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Miscellaneous Minor Manuscripts: Reconstructing a Broken Volume of Jean de Vignay's *Miroir historial*

Hannah Weaver

L ABELED “MISCELLANEOUS MINOR MANUSCRIPTS,” the dossier under the shelf mark “Cambridge, Mass., Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Fr 24.2” contains two badly damaged bifolia from a single fourteenth-century manuscript, along with a fifteenth-century fragment and a nineteenth-century library record. All three items seem to have been reused as covers or parts of bindings for other manuscripts, which is perhaps why they were filed together in Harvard’s collection. This study will focus on the two luxurious but hard-used fourteenth-century bifolia. Their format, content, and illumination contribute to an identification of these fragments as part of a known volume of Jean de Vignay’s *Miroir historial*, apparently dismembered in the Tours region and repurposed as covers for departmental registers. They are the third fragment of this codex to resurface.¹

I am grateful to Bill Stoneman, Peter Kidd, Jeffrey Hamburger, and François Avril for their generous help and encouragement with this project. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers of *Harvard Library Bulletin* for their suggestions. Without the input of these scholars, this article would be poorer; any missteps that remain are, of course, mine alone.

1 The others are Tours, Archives départementales, 2 I 2 (three bifolia) and Paris, private collection (two bifolia). For the discovery and a description of the Tours fragments, see Laurent Brun and Mattia Cavagna, “Pour une édition du *Miroir Historial* de Jean de Vignay,” *Romania* 124, no. 1–2 (2006): 386–388, with black and white plates at 427–428. I have not seen the fragments in the private collection; François Avril informed me about them via e-mail, April 1, 2018. Since I have not been able to examine them other than in incomplete black-and-white images, I will limit myself in this article to signaling their existence, with the generous aid of François Avril’s conversation and notes. There is also an unconfirmed sighting of a fourth fragment of this manuscript: in his study of Charles V’s library, Delisle offhandedly mentions that he was shown another group of folios from a “bel exemplaire” of the *Miroir* that were used as covers for a notarial registry in Mehun-sur-Yèvre, though he speculates that they belonged to a copy made for Jean, duc de Berry. The location of these folios is not presently known. See Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France, 1337–1380* (Paris: Champion, 1907), 2:307. To be exact, he mentions the *Speculum historiale*,

Crumpled, creased, torn, and ink-spotted after their reuse as covers for records, the bifolia are now badly damaged, but the density of illumination and the fine Gothic textura hand clearly indicate that they came from a deluxe manuscript (see figure 3.1). Because this is the first notice this manuscript has received, I insert here a brief description of all three documents in the dossier:

Houghton Library, MS Fr 24.2

- 1 Jean de Vignay, *Miroir historial*, book 26, chapters 18–24. Made in Paris shortly after 1332.² Parchment, 4 fols. in 2 bifolia, the innermost of a quire, fols. 76–79, page 380–384 x 260–267 mm, text block 255 x 173 mm, 2 columns, 42 lines, littera textualis, dark brown ink. Decorated initials in gold, pink, and blue with vine borders. 4 miniatures (3 one-column miniatures and 1 two-column miniature) in a palette of pink, yellow, orange, blue, green, and buff within pink and blue frames with gold-leaf vine borders.³

Later reused as covers for registers: fol. 76v, “Sommier des rentes de Larcé 1785”; fol. 77r, “Livre Des Tapissiers 1819.”

Stored in paper folder with two paper flyleaves.

- 2 Legal document in French, fifteenth-century, parchment, 1 folio, 247 x 407 mm, trimmed on all sides, notarial hand, black ink.

On verso, an annotation in a sixteenth-century hand: “Quinto.”

On folder, a note in a twentieth-century hand: “From the binding of a copy of Palestrina Secundus liber motectorum. Venetiis apud Ang. Gardanum. 1594.”

but as Brun and Cavagna note, since this remark occurs during a discussion of *Miroir historial* manuscripts, it seems safe to say that he meant Jean de Vignay’s translation (Brun and Cavagna, 388).

2 This date depends on the date of the set as a whole, established in the opening rubric of A1 (Leiden, Bibl. der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Gall. Fol. 3. A), dated 1332. See below for a discussion of this manuscript.

3 For more details about the placement and content of these images, see Appendix I.

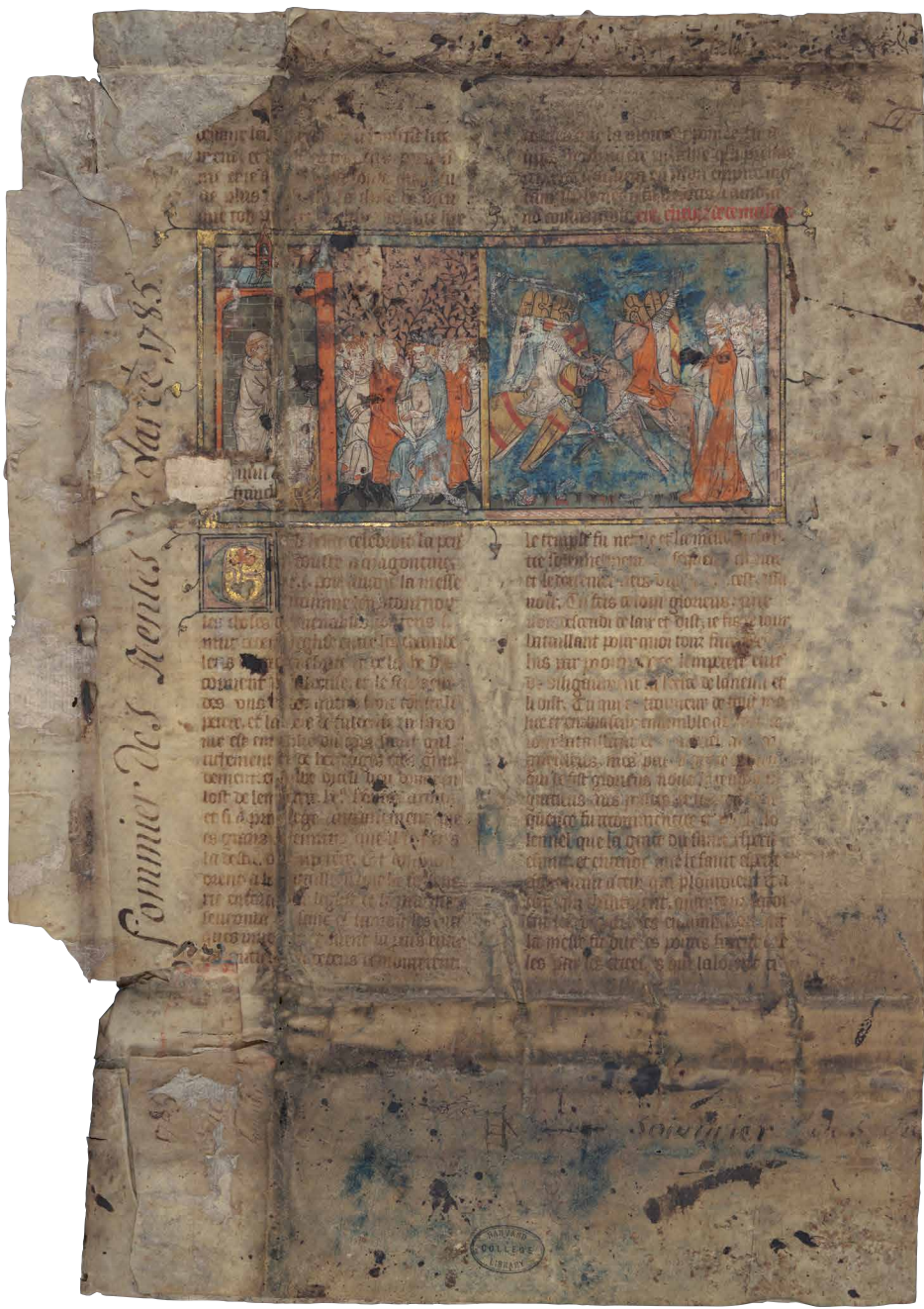


Figure 3.1. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard, Houghton Library MS Fr 24.2, no. 1, f. 76v.

- 3 Library record, *Concession de livres de la collection des documents inédits*, Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, nineteenth-century, paper, 2 fols. in 1 bifolium. 455 x 300 mm.

Annotated in a nineteenth-century hand.

As the description indicates, the text of item one contains a fragment of Jean de Vignay's fourteenth-century *Miroir historial*, a translation of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*. The Dominican Vincent of Beauvais wrote his encyclopedic *Speculum maius* in the mid-thirteenth century; the *Speculum historiale* is one of four parts of this work. Vincent originally intended his work for a clerical audience, but its use in the secular sphere was soon recognized. So important was it that Jean Gerson prescribed it as one of the twenty-two books essential in the education of a prince.⁴ A universal chronicle, it absorbs extracts of literary, philosophical, and theological works such as William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum anglorum*, Sigibert of Gembloux's *Chronicon*, and Hélinand de Froidmont's *Chronicon*.

Perhaps because of its utility in secular education, Jean de Vignay (ca. 1282–after 1333) translated the *Speculum historiale* into French in the early fourteenth century. Jean was born in Normandy before moving to Paris and becoming a hospitaller in the Order of St James.⁵ Author of eleven translations, he enjoyed royal favor at the Parisian court.⁶ Although historically his translations have been dismissed as “assez mediocre[s],”⁷ the editors of the new edition of the *Miroir*—the first in nearly 500 years—have called for a reevaluation of his competence: his direct translation has been reread as a “principe stylistique.”⁸ We lack clear evidence for the date of his translation

4 Antoine Thomas, *Jean de Gerson et l'éducation des dauphins de France* (Paris: Droz, 1930): 48–49; M. L. Picascia, “Messaggi al precettore del delfino: *Tractatus e Instructiones* di Jean Gerson,” *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Moyen Âge, Temps modernes* 99 (1987): 235–260; cited in Brun and Cavagna, 378.

5 Christine Knowles, “Jean de Vignay, un traducteur du XIVe siècle,” *Romania* 75 (1954): 355–356.

6 For a list of his known translations with chronology and context, see Knowles, 356–372. The attribution of one translation, that of Vegetius, is less certain; see Paul Meyer, “Les anciens traducteurs français de Végèce, et en particulier Jean de Vignay,” *Romania* 25 (1896): 401–423, and Brun and Cavagna, 384.

7 Knowles, 372.

8 Brun and Cavagna, 385; see also Mattia Cavagna, “Le Miroir du texte latin: Jean de Vignay et la traduction-calque comme principe stylistique,” in *La moisson des lettres. L'Invention littéraire autour de 1300*, ed. Hélène Bellon-Méguelle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 181–193. For information about previous editions, see Brun and Cavagna, 379n2. The first volume of the new edition, projected to be four volumes, has just appeared: Mattia Cavagna, ed., *Jean de Vignay: Le miroir historial*. 1 vol. Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 2017.

of Vincent de Beauvais, but it seems likely that he composed it between 1315 and 1332.⁹ Jean dedicated the *Miroir* to Jeanne de Bourgogne, queen to Philip VI and mother to Jean II le Bon; many of the subsequent copies were made for French and Flemish courtiers.¹⁰ The Houghton bifolia contain material related to the Holy Roman Emperor Henry III; King Edward the Confessor; and popes Gregory VI and Benedict IX (*Miroir* bk. 26, chs. 18–24).¹¹

To date, fifty-five manuscripts and fragments of this translation have been identified. They have been organized into thirteen multivolume “sets” of Jean’s work, of which only two are complete.¹² The volume from which these leaves issue belongs to the A series, one of the two oldest sets. Series A may even have been the presentation copy of Jean de Vignay’s work prepared for Jeanne de Bourgogne, since she is mentioned in the opening rubric of this manuscript but no other.¹³ The set then belonged to her son, Jean II le Bon, and later appears in the inventories of his son, Charles V, and grandson, Charles VI.¹⁴ In the 1413 inventory of Charles VI’s library, the librarian Jean le Bègue noted that all four volumes of this copy of the *Miroir* had been lent to Louis, Duke of Bavaria-Ingolstadt (d. 1417), the brother of Charles VI’s queen Isabeau. Louis had his sister’s favor. She arranged two advantageous marriages for him and “lavished precious gifts and money on him,” including many royal objects; Chavannes-Mazel speculates that the 1413 transfer of the A series may have been part of his wedding gift to Catherine d’Alençon, Countess of Mortain.¹⁵ The manuscripts were apparently never returned,

9 Brun and Cavagna, 394–398.

10 For a nearly complete list of surviving manuscripts along with their patrons, see Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, “The *Miroir historial* of Jean Le Bon” (PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 1988), 189–193.

11 “Like the *Speculum*, the *Miroir historial* was planned to be divided into two equal parts, or four volumes. Each volume was to contain 8 books: books 1–8, 9–16, 17–[24], and 25–32.” Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, “Problems in Translation, Transcription and Iconography: the *Miroir historial*, Books 1–8,” in *Vincent de Beauvais: intentions et réceptions d’une oeuvre encyclopédique au Moyen Age*, ed. Monique Paulmier-Foucart, Serge Lusignan, and Alain Nadeau (Paris: Vrin, 1990), 345–346. To see the passages preserved in Houghton Library’s MS Fr 24.2 in another manuscript of volume four of Jean de Vignay (dating from 1396), see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 314, fols. 57r–59v; <ark:/12148/btv1b8451115j> (accessed March 17, 2018). Note that BnF fr. 314 is not a member of the same family as series A; Brun and Cavagna, 398–422. Because of the poor condition of MS Fr 24.2, which renders reading specific forms difficult in many cases, I have not made a collation of these fragments with the other manuscripts of series A.

12 For a complete list, see Brun and Cavagna, 424–426.

13 Chavannes-Mazel, “The *Miroir historial*,” 57.

14 A signature on the last folio of A1 reads “Cest livre est le duc de Normendie et Guienne: JEHAN”; this must refer to Jean II before his accession to the throne in 1350.

15 Chavannes-Mazel, “The *Miroir historial*,” 58; for more about Louis, see Theodor Straub, “Herzog Ludwig der Bärtige von Bayern-Ingolstadt und seine Beziehungen zu Frankreich in der Zeit von 1391 bis

despite the hopeful note of another fifteenth-century hand in the inventory: “soient recouvrez.”¹⁶

The trail becomes difficult to follow after this; each volume of series A appears to have followed a divergent path.¹⁷ In the fifteenth century, A1 belonged to an unidentified “Count de la Roche,” according to an erased signature on the last page.¹⁸ On folios 164, 165, and 166, a certain “Antonius Bourgenin” signed his name, possibly in the sixteenth century. Though these clues for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are shadowy, by the end of the seventeenth century A1 was in the collection of Isaac Vossius, which was bought after his death by the university in Leiden in 1690.¹⁹ It remains in the university’s collection as Leiden, Bibl. der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Gall. Fol. 3. A.²⁰

A2 also disappears after 1413 until we find it again in the seventeenth-century catalog of the Augustins Déchaussés of Croix-Rousse in Lyon.²¹ It likely moved from there to the collection of the baron d’Heiss, who may have acquired it from the Augustinians in 1779.²² The deeply indebted baron included it in the 1781 sale of his collection to Antoine-René de Voyer d’Argenson, marquis de Paulmy.²³ The marquis de

1415” (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1965).

16 “Mémoire que, avant ce present inventoire feust fait, monseigneur le duc de Guienne manda maistre Jehan Maulin et moy, qui avions chascun une clef de la dicte librairie, et nous fist bailler à mons. de Bavière ces quatre volumes de Vincent. LE BEGUE. Soient recouvrez.” Cited in Delisle, *Recherches*, 2:143, no. 880.

17 The following relies heavily on the account of Chavannes-Mazel, “The *Miroir historial*,” 58–60.

18 Chavannes-Mazel, “The *Miroir historial*,” 58. I was unable to see this signature on the digitization.

19 For more about Vossius, see F. F. Blok, *Contributions to the History of Isaac Vossius’ Library* (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1974).

20 Leiden, Bibl. der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Gall. Fol. 3. A. has been digitized; see <<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1520785>> (accessed April 1, 2019).

21 “Miroir historial, par Jean Duvignay, son second Volume, traitant des persecutions de l’Eglise, singulierement de celles de Lyon & de Vienne, qui commencerent du tems des Apôtres & de l’Empereur Claudien, jusques au treize ou quatorzième Siècles, il y a 450. petits Tableaux anciens, qui representent tous les faits & divers martires des Saints et Saintes qui les ont soufferts sous le regne des Empereurs impies, & aussi la fin funeste & malheureuse desdits Empereurs, ce gros Volume est manuscrit sur le velin, d’un caractere ancien, *in folio*.” Frère Eloy, *Catalogue des livres manuscrits très antiques et très curieux sur le velin et papier* . . . (ca. 1667), 13. Henry Martin reprinted this catalog, adding manuscript additions to the print catalog and information about subsequent sales, in his *Histoire de la bibliothèque de l’Arsenal* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, Cie, 1900), 250–274. A2 is no. 126.

22 Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Léger recorded the acquisition of part of the Augustinian collection by the Baron d’Heiss in 1779, but A2 is not listed in his notes (BnF, Nouv. acq. fr. 6286, fols. 107–108, in Martin, *Histoire*, 272–274).

23 Martin prints the agreement between Baron and Marquis, *Histoire*, 234.

Paulmy began the collection that would become the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal. Retained from the marquis’s collection, A2 is now Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal 5080.²⁴

In contrast to its siblings, A3 seems to have vanished entirely; the same fate was long suspected for A4, but new finds have happily given some indications of its postmedieval location. Brun and Cavagna recently discovered a fragment consisting of three bifolia of A4 that were reused as covers for the communal registers of Château-Renault for the years 1790–1791.²⁵ The two sets of fragments examined for the present study show tantalizing similarities (see table 1 below).²⁶

Table 1: Similarities among A-Series Manuscripts

	A1 (books 1–8)	A2 (books 9–16)	A4 (book 26)	A4 (books 27, 28)
Manuscript	Leiden, Bibl. der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Gall. Fol. 3.	Paris, Bibl. de l’Arsenal, 5080	Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Fr 24.2, no. 1	Tours, Archives départementales, 2 I 2
Leaf (mm)	371 x 270–273	380 x 270	380–384 x 260–267	380 x 275
Text block (mm)	259 x 188	260 x 188	255 x 173	257 x 188
Lines/column	42	42	42	42

The Harvard leaves do differ in the width of the text block, but the other measurements are strikingly similar across the volumes of A. In addition to the measurements and format, comparison of the illuminated initials and hands of the three sets of fragments yield additional points of similarity. The illuminated initial “E” on Harvard fol. 77r (figure 3.2) and Tours fol. 243r (figure 3.3) strongly resemble one another; indeed, the size and style of the gold-leaf initials is consistent between the two manuscripts (see

²⁴ Paris, Bibl. de l’Arsenal 5080 has been digitized: see <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7100627v>> (accessed April 18, 2018).

²⁵ Yves Le Sage de la Haye was the first to remark that one of these bifolia came from Jean de Vignay, in his *Feuillets et Fragments de Livres Manuscrits Avec et sans Notation Musicale (IXe–XVIIe Siècles)*, (Tours: Archives départementales, 2001), 1:263–264; Brun and Cavagna identified the other two bifolia, 386.

²⁶ The measurements in this table are taken from the table in Brun and Cavagna, 387, though I also verified them independently.



Figure 3.2. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Fr 24.2, no. 1, f. 77r.



C Et donc mouvra le me-
neur et mena l'enfant
à la respendeur. Jusant
et amost. i. mur sapant
deux. grant longueur et de tres grant
est. et de mur n'avoit nulle enure.
et grant il m'adroit illec en un
seul moment et il furent tous deux
eulz aussi comme sans sens. et non
aveient en ce pais de male que une
raison toute leur apparut qui a
voit. en. parces sic comme il est est
que deus d'adit son. ij. parces et
c. Et donc eurent ens. et la vint
si grant. que touz eulz qui sont v
monde ne m'adroit pas en plus la di-
seline partie de celle maison. et la
meiore plusieurs en grant gloire.
mes les uns estoient plus glorieux
que les autres. Et donc vit il. x. le
neoyes compaignies. Et il vint
à la porte d'adit. et enuon le m
bien de l'ins on auel entour lequel
il se trouvoit hommes respandus
qui devoient touz a un aussi con-
me au plus noble et au m'ier ual-
lane deul. et il avoit comme de
ou d'net qui estoit ennobit de. x. con-

doi. Et donc am'adonna le meneur le
saut qui sech'ist. de ceste uision et la
dit. Et sera ton lieu se tu es bien. Et
s'adit que celi est qu'il l'ne l'enfant que
les. mis qu'il l'ne en. noie. se come
se de part d'adit de l. mes il t'adit
tout a li dit. S'adit. qu'il est t'adit
neut. la ou se vint par le commun
vement de dieu. Et se n'labours bien
tu vras en ceste gloire. et tantost
cel l'adonna a son corps la font ce que
il se vras. Et il se vras comm'adit
a touz on se vras. ou de vras
nomme. et ou n'ce se vras
il se vras du signe de la croiz. quant
il vit en se vras. et se vras on
se vras enuon m'adit. **C** Et la n' de n'adit
g'neut. au. c. et. adit. en la paucif
non m'adit le n'adit. et se vras a
se vras. Et se vras m'adit
deuans donna. tant au roy. comme
a bien pou a touz. les p'nces le signe
de la croiz. et les compaignies du p'nc
nua. se vras m'adit. entre touz
m'adit nombre. et se vras des n'adit
conqu'adit. de gl'adit. de s'adit. et
de touz en la seconde de d'adit.
Et de touz de gl'adit. se vras le

(Handwritten notes)
L 3- 1790 1791
Les Feuilles

Figure 3.3. Tours, Archives départementales, 2I 2, f. 243r.

figures 3.2 and 3.3).²⁷ The hand seems to be identical in the three sets of fragments, with characteristic majuscule forms (especially *E*, *I*, *L*, *N*, *Q*, and *S*) and minuscule forms of *a*, *g*, and final *s*. The ink color is a consistent brown. All in all, the layout, hands, and initials of the Tours and Houghton fragments combine to suggest that all three fragments come from the same broken A4 manuscript.

A major difference between the sets of fragments of A4, however, is the illuminator. While the frequency of illumination and mix between one-column and two-column miniatures, as well as the pink and blue frames with gold-leaf vine borders, is consistent across the three sets, the miniatures themselves were executed by different artists or workshops. Brun and Cavagna attribute the illuminations of the Tours fragment to a certain Mahiet, sometimes called the “Master of the Vie de Saint Louis de Guillaume de Saint Pathus,” though this attribution has not been universally accepted.²⁸ The hand behind the Houghton fragments’ illuminations remains unknown, though the style bears certain resemblances to the workshop of the Papeleu Master.²⁹ This master, however, is known for his interest in narrative action and refinement, and the Harvard manuscript’s illuminations do not reflect these qualities.³⁰ Nevertheless, the *Miroir historial* is consistent with the sort of projects his workshop undertook. Although it is unclear whether this workshop was involved in the creation of A4, we do know

27 The Tours fragments do have another category of initial not shown in the two bifolia from Harvard, a two-line filigraided initial that usually appears in conjunction with the rubrics.

28 For Mahiet’s names, see François Avril in *Les Fastes du gothique: le siècle de Charles V.*, ed. Bruno Donzet and Christian Siret, (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1981), exhibition catalog, cat. nos. 240, 245. The uncertainty over the attribution of the Tours fragments arose in a personal communication; François Avril, e-mail to the author, March 31, 2018.

29 Jeffrey Hamburger, e-mail to the author, August 9, 2017.

30 For more on the Papeleu Master, see Elizabeth Morrison, Anne Dawson Hedeman, and Elisabeth Antoine, *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250–1500* (Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 2010), cat. no. 16; Joan Diamond, “The Papeleu Master” (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1979). The Papeleu Master has sometimes been identified as the Parisian manuscript illuminator Richard of Verdun. The son-in-law of Honoré d’Amiens, Richard of Verdun is an artist for whom there is substantial documentary evidence, such as payment records, but no signed work; for the Papeleu Master, we confront the opposite difficulty—ample *oeuvre*, no name. Born ca. 1269, Richard was actively illuminating by 1289 and is reflected in the documents as late as 1327. Similarly, the Papeleu Master was known to be active between 1295 and 1335. The substantial overlap in their dates and the fact that Richard de Verdun recurs often with sizeable commissions in the documents, along with the knowledge that the Papeleu Master also worked on important royal manuscripts, has led to the hypothesis of their shared identity. For the argument that they are identical, marshaling substantial though circumstantial evidence, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, (Turnhout: Miller, 2000), 1:136–141.

that among their many endeavors were three volumes of the *Miroir historial*: A1, A2, and Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 316 in Paris (hereafter J1).³¹ In addition, this workshop contributed to over twenty manuscripts, including *Bibles historiques*, the *Somme le Roi*, *Vies des saints*, sacramentaries, and university texts such as *Summas*, psalters, missals, and breviaries.³² But the Papeleu Master's was not the only hand in those manuscripts; it is perhaps more plausible that a different minor illuminator in the bustling manuscript productions of fourteenth-century Paris is behind the images in both the Tours and Harvard fragments (A4).

The fragments were repurposed as covers for official documents. One Harvard bifolium was used as a cover for the "Sommer des rentes de Larcé" (now the town of Larçay, just outside Tours), dated 1785 (fol. 76v; fig. 3.1); the other as a "Livre Des Tapissiers," dated 1819 with no town specified (fol. 77r; fig. 3.2). The Tours fragments were used as covers for a "livre de caisse pour les billets et les traittes" (1790; fol. 183r); a "Registre des Deliberations de la Municipalité de Chateau Renaut [*sic*]" dated 24 juin 1791 (fol. 219r); and a "Livres de Gardien de Com[. . .]" from June 1790 to August 1791 in Château-Renault, forty kilometers from Tours (fol. 243r).

From these clues, we can hypothesize that A4 was broken in the Tours region in the late eighteenth century, its *in-folio* leaves reused as covers for documents. The disassembly of such a large deluxe book adorned with many images of kings and ecclesiastical figures in order to house various official records seems like a Revolutionary act. The dates (1785, 1790, 1791, and 1819) on the documents may simply reflect what was stored in them, rather than indicating the moment when the manuscript was unbound. Perhaps the repurposing of A4 was a byproduct of postrevolutionary, anti-royal, and anti-ecclesiastical fervor provoked by the vast number of images of kings and bishops in the manuscript.

We know little about the road traveled by the bifolia between their time as constituent parts of A4 and the present day. The whereabouts of the Tours fragments prior to their deposition in the Archives départementales are unknown. We have some scanty additional indications for the Houghton leaves: on a flyleaf inside the paper airmail folder now containing the leaves, a note reads, "Fragment d'un traité religieux / 2 feuilles / XIIIe / Acheté chez Ballu-Ricque / à Tours en Septembre 1881." This seems

31 His work on these volumes is discussed in Morrison, Hedeman, and Antoine, *Imagining the Past in France*, cat. no. 17. Specifically, in A1, the Papeleu Master illuminated fols. 1–136 and 161–298 (Chavannes-Mazel, 45), while a close follower is responsible for fols. 137–160 (*ibid.*, 47). In A2, the Papeleu Master painted fols. 1–90v, 107–140v, 165–186v; the close follower of A1 reappears on fols. 91–106v, 141–164v, 187–221v, 234–242v, and "probably" 289–321v (*ibid.*, 62). In J1, the Papeleu Master and his workshop painted the opening miniature, fol. 19v, and fols. 121–128 (*ibid.*, 67).

32 Joan Diamond Udovitch, "The Papeleu Master: A Parisian Manuscript Illuminator of the Early Fourteenth Century (Volume I: Text. Volume II: Plates.*)" (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1979).

to refer to the two Jean de Vignay bifolia, with some understandable errors. The illuminations do show a fair number of ecclesiastical figures, perhaps leading to the misidentification of the text as a “religious treatise”; the date, while erroneous, is not too far off. (The manuscript likely dates from ca. 1332, like the other A volumes). Balluricque was a paper merchant in Tours.³³ On another *page de garde*, an erased note signed “P. V.” requests an introduction to a person affiliated with the *Revue Critique*.

The outer folder itself was apparently mailed to Paul Viollet (1840–1914), presumably the “P. V.” behind the note, in 1876. Viollet was an archivist at Tours, then librarian at the Archives nationales, and finally became librarian at the Faculté de Droit in Paris, a position which he held from 1876 until 1914. After 1890, he was also a professor of medieval civil and canon law at the École des chartes.³⁴ The Harvard Law School Library purchased the Houghton fragments on July 21, 1929, as part of an acquisition of 11,000 of Paul Viollet’s books and manuscripts from Honoré Champion.³⁵ That same year the A4 bifolia were transferred to the Harvard College Library; when Houghton Library opened in 1942, they found their final resting place among Harvard’s other manuscripts. It is unclear when the fifteenth-century fragment joined the *Miroir* folios, since the records of the Viollet acquisition lack detail; today, it is in a separate subfolder within the Harvard portfolio.

The haphazard reappearance of three sets of bifolia in places as far-flung as Tours, Paris, and Cambridge, Massachusetts leaves hope that more fragments of the A4 volume of Jean de Vignay’s *Miroir historial* will be discovered over time. The reconstruction of the volume via digital methods such as International Image Interoperability Framework (IIIF) and an associated shared-canvas viewer could be a next step in the recovery of this formerly unlocated deluxe manuscript, as could inclusion in the collaborative online Fragmentarium project.³⁶

33 A failed application to Napoleon on behalf of this firm can be seen online: “Patente, Demi-Gros, Marchand de Papier,” *Jurisprudence générale du royaume en matière civile, commerciale et criminelle: ou Journal des audiences de la Cour de cassation et des Cours royales*, 1859, 67, <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5512909x>> (accessed May 25, 2018). The sale of parchment by paper merchants is mentioned in an English context with reference to Phillipps’s acquisitions from James Graham, “who held a contract for clearing waste paper out of Government offices and who acquired in this way thousands of deeds and documents.” See A. N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 3:48–49.

34 Paul Viollet was the subject of a 2015 exposition at the University of Paris I: <<http://expo-paulviollet.univ-paris1.fr>> (accessed May 25, 2018).

35 Mary Person (librarian at Harvard Law Library), e-mail to author, January 25, 2018.

36 For more about the Fragmentarium project, see *Fragmentarium: Digital Research Library for Manuscript Fragments*, <<https://fragmentarium.ms/>> (accessed August 22, 2018).

APPENDIX I:
RUBRICATION AND DECORATION OF
HARVARD AND TOURS FRAGMENTS OF A4

Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Fr 24.2, no. 1			
<i>Folio</i>	<i>Foliation</i>	<i>Rubrication</i>	<i>Decoration</i>
76r ³⁷	[None]	“Helymant.”	Illuminated initial E in column a
76v	[None]	“XIX. Encore de ce meisme.”	Two-column miniature: on the left, the emperor Henry III listens to Mass. On the right, a dispute over the seating arrangement in the church turns violent; the archbishop’s men fight the abbot’s men, figured as mounted knights, as mitered bishops observe the mayhem Illuminated initial C in column a
77r	LXXVII	“Sigebert.” “XX. De Saint Edouart Roy dengleterre et de sa prophetic.”	One-column miniature in column b. As the text declares, “En celi an commença a resgner Edouart filz de Etheldre[. . .] Il fu couronne a Londres le iour de sainte pasque a grant compaignie et li couronna l’archeuesque Edise,” the miniature shows King Edward the Confessor being crowned by two bishops while a throng of nobles looks on Illuminated initial E in column b
77v	[None]	[None]	[None]

³⁷ One curiosity of this reconstruction is that one of the two bifolia was at some point folded back on itself, so that when consulting the bifolia today, the order appears to be 79r, 79v, 76r, 76v. The numbers in the rubrics make clear what has transpired.

Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Fr 24.2, no. 1

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Foliation</i>	<i>Rubrication</i>	<i>Decoration</i>
78r	[None]	“XXI. De benedic pape le greigneur et le meneur Sigibert.” “L’auteur.”	One-column miniature in column a: a tonsured figure proffers a document to a seated pope, Benedict IX, in a minimally sketched architectural interior; on the right, two other men approach the structure Illuminated initial O in column a
78v		“XXII. De gregour pape le sisiesme de co nom et de ces fais. Guillaume.”	[None]
79r	[None]	“XXIII. Des cardinaus qui le reproient comme homicide.”	One-column miniature in column b: two cardinals reprimand Pope Gregory VI for homicide under two arches in red and green Illuminated initial E in column b
79v	[None]	“XXIIII. La raisonnable defense de li a eulz meismes.”	Illuminated initial M in column a

Tours, Archives départementales, 2 I 2

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Foliation</i>	<i>Rubrication</i>	<i>Decoration</i>
183r	IX ^{xx} III	“IIII ^{xx} . De lissue dausement.”	Filigrained initial Q
183v	[None]	“IIII ^{xx} I. Encore de la deuise de ces quatre.” “IIII ^{xx} II. De la fleur et du fruit de l'arbre de sagesce.”	Filigrained initial T Two-columned image: the Tree of Knowledge and King David speaking to God, figured in clouds
184r	IX ^{xx} IIII	“IIII ^{xx} III. De l'edification du temple ou cuer de l'omme.”	Illuminated (gold leaf) initial A Filigrained initial L
184v	[None]	“IIII ^{xx} IIII. Du rapel de l'espouse a son espous.”	Filigrained initial P
219r	II ^c XIX	“XXXVII. Du uiellart endurci en son malice.”	Filigrained initial E
219v	[None]	“XXXVIII. Encore de ce meisme.”	Filigrained initial N
220r	II ^c XX	“XXXIX. Du moine curial et plaideur.” “XL. De l'orgueil des uestemens des moines.”	Filigrained initial Q Filigrained initial L
220v	[None]	“XLI. De la uiande.”	Filigrained initial Q

Tours, Archives départementales, 2 I 2

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Foliation</i>	<i>Rubrication</i>	<i>Decoration</i>
243r	II ^c XLIII	[None]	Two-column miniature of two figures near a castle: William guided by a shining man who leads him through hell and paradise Illuminated initial E, column a.
243v	[None]	“IIII ^{xx} VII Du concile de Reins et de Gilebert Porret.”	One-column miniature: four mitered figures, including Pope Eugene III, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Gilbert de la Porée Illuminated (gold leaf) initial E
244r	II ^c XLIIII	“IIII ^{xx} et VIII. De la fain et de la pestilence de celi temps.”	Unfinished miniature of a banquet
244v	[None]	[None]	Two-column miniature: Henry (1121–1175), fourth son of Louis VI of France (1081–1137) announces his intention to become a Cistercian monk; two musicians; a kneeling Cistercian monk

Contributors

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