

Good Morals for a Couple at the Burgundian Court: Contents and Context of Harley 1310, *Le Livre des bonnes meurs* of Jacques Legrand

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London, British Library, Harley MS. 1310 is one of the gems unearthed during the multi-year project to describe the illuminated manuscripts of the Harley Collection and to digitize its images. The manuscript is, admittedly, not the most eye-catching in the collection, but it has undeservedly remained unknown and has received no scholarly attention for decades, perhaps even centuries.¹ The manuscript deserves closer attention for several reasons, foremost to frame more precisely the early owners whose arms are painted in the lower margin of the frontispiece folio (fig. 1) and also to contextualize the illumination in the manuscript.² In this paper I first focus on the text and on its reception, then shift my attention to the early owners of the manuscript and to its illumination.

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¹ The manuscript is not mentioned in C. E. Wright and Ruth C. Wright (eds.), *The Diary of Humphrey Wanley, 1715–1726* (London, 1966) nor in C. E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani. A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts Preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1972).

² The catalogue carefully described the texts and images, but as to the arms only stated ‘at the bottom are the arms of the person, with an impalement of the same, for whom the book seemeth to have been made’: *A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts, Purchased by Authority of Parliament, for the Use of the Public and Preserved in the British Museum*, 2 vols (London, 1759), vol. i, no. 1310.



Fig. 1. London, BL, Harley MS. 1310, f. 1r (225 x 190 mm) : frontispiece folio with miniature of the Fall of the Rebel Angels (*Le Livre des bonnes Meurs* by Jacques Legrand).

The text and its author

The main text of Harley 1310 is *Le Livre des bonnes meurs* (The book of good morals), composed in 1404 by Jacques Legrand, who was born around 45 years earlier, possibly in Toulouse.³ In 1393 he was an Augustinian friar studying theology in Paris and had already become a well-known preacher. In the last years of the fourteenth century and the first decade of the fifteenth, he wrote a series of theological treatises of which the most important were the *Sophilogium*, *L'Archilogue Sophie* and *Le Livre des bonnes meurs*.⁴ After having written his main works, he became more and more politically engaged. In his sermons he did not hesitate to accuse the court of a debauched lifestyle, to openly accuse the queen, Isabeau of Bavaria, and Louis of Orleans of corruption, or to stand against John the Fearless after the murder of the same Louis of Orleans. According to several chroniclers he even expressed his opinions at court, knowing that the accused were among his audience. He probably died in 1415 or thereafter.⁵

Legrand's main work, the *Sophilogium*, was written in the years 1398–1399 and was dedicated to Michel de Crenay, bishop of Auxerre and confessor of king Charles VI. It is a lengthy treatise in Latin in three parts on (1) the love for wisdom and knowledge, (2) the love for the theological, cardinal, and capital virtues,⁶ and (3) the knowledge of the three estates that organize society. Its main aim is to extol the highest intellectual value: to acquire love of wisdom.⁷ To accomplish this, the author has compiled an impressive wealth of citations drawn from many sources, especially classical authors (Cato, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, etc.).

Aiming to make his work accessible to laymen and particularly to the ruling classes, Jacques Legrand himself undertook the translation and adaptation of his *Sophilogium*, emphasizing the Christian and eschatological message. His *Archilogue Sophie*, written around 1400, corresponds to the first part of the *Sophilogium* and was dedicated to Louis of Orleans (1372–1407), one of the most powerful people in France at that moment. He was the only brother of Charles VI, whose ruling capacities were reduced because of his regular attacks of madness since 1392. Philip the Bold (1342–1404), duke of Burgundy and the king's uncle, was in the primary position to wield the actual power, but Louis of Orleans was his main opponent.⁸ A few years later, in 1404, Legrand finished *Le Livre des bonnes meurs*, which corresponds to the last part of the *Sophilogium*.⁹ It was dedicated to Jean de Berry (1340–1416), the king's uncle. Legrand composed a second version of the text in 1410, which comprises five parts, one on remedies against the seven deadly sins, three on the three estates, clergy, nobles, and commoners, and a final one on death and the end of times.

Jacques Legrand's works stand firmly in the tradition of medieval moralizing encyclopaedic works, written and used for educational and edifying means.¹⁰ Legrand also has a place among

³ *Le Livre des bonnes meurs* occupies folios 1r–86v. It is followed by two folios (ff. 87r–89v) with lists of the seven deadly sins, the good confession, the good death, and the ten commandments.

⁴ The works of Jacques Legrand have been thoroughly studied and edited by Evencio Beltran.

⁵ Evencio Beltran, 'Jacques Legrand O.E.S.A. Sa vie et son œuvre', *Augustiniana*, xxiv (1974), pp. 132–60, 387–414; Sylvie Lefèvre, 'Jacques Legrand', in Robert Bossuat, Louis Pichard and Guy Raynaud de Lage, *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Âge*, nouvelle édition entièrement revue et mise à jour sous la direction de Geneviève Hazenohr et Michel Zink (Paris, 1992), pp. 733–4.

⁶ Three theological (Faith, Hope, Charity), four cardinal (Prudence, Justice, Temperance, Courage), and seven capital virtues (Chastity, Temperance, Charity, Diligence, Patience, Kindness, Humility).

⁷ Evencio Beltran, *L'Idéal de sagesse d'après Jacques Legrand* (Paris, 1989), p. 216.

⁸ Beltran, *L'Idéal de sagesse*, pp. 15–23; Evencio Beltran (ed.), *Archilogue Sophie; Livre de bonnes meurs*, Bibliothèque du XV^e siècle, 49 (Paris, 1986).

⁹ *Le Livre des bonnes meurs* is based on the last chapter of the second part and on the third part of the *Sophilogium*.

¹⁰ The works of Jacques Legrand and Christine de Pisan are for example closely related, see Evencio Beltran, 'Christine de Pisan, Jacques Legrand et le *Communiloquium* de Jean de Galles', *Romania*, civ (1983), pp. 208–28; Beltran, *L'Idéal de sagesse*, pp. 232–5.

the intellectuals of the decades around 1400 who are sometimes referred to as early humanists or 'proto-humanists'. He was a fervent admirer of the classics and of Boccaccio and Petrarch. His writings prove that he knew the Hebrew alphabet and had at least some knowledge of the Hebrew language. He propounded comprehensive ideas about rhetoric and grammar. He is for example known to have propagated the distinct use of 'u' and 'v' and of 'i' and 'j'.¹¹

Le Livre des bonnes meurs is not really a manual of how to behave properly in the modern sense. It is one of those later medieval treatises that explain how society is constructed (or rather should be constructed), and how to live a morally correct life. In writing an encyclopaedic work mainly based on the classics and in translating it himself into French and dedicating it to a Valois prince, Legrand can be seen as a worthy predecessor of later humanists in the sixteenth century, who linked knowledge from the classics with the will to educate the ruling classes.

Reception: manuscripts, early editions, translations, owners

Jacques Legrand's collection of *exempla* and citations especially from classical authors, in the Latin version of the *Sophilogium* and the French version of the *Livre des bonnes meurs*, enjoyed outstanding success, *L'Archilogue Sophie* much less. Judging by the known surviving manuscripts and early editions, *Le Livre des bonnes meurs*, which was finished in 1404 and revised in 1410, must have been immensely popular throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Among surviving manuscripts in the French language, *Le Livre des bonnes meurs* is among those best represented.¹² In 1986 Evencio Beltran listed no fewer than seventy-two manuscripts of *Le Livre des bonnes meurs*.¹³ A few have been added since.¹⁴ About seventy-five manuscripts is an enormous number for a medieval text.

The popularity of the text during the fifteenth century is confirmed by the existence of a whole series of printed editions from 1479 onwards. After Pierre le Rouge printed the first edition at his recently installed press in Chablis, *Le Livre des bonnes meurs* was printed and reprinted in Geneva, Paris, Lyon, and Rouen during the 1480s. A few editions were printed in Paris in the 1490s and in the first years of the sixteenth century. Throughout the sixteenth century Paris and Lyon presses republished the text, showing that it did not fall into oblivion at all.¹⁵ Of almost every one of these twenty editions merely one or two copies are known today. Still, the fact that the text was printed and reprinted over and over again is a strong indication of its success. Translations were also available. In 1487 William Caxton translated the text into

¹¹ Evencio Beltran, 'L'Humanisme français au temps de Charles VII et Louis XI', in Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato (eds.), *Préludes à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1992), pp. 122–62, at p. 130; Beltran, *L'Idéal de la sagesse*, pp. 56–8.

¹² *Le Livre des bonnes meurs* has its place in the anthology of the thirty-seven most widespread texts of the later Middle Ages: Frédéric Duval, *Lectures françaises de la fin du Moyen Âge. Petite anthologie commentée de succès littéraires*, Textes littéraires français, 567 (Genève, 2007), pp. 173–83.

¹³ Beltran (ed.), *Archilogue Sophie; Livre de bonnes meurs*, pp. 290–5: he gives a list of seventy-three manuscripts, in which, however, the one in Chicago (Newberry Library, 55.5) is the same as the one (formerly) in Wilmette Illinois (Library of L. H. Silver).

¹⁴ One (Cape Town, South African Library, 3 c 8) was mentioned in Beltran, *L'Idéal de la sagesse*, pp. 228, n. 3; one was sold at Sotheby's (London) on 7 December 1999 as lot 34. It seems that two manuscripts at Yale (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 895 and 905), listed by <http://www.arlima.net> (January 2010), were not mentioned by Beltran either.

¹⁵ Twenty editions are known between 1479 and 1578. See the data as published in the ISTC (<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/>) and in Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby, Alexander Wilkinson (eds.), *French Vernacular Books. Books Published in the French Language before 1601 – Livres vernaculaires français. Livres imprimés en français avant 1601* (Leiden, 2007).

English and printed it.¹⁶ It was reprinted at least three times in the incunabula period.¹⁷ In March 2009 Leiden University Library bought a sixteenth-century manuscript containing a hitherto completely unknown Middle Dutch text, *Tresoir der wijsheit*, which appeared to be a translation of *Le Livre des bonnes meurs*. Geert Warnar has established that the linguistic characteristics of the text copied in this sixteenth-century manuscript suggest that it was composed earlier, possibly in the fifteenth century.¹⁸ The Latin *Sophilogium* was an even greater success. More than a hundred manuscripts are known and more than a dozen incunable editions were printed in Strasbourg, Basel, Paris and Lyon.¹⁹

We therefore have ample proof that this now relatively unknown text was in fact a very popular, and thus presumably influential, work in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The large number of copies (hand-written and printed) indicates a wide dissemination of the text. Illustrated copies were especially popular at the Burgundian court. Two older manuscripts were part of the libraries of duke Philip the Good²⁰ and of Louis de Bruges, lord of Gruuthuse.²¹ Philip de Croÿ²² and Wolfert van Borssele²³ also owned copies, and Antony of Burgundy even two.²⁴ Harley 1310 belongs in the context of this group.

It is clear, however, that throughout the fifteenth century this text was widely disseminated through various layers of society. Browsing through the surviving manuscript copies (and catalogue entries on them) shows that the text is not only preserved in many libraries of princes and noblemen and noblewomen, but also in collections of clergymen and of members of the urban elites. The *Livre de bonnes meurs* is at the same time part of the pious texts in the vernacular that flourished in the fifteenth century, but also of a new intellectual current that has often been called proto-humanist. Thus we find this text in various environments at the same time. The wide dissemination of this text is indicative of its universal appeal.

¹⁶ Bengt Lindström, 'Some Remarks on Two English Translations of Jacques Le Grand's *Livre de Bonnes Meurs*', *English Studies*, lviii (1977), pp. 304-11.

¹⁷ Data based on the ISTC (<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/>).

¹⁸ Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS. BPL 3560. See Geert Warnar, 'Tresoir der wijsheit. Nieuwe aanwinst Universiteitsbibliotheek herbergt onbekende tekst', *Omslag. Bulletin van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden en het Scaliger Instituut*, 2009, nr. 2, p. 12 [http://media.leidenuniv.nl/legacy/omslag_2009_2_150_dpi.pdf] (in which the shelfmark is erroneously cited).

¹⁹ Fourteen editions are known between 1470 and 1515. See the data as published in the ISTC (<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/>) and in Pettegree et al. (eds.), *French Vernacular Books*.

²⁰ Brussels, Royal Library, 9544: illustrated in the 1420s by Jean Semont. See Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, 'Moult Bons et notables'. *L'enluminure tournaïenne à l'époque de Robert Campin (1380-1430)* (Louvain, 2001), pp. 229-36.

²¹ Paris, BNF, fr. 953 (illustrated in the 1410s by the Boucicaut Master).

²² Brussels, Royal Library, 11063, f. 3r (copied by Isydore du Ny and illustrated by the Master of Dreux Budé around 1450). See François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520* (Paris, 1993), pp. 53-5, no. 18.

²³ Chicago, Newberry Library, MS. 55.5, f. 5r (illustrated by the Master of Antony of Burgundy around 1464-1467). See H. L. Kessler, *French and Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts from Chicago Collections. Chicago, April 9 to May 30 1969* (Chicago, 1969), no. 10.

²⁴ Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1995 (written by David Aubert in 1467 for Guillaume Bourgeois and later owned by Antony of Burgundy) and Paris, BNF, MS. Smith-Lesouëf 73, f. 1v (illustrated by the Master of Antony of Burgundy around 1470). See Amédée Boinet, 'Le Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne. Un bibliophile du XV^e siècle', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, lxxvii (1906), pp. 255-69, esp. 260-9; Walter Berschin, *Die Palatina in der Vaticana. Eine deutsche Bibliothek in Rom* (Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 141, 134, 171; Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, 'Héraldique et bibliophilie. Le cas d'Antoine, Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne (1421-1504)', in Anny Raman and Eugène Manning (eds.), *Miscellanea Martin Wittek. Album de codicologie et de paléographie offert à Martin Wittek* (Louvain, 1993), pp. 323-54, nos 28 and 42.

MS. Harley 1310: its early ownership

Now that we have established that *Le Livre des bonnes meurs* was a very popular text in the later Middle Ages, we turn to one specific manuscript containing this text: Harley 1310. In this manuscript the moral-didactic aim is emphasized by the addition of two short texts at the end. The main text is written on eighty folios (ff. 1r–80v) and the few remaining folios contain commented lists of the seven deadly sins, the good confession, the good death, and the ten commandments (ff. 81r–89v).

Harley MS. 1310 is a parchment codex, measuring 255 x 190, written in a decent (and, we will propose below, slightly old-fashioned) book hand. Three folios (ff. 1, 81r, and 86r) are illuminated with a miniature and decorated margins. In the lower margins of f. 1 two angels hold heraldic arms. These indicate that the manuscript was owned by a noble family. In general we can say that manuscripts in libraries of the nobility were meant to educate and edify noblemen, noblewomen, and their children. For whom was this particular manuscript made?

The arms painted in the lower margin of the frontispiece lead us to two fifteenth-century owners. The left angel holds a quartered coat of arms with Cleves on 1 and 4 and Mark on 2 and 3, and a heart shield with *Issu de France* on 1 and 4 and Burgundy on 2 and 3, and a heart shield with Flanders (fig. 2).²⁵ These arms can either be those of Adolf of Cleves (1425–1492) or his only son Philip of Cleves (1456–1528). The right angel holds a coat of arms containing parted arms (fig. 3).²⁶ On the heraldic right (dexter) we see the same coat of arms as the one the other angel holds. On the heraldic left (sinister) we see Or, a fess quartered: 1 and 4 *Issu de France*; 2 parted by Burgundy and Brabant; 3 parted by Burgundy and Limburg; the heart shield shows Flanders.²⁷ These are the arms of duke Philip the Good of Burgundy after 1430 and of his son Charles the Bold. We can conclude that these two coats of arms inform us of an alliance between a male member of the house of Cleves and a female member of the house of Burgundy.

²⁵ *Quarterly, first and fourth gules an escutcheon argent, over all an escarbuncle or of eight staves pometty flory* (Cleves); *second and third or a fess chequy gules and argent* [should normally be: chequy argent and gules] *four rows* [should be three rows] (Mark); *over all quarterly, first and fourth azure seme de lys or within a border gobony argent and gules* ('Issu de France'), *second and third bendy of six or and azure within a bordure gules* (Burgundy), *over all an escutcheon or, a lion rampant sable* (Flanders).

²⁶ A small difference seems to be due to an inaccuracy rather than to anything else: the Cleves arms have a *fasce* which is here *échiquetée d'argent et de gueules* as it should be, whereas in the other arms they are *échiquetée de gueules et d'argent*.

²⁷ *Or, a fess Burgundy: Quarterly, I and IV azure seme de lys or within a border gobony argent and gules* ('Issu de France'), *second, per pale, bendy of six or and azure within a bordure gules and sable, a lion rampant or* [normally armed and langued gules, but not visible here] (Brabant); *third, per pale, bendy of six or and azure, within a bordure gules* (Burgundy) *and argent, a lion rampant gules* [normally double-queued in saltire and armed, langued and crowned or, but not visible here] (Limburg); *over all an escutcheon, or, a lion rampant sable* [normally armed and langued gules, but not visible here] (Flanders).



Fig. 2. London, BL, Harley MS. 1310, f. 1r: detail of the lower margin, the coat of arms on the left, of Adolf of Cleves, held by an angel.



Fig. 3. London, BL, Harley MS. 1310, f. 1r: detail of the lower margin, the coat of arms on the right, of Anne of Burgundy, held by an angel.

Genealogical scheme of the Cleves family

Adolf I of Cleves (1334-1394), count of Cleves
x Margaret of Juliers (d.1425)

Their children include:

- Margaret x count Albert of Holland and Hainaut
- Elisabeth x duke Stephen of Bavaria
- Adolf II of Cleves (1373-1448), count and (1413) duke of Cleves
 - x (1) Agnes of Wittelsbach (1379-1404)
 - x (2) Mary of Burgundy (1393-1463), daughter of duke John the Fearless

Many children, including:

- John of Cleves (1419-1492), duke of Cleves
- Adolf of Cleves (1425-1492)
 - x (1453) Beatrice of Portugal (1435-1462)
 - One son: Philip of Cleves (1456-1528)
 - x (1470) Anne of Burgundy (d. 1508)

The House of Cleves played a role at the highest level in European politics (see genealogical scheme). Adolf I of Cleves (1334-1394), duke of Cleves, had many children including a daughter Elisabeth (1378-after 1430) who made a second marriage with Stephen III of Wittelsbach (c. 1337-1413), duke of Bavaria, whose only sister was the already mentioned queen of France, Isabeau of Bavaria (1371-1435), because she was married to King Charles VI (1368-1422). Adolf I's eldest son, Adolf II of Cleves (1373-1448), also became count of Cleves and Mark and in 1413 duke of Cleves. His two marriages were both very prestigious indeed. Shortly before 1400, he married Agnes of Wittelsbach (1370-1404), daughter of count palatine Rupert III who in 1400 was elected King of the Romans. After her death, he married in 1406 Mary of Burgundy (1393-1463), a sister of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. Philip the Good had three other sisters who survived to majority, who married the French dauphin, the duke of Bedford, and the duke of Bourbon, respectively.²⁸

For the duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless, this marriage of his daughter Mary to Adolf II of Cleves was a great success as well. Cleves was a strategic county (duchy from 1413 onwards) along the river Rhine. It had been, until 1405, allied with Burgundy's great rival in France, the house of Orleans. John the Fearless succeeded in making Cleves change sides and his daughter was part of the prize, as was the rich domain of Wijnendale in Flanders.²⁹ Adolf II of Cleves and Mary of Burgundy had at least ten children, several of which were educated at the court of Burgundy. They are mentioned more than once in the court accounts.³⁰ Indeed several of these children were politically used by Philip the Good and made very Burgundian marriages.³¹

²⁸ Bertrand Schnerb, *Jean sans Peur. Le prince meurtrier* (Paris, 2005), pp. 114-15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6.

Adolf of Cleves³² (1425–1492), Adolf II's and Mary's youngest son, was at first destined for an ecclesiastical career. At fifteen years of age, he was indeed learning Latin.³³ For some unknown reason, however, that plan was abandoned. He then became a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1456 and held many important positions at the Burgundian court. In 1453 he married Beatrice of Portugal (1435–1462),³⁴ a niece of Isabella of Portugal, duchess of Burgundy, with whom he had one son, Philip. In 1470 Adolf remarried, this time a bâtarde of Philip the Good, Anne of Burgundy (d. 1508).³⁵

In Harley 1310, the arms painted on the heraldic left (sinister) of the parted arms (fig. 3) correspond to those of Philip the Good *after* 1430 and not to those of John the Fearless. Moreover they are painted on a fess. Therefore the ensemble of arms in the lower margin of the frontispiece folio of Harley MS. 1310 cannot refer to the alliance concluded in 1406. The coats of arms therefore must belong to Adolf of Cleves (1425–1492) and his second wife Anne of Burgundy (d. 1508). Her arms were indeed Or, a fess Burgundy.³⁶ This particular disposition also occurs in the only other manuscript containing parted arms of the couple, a breviary and prayer book from around 1480, of which only twenty-six pages have

³⁰ The duke had for example books bought to give them for their education. Jacques Paviot, 'Mentions de livres, d'auteurs, de copistes, d'enlumineurs, de miniaturistes (« historieurs ») et de libraires dans les comptes généraux du duc de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon (1419–1467)', in Frank Daelemans and Ann Kelders (eds.), with the collaboration of Annelies Op de Beeck, *Miscellanea in memoriam Pierre Cockshaw (1938–2008). Aspects de la vie culturelle dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (XIV^e–XVIII^e siècle)*, Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique, numéro spécial, 82 (Brussels, 2009), nos 17, 18, and 70; Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound. Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400–1550)* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 288–90.

³¹ The eldest son John (1419–1492), who inherited the family's German possessions, married in 1455 Elisabeth of Burgundy (1439–1483), a daughter of John of Burgundy, count of Nevers. Mary (1426–1487) married Charles of Orleans (1391–1466) in 1440, when he had just been released from his protracted imprisonment in the Tower of London. Ironically this alliance was entirely organized by her uncle Philip the Good: thus the house of Burgundy first ended the Cleves–Orleans alliance in 1405, but later (after Louis of Orleans and John the Fearless had both been murdered) organized a new alliance between Cleves and Orleans. Catherine (1417–1476) married Arnold of Egmond (1410–1473), duke of Guelders in 1427.

³² He bears no number, since he was not duke of Cleves.

³³ Paviot, 'Mentions de livres', nos 74 and 76; Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, p. 290.

³⁴ Beatrice of Portugal (or Beatrice of Coimbra) was a daughter of Peter of Portugal (1392–1449), duke of Coimbra (a learned prince who was regent of Portugal between 1439 and 1448) and Isabelle of Aragon, Countess of Urgel. Beatrice's brother, John of Portugal (1433–1457), received the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1456, like Adolf of Cleves.

³⁵ Adolf inherited the most important family estates in Brabant, Flanders and Zeeland. From 1475 to 1477 he acted as Charles the Bold's deputy during the duke's campaigns. In 1477 he was appointed stadholder of Hainaut and he played an important political role during the rule of Charles's daughter Mary of Burgundy. From 1483 to 1485 Adolf was a member of the first Flemish regency council, but after 1485 he urged the four Members of Flanders towards reconciliation with Maximilian. See Raphaël De Smedt (ed.), *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XIV^e siècle*, Kieler Werkstücke. Reihe D: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters, 3 (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), pp. 109–12 and 131–4; Malcolm Vale, 'A Burgundian Funeral Ceremony: Olivier de la Marche and the Obsequies of Adolf of Cleves, Lord of Ravenstein', *English Historical Review*, cxi (1996), pp. 920–38, at pp. 920–2.

³⁶ I sincerely thank Florian Guilbaud, who defended his master's thesis on the heraldry of the Bastards of Burgundy in June 2011 at the University of Poitiers, for having shown me the correct blazon of these arms. Anne bore the same arms as her half-brother Jean: Olivier de Wree, *La Généalogie des comtes de Flandre [...]*, vol. i (Bruges, 1642), table XIX, plates 126–8.

survived,³⁷ and on a painting of St Gregory's Mass commissioned by Anne and now kept in Calais.³⁸

Both Adolf of Cleves and Anne of Burgundy are known to have owned various manuscripts.³⁹ Within the collection of Adolf of Cleves, this manuscript fits in quite well. Adolf commissioned manuscripts in the fashion of the Burgundian court, but containing texts with a rather specific slant. Compared to other noblemen at the Burgundian court, he owned many didactic texts and rather fewer historiographical ones. This might be linked to his upbringing, being long destined for the Church.⁴⁰ No chronicles owned by Adolf are known.⁴¹ However, he had several texts related to travel and the crusades and also to moral-didactic matters. At the end of his life, he had a manuscript made containing the travels of Sir John Mandeville (fig. 4).⁴² The first folio contains several ownership marks. The motto *Plus qu'onques mes* (approximately translated by 'Mine more than ever' or 'More than ever since'), written twice on a banderole, is Adolf's. The monogram which is painted three times in the margins is his too, since it also occurs in two Books of Hours made for Adolf.⁴³ It is, however, difficult to decipher.⁴⁴ The 'B' it seems to contain might be for 'Beatrice' but also for 'Burgundy'. Adolf might have adopted it after his second marriage and, indeed, the phrase could refer to this event. The same margins also contain Adolf's arms. They are here surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, to which Adolf belonged from 1456 until his death in 1492.

The presence of the coats of arms of a married couple in a manuscript often seems to mean the use of a book by the wife, rather than by the husband. Thus we should possibly

³⁷ Brussels, Royal Library, MS. II 5646, a manuscript dating from around 1480 and richly illuminated in the workshop of Willem Vrelant by the master of the *Vrae cronique descose*. See Bernard Bousmanne, 'Item a Guillaume Wyelant aussi enlumineur': Willem Vrelant, un aspect de l'enluminure dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux sous le mécénat des ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 236-7; Korteweg, 'La Bibliothèque', p. 193.

³⁸ Calais, Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Dentelle, inv. no. 951.41.1. See Christian Heck, in collaboration with Hervé Boëdec, Delphine Adams, Astrid Bollut, *Collections du Nord-Pas-de-Calais. La peinture de Flandre et de la France du Nord au XVI^e et au début du XVI^e siècle*, Répertoire des peintures flamandes des quinzième et seizième siècles, 5 (Turnhout, 2005), vol. ii, pp. 477-82 (no. 72).

³⁹ Anne Korteweg, *Boeken van Oranje-Nassau. De bibliotheek van de graven van Nassau en de prinsen van Oranje in de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw* (The Hague, 1998), p. 33-41; Anne Korteweg, 'La Bibliothèque', pp. 188-90; Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, pp. 288-93.

⁴⁰ He thus had a thorough Latin and intellectual education and this can explain his interest in theological texts, even if as far as we know his library contained only French texts.

⁴¹ We should, of course, be aware that many manuscripts have been lost and that a library reconstructed on the basis of surviving manuscripts gives an incomplete picture, while it is impossible to know to what extent and in what sense it is incomplete.

⁴² Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. Lescalopier 95 (5201). See Korteweg, 'La Bibliothèque', p. 189; Anne-Marie Legaré, 'Du nouveau sur l'enluminure en Hainaut à la fin du Moyen Age. L'Antiphonaire de l'Abbaye de Forest (Westmalle, Abbaye des Trappistes, ms. 9)', in Brigitte Dekeyser and Jan Van der Stock, *Manuscripts in Transition. Recycling Manuscripts, Texts and Images. Proceedings of the International Congress held in Brussels (5-9 November 2002)* (Louvain, 2005), pp. 407-17, esp. 415.

⁴³ Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. Walters 439; Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, MS. 690 A. See Lilian M. C. Randall, assisted by Judith H. Oliver, Christopher Clarkson and Claudia Mark, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. iii: *Belgium, 1250-1530*, 2 vols (Baltimore-London 1997), no. 281; Bodo Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreichs: der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit*, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 346-51; Korteweg, 'La Bibliothèque', p. 189.

⁴⁴ Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei*, p. 347.

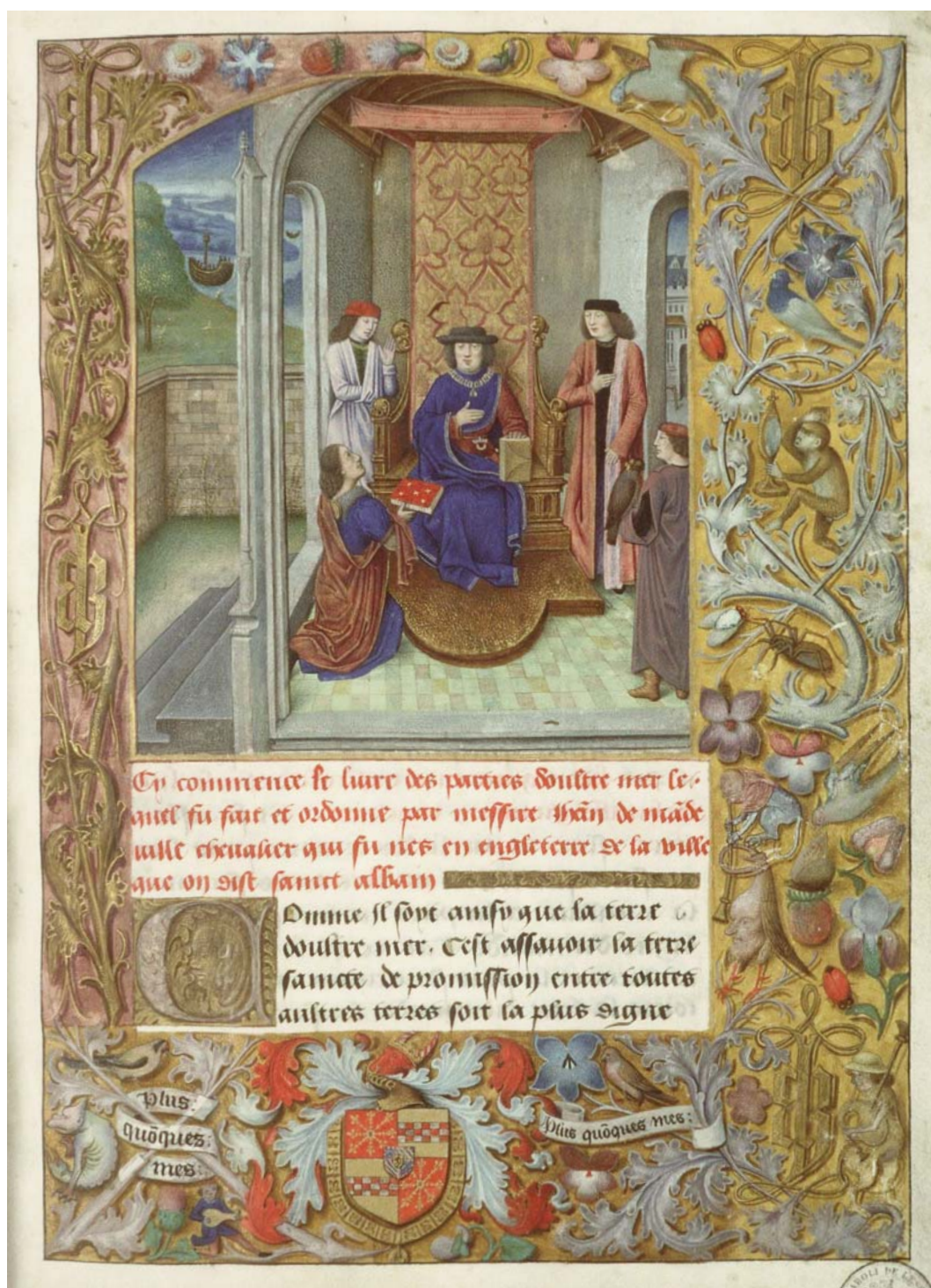


Fig. 4. Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. Lescalopier 95 (5201), frontispiece folio (340 x 250 mm)
 (Travels of John of Mandeville).

consider Anne of Burgundy as the actual owner, since the ownership marks belong to the couple. The absence of the motto in Harley 1310 could be a sign of ownership by Anne of Burgundy, rather than by her husband, but not necessarily, because he could have chosen the motto at any moment in his life. The lack of the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Harley 1310, however, leads to a conundrum. On the one hand, because Adolf and Anne married only in 1470, the arms cannot have been painted before that year.⁴⁵ On the other hand, it should be expected that the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece was painted around Adolf's arms at any date after 1456.⁴⁶

Coats of arms in medieval manuscripts have often been added or modified later. Therefore we should first examine the consistency of the illumination, including the arms. The style of the angels holding the coats of arms is completely coherent with the style of illumination in the rest of the manuscript, especially with the angels in the frontispiece miniature. We can conclude that those are original (figs 1, 2, and 3).⁴⁷ The coats of arms themselves are not as well painted and could have been added later.

In Harley MS. 1310 both coats of arms are damaged, but quite differently (figs 2 and 3). From the left coat of arms, very small crumbs of paint have fallen from the parchment, from the right one much larger chips. The left arms are damaged in the fourth quarter, but this seems to me due to the folding of the parchment, since the damaged area continues in the margin and text parts of the page. The right arms, however, are very specifically damaged, only on the right half (heraldic left: sinister). This kind of feature can often be linked to specific pigments that have not adhered well to the page. One hypothesis that could explain the paint coming off in the specific area where it did, might be that the right half of the arms was at some point erased and carefully replaced. In the case of our manuscript, it could be that the arms of Adolf's first wife, Beatrice of Portugal, were replaced by those of his second wife, Anne of Burgundy. Close inspection did not reveal any possible remains of these arms of Beatrice of Portugal, especially in the areas where the paint has completely come off, but the erasing and overpainting is quite possible.⁴⁸ Before drawing any definitive conclusions it is necessary to say more about the dating of the manuscript, for which we should look more closely at the miniatures and decoration.

Harley MS. 1310: style and iconography of the illumination

⁴⁵ One specific heraldic feature might indicate that the right arms were not painted at the same moment as the left ones: the *fess* which is *chequy gules and argent* on the one coat of arms is *chequy argent and gules* on the other. But in fact, the paint seems very much alike and everything points to their having been painted at the same moment.

⁴⁶ Admittedly, in another case an exception has been noted to this general rule: Van den Bergen-Pantens, 'Antoine, Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne, bibliophile', P. Cockshaw and C. van den Bergen-Pantens (eds.), *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or: idéal ou reflet d'une société* (Brussels, 1996), pp. 198–200. On the Cleves arms specifically, see Korteweg, *Boeken*, p. 37.

⁴⁷ Curiously, it seems that the left angel's wings have been overpainted by the frame separating the text from the margins, whereas the right angel's wings overpaint the frame. However, the symmetrical composition and stylistic unity make it inconceivable that only one angel was planned at the outset, and the other added later. Moreover the colours and forms of the angels are perfectly alike and coherent with the rest of the manuscript's illumination.

⁴⁸ Beatrice's arms were like her father's: *Argent, five escutcheons in cross azure, each charged with as many plates in saltire argent, all within a bordure gules, charged with castles or, with three turrets, opened and voided azure, and four demi fleur-de-lys vert; a label argent, each point charged with three hermine spots.*

Three miniatures adorn the manuscript. The frontispiece on f. 1r (fig. 1) shows the Fall of the Rebel Angels. This iconography had become the standard one to illustrate Jacques Legrand's text, as we see in the copy that was made for Jean de Berry to whom the text was dedicated,⁴⁹ as well as in other later copies on the text.⁵⁰ Indeed the first chapter of the first part of *Le Livre des bonnes meurs* is entitled *Comment orgueil desplait a Dieu* (how pride annoys God), and it explains how the proud always fall, just as Lucifer did. The second miniature on f. 81r (fig. 5), the first of the two column miniatures, depicts a seated teacher instructing a layman who is listening, his hands folded. The latter is accompanied by an angel who puts his hands on his shoulders while a devil grasps his arm, showing how he is torn between sin and salvation. Indeed the text below explains that he who wants to choose right has to be instructed and fight against ignorance and negligence. The scene takes place in a church-like building covered by three domes. The last miniature, on f. 86r (fig. 6), shows a sick man in bed, attended by a priest and two laymen. The text below explains that just as a sick man needs friends to maintain and recover his bodily health, he needs them even more for his spiritual health. In this way he sees who his real friends are.

In spite of the ownership marks from the Low Countries, the style of the manuscript's illumination is consistent with that of illuminators working in France in the 1440s and early 1450s, still much influenced by the Bedford Master. There are for example common features with Péronet Lamy⁵¹ and with the Hoo Master.⁵² The darkened faces of many figures, especially of most of the angels on the frontispiece folio, must be due to the oxidation of a pigment used by the painter and does not seem to be a specific characteristic of the miniaturist in this manuscript.⁵³

More convincing is the comparison of the miniatures in Harley MS. 1310 with those in a manuscript now kept in The Hague containing the *Le Livre de l'information des princes*, in which we find the very same late Bedford style. This manuscript is illustrated with two large and three small miniatures. Although the writing is quite different and the marginal decoration is not closely connected either, the miniatures of the two manuscripts have many similar features: the overall composition, the background buildings and landscapes,⁵⁴ the uniform and moody looking faces, the bold textile-derived patterns, whether on actual fabrics or surfaces like roof vaulting, the small figures in the foreground whose pointed

⁴⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. fr. 1023. See Albert Châtelet, 'Un Traité de bonnes mœurs écrit et illustré dans une période tourmentée', *Art de l'enluminure*, 2002, no. 1, pp. 40–62, at pp. 45–7.

⁵⁰ For example in Brussels, Royal Library, 11063, f. 3r (made for Philip of Croÿ, around 1450); Chicago, Newberry Library, MS. 55.5, f. 5r (made for Wolfart of Borssele, around 1464–1467); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Smith-Lesouëf 73, f. 1v (made for Antony of Burgundy, around 1470).

⁵¹ In Harley 1310 the hair of the various angels is painted as if it lies like a wig or even a beret on top of the head and calls to mind angels in the margins of Brussels, Royal Library, MS. 9466, f. 1; Turin, Biblioteca Reale, MS. Var. 168, f. 113r. See Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (ed.), *Les Manuscrits enluminés des comtes et ducs de Savoie* (Turin, 1991), esp. plates XXV and LXII; Camille Gaspar and Frédéric Lyna, *Les Principaux Manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, tom. ii (Brussels, 1987; orig. Paris, 1945), plate CXLIII; Avril and Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures*, pp. 204–5.

⁵² Especially in the rendition of space (floors, vaults, perspective). E.g. New York, Grolier Club, MS. 7 (see: <http://www.scriptorium.columbia.edu/>); Tenschert and Nettekoven, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter, Neue Folge IV*, pp. 141–67 (nos 11–13).

⁵³ This has also happened in miniatures by other painters. Another example is a very fine miniature by Barthélémy d'Eyck in a manuscript dated 1449: Paris, BnF, fr 1974: Louis de Beauvau, *Pas d'armes de la bergère de Tarascon* (Avril and Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures*, pp. 231–2, no. 124) or various miniatures by the Master of the Harley Froissart.

⁵⁴ Compare the tightly serried rows of cotton-ball trees in Harley 1310, f. 81 and in The Hague, KB, 76 E 20, f. 158.

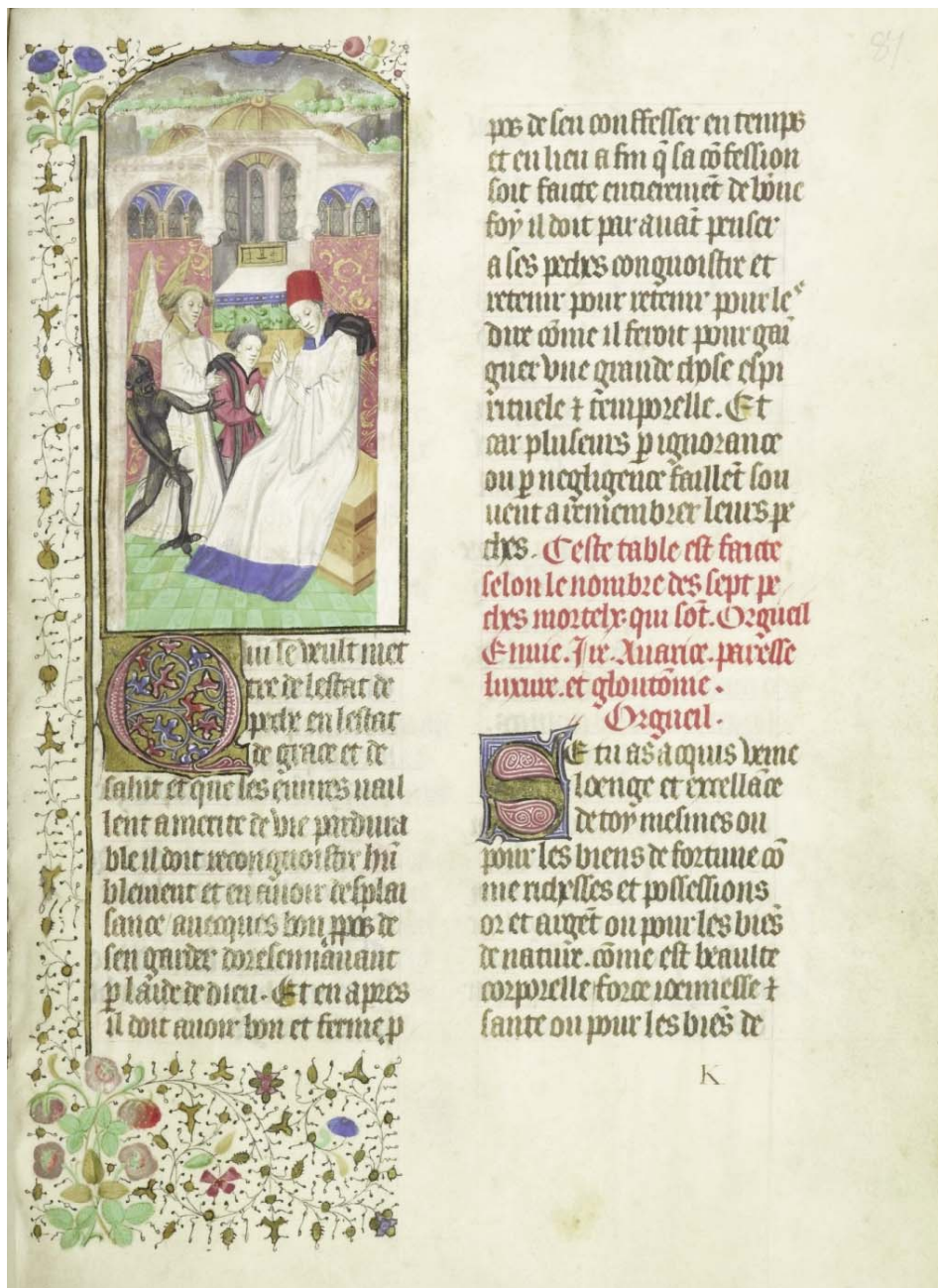


Fig. 5. London, BL, Harley MS. 1310, f. 81r (255 x 190 mm): column miniature of a teacher instructing a layman.



Fig. 6. London, BL, Harley MS. 1310, f. 86r (255 x 190 mm): column miniature of a sick man attended by a priest and two laymen.

shoes float just above the floor, and even the frames of the small miniatures (compare figs 1, 5, and 6 with figs 7 and 8).⁵⁵

The manuscript in The Hague contains a colophon which securely dates the completion of the text to 4 February 1454 (new style).⁵⁶ The miniatures have been called Parisian and Burgundian and have been ascribed to a miniaturist called the Master of Etienne Sauderat.⁵⁷ This sobriquet refers to a manuscript now kept in Amiens, containing *Le Livre des propriétés des choses* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus, translated by Jean Corbichon.⁵⁸ Indeed, details in both manuscripts, like the motifs on the tapestry in the background in the respective presentation scenes⁵⁹ or the green-and-black tiled floors, are very similar (compare figs 7 and 8 with fig. 9). There are, however, also some differences to be noted, especially in the faces and silhouettes of the figures.

The Amiens manuscript also contains a colophon, dating it to 1447 and stating that the book was made for Jean de Chalon, lord of Vitteaux, an important Burgundian nobleman. It is signed by a certain Etienne Sauderat.⁶⁰ This Sauderat calls himself *escripvain* but states that he has *escript et enluminé comme il appert*. In the nineteenth century this was read as a signature by the scribe and painter of the miniatures. More recently Eberhard König proposed the more cautious Master or Painter of Etienne Sauderat, expressing a doubt if

⁵⁵ The Hague, KB, MS. 76 E 20, ff. 1r, 6r, 71r, 134r, 158r (see images on: <http://www.kb.nl/manuscripts>). The two large (ff. 1r and 6r) seem to be painted by a different hand from the three small ones (ff. 71r, 134r, 158r), especially the faces and clothing, but both share characteristics with the miniatures in Harley MS. 1310. Concerning the textile derived patterns, compare the design on the bedspread on Harley 1310, f. 86 with that on the king's overgarment in The Hague, KB, 76 E 20, f. 134, or the cloth of honour directly behind the enthroned king in The Hague, KB, 76 E 20, f. 158 with the same cloth on the right in Harley 1310, f. 81.

⁵⁶ The Hague, KB, MS. 76 E 20, f. 182v: *Cy fine le livre de l'information des princes, translaté de latin en françois, le quel livre fist escrire à Paris noble homme Jehan Arnoulphin, l'an mil cccc cinquante trois, le iiije jour de février.*

⁵⁷ On the manuscript, see Edith Brayer, with a printed guide and introduction by Anne S. Korteweg, *Catalogue of French-Language Medieval Manuscripts in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) and Meermanno-Wetreenianum Museum The Hague. On Microfiche* (Amsterdam, 2002), p. 24 and description; Anne Korteweg, *Splendour, Gravity, and Emotion. French Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections* (The Hague-Zwolle, 2004), pp. 120-2 and 209; Lorne Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Schools* (London-New Haven, 1998), p. 196. On the master, see Eberhard König, *Les Heures de Marguerite d'Orléans* (Paris, 1991), pp. 49-53.

⁵⁸ Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 399. Described in M. A. Jantier, 'Le Livre de la propriété des choses par Barthélémy de Glanville', *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, li (1890), pp. 373-92; F. de Mély, 'Signatures de primitives. Miniaturistes', *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, lxxvii (1907), pp. 16-54, at pp. 20-1; König, *Les Heures de Marguerite d'Orléans*, pp. 49-53. See images of all the miniatures and the colophon on: <http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr>.

⁵⁹ The Hague, KB, MS. 76 E 20, f. 1 and Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 399, f. 1.

⁶⁰ Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 399, f. 296v: *Cy finist le livre des propriétés de choses [added signature Jehan de Chalon] Le livre des propriétés fut escript l'an de grace mil quatre cens quarente et sept, par le commandement de tres honoré, puissant et redoubté seigneur messire Jehan de Chalon, seigneur de Viteaulx, de Lisle soubz Monlt Real et de plusieurs autres places. Et je, Estienne Sauderat, natif de la cité d'Aucerre, escripvain et humble serviteur de mondit seigneur, l'ay escript et enluminé comme il appert. Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragésimo septimo. Iste liber scripsit de Saudretis natus Stephanus nomine vocatus. [signed] Sauderat. Ita est.* See also König, *Les Heures de Marguerite d'Orléans*, p. 50, n. 34; Guy Lanœ, 'La Bibliothèque de Chalon à Nozeroy (1463-1668)', in Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda and Jean-François Genest (eds.), *Du copiste au collectionneur. Mélanges d'histoire des textes et des bibliothèques en l'honneur d'Andre Vernet* (Turnhout, 1998), p. 467-94, esp. 469, n. 3.



Fig. 7. The Hague, Royal Library, MS. 76 E 20, f. 1r (339 x 219 mm): frontispiece folio with a presentation scene and the arms of Cleves in the lower margin (*Le Livre de l'information des princes*, translated by Jean Golein).

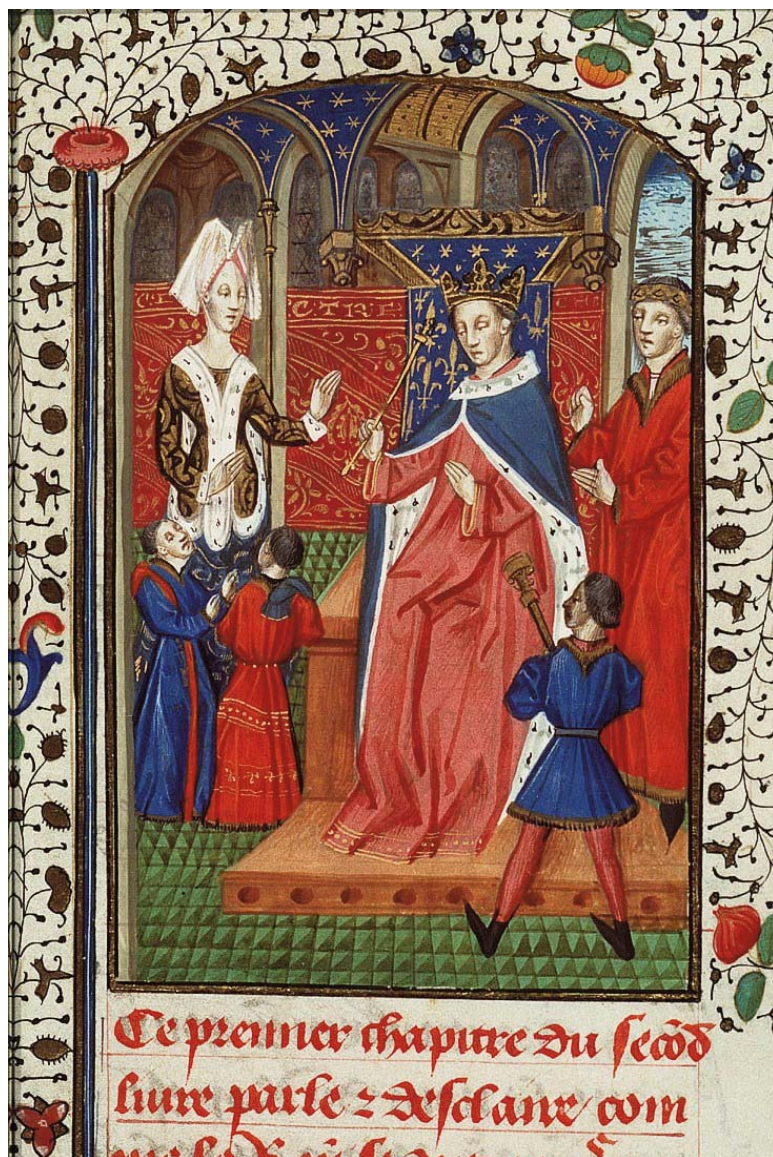


Fig. 8. The Hague, Royal Library, MS. 76 E 20, f. 71r: column miniature (110 x 70 mm) of a King and a Queen instructing young princes.



Fig. 9. Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 399, f. 1r: detail of the frontispiece folio, presentation scene (Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *Le Livre des propriétés des choses*, translated by Jean Corbichon).

indeed the scribe and the painter were the same person.⁶¹

As far as Harley 1310 is concerned, the red seraphim and the black devils painted in the frontispiece miniature closely resemble those painted in several of the miniatures in the Amiens manuscript.⁶² There are, however, also differences regarding the various angels, especially in the way their faces and hair have been depicted.

The hand of the Master of Etienne Sauderat has been recognized, particularly by Eberhard König, in several other manuscripts: a *Pèlerinage de vie humaine* by Guillaume de Digulleville⁶³, several Books of Hours⁶⁴, additions made in the margins of the Hours of Margaret of Orleans (1406–1466), wife of Richard, count of Etampes,⁶⁵ a miniature illustrating *Le Songe du vergier* painted around 1460 probably for Jacques d'Armagnac (1433–1477),⁶⁶ a scroll containing a *Chronique universelle* from Adam to King Charles VII of France (with additions on King Louis XI),⁶⁷ a Book of Hours for Paris use made for a certain Philippe Billon,⁶⁸ the single miniature in a manuscript of Valerius Maximus's *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* dated 1467,⁶⁹ and a very recently discovered Book of Hours for Paris use.⁷⁰ In this last manuscript one easily notes some close stylistic parallels with Harley 1310 (fig. 10).⁷¹ The group of manuscripts associated with the Master of Etienne Sauderat (including Harley 1310) is not homogenous and needs closer study. But it is a group which, thanks to three manuscripts firmly dated to 1447, 1454, and 1467, is datable to the middle of the fifteenth century. We return to the issue of the localization below.

Close observation of *Le Livre de l'information des princes* in The Hague leads to the conclusion

⁶¹ The colophon mentions *enluminé* (illuminated) which generally does not refer to the painter of the miniatures (for which one would expect *historié*), but rather to the painter of the marginal decoration and the initials. König, *Les Heures de Marguerite d'Orléans*, pp. 49–53.

⁶² Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 399, ff. 6v, 12r, 13r. See <http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr>.

⁶³ Heribert Tenschert, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter, II : Sechzig illuminierte und illustrierte Manuskripte...* (Ramsen, 1990), pp. 502–29, no. 45.

⁶⁴ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. lat. qu. 920. See Tenschert, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter, II*, p. 528; Gerard Achten, *Das christliche Gebetbuch im Mittelalter. Andachts- und Stundenbücher in Handschrift und Frühdruck* (Berlin, 1987), no. 42. Eberhard König refers to more Books of Hours (one apparently in Dresden) without specifying them: König, *Les Heures de Marguerite d'Orléans*, p. 52.

⁶⁵ Paris, BnF, MS. lat. 1156B, ff. 13r, 17r, 102r, 154r. See König, *Les Heures de Marguerite d'Orléans*, pp. 49–53; Avril and Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures*, p. 29; <http://mandragore.bnf.fr>. The additions were probably done for Marguerite when widowed from Richard of Brittany, count of Etampes (1395–1438), i.e. between 1438 and 1466.

⁶⁶ Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS. 220 (495), f. 1. See *L'Enluminure en France au temps de Jean Fouquet* (Paris–Chantilly, 2003), pp. 65 and 86 (attribution by François Avril).

⁶⁷ Jörn Günther, *Catalogue 8: Fifty Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Hamburg, 2006), pp. 72–5, no. 21 (c. 1450).

⁶⁸ Paris, private collection, see: <http://www.medievalbooksofhours.com/> (c. 1450).

⁶⁹ Heribert Tenschert and Ina Nettekoven, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter, Neue Folge IV: 32 illuminierte Manuskripte aus Frankreich vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Ramsen, 2007), pp. 296–300, no. 23 (formerly sold at Christie's on 18 March 1918 as lot 810 and at Sotheby's 7 December 1931 as lot 276).

⁷⁰ Heribert Tenschert, list of manuscripts exhibited at the 2011 'Salon du livre ancien' in Paris (28 April – 1 May 2011), no. 15 (322 ff., 20 miniatures, 16th-century binding).

⁷¹ Compare for example the hands, the vaulted buildings, the shape and hair style of the angels, and the general position of the figures in the Tenschert Hours, pp. 53 and 224 with Harley 1310, f. 81 and 86, but also the bearded face of God in Harley 1310, f. 1 with David in the Tenschert Hours, p. 189. My sincere thanks to Heribert Tenschert for letting me study the manuscript and sending me reproductions.



Fig. 10. Ramsen, Antiquariat Heribert Tenschert, Book of Hours, p. 53: Miniature of the Annunciation in a Book of Hours illustrated by the Master of Etienne Sauderat.

that the miniatures in it are not homogenous, the difference being most notable between the large and the small miniatures (figs 7 and 8). We can probably attribute the rather expressionless faces, the flat rendition of textiles and the elongated figures in the small miniatures in The Hague to the hand of Harley 1310 (figs 1, 5, and 6). The style of the large miniatures in The Hague is more like that of the Master of Etienne Sauderat. Still, separating two styles is hazardous, as we also saw close links between the large miniatures in the manuscript in The Hague and the Master of Harley 1310. Maybe the two were associates or master and pupil, but they could also be two manners of one and the same hand.

The scribe Etienne Sauderat states that he was born in Auxerre, but it is not sure whether he remained in that town. The scribe of the manuscript in The Hague states that he wrote in Paris, which is therefore also the most likely place for the miniaturist(s) to have worked.⁷² We must now see if the destinations and early ownership of the various manuscripts give us more clues as to their localization.

Le Livre des propriétés des choses in Amiens was made for a wealthy Burgundian nobleman, Jean de Chalon.⁷³ The colophon in the manuscript in The Hague indicates that it was written for Jehan Arnoulphin, who has been identified by Lorne Campbell as Giovanni di Arrigo Arnolfini (1405/09-1472). He is called Jehan in the colophon, and not Jehannin, as his cousin Giovanni di Nicolao Arnolphini is often (though not always) called.

The Arnolfini family came from Lucca. Giovanni di Arrigo settled in Bruges around 1435 to become a wealthy and important supplier of luxury goods to the Burgundian duke and in the 1450s also the duke's counsellor. He is the same Giovanni Arnolfini who for many decades was thought to have been painted with his wife Giovanna Cenami by Jan van Eyck in the famous double portrait now in the National Gallery in London.⁷⁴ Lorne Campbell opted for his cousin Giovanni di Nicolao (c. 1400?-before 1449) as Van Eyck's patron. He was in Bruges from the early 1420s onwards and supplied the Burgundian court with luxury goods. In 1426 he married Costanza Trenta, who died a few years later (at some time before 1433). In the mid-1430s Giovanni di Nicolao was, as it were, replaced by his cousin as the most important Italian supplier of luxury goods to Philip the Good.

The *Jehan Arnoulphin* mentioned as patron of the manuscript in The Hague must be Giovanni di Arrigo, since Giovanni di Nicolao was dead by 1454. However, he did not commission this rather sparsely illustrated, but very finely illuminated, manuscript for himself. Jean Golein's French translation (1379) of *De informatione principum* is dedicated to Charles of Charolais in this manuscript, which is an adaptation as compared to others containing the same text.⁷⁵

*Cy commence le livre de l'information des princes, translaté de latin en françois, lequel livre fist et compila monseigneur saint Thomas d'Aquin [...] Et pour ce, en considerant diligemment le vif sens et subtil engin et mémoire retenue et volentiers appareillie et ordonné à tout bien et de la vertueuse joenesse de toutes bonnes meurs aournée et anoblie qui est ou très excellent ioenne prince et très puissent ioenne seigneur Charles, ainsné filz de Philippe par la grâce de Dieu duc de Bourgongne très puissant, peut on pour consoler le peuple de sa terre de mieulx en mieulx dire que ces paroles pevent estre de lui exposées en prophétisant de lui et disant Regnabit rex etc.*⁷⁶

⁷² See also König, *Les Heures de Marguerite d'Orléans*, p. 52.

⁷³ König, *Les Heures de Marguerite d'Orléans*, p. 50.

⁷⁴ An identification discovered to be impossible by Jacques Paviot, 'Le Double Portrait Arnolfini de Jan van Eyck', *Revue belge d'archéologie et de l'histoire de l'art*, lxvi (1997), pp. 19-33. See also Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Schools*, pp. 195-6 and 209.

⁷⁵ Campbell, op. cit., pp. 195-6 and 209. The Latin original is attributed to St Thomas Aquinas.

⁷⁶ The Hague, KB, MS. 76 E 20, f. 1r-v (my emphasis)

Charles of Charolais is mentioned, as well as his father duke Philip the Good, expressing the wish that the son will reign over his territories as well as his father does. It has been concluded before that Arnolfini had the manuscript made in order to give it to Charles of Charolais and that it is this offering that we see in the frontispiece (fig. 7).⁷⁷ The kneeling donor shows no specific features, but he is indeed dressed as a rich townsman. The recipient is very richly clothed in gold brocade, wears the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece around his neck and a hood just like the one Philip the Good usually wears in images. He is depicted as a man of a certain age, but the faces are not portraits. It seems likely that Charles of Charolais is meant here, but at the same time he is iconographically mixed up with his father, the duke. This marvellously matches the cited text of the prologue. The Parisian illuminator might have painted the son, but have used an exemplar of a depiction of his father.

The text of the manuscript in The Hague was completed on 4 February 1454 (new style). After that the manuscript still had to be illuminated and sent to the commissioner. On 30 October 1454 Charles of Charolais, then twenty years old, made a second marriage with his cousin Isabelle of Bourbon, a daughter of Charles I of Bourbon and Agnes of Burgundy, sister to Philip the Good. It is thus quite possible that the book was commissioned by Giovanni Arnolfini to give to the young prince on the occasion of his wedding. In the immediately preceding years, Arnolfini had frequently supplied the duke with textiles especially for manuscript bindings,⁷⁸ so he must have been well aware of the duke's taste for beautiful books. For his son's wedding he gave an illuminated manuscript containing a text that was suitable both for a young prince and as a general, not very personal, present.

Several problems remain. In the Burgundian accounts Arnolfini is called *marchant de Lucques resident en la ville de Bruges*. Since Bruges was a major centre of manuscript production it is surprising that Arnolfini commissioned this gift in the workshop of the Master of Etienne de Sauderat. Did the artist perhaps also work elsewhere than in Paris? Another problem is that there is no proof that this manuscript was ever used or received by Charles of Charolais. The inventories of the library of the Burgundian dukes do not mention it. In the 1467–69 inventory two manuscripts of the Latin text of *De informatione principum* are mentioned⁷⁹ and two of the French translation. Of these last two, one had been made for John the Fearless at the beginning of the fifteenth century and was probably of Southern Netherlandish origin.⁸⁰ The other is a French manuscript of around 1450 illustrated with four miniatures, strikingly, quite similar in style to the manuscript in The Hague.⁸¹

The French translation of *De informatione principum* is a text that does not seem to have been very widespread at the Burgundian court, but it is interesting to see that one of the duke's copies was made in France around 1450 and that Philip de Croÿ owned a copy of which the illumination is probably attributable to the Talbot Master who worked in Rouen in the 1440s.⁸² The Parisian origin of the manuscript in The Hague might thus become thus less unique.

We have digressed extensively on the manuscript in The Hague because of the close

⁷⁷ Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Schools*, pp. 196.

⁷⁸ At least seven payments between 1445 and 1452: Paviot, 'Mentions de livres', nos 106, 107, 112, 120, 136, 139, and 143.

⁷⁹ Brussels, Royal Library, MS. 4220 and MS. 10826. See Thomas Falmagne and Baudouin Van den Abeele (eds.), *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries*, vol. v: *Dukes of Burgundy* (Brussels, forthcoming), nos 5.289 and 8.426; nos 5.307 and 8.427.

⁸⁰ Brussels, Royal Library, MS. 9475. See Falmagne and Van den Abeele (eds.), op. cit., nos 3.118, 5.193, and 8.175; Bernard Bousmanne, Frédérique Johan and Céline Van Hoorebeeck (eds.), *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. ii: *Textes didactiques* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 115–18.

⁸¹ Brussels, Royal Library, MS. 9468. See Falmagne and Van den Abeele (eds.), op. cit., nos 5.194 and 8.170; Bousmanne, Johan, and Van Hoorebeeck (eds.), *La Librairie*, vol. ii, pp. 107–10.

⁸² Brussels, Royal Library, MS. 9096. The manuscript was later owned by his son Charles. See Marguerite Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche. Essai de reconstitution d'après l'inventaire de 1523–1524* (Louvain, 1995), no. 146.

stylistic link with Harley 1310. Before concluding, however, there is another analogy that should be mentioned. Both manuscripts contain the same Cleves coat of arms (figs 1 and 7). In the manuscript in The Hague they are most logically explained by assuming that they are not Adolf's, but his son Philip's. Indeed, the book's later transmission ensures this ownership and it is most likely to be identified with the *L'informacion des princes couvert de velours noir garny* mentioned in the 1528 inventory of Philip's library.⁸³

The Cleves arms in the manuscript in The Hague have probably been added later, but on close inspection, I could not find any traces of a possibly erased and/or overpainted coat of arms, especially not of Charles of Charolais. Adolf could, theoretically, have acquired the manuscript and added his arms before 1456, the date of his admission into the order of the Golden Fleece.⁸⁴ This hypothesis would imply that Charles of Charolais passed the manuscript to his cousin Adolf shortly after having received it or even that it never reached Charles. This is mere speculation, but reinforced by the remarkable coincidence that two manuscripts, both containing French didactic texts, both illuminated in the same workshop, both among the rare manuscripts of French (Parisian) origin in Southern Netherlandish noble ownership, also bear the same coat of arms.

Concluding remarks

Harley 1310 was illuminated around 1450 or shortly after in the workshop of the Master of Etienne de Sauderat, active from the late 1440s to the late 1460s. As for the localization of this workshop, we have assembled some indications in the group constituted thus far: a scribe writing in Paris and one who states that he hails from Auxerre, two noble patrons, one linked to the Burgundian court (Jean de Chalon) and the other to the French King (Jacques d'Armagnac), a third patron (Giovanni di Arrigo Arnolfini) being an Italian merchant intimately linked to the Burgundian court, at least two Books of Hours for Paris use, additions in the margins of the Hours of Margaret of Orleans, widow of Richard of Brittany, and a *Chronique universelle* emphasizing the lineage of the French Kings. Thus it seems most likely that the Master of Etienne de Sauderat can be situated in Paris, but it could very well be that he was also active in Burgundy or the Southern Netherlands for some time.⁸⁵ More generally speaking, artists might have been more mobile than we tend to think and have worked quite often in several places consecutively.⁸⁶ As for the Master of Etienne Sauderat, an argument in this direction could be that he seems to have worked with a great variety of marginal decorators.

⁸³ Korteweg, 'La Bibliothèque', pp. 202, no. 33.

⁸⁴ Giovanni Arnolfini's coat of arms do not seem to be traceable either: *Or, two bear paws in saltire azure, claws downwards*. See Carla Bozzolo and Hélène Loyau, *La Cour Amoureuse dite de Charles VI. Etude et édition critique des sources manuscrites. Armoiries et notices biographiques* (Paris, 1982-1992), vol. iii, pp. 214-15 (no. 784).

⁸⁵ Artistic links between the Master of Etienne Sauderat and the Master of the Harley Froissart should be more thoroughly studied. Their styles share many general features (e.g. a taste for textile patterns, though each in its own way) and they might have learned their craft together. See also next note.

⁸⁶ Indeed, these remarks join other, closely linked discussions: the Master of the Harley Froissart (Philippe de Mazerolles) worked in Paris in the middle of the fifteenth century and thereafter in Bruges in the 1470s (Pascal Schandel and Ilona Hans-Collas, with the collaboration of Hanno Wijsman and scientific advice by François Avril, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, vol. i: *Louis de Bruges* (Paris-Louvain, 2009), p. 174-6); the Master of Dreux Budé seems to have been Paris-based, but his art shows Southern Netherlandish features as well and the same goes for a group of manuscripts containing the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Avril and Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures*, pp. 53-6; Heribert Tenschert and Ina Nettekoven, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter, Neue Folge III: Vom Heiligen Ludwig zum Sonnenkönig: 34 Werke der Französischen Buchmalerei aus Gotik, Renaissance und Barock* (Ramsen, 2007), pp. 144-9).

The arms on the frontispiece folio of Harley 1310 point to Adolf of Cleves (1425–1492) and his second wife Anne of Burgundy (d. 1506), who married in 1470. However, the absence of the collar of the Golden Fleece indicates that it was acquired before 1456. Since the folio was evidently designed to contain the arms of a couple, we can assume that it was originally made for Adolf of Cleves and his first wife Beatrice of Portugal in the first three years of their marriage (1453–1456), and that later Beatrice's arms were very carefully replaced by those of Adolf's second wife. No traces of Beatrice's arms are visible, however, but other examples prove that erasing arms could be done very precisely and thoroughly. Following the example of the hypothesis we formulated for a manuscript from the same workshop now kept in The Hague, we could surmise that Harley 1310 was commissioned in 1453 on the occasion of Beatrice's and Adolf's wedding, but it could have been shortly after for the newlywed couple as well.

Harley 1310 contains *Le Livre de bonnes meurs*, a treatise on how to live a morally correct life, written by the learned theologian Jacques Legrand, and especially addressed to the princely and noble elite. It is a well-studied text. On its reception, however, much research remains to be done. An exceptionally high number of manuscripts and early editions is known. Moreover, the text was translated into English and into Dutch. The popularity of this text throughout the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century can be explained by the appeal the text had for very different groups in society. Among these readers have been Adolf of Cleves and his second wife Anne and probably also his first wife Beatrice.