

The Provenance of the *Abreujaments de las estorias* (London, British Library, Egerton MS. 1500) and the Identification of Scribal Hands (c. 1323).

Alexander Ibarz

‘A script is the outward sign of a culture’ (Ramon d’Abadal i de Vinyals)

An easy way to call Pope John XXII¹ to mind is to remember his popular caricature by Umberto Eco as the *bête noire* of the Franciscan spirituals. He was over seventy when he was invested in 1316, and under his lengthy and eventful pontificate the library of Avignon grew into one of the finest in Europe.² The old pope’s many cares, it is said, meant he requested digests or abridgments of some of his books.³ So, faced with an abbreviated translation of a universal history by Paolino of Venice, Franciscan Inquisitor and Diplomat – Boccaccio’s ‘historiarum investigator permaximus’ – it is tempting to assume we have discovered one of the Pope’s *codices deflorati* (or reader’s digests) mentioned by Petrarch, especially since the text is translated into Occitan (or Old Provençal), the pope’s native language.⁴ The intended

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¹ Jacques Duèse by birth (in Occitan, Jacme Duesa, b. 1249, 1316–1334).

² ‘La presque totalité des livres appartenant au Saint-Siège sous Boniface VIII ayant été laissée en Italie, il s’occupa de former une bibliothèque complète’ (M. Faucon, *La Librairie des papes d’Avignon. Sa formation, sa composition, ses catalogues (1316–1429), d’après les registres de comptes et d’inventaires des archives vaticanes* (Paris, 1886), vol. i, p. 26). ‘The importance of Avignon emerges from the study of any text which passed through it’ (L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes & Scholars. A Guide to the Transmission of Greek & Latin Literature* (Oxford, 1991), p. 273).

³ ‘A man at once most eager and of a vehement turn of mind, on the one hand he had spent his life enmeshed in dealings with bitter rivalries with the Holy Roman Empire, and on the other had dedicated his life to a passion for learning. But since he was prevented from reading as much as he would have liked both by his old age and the variety of his cares, it was a thing most pleasing to him that he could leaf through *deflowered*, or properly speaking, abbreviated works, and refer in them to the tables [of contents].’ (Petrarch, *Rerum memorandarum libri*. 1.II; cit. Faucon, vol. i, p. 20, n. 3). The medieval Latin usage of ‘deflower’ (< deflorare) in its secondary meaning ‘to cull or excerpt from (a book, etc.) its choice or most valuable parts’ has long been obsolete.

addressee of the work is a problem germane to the description, dating and provenance of British Library, Egerton MS. 1500 (henceforth also L_1). The approach pursued here is to view these questions as part of editorial practice.⁵ It is based on assessing the existing evidence together with some new information, the result of work on the manuscript, carried out as part of a team led by the Principal Investigator Catherine Léglu and including Federico Botana, for a Reading/Leverhulme project.

As the editorial work is still in progress, the information provided here on provenance and scribal hands needs to be viewed as a preliminary overview, rather than the mature fruits of scholarship. This is more so the case – as I will have occasion to repeat – because until the text is edited, conclusions cannot be reached on, for example, linguistic differences separating scribes identified provisionally on the basis of palaeographical study. The ancillary discipline of palaeography is rarely on its own proof of much. The point of departure for the present essay remains André Vernet’s important study of L_1 of 1943,⁶ the only study of the manuscript to engage fully with this Provençal codex, and so I shall begin where he left off, starting with the question of provenance.

The *Abreujamens de las estorias* (‘Abridgment of World History’) is a translation of Paolino’s *Compendium Historiarum* (see MS. *M*) and has survived alongside a *Provinciale* or list of ecclesiastical provinces. No dedication has survived. What is missing in the intervening folios has been identified as the contents of a book also in the British Library acquired circa 1850, Additional MS. 17920 (henceforth also L_2). The L_1 volume which contains the *Abreujamens* was purchased in that year from the private collection of ‘Monsieur de Martres’, baron of Loupian (how it came into his possession is not known). Loupian is now a commune in the Hérault département in southern France. Historically, the dialect spoken there is influenced by the literary script of Montpellier, in turn connected to the written *scripta* of the Crown of Aragon of which it was a part. As the linguistic analysis has not been conducted, it is not possible to exclude a priori the hypothesis that the scribes of L_1 are from this part of the Midi, although it seems unlikely.⁷ The barony of Loupian was in fact just one of several possessions which passed into the hands of the Albenas family in the eighteenth century.⁸ L_2 is a miscellany of Occitan

⁴ Paolino of Venice wrote the first version of his *Compendium Historiarum* (MS. *M*, see Manuscripts) c. 1320. It is a Diagrammatic Chronicle of World History which abbreviates his earlier Epithoma of World History (F1, c. 1313) to fit shortened texts to an entirely original diagrammatic scheme (see Isabelle Heullant-Donat, ‘Entrer dans l’histoire. Paolino da Venezia et les prologues de ses chroniques universelles’, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome. Moyen Age*, cv (1993), pp. 381–442 : this manuscript is unfinished and seems to be the author’s own working copy; it is upon this manuscript that the Occitan version seems to have been in large part based. As a working hypothesis I assume that it was specially commissioned by John XXII to furnish the basis for the Occitan text. John XXII hailed from Cahors in the West of the Languedoc and was an Occitan (Provençal or *langue d’oc*) speaker. Occitan is traditionally spoken in France south of the Loire, where French (the *langue d’oïl*, historically spoken north of the Loire) is a more recent superstratum. For a recent assessment of the vitality of Occitan in the fourteenth century, see C. Léglu, *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue in Medieval French, Occitan, and Catalan Narratives* (University Park, PA, 2010).

As recently as 1913 there were 13 million Occitan speakers in France. The latest estimate reduces this figure to 100,000, meaning we are only thirty years away from witnessing the death of the last Occitan speaker within the territory of the French Republic.

⁵ See R. B. C. Huygens, *Ars Edendi: Introduction pratique à l’édition des textes latins du moyen âge* (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 68–9.

⁶ André Vernet, ‘Une Version provençale de la Chronologia magna de Paulin de Venise’, *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes*, civ (1943), pp. 115–36.

⁷ Vernet thought the dialect to be that of Cahors, and he may well yet be proven correct. Max Pfister, ‘La localisation d’une scripta littéraire en ancien occitan (Brunel Ms 13, British Museum 17920)’, *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature*, x (1972), pp. 253–91, tentatively identifies the dialect of a closely related manuscript (L_2 , see below) as a central or north-western Languedocien variety; on which see also Jean-Pierre Chambon, ‘Remarques sur la patrie de l’auteur du MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 17920 (Brunel Ms 13)’, *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, lix (1995), pp. 5–24, whose study sets great store on certain lexicological inferences which ignore more primary phonological and morphological developments. It is worth stating here that both these studies are partial and remain to be confirmed by a systematic analysis of the rich phonological and morphological data available.

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Miracles of the Virgin, a pseudo-Turpin and an abbreviated Giraldus Cambrensis on Ireland. This discovery, made by Wilhelmina Wüstefeld, has since been revisited and confirmed by F. Botana, C. Léglu and myself *in situ*.⁹

The knowledge that L_1 was bound together with L_2 , perhaps not immediately, but soon after its composition in the fourteenth century, reinforces the view that the whole is connected in some way to the Papal court of Avignon, because of a dedication to Pope John XXII,¹⁰ which translates the dedication in the author's presentation copy, kept in the papal library.¹¹

I should mention that we have found no trace in the published records of any of the Provençal texts which are included in either of these connected manuscripts.¹² This is not surprising. Books left the papal library as often as they entered it, systematic records were not kept or have not always survived, and anything that remained in Avignon in the monastic collections tended to go astray.¹³ The pope's generosity and patronage,¹⁴ according to Faucon, is largely responsible

⁸ Cf. [Gustave] C[haix] d'E[st]-A[nge], *Dictionnaire des familles françaises anciennes ou notables à la fin du XIX^e siècle* (Évreux, 1903), p. 89 : 'François d'Albenas, Sgr de Pruneyron et de Gajan, petit-fils de Jacques, marié en 1739 à Charlotte de Montlaur de Mûries, acquit en 1766 la baronnie de Loupian; il prit alors le titre de baron d'Albenas qui depuis cette époque a été conservé par le chef de famille. Son fils aîné, François d'Albenas, Sgr et baron de Loupian, prit pari en 1789 aux assemblées de la noblesse de la sénéchaussée de Béziers; il mourut en 1817 laissant six enfants. Cette branche subsiste en Languedoc.' cf. < <http://barrau.canalblog.com/archives/2012/01/01/1320222.html> >

⁹ W. C. M. Wüstefeld, 'Le Manuscrit British Library Additional 17920 et son contexte socio-culturel', *Critique et édition de textes: Actes du XVII^e Congrès International de Linguistique et Philologie romanes* (Aix-en-Provence, 1986), pp. 99-110; 'Las Merevilhas de la terra de Ybernia: une traduction occitane et son modèle, Actes du 1^{er} Congrès international de l'Association internationale d'études occitanes', ed. Peter T. Ricketts (London, 1987) ; 'La Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin : version occitane, la traduction et le manuscrit', *3^e Congrès international de l'Association internationale d'études occitanes (Montpellier, 20-26 septembre 1990): Contacts de langue, de civilisation et intertextualité*, ed. Gérard Gouiran, 3 vols (Montpellier, 1992), vol. iii, pp. 1201-11.

We undertook the codicological analysis in January 2012. The contents of L_2 are fully edited: see J. Ulrich, 'Miracles de Notre Dame en provençal', *Romania*, viii (1879), pp. 12-28; Oskar Schultz, 'Der provenzalische Pseudo-Turpin', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, xiv (1890), pp. 467-520; M. Piccat, *La versione occitana dello Pseudo Turpino: ms. Londra B.M. additional 17920* (Tübingen, 2001); P. T. Ricketts, 'Deux textes en occitan médiéval du ms. Londres, British Library, Add. 17920, les Miracles de Notre Dame et le Mariage des neuf filles du Diable', *La parola del testo*, viii (2004), *Studi in onore di Giuseppe E. Sansone*, vol. ii, pp. 317-32; P. T. Ricketts and C. P. Hershon, 'Las Merevilhas de la terra de Ybernia', *La France latine*, cxlviii (2009), pp. 233-97.

¹⁰ One of the texts that *Additional* (= L_2) contains is a translation of Philip of Slane's abbreviated Giraldus Cambrensis, the *Libellus de descriptione Hybernie*, which contains a dedication to Pope John XXII (L_2 , f. 19v).

¹¹ The work appears in the catalogue of books in Boniface VIII's library in 1311 under the entry: *Item liber de statu Hibernie et de penis omnium in peccatis mortalibus* (F. Ehrle, *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianae, tum Avinionensis*, vol. i (Rome, 1890), p. 104, entry 332.

¹² There is a large amount of published material, e.g. Ehrle; H. Jullien de Pommerol and J. Monfrin, *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques au temps de la papauté d'Avignon* (Paris, 1991-2001); A. Maier, 'Annotazioni autografe di Giovanni XXII in codici vaticani', *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, vi (1952), pp. 317-22; A. Pelzer, *Addenda et emendenda ad Francisci Ehrle historiae bibliothecae* (Vatican City, 1974); Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon, 1309-1403* (Ann Arbor, 1983), pp. 79-82, 87-89. The extant catalogues however are not complete, especially for the pontificate of John XXII for which period no full inventories have survived. In the following period, there are no works in the vernacular recorded in inventories of the Magna Libraria, records of which survive for 'ses parties essentielles' for the period of Urban V. The pope's less official collection, including literary and vernacular works, seems to have survived less well in the catalogues. Works cognate with Paulinus, such as Boccaccio's *De genealogia deorum*, were kept in the Chambre du Cerf-Volant and other locations in the Papal Palace: 'Par malheur, ce catalogue est tronqué, réduit à la moitié peut-être de son étendue primitive' (Faucon, vol. i, p. 58).

for the dispersion of his personal collection. So, what else suggests Egerton may have been made in or for Avignon?

To answer this question one must turn to the figure of the author, Paolino of Venice (henceforth, Paolino).¹⁵ Paolino gained the confidence of the new Pope in Avignon, and he first appears at his side in the retinue of Robert of Naples (1319). We know that John XXII thought highly of Paolino because he selected him to sit on the panel which examined the works of his friend and fellow historian Marino Sanudo on 24 September 1321.¹⁶ From 1321 Paolino resided at the curia as a papal penitentiary, which as a clerical role places him amid that community of authors and writers inhabiting the various departments of the papal machine. His obligatory residence in Avignon was only interrupted by the diplomatic missions which he undertook in the service of John XXII as intermediary in the resolution of conflicts between Venice and the Papacy. So, it seems clear that we are looking at manuscripts copied in or for Avignon. Which, if any, of the papal scribes, wrote the manuscript/s? Were there more than one? If so, can they be identified? Is there any evidence besides the inconclusive circumstances adduced, that the Pope was in fact the intended addressee?

Progress so far may be summarized as follows. André de Mandach,¹⁷ working from the Dominican connections exhibited by the contents of Additional 17920, points towards a Dominican from Rouergue, Armand de Belvezer (d. 1334), admirer of the troubadour Peire Cardenal and author of some Provençal proverbs (p. 650), as responsible for organizing the translations, hinting strongly at a papal audience. Marco Piccat, in a major but not-in-all-respects satisfactory edition of the Pseudo-Turpin of 2001,¹⁸ turns his attention likewise in the direction of the Dominicans, but fixes instead on Arnaldus Berengarius de Landore, thirteenth

¹³ 'Avenio urbs, olim bibliothecis abundans, tempore bellorum civilium his ornamentis spoliata est a monachis et clericis, qui in Italiam fugientes codices pretiosissimos abstulerunt. Archium, in quo senatus Avenionensis collocabit monumenta antiqua, per provinciam dispersa, nondum conditum est' (Haenel 1821, cit. J. P. Migne, *Dictionnaire des manuscrits* (Paris, 1853), vol. ii, p. 165).

¹⁴ On the attraction of Avignon for writers in search of a patron, see Faucon, vol. i, pp. 20, 39 [and preceding]. On the pope's generosity as a patron, Faucon made the insightful observation that 'Jean XXII n'estimait pas moins le livre que l'auteur' (vol. i, p. 36).

¹⁵ He enjoyed a great reputation in Venice, where he inspired the work of Andreas Dandolo, and in the court of Naples, where he was read with mixed feelings by Boccaccio who made Paolino the object of typically humanist invective as well as acknowledging that he was 'a great tracker down of histories' (*Genealogie deorum gentium libri*, bk. XIV, ch. 8, ed. V. Romano (Bari, 1951), p. 702; cit. Heullant-Donat, p. 392, n. 36), an epithet which puts us in mind of the removal by Paolino of a unique manuscript of Tacitus from the shelves of Montecassino. I owe this notice of the theft of the Cassinese Tacitus, Mediceus II (Firenze, Laurenziana 68.2) to C. L'églu; the discovery was made by Konrad Josef Heilig, 'Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Mediceus II des Tacitus', *Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*, liii (1935), pp. 95-110; Reynolds and Wilson, p. 133, following Giuseppe Billanovich, *I primi umanisti e le tradizioni dei classici latini* (Freiburg, 1953), p. 30, are unaware of the connection between Paolino and the codex. Billanovich rightly rejected Boccaccio as a candidate for the theft: 'Per esportare dalla biblioteca del monastero di Montecassino molti codici antichi e preziosi [...] occorreva un'autorità molto superiore a quella modesta del Boccaccio' (p. 31). Montecassino, where this rare manuscript containing the last half of the *Annals* was kept, is about 90 km from Naples (Jürgen von Stackelberg, *Tacitus in der Romania. Studien zur Literarischen Rezeption des Tacitus in Italien und Frankreich* (Tübingen, 1960), p. 47), and 'it is Paulinus Venetus who first shows knowledge of it'; the passages which Paolino quotes 'are frequently marked in the margin of Medicean II' (Clarence W. Mendell, *Tacitus the Man and his Work* (New Haven, 1957), p. 236).

¹⁶ Alberto Ghinato, *Fr. Paolino da Venezia OFM, vescovo di Pozzuoli*, Studi e Testi Francescani, 1 (Rome, 1951), pp. 34-5.

¹⁷ André de Mandach, 'Le Problème posé par la koiné de «l'occitan central»: le pape Jean XXII et deux anthologies de son temps comportant des textes occitans (B.M. Add. 19513 et 17920)', in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire, de linguistique et de philologie romanes offerts à Charles Rostaing* (Liège, 1974), vol. ii, pp. 637-51 (p. 638): 'Or parmi ces Dominicains à son service, il y en avait un qui mérite l'attention.'

¹⁸ See n. 9. It contains no linguistic study, and this leads to errors of transcription, such as the invention of a verb 'paviar' which does not exist, and should be transcribed 'paujar', meaning 'pauzar', 'to place'.

Master General of the Order of Preachers and Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela (1317–1330). The arguments adduced by Piccat are based on the appropriateness of the texts for the themes of orientalism and the pilgrim route of St James (2001: 54). The abundance of scribes from the Quercy and Rouergat at Avignon provides another connection, as Berenger, we are informed, was born in the Rodez in 1262 (Piccat, p. 50).

Whether or not either of the above was involved in the patronage of the manuscript remains to be determined. Neither, it would seem, is a very likely candidate for the intended recipient of the manuscript, if we agree with Wüstefeld that the ‘lord’ (*senher*) to whom Additional is addressed: ‘était probablement un jeune homme dont la formation n’était pas encore complète’ (p. 109). If that is true, the aged pope must be regarded as an unlikely recipient also. L_1 (Egerton) is a more luxurious and ambitious work than any of the other texts in L_2 (Additional). If it was intended for a young lord, he would have been one of a certain importance. Egerton (f. 43, col. 1) also mentions a single addressee, styled ‘vos senher’ (suitable either for a cardinal or pope, or a noble lord of any kind). Paolino himself had experience in training young men in the art of government. He viewed his own *Epithoma* as a pedagogical introduction to universal history (as his prologue to that work explains).¹⁹ (According to Heullant-Donat the *Epithoma* is the first redaction of Paolino’s universal history. The *Compendium* is a second redaction, providing king-lists accompanied by short texts from the *Epithoma*. It is the *Compendium* which the *Abreujamens* translates.) These circumstances make Talleyrand’s name worthy of mention as a suitable candidate for the recipient of the *Abreujamens*.

Elias Talleyrand (1301–1364) was a youth of the requisite importance and connections who was aged fifteen at the pope’s inauguration, and was marked out for rapid ascent, being elected Bishop of Limoges in 1324. He himself later became a famous literary patron, he had important connections with England, he was interested in exotic travels, more importantly he was related to the pope by marriage, and he was specifically being trained for dealings in Italy as a future member of the Papal-Angevin alliance. Talleyrand was the son of Elias Talleyrand VII, count of Perigord. His mother was Brunissenda, daughter of Roger Bernard III, count of Foix and Margaret of Bearn.²⁰ His sister, Agnes, married John of Gravina, younger brother of King Robert of Sicily.²¹ ‘Thus was established that connection between Talleyrand and the royal house of Naples which would drag him into the hectic affairs of south Italy during the reign of Queen Joan I’.²² The youngest of Brunissenda’s girls was married to Jacques de la Vie (Oc. Jacme de la Via), great-nephew of Pope John XXII.²³ Both the fact that the youth was part of the pope’s extended family, and the connection to Naples, would have made the *Abreujamens* an appropriate gift,

¹⁹ ‘Hunc universi decorem monstrare agrediar brevi compendio gestarum rerum regnorumque originem, conexionem et ordinem per VI mundi etates usque ad tempora que nunc aut verius manant, grata pictura deducens cum glosarum seu explicacionum brevi adiectione ut que ipse in Epytomate ystoriarum seu ceteri difuse scriptitare conati sunt prompte ac clare intueri quisque valeat, quasi in semine segetem et arborem in radice’ (*M*, f. 1r; Heullant-Donat, p. 438). [I shall attempt to show this beauty of the world in a short compendium of deeds, and [I shall try to show] the origin of kingdoms, the connection [between them] and their order according to the six ages of the world down to the present times or [to be] more accurate [the temporality that] is ever emanating [forth from the Divine Presence]. I have put the whole story together as a combination of illustrations and glosses so that each [reader] may well understand quickly and clearly those things which I myself in the Epithome of Histories or others more widely have thought to write repeatedly, as if [my work were] a seed with regard to a cornfield and a root with respect to a tree.]

²⁰ Where the Occitan spelling is easily understood, I prefer it to the French equivalent. Elsewhere English versions of names are used where available.

²¹ ‘Johan fraire del rey Robbert’ [sc. Robert of Anjou, King of Naples (1309–1343)] is mentioned on f. 60v.

²² See Norman P. Zacour, ‘Talleyrand: The Cardinal of Perigord (1301–1364)’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, i (1960), pp. 1–83 (p. 6, n. 10).

²³ Zacour refers to the marriage contract (Arch. dep. des Basses Pyrenees, E. 618) and the pope’s gifts to the bride as listed by K. H. Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII. nebst den Jahresbilanzen von 1316–1375, Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung 1316–1378*, vol. ii (Paderborn, 1911), entries 226, 228.

both in Paolino's and in the Pope's eyes. Talleyrand left his library in his will (1360) as a bequest to his *alma mater*, the Augustinian Abbey at Chancelade (Dordogne).²⁴

The castle of Castelbon (Bas Couserans, Ariège) had been in the possession of Talleyrand's maternal grandfather (as part of the Viscounty of Castelbon). In 1850 it passed into the possession of the de Martres family who sold the manuscript. Is this most tenuous of connections suggestive in any way of Talleyrand's suitability as the original addressee? Any answer to this question would be speculative. Demonstrating a possible link between the viscounty of Castelbon, Talleyrand and L_1/L_2 remains well outside the objectives of the present study.

The Occitan translation of Paolino's *Compendium* (MS. *M*, the source of the *Abreujamens*) bears no title (the title page of the manuscript is missing). The working title, *L'Abreujamens de las estorias* derives from a phrase in the prologue of the work (L_1 , f. 3): 'aquo que yo metheys yey escrich en aquest abreujamen de las estorias',²⁵ which partially translates 'ut quem ipse in Epytomate ystoriarum seu ceteri difuse scriptitare conati sunt' (*M*, f. 1). The colophon ends with a commonplace:

Finito libro,
sit laus gloria Christo.
Qui scripsit scribat,
semper cum Domino vivat. (f. 60v)

The scribe responsible for this lacklustre ending is what I tentatively and provisionally identify as the second hand (E^2). This hand is in evidence as the main hand only between folios 32r and 36r. In addition, he adds the first two folios, and a series of notes at the end of the manuscript, and is responsible for the *Provinciale*. Given his role of finisher of the manuscript, his contributions are found filling gaps throughout the codex and, although there are later additions, it would seem that folios 32–36 were the last to have been finished in the original period of redaction. A third hand is more difficult to distinguish as it shares some characteristics with the first hand and the second hand, and writes a large percentage of the text from 36v to the end of the main part of the codex on folio 60 (see Appendix 2 for examples of all three hands). (In advance of a study of the linguistic habits of the sections ascribed to different hands to corroborate the palaeographical evidence, or not, I will not go further into this third hand.) As it is on the strength of E^2 that the identification of the connection has been made with Additional, I shall focus on him. His first large contribution is made on folio 30v, where the work of the first scribe predominates, and his hand finally displaces that of *Manus Prima* (E^1) on folio 32r.

In confirmation of Wüstefeld's work in the 1980s, Botana has observed with accuracy that the space occupied by the double columns in Additional matches exactly the space occupied by E^2 's double columns (200 mm).²⁶ I can add that the hand responsible for the whole of L_2 is to be identified with the scribe E^2 . The following examples may be compared as evidence for this view.

Examples of the distinguishing features of the scripts of the first and second hand, which unite E^2 and the scribe of Additional 17920, include the use of an elongated minuscule in initial

²⁴ Faucon, p. 25. Sold as a *bien national* in 1790, 183 volumes are extant in the BNF, thus illustrating a common way in which books created in Avignon might leave its auspices.

²⁵ 'That which I myself have written in the *Abridgment of the Histories*.' In this way a reference to the earlier *Epithoma* furnished cataloguers with a title for the vernacular translation, which more properly should be entitled *Compendi de las estorias*. However, as *abreujamen* accurately translates the equivalent concepts of epitome and compendium, it is not felt that anything would be gained from retitling a work well known from the title given to it by its modern cataloguers.

²⁶ Federico Botana, 'The Making of *L'Abreujamen de las estorias* (Egerton MS. 1500), *eBLJ* (2013), art. 16, p. 7. (<http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2013articles/article16.html>).

position, exemplified here with a (fig. 1) taken from Additional. Fig. 2 shows the same hand in Egerton, noteworthy for its elongated *ductus*, characterized by the use of an enlarged minuscule in initial position. This practice contrasts with the use of majuscule A by E¹ in fig. 3. A few further examples in fig. 4 suffice to show (given the wider circumstances) the idiographic status of Egerton *Manus Secunda* (E²) and the hand of Additional. Both hands share basic regional similarities of Southern French Textualis which match scribal practices in dated manuscripts of Avignon and Toulouse in the first half of the fourteenth century, corresponding to *Scriptura Gothica*.²⁷ Idiosyncracies indicative of certain hybrid features of the scripts, and therefore to the cultural status of the manuscripts concerned, include the use of variant forms. For example, E² uses a built-up initial in first position, which is never used in his copy of the texts in the Additional MS., even in his colophon (fig. 5).

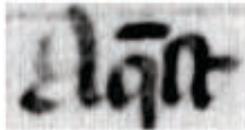


Fig. 1. BL Add. 17920, fol. 26 recto.



Fig. 2. L (= Egerton MS 1500), fol. 30 verso, E² = *Manus Secunda*.
A more elongated *ductus* characterized by the use of an enlarged minuscule in initial position.

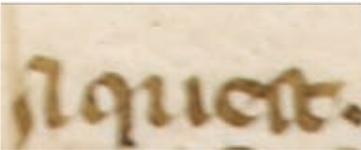


Fig. 3. L, fol. 30 verso, E¹ = *Manus Prima*.
Square *ductus*, uses majuscule A in contrast to E² which never uses it.

	BL Additional MS 17920	BL Egerton MS 1500, <i>Manus Secunda</i>	
Majuscule A			fol. 2 recto
Minuscule a in word-initial position			fol. 2 recto
			fol. 33 verso
Uncial d (in a ligature)			fol. 33 verso

Fig. 4. N.B. I have not noted the folio number in the case of L₂; the hand is uniform throughout the book.

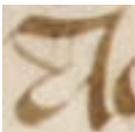


Fig. 5. L, folio 33 recto): E².

²⁷ *Rotunda* is sometimes called 'semigotica', which is cognate with *Littera Bononiensis*. There is a generic similarity between *Manus Prima* and the hand of Jean of Limoges (see Francesca Manzari, *La Miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi (1310-1410)* (Modena, 2006) in a dated manuscript of 1317, a professional scribe working both in Toulouse and for the Papal Curia. A closer, possibly idiographic relationship, exists in the case of Manzari's plate 10 (p. 40), Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, ms 40.E.3.

This might suggest that the miscellany of texts to which Egerton 1500 was bound had not been intended to be put together from the beginning. *Manus Secunda* uses a slightly more ornate script for the *Abreujamens* than for Additional, but in both cases he tends more towards Semitextualis in certain features, such as the form of his uncial **d**²⁸ without one being able to define the script as a whole as being Italian-influenced in all its features. Another example of this type is E²'s variant, exaggeratedly decorative and angular, uncial **d** (fig. 6). The use of a better grade hand for Egerton might also lead one to suppose that it was a special commission.



Fig. 6. L, folio 35 recto.
Manus Secunda, variant uncial **d**.

There is sometimes uncertainty as to the quality of script required,²⁹ suggesting that frequently the scribes felt a need to go swiftly.³⁰ The rushing of a luxury manuscript would be explained if the deadlines were determined by the author's availability to oversee the execution of a complex work which may have required his presence to direct the scribes (in spite of the fact that it was a translation, it should be explained that all the tables form part of the direct tradition of Paolino's Latin works). Paolino is known to have been in residence in Avignon in September 1321 (but how long before is not known, Ghinato, p. 33), and he left on a diplomatic mission to Italy in February 1322. Ghinato supposes he returned from Venice to Avignon towards the end of 1322, where he would have remained throughout 1323, until, in fact he was elected Bishop of Pozzuoli on 25 June 1324, at the age of about fifty. Internal evidence of the date of composition is disappointingly vague, but it does include an interpolation on f. 59v mentioning the year 1322. From this addition added as the manuscript was nearing completion, I would tentatively place the second half of the work to the year 1323. From the change of hand and manner of termination, slight as it is, we can posit that the work was begun in 1321, and

²⁸ Cf. Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 53 [pl. 121].

²⁹ This is characterized by the preponderance of hairline strokes and the use of *praegothica* (also typical of *praeumanistica*) uncial **m**.

³⁰ And yet, however quickly they proceed, they do not descend below a certain minimum quality required to maintain the integrity of the script. This suggests a conflict of interests which is hard to explain. Was Paolino himself their paymaster, hoping to present the Pope with a gift which, for reasons unknown to us, he never received?

interrupted in 1322 when Paolino was away from Avignon, to be reprised in 1323.³¹ Perhaps the *Abreujamens* was farmed out to a Languedocien scriptorium.³² But such a scenario seems unlikely, because Paolino was required, when in Papal service and not on a diplomatic mission, to run his own household in Avignon.³³

As Heullant-Donat has supposed, Paolino's vocation may well have been that of a polygraph, and this is nowhere better indicated than in his work on the tabulated compendium of his histories.³⁴

Discounting the illustrators (whose work is so central to the manuscript, see Botana) we find a

³¹ For work undertaken between 4 September 1321 and 16 March 1322, Guillaume de la Broue received for the payment of copyists and binders 532 florins (Pierre Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle* (Avignon, 1922), p. 4), but there is at present no evidence connecting the manuscript directly to the curia. Ehrle (p. 149) records a payment made 'pro salario magistri Jacobi scriptoris qui scripserat librum vocatum Martianum [...] in quo libri sunt XXVI sexterni; XIX lib. XVIII s. VI d. tur. parv.'. Several things make Jacobus an attractive candidate for Egerton, deserving of further attention. First, he copied the work of Martinus Polonus (or Martin of Troppau), an author closely connected to Egerton, because of his tabulated history of Popes and Emperors which was extraordinarily popular in the fourteenth century. Second, the fact that he is binding the work in quires of six bifolia (sexterni) matches Egerton. The fact that Jacobus was not directly linked to the Papal curia provides a reason why, if he worked on Egerton as a private commission for Paolino, he would not ordinarily feature in Papal accounts. Payments made by the Papal curia to external copyists were not uncommon. On 12 September 1324, Iohannes de Texandria (Tissanderie), Bishop of Rieux (1324-1347) received 100 gold florins for payment of the 'scriptor[es] librorum domini nostri' (Ehrle, p. 149). If the manuscript was copied in the papal scriptorium, candidates for *Manus Prima* include Philippe de Revest, Guillaume de la Broue or one of his scribes until 1324 when he died or Jean de la Tixenderie (from Rouergue) or one of his scribes after that date. Philippe de Revest may be excluded because he originated in the Alps, and his dialect fits neither scribe. So far, I am not aware of any manuscript identified as pertaining to either scribe or their students. However, I am willing to identify an Arnau de Vilanova manuscript (Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 40.E.3) as a good candidate for Manus Prima (f. 46v, Manzari, [plate 10], p. 40; photo too poor to reproduce; see M. A Bilotta Bilotta, 'Arnaldo da Villanova e Avignone. Decorazione e localizzazione del Codice 40.E. 3 della Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana', in J. Hamesse (ed.), *La Vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique à la Cour des Papes d'Avignon* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 48-64. In addition, two monastic scriptoria, the Avignon Dominican and Austin friars, work for John XXII (Manzari, p. 32).

³² It is known that works were not entered into Papal records if they were farmed out to other Languedocien scriptoria. The Pope only kept five professional *scriptores* full time on his payroll – Petrarch, Ehrle recalls, employed as many as six for his own personal use: 'Mirabitur paucitatem scribarum pro bibliotheca pontificum laborantium, qui observaverit vel ipsum Franciscum Petrarcam hominem privatum et mediocris fortunæ plerumque quinque vel sex certo stipendio conductos in sua bibliotheca augenda tenuisse occupatos' (p. 178).

³³ Examples of this manuscript farming include the case of a Bernard Gui manuscript (perhaps the Provençal translation) which Faucon records as having been written for the Papal Library in the Albigeois. Faucon (p. 34) records that on 30 June 1329 the Papal Treasury paid two Cistercian monks from the monastery at Candeil in the diocese of Albi, 'Hugues du Méjanel et Bertrand de Montesquieu, une somme de 19 florins d'or et 8 deniers de gros tournois' for works which include a *Libellus flor[um] Bernardi*. Faucon found this odd, because Bernard Gui usually made a gift of his chronicles to the Pope. Perhaps it is the unedited Occitan translation, catalogued as *Fleurs des chroniques* (BNF, français 24940): 'En aquest libre es ditz dels faitz dels papas, e es dih atressi quan casqus papa renhet, ni quan vaquet la sees aprop la mort de casquin. E es apelat aquest libre Flors de crononicas [sic], ho martalotge [sic] dels papas' (flyleaf i).

³⁴ J. Stiennon, *Paléographie du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1973), p. 145, provides a fascinating description (from a miniature) of a team of scribes: 'le chef d'atelier est assis dans une cathédre posée sur une estrade. La feuille qu'il transcrit repose sur un long comptoir, équipé d'un gros encrier. Devant ce comptoir, quatre collaborateurs se sont groupés: trois écrivent, le rouleau de parchemin placé sur le genou droit. Ils se servent d'un encrier unique, qu'ils se passent de l'un à l'autre suivant les besoins de leur copie [...] Devant eux, un quatrième personnage feuillette un codex et dirige le regard vers un autre manuscrit ouvert, posé à ses pieds contre le comptoir du chef d'atelier: il paraît se livrer de la sorte à un travail de collationnement. Quant au maître, il semble dicter en même temps qu'il écrit, mais cette copie, prise à la fois par le chef d'atelier et ses trois aides, est peut-être préparatoire à une transcription définitive, car les scribes utilisent des rouleaux étroits.'

variety of worker needed to compose Egerton MS. 1500, presumably under the direction of a master (whom I assume to be Paolino himself or a highly-skilled substitute).

The manuscript was first ruled and tabulated by what I will call the tabulator. This probably was one of the scribes (e.g. E¹), working under the master's direct supervision. The master wrote the rubrics in rough, which were then filled in by the rubricator (not necessarily before the text was filled in). The tabulator and rubricator might have been the same workman, *Rub¹* = e.g. E¹), but given the signs of rushing which the manuscript demonstrates, it seems equally feasible that this work was divided among more than one worker. Some titles are added later in a separate hand: *Rub²*. This is almost certainly the work of *Manus Secunda*, distinguished because *Rub²* does not use blue versals, but red ones, and his penna is thicker. Paolino of Venice did not do this himself, but wrote instructions to the rubricator, several of which are still visible. These instructions are in the same hand in the *L₁* manuscript and *M*, and have been convincingly identified as Paolino's work.³⁵ In my opinion, this provides evidence of the manuscript being located in Avignon, and that it was necessary that Paolino oversaw the work personally to a greater or lesser degree. If this identification were proven to be correct, it might suggest that the scribes and the rubricators are the same workers. But this should not lead us to believe for a moment that Paolino's job was not a team project. Indeed, given the difficulties posed by the translation itself (which we cannot go into here) it is worthwhile remembering that the conditions of execution of this manuscript are a long way from the ideal conditions of copying. We do not know, for example, what type of exemplar if any were available to the scribes to copy from. At any rate, one thing seems likely, it would require a minimum of three workers to produce the text alone of the manuscript at any one time: one to read the Latin text, one to translate and one to transcribe. This communicative context fits uncannily the presence of three main hands in the manuscript. I would suggest that the three scribes may represent the alternation of tasks of three scribes who accompanied Paolino's text from beginning to end, in different capacities as translators, readers and scribes, as well as proof-readers or correctors.

A separate hand is responsible for regnal lists and family trees, comprising names, dates and biographical glosses. The master in charge of this complex arrangement of synchronological tables presumably needed this structurally primary component of the manuscript around which all else is built to be copied first. The hand responsible is the same as the equivalent hand in Marciana, that is to say it is an idiograph, and, given the difficulty of the job, and paucity of copying errors, it must have been written by a specialist *in materia*. In such special circumstances, the weight of probability is that it is the autograph work of Paolino of Venice himself.

Only the author possessed the necessary technical ability or desire to turn the primitive tabulation of the *Epithoma* (as I mentioned, Paolino's earlier introduction to universal history) into an advanced system of synchronological tables — the finest extant example of the medieval period. An apograph of a lost exemplar of the *Epithoma* in the Laurenziana (*F₃*) significantly omits the tables. Fig. 7 provides an example of a primitive table from the first extant redaction of the *Epithoma* (*F₁* = Riccardiana, 3033).

Certain idiosyncracies of the hand of the Egerton tabulator and the Riccardiana *Epithoma* (F_1), such as the exuberantly lengthened c caudata (c with cedilla) (often assumed to be an autograph) suggest to me that they may be by the same hand. But in the absence of a fuller study or the more probative evidence of textual criticism, no conclusion can be drawn. See fig. 8 for the similarity in length of c caudata in the scribe of the Riccardiana *Epithoma* and the Egerton tabulator.



Fig. 8. Left: F_1 . Right: L , tabulator.

In conclusion, the provenance of Egerton is not known, but the evidence as it currently stands points to it having been translated by three scribes working as a part of a team based in Avignon under the supervision of a *chef d'atelier*, who I surmise could only have been the author, Paolino of Venice. The start date is not known, but work is likely to have been ongoing in 1321 and most of the work finished in 1323.

1) E^1 is the main hand for folios 3r to 31v. He is the most experienced scribe, and his work resembles that of Peyre de Paternas known to be active in Avignon c. 1350.

2) E^2 wrote folios 1-2, 32r to 36r, folios 61r-62v, and finished a large number of the gaps across the manuscript. He is the least experienced scribe, and the one left responsible for finishing the manuscript and putting it together with other texts he had copied in his own hand (L_2).

3) E^3 wrote most of folios 36v to 60v. He has better adapted his script to the Avignon-Languedocien standard Textualis.

The presence of three main hands does not quite fit neatly into the idea that the composition of the manuscript was undertaken in two stints, corresponding to two periods of residence by the author in Avignon, but suggests three periods. More likely, then, is that E^1 and E^3 worked simultaneously and that the second hand connected the two halves and filled in missing gaps. Against this assessment, however, we should not discount the possibility that all three scribes needed to be working much of the time together, owing to the complex nature of the translation process. If this was the case, it becomes impossible to elaborate a more precise chronological breakdown than 1321-1323. However, a sense of interrupted work leads me to prefer a commission in 1321 or earlier which completed the two halves, perhaps interrupted by Paolino's absence in 1322. When the second hand finished the manuscript is hard to say, probably before Paolino's definitive departure in 1324. There is no sign or motive suggesting that Paolino would leave an exemplar of his *Compendium* in Avignon, nor that a copy was taken.³⁶ The likelihood is that the second scribe completed the manuscript in 1322, while Paolino was absent, or in 1323 when he returned. Like Bernard Gui or Marino Sanudo, why did Paolino not dedicate his works to John XXII? Perhaps this suggests that he was not satisfied with the first redaction of his work (the *Epithoma*), and that the second redaction (the *Compendium*) was work still in progress.³⁷ This seems to be increasingly unlikely, as I myself believe that the *Compendium*'s very existence is more intimately bound to the development of the Occitan translation than has heretofore been realized. However, until more is known of the patronage networks within which Paolino was operating, this type of question must remain unanswered. For the present, we are entitled to assume only, from the existence of the Occitan translation, that Paolino's work on the second redaction of his history was ongoing but reached a

³⁶ Though of course it remains a possibility which requires textual, not palaeographical, study.

³⁷ Important factors suggesting Paolino was actively working on the *Compendium* in Avignon are the presence of Sanudo in Avignon and in the *Compendium*, and the availability of experts in Armenian history, which also heavily influence the new direction of the *Compendium*. It is obviously likely that Paolino took advantage of the Papal library in order to continue his researches.

sufficiently advanced stage at some point during his stay in Avignon, for an abbreviated Occitan version of it to have been produced. From what has been said it follows that the proposals of de Mandach and Piccat can be usefully taken further. There is a great deal of evidence available for manuscripts copied at Avignon, although relatively little is still known about individual scribes and the working arrangements of the various scriptoria. Following Wüstefeld, future research in this area could usefully take into account the question of the recipient as well as the patron, as this may not be the same person. From what I have outlined, it seems to me that the greatest chance of learning more about the material conditions in which Egerton was copied will come in the future from the comparison of manuscripts that may have been the work of E¹ or E²/Additional and E³.³⁸ At present, one may note here the similarity between the hand of Peyre de Paternas, author of a bilingual treatise, *Libre de sufficientia e necessitat* (Avignon, c. 1350, BNF, français 3313A) and E¹.³⁹

Given the exploratory nature of this essay and the limited and incomplete evidence retrieved in it, one may well wonder whether the process has been worth the while. On balance, the considerations outlined above, which do not constitute definitive conclusions, none the less have allowed us an opportunity to pose the kind of material questions concerning manuscript provenance and the identification of scribal hands that give a glimpse (albeit speculative) of the process of formation of a complex cultural historical object. Questions of provenance and formation show that in pre-print cultures the means and manner of manufacture are integral parts of the semiotics of the cultural object. The discussion, even if few solutions are forthcoming, helps us (in the longer term) to edit the text for a modern audience, by allowing us to consider the material evidence as it relates to the communicative context which needed to produce it. It reminds us of the great cost and no small labour of time to author, translator, scribe (and many others) who gave of their energy and vitality in the creation of a pedagogical tool of world history. It gives us precious socio-cultural information on a community of Occitan speakers at the heart of the Avignonese Papacy. And, if time, cost and labour are measures of worth or investment, what remains to be measured is the cultural historical impact of such a daring enterprise as Paolino's translation into Old Provençal.

³⁸ It would require the identification of the current location of manuscripts copied at Avignon in 1420s (not an easy list to compile). It would need to be accompanied by a study of the dialectal features distinguishing E¹ and E²/Additional scribe. It would certainly be instructive to know whether they were responsible for any other vernacular works. Evidently, future research will need to take account of the complex textual transmission of Paolino's work, to see what support, if any, it lends to the hypotheses put forward here.

³⁹ See Léglu, p. 2.

E² (Second Scribe), f. 35r.

Un apelat los poderos se leuer contra aquest Theodosi. e ac lempere. e laucher Theodosi. amiar liberalmies
ses comdixnar. quar el era estat; Emperaire benigno. Espenis aquest Theodosi fo fahz; clers. e uilz
en paz. e en repaus.

E³ (Third Scribe), f. 48v.

senheyras de lo crestias fue en los unuro. cle duhe crestias p la
curreyas corren. am estables Glaris en loze unur. los tuuz; fu
guon qui may por e la ciotat atonc paxa pele curidias. fo e
Asab. i. uentes el qual ibu curit; fomes en la ciud en la diche
ciotat de ibzlm. ayit. vv. qorn del nics de junh. **E** Adoncle