

Provenance Confirmed for the Dismembered Breviary of the Cathedral of Agen (1297-1313): Add. MS. 42132

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The Breviary of the cathedral of Agen is one of the most monumental witnesses of illumination in the South-West of France around 1300.¹ This remarkable Breviary of 50 x 40 cm has been dismembered and is currently preserved in four different places: 84 leaves are in Baltimore at the Walters Art Museum (ms W. 130),² 152 leaves are in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (ms NAL 2511),³ 56 leaves are held in London in the British Library (Add. MS. 42132)⁴ and of two leaves that were sold to a private collector at Sotheby's on 18 June 18 1996 (lot 13),⁵ one is currently on sale (Saint Augustine, 28 August) at Philip Pirages,⁶ McMinnville, OR, United States.

The Southern French origin of these fragments is beyond doubt, and had already been identified in 1989 by Lilian Randall in the catalogue of manuscripts of the Walters Art Gallery, based on liturgical and stylistic clues.⁷ Several historiated initials from this Breviary even have notes in Occitan for illuminators,⁸ while one leaf contains an added note recounting the return of the shroud of Cadouin from Toulouse to Cadouin (Dordogne) in 1463.⁹

The liturgical and stylistic analysis of the contents enabled François Avril to specify the origin of the manuscript in the South-West, especially in relation to similar Toulouse productions

¹ I am very grateful to Alison Stones who helped me translate this article from French into English. The most recent reference with the most complete bibliography is in A. Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1260-1320* (London and Turnhout, 2014), part ii, vol. i, pp. 220-4, cat. VII-30.

² L. M. C. Randall., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, I. France, 875-1420* (Baltimore and London, 1989), no. 60, pp. 158-62, figs 124-5.

³ F. Avril, 'Un élément retrouvé du bréviaire choral W.130 de la Walters Art Gallery: le ms. N. a. lat. 2511 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, lv-lvi (1997-1998), pp. 123-34 and *L'art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285-1328*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, 1998), pp. 329-330, no. 229. The manuscript is digitized in black and white: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100372179>>

⁴ A. Stones, 'Amigotus and his Colleagues: A Note on Script, Decoration and Patronage in Some South-Western French Manuscripts c. 1300', in O. Kresten and F. Lackner (eds.), *Régionalisme et internationalisme. Problèmes de paléographie et de codicologie du Moyen Âge* (Vienna, 2008), pp. 235-56. The manuscript is digitized in colour: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_42132>

⁵ Identified by Christopher de Hamel cited in Avril, 'Un élément retrouvé', p. 124.

⁶ 20 March 2018: <<https://www.pirages.com/pages/books/CBM1607/with-an-historiated-initial-depicting-saint-augustine-a-very-large-vellum-manuscript-leaf-from-a>>.

⁷ Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, pp. 158-62.

⁸ Avril, 'Un élément retrouvé', pp. 127-8, 133 (n.14).

⁹ Avril, 'Un élément retrouvé', p. 125 ; Stones, 'Amigotus and his Colleagues...', pp. 239-40.

circa 1300. The liturgical contents of the manuscript allowed him to prove that the book was produced between 1297 and 1315,¹⁰ for the use of a cathedral. He also identified the hand of the same scribe in a Missal made for Pope Clement V (preserved in two parts in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 51 and Vatican, BAV, Archivio di San Pietro B 76), and in a Bible now in Stuttgart which belonged at the end of the fourteenth century to Jean de Cardaillac, archbishop of Toulouse (Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod Bibl 2°8).¹¹ The name of the scribe of the Breviary, Amigotus, was identified by Alison Stones from the colophon visible in the fragments preserved in London.¹² Hiromi Haruna-Czaplicki added to the corpus of this scribe a copy of the Customs of Agen (Agen, Departmental Archives of the Lot-et-Garonne, MS. 42) and some additional pages in two missals of the Dominicans of Toulouse (Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MSS. 103 and 105).¹³

In the most recent review, A. Stones suggested that the manuscript was produced in Toulouse, Bordeaux or Agen, with a preference for the latter because Bertrand of Got, Bishop of Agen between 1292 and 1313,¹⁴ was also the uncle of Pope Clement V, for whom the scribe Amigotus copied the Missal mentioned above. This allowed her to narrow the date of execution of the Breviary to between 1297 and 1313.

Without specifying the exact place of production of the manuscript, I wish to confirm the Agen provenance of this book which was certainly made for the cathedral. Indeed, in an article of 1889 barely mentioned in the literature,¹⁵ there is a description of our Breviary which was then still preserved in the vicinity of Agen, shortly before it was sold, dismembered and dispersed throughout the world.

The Breviary for the use of Agen was described in 1889 by Philippe Lauzun in the *Recueil des travaux de la Société d'agriculture, des sciences et des arts d'Agen*,¹⁶ at a time when the manuscript was in the hands of Baron Paul de Bastard, last owner of the almost complete manuscript. The book came from the collection of the family of Saint-Amans, that P. Lauzun had been able to visit a few years earlier, in 1874, in the château of Saint-Amans, near Agen, in the commune of Castelculier. In 1874, says Lauzun, the last descendant of the family, Casimir Boudon de Saint-Amans, had just died, leaving the enjoyment of his property to his niece Emmeline de Saint-Amans who welcomed visitors 'with perfect grace, doing the honours of showing off his picturesque dwelling', perhaps opening with too much confidence 'the doors of the rooms, which contained so many precious rarities'.¹⁷

Meubles, tableaux de prix, tapisseries du grand salon, faïences anciennes qui ornaient les murs de la salle à manger, fragments de statues antiques, chapiteaux, inscriptions çà et là

¹⁰ Between 1297 (presence of the feast of St Louis) and 1315 (absence of the Feast of Corpus Christi): Avril, 'Un élément retrouvé', p. 132.

¹¹ Avril, 'Un élément retrouvé', p. 133 (n. 27).

¹² Stones, 'Amigotus and his Colleagues', p. 235.

¹³ Stones, 'Amigotus and his Colleagues', pp. 240-4.

¹⁴ With a break of a few months in 1306. See F. Ryckebusch, *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*, vol. v, *Diocèse d'Agen* (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 95-8.

¹⁵ Ryckebusch knew this article of 1889 and assumed the London Breviary and the book described in the nineteenth century could be the same manuscript (*Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*, pp. 28-29).

¹⁶ P. Lauzun, 'Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Saint-Amans', *Recueil des travaux de la Société d'agriculture, des sciences et des arts d'Agen*, 1889, 2^{me} série, xi, pp. 322-70. About Philippe Lauzun (1847-1919), see the tribute published in the *Revue de l'Agenais*, xlvii (1920), pp. 65-81. A few years earlier, in an article of 1861, the existence of this Breviary was still unknown: A. Magen, 'Les livres liturgiques de l'Église d'Agen considérés comme monuments historiques', *Recueil des travaux de la Société d'agriculture, des sciences et des arts d'Agen* (1861), pp. 217-94.

¹⁷ Lauzun, 'Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque', pp. 323-4.

éparses dans le vestibule comme sur les paliers de l'escalier et du grand perron d'arrivée, spécimens précieux de minéralogie, riche dépôt de silex et d'objets préhistoriques, cadres entomologiques, vitrines d'oiseaux de tous les pays, émaux moyen-Âge, collection de céramiques et de poteries modernes [...], monnaies anciennes et matrices de sceaux en bronze, enfin dans les deux dernières chambres du premier étage, plus de quatre mille volumes, peut-être, sans compter les manuscrits.¹⁸

Unfortunately, 'over the last fifteen years everything has been upset, destroyed, donated, priced or sold', and the few remaining pieces were transported by the heir of the last Saint-Amans, Paul de Bastard, to the château of Saint-Denis-sur-Garonne, a few kilometres away. In his article, P. Lauzun is particularly interested in the manuscripts of this collection, acquired by the ancestor of Saint-Amans during the French Revolution. Florimond Boudon de Saint-Amans¹⁹ had in fact been designated by the Directorate of the district on 18 August 1791 to make the 'inventory of the paintings, statues, bas-reliefs, drawings, engravings and other works of art which might be found in the abolished houses or religious communities'.²⁰ We may suppose he kept some of these goods in his personal collection.

Four medieval manuscripts were part of the Saint-Amans library. A 'Latin Grammar', in octavo, on parchment, which Lauzun dates to the end of the twelfth century, at the beginning of which was written 'Grammaticus scripsit, anno 1312'. An octavo bible, in parchment, in two columns and without decoration, dating from the end of the thirteenth century; and a manuscript of the fourteenth century, Greek translations by Maximus Planudes of the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius and the *Dream of Scipio* by Cicero.²¹ Although the first two volumes were still in René de Bastard's collection at the time Lauzun was writing his note in the 1880s, the Greek manuscript had already been sold to the bookseller Lacaze, who then sold it to the Bibliothèque nationale de France. We can identify it with certainty as BnF ms. Supp. Grec 1101. According to Lauzun, this manuscript probably came from the library of the Jesuit Fathers of Agen, which the *Catalogue général des manuscrits* would appear to confirm.²²

But Philippe Lauzun was particularly interested in describing a fourth medieval manuscript which he called 'Antiphonary of Saint Stephen', and which is none other than the Breviary of Agen that concerns us.²³ This manuscript, Lauzun tells us, comes from the cathedral of Agen, and was taken by Florimond Boudon de Saint-Amans 'during the Revolution, while he was charged by the Directorate of the district to take stock of the books and manuscripts of the declared national monuments and [...] to create the library of Agen'. The Breviary, says Lauzun, was divided into four volumes 'méchamment cartonnés', measuring 54 x 40 cm, and bearing a single pagination from p. 1 to p. 1173, giving a total of 587 leaves. Volume i, which went from p. 1 to p. 314 (157 leaves) was already missing in 1874, when Lauzun saw the manuscript for the first time. Volume ii (pp. 315-638) consisted only of 162 leaves, with 44 leaves missing after page 550. Volume iii (pp. 639-974) had 168 leaves and volume iv (pp. 975-1173) 100 leaves. This monumental Breviary of initially 587 leaves was by then already missing some leaves, compared with the total of only 294 leaves left in this book today.

The volumes were not only sold separately but dismembered, so feasts originally belonging to the same volume are now preserved in three different places, as shown by the restitution of the sequence of leaves established by A. Stones²⁴. F. Avril explains that we find on f. 1 of the Parisian fragments (BnF, ms NAL 2511) the mention 'tome premier', which allows us to conclude this manuscript

¹⁸ Lauzun, 'Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque', p. 324.

¹⁹ For more about Florimond Boudon de Saint-Amans, see Bartayrès, 'Éloge de M. de Saint-Amans', *Recueil des travaux de la société d'agriculture, des sciences et des arts d'Agen*, iii (1834) pp. 137-72.

²⁰ Lauzun, 'Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque', p. 325.

²¹ Lauzun, 'Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque', pp. 351-2.

²² <<http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc24196c>>: 'au f. 1. Mention de possesseur soigneusement grattée (Jésuites d'Agen)'.

²³ Lauzun, 'Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque', pp. 346-51.

²⁴ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, part ii, vol. i, pp. 221-3.

is formed from the first volume already missing in 1874, when Lauzun visited the château of Saint-Amans. The Parisian leaves were actually bought for 150 francs at the bookseller Pilet, rue des Bons-Enfants in Paris in 1878²⁵ and came from the diocese of Albi according to the dealer.²⁶ Lauzun deduced that volume one contained the Temporal, but he never saw it. Some of the London leaves are also part of this first volume. Volume two contained, according to Lauzun, the end of the Temporal and the beginning of the Sanctoral. What is left of it is now preserved between the British Library and the Walters Art Museum, as are the leaves from volume three. L. Randall also notes the presence of the mention 'tome troisième' at the bottom of f. 29 in the manuscript from the Walters Art Museum. This fragment was acquired by Henry Walters between 1895 and 1931 from the Parisian book publisher Léon Gruel, while the leaves of the British Library were bought at Sotheby's in 1930 (28-30 July 1930, lot 346).²⁷ Volume three, reports Lauzun, went from the feast of Mary Magdalen (22 July) to All Saints' Day (1 November). The two leaves for sale at Sothebys in 1996 (and then Pirages for one of them) also came from volume three, since they contain the feasts of Augustine and Sabina, which fall between these two dates. Fragments of volume four, which contained the end of the Sanctoral, are now equally divided between the British Library (including the leaf that bears the name of Amigotus) and the Walters Art Museum.

Philippe Lauzun aptly described these 'miniatures painted with characters', 'of incredible delicacy of execution and a phenomenal wealth of decoration, colours and details', so that the identification of the manuscript leaves absolutely no doubt. While reading one of these descriptions I recognized the London fragments of the Breviary, as Lauzun gives several details of a memorable marginal figure. On page 706 of volume three, he saw 'a jester in pink doublet, mounted on the red legs of a fantastic bird, who, armed with a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left, fights a black spider hanging over his head'.²⁸ Indeed this rare marginal scene (especially because of the spider) appears in a margin in the London fragment (Add. MS. 42132, f. 22v).



Fig. 1. Add. MS. 42132, f. 22v.

²⁵ Avril, 'Un élément retrouvé', pp. 123-4, n. 7.

²⁶ L. Delisle, *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie* (Paris, 1880), pp. 442-3.

²⁷ It was soon related to Agen: A. J. C., 'Fragments of an Agen Breviary', *The British Museum Quarterly*, v (1931), p. 88, no. 63.

²⁸ Lauzun, 'Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque', p. 348.

Lauzun describes several more historiated initials of volume three, all of them preserved now in London or Baltimore: St Dominic blessing two women (vol. iii, p. 699 = Walters Art Museum, W. 130, f. 41r), the martyrdom of St Lawrence (vol. iii, p. 719 = W. 130, f. 1r), the Nativity of the Virgin (vol. iii, p. 843 = W. 130, f. 59r), St Francis preaching to the birds (vol. iii, p. 896 = W. 130, f. 68v), St Radegund (vol. iii, p. 742 = W. 130, f. 45r), St Anthony of Lialores (vol. iii, p. 824 = W. 130, f. 56v), St Foy of Agen (vol. iii, p. 908 = W. 130, f. 70v) and St Caprasius of Agen (vol. iii, p. 949 = London, British Library, Add. MS. 42132, f. 35v). He also mentions, without describing them, the feasts of Mary Magdalen (W. 130, f. 29v) and All Saints' Day at the beginning and end of volume three. In general, we must also pay tribute to the insight of the author when he proposes to date the manuscript 'from the beginning of the fourteenth century, or perhaps even from the last years of the thirteenth century',²⁹ agreeing here with the most recent analysis of this manuscript.

At the end of his article Philippe Lauzun welcomes the fact that René de Bastard, heir of the Saint-Amans, 'will always keep' the antiphonary of Saint Stephen 'at his château of Saint-Denis, as the most valuable artistic relic of our old Agen'.³⁰ The facts have unfortunately proven him wrong, but the reconstruction of the scattered volumes, now complemented with the history of the book, allows us to mitigate the effects of its dismemberment and to augment our knowledge of this major work of art. Indeed the confirmation that this Breviary did come from the cathedral of Agen enriches our understanding of an important aspect of artistic patronage in the Middle Ages: artists working for members of the same family. It reinforces the likelihood that this book was ordered for the Bishop of Agen, Bertrand de Got, uncle of Pope Clement V, the two men thus calling upon the same scribe and illuminators from same artistic circle, in two of their most valuable books (the Missal of Clement V and the Breviary of the cathedral of Agen). As these exchanges between patrons from the same family are beginning to be documented and understood,³¹ the Breviary of Agen can be considered as one of the first examples of a practice that will come to be typical of the Avignon Papacy during the fourteenth century.

²⁹ Lauzun, 'Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque', p. 351.

³⁰ Lauzun, 'Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque', p. 351.

³¹ Cf. E. Nadal, 'Les manuscrits enluminés des prélats du Midi de la France au XIVe siècle', in M. Fournié, D. Le Blévec, A. Stones (eds.), *Culture religieuse méridionale. Les manuscrits et leur contexte artistique*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, li (Toulouse, 2016), pp. 131-67 ; and E. Nadal, *Le Pontifical de Pierre de la Jugie. Le miroir d'un archevêque* (Turnhout, 2017), pp. 307-19.