarant.

La Translacion

Le royaume de France, esleu de Dieu en especial peuple pour lexecucion des commandemens celestiels, est aorne de tiltres de grace et honneur especiaulx. Car les roys de ce royaume, de ligne en ligne, embrasez damour singuliere[c] de la foy catholique, honnourans aussi principalment/Leglise de Romme,[d] mere des loyaulx crestiens, ne f.4[r] devierent ou forvoyerent oncques de la rectitude de la foy catholique; ains pour la conservation dicelle, et aussi pour la defense de Leglise Rommaine,[e] les roys et habitans du dit royaume nont point doubte exposer eulz et leurs choses, et espandre leur propre sang: sicomme lanciennete de leurs faiz et lautorite des saincts canons le tesmoignent manifestement.

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a. P2 omits this word.

b. O omits this word.

c. P3: 'tres singuliere'.

d. P1 P2 P3 R: 'Leglise Rommaine'.

e. P1 P2 P3 R: 'Leglise de Rome '.

Que le royaume de France est plus ferme en duracion et permanence que les autres royaumes.[a]

Regni Francie dignitas atque autoritas inter ceteras mundanas dignitates autoritatesque est in permanentia seu duracione fermior (sic):nempe Deus speciali quodam amore eam dignitatem videlicet ordinasse, quoquidem ex eius effectu multiplici ostenditur, videlicet in gloria, devocione, fama et religione Christiana etiam et in honoribus diviciis et civili potencia: que si quidem sunt divini amoris effectus et signa et duracionis principia precipua.[b] Hec Johannes de Parisius sacre Theologie professor, Sancti Thome de Aquino discipulus et postmodum effectus doctor solennissimus et suo tempore famosissimus.[1]

La Translacion.[c]

La dignite et autorite du royaume de France entre les autres dignitez et autoritez mondaines est en permanence et duracion plus ferme, car Dieu par especial amour la ordonnee, comme par pluseurs signes et effects peut apparoir: cest assavoir, en gloire-gloire selon saint Ambroise est noble renommee daucun, avecques loenge- en devocion, en renommee et en religion crestienne; et avecques ce, en honneurs, richesces et puissance civille, lesquelles choses sont signes evidens et commencemens tres especiaulx de plus ferme duracion.[2]/ f.4^{v}

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a. O omits this word.

b. P3 adds 'sunt'.

c. P1 P3 R omit rubric.

1. Non inveni. John of Paris, or Jean Quidort: for his career and influence, see Dom J. Leclercq, Jean de Paris et l'Ecclésiologie du xiiie Siècle (L'Église et l'État au Moyen Age, V, Paris, 1942).

2. There follows a brief description of the world.

Pourquoy les roys et royaume de France sont appellez 'tres crestiens' sera cy apres declairie en son lieu.

Item, est bien a noter ce qui sensuit:

Quicunque orat pro rege Francie habet decem dies indulgentie a papa Innocencio quarto, ut recitat doctor sanctus in quarto sentenciarum, distinctione vicesima prima, articulo tercio.[1]

La Translacion.[a]

Quiconques prie pour le roy de France a dix jours de indulgence ou pardon, octroyez et donnez de Innocent, pape quart de ce nom, ainsi que le recite Saint Thomas Daquin en son quart de sentences en la ving et uniesme distinction, ou tiers article.

The Salic Law (O, P1, P2, P3, R)

O, f. 41^{r-v}

En lan douziesme de lempire de Honorius, les Francois commence- f.41^{r}
rent a user de lois et dicterent ou composerent la Loy Salique, par quatre des plus notables gens dentreulx, a ce esleu entre pluseurs, ainsi nommez: Vusogast, Bosogast, Salagast, Widigast, es villes de Germanie-cest a dire Dalemaigne,[b] appellees Salechaim, Berodaim, Windoaim. Sigibertus.[2]

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a. P3 R omit rubric.

b. 'la basse' deleted.

1. Thomas Aquinas, Scriptum super Sententiis Magistri Petri Lombardi, dist. 20, art.3 (ed. Moos iv. 1030). The indulgence was granted 28 Sept. 1255 (Tardif, op.cit., p.12). The original had been lost from the French royal Trésor des Chartes.

2. Sigebert , Chronica ed. Bethmann, p. 307; Vincent de Beauvais, Speculum Historiale xx. 11, attribute the law to the ninth year of Honorius's empire.

Et est assavoir que ainsi comme len treuve par les histoires anciennes, la Loy Salique est lancien et vray droit des Francois, et est fonde pour la pluspart sur le livre de Tulles,[1] qui se intitule De Republica; et avecques ce, en droit divin et humain. Et par ce droit gouvernerent les premiers roys de France la chose publique de leur royaume, et Charlemaigne en son temps, oultre certains chapitres quil fist, dont mencion est faicte es droiz. Et tant comme le royaume a este gouverne par icelle Loy Salique, ou droit des Francois, il a floury en paix, tranquillite, et en merveilleuses victoires sur les ennemis et adversaires dicellui; aussi en excellence de vertuz et en augmentacion et accroissement; et ny avoit lors aucunes coustumes generaulx ou locaulx, dont tant de questions, debats et altercacions se meuvent chascun jour, comme on le voit par experience. Et pour ce que feu Maistre Gieffroy Vassal, jadis arcevesque de Vienne,[2] afferma a feu Monseigneur larcevesque de Reims, en son vivant chancellier de France,[3] et a Cristofle de Harecourt,[4] quil avoit veu et leu / f.41[v]

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1. There is no explanation for the attribution to Cicero, but see the comments of Jean de Montreuil, Opera ii. 272, and 'Cest chose profitable', infra pp. 266,269.

2. Geoffroy Vassal (d. 1446), counsellor in the Parlement of Poitiers 1420-1436, archbishop of Vienne (1439-44), archbishop of Lyon (1444-46). Beaucourt op.cit. ii, iii, iv,passim, R.G. Little, 'The Parlement of Poitiers', pp. 172-73; Gallia Christiana (1728) iv. 176; (1856), xvi. 114.

3. Renaud de Chartres (d. 1444), archbishop of Reims (1414-1444), chancellor of France 1425, 1428-1444. Gallia Christiana, ix. 135-36; Beaucourt, op.cit., i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

4. Christophe d'Harcourt (d. after 1450), third son of Jacques, lord of Montgomery, and Jeanne d'Enghien, lady of Havrech; counsellor in the Parlements of Paris and Poitiers (1418-1450), and royal counsellor. Anselme, Hist. Généalogique, v.132-136; F. Autrand, Naissance d'un Grand Corps de l'État, p. 197, for a revision of the date of Harcourt's death; Beaucourt, op.cit., ii, iii, iv, passim.

le livre de la dicte Loy Salique, ou droit des Francois, ou monastere ou abbaye de Savigny en Poictou.[1] Leur entencion estoit de le faire transcrire[a] et translater pour le roy, et de ce me parlerent par pluseurs foiz; et aussi fist depuis feu Maistre Girard Machet, jadis evesque de Castres et confesseur du roy nostre sire [2] qui est a present; qui semblablement disoit avoir veu icellui livre en labbaye de Saint Remy de Reims.[3] Et nest pas a entendre que ce soit la Loy Salique dont briefve mencion est faicte es droiz, mais est ung livre particulier, fait par les dessus nommez[b] quatre notables Francois.[b]

The Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni. (O only)[4]

O, ff. 190^{r}-193^{v}

Les Francois, comme dessus est dit, Troyens de naissance, f. 190^{r} encores donnez a la loy payenne, establirent leur royaume en Gaulle, laquelle est deulx maintenant nommee France.[5] Saint Gregoire de Tours, ou second livre de son histoire, traictant des faiz des premiers Francois payens, ou diziesme chapitre, dit quilz aouroyent alors ydoles, et faisoyent formes de forests, de eaues, doyseaulx et de

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a. This word is omitted by P1 P2 P3 and R.

b. O omits 'quatres...Francois'.

1. Probably Notre Dame de Savigny, commune of Vouneuil-sur-Indre, canton of Châtellerault, department of Vienne, founded in the 10th century and under the patronage of the Harcourt family. C. Beaune, 'Histoire et Politique: la Recherche du Texte de la Loi Salique', 31-32; see also supra pp. 129-32.

2. Gérard Machet, (c. 1380-1448), royal confessor from 1422, bishop of Castres, 1432. For Machet's career, see G. Santoni, 'Gérard Machet', passim.

3. Identified by Colette Beaune as B.N. MS.lat. 10758, a manuscript of the Salic Law formerly in the library of the abbey of St. Remy, art.cit., 29. Machet may have found this manuscript during his tenure of a prebend at the cathedral of Reims 1403-1410, Santoni, op.cit., p.41.

4. The Latin version of this passage appears on ff. 188^{r}-190^{v}. Where the French translation differs sensibly from the Latin, annotation will be given.

5. Vincent, Speculum Historiale, xxxi.126. The following 11 lines do not appear in Vincent's account of the reditus nor in the Latin text of the 'Miroir', f.188^{r}.

bestes, et dautres elemens ausquelles ils sacrifioyent.[1] Mais apres ce, par la grace Dieu, quant Clovis leur out remonstre leur ydolatrie, vanite et supersticion, ils, dune mesmes voulente et commun accord, respondirent au dit Clovis, 'Tres bon roy, nous sommes prests de laissier du tout les dieux mortels, et de nous convertir a ung vray et seul Dieu immortel et a la foy catholique'.[2] Et ainsi le firent tous en ung jour, exponsans depuis leur propre sang pour la deffense et augmentacion de la foy, comme plus a plain est cy dessus recite.[3] Lan de Nostre Seigneur quatre cens soixante quatorze, Childeric, / f.190^{v} lors roy des Francois, qui print la cite de Treves, trespasse de ce monde, Clovis, son filz, tint fort son royaume et le accreut et amplia. Il receut de Saint Remy, arcevesque de Reims, la grace de baptesme avecques tous ses subjects,[4] comme dit est. Le dit Saint Gregoire de Tours, ou cinquiesme livre de son histoire, recommende merveilleusement cellui Clovis de pure foy, de proesce, de preudommie, de liberalite, et chastete en mariage.[5] Et Martin en sa cronique le appelle 'tres crestien', et dit quil est a compaignie au nombre des saints de paradis.[6]

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1. Gregory of Tours, Historiae, ii.10 (ed. Arndt, p.59).

2. Vincent op.cit., xxii. 6; Gregory of Tours, op.cit. ii.31 (ed. cit. pp.76-77).

3. This comment does not appear in the Speculum or the Historiae, but echoes the prologue of the 'Miroir Historial'. See supra p. 233.

4. Vincent, ibid., loc. cit. with the date 484. The succeeding six lines do not appear in the Latin text of the 'Miroir', f. 188^{r}.

5. Gregory's commendation of Clovis makes no reference to these attributes. op.cit., v, prologue (ed. cit. p.193).

6. Martin, Chronicon,ed. Weiland, p.455. Also 'Miroir', ff.23^{v}-24^{r}.

De Listoire de France. La lignie de Clovis regna beneureusement jusques a lan de Nostre Seigneur sept cens cinquante, excepte que par quatre vings et huit ans, depuis le temps de Clotaire, roy, et de Saincte Balthide, autrement appellee vulgaument Saincte Baudour, les roys de France, degenerans de leur force et science acoustumee, la puissance du royaume estoit administree et disposee par les plus grans de la maison royal; cest assavoir, par le grant maistre dostel, le connestable, et le chamberier, selon listoire de Hugues.[1]

Sigibert Aux roys de France qui furent durant le temps des dits quatre vings et huit ans estoit de coustume de principer ou regner selon leur ligne, et riens ne faire ou disposer que desraisonnablement mengier et boire, et demourer en leur maison; et es kalendes du moys de may, eulx monstrer et presider devant toute la gent a eulx subgiecte, et saluer et estre resaluez, prendre beaux services et dons, et aussi redonner. Et les dictes kalendes de may passees, demourer en leurs maisons jusques a lautre moys de may ensuivant;[2] et ainsi continuerent jusques au temps de Pepin, comme cy apres sera declaire.

Saincte Balthide ou Baudour, ainsi quil est leu es faiz delle, fut nee du sang royal des Saxons, femme de Clovis, filz du roy Dagoubert. Elle estoit belle de visaige, de chiere lye, grave en contenance, chaste, sobre, saige, caute, humble et gracieuse.[3]

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1. Not Hugh, but Grandes Chroniques, ed. Viard ii. 201.
2. Sigebert, Chronica, ed. cit., p.325. Vincent, op.cit., xxiv. 115.
3. Vincent, op.cit., xxiv. 116.

Hors listoire. Saincte Crothilde, femme de Clovis premier, / f.191^{r} roy tres crestien de France, Saincte Baudour et Blanche, mere de Saint Loys, doivent estre mirouer et example aux roynes et grans (sic) dames de France.

Hugues en son histoire. Comme Clovis, filz de Dagobert, eust regne xv ans, il laissa trois filz, engendrez en la royne Balthide ou Baudour, ses successeurs, cest assavoir: Clothaire, Theoderic ou Tierry et Childeric.[1] Ceste saincte royne fonda le monastere de Sainct Pierre de Corbie,[2] qui est lung des plus notables de ce royaume.

Ou Mirouer Historial de Vincent de Beauvais ou trente uniesme livre:[3] Et pour ce fut fait ou avint que Pepin, qui estoit le plus grant en autorite et gouvernement de la maison royal de France soubz le roy Childeric, il mis en un monastere et tondu et vestu comme moyne ou monastere de Luxeu,[4] es derrenieres limites et methes du royaume de la partie Dallemaigne (Addicion : combien que depuis le fleuve du Rin jusques a la mer par deca, et depuis les Alpes, que on appelle

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1. Hugh of Fleury, Chronicon ed. Rottendorff, p.157.

2. Grandes Chroniques, ed.cit., ii. 200. Sigebert, ed.cit., p.325 and Vincent op.cit. xxiv, 116, mention the foundation of Corbie, but not the patron saint of the monastery.

3. Vincent op.cit., xxxi, 126.

4. There is no reference to Luxeuil in Vincent, Hugh, Sigebert, nor the Grandes Chroniques. It is possible that the author of the 'Miroir' has confused this incident with the exile to Luxeuil of Ebroin, mayor of the palace in the reign of Theodoric. Hugh, ed.cit., p.157.

les mons de lentree Dytalie, jusques a la Mer Mediterranie, qui enclot Prouvence, et jusques aux Mons Pirenes ou de Navarre:[1] tout fut anciennement du vray corps de ce tres crestien royaume; et que le tres vaillant et preux roy Clovis, et depuis ses successeurs ayent tenu et joy paisiblement de tous iceulx pays, qui sont du corps ancien des Gaulles, appert clairement par la verite des plus autentiques et approuvees histoires): Vincent, icellui Pepin fut esleu et constitue en roy des Francois par eulx mesmes; ausquels lautorite apostolique donna lors son consentement, en lan de Nostre Seigneur sept cens soixante.[2] Addicion. Cy apres sera monstre et prouve clairement, par autorite de droit divin et humain, que la tres noble couronne de France celestielment privilegiee, comme dit est, nest tenue de Leglise de Romme, ne de lempire, ne daucun fors que de Dieu. Combien que Boniface, pape huitiesme de ce nom, se efforcast de la subgectir a Leglise de Romme; et pour ce fist / et publia une extravagant, qui se commence: Unam sanctam f.191[v] catholicam etc., et la fist exposer et gloser, premierement par theologiens, et depuis par juristes- a quoy est bien respondu- et apres, se efforca de assubgectir la dicte couronne a lempire, mais les Alemans qui lors estoyent nen tindrent compte.[3]

Sigibert Cestui Pepin fut enoinct et sacre roy des Francois par Sainct Boniface, arcevesque de Mayence, et lequel, en preschant depuis

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1. Non inveni- closest is Hugh, ed.cit., pp.90-91. This is omitted in the Latin text, 'Miroir', f. 188[v].

2. Vincent, op.cit., xxiv. 154:'auctoritate apostolice et Francorum electione'.

3. 'Miroir' ff.203[r]-215[r] for a full discussion of this question.

la foy catholique aux Frisons, fut par eulx martirizie.[1] De Listoire des Francois. Cestui Pepin fut aussi conferme ou royaume de France en leglise de Saint Denis en France par Estienne pape, et il et ses femme et enfans receurent ilec benediction apostolique; et fut leur lignie benoiste en perpetuel heritaige de la succession royal du dit royaume, et tout estrangier interdict par icellui pape, par sentence de la grant excommunicacion ou escommenge, qui se appelle anatheme.[2] Addicion. A ceulx qui sont detenuz par ceste grant sentence sont denyees les choses qui sensuivent: cest assavoir, que on ne parle a eulx, fors que qui daventure les rencontreroit, on leur pourroit dire, 'Dieu te convertisse a Sa loy'; secondement, oroison leur est deniee; tiercement, salutacion; quartement; communion ou communication; quintement, la table. Sigibert Pepin, roy de France, regna dix-huit ans, et en lui, la lignie de Clovis failly au royaume. Item. De Pepin et de Berthe, fille de Eracle lempereur, furent filz Charles le grant et Charlemaigne son frere. Et a cause des diz Pepin et Berthe, a concurrence en Charles le grant de la lignie des Grecs, des Rommains et des Germains ou Alemans; et pour ce, a bon droit fut a lui transferee et baillee lempire.[3] Il receut couronne royal a Noyon, et Charlemaigne son frere la receut a Soissons.[4]

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1. Sigebert, ed.cit., p.332; Vincent, op.cit., xxiv. 154, 157.

2. Vincent, op.cit., xxxi. 126. The author of the 'Miroir Historial' has substituted 'conferme' ('confirmatus', f.188^{v}) for 'ungeretur' in his source, as if to minimise the role of the pope in the change of dynasty, although earlier references to this event mention the papal unction and coronation of Pipin and his sons. See supra pp.50,n.2, 94,n.4. For other examples of auctorial revision of a source and its translation, see supra pp. 90-1.

3. Sigebert, ed.cit., p.332; Vincent, op.cit., xxiv. 161.

4. Hugh, ed.cit., p.169; Vincent, op.cit., xxiv. 161.

Doncques la lignie de Pepin et de Charlemaigne regna ou royaume de France jusques a lan de Nostre Seigneur huit cens vingt six.[1]

Apres ce, Hue Capeth, conte de Paris envayssant / f.192[r] le royaume de France, il fut transfere de la genealogie des Charlois- ainsi les nomme en latin le texte historial, 'Genealogia karolensium'- en la ligne des contes de Paris.[2] Item, Hugues[3] ou siziesme livre de son histoire, ou xxi[e] chapitre: En lan de Nostre Seigneur neuf cens quatre vings et deux, Hugues conte de Paris, duc des Francois, se rebella contre Charles, frere de Louis roy le jeune, pour ce quil avoit [eu] en mariage la fille de Hebert, conte de Troyes, lequel Hugues assembla tres grant ost de gens et assiega Laon, ou le dit Charles et les siens demouroyent lors. Lequel Hugues, voyant quil ne pourroit vaincre le dit Charles, out conseil avecques Ascelin, traitre vieillart et faulx evesque de Laon, car il ne lavoit pas a tiltre juste et canonique;[4] lequel Ascelin estoit principal[5] conseillier du dit Charles. Adoncques Ascelin evesque traitre, baillant en une nuit la cite de Laon a Hugues Capeth, duc des Francois, quant tous ceulx qui dedens estoyent se reposoient et dormoyent, Charles, avecques sa femme, fut prins et lye et mene en garde en une tour en la cite Dorleans. Le dit Charles, prisonnier,

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1. Vincent, op.cit., xxxi. 126, gives 926 as the date.
2. Ibid., xxxi. 126.
3. Historia Francorum Senonensis, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.368.
4. Historia Francorum Senonensis, ed.cit., p.369 'falsus'. No reference is made to Ascelin's title.
5. Ibid., 'consiliarius'.

navoit pas encores este enoinct en roy, resistant a ce Hugues, duc des Francois. Icellui Charles doncques demourant en prison, en une tour au dit lieu Dorleans, engendra en sa femme deux filz, nommez Loys et Charles. En cellui an fut enoinct roy de France en la cite de Reims icellui Hugues, duc des Francois, et en cellui mesmes an, Robert, son filz tres devot et tres debonnaire, semblablement ordonne roy, qui fut prince aorne de grant literature et science.

Cy fault au regard du royaume de France la lignie de Charles le grant.

Il[1] est leu es faiz de Saint Valery et de Saint Riquier, que leurs corps furent translatez de leurs eglises ou monasteres, en leglise ou monastere de Saint Bertin en la ville de Saint Omer, ou diocese de Terouenne; et furent ilec mis, pour craincte des Northmans et Danemarchois, payens, comme en lieu plus sceur. Et comme les / f.192^{v} Northmans feussent au temps de Charles le Simple convertiz a la foy catholique, les corps des diz Sainct Walery et Saint Riquier furent rapportez a leurs eglises. Toutes voyes, ainsi que leurs moynes les demandoyent aux moynes de Saint Bertin, ils detenoyent les diz corps saincts par la violence de Arnoul, leur conte de Flandres.

Adonc Saint Walery se apparu en dormant a Hugues, conte de Paris, la enoinct et sacre roy. 'Va a Arnoul, conte de Flandres, et lui dy, que de leglise de Sainct Bertin il renvoye noz corps a noz propres eglises, car nous aymons mieulx noz lieux que les estranges.' Requis de Hugues le Grant[2] qui estoit cil qui parloit a lui, et qui

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1. The following section has been taken from Vincent, op.cit., xxxi. 126.
2. Vincent, loc.cit., 'Miroir', f.189^{r}, 'ab Hugone'. Vincent's account implies that Hugh Capet rather than Hugh the Great received the prophecy: however, the Grandes Chroniques designates Hugh the Great (ed. cit., vii. 6). It appears that the author of the 'Miroir Historial' has conflated two sources.

   For the confusion in the sources concerning the identity of the recipient of the prophecy, see G. Spiegel, 'The Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni: a New Look', 147, n.5.

estoit son compaignon: 'Je suy,' ce dist il, 'Walery, et mon compaignon est Riquier de Pontieu. Ce que Dieu te commende par moy, fay le hastivement, et ne y dissimule point.' Hugues donc alant pardevers le dit Arnoul, conte de Flandres, lui declaira les choses qui de par Dieu lui avoyent este commendees par Saint Walery, lequel conte de couraige orgeuilleux refusa de rendre les diz corps saincts. Adonc Hugues lui dist de couraige constant, 'Va et garde bien, que a tel jour et en tel lieu, tu me apportes honnestement et de voluntaire courage les diz corps saincts; car se tu ne le faiz de ton bon gre, tu le feras maugre que tu en ayes'. Alors Arnoul, conte de Flandres, contraint par la paour et puissance de Hugues, fist faire deux chasses, quil fist enrichir dor et dargent, esquelles il fist mectre les diz deux corps saincts; et au jour a lui dit par Hugues, vint le dit Arnoul a grant ost arme a Monstereul sur la mer, qui est le chastel des roys de France, et ilec rapporta honnourablement les diz deux corps saincts, lesquels Hugues mist chascun en son eglise ou lieu.[1] La nuit ensuivant, Saint Walery se apparu a Hugues en dormant, et lui dist, 'Pour ce que tu as soigneusement fait les choses qui tont este commendees et nous as rapportez en noz lieux, toy et tes successeurs / f.193^{r} regnerez ou royaume de France jusques a la septiesme generation'. Aucuns dyent, 'en perpetuelle generation', comme recite Vincent ou dit Mirouer Historial General. Cestui Hugues ou Hue Capeth engendra Robert, roy de France, tres debonnaire et actrempe, duquel est cy

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1. Vincent, ibid., loc.cit., 'in loco suo'.

dessus faicte plus ample mention. Robert engendra Henry. Henry engendra Phelipe. Phelipe engendra Loys le Gros. Loys le Gros engendra un autre Loys, lequel engendra Phelipe Dieu Donne, dit le Conquerant, lequel en Elizabeth, fille du conte de Haynau nomme Baudouin, engendra Loys. Cestui Baudouin, conte de Haynau yssi de la lignie de Ermengarde, fille de Charles le Simple, jusques au temps duquel persevera la lignie de Pepin et de Charles le Grant, empereur. Et comme doncques icellui Loys eust succede au royaume/de son pere Phelipe Dieu Donne, dit le f. 193^{v}
Conquerant, il appert evidemment que par le moyen dessus dit, le royaume de France fut en lui reduict a la lignie de Charles le Grant.

Par la revelation faicte a Hue Capeth par Sainct Walery et Sainct Riquier, pour la reduction de leurs corps a leurs anciens et propres lieux, appert assez que la mutacion et translation du royaume de France, de la lignie et posterite de Charles le Grant en la personne et lignie de Hue Capeth, fut par la voulente de Dieu, qui, comme dessus est dit et plus a plain declaire,[1] transporte les royaumes et seigneuries, ainsi quil[2] plaist a sa droicturiere providence, mais non sans tres juste cause.

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1. 'Miroir' ff.103^{v}-104^{v}, 110^{v}-111^{v}.

2. MS. 'lui' deleted.

The Crown and Kingdom of France (O only)

O f. 201^{r-v}

En la premiere partie de ce present euvre a este briefment touche f.201^{r} de monstrer et declairer ou il appartendroit que selon droit divin et humain ce royaume tres crestien, duquel pour ses tres excellentes vertuz on ne pourroit condignement expliquer la louenge, nest en riens subgiet es choses temporelles au pape, a Leglise de Romme, ne a lempire, mais seulement a Dieu; et que listoire presente, qui est du temps du roy Phelipe, appelle le bel, donne cause de ce faire, pour les raisons declairees ou tiers chapitre subsequent.[1] Et apres ce, cest assavoir au temps de listoire du roy Jehan, sera aussi monstre et declaire souffisamment que les Anglois et Navarrois ne ourent oncques droit ou tiltre vray, legitime ou couloure en la couronne de France,[2] singulierement aorne de grace et prerogative celestielle; et que pour aucune reparacion et desdommaigement des maulx, dommaiges et forsfaiz infiniz que par pluseurs et diverses foiz, par invasions et guerres et autres voyes tiranniques et dampnables ils ont faiz, commis et perpetrez en ce dit royaume, on leur a autresfoiz demande vingt millions dor, ainsi que je lay veu en certains articles, que lors avoit devers lui feu Messire Gieffroy Vassal,[3] en son vivant arcevesque de Vienne. Et de ce, et aussi dautres choses, est faicte pleniere mention en certain euvre qui se fait pour le roy nostre seigneur qui est a present, que Dieu par Sa grace vueille tousjours

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1. This refers to the section on ff. 203^{r}-215^{r}.
2. This promise is not fulfilled in known manuscripts of the 'Miroir'.
3. For Vassal, see supra, p. 236, n. 2.

prosperer en ses affaires.

Et pour avoir certaine et claire cognoissance de ces matieres, seront cy premises deux choses. La premiere sera la vraye descripcion des anciens termes, limites et pourprins de ce dit royaume et des meurs des trois principalles nations de Crestiente, cest assavoir Ditalie, Alemaigne et France. Et en declairant ceste premiere chose, est assavoir que selon Saint Gregoire de Tours et autres historiques (sic) anciens et approuvez,[1] les termes et limites du royaume des Francois comprenoyant jadis toute Theutonye, / f.201^{v} que maintenant on appelle la Basse Alemaigne, et aussi toute Gaulle; lesquelles deux regions sont divisees de la part dorient, davecques Esclavonye, Bahaigne et Hongrie, par grans forests et bois; et par devers occident, au regard Despaigne, les Mons pirenees-ce sont les montaignes de Navarre- separent le dit royaume; par devers midy, les mons que on appelle les Alpes- ce sont les mons Ditalie, qui en celle part la divisent de avecques Gaulle; et de la part daquilon, la mer de Frise et de Bretaigne la Grant, qui maintenant est dicte Angleterre, enclot lancien et vray pourprins du dit royaume de France. Ces deux regions ou provinces, Gaule et Theutonie ou la Basse Alemaigne, contiennent gens de diverses meurs et condicions.

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1. This definition is not given by Gregory of Tours. Non inveni.

The Royal Dignity (Appendix: O only)

O ff.218^{r}-220^{v}

Sensuit en brief des choses qui appartiennent f.218^{r}
a loffice et decence de la dignite royal.

Et premierement: de faire observer et garder en son royaume paix et concorde, et les perturbeurs dicelles condignement faire punir, a lexample des autres.

Item: de faire semblablement garder et nourrir tranquillite et dilection entre les gens de leglise, les nobles et le peuple, qui sont les trois ordres, communement appellez les trois estaz; et ne permectre ou souffrir que lun soit injurie, opprime ou foule par lautre, ains sans faveur ou acception de personnes ou estaz faire administrer a ung chascun egalment raison et justice.

Item: et les sedicieux rebelles et perturbans la police, ensemble les crimineux, faire pugnir selon lenormite et diversite de leurs crimes et delicts.

Item: de promouvoir, remunerer et pourveoir les person/nes f. 218^{v}
dignes et qui lont desservy, selon la qualite de leurs vertuz et merites.

Item: de ne permectre ou souffrir venalite de justice, tant au regard des offices touchans icelle, que autres concernans la police et gouvernement du bien publique, car a loccasion de ceste venalite, reprouvee de tout droit, ceulx qui ont eu les diz offices commectent souventes foiz crimes de concussion, et ne cesseront jamais de extorquer des subgiez aus diz offices, injustement et a tort, les sommes de deniers quils ont baillees pour avoir les diz offices.

Item: de pourveoir aus diz offices de personnes ydoines, abilles et experimentez, car par faisant le contraire, maulx et inconveniens innombrables et irreparables en adviennent a la chose publique, comme on la veu par experience. Et dit Sainct Thomas en son escript sur le quart des Sentences,[1] en faisant une notable similitude, que quiconques baille a son roy ou prince temporel aucune personne non ydoine, inhabille ou inutille a aucun office, cellui qui ce fait est envers son dit roy ou prince temporel faulx et desloyal.[2] Et ce pourra len plus a plain veoir ou dit quart de Sentences dicellui sainct docteur.

Des preminences et honneurs de la saincte couronne et des roys tres cretiens de France.

Combien que en toutes nations et gens, la saincte / f.219^{r} couronne de France ait par singuliere louenge tousjours este recommendee, et que elle soit aournee de grace et prerogative celestielle, comme dessus est dit; et aussi que les roys de France ayent este illustrez et honnourez de ce tres digne mot 'tres crestien', et avecques ce decorez de ferme foy, de grant sapience, et de chevallerie tres noble et singulierement renommee, comme leurs vertueux

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1. Non inveni in Sentences, but see S. Thomas Aquinas, Quaestiones Quodlibetales 8. q.4,a.1 ed. R. Spiazzi (Rome, 1949), p.166: 'Si alicui commissum esset a domino suo ut ei fidelem et idoneum ministrorum quaereret, non ageret fideliter erga dominum suum, si praetermisso magis idoneo, minus idoneum acciperet....Si autem eligat quis eam quem reputat minus idoneum ad tale officium, peccat.'

2. See also 'Cest chose profitable' ff.69^{r}-70^{r}.

euvres et faiz lont bien monstre es temps passez, par especial a la defense, exaltacion et augmentation de la foy catholique, ainsi que le tesmoignent les anciennes histoires et les droiz: toutes voys, pour avoir aucune briefve cognoissance des honneurs, preminences et prerogatives de la dicte saincte couronne et du roy de France tres crestien, est cy escript ce qui sensuit.

Le roy de France a Dieu seul en son souverain es choses temporelles, et en icelles ne recognoist aucun autre, et a plein droit de souverainete absolue et en tout son royaume, comme le monstre et preuve elegamment Maistre Jehan de Paris, tres solennel docteur, disciple de sainct Thomas Daquin, en une tres notable question de ce faicte.

Le roy de France a plein droit de prendre les regalles, cest assavoir, les rentes episcopaulx en aucunes eglises de son royaume, quant les eveschiez vaquent, et de conferer les benefices desquelles la collation appartenoit aux evesques, quant ils vivoyent, comme le preuve et monstre le dit Maistre Jehan de Paris en icelle question;[1] et lequel droit de regalles, mesmement / f.219^{v} au regard de la collacion des benefices, le roy de France ne peut aliener, transporter ou mectre hors de soy, car il est en la saincte couronne de France par ferme inhesion et inaufferabilite: cest a dire, quil nen peut estre oste.

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1. This and the preceding passage have been taken from the anonymous treatise, 'Rex pacificus', ed. du Boulay, p.946. They are also cited in 'Cest chose profitable', ff.68^{v}-69^{r}, where the source is given as 'la question premierement mise en Latin, et puis apres translatee en Francois, dont le tiltre est tel: Utrum sceptrum a solo Deo immediate dependeat et teneat'.

Par ce seul mot 'roy' doit estre entendu le roy de France, si comme dit en sa lecture et compilacion des precedens docteurs qui ont escript sur les Clementines Bonifacius de Amannatis, tres solennel docteur en droit canon et civil, en son temps advocat de Leglise de Romme, et saichant les honneurs dicelle, et des pays et regions de Crestiente, et qui depuis fut cardinal.[1] Pour quoy est assavoir que anciennement les roys de France se intituloyent en ceste forme de parolles: Karolus, Dei gratia rex; Ludovicus, Dei gratia rex; Pipinus, gratia preveniente divine majestatis rex, sans y faire addicion de ce mot, 'Francorum', monstrans par ce lexcellence singuliere de leur dignite royal, si comme il appert evidemment par les chartres et lectres par eulx octroyees et donnees en leurs temps.[2] Toutes voys, icellui cardinal dit que les Anglois, qui sont anciens ennemis de ce dit royaume tres crestien, et aucuns autres, leurs alliez, ne confessent pas que ainsi doye estre entendu; mais de ce ne peut chaloir, car leur hostilite ou inimicie, notee par les droiz, des heresies et divers erreurs, ne peut quant a ce prejudicier a lonneur, preminence et glorieuse renommee des roys et (sic) ne du royaume de France, ayans prerogative de tres ample benediction celestielle : par lesquels roys de France la foy catholique a plus este defendue et dilatee, que par nuls autres roys ou nations, si comme le tesmoignent les saincts docteurs et histoires dont mention est faicte en ce present livre. / f.220^{r}

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1. Bonifacius de Vitalinis, Commentarii in Clementinas Constitutiones, p.3^{v}; this citation is also used by 'Cest chose profitable': see f. 48^{v}, edition and notes infra, p. 264, n. 2,3.

2. This is an auctorial interpolation. The word 'Francorum' did form part of the royal style under the Carolingians. See A. Giry, Manuel de Diplomatique, (Paris, 1894), p.318. But Gérard de Montagu, trésorier des chartes to Charles V, noted in his fourth inventory of the royal archive (1372-74) that:'Rex Francie vocat se regem simpliciter, non ponendo Francie', and this may have inspired the author of the 'Miroir'. Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, ed. H.-F. Delaborde, p. cxxxvii. I owe this reference to M.R. Bautier.

Lempereur est appelle advocat de Leglise et le roy de France protecteur et bras dextre dicelle,[1] et a tres juste cause doit estre ainsi dit: car il appert par les histoires anciennes et approuvees que les roys de France ont oste et extirpe de Leglise de Dieu vingt trois scismes,[2] ce que aucuns empereurs, roys, princes ne nations nont fait.

Es conciles generaulx de Leglise universelle, aupres du pape president (bis) ilec, est de la partie dextre, lempereur, et de la partie senestre, le roy de France.[3] Et se lempereur est en estat imperial, le roy de France est en estat royal, lequel quant a la couronne est different des autres roys, car le dessus doit estre rond et joinct ensemble, comme de tyaire imperial: ce que nont pas, ou ne doyvent avoir les autres roys.[4]

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1. Songe du Vergier, i.cxxviii (ed.cit., p.213) gives similar titles to the king of France. The imperial title is given in the 'Somnium Viridarii', ed. M. Goldast, Monarchia S. Romani Imperii (Hanau, 1611); reprinted in Revue du Moyen Age Latin, xxii (1966), 125. The author may not have needed to use the 'Somnium': this imperial title was used by Frederick III in a letter to Charles VII in 1448; Spicilegium ed. L. d'Achery (Paris, 1661),iv.342, while the titles attributed to the king of France were familiar by the fifteenth century.

2. The source of this allegation is not known. In 1414, Pierre d'Ailly calculated that 22 schisms had taken place in the church, including the schism which motivated the Council of Constance. Concordia Astronomice Veritatis et Narracionis Historice, cap. lviii. The author of the 'Miroir' used this treatise (f. 12^{v}) and may merely have added the schism which took place at the Council of Basle (1439) to d'Ailly's list. If this is the source, the reference to the role of the king of France in healing the schismsis pure invention - it is not mentioned by d'Ailly.

3. The seating of the emperor at the right hand of the pope is described by A. Patrizi(Piccolomini) in his book of Ceremonies composed for Innocent VIII in 1488, which drew on many earlier ceremonials. No specific provision is made for the king of France, but Patrizi notes that kings should be seated on the pope's left. A. Patrizi, 'Sacrarum Caeremoniarum ... Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae', ed. C. Marcello, Rituum Ecclesiasticorum (Venice, 1516), pp.lviiii^{r}(sic) - lx^{r}.

4. Patrizi noted that the distinctive features of the imperial crown consisted in its mitre-like form, and in the presence of hoops, ibid., p.xxx^{r}. For the French royal crown at the same period, see supra pp. 59-61 and notes.

Se le pape vient en aucun lieu, et il advient que lempereur et le roy soyent en ce lieu, ils vont a lencontre de lui, assez pres du lieu ou il doit arriver, et descendent a terre, et apres la reverence faicte et la benediction receue, lempereur prent le cheval blanc ou la mulle blanche du pape par la bride du coste dextre, et le roy du coste senestre; et quant il est descendu, il baise lempereur et le roy en la bouche: aux autres roys, il leur tend la joe destre.[1]

Et pour ce que les papes ont acoustume, en ensuivant lumilite de Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist, duquel ils sont vicaires, de descendre a terre quant lempereur et le roy vont a lencontre deulx, et ils sont pres du lieu ou ils viennent, lempereur et le roy / f.220^{v} lembrassent et descendent et font la reverence deue, et il leur donne la benediction et absolucion de leurs pechiez, et les baise en la bouche comme dit est; et alors le prennent par les braz et ont leurs testes nues, et ainsi le menient jusques au lieu ou il doit arriver.[2] Et se lempereur ny est point, le roy fait office dempereur; et se le roy Despaigne y est, il fait loffice du roy de France, et non autre, car es conciles generaulx, le roy Despaigne a lieu apres le roy de France.[3]

Se lempereur et le roy sont a la feste de Noel devers le pape a la

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1. Non inveni. All rulers, including the emperor, were apparently expected to kiss the pope's feet and hands; they were then kissed on the mouth by the pope. Patrizi, op.cit., pp.liiii^{r}, lv^{v}. In 1495, although the pope insisted that Charles VIII should kiss him only on the mouth and cheek according to a contemporary French bulletin describing their meeting, the account implies that this was not customary. J. Burchard, Diarium, ed. L. Thuasne, ii. 660.

2. Non inveni.

3. Non inveni.

messe de mienuit, lempereur, estant en habit et aornemens imperiaulx, dit levvangille: Exiit editum a Cesare Augusto ut describitur universis orbis etc; et le roy dit lepistre: Apparuit benignitas et humanitas etc. Et se lempereur ny est, le roy dit icellui evvangille: Exiit editum etc; et assistent lempereur et le roy au ministere et office en certaines choses declaires es cerimonies de Romme et de France.[1]

Item: se lempereur et le roy sont a heure de disner ou est le pape, lempereur se siet ou banc et le roy de lautre coste, vis a vis de lui; et se lempereur a ciel tendu sur lui, le roy la pareillement: ce que les autres roys nont pas, ou ne doivent avoir.[2]

Et est assavoir que exceptez le pape, lempereur et le roy Despaigne, le roy se pretitule et preordine a tous roys crestiens, et leur escript ou doit escrire en parchemin et non autrement; et en

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1. There is evidence that the emperor read the seventh lesson (the gospel) at the Midnight Mass at Christmas from the early 14th century, and in 1468, the emperor Frederick III performed this office. In 1433, when in Rome for his imperial coronation, Sigismund chanted the gospel at a papal mass. E.Eichmann, Der Kaiserkronung im Abendland (Würzburg, (1942), ii. 306; Gilles le Bouvier, Les Chroniques du Roi Charles VII, ed. L. Celier et al., (S.H.F., 1979), pp. 158-159; J. Mabillon, Museum Italicum (Paris, 1689), ii. 268. The role ascribed here to the king of France is supported by an undated French ceremonial, probably from the second half of the fourteenth century. E. Martène, De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus (2nd ed., Antwerp, 1736), ii.593-4: the tradition is attested in the anonymous tract 'Pour ce que plusieurs' (1464), (B.N. MS.fr. 5056, f.5^{r}) and was still current in the seventeenth century: P.E. Schramm, Der König von Frankreich (Weimar, 1960), ii.140-41, n.3. It has not been possible to find evidence comparable to that for the emperor, that kings of France performed this office.

2. Non inveni. For the development of the baldequin or'ciel', and its appearance among the French royal symbols in the reign of Philip V, see P.E. Schramm, Herrschaftzeichen und Staatssymbolik (Stuttgart, 1956), iii. 722-27: it was clearly not an exclusively French sign of majesty. Although I have been unable to find an example of this protocol at general councils, the dais or baldequin was provided for Charles V, the emperor Charles IV and Wenceslas, king of the Romans, at a royal banquet given during the imperial visit to Paris in 1378. Chronique des Règnes de Jean II et de Charles V, ed. R. Delachenal (S.H.F., 1916), ii.236; in an illustration in the Grandes Chroniques of Charles V (B.N. MS.fr. 2813, f. 473^{v}) reprinted in Fr. Avril, L'Enluminure a la Cour de France au xive Siecle (Paris, 1978), p.109, pl. 35, and in the Grandes Chroniques illustrated by Fouquet: ed. Omont, plate 49.

faisant le contraire est contre le vray et ancien stile royal.[1]

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1. The use of parchment and not paper by public notaries had been prescribed in the kingdom of Sicily in 1231 by Frederick II. The practice was adopted in France and continued to the end of the Ancien Régime. A. de Boüard, Manuel de Diplomatique Française et Pontificale (Paris, 1948), ii. 215-16.

'Cest chose profitable'

Prologue (All manuscripts except A5, B2, B7, C).

A1 ff.2^r-3^r

Cest chose profitable,[a] et qui aux f. 2^r
roys et princes de France doit estre moult
delectable, de savoir et congnoistre les haulx
et vertueux faicts de leurs tres nobles predecesseurs,
afin que ce soit a iceulx roys et princes mirouer et exemple
de bien vivre, et de ensuir a leur povoir leurs diz
predecesseurs; lesquels, par leurs honnorables et
louables euvres, sont aucunement veuz vivre apres
leur mort, mesmement envers leurs successeurs.
Et pour ce quil ne leur est pas possible davoir devers
eulx les histoires qui par divers historiens ont este
de ce faictes, pour leur grandeur et prolixite, ne de
les povoir veoir et bien entendre, obstans la briefte
et fragilite de ceste vie humaine, et les grans affaires
en quoy ils sont souventes foiz occupez pour le bien
de la chose publique: a laide de Dieu, a la gloire
duquel toutes choses doivent estre faictes, comme
dit lapostre, en son epistre adrecant aux Corinthiens
ou diziesme[b] chappitre- sur quoy la glose dit:[1] A la

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a. E: 'tres profitable'.

b. B,D, E: xii^e.

1. I Cor. x.31; W. Strabo, Glossa Ordinaria ed.cit., p. 537.

gloire de Dieu, cest assavoir, a la louenge divine-
aussi a la recommandacion des diz roys et princes
qui de ce monde sont passez, et a linstruction des
vivans, sera cy faicte abreviacion et translacion
de Latin en Francois des croniques et histoires de France:
a commencer depuis la destruction de la
tres noble cite de Troye, jadiz fondee en Frige, en la
partie de Aise qui est la principale du monde;/ f.2[v]
et[a] a finir au temps du roy Charles le debonnaire,
que Dieu absoille, pere du roy nostre seigneur Charles
septiesme de ce nom a present regnant,[b] que Nostre
Seigneur par Sa grace vueille prosperer en ses
affaires.[a] Aussi en ceste presente abreviacion et
translacion seront mises et recitees aucunes
incidences des temps, et autres choses utiles
et proffitables et dignes de memoire. Et saucun par
presumpcion vouloit contredire aux anciens historiens, saincts
docteurs et auteurs tres renommez cy alleguez et veritablement
recitez, garde soy bien quil ne le face pas sans raison
inconvincible, afin quil ne soit veu voluntairement reprendre ou

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a. B1 substitutes: 'et a finir au temps du roy Charles vi[e] de ce nom'. B3, B4, B6 substitute: 'et a finir au temps du roy Charles le debonnaire, pere du roy Charles septiesme de ce nom, que Dieu absoille'. B5, D substitute 'et a finir au temps du roy Louis xi[e] de ce nom, que Nostre Seigneur par sa grace veuille prosperer en ses affaires'. E substitutes: 'et a finir au temps de Charles vii[e] de ce nom, renomme le victorieux, que Dieu absoille, pere du roy nostre sire a present regnant, que Nostre Seigneur par Sa grace vueille prosperer en tous ses affaires, en accroissant son honneur de bien en mieulx'.

b. A7 substitutes: 'nagueres regnant'.

arguer ce que il ne peut raisonnablement contredire ou impuner.

En poursuivant leuvre: sensuit premierement, par forme de exclamacion, brieve louenge du sceptre roial de France. O tres digne sceptre roial de France, singulierement aorne de grace et prerogative celestiele, de benediction divine et dautres tres grans dons espirituelz: certes, on ne te pourroit condignement eslever ne louer. O roiaume que Leglise militant entre les autres roiaumes crestiens a tousjours regarde de ses tres piteux yeulx comme son singulier protecteur et deffenseur. Roiaume tres noble [a] tres franc et tres bel, merveilleusement honore de nobles eglises, et de multitude de notables prelatz de tres grant noblesse; de ducs, de contes, de/barons et de chevaliers de grant prouesce f.3[r] et devocion, et de peuple a toutes nacions aimable; ouquel les estudes de lettres, et par especial en luniversite de Paris, ont tousjours tres notablement fructifie, et ausqueles estudes sont venuz de toute crestiente tres notables gens, comme aux tres delectables et tres abondans fontaines des sciences; dont ceulx qui y ont este aprins et instruiz ont rempli et decore Nostre Mere Saincte Eglise en divers degrez, offices et dignitez, et de laquelle les roys de ce tres crestien roiaume ont oste et extirpe vint trois grans scismes.[1] Et de ceste briefve exclamacion par forme de louenge suffise, quant a present.

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a. Al omits: 'tres noble'.

1. Non inveni; see supra, p. 253, n.2.

The Salic Law (All manuscripts except A5, B2, B7, C)

A1 ff. 5^{v}-6^{r}

Apres ce que les Francois eurent esleu et f.5^{v}
fait sur eulx roy, ils par grant et meure deliberacion
conclurent quils vouloient user de lois. Pourquoy est assavoir
que lan neuviesme de lempire de Honorius, les Francois composerent
un tres bel livre, fonde es droiz, lequel ils appellerent la Loy
Salique, duquel livre furent principaulx composeurs quatre les
plus notables hommes des diz Francois.....

lesquels Francois /f.6^{r}
furent meuz a faire composer la dicte Loy Salique pour extirper
et oster trois mauvaises naissances de causes, lesqueles Sigisbert,
historien tres renomme, ne exprime ne declaire point;[1] et avecques
ce, pour determiner et jugier a tousjoursmais des questions et debats
qui se pourroient mouvoir entre les diz Francois. Ce livre, appelle
la Loy Salique, est en Latin en labbaie de Savigny en Poictou, ainsi
que len dit;[2] et se cestoit le bon plaisir du roy de la faire
translater de Latin en Francois, en claire translacion et par homme
de bon entendement, ce pourroit moult valoir pour approuver, la ou
il appartendroit, listoire du temps du roy[a] nostre seigneur a present
regnant,[a] en laquelle, bien entendue et consideree ainsi que elle

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a. B, D, substitute 'Charles vii^{e} de ce nom, que Dieu absoille'.

1. Sigebert, Chronica, ed.cit., p.307.

2. See 'Miroir Historial', supra p. 237 and n. 1.

le requiert, a plus ample matiere de bien et notablement escrire, que en histoire de choses qui soient advenues depuis que les Francois vindrent et habiterent premierement en France. De ceste Loy Salique[1] seront cy apres, es lieux ou il appartendra, escriptes aucunes choses singulieres pour declaracion des anciens edicts et statuz faicts par les diz anciens Francois, et qui depuis ont este gardez et observez jusques a present.[2]

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1. Al, margin, 'n[ota]'.

2. Al, f.9^{v} (amendment of law by Clovis and Clothaire), f. 19^{v}-20^{r} (addition of 39 chapters by Charlemagne).

The Salic Law (All manuscripts except A7, B5).

A1 ff.48^{r}-53^{v}

Phelippe de Valois fut esleu au gouvernement f.48^{r} du royaume lan mil trois cens vingt six, pour ce que la royne Jehanne estoit demouree grosse. Et quant elle fut delivree dune fille, le dit Phelippe de Valois se fist couronner en roy de France, pour ce quil estoit cousin germain du roy Charles et fils du conte de Valois, second frere germain de pere et de mere du roy Phelippe le bel; et les Anglois maintenoient que mieulx appartenoit au roy Dangleterre, qui estoit neveu du Roy Charles le bel et fils de sa seur. Et fut le dit Phelippe de Valois couronne a Reims lan mil trois cens vint sept.

En cest endroit est a traictier briefment de la Loy Salique et dont elle vint et que par icelle, femme ne doit succeder a la couronne, ne au royaume de France, et aussi par autres raisons de droit divin et humain; et respondre a lauctorite procedant de Dieu, Numeri xxvii,[1] la ou il respondy a Moyse a luys du tabernacle de Dieu pour la succession des cinq filles de Salphaad. Et pour ce mieulx entendre, sont a considerer les choses qui briefment sensuivent, et premierement: Rex Francie de jure judex est in causa sua, ut dicit Baldus de Perusio, utriusque juris doctor famosissimus, capitulo De investitura in maritum facta,[2]

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1. Num. xxvii. 1-11.

2. Baldus [Pietro Baldi degli Ubaldi (1319-1400)], Super Feudis, (Lyon, 1542) C. De investitura in maritum facta, tit. Vassalus, f.38^{v}. The author has clearly manipulated his source.

   ... 'dominus non solum ratione feudi sed ratione jurisdictionis cognoscit tanquam inter suos subditos sive constet quod sunt vassali sive non. Quod verum est de propria causa non cognoscit.... nisi esset imperator vel rex Francorum, qui non recognoscunt superiorem ...'

quia exemptus ab imperio, ut idem Baldus eleganter disputat in capitulo primo, De pace juramento firmanda.[a1] / Debet tamen rex ipse secundum veritatem judicare. f.48v

Le roy de France de droit est juge en sa cause, comme dit Balde de Peruse, docteur tres renomme en droit civil et canon, ou chappitre dessus allegue, car il est exempt de lempire, comme le dispute elegamment le dit Balde en lautre chappitre allegue cy devant. Toutes voyes, le dit roy de France doit juger selon verite.

Omnes homines qui sunt in regno Francie sunt sub potestate et principatu regis Francie et in eis habet imperium generalis jurisdictionis et potestatis. Hec Archidiaconus in capitulo Tributum xxiii q. vii.[2]

Tous les hommes qui sont ou royaume de France sont soubz la puissance et seigneurie du roy de France, et a en eulx et sur eulx seigneurie de generale juridictionet puissance. Ou lieu dessus allegue.

Par ce seul mot roy doit estre entendu le roy de France, par une figure qui est appellee antonomasia,[b] cest a dire, excellence

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a. Al 'firmenda'.

b. B4 gives the correct reading; all other manuscripts give 'anthonomasia'.

1. Ibid., C. De pace juramento firmanda et servanda, tit. Hac edictali, f.67v. Baldus considers the question of the universality of the power of the emperor and considers the propositions that 'rex Francorum est super imperio Romanorum' and that 'regnum Francorum non (est) de Romano imperio' in that context. He concludes that: '...omnes sunt subjecti de jure et merito' to the emperor, 'sed non omnes sunt subjecti de consuetudine et peccant Francigeni et multi alii reges', which is not the interpretation placed on his words by the author of 'Cest chose profitable'.

2. Guy de Baisy, archdeacon of Bologna (d. 1313). Rosarium, p.317r: C. xxiii, q.8, tit., Tributum.

singuliere,[1] comme le dit en sa lecture et compilacion sur les Clementines Boniface de Amannatis, docteur tres solennel en droit canon et civil, grant theologien et cardinal;[2] et dit que les Anglois ne leurs alliez ne le confessent pas.[3] Mais actendue leur hostilite et ennemitie envers/les roys et le royaume de France, f.49r on nen doit tenir compte , mesmement que les plus solennelz docteurs de court de Romme le mectent en leurs euvres publiques. Le roy de France est le braz dextre de Leglise de Dieu et ont les roys de France extirpe et estainct vingt trois scismes, ce que oncques empereurs, roys ou princes, ne nacions crestiennes ne firent.

Ces choses briefment premises, sensuit une briefve question faicte en Latin et translatee en Francois.

Utrum Eduardus, filius Eduardi regis Anglie et Ysabellis, filie Philipi regis Francie, agnominati decori seu pulcri, ad titulum propaginis, gradus et loci dicte Ysabellis sue genetricis, potuerit juste pretendere se habere jus in seu ad regnum Francie aliquomodo.

Et pro parte affirmativa, breviter arguitur quod sic: primo, auctoritate divina. Scribitur enim in libro Numerorum vicesimo septimo capitulo quod sequitur: Accesserunt autem filie Salphaad,

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1. Antonomasia is a rhetorical device involving the use of a common noun to denote the superiority of a person to all others to whom the noun could be applied. For other examples, J.B. La Curne de Ste-Palaye, Dictionnaire Historique de l'Ancien Langue Française (Paris, Niort, 1875), p.472.
2. The author has confused Bonifacius de Vitalinis, commentator on the Clementines and auditor of the Sacred Palace, active from c. 1340-1388, with Cardinal Bonifacius Amanati of Pistoia. J.F. von Schulte, Geschichte der Queller und Literatur, (Stuttgart, 1877), ii.255 and n.5.
3. Bonifacius de Vitalinis, Commentarii in Clementinas Constitutiones, p.3v:'...appellatione regis simpliciter facta debet intellegi de regi Francorum per excellentiam. Hoc tamen jure non probatur nec per Anglicos, nec per alias provincias approbatur.'

filii Epher etc. Et stererunt coram Moise et Eleazaro sacerdote et cunctis principibus populi ad ostium tabernaculi federis atque dixerunt, 'Pater noster mortuus est in deserto etc. Date nobis possessionum inter cognatos patris nostri'. Retulit Moyses causam earum ad judicium Domini, qui dixit ad eum: Justum rem postulant filie Saphaad. Da eis possessionem inter cognatos patris sui et ei in hereditatem succedant.[1] Ex/quibus verbis f.49^{v} clare perpendi potest eciam et inferri, filias parentibus debere succedere.

Secundo: alia ratione probatur, nam secundum jus commune, heres succedit parentibus, videlicet patri et matri, aut sibi proximior in gradu succedendi, nec aliquo jure ab hoc excluditur.[2] Ergo Eduardus, tanquam proximior ratione matris regis Philipi pulcri, debuit eidem in regno Francie succedere, extinctis dicte Ysabellis fratribus suis Ludovico, Philipe et Karolo, qui successive reges Francorum fuere, sed nullum heredem masculum ex eorum corporibus procreatum successorem sibi reliquerunt. Ex quibus rationibus seu argumentis patet Eduardum, filium Eduardi et Ysabellis predictorum, potuisse legitime pretendere jus in seu ad regnum Francie.

Pro responsione succincta ad quesitum, obmissis rationibus que in oppositum adduci possent et fieri, sciendum primo: quod juxta

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1. Num. xxvii. 1-7. This argument may have been inspired by the treatise against the English by Jean de Montreuil. Jean de Montreuil, Opera, ii. 270.

2. Jean de Montreuil attributes this argument to the English, in alleging that the failure of the duchess of Orléans, daughter of Charles IV, to claim the throne of France, does not prejudice the claim of the English king: it occurs only in the French version of his treatise, ibid.,ii.271. 'Mais on nous dira que, supposé que madame d'Orleans laissast aller son droit, ...sy ne vouloit pas pour ce le roy d'Angleterre perdre ce qui lui appartenoit de droit commun, qui est que ung heritier doit venir a la succession de son pere et de sa mere ou autre son plus prouchain en lignage, et que nul droit ne l'en doit forclorre'.

diversitatem regionum et nationum sunt diverse leges, constituciones et modi vivendi; unde dicit Tullius, princeps eloquencie latine, quod Athenis erit[a] una consuetudo et alia Rome. Item: in materia successionis feodorum sunt diversa statuta, diverse ordinaciones et limitaciones.[1] Patet autem ex libris et scripturis antiquissimis constitucionem et ordinacionem nuncupatam legem saliquam, a Romanis quondam emanatam,[2] a primis Francis acceptatam et actenus observatam, extitisse maxime ante Clovis Francorum/regis susceptum baptismam f.50[r] et unctionem celitus emissam; quamquidem salicam legem Karolus magnus Francorum rex et imperator laudavit, approbavit et confirmavit et postmodum Ludovicus eius filius et successor agnominatus piissimus, prout superius succincte dictum extitit.[3] In ipsa quoque lege seu constitucione inter cetera continetur subsequens clausula: Nulla porcio hereditatis mulieri veniat sed ad virilem sexum tota terre hereditas perveniat. Hec quidem clausula excludit mulieres a successione corone Francie.[4]

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a. A1, A4, A5: 'erat', corrected in B4 to 'erit'.

1. Ibid., ii. 272: This argument appears only in the French versions of Montreuil's treatise: 'Disons oultre que coustume passe droit, et que selon la diversité des païs sont diverses constitucions et loiz et manieres de vivre. Et dit Tulles que une loy sera a Athenes, autre a Rome, une ça, autre la; et par espicial en fait et matieres de fiefz a trop d'ordonnances et limitacions.'

2. This argument appears in the Latin and both French versions of Montreuil's treatise against the English, any of which might have inspired the author of 'Cest chose profitable'. Jean de Montreuil, Opera, ii. 168, 226, 274. The annotation 'Lex Salica' appears in A1.

3. This is a conflation of Richard Lescot's account of the Salic Law, and that given by Montreuil. The former has been used by the author of 'Cest chose profitable' in his historical narrative, for the reigns of Clovis, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. Chronique de Richard Lescot, ed. J. Lemoine, p.178. Jean de Montreuil, Opera, ii. 168, 226, 274.

4. This formulation and gloss of the Salic Law were probably taken from Montreuil's treatise (op.cit., ii. 168, 226-227, 274), rather than directly from the Salic Law (Pactus Legis Salicae, ed. Eckhardt, p.223). For the marginal note beside this passage in A1, see plate 19d.

Confirmatur eciam et probatur per ea que Baldus de Perusio, utriusque juris doctor illustris, decidit in terminis in lege prima Digestis. De senatoribus, versu: Item. Nota, quod rex Anglie non potest juste pretendere se habere jus in seu ad regnum Francie aliquomodo ; cuiusquidem doctoris illustris verba sunt hec: Nota argumentum quod masculi pocius quam femine succedunt in regno. Et dicit idem doctor per modum additionis, quod ubi non succedit femina nec filius eius succedit; Extra. De re judicata, capitulo Ad apostolice, libro sexto in Novella. Nam omne quod est ex radice[a] sequitur naturam proprie generationis. Et ideo si filia regis Francorum Ysabellis non successit in regno, ex lege et consuetudine rationabili Francorum, filius eius Eduardus in regno Francie nullum jus potuerit[b] pretendere,/quia in causato non potest esse plus virtutis f.50[v] quam procedat ab influente; et est expressum decima collacione: Qui feudum dare possunt ff Hoc autem notandum est.[1] Ex radice:[c] altera generacio seu propag[aci]o.[d]

[e] Cy est[f] escript au long la quotacion alleguee de droit civil et canon pour ce que les grans princes nont pas acoustume de les entendre au brief, combien que se ilz les entendoient, ce ne seroit que bien fait. [e]

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a. MSS.:'ex traduce'.

b. A1, A6, B3, B4, E: 'potuit'.

c. MSS.:'ex traduce'.

d. MSS.:'propago'.

e. C, E omit these lines.

f. B, D substitute 'Jay cy'.

1. Baldus, In Primam Digesti Veteris Partem Commentaria (Venice,1516), De Senatoribus ff. Vet. Lex. 1, Consularii, p. 49[v].

Sensuit la translacion avecques autres raisons et addicions en Francois.

Assavoirsi Eduouard, fils de Edouard, roy Dangleterre et de Ysabel, fille de Phelippe, roy de France, appelle le bel, au tiltre de la lignee, degre et lieu dela dicte Ysabel, sa mere, a peu justement pretendre avoir droit en aucune maniere au royaume de France. Et pour la partie affirmative, on argue ainsi: premierement, par auctorite divine. Il est escript ou livre des Nombres, ou vingt septiesme chappitre ce qui sensuit: Les filles de Salphaad, filz[a] de Epher etc. vindrent et se tindrent devant Moise et Eleazar, prebstre, et devant tous les princes du peuple, cest a entendre descendu de la lignee Disrael, a luys du tabernacle daliance et lui disrent ainsi: Nostre pere Salphaad est mort ou desert etc. Donnez nous possessions entre/les cousins de nostre pere. Ce oy, f.51[r] Moises raporta la cause des dictes filles, qui en nombre estoient cinq, au jugement de Dieu, lequel respondy: Les filles de Salphaad requirent juste chose. Donne leur possession entre les cousins de leur pere et lui succedent en son heritaige. Esquelles paroles on peut clerement congnoistre et conclurre que les filles doivent succeder a leurs pere et mere.

Secondement: ce est prouve par autre raison, car selon droit commun leritier succede a ses pere et[b] mere ou le plus prouchain

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a. A1, A2, A3, A4 , A5: 'filles'.

b. A1 omits 'et'.

en degre de succeder, ne par aucun droit nest de ce forclos; doncques sensuit que Edouart comme plus prouchain par raison de sa mere de Phelippe le bel lui devoit succeder ou royaume de France, apres la mort des freres de sa mere, ses oncles, cest assavoir de Loys, Phelippe et Charles, qui successivement furent roys de France et ne laisserent aucun heritier masle procree de leurs corps leur successeur a la couronne de France. Par lesqueles raisons ou argumens appert que Edouard dessus nomme, fils de Edouard, roy Dangleterre et de Ysabel, fille du roy Phelippe le bel, a peu legitimement pretendre droit au royaume de France.

Pour donner briefve response a ceste question, qui aussi est brieve, laissees les raisons qui pourroient estre amenees / f.51^{v} et faictes, est premierement a savoir que selon la diversite des regions et nacions sont diverses lois, constitucions et manieres de vivre; et pour ce dit Tulles, prince de eloquence Latine, que a Athenes sera une coustume et a Romme une autre. Item: en matiere de successions des fiefs sont diverses ordonnances, divers statuz et limitacions. Il appert aussi, par livres et[a] escriptures tres anciennes, la constitucion et ordonnance nommee la Loy Salique, jadis emanee et descendue des anciens Rommains, avoir este acceptee et receue par les premiers Francois, mesmement devant le baptesme et la saincte onction envoiee du ciel dont fut enoinct[b] Clovis, premier roy crestien de France; laquelle Loy Salique Charles le Grant, empereur et roy des Francois, loua, approuva et conferma, comme

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a. 'Et' present only in A5, B4, E.

b. A1, A5: 'enjoinct'.

dessus est dit, et apres Loys, son fils et successeur, appelle le tres debonnaire, si comme dessus est briefment dit. En celle loy ou constitucion est entre autres choses contenue la clause qui sensuit:

Aucune porcion deritaige ne viengne a la femme, mais tout leritaige de la terre viengne au sexe virile, cest a entendre domme. Ceste clause deboute et forclot les femmes de succeder a la couronne de France.

Balde de Peruse, Ytalien, tres notable docteur en droit canon et civil, decide en termes/en la loy premiere, ou tiltre De f.52^{r} senatoribus es Digestes, ou vers, Item. Nota, que le roy Dangleterre ne peut justement pretendre avoir droit au royaume de France en aucune maniere, duquel tres notable docteur les paroles sont teles: Item: note argument que les masles mieulx que les femelles succedent a royaume. Et adjouste icellui docteur: Que la ou femme ne succede, son fils ne succede point, selon ce que est allegue a ce propos ci dessus, car toute chose qui est dautre propagacion ou generacion ensuit la nature de sa propre generacion. Et pour ce, se Ysabel, fille de Phelippe, roy de France, ne succeda au royaume de France, par la loy et constitucion raisonnable des Francois, son fils, Edouard Dangleterre, ny povoit pretendre aucun droit; car en la chose causee ne peut estre plus de vertu que en celle qui procede de la chose influant, ou donnant la chose causee. Et ce est expres en la diziesme collacion, selon la allegacion faicte ou latin ci dessus.

Ex radice,[a] cest a dire: autre generacion ou propagacion.

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a. MS.:'ex traduce'.

[a] Les causes qui jadiz meurent les anciens Francois a prandre et accepter des anciens Rommains la constitucion appellee la Loy Salique sont douze, fondees es droiz naturelz, civilz et canoniques,[1] lesquelles causes ne sont cy recitees pour cause de briefte; mais se cestoit le plaisir du roy, elles seroient bien assises en listoire de son temps, par cellui auquel il plaira au roy de la commectre a faire.[a] / Response aux raisons pour la f.52[v] partie affirmative. A la premiere, des filles de Salphaad, la glose interlineaire met ce mot, in plebe,[2] cest a dire que telles distribucions de possessions de heritaiges se doivent entendre entre gens populaires, non pas en successions de Royaumes ou autres grans seigneuries, pour les raisons que les droicts y mectent, qui sont tres notables, et que les roys et grans princes doivent avoir en especial souvenance, lesquels , comme dessus est dit, ne sont cy recitees pour cause de briefte. A la secunde raison: response que proximite en matiere de succession se doit entendre selon la loy et civilite du lieu ou est la succession. Or ne sera il pas trouve par escriptures ne autrement que femme succedast oncques, ne donnast lieu de succeder a personne quelconque, feust male ou femelle,[b] au royaume ne a la couronne de France;[3] par quoy sensuit

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a. B2, B3, B4, C and family E omit these lines.

b. A1, B2, B3, B4, E add: 'de succeder'.

1. The source of this information is not known.

2. An elaboration of an argument used by Montreuil: '..Saphat nestoit mie roy, duc ne conte, mais homme de petit estat, a qui aussi on ne trouvoit heritier a succeder que ses filles seulement'. Montreuil, Opera,ii.173,275 (French versions of his treatise against the English).

3. The argument is used by Montreuil in both French versions of his treatise against the English: the formulation given here has been taken almost verbatim from the later version. Jean de Montreuil, Opera, ii. 272.

clerement que le dit Edouard ny povoit, ne devoit pretendre droit au moyen et tiltre de Ysabel, sa mere, laquele, par les raisons dessus dictes, estoit inhabille a succeder au royaume de France. Et dabondant, quant aucun veult tendre ou venir a une fin ou effect par moyen inhabille et reprouve ou non approuve, il est de droit fraude et frustre de sa fin et de son esperance.[1] Or il est certain que le moyen du dit Edouard a cause de Ysabel sa mere est inhabile, comme dessus est dit; par quoy sensuit quil/doit estre frustre de son entencion. f.53[r] Item: chose qui de sa nature est mauvaise et fondee sur faulx, comme celle du dit Edouard, ne peut estre faicte bonne par demeure ou laps de temps.[2] Item: ceulx qui descendent des masles sont preferez especialement en grans seigneuries a ceulx qui ne viennent seulement que des femelles.[3] Par ces briefves raisons, je conclus comme dessus[a] en la partie negative.[a]

Et saucun demandoit de quele auctorite on parle en ceste matiere qui est si haulte, response: que aucunes des choses dont ci dessus est faicte brieve mencion ont este prinses en plusieurs histoires et croniques faictes par notables clercs, et mesmement en listoire de Ammoinus, historien du temps de Charlemaigne, dont les euvres sont a Sainct Denis en France, lequel Ammoinus fut tres curieux

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a. A6, B, C, D, E omit: 'en...negative'.

1. Ibid., 166, 271. 'Il est de droit fraudé de la fin de son esperance'.

2. This assertion is made by Montreuil in the French and Latin versions of his treatise against the English. Jean de Montreuil, op.cit., ii, 177-178, 238, 284-285.

3. This argument is used by Montreuil in both French treatises, but the later version is the source of this passage. Ibid., p.276.

en teles besoingnes; et avecques ce, en listoire de Maistre Guillaume de Nangy, semblablement historien et grant investigateur ou encercheur des faicts de France et Dangleterre;[1] et aussi de plusieurs autres notables clercs ci devant alleguez. Et en ensuivant a mon povoir la doctrine de Sainct Jheroime, qui au commancement de ses euvres respondoit tousjours aux detracteurs: saucun disoit que escrire en ceste matiere nestoit besoing et que autres en ont autres foiz escript, response: il est vray que autres en/ont autres fois escript, desquelz jay veu les escriptz, f.53^{v} mais que aucun en ait escript en ceste forme, ne que en ses escripts il ait allegue raisons de droit civil et canon si adaptables, ne si convenables a ceste matiere, ne de si grant efficace comme sont celles dudit Balde quant a droit civil et canon. Ceulx qui par detraction en vouldroient parler ne le sauroient monstrer, pour ce que depuis ceulx qui paravant y auroient escript, le dit Balde, nouvel docteur, a fait ses euvres, comme il est tout notoire, et ainsi a tels detracteurs on ne doit adjouster foy.

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1. The author's invocation of the authority of Aimoin of Fleury (c. 965-1008) and Guillaume de Nangis (d. 1300) provides further evidence of his debt to Montreuil's treatise against the English; the formulation of the passage suggests that the second French version rather than the Latin version is the source. Jean de Montreuil, op.cit., ii. 288-289.

Montreuil makes no reference to the location of the works of Aimoin; this may indicate that the author of 'Cest chose profitable' had used the library of St Denis, or at least knew about its contents: at least one manuscript of Aimoin's history was still in the abbey in 1445, supra,p. 186,n.2. The author of 'Cest chose profitable' does not appear to have used Aimoin's history elsewhere in his text.

The Royal Dignity (A1-A6, B1 only).

A1 ff. 65^{v}-66^{r}.

Sensuivent aucunes choses notables et singulieres et dignes de memoire, pour aucune declaracion et ampliacion de ce present traictie, lesquelles ny ont peu estre assises ne mises, par ce que alors je ne les avoye pas. Et premierement de la dignite royal. f.65^{v}

La dignite royal est la premiere et souveraine entre toutes les autres dignitez ou puissances terriennes ou seculieres; ne a ceste dignite royal nest aucune autre souveraine ou pareille in genere vel ordine suo[1] - cest a dire, en son genre ou en son ordre, comme le traictent les philosophes et saincts docteurs de Leglise en plusieurs et divers lieux. Lesquelles choses Maistre Nicole Oresme, evesque de Lisieux, tres excellent philosofe et theologien, instructeur en ces sciences du roy Charles le quint, a lexortacion de lui recueilly et en fist un beau traictie que jay,[2] et pour ce, en ay cy fait brieve mencion a mon propoz.

Des empereurs.

Les empereurs sont roys, et nest aucune dignite, puissance ou dominacion oultre ou pardessus la dignite royal. Ce tres noble et tres excellent nom de roy est nom de activite et de puissance, et ne derogue en riens a lonneur imperial. Cellui doncques nest pas roy, qui est subgiet a autre roy; car il nest pas entierement franc qui est subgiet au roy, pour ce que necessairement il lui convient

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1. 'Miroir Historial' f. 211^{v} attributes this citation to Thomas Aquinas, and to William of Auvergne, or Paris, 'De Universo': Guillelmi Alverni Opera Omnia (Paris 1674 repr. 1963, Frankfurt-am-Main) i. 593-1074. Non inveni.
2. For the career and writings of Nicole Oresme, (born c. 1320-25, died 1382) see Maistre Nicole Oresme, 'Le Livre des Politiques' ed. A.D. Menut, Trans. Am. Phil. Soc., lx.6 (1970), 13-20.

obeir et servir/a son seigneur. Libertas enim omnium dignitatum f.66[r]
veri nominis ac rationis fundamentum est: cest a dire que liberte est le fondement du vray nom et de la raison de tous honneurs et dignitez. Hec ille.[1]

De prince....[2] (A1-A6, B1 only).

A1 ff.83[r]-84[r]

Tous offices humains appartenans a singulieres personnes, f.83[r]
avecques quelxconques ordres quils aient similitude ou semblance, sont adrecees par le derrenier ordre, en tant comme ils participent les vertuz des souverains ordres. Mais les offices qui appartiennent a multitude sont adrecez par les princes ou principats, ou par les arcanges. Et pour ce, tout homme qui est constitue en prelacion est enlumine dun ange du plus bas ordre des choses qui appartiennent a lestat de sa personne; mais des choses qui appartiennent[3] / f.83[v]
au gouvernement de la multitude, il est enlumine dun ange prince.[4]

Et pour ce que toute puissance est de Dieu, et par ce, selon la distinction de la collacion divine-cest a entendre, du don de Dieu- es offices doit avoir distinction et difference; autrement ce cherroit en confusion pernicieuse ou de tres mauvais exemple. Le prince, selon les droiz civils et aussi selon Sainct Thomas Dacquin

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1. 'Miroir Historial', f.211[v], with attribution to Aquinas. Non inveni.
2. The Latin passage which follows in the text has been omitted in this edition.
3. In A1, 'a lestat ....appartiennent' has been added in a different script, also used on ff.84[v]-86[r].
4. Non inveni, but see 'Miroir Historial', supra p. 227, n. 1. This passage may be a paraphrase of the same source.

en sa Somme, est loy animee en terre.[1] Le prince aussi habonde en biens temporelz quant ses subgetz y abondent: qui est bien a noter, considere ce qui en est escript en droit divin et humain.

Comment un royaume ou autre grant seigneurie peut estre par long temps conserve et garde en prosperite et en la dilection et bienveillance des subgiez envers leur roy ou prince et de ses successeurs: semble que pour la decoracion de listoire du roy et autres consideracions raisonnables, qui sont de tres grant pois, ce sera bien assiz en listoire du roy, et je le bailleray voulentiers, pour honneur du roy, a cellui quil lui plaira commectre a ce faire.

Et pour ce que lordre de ceste presente histoire de France abregee commance aux princes, en laquele abreviacion, a laide de Dieu, qui est fondement, commancement et directeur ou adreceur de tout bon euvre, jay procede jusques au temps du regne de Charles sixiesme de ce nom, jadis roy de France, que Dieu absoille; et pour con/clusion finale dicelle, esperant que par la clemence divine je puisse gaigner dix jours de indulgence et pardon, que Innocent pape quart de ce nom a donnez a tous ceulx qui prient pour le roy de France,[2] comme le recite Sainct Thomas Daquin en son escript sur le quart livre de sentences en la fin de la quarte question de la vingtieme distinction, et aussi pour recongnoissance, non pas telle comme je suy tenu, mais comme je la puis faire, de lonneur quil a pleu f. 84r

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1. For the concept of the prince as 'legibus solutus': Aquinas, Summa, Ia IIae, q. xcvi a. 5 r.ad. 3 (ed. Paulinae, pp. 965-66). For the prince as 'lex animata in terra' in canon and civil law, see E.H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, pp. 127-135.

2. See supra, p. 235, n. 1.

au roy de sa bonte naturelle a moy faire, en moy retenant en son tres humble serviteur apres mon exil par les Anglois, ouquel service royal je fu retenu passez sont trente six ans: je prie Dieu, qui est prince des roys de la terre, quil doint au roy (qui par singuliere resplendisseur de ses tres nobles vertuz, et mesmement par sa tres grant prudence, a tousjours soigneusement entendu a augmenter lonneur de la royale lignee de France, aornee de prerogative celestielle, et aussi la tres ancienne et honnorable renommee de ce royaume) prosperite en tous ses affaires, et a ceulx qui loyaument layment, honnorent et servent, condigne remuneracion; et apres son royaume terrien et temporel, parvenir au royaume celestiel et eternel. Amen.[1]

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1. Al only, added in another script: 'Explicit cronica magistri Natalis [Nicolai deleted] de Friboes.'

APPENDIX B: Manuscripts of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable'

The following catalogue is intended to supplement the first chapter of this thesis, by providing the evidence on which the conclusions in that chapter have been based, in more extensive form than was appropriate in the chapter itself. Only material considered relevant to the requirements of the thesis has been included. Thus, although details of ornamentation and quiring have been retained, in order to present an impression of the quality and organisation of the manuscript, detailed descriptions of watermarks of a common type, but which do not accord exactly with examples given by Briquet[1], have been excluded.

A plate of each manuscript has been included, to which reference may be made for details of the style of script and the organisation of the written space. Major changes in these features are noted in the catalogue. Details of other texts in the same manuscripts, including illustrations, are minimised.

In the absence of firm evidence of the date of a manuscript, dates given in the catalogue are approximate[2].

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1 C.M. Briquet, Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques de Papier (Paris, 1907, repr. Amsterdam, 1968), 4 vols., abbreviated to Briquet, with the appropriate number. All unidentified watermarks resemble those found in Briquet and conform to types common in France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

2. The dates of the various redactions of the texts, as given in Chapters One and Five, pp. 4-11,19-26, 167-173, have been taken into account in estimating the dates of the manuscripts.

Oxford, Bodl. L. MS. Bodley 968 (O)

Date xvth Century (c.1451)

Contents 'Miroir Historial Abrégé de France' (ff. 1^{r}-220^{v})

Incipit: 'A lonneur de Dieu et de la couronne de France'

Explicit: 'Et en faisant le contraire est contre le vray et ancien stile royal. Explicit'

2nd folio: 'Et pour avoir'.

Codicology

Material 224 vellum folios, 50 cm x 28 cm

Construction 2 blank flyleaves; quires 1-27^{8}; change of script in quire 25, ff. 196^{r}-199^{r}; quire 28^{4}; 2 blank flyleaves. Quire 6 has been wrongly bound, ff. 41^{r}-48^{v}, and should be placed after quire 1. Catchwords. Leaf signatures.

Rubrics Red lettering or black lettering underlined in red ink is used for the very numerous rubrics. Gold lettering one line in height appears on f. 2^{r-v} and gold and blue lettering of the same size occurs on ff. 4^{v} and 5^{r}. Blue and gold lettering of two lines in height accompanies all miniatures except on ff. 147^{r} and 151^{v} where blue is used alone, and f. 89^{r} when black and gold are used. Red and blue lettering occurs in the text on f. 219^{r}. Calligraphic flourishes are used on ff. 40^{v} and 57^{r}, with yellow wash on capitals in the text.

Line endings are common, executed in blue and burnished or painted gold. In quire 25, their execution is less accomplished.

Paragraph signs are common, executed in gold and flourished with black ink or in red flourished with blue ink. In quire 25 the gold signs have not been completed with ink decoration.

Initials Five- and six-line initials accompany miniatures, except for a six-line initial on f. 5^{r} which marks the beginning of the first book of the text, and a five-line initial on f. 201^{r} which marks a major division in the text. Four-line initials are used with miniatures less frequently, and a three-line initial only once. More frequently, they

mark important divisions in the text. Two-line initials indicate chapters and minor textual divisions. Blue or mauve with decoration in white filigree is used for the initials, usually on a field of burnished gold, but occasionally on a purple or blue field. Initials are infilled with schematised tendrils, ivy leaves, trefoils, and more rarely, acanthus leaves, using blue, red, mauve, purple, and occasionally green. On ff. 108^{r} and 117^{r}, vases filled with gold and green leaves and red, blue and green flowers fill the initial.

Border decoration accompanies initials and miniatures. Full borders accompany the initial on f. 5^{r}, and all miniatures. 'E' shaped borders accompany other initials of three or more lines; and six-line borders accompany two-line initials. Curvilinear tendrils, seed pods, tiny balls and ivy leaves in burnished gold, fruit, stylised but recognisable, imaginary or occasionally realistic flowers, green and gold leaves and acanthus stems and leaves in blue and brushed gold are characteristic elements of the borders. Birds are a common feature of the borders, and in two borders accompanying miniatures, human figures have been painted in the lower border (ff. 72^{r}, 75^{r}).

Illustrations

The manuscript contains fifteen miniatures.

f.		Plate
1^{r}	God crowns a king of France	6
72^{r}	Mohammed, attended by his wives	1
75^{r}	The tomb of Mohammed. A devotee blinds himself	2
89^{r}	Constantinus IV presides at the sixth synod of the Church, at Constantinople	12
108^{r}	Pope Stephen II crowns King Pipin the Short, in the presence of his sons, Carloman and Charlemagne	7
117^{r}	Carloman and Charlemagne, kings of France	8
125^{r}	The monks of St Martin of Tours are punished for their sins	

f.		Plate
127^{v}	The emperor Charlemagne with his sons Charles, Louis and Pipin	10
143^{v}	The Vision of Turpin. 1. Turpin converses with the devil	
147^{r}	The Vision of Turpin. 2. Devils dispute for Charlemagne's soul, which is rescued by St James the Great	3
150^{r}	The emperor Louis the Pious and his sons Lothar, Louis, Pipin and Charles	11
151^{v}	The Battle of Fontenoy-en-Puisaye	4
165^{v}	Hugh Capet and Robert the Pious	9
173^{r}	The Battle of Hastings	5
185^{r}	The reditus regni ad stirpem Karoli Magni	13

Style The miniatures occupy about 20 lines of the written space, and are surrounded by an arched and engrailed frame executed in black ink and gold. The style of execution of the miniatures, the artist's palette and recurrent elements in the background of the scenes indicate that the illustration is the product of a single workshop.

The depiction of human figures is characterised by the artist's predilection for elongated figures, angular faces viewed in profile or three-quarter view, marked by pronounced features, and heavy-lidded eyes, often with averted glance. Male figures are frequently depicted with long forked beards, with white highlights, or short beards, suggested by shading, rather than painted. Their faces are painted in dark flesh hues. Female figures are round-faced, with delicate features, and their skin is pale almost to whiteness. Movement in the miniature is suggested by the hands of the figures, which gesticulate, frequently directing attention to the central figure. Depth and volume in clothes and draperies are suggested by the use of heavy vertical lines in a deeper shade of the

base colour, and by folds formed by parallel hatching, shading and highlights.

For scenes which take place in a room or building, two methods are used. The artist creates the impression that a wall of the building has been removed, so that both the interior and the exterior of the building can be viewed, or alternatively, he depicts only the interior of the room. Recessed windows, passages which lead away from the chamber, the convergence of horizontal and diagonal lines on a central feature of the miniature, such as the tip of the cone-shaped crown of an emperor or pope, are used in an attempt to create a sense of depth and volume: but columns or turrets frequently appear to be leaning at an angle, and seem two dimensional.

Windows, or scenes taking place outside, provide views of the countryside. These views are detailed, and characterised by the employment of recurring motifs: the turrets and towers of distant cities; lakes and rivers with boats, and occasionally watermills; a shepherd or shepherdess with sheep; a man driving a donkey; a mounted man accompanied by a dog. The lack of perspective and sense of distance between figures or objects is shown by the relative sizes of trees or birds in the foreground and background of the picture. Crimson and blue predominate in the palette; pale mauve is used for clothes and architecture; lilac, green and brown, black and more rarely, vermilion are also used. Gold appears in the details of architecture and decoration for garments, and the thin, trailing serpentine clouds which are characteristic of the artist. Crowns, orbs and sceptres are also depicted in gold.

The Artist

The master of the Oxford manuscript, who will be referred to as the Bodley Master, has recently been identified as one of a group of artists active in Western France from c.1435, and of whom the best known at present

is the Juvenal Master[1]. The relations of the Bodley Master with this group and the chronology of his works have not been fully explained. Eberhard König has recently identified three manuscripts which were illustrated by the same artist, but as these bear no firm indications of date and rarely of provenance, they do not elucidate the problems raised by the Oxford manuscript, which König believes to represent the earliest of the group[2]. The unusual iconography of the Oxford manuscript distinguishes it from other manuscripts by the same artist, but a possible model for the figure of God is found in a manuscript of an 'Histoire Ancienne' in a miniature by the Juvenal Master, c. 1435[3]. I have not been able to find models for other illustrations in the Oxford manuscript in other manuscripts by the Juvenal Master and his associates which I have been able to examine.

Another manuscript illustrated by the Bodley artist, and not mentioned by König, was also executed for the count of Maine, and depicts Charles d'Anjou in the frontispiece illustration[4]. The elongated body and

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1. Eberhard König, Französische Buchmalerei um 1450: der Jouvenal-Maler, der Maler des Genfer Boccaccio und die Anfänge Jean Fouquets (Berlin, 1982), passim; pp.13, n.38; 105, 253 for the Oxford manuscript. The same artist illustrated: Dijon,B.Mun. MS.527 (Roman du Saint Graal) : for a reproduction, see C. Oursel, 'Manuscrits à Peintures de la Bibliothèque de Dijon', Bull.Soc.Fr.Repr.MSS. à Peintures, vii (1923), pl.xv; Chantilly, Musée Condé MS. 404 (Roman de Tristan): the arms of Jean du Mas, lord of Lisle (d.1495) have been added in the borders. For a reproduction of f. 204^{v}, where the background is very similar to that of some miniatures in O, see J. Meurgey, 'Les Principaux Manuscrits à Peintures du Musée Condé à Chantilly', Bull.Soc.Fr.Repr. MSS. à Peintures, xiv (1930), plate lxvi. My own examination of these manuscripts leads me to agree with König. I have not been able to examine the remaining manuscript, New York, Publ. L. MS. Spencer 34 (Livre du Petit Artus) owned by Jacques d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours (d.1477), but five illustrations are reproduced by W.R. Leech, 'MS. Spencer 34', Bulletin of the New York Public Library, xxxii (1928), 391-96; and another is published by J. Plummer, The Last Flowering: French Paintings in Manuscripts 1420-1530 (New York, London, 1982), pp.35-36, plate 47, and these suggest that König is correct in his attribution .

2. See previous note for references. The date given by König for the Oxford manuscript (1443) is evidently erroneous, but his stylistic observations support an early date for the manuscript. Plummer, op. cit., pp.35-36 suggests a date of 1470 for the 'Livre du Petit Artus', without reference to König, presumably on stylistic grounds.

3. Plate 6; Plate 14a, B.N. MS.fr. 15455, f.1^{r}. This illustration is earlier than other miniatures in the manuscript. For the manuscript and dating, see König, op.cit., pp.193-95. (continued on next page)

pronounced facial features of the seated figure, the organisation of the pictorial space, the execution of the architectural framework and the window, with serpentine cloud, emphasise the common origin of this manuscript and the Oxford 'Miroir Historial'.

Binding is an English eighteenth century, crimson velvet binding, with decorative metalwork and gold, crimson and black endpapers[1].

Provenance Arms appear in the borders of miniatures on ff.1^r, 72^r, 89^r, 151^v, 165^v, where they have been painted in oils over the border decoration: argent, a lion rampant gules, armed, crowned and langued or, accompanied by the motto 'Si mieulx non pis'. This coat of arms has been identified as that of Isabelle of Luxemburg , whose marriage to the count of Maine took place in 1444. The blazon differs from that normally associated with the Luxemburg counts of St Pol: argent,a lion rampant gules, queue fourchee, armed, crowned or, langued azure[2]. The motto which accompanies the text does not appear to be associated with the Luxemburg family or the count of Maine[3]. It is possible that arms and motto may be a later addition to the manuscript.

The manuscript came into the possession of William Bouverie, 5th earl of Radnor (d.1776) at an unknown date, and was presented by him to the

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(continued from previous page)

4. B.N. MS.lat. 6749 A ('De Avibus'), f.1^r (Plate 14). I owe this reference to M. François Avril.

1. G. Barber, Textile and Embroidered Bindings (Bodleian L., Oxford, 1971), pl. 28, 29.

2. O. Pächt, J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1966), i.57. For the count's coat of arms, see Plate 14 and E. Hucher, 'Sigillographie du Maine: Le Sceau de Charles IV, Comte du Maine', Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture, Sciences et Arts de la Sarthe, xxi (1871-72), 1-7. For the Luxemburg arms: Jean Le Fèvre, sire de Saint-Rémy, A European Armorial, ed. R. Pinches, A. Wood (London, 1971), pp.12, 13, 182-83.

3. This motto was used by the Seyturier family of Bresse; their coat of arms is not present in the Oxford manuscript, and there is no evidence that the manuscript belonged to them. J. Dielitz, Die Wahl-und Denksprüche (Frankfurt, 1884, repr. Vaduz, 1963), p.298; R. Rietstap, Armorial Général, ii. 770, v.pl. cccv.

Bodleian Library in 1767[1].

Additional Comments

This is the sole manuscript with a dedication to Charles d'Anjou, count of Maine. Although there are no marks of ownership which show conclusively that it belonged to him, a number of factors indicate that this must be the presentation copy for the count. The quality of the manuscript and the rich and unusual illustration suggest that it was prepared for a prince of the blood. As the object of the dedication, the count would seem to be the most suitable candidate. Similarities between the style of illustration in this manuscript and another undoubtedly prepared for the count provide further support for this theory. If the arms are indeed those of the countess Isabelle, they suggest that the manuscript may have been given by the count to his wife.

The date of the manuscript is clearly important in determining the date at which this version of the text was composed. The illustrations provide valuable evidence in this respect. Eberhard König's study of manuscript illumination in the second quarter of the fifteenth century supports the thesis that the Oxford manuscript was illustrated in or shortly after 1451. This is strengthened by the affinities in the style of armour in the Oxford manuscript, and a manuscript of the 'Arbre des Batailles' by Honoré Bouvet, illustrated by another associate of the Juvenal Master, for Arthur, count of Richemont, and clearly dated 1450[2]. Although the Oxford manuscript cannot be irrefutably dated to 1451, when the evidence of the illustration and text are taken into consideration, there is considerable support for the hypothesis that manuscript and text were produced in 1451, and it is plausible to suppose that the Oxford manuscript was made with another, intended for the king, and bearing a different dedication.

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1. F. Madan, Summary Catalogue..of the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1905), v. 57.

2. B. Arsenal, MS. 2695, f.6^{v}. For a reproduction of this illustration, see M.G.A. Vale, War and Chivalry, plate. 2.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 4950 (P1)[1]

Date xvith Century (first half)

Contents 'Miroir Historial', ff.1^{r}-220^{v}.[2] Incipit: 'A lonneur et louenge de Dieu'. Explicit: 'porte ou monastere de sainct Denis en France. Explicit. G. Thierry.'

2nd folio: 'subsecutivement par forme'.

Codicology

Material 233 paper folios, 26.5 cm x 20.4 cm. 4 unidentified watermarks: A. flyleaves; B. quires 2-8. C. quire 12. D. quires 13-18.

Construction 4 blank flyleaves; quires 1-11^{12}; quire 12$^{14-1}$ (f.138 missing); quire 13-16^{12}; quire 17^{14}; quire 18^{16}; 6 blank flyleaves. Catchwords. Leaf signatures.

Rubrics Ink in same style as the text: very incomplete. Blank lines marked with a dot of red ink may indicate a guide for rubrication in red ink, which was not executed (e.g. ff.36^{v}-37^{r}).

Initials

Three-line red and blue painted initials introduce the prologue and historical text; two- and one-line initials in blue are used elsewhere.

Binding The manuscript is bound in lemon morocco, tooled and decorated with gold and stamped with the arms of Louis XIV.

Additions The name 'G. Thierry' and 'Thierry' occurs on ff.220^{v}, 225^{v}, in a sixteenth century hand. This suggests that it is the name of the scribe, who may also have been the original owner of the manuscript. He has not been identified. Manchettes and notanda in a 17th century hand occur throughout the manuscript.

Provenance G. Thierry (?)

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1. Plate 15.
2. ff. 1^{r}-11^{v} are badly mutilated.

Philippe Hurault, bishop of Chartres (1598-1620).

The volume entered the French royal library in 1622[1].

1. 'Inventaire des Manuscrits de Hurault, Acquis pour la Bibliothèque du Roi en 1622', ed. H. Omont, Anciens Inventaires de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1909), ii.425.

Paris, B.N. MS. n.a. fr. 1858 (P2)[1]

Date xvith Century (before 1521)

Contents 'Miroir Historial', ff.2^{r}-222^{v}. Incipit: 'A lonneur et louenge de Dieu'. Explicit: 'porte ou monastere de Saint Denis en France'. 2nd folio 'langage pour eviter'.

Codicology

Material 232 paper folios, 22 cm x 14.5 cm. 3 unidentified watermarks: A. quires 1-14. B. quires 15-18. C. quires 18-19.

Construction 2 blank flyleaves; quires 1-18^{12}; quire 19^{14} Catchwords; leaf signatures.

Rubrics The title of the text, 'Collectanea ex Cronicis Francorum', is written in pale red ink in lettering of one line in height. Red ink is also used for running headings for the reign of each king. Rubrics in the text are written in brown ink.

Initials in ink. A two-line initial introduces the text. One-line initials are used throughout the text.

Binding Dark brown leather on wooden boards, with the marks of clasps still visible. An intricate geometric pattern is stamped on the leather: the title 'Miroir Historial de France' in gold lettering on red paper has been glued to the spine. The binding appears to be contemporary with the manuscript.

Additions Numerous manchettes and notanda in a seventeenth-century hand occur in the manuscript. A note describing the weather for 28 June 1521 in a sixteenth century hand on the penultimate flyleaf, indicates a terminus ad quem for the manuscript's composition. A brief description of the volume's contents in Italian, dating from the nineteenth century, occurs on the verso of the first flyleaf.

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1. Plate 16.

Provenance The early history of the manuscript is unknown, until its appearance in the library of Count H. de Silva. It was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at the sale of the de Silva library[1].

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1. The following numbers occur in the manuscript: '119', (f.1^{r}) 'R.C. b.147', 'g 46' (f.1^{v}). These cannot be identified. The stamp of the count de Silva occurs on f.222^{v}. For the catalogue of the sale of his library and a description of the manuscript, P. Meyer, Catalogue des Livres...Provenant de la Bibliothèque de M. le Comte H. de S[ilva], no.276.

Paris, B.N. MS. n.a. fr. 6853 (P3)[1]

Date xv^th Century (last quarter)

Contents 1. Pactus Legis Salicae[2], ff.1^r-25^v. 2. 'Miroir Historial' (ff.26^r-285^r). 3. King-list (ff.285^v-288^v)[3].

Incipit: 'Si quis ad malum legibus', f.1^r. Explicit: 'Moys (sic) x^e de ce nom, fils de Charles vii^e de ce nom regna.'

2nd folio 'Si quis in porcos'.

Codicology

Material 292 paper folios, 28 cm x 21 cm. 4 unidentified watermarks: A. flyleaf. B. quire 2, 3, 13-18. C. quires 4-10. D. quires 18-20.

Construction 2 blank flyleaves: quire 1^{12}; quire 2^{12+1} (added half folio (f.14) quires $3\text{-}24^{12}$; blank flyleaf.

Catchwords; leaf signatures.

Rubrics in ink.

Paragraph signs occasionally preface rubrics.

Initials

All initials are executed in red paint.

1. Four-line initials introduce the prologue and books of the Salic Law, three-line initials introduce chapters and one-line initials introduce clauses.

2. A seven-line initial introduces the prologue and a six-line initial the historical text of the 'Miroir Historial'. These are unfinished: clearly another colour was originally intended to accompany red. Chapters

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1. Plate 17.

2. Pactus Legis Salicae. I. 1 - LXII. 5 (ed. Eckhardt, pp.19-221). The prologue of the Salic Law has been omitted in this manuscript, and it is incomplete at the end: only the rubric for LXII.6 remains. This manuscript was unknown to Eckhardt, and appears to have a unique variant, 'vel hereditate', in the rubric of clause LXII.6. Elsewhere, it appears to follow redaction K.

3. The king-list indicates an approximate date of 1483-1498 for this manuscript.

and subdivisions in the text are indicated by two- and one-line initials.

3. Two-line initials preface the references to each king.

Binding

The manuscript is bound in brown leather on wooden boards, with rose and white marbled endpapers. with the title and a simple decorative motif in gold on the spine, probably dating from the eighteenth century. A depression in the paper of the manuscript indicates that a former binding had clasps.

Additions Numerous manchettes, notanda or simple trefoils in a post-medieval hand accompany both texts.

Provenance The manuscript was donated at an unknown date by one 'Monsieur Cignogne' to the Augustinian convent of St Pierre at 'Monastereulio' (f.1^{r}), Neither of these has been identified but the similarity of 'Monastereulio' to 'Monasteriolum', the Latin form of Montreuil, may indicate a North French, or Norman provenance[1].

The manuscript was acquired by Sir Thomas Philipps between 1824-1837 and was sold at Sotheby's in 1899. It entered the Bibliothèque Nationale the same year[2].

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1. Cte.de Losne, Dictionnaire Topographique..du Département du Pas de Calais (Paris, 1907), pp.261-62; Pouillés de la Province de Rouen, ed. Longnon, passim.

2. Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliothecae Medio Montanae D. Thomae Philipps (s.d., s.l.), p.3; Bibliotheca Philippica (Sotheby, 1899), p.38, no.368.

Rome, Vat. MS. reg.lat. 767 (R)[1]

Date xvth Century (third quarter - after 1451)

Text 'Miroir Historial' ff.1^{r}-142^{v}. Incipit: 'A lonneur de Dieu'. Explicit: 'Le tiers Jehan'.[2]

f.2^{r}: 'memorables faicts'.

The text in this manuscript is incomplete. After f.41^{v}, the majority of the Latin text has been omitted. The Latin rubrics for these sections have frequently been retained, while the French rubrics have been omitted, which suggests that either an exemplar or the manuscript itself represented an abridgement of the text found in P1, P2 and P3. The text ends abruptly on f.142^{v} and the final chapters are missing, as a result of the mutilation of the manuscript.

Codicology

Material 141 paper folios, 28.5 cm x 19.8 cm.

Watermarks One watermark throughout, Briquet no.1739 (1458)

Construction

Quire 1^{8+1} (first folio added); quires 2-8^{8}; quire 9$^{8-1}$ (last folio missing); quires 10-17^{8}; quire 18$^{8-3}$ (wants last three folios).

Catchwords, leaf signatures.

Rubrics are executed in two styles: red lettering, or ink underlined in red.

Paragraph signs (ff.45^{r}-129^{r} only) in blue and red.

Line endings Blue and red.

Initials Four-line initial f.1^{r} (Prologue) decorated, with pen sketch of a man's face; three-line initial f.7^{r}, two- and one-line initials in red or blue paint throughout text.

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1. Plates 18, 18a.
2. O, f.216^{r}.

Miniatures

Nine miniatures were planned to illustrate the manuscript. Pen drawings have been made for three, and space left for the remainder.

f.6^{r} The siege of Troy. 'Post illud famosum...' (25 lines)

f.61^{v} Mohammed as a child with his uncle, in a mosque (19 lines)[1]

f.62^{r} Saracens pray near a mosque. Mohammed suffers an attack of epilepsy, observed by his horrified wife, Cadogan. 'Mahommet fut pupille en lostel de son oncle' (25 lines)[1]

f.94^{v} A space of 23 lines for a miniature 'En ce temps les moynes de Sainct Martin de Tours..'[1]

f.96^{r} A space of 22 lines for a miniature. 'Charles le grant, comme il eust sa regne sur les Francoiz..'[1]

f.110^{r} 13 line space for a miniature 'Jestoye a Vienne...'[1]

f.111^{r} 24 line space for a miniature 'Charles lempereur fut tres honnorablement ensevely..'

f.113^{v} 24 line space for a miniature 'Loys le debonnaire, fils de Charles le grant, empereur...'[1]

f.117^{v} 24 line space for a miniature 'Charles le chauve, quart filz de Loys le debonnaire...'

Artist

The artist responsible for these drawings has been identified as the Coëtivy Master, active from the middle of the fifteenth century until about 1475-80. It has recently been suggested that this anonymous master may be identified as either Conrard Vulcop, painter to Charles VII from 1448-59, or his brother Henri, painter to Queen Marie and after her death, to Charles of France (c.1454-64), or that the works attributed to

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1. The position of these miniatures, in relation to the text, shows affinities with the scheme of illustration in O.

this master may be the work of both brothers[1]. The absence of any work which is indisputably due to the Vulcops precludes a definitive identification of this artist as one or both of the Vulcops[2]. The surviving works of the artist indicate connections with the court milieu and it is possible that the Vatican 'Miroir' was intended for a member of the court, but this cannot be proved in the absence of coats of arms or comparable evidence.

Binding White parchment, stamped with the arms of Pope Leo XIII, with modern endpapers.

Additions Numerous manchettes and notanda in a post medieval hand, some of which may be due to Claude Fauchet, president of the royal Cour des Monnaies ; his signature appears on f.1^{r}. Fragments of an account have been inserted on a blank folio (f.71^{v}).

Provenance Claude Fauchet[3]; Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689).

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1. For this artist, and particularly the attribution of this manuscript to him, see N. Reynaud, 'La Résurrection de Lazare et le Maître de Coëtivy', Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France, xv (1965), 171-82; idem, 'Un Peintre Français Cartonnier de Tapisseries au xve Siècle: Henri de Vulcop', Revue de l'Art, xxii (1973), 6-21, esp. pp.9, 10, figs. 6, 7, 24, 26.

2. Reynaud, 'Résurrection de Lazare', 182; 'Un Peintre Français', 11.

3. See Claude Fauchet, Origines des Dignitez et Magistrats de France (Paris, 1600), p.39, for a citation from the 'Miroir Historial', f.133^{r}.

Rome, Vat. MS. reg.lat. 829 (A1)[1]

Date xvth Century (last third)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.2^{r}-85^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose profitable'. Explicit: 'et en ses affaires prosperer'.

2nd folio: 'barons et de chevaliers'.

Codicology

Material 88 vellum folios, 24 cm x 16.5 cm.

Construction 2 leaves, originally blank; quires 1-10^{8}; quire 11^{6}. Catchwords, leaf signatures.

Rubrics Pale red ink lettering is used for chapters and verses, with sources in ink, underlined in red paint or ink.

Paragraph signs red or blue. Line endings Red and blue.

Initials One six-line decorated initial appears on f.2^{r}, executed in blue on a crimson ground, with gold decoration. Two-line initials and, less frequently, one-line initials in blue or red are used throughout the manuscript.

Binding Contemporary with the manuscript: wooden boards covered with leather, stamped with friezes of animals, quatrefoils and flowers, with traces of original clasps.

Additions Notes on the 'ducs et roys de France selon la Mer des Histoires' from Ibros to Charles VIII, have been added to the blank folios at the end of the manuscript, in a late 15th-century hand (ff.86^{r}-87^{r}). Notes in a different script include the oath of homage of Count John of Brittany to Louis IX in 1239, taken from the St Just register of the royal Chambre des Comptes; a note on the dispute between Philip III and Charles of Anjou concerning their respective claims to the appanage of Alphonse of Poitiers, from Memorial L, and on the appanage of the children of

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1. Plate 19.

Philip IV and Charles VI, from Memorials B and D respectively (f.1^{r}). This hand has added a marginal note on f.13^{v}, to emphasise the subjection of the Bretons to the kings of France from the time of Dagobert; another note on f.19^{v} asserts the independence of France from the empire, with reference to an anecdote from the reign of Charlemagne; another note on f.50^{r} refers to appanages[1]. Notanda apparently by the same hand, occur throughout the manuscript.

A contemporary hand, possibly different, has noted on the inside flyleaf of the front cover 'la cronique maistre Noel de Fribois', and on f.84^{r}, 'Explicit cronica magistri Natalis (Nicolai deleted) de Friboes'.[2]

Provenance

The names 'Maistre Robert de Cossar' (f.2^{r}) and 'Hue le Goes' (?), partially erased, (f.87^{r}) indicate sixteenth century owners of the manuscript, whom it has not been possible to identify. It is possible that this manuscript originally belonged to Jacques Le Picart, notaire et secrétaire and clerk in the royal Chambre des Comptes (d.1505) although his name does not occur in it[3]. It was acquired by Queen Christina of Sweden in the seventeenth century.

Additional Comments

A change of script ff.84^{v}-86^{r} suggests that the third section may have been copied by a different hand, which also seems to have been responsible for corrections in the text in other sections of the manuscript (for example, ff.76^{v}, 83^{v}). This suggests that, in spite of differences in style, this section is contemporary with the rest of the manuscript.

The annotations indicate a connection between the owner and the Chambre des Comptes. This manuscript is particularly important because it is the sole testimony connecting this text with Noël de Fribois. The

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1. See plates 19a-19d.
2. Plate 19e.
3. For this hypothesis, see supra pp. 35-38, and Plates 19f, 19g.

attribution indicates that a tradition, or genuine knowledge of Fribois's authorship was current in the milieu of the Chambre des Comptes in the fifteenth century.

England, London B.L. MS. Add. 13961 (A2)[1]

Date xvth Century (last quarter)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.2^{r}-95^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose proffitable'. Explicit: 'en ses affaires prosperer'.

2nd folio: 'tousjours regarde' (f.3^{r})

Codicology

Material 96 fine vellum leaves; a modern paper flyleaf. 23 cm x 16 cm.

Construction Flyleaf (blank); quires 1-12^{8}. The last two folios of the last quire are blank and unfoliated.

Rubrics in red ink.

Line endings Blue and red.

Paragraph signs Blue.

Initials A six-line decorated initial, infilled with gold letters C, linked by a cordelière, accompanied by a three quarter page border appears on f.2^{r}. A four-line decorated gold initial appears on f.3^{r}. Two- and one-line initials in blue or red occur throughout the text.

Binding Modern, red leather half-binding and endpapers.

Additions The motto 'Tout a temps, Montmorancy' and an erased inscription: 'Jehan (?) Monsr le conte de Hornes'; a citation from Cato and the date 1557, apparently in the first hand; pen doodles (f.1^{r}).

Provenance A member of the house of Montmorency, counts of Horn (Belgium). John II, count of Horn or Hornes since 1531, married Anne of Egmont, who had previously been married to Josèphe de Montmorency, lord of Nivelle. Her son by her first marriage, Philippe II de Montmorency, was made heir to the county of Horn by his stepfather. This manuscript and another with an identical inscription at Chantilly[2], belonged to the count of Horn, and

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1. Plate 20.

2. Chantilly, Musée Condé MS. 1694 (Jean Petit, Justification for the Murder of the Duke of Orleans), ff.ii^{r}, iii^{r}.

presumably, afterwards to Philippe II de Montmorency[1]. It entered the British Library in 1843.

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1. Anselme, Hist.Généalogique, iii.574-78, for the Montmorency family; Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien I et de Marguerite d' Autriche, 1507-1519, ed. E. Leglay (S.H.F., 1839), i.475 n., for John II, count of Horn.

Paris, B. Arsenal MS. 3430 (A3)

Date End of the xvth Century

Contents 'Cest chose profitable' (ff.1^{r}-104^{v}). Incipit: 'Cest chose profitable'. Explicit: 'vueille tousjours garder et en ses affaires prosperer. Amen. Droulin'.

2nd folio: 'ble cite de Troye'.

Codicology

Material 105 fine ivory vellum folios 23 cm x 16 cm.

Construction Quires 1-13^{8}: blank flyleaf

Rubrics in red ink are numerous. Yellow wash is used for capitals in the text.

Paragraph signs Blue with red pen decoration; gold with black pen decoration.

Line endings Burnished gold and blue

Initials A five-line initial in brushed gold, with the arms of France modern superimposed on the letter is found on f.1^{r}; a three-line initial in gold and blue paint occurs on f.81^{v}, introducing the second section of the text. Two- and one-line initials in blue, decorated with red ink, or gold, decorated with black ink are used throughout.

Illustration An illustration of the legend of Clovis appears on f.1^{r}.[1] The artist has not been identified; the miniature resembles the work of the Master of Monypeny[2], indicating a Bourges provenance for the manuscript.

Binding Modern

Provenance Unknown before the manuscript entered the collection of the Marquis de Paulmy, and the Arsenal.

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1. Plate 21. For a discussion of the iconography of this miniature, see P.S. Lewis, 'Two Pieces of Fifteenth Century Political Iconography: a. Clovis touches for the King's Evil', J.Warb.Court.Inst., xxvii (1964), 317-319, fig.a.

2. For reproductions of miniatures by this artist, see N. Reynaud, 'Georges Trubert', Revue de l'Art, xxxv (1977), 53, figs. 37, 38.

Additional comments

The name 'Droulin' (f.104^{v}), written in the same style as the text, is probably the name of the scribe.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 1233 (A4)[1]

Date xv^th Century (third quarter, after 1459)

Contents 1. Frontinus, Stratagems, translated by Jean de Rovroy[2], ff.1^r-83^r. 2. 'Cest chose profitable', ff. 84^r-127^r.

Incipit: 'A tres crestien, tres hault et tres puissant prince Charles septisme (sic)'. Explicit: 'Et en ses affaires prosperer. Amen. Deo gracias'.

2nd folio: 'Combien que aprendre'.

Codicology

Material 131 vellum folios, 26 cm x 18.5 cm.

Construction Quires 1-9^8; quire 10^10+1 (last folio added); quires 11-16^8. Catchwords.

Rubrics in both texts are executed in red; and in the second text, occasionally in ink, underlined in red. Yellow wash is used on capitals throughout the manuscript.

Initials are executed in the same style in each text, with a five-line initial on f.1^r, a four-line initial on f.84^r, in red and blue; and elsewhere, two-line initials in red or blue, with some one-line initials in red or blue in the second text.

Binding Red morocco, tooled in gold with the arms of Louis XIV.

Additions Notanda and manchettes in a post-medieval hand accompany the second text.

Provenance Philip Hurault, bishop of Chartres (d.1620). The manuscript entered the royal library in Paris in 1622[3].

Additional comments The manuscript appears from the script, page and decoration to have been conceived as a single work.

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1. Plate 22.
2. For this text, see R. Bossuat, 'Jean de Rovroy, Traducteur des Stratagèmes de Frontin, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, xxii (1960), 273-286, 469-489.
3. Anciens Inventaires, ed. H. Omont, ii.426 (no.132).

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 4949 (A5)[1]

Date Late xvth Century

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', mutilated, ff.1^{r}-43^{r}.[2]

Incipit: 'Et avoir les yeulx crevez et a recevoir mort'.[3]

Explicit: 'et en ses affaires prosperer. Amen. Qui scripsi scribat, semper cum domino vivat'.

2nd folio: 'et contre droit civil'.

Codicology

Material 10 vellum and 36 paper folios, 26 cm x 19 cm. Two watermarks: A. quires 1-2, Briquet 1657 (1481). B. quire 3, Briquet 11422 (1486-90).

Construction quire 1^{16-2} (wants 3rd and 14th leaf); quire 2^{16-1} (wants 8th leaf); quire 3^{16-2} (wants 3rd and 13th leaf); three blank leaves.

Rubrics in ink, with one blank line separating rubric and script. Yellow wash is used for capitals.

Paragraph signs Red or blue.

Binding Red morocco, stamped with the arms of Colbert.

Additions Manchettes and notanda in a seventeenth-century hand.

Provenance Colbert; no.3657 in his library (f.1^{r}).

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1. Plate 23.
2. The manuscript was bound in the seventeenth century with two other texts: 'Memoires de Thomassin', ff.47^{r}-74^{r}, consisting of notes from the 'Registre Delphinal' and 'Brevaire' of Mathieu Thomassin in a sixteenth century hand; and 'La Vie, les Miracles et les Eminentes Vertus de St Brieuc', ff.75^{r}-87^{v} (seventeenth century).
3. A1, f.20^{r}.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 5701 (A6)[1]

Date xvth Century (last third)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r}-74^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose profitable'. Explicit: 'en ses affaires prosperer'.

2nd folio: 'briefve louenge'

Codicology

Material 93 vellum leaves, 21.5 cm x 14.5 cm

Construction 5 blank leaves: quires 1-8^{8}; quires 9-10^{6}; quire 11^{8}, quire 12^{4} (blank but ruled).

Catchwords.

Rubrics in red are numerous.

Paragraph signs in red and blue occur infrequently

Initials There is a space for a six-line initial on f.1^{r}. Two-line and one-line initials in blue or red paint occur throughout the text.

Illustration A space of 17 lines has been left on f.1^{r}: the present illustration of the arms of France modern, supported by two angels, executed in oils, appears to be a later addition.

Binding Seventeenth century, in brown calf, tooled in gold.

Additions Manchettes and notanda in a post-medieval hand appear throughout. The inventory number '765' appears on the second flyleaf.

Provenance Unknown.

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1. Plate 24.

Paris, B. Ste Geneviève MS. 3034 (A7)[1]

Date xv^th Century (last quarter)

Contents 1:'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^r-47^v.[2] 2: Chronicle of France, from the reign of Louis IX to the death of Charles V, ff.48^r-121^r.

Incipit: 'Cest chose proufitable et qui aux roys est moult delectable'.

Explicit: 'quelconque ordonnance que euste faicte le dit feu roy en son vivant son pere etc. Deo gracias'.

2nd folio: 'et a finir aux temps'.

Codicology

Material 128 folios of fine ivory vellum, 18 cm x 13 cm.

Construction 4 blank, ruled flyleaves; quires 1-2^8; quire 3^8-2 (wants 4th and 5th leaf after present f.19); quires 4-15^8; quire 16^4; two blank flyleaves. Catchwords.

Rubrics Brown ink. Paragraph signs in gold on a blue or crimson ground introduce rubrics, citations, Latin passages.

Initials Three-line initials on f.1^r, f.48^r in blue paint, decorated with gold, accompany miniatures. Two-line initials are used throughout the first text; two- and one-line initials appear in the second text. All initials are executed in burnished gold on a painted ground.

Illustration f.1^r: A king of France (Clovis?). f.48^r: A king of France (Louis IX?)[3]. In each miniature, blue, red and ochre are used for the figures, dark violet-grey for architecture and pale violet and green for the floor of the chamber. The architectural framework of the miniature is decorated in gold. The artist of the second miniature appears more skilled in his moulding of features and in the use of light and shadow

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1. Plate 25.
2. The fragment corresponds to A1, ff.2^r-36^r.
3. The first miniature introduces the first text; the second introduces the second text, occurring at the beginning of the account of the reign of St Louis. The kings have no distinguishing features which allow more accurate identification.

in the illustration. Differences between the miniatures suggest that two artists may have been employed; neither has been identified.

Binding Parchment with leather thongs (seventeenth century?).

Additions Notanda and manchettes in a post-medieval hand are found throughout the manuscript. The names 'Francois de Mot' and the signature 'Francois Vert, Carpentras' occur in f.124^{v}.

Provenance A coat of arms accompanies each miniature, accompanied by a crest on f.48^{r}: a chief or, paley of six argent and gules; above the shield, a helm with a mantling gules and argent, and on a wreath of the same, a garb.

In 1591, the manuscript belonged to François Vert of Carpentras (f.124^{v}). It has not been possible to ascertain whether the coat of arms is that of François Vert, or another, unidentified owner.

Additional comments The organisation of the manuscript, dimensions of the written space, script, decoration and illustration show that this manuscript is a unity. 'Cest chose profitable' and another chronicle have been combined to produce a history of France. The second text gives a fuller account of the reigns of Louis IX and his successors than 'Cest chose profitable', which may explain why it was used in place of the rest of that text. Alternatively, 'Cest chose profitable' may have been selected for its brief account of the kings of France preceding Louis IX, and thus used to supplement the second text.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 10141 (B1)[1]

Date xvth Century (last third)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r}-57^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose profitable'. Explicit: 'parvenir au royaume celestiel et eternel. Amen.' 2nd folio: 'des lettres et par'.

Codicology

Material 65 folios of ivory vellum, 30 cm x 22 cm.

Construction 3 blank leaves; quires 1-7^{8}; quire 8^{4} and 2 blank leaves. Catchwords.

Rubrics in red are numerous.

Paragraph signs in gold on a painted ground are numerous.

Line endings in gold on a painted ground are numerous.

Initials Five-line initials on f.1^{r}, f.44^{v}, introduce the first and second sections of the text. Three-line decorated initials accompany miniatures; elsewhere two-line initials and occasionally one-line initials are used. All are executed in paint on a burnished gold ground.

Illustration

1. Presentation scene: the author presents his work to Charles VII, who is surrounded by his court: f.1^{r}.
2. The emperor Charlemagne, with orb and sceptre: f.13^{v}.
3. Louis IX, with nimbus, holding a sceptre and reading: f.26^{r}.

The palette of the artist is predominantly brown, blue, green, pastel shades of violet and blue-grey, mauve, crimson and, rarely, vermilion. Gold is used for the details of costumes and for cross-hatching and highlights on garments. The miniatures are accompanied by borders: the first and third by a three-quarter page border, the second by a half page border. Flowers and plants,

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1. Plate 26.

animals and grotesques, some playing musical instruments (f.1^{r}) occupy the borders.

The Artist

This manuscript was illustrated by one of a group of artists, active in Tours and Bourges in the last third of the fifteenth century, whose style was greatly influenced by that of Jean Fouquet.[1] The same artist collaborated with Jean Colombe, another follower of Fouquet, in the illustration of the Hours of Louis de Laval (B.N. MS. lat. 920). The miniatures for which he was responsible were derived from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier, while the presentation scene in 'Cest chose profitable' was modelled on a scene from the Grandes Chroniques illustrated by Fouquet[2]. It is possible that the illustration in the Grandes Chroniques did not provide direct inspiration for the present manuscript, for it displays fewer affinities with the Fouquet original than do miniatures in the Hours of Laval with the Hours of Étienne Chevalier. For this reason, the possibility of another, intermediate source for this illustration - perhaps even an existing, earlier manuscript of 'Cest chose profitable', depicting the original presentation - cannot be discounted.

Binding A binding contemporary with the manuscript; wooden boards covered with leather, stamped with 8 panels of animal and vegetal motifs.

Additions Notanda in a contemporary script.

Provenance The arms of Espinay quartered with those of Montauban (f.1^{r})[3] show that, like the Hours of Laval, this manuscript belonged to a Breton

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1. For the influence of Fouquet, and an examination of his apprentices and collaborators, see C. Schaefer, 'Recherches sur l'Iconologie et la Stylistique de l'Art de Jean Fouquet' (University of Paris IV, doctoral thesis, 1971), i.323-331. B1 is not included in Schaefer's study, and I owe this identification to M. Fr. Avril.

2. B.N. MS. lat. 920 (1469-89), ff.300^{v}, 304^{r}, 305^{r}, 309^{v}, 310^{v}, 312^{v}; for B1 f.1^{r} and the Grandes Chroniques (B.N. MS. fr. 6465 , f.301^{v}) see Plates 26, 26a.

3. Quarterly, 1 and 4 gules, a lion rampant gules and vert; 2 and 3, or masculee gules, a label of three points argent. According to Anselme, the marriage took place in 1435. Hist.Généalogique (1728), iv. 77.

lord: in this case, to Richard, lord of Espinay (d. after 1468)[1] and Beatrix, lady of Montauban, or one of their descendants. In the latter case, the absence of marks of cadency might suggest that it belonged to their eldest son Guy, eighteenth lord of Espinay (d.1501).[2]

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1. I owe this detail to Dr Michael Jones. I have not been able to ascertain the date of Richard's or Beatrix's deaths, nor of the succession of Guy.

2. For further details, see supra, pp. 204, n.2, 205.

Lille, B.Mun. MS. 322 (B2)[1]

Date xv^th Century (last quarter)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.89^r-112^r. Incipit: 'Cestuy Baudouyn commenca', f.89^r.[2] Explicit: 'quant aux genealogies et brieves incidences des temps etc.'

2nd folio: 'infra metas' (f.2^r).

Codicology

'Cest chose profitable' forms part of a manuscript of 116 folios of paper, 27 cm x 20 cm, with one watermark throughout the manuscript. The text occupies two sexternions (quires 10, 11).

Rubrics are written and underlined in brown ink with a yellow wash on capitals.

Initials Two-line initials in red or blue.

Paragraph signs in red.

Binding Modern parchment half-binding.

Additions Notanda and manchettes in a post-medieval hand.

Provenance The library of the cathedral chapter of St Pierre at Lille.

Additional comments In this manuscript, 'Cest chose profitable' forms part of a collection of texts, copied by a single scribe. In addition to 'Cest chose profitable', the manuscript contains: transcriptions of the treaties of Bretigny and Troyes; the text of 'Pour ce que plusieurs', the anonymous treatise which, like 'Cest chose profitable', was directed against English pretensions to the crown of France; Jean Juvenal des Ursins, 'Audite Caeli', inspired by similar motives; and material relating to Joan of Arc. The collection appears to have been inspired by interest in the justification of the cause of the French crown in the Hundred Years War.

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1. Plate 27. This description is intended to provide comparative material for manuscripts of 'Cest chose profitable'. A full and accurate description of the manuscript is given in the Écrits Politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ed. P.S. Lewis, i.116-20.

2. A1, f.22^r.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 5026 (B3)[1]

Date xvth Century (last quarter)

Contents 1. Christine de Pisan, 'Épître d'Othéa' (ff.1^{r}-38^{v}).

2. 'Cest chose profitable' (ff.41^{r}-72^{v}). Incipit: 'Tres haulte fleur par le monde louee'. Explicit: 'quant aux geneologies et briefves incidences des temps. Explicit'.

2nd folio: 'Othea deesse de prudence'.

Codicology 76 folios of fine ivory vellum, 24 cm x 17 cm.

Construction 2 blank flyleaves: quires 1-9^{8}; 2 blank flyleaves. Catchwords, leaf signatures.

Rubrics for the gloss appear in the margin, in ink, introduced by a paragraph sign, and underlined in red in the first text. In the second text, only paragraph signs are used to indicate rubrics. Yellow wash is used for the capitals in both texts.

Line endings are red and blue in both texts.

Paragraph signs Alternating blue and red paragraph signs throughout.

Initials One six-line initial (f.1^{r}), a four-line initial (f.2^{r}) and a five-line initial (f.41^{r}) executed in burnished gold, appear in the manuscript.

Binding Red morocco, tooled in gold with the arms of Louis-Philippe I, duke of Orleans, 1725-1785, and marbled endpapers.

Additions Notanda and manchettes in a post-medieval hand occur throughout, but are more numerous in the second text. The name 'Olive la Gorriere Deu (d'Eu?) appears in a sixteenth century script, with pen-trials, on f.72^{v}. '230' appears on f.1^{r}.

Provenance 'Olive la Gorriere d'Eu' cannot be identified. The manuscript later belonged to Louis-Philippe I, duke of Orleans.

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1. Plate 28.

Additional comments The dimensions and organisation of the page, colour of ink and style of script, and style of initials indicate that the texts were prepared together to form a single manuscript.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 5705 (B4)[1]

Date xvth Century (last quarter)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r}-84^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose profitable'. Explicit: 'quant aux genealogies et briefves incidences des temps. Explicit'.

2nd folio: 'exclamacion brieve'.

Codicology

Material One parchment and 87 paper folios, 20 cm x 14.5 cm.

Watermark One unidentified watermark throughout the text.

Construction A paper and a vellum flyleaf, blank; quires 1-6^{12}; quire 7^{12+1} (last folio blank, glued to last leaf of quire); two blank flyleaves.

Catchwords. Leaf signatures.

Rubrics are executed in ink, and underlined in red. A red line bisects capitals in the text.

Paragraph signs in blue or red introduce rubrics.

Initials A red and blue initial decorated with ink, four lines in height, introduces the text. Three two-line and, less frequently, one-line initials in red or blue occur throughout the text.

Binding Modern, red morocco leather half-binding, with the title 'Chronique de France jusqu'à Charles VI' on the spine, and with modern endpapers.

Additions There are numerous manchettes, and pen trials on f.85^{r}, and a brief description of the contents of the manuscript (eighteenth century) on the second flyleaf.

Provenance Unknown.

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1. Plate 29.

Rome, Vat. MS. reg.lat. 725 (B5)

Date xvth Century (1470-1480? Before 1485).

Contents 1. 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r} -14^{v} .[1]

2. Chronicle of France from the reign of Louis IX to Charles V, ff. 27^{r} -290^{r} .

Incipit: 'Cest chose proffitable'. Explicit: 'comme elles sont advenues par ce fait cy. Ainsi que vous orriz ou livre'.

2nd folio: 'est dicte Paris'.

Codicology

Material 340 paper and three vellum folios, 37.5 cm x 28 cm.

Watermarks: A. flyleaves, quires 1,2. B. quires 4-27 , Briquet 7252 (1474)?[2]. C. quire 8, Briquet 392 (1463).

Construction 7 blank flyleaves; quire 1^{16} (ff.15, 16 blank but ruled); quire 2^{12} (blank, ruled); 3-7^{12}; quire 8^{8}; quires 9-28^{12}.

Catchwords. There is a post-medieval error in foliation after f.278 for the following 40 folios.

Yellow wash on capitals.

Initials There is a four-line initial in blue and red on f.1^{r}. Two-line initials in blue and red appear throughout both texts: the shade differs between the first and second text.

Illustration There are nine miniatures in the second text. The artist is not known; the style closely resembles that of the illustrations in B7, and suggest a date of c.1470-1480 for this section of the manuscript.[3]

Binding Yellow parchment.

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1. Plate 30. Fragment: A1, ff.2^{r}-36^{r}.
2. This watermark is identical to watermark B in B7. Infra, p. 317.
3. See B7 and references, infra, p. 317.

Provenance 'Estienne Boucherat, marchant demourant a Troyes[1], a la Galee' with monogram and date 1485; signature of Antoine, his son, 'marchant et bourgeoys de Chaalons, frere de venerable et religieuse dame Magdalene Le Boucherat, abbesse Dargensolles' (undated)[2]. Queen Christina of Sweden.

Additional comments Although there are differences in the style of script and the dimensions of the written space, the complementary nature of the texts suggest that they were united in a single manuscript either at the origin, or that one manuscript was added to the other before 1485, to provide a complete chronicle from the Trojan origins of the French to the death of Charles V. The marks of ownership indicate the interest of a merchant family in the history of France.

This manuscript appears to be almost exactly contemporary with B7.

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1. It is not known whether this family was related to Jean Le Boucherat, procureur du roy at Troyes in 1421. (A.N. P 118, p.114: index to the Memorials of the Chambre des Comptes in Paris; Memorial H, f.145^{v}).

2. Magdalene Le Boucherat, or Boucherat, abbess of Argensolles, haute commune de Moslins, diocese of Soissons, elected in or before 1520, died 10 August 1534. Gallia Christiana (1751), ix.480; A. Longnon, Dictionnaire Topographique du Département de la Marne (Dictionnaire Topographique de la France, Paris, 1891), p.6.

Switzerland, Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS. 560 (B6)[1]

Date xv^th Century (last quarter)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^r-77^v. Incipit: 'Cest chose prouffitable'. Explicit: 'fin de ce present livre nomme la genealogie des roys de France'.

2nd folio: 'quil ne soit veu'.

Codicology

Material 81 paper folios, 20.3 cm x 13.7 cm. Watermarks: A. flyleaves, Briquet 8662 (1478). B. Quires 1-6, Briquet 8215 (1485). C. Quires 7, 8. D. Quire 9.

Construction Flyleaves i-iii blank; quires 1-7^8; quire 8^10; quire 9^12. Catchwords, leaf signatures. The present folios 69, 70 have been misplaced and should be placed after f.66.

Paragraph signs red or blue, appear on f.1^r-v.

Initials are executed in red or blue paint, with three-line initials on ff.2^r, 2^v, 24^r, 51^r, and two-line initials, some incomplete, elsewhere.

Binding Seventeenth century, in brown morocco, stamped with a trellis design.

Additions Notes, manchettes in a sixteenth-century hand. The ex-libris of 'Maistre Jacques Preliau, seigneur de Farsel (?) 22 aout 1557' appears on f.i^r, with a note on f.iii^r that Jacques Preliau owed 88 l.t. to Jacques Leber, 'sire de Mante', 20 Aug. 1557; and a list of dead and wounded at the battle of St Quentin, 10 Aug. 1557, and a note of the capture of St Quentin, 29 Aug. 1557, in the same hand.

Provenance In the sixteenth century, the manuscript belonged to Jacques Preliau, lord of Farsel (?), whom it has not been possible to identify. It was acquired by the Bern library before 1770.[2]

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1. Plate 31.
2. J.R. Sinner, Catalogus Codicum MSS. Bibliothecae Bernensis (Bern, 1770), ii.49-51.

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. Walters 306 (B7)

Date xvth Century (1470-1483?)

Contents 1. Guillaume de Nangis, 'Chronique Abrégée', ff.11^{r}-309^{r}.

2. 'Cest chose profitable': fragment ff.310^{r}-317^{r}, with a variant ending[1]. Incipit: 'Pour ce que moult de gens, mesmement les haulx hommes'. Explicit: 'en accroissance de bien en mieulx'.

2nd folio: 'a commence moult' (f.12^{r}).

Codicology

Material 321 paper and six parchment leaves, 39 cm x 28 cm. Four unidentified watermarks: A. Flyleaf 1^{r}, quire 26. B. Quire 1-5, 7, 8, Briquet, 7252 (1474)? C. Quires 3,5,8-25. D. Quire 8.

Construction 10 blank flyleaves; quires 1-24^{12}; quire 25$^{12-1}$ (wants last folio); quire 26^{14}; 4 blank flyleaves.

Catchwords, leaf signatures for first text only.

Rubrics are in brown ink, like the text.

Initials Four-line decorated initials in paint and gold (f.11^{r}) and in paint (f.245^{v}), and three-line red or blue initials (ff.15^{r}-304^{v}) appear in the first text and two-line initials in red or blue are found in remainder of manuscript.

Illustration Eight miniatures illustrate the 'Chronique Abrégée'. The artist has been identified as a follower of the Coëtivy Master[2].

Binding Nineteenth century red morocco.

Provenance Ashburnham collection; acquired by H. Walters in 1909.

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1. Plate 32. A1 ff.45^{v}-65^{r}. The variant ending consists of a paragraph summarising the achievements of Charles VII, and the succession of Louis XI 'qui a present regne' (f.317^{r}).

2. For a study of the illustration, see S. Hindman, G.M. Spiegel, 'The Fleur-de-lis Frontispieces to Guillaume de Nangis's "Chronique Abrégée": Political Iconography in Late Fifteenth Century France', Viator, xii (1981), 381-407. Spiegel and Hindman give an approximate date of 1470-1480 for these illustrations. The addition from 'Cest chose profitable' may be later, but apparently dates from before the death of Louis XI.

Additional comments A change in the organisation of the page and in script in the second text suggests that the manuscript may not originally have been planned to include an extract from 'Cest chose profitable', and that the second text may have been added to the 'Chronique Abrégée' soon after its completion.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 13569 (C)

Date Mid xvth Century (before 1456)

Contents 1. 'Cest chose profitable', mutilated, ff.1^{r}-52^{v}.[1]

2. Translation of part of the Chronicle of the anonymous monk of St Denis into French, with additions, ff.54^{r}-185^{r}.[2]

Incipit: 'Apres les grans et merveilleuses victoires de Clovis'.

Explicit: 'cheuent en tres grant mendicite. Explicit'.

2nd folio: 'secte de Mahommet' (f.2^{r}).

Codicology

Material 185 paper and 4 vellum folios, 20.4 cm x 13.4 cm.: one watermark, unidentified.

Construction 4 blank flyleaves; quire 1^{10}; quire 2^{12}; quires 3-5^{10}; quire 6^{1+10} (1st leaf added); quires 7-16^{12}; quire 17^{2}.

Catchwords.

Rubrics are in ink, underlined in red, with a yellow wash on capitals.

Paragraph signs are in burnished gold, decorated with blue ink, or in red with blue ink decoration.

Initials The first text contains three-line, two-line and one-line initials in blue or red; two-line initials in blue or red appear in the second text.

Binding is nineteenth-century, in marbled green and red morocco, tooled in gold, with marbled end-papers.

Additions

Numerous marginal notes in a script contemporaneous with that in the main text appear throughout the manuscript. Many are manchettes. Others, which occur only in 'Cest chose profitable' present directions

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1. Plate 33; A1 ff.11^{v}-64^{v}.
2. Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, ed. L. Bellaguet, iii.13-iv.446: selected passages only. See also D4, pp. 326-7.

for the revision of the text. They may be contemporary with the rest of the manuscript, or may have been added at a slightly later date.[1] The signature 'Le Begue' occurs on f.185^{r}, and a poem, apparently by the same hand, appears on f.185^{v}.

Provenance

Jean Le Bègue (1368-1456).[2] Although the signature is not accompanied by other marks of ownership found in manuscripts belonging to Le Bègue, the notaire et secrétaire's proven interest in history supports this attribution.[3]

Additional comments

Le Bègue's death provides a terminus ad quem for text and manuscript, and indicates that soon after its composition, the text was circulating in the milieu of the royal Chancellery and Chambre des Comptes.

It is interesting to note the presence of a translation of the chronicle of the reign of Charles VI in this manuscript. Codicological evidence indicates that this and 'Cest chose profitable' were intended to form a unity: the former may have been intended as a continuation of the latter, although the mutilation of the manuscript makes it impossible to be certain. The translation is noteworthy because of its emphasis on the rivalry of the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy: relevant passages have been selected by the translator, who appears to have been favourable to the Orleanist cause. He has interpolated his translation with occasional comments which recall the style of the author of 'Cest chose profitable', and it is tempting to suggest that one author was responsible for both texts. Unfortunately, these comments provide little information about the author. The mutilation of both surviving manuscripts containing this translation may have removed a prologue, which might have provided important indications of his identity.

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1. For further details, see supra pp. 22, 25, n.1.
2. Plate 33a. Le Bègue's name is occasionally written as Lebègue.
3. For Le Bègue's career in the Chambre, see H. Jassemin, La Chambre des Comptes de Paris au xve Siècle (Paris, 1933), pp.18, 67, 298 n.,

(continued overleaf)

299 n.,341; for details of his life, see G. Ouy, 'Le Songe et les Ambitions d'un Jeune Humaniste Parisien', pp.371-75, and for his library, ibid., pp.373-75, and E. Hallaire, 'Quelques Manuscrits de Jean Le Bègue', 291-292.

Paris, B. Ste Geneviève OE xv.s.490 (D1)[1]

Date 2 July 1483

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.i^{r}-xlii^{r}. Incipit: 'Cest chose proffitable'. Explicit: 'non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam. Amen. Deo gracias. Achevees par moy, Mazalon 1483. 2ieme jour de juillet. Mazalon'.

2nd folio: 'pestilences et adversitez'.

Codicology

Material 44 paper folios, 27.5 cm x 19.5 cm. Two watermarks: A. quires 1-4. B. quire 5: unidentified.

Construction quires 1-5^{8}; quire 6^{4} (the last three folios were originally blank).

Catchwords, leaf signatures.

Rubrics are written and underlined in brown ink. Paragraph signs in blue or red introduce rubrics, and occur elsewhere in the text.

Initials There is a three-line initial in blue and red on f.1^{r}; two-line and occasionally one-line initials in blue or red occur throughout the text.

Binding dates from the nineteenth century, and is of dark brown calfskin on boards with brown marbled endpapers, and modern flyleaves.

Additions There are notes of financial loans (f.xlii^{v}) and proverbs (f.xliii^{v}) with the date 1586, and a 'Table des croniques de France', from Priam to Dagobert, in the same hand (f.xliii^{r}).

Provenance The scribe 'Mazalon' may have owned the manuscript; the library of the abbey of Ste Geneviève acquired it before 1752 ('n.128' and date on flyleaf of volume), and possibly at a much earlier date.

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1. Plate 34.

Additional comments The manuscript is bound with two incunabula, Werner Rolewinck, Fasciculus Temporum (Venice, 1479) and Albertus Trottus, De Horis Canonicis (Lyon, c.1478).[1] The manuscript may have originally been bound with the incunabula much earlier than the eighteenth century and possibly soon after its completion.

1. For these texts, see L.M. Michon, M.J. Bonner, Inventaire des Incunables de la Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève (Paris, 1943), p. 490 and refs.

France, Bordeaux B. Mun. MS. 728 (D2)

Date xvth Century (last quarter)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r}-91^{v}. Incipit: 'autres royaumes crestiens ont tousjours regarde'.[1] Explicit: 'non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam'.

2nd folio: 'lui envoya'.[2]

Codicology

Material 95 paper folios, 21 cm x 14.4 cm; one unidentified watermark.

Construction Blank flyleaf glued to endpaper; quire 1$^{16-2}$ (wants 1st and 15th folios); quires 2-6^{16} (last 2 folios of last quire originally blank). Catchwords.

Rubrics in red ink.

Paragraph signs Alternately red and blue.

Line endings red.

Initials Two-line initials, alternately red and blue, some incomplete, and more rarely, one-line initials appear in the manuscript.

Binding Nineteenth-century brown and black paper binding on boards; marbled endpapers.

Additions Manchettes, notes in post-medievalhands occur throughout, with extracts from psalms and prayers (f.92^{r}); a note relative to the funeral of Francis I, king of France, 1547, notes on events in Paris between 1561-63 and the death of Charles IX in 1572 (ff.92^{r}-94^{r}).

Provenance is unknown; notes in the manuscript suggest it was owned by a Parisian in the mid-sixteenth century.

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1. Plate 35. A1 f.2^{v}.
2. The present f.1^{r} would have been the original second folio. Modern foliation ignores the missing folios 1 and 15.

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek MS. Cod. Guelf. Helmstadt 1051 (D3)[1]

Date xvth Century (last quarter)

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r}-95^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose proffitable'; explicit: 'faisans la deuil et plusieurs aultres grans seigneurs'.[2]

2nd folio: 'dautres tres grans dons' (f.2^{r}).

Codicology

Material 95 vellum folios.

Construction quires 1-11^{8}; 12$^{8-1}$ (wants 1st folio); quire 13 missing.[3]

Catchwords. Leaf signatures.

Rubrics in red, with a yellow wash on capitals.

Paragraph signs are numerous, and decorative, executed in paint and ink.

Initials There is a three-line initial with a full border on f.1^{r}, and two-line initials and partial borders throughout the manuscript.

Binding Modern

Additions Manchettes, notanda in post-medieval hands.

Provenance Unknown.

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1. Plate 36. It has not been possible to examine this manuscript, and this description has been established with the assistance of Dr W. Milde, Librarian of the Herzog August Bibliothek, and with a microfilm of the manuscript.
2. Two or three folios of text are missing.
3. Catchword for quire 13 on f.95^{v}.

Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket MS. D. 1281 (D4)[1]

Date xv^th Century (last quarter)

Contents 1. Fragment of a translation of the Chronicle of Charles VI, by a monk of St Denis, ff.1-100^v.[2] 2. 'Cest chose profitable'. ff.101^r-188^v.

Incipit: 'Autre deffiance du duc Dorleans contre le dit roy Henry. Finablement le duc Dorleans...' Explicit: 'non nobis Domine non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam'.

2nd folio: 'cy et Phelippe duc'.[3]

Codicology

Material 189 paper folios, 28.5 cm x 20.5 cm. 4 watermarks: A. quire 1 (f.1), Briquet 1557 (1476). B. quire 1 . C.(ff.16-100), Briquet 1041 (1473-1518). D. Second text only: Briquet 7549 (1455).

Construction Catchwords, ff.56^v, 88^v, 100^v (sexternions?); 116^v, 132^v, 148^v, 164^v, 180^v (quires of 16 folios).

Rubrics Ink.

Paragraph signs Numerous.

Initials Four-line initials in red and blue paint occur on ff.101^r, 123^v, 145^v. Painted blue and red two-line initials occur throughout the manuscript.

Binding in white parchment is possibly original.

Additions occur on f.188^v, in a late fifteenth-century script: 'Liber iste pertinet magistro Roberto Brigue, presbytero curato de Longuevillari, Carnoten. dyocesis', f.189^r; in a sixteenth-century script, 'Cest present livre est a Ltenant Aymee (?). Mr Legrand (the signature is obscured by stains). Pen trials.

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1. Plate 37. I have not been able to examine this manuscript. This description has been established with the aid of microfilm, and the assistance of Assistant Keeper of the Stockholm Library, Dr Eva Andersson.
2. See Manuscript C.
3. The first words of this folio have been torn away; this folio is not the original second folio, which has clearly been lost.

Provenance Robert Brigue, curé of Longueville. Aymee Legrand (?). Neither of these has been identified. Queen Christina of Sweden.

Additional comments

The texts are written in a similar script, possibly by the same scribe. The manuscript clearly contained both texts at its origin. The order of the texts in this manuscript is the reverse of that in C, and as 'Cest chose profitable' in this manuscript derives from a different textual group from C, C cannot have been the exemplar for D.

Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 4943 (E1)

Date xvth Century (c.1469?).[1]

Contents 'Cest chose profitable', ff.1^{r}-49^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose tres profitable'. Explicit: 'dalphinos conterit unde dolent'.[2]

2nd folio: 'O royaume que'.

Codicology

Material 53 vellum folios, 26 cm x 16 cm.

Construction Quire 1^{4}; quire 2^{16}; quire 3^{16-1} (last folio cancelled); quire 4^{4}; quire 5^{10}. 4 blank leaves.

Leaf signatures.

Rubrics Red paint is used for the numerous rubrics, for some Latin passages of text, and for chronograms concluding the text (f.49^{v}); ink underlined in red is used for sources and some Latin citations. Yellow wash is used for capitals.

Paragraph signs are alternately blue and red with gold or indigo decoration, and are numerous.

Line endings are in blue or red paint, and gold.

Initials Five-, four-, three- and two-line initials accompany miniatures. They are executed in burnished gold and blue paint, with pen decoration. Exceptionally, a nine-line initial introduces the reign of King John the Good (f.39^{v}), without a miniature. Two-line initials in blue or gold, with a pen decoration, occur throughout the text.

Illustration The manuscript contains 27 illustrations.[3] The predominant colours are azure for distant features and sky, sombre shades of blue,

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1. See supra, p. 23.
2. The historical text concludes with the words: 'et enregistrees aux croniques du dit roy Charles septiesme, pere du dit seigneur Loys, a present roy de France'. This is followed by three chronograms. It is not clear whether these form an integral part of the text. See Chapter One, p. 24, n. 4.
3. See list of illustrations pp. 334-6, and plates 38-47.

mauve, violet and grey, green, brown, and more rarely crimson, vermilion, orange and yellow. Pastel shades are frequently used. Gold is used for highlights in scenery and garments.

Human figures are characterised by the heavy moulding of facial features, and exaggerated expressions. Their bodies are usually thick-set and short. The numerous battle scenes are distinguished by the violent gestures and contorted poses of the combatants. The background of the miniatures is characterised by wide horizons and skies, scattered with tall cone-shaped trees with long slender trunks, and cities, with distinctive and unusual crenellation and towers.

This style is reminiscent of the Coëtivy Master, active in the Loire region in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, who executed a number of manuscripts for princely or noble patrons, including Olivier de Coëtivy and his wife, Marguerite de Valois, natural daughter of Charles VII, and Charles VII's legitimate son, Charles of France; and on at least one occasion, for the trésorier des chartes, Jean Budé.[1]

Binding is in marbled brown paper with modern flyleaves.

Additions There is a long marginal note on the descent of the house of Dreux from Count Robert of Dreux (d.1188), son of King Louis VI, on f.19^{r}, which appears to be contemporary with the manuscript.[2]

Provenance Unknown. The note on the House of Dreux suggests an interest in that noble house, but there is no evidence of ownership. The quality

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1. The similarity of the styles of this artist and the Coëtivy Master was noted by François Avril, cited by B. Gagnebin, L'Enluminure de Charlemagne à François Ier: Manuscrits à Peintures de la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève (Geneva, 1976), p.141. No detailed analysis of the illustration has been published. For the Coëtivy Master, see N. Reynaud, 'La Résurrection de Lazare', esp. figs.2 and 3, particularly close in style to E1, and fig. 30, where the kneeling figure of the author seems to have inspired the composition in E1, f.1^{r},

2. The sources of this passage have not been satisfactorily identified. The passage concludes with a description of the arms of Dreux, 'Lesquier dor et dasur, borde de gueulles'. With the exception of the reference to the coat of arms, this passage also appears in a contemporary manuscript, another anonymous chronicle of France, compiled during the reign of Louis XI, B.N. MS. fr. 24976, f.28^{v}.

of the manuscript and the numerous illustrations indicate a wealthy owner. If, as appears probable, this manuscript was made by an artist collaborating with, and possibly working in the workshop of the Coëtivy Master, it was probably commissioned by a prince, a noble or a civil servant, like other manuscripts illustrated by that group of artists. It is possible that the king himself may have commissioned the manuscript, but there is no clear indication of the patron.

The manuscript had entered the royal library by 1682, for it appears in the catalogue made in that year.[1]

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1. Anciens Inventaires, ed. H. Omont (1921), v.164.

Geneva, B. Publ. Univ. MS. fr. 83 (E2)

Date After 1485, in or before 1503.

Contents 1. 'Cest chose profitable', ff.3^{r}-59^{r}, with a continuation to 1483, ff.59^{r}-84^{r}. 2. History of the kings and kingdom of Sicily by Jean de Candida, translated by Charles Guillart,[1] ff.84^{v}-100^{v}. Incipit: 'Cest chose tres proffitable'. Explicit: 'et tout autre de droit estre deu a la maison de laquelle il porte les armes'.

2nd folio: 'ment aourne de grace' (f.4^{r}).

Codicology

Material 106 folios of fine vellum, 27.5 cm x 17.5 cm.

Construction Two blank flyleaves: quires 1-13^{8} (last folio glued to binding). Catchwords, leaf signatures.

Rubrics in red are numerous. They are also used for Latin citations and sources. Yellow wash is used on capitals.

Paragraph signs and line endings in red are numerous.

Initials There are five-line initials in gold and blue on f.3^{r}, and in blue and red on ff.17^{r}, 26^{v}, 84^{r}; elsewhere, four- or three-line initials in blue and red, two-line initials in blue, red or gold, are used.

Illustration[2] The choice of subject for the illustration has been taken from E1. The palette used for E1 also appears to have inspired that of E2. The costumes of figures in E1 have been replaced in E2 by contemporary styles. Occasionally, important details in E1 have been omitted by the artist of E2.

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1. For this text, see C. Couderc, 'Jean de Candida, Historien', 323-41. For Charles Guillart, or de Guillard (1456-1537), see article on him by B. Haureau, Histoire Littéraire du Maine (Paris, 1873), vi.45-50.

2. See list of illustrations, infra pp. 334-6, and Plates 48-51.

Binding is seventeenth-century, in brown calf, tooled in gold with the arms and motto of Alexandre Petau, with endpapers.

Additions Extracts from chronicles and classical works, in a neat script contemporary with the manuscript (ff.101^{r}-105^{r}).

Provenance The arms of André de Chauvigny, baron of Châteauroux and Raïs (d.1503) appear on f.2^{v}.[1] The arms and motto of Alexandre Petau appear on f.3^{r}, with added border.

Additional comments

This manuscript is clearly a copy of E1, and was probably copied directly from that manuscript, for it follows E1 in textual variants as well as illustration, and a marginal note on the counts of Dreux has been incorporated into the text of E2. The text has been supplemented with an addition for the reign of Louis XI, concluding with the accession of Charles VIII, who is referred to as the reigning king. The second text is not distinguished from the first, and omits the title which is found in another manuscript of the same text, by which it can be identified as the French translation of a lost Latin chronicle of the kingdom of Sicily by Jean de Candida. The original text was composed between 1485-88, and translated at an unknown date, before the death of Charles VIII, by Charles Guillart.[2] The death of André de Chauvigny in 1503 provides a terminus ad quem for the manuscript: as his arms are not impaled by those of either his first or second wife, it is possible that the manuscript may have been made before his first marriage in 1494.[3] The subject matter of the second text makes this hypothesis quite feasible: a French translation of Jean de Candida's work, which justified French royal claims to the kingdom of Sicily, was particularly appropriate in the atmosphere which preceded the departure of Charles VIII for Italy.

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1. For André de Chauvigny, see J.J. Meunier, 'Histoire de Déols et de Châteauroux', Revue de l'Académie du Centre, xciii (1967), 8-43.
2. See Couderc, art.cit., 326.
3. He married Anne d'Orléans-Longueville (died 1498) in 1494, and Louise de Bourbon-Montpensier, who survived him, in 1499.

André de Chauvigny took part in this expedition, and was present at the battle of Fornova.

The presence of the second text suggests that the manuscript was probably commissioned by André de Chauvigny himself. In these circumstances, it is interesting to note the presence of two texts justifying the prerogatives of the Valois kings - the first in France itself, the second, by right of inheritance, in Italy.

MSS. E1 and E2

Illustrations		Folio	
1.	Presentation scene	E1 1^{r}	(Plate 38)
		E2 3^{r}	(Plate 48)
2.	Siege of Troy	E1 2^{r}	
		E2 4^{r}	
3.	Coronation of Pharamond	E1 3^{v}	
		E2 5^{v}	
4.	Foreground: baptism of Clovis	E1 5^{r}	
	Background: battle scene (Clovis defeats Alaric the Goth?)	E2 7^{r}	
5.	a. Coronation of Pipin	E1 10^{v}	(Plate 43)
	b. Battle scene (Pipin defeats the Saxons?)	E2 13^{v}	
6.	a. Pipin meets the exiled pope Stephen II	E1 11^{r}	(Plate 44)
	b. The pope blesses Pipin and his sons	E2 14^{r}	
7.	Pipin and Bertha enthroned, with Charlemagne	E1 12^{r}	(Plate 45)
		E2 15^{r}	
8.	a. Battle scene - Charlemagne frees the city of Jerusalem from the Saracens	E1 12^{v}	
		E2 15^{v}	
	b. The emperor of Constantinople presents Charlemagne with the relic of the Holy Nail		
9.	The vision of Turpin.	E1 13^{v}	
	a. The soul of Charlemagne is saved by the intervention of St James the Great	E2 16^{v}	
	b. Turpin demands an account of the judgement of Charlemagne from the devil		
10.	a. Battle scene (the emperor Louis the Pious attacked by his sons and nobles?)	E1 14^{r}	(Plate 39)
		E2 17^{v}	
	b. The blinding of King Bernard of Italy in punishment for his treason against Louis the Pious		

Illustrations		Folio	
11.	a. Battle scene	E1 14^{v}	
	b. The soul of the emperor Lothar, as a monk, is rescued through the prayers of his fellow monks	E2 18^{r}	
12.	Relics are brought to a monastery (Compiègne or St Denis)	E1 15^{r} E2 18^{r}	
13.	Battle of Soissons, between Charles the Simple and Robert of Vermandois	E1 16^{v} E2 19^{v}	
14.	a. King Lothar of France attacks the emperor Otto in Aix-la-Chapelle	E1 17^{r} E2 20^{v}	
	b. After attacking Paris, the emperor Otto is put to flight by King Lothar		
15.	a. St Valery and St Richer appear in a vision to Hugh Capet, king of France	E1 18^{r} E2 21^{v}	(Plate 47)
	b. The relics of saints Valery and Richer are brought back to France under the supervision of King Hugh; the benediction of King Hugh by Saints Valery and Richer		
16.	a. Coronation of Philip II Augustus	E1 19^{v}	(Plate 42)
	b. Battle of Bouvines	E2 23^{v}	
17.	Louis IX receives the relic of the crown of thorns from the emperor of Constantinople	E1 21^{v} E2 26^{r}	
18.	Philip III and his troops sack the city of Elne	E1 26^{r} E2 31^{r}	
19.	a. Battle scene	E1 28^{r}	(Plate 40)
	b. Edward I pays homage to Philip IV of France (1286)	E2 33^{v}	(Plate 49)
20.	a. Battle against the Flemings	E1 33^{r}	(Plate 41)
	b. Edward III pays homage to Philip VI of France (Homage of Amiens, 1329)	E2 40^{r}	(Plate 50)
21.	The English kill their kings	E1 41^{v}	(Plate 43)
		E2 49^{v}	(Plate 51)
22.	King John of France puts to flight Prince Edward (the Black Prince)	E1 42^{v} E2 51^{r}	

Illustrations		Folio
23.	a. Battle scene	E1 44^{v}
	b. The construction of the Bastille St-Antoine	E2 53^{r}
24.	Battle against the Flemings (Roosebeke)	E1 46^{r} E2 55^{r}
25.	Battle scene	E1 47^{r} E2 56^{r}
26.	French troops led by the dauphin, Louis, attack the bastille at Dieppe	E1 48^{r} E2 57^{r}
27.	French troops, led by the dauphin Louis, attack the Swiss (battle of St Jacob an der Bir)	E1 49^{r} E2 58^{r}

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is not intended to provide an exhaustive list of all the sources consulted during the preparation of this thesis. It includes only those sources which have been directly cited in the thesis, or which have been particularly useful in the present study.

The bibliography comprises three sections:

I. Manuscript sources, including references to microfilm. Manuscripts of the 'Miroir Historial' and 'Cest chose profitable' have been listed in order of country, town, archive, library and collection, and precede other related manuscript sources, which have been arranged in the same manner.

II. Printed primary sources, including incunabula, facsimiles arranged according to the first major word in the title, and chronicles. Anonymous works and collections of source material, or composite works, such as Gallia Christiana, have been arranged according to title. Other works are arranged according to the Christian name or surname of the author, as appropriate. This section includes some secondary works which have been consulted for the printed documents which they contain.

III. Secondary sources. Where several essays consulted for this thesis appear in the same volume, only a brief reference to that volume will be given with the author and title of the essay, and a full reference will be given under the names of the editors.

I. Manuscript Sources

The 'Miroir Historial Abrégé de France'

Oxford, Bodl. L. MS. Bodley 968

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