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The First and Second Recensions of the *Chronique Anonyme Universelle*: Houghton MS Typ 41 and MS Fr 495

Lisa Fagin Davis

IN THE EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY, an enterprising scholar working in a noble French library set out to combine multiple historical treatises to which he had access in order to create a universal history of the world. The resulting work, bearing the modern title *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle jusqu'à la mort de Charles VII*, records the history of the Western world from Creation to the fifteenth century. Sacred and secular sources are woven together to create a “universal” history that neatly and creatively combines the chronologies and characters of the Bible, ancient Greece and Rome, and medieval Europe into an edifying and entertaining history of the world. Nearly all of the twenty-nine known manuscripts of this anonymous and untitled French text are fifteenth-century scrolls of four columns measuring between seventeen and twenty-one meters long by about a half-meter wide, illustrated with detailed genealogical diagrams and as many as sixty-six small roundels. The original compilation dates from around the year 1410, but most manuscripts proceed as far as the death of Charles VII in 1461, with one later continuation extending the chronicle to 1536. With the recent acquisition of a fragmentary *Chronique*, Houghton Library becomes the only collection in the United States to own two copies of the text. Happily, the Houghton manuscripts represent both of the recently identified recensions of the *Chronique*, providing scholars and students with the opportunity to study the two versions side by side.¹

1 Previous studies of particular elements of the *Chronique* include Lisa Fagin Davis, “Scrolling through History: *La Chronique Universelle*, Boston Public Library Ms. Pb. Med. 32” in Nancy Netzer, ed., *Secular/ Sacred: 11th through 16th-Century Works from the Boston Public Library and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (University of Chicago, 2006); F. Fossier, “Chroniques universelles en forme de rouleau à la fin du Moyen Âge” in *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1980–81), 163–183; Nathalie Hurel, “La Chronique universelle d’Orléans: un manuscrit d’histoire enluminé” in *Histoire de l’art* 29 (1992): 29–40; Hurel, “Les Chroniques Universelles en Rouleau (1457–1521): Une Source pour l’Iconographie Religieuse” in *Revue d’Histoire de l’Église de France* (fol. 80, 1994), 303–314; and Marigold Norbye, “The King’s Blood: Royal Genealogies, Dynastic Rivalries and Historical Culture in the Hundred Years War: A Case Study of *A tous*

The vast majority of the scrolls are of French origin, although textual evidence suggests that at least one copy was written in England.² The scrolls are now scattered throughout Europe and the United States, with the largest national group housed in municipal French libraries and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (see Appendix 1 for a complete list of manuscripts). Of those that have left France, some have a lengthy and traceable provenance: for example, manuscript SP was given to the National Library of Russia by Peter Dubrovsky in 1788, and manuscripts B and W were once owned by bibliophile Lord Bertram, Earl of Ashburnham (1797–1878).

Houghton MS Typ 41 (H1) preserves the complete text of the *Chronique* from Creation to the year 1461 and is illustrated with an intentionally abbreviated cycle of thirteen miniatures. The manuscript was produced in northern France in the 1470s, and is one of the few copies of the *Chronique* to have an identifiable early provenance—the late medieval arms of the Flemish Gavre family of Liedekerke are painted at the top and bottom of the scroll.³ It was given to Harvard by William King Richardson in 1943; before entering the Richardson collection, the scroll was owned by William Horatio Crawford (1812–1888), and was sold at his Sotheby’s sale of March 12, 1891 (lot 718). Houghton manuscript Fr 495 (H2), also produced in northern France but dating to the early 1460s, is a fragment consisting of two sheets originally located just before the middle of the scroll. Based on comparison with another scroll of similar sheet length, H2 originally comprised approximately thirty sheets and stretched at least eighteen meters.⁴ It was acquired by Houghton in 2008; its earlier provenance is unknown. Detailed descriptions of the Houghton scrolls are found in Appendices 2 and 3.

H1 begins with a slightly modified version of the standard summary prologue found in all complete copies of the *Chronique*:

Cy sensuit la genealogie de la bible qui monstre et dit combien chascun aage
a dure depuis le commencement du monde iusques a ladvenement nostre
seigneur ihesucrist et commprent en brief comment les trois filz noe peuplerent
tout le monde apres le deluge qui avoit este. Et comment ils nommerent les
terres et pays ou il habitoient de leurs noms propres. Car en ces croniques est

nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires” (PhD dissertation, University College London, January 2004).

2 One family of manuscripts includes the addition “cest assavoir celle terre” (that is to say, this land) after the explanation of the etymology of the name “Britain.” In all likelihood, this addition originated with a single English manuscript and was inherited by others regardless of their nation of origin.

3 Roger S. Wieck, *Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, 1350–1525, in the Houghton Library* (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library, 1983), 22–3, no. 10.

4 Manuscript 1493 has an average sheet length of 618 mm, with a total of thirty sheets stretching 18.5 meters.

contenu les contrees entierement des lxxii langaiges qui sourdirent et vindrent quant nembroth faisoit faire la tour de babiloine. Et pource que lun ne pouoit entendre lautre si leur fut force de eulx espandre en plusieurs contrees ainsi comme vous veez quilz sont maintenant par tout le monde. Et par especial apres comment les troyens descendirent de la lignee iaphet. Et puis monstre par signes comment manieres de gens se partirent de troye la grant apres la destruction di celle lesquelz habiterent et peuplerent plusieurs pays et terres et les nommerent de leurs noms. Et fonderent pluseurs cites et villes et chasteaux. Et par especial romme paris de wannedes. Cest a dire peuplerent rommanie lombardie france et angleterre. Et en quel temps et comment et combien ilz ont regne lun apres lautre. Jusques au temps de ladvenement nostre seigneur ihesucrist si comme il appert par lanseigne des branches des genealogies. Et apres trouveres tous les papes qui ont este a romme depuis nostre seigneur ihesucrist. Et aussi tous les empereurs de romme qui ont impere a lempire. Et aussi tous les roys de france et dangleterre. Et jusques en lan mille iiiii cens lxi. Et tous les roys qui ont regne en iherusalem puis goudefroy de billon comme vous orrez cy dedans bien entierement.⁵

Here follows the genealogy of the Bible that shows and says how long each age lasted from the beginning of the world up to the advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ, comprising in brief how the three sons of Noah peopled all the world after the flood that had taken place, and how they named the lands and countries where they lived with their proper names. In these chronicles are contained all the countries of the seventy-two languages who rose up and scattered when Nembroth had the tower of Babel built. And because one could not understand the other, they were forced to expand into many countries, as you will see, so that they are now around the whole world. And afterwards, in particular, how the Trojans descended from the line of Japheth. And then it shows using diagrams how all types of people left Troy the Great after its destruction who inhabited and peopled many countries and lands and named them with their names and founded many cities and towns and castles, and in particular Rome, Paris and London. That is to say, they peopled the land of Rome, Lombardy, France, and England. And in which time and how and for how long they reigned one after the other up to the time and advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ, just as it shows through the teaching of the branches of the genealogies. And after you will find all the popes who have been in Rome since Our Lord Jesus Christ, and also all the emperors of Rome who reigned over the

5 This is the prologue as given in H1, with no note of variant readings found in other manuscripts. For a critical edition and translation of the entire *Chronique*, see the author's forthcoming monograph, *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle jusqu'à la mort de Charles VII* (forthcoming: Brepols, 2010).



Figure 1. Houghton MS Typ 41. Sheet 1. 950 x 640 mm

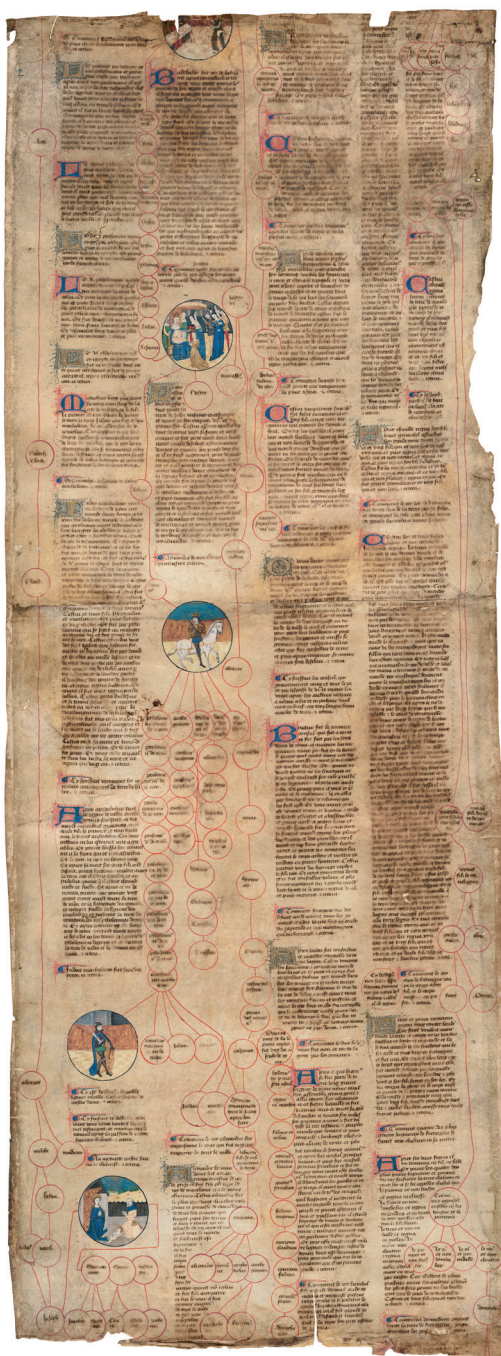


Figure 2: Houghton MS Fr 495. 1280 x 480 mm

Empire. And also all the kings of France and of England, up to the year 1461.
And all the kings who reigned in Jerusalem from Godfrey of Bouillon, as you
will hear below in its entirety.

The text begins at Genesis in two columns (figure 1), then adds to the Bible the stories of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. The biblical narrative continues at the left while pagan history is recounted at the right. Eventually, the text settles into a four-column format: the Bible and the Papacy; the Roman and Holy Roman Empires; the history of France; and the Matter of Britain (figure 2).

The genealogical diagrams vary in detail throughout the *Chronique* but in general follow the outline of the text. Adam and Eve stand at the beginning of the family tree of humanity. The historical worldview expressed by the *Chronique* is introduced with the diagram of Noah's offspring: from Shem spring the kings of Israel and Judah, and the line of King David leads as expected to Joachim, the Virgin Mary, and Christ; the descendants of Ham are the ill-fated builders of the Tower of Babel; and the descendants of Noah's third son, Japheth, include the Trojans, from whom are descended the kings of France and Britain. As the *Chronique* approaches the late Middle Ages, the genealogical diagrams become francophilic in nature, providing much more detail for the French royal family than for the Holy Roman emperors or for the kings of England. The text reflects this sensibility as well, since the history of France expands far beyond the end of the chronicle of popes, emperors, or Britons and is, as one might expect, heavily weighted towards the ruling French perspective in matters such as the property and succession disputes that fueled the Hundred Years War.⁶

The portion of H2 that survives is from the end of the first half of the text, beginning at the first of two five-column sections. The fourth column splits into two narrow columns, with the left-hand (fourth) column continuing the history of France from above. The fifth column begins the Matter of Britain, which continues in the fourth column when the manuscript returns to the standard format (at this point, the history of France is interrupted by the Matter of Britain, to be continued later). The fragment preserves the following sections (see figure 2):

6 The portion of the chronicle that records the history of France, known as "A tous nobles" for the prologue that often accompanies it in other manuscripts, has a life of its own beyond the *Chronique* and survives in dozens of manuscripts in several different versions that reflect the issues and attitudes of their intended contemporary audiences. See Norbye, "The King's Blood," and Norbye, "Genealogies and Dynastic Awareness in the Hundred Years War: The Evidence of *A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires*" in *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007), 297-319. Throughout Norbye's work, the version of "A tous nobles" incorporated in the present *Chronique* is known as Version H, in honor of Natalie Hurel, who was the first scholar to study the group in any depth (see note 1). For references to Version H, see Norbye, "Genealogies and Dynastic Awareness," 300, 302-304, 310-311, 315, 317-319.

Column 1: Ptolemy I – VI; Judah Macabee; Aristobolus; and the Nativity
 Column 2: Balthasar and the Fall of Babylon; Queen Esther; and Emperor Alexander of Macedonia
 Column 3: Early Roman history from the death of Romulus through the Consular period, including the story of Lucretia and ending with Hannibal
 Column 4 (of 5): The foundation of Lutece (Paris)
 Column 5 (of 5, then column 4 of 4): The Matter of Britain: King Mampus; the foundation of Canterbury and Winchester; King Lear; the story of Ferres and Porres; and the division of Britain into the four realms of Scotland, England, Cornwall, and Wales.

In complete copies of the mature text, such as H1, the Biblical section is followed in the left-hand column by a chronicle of popes beginning with St. Peter and culminating with the enthronement of Pope Urban VI in 1378. In column 2, the emperors of Rome are followed by the Holy Roman emperors, who extend from Charlemagne to Louis IV. The French kings in column 3 include the pre-Merovingian, Merovingian, Capetian, and Valois dynasties, concluding with the coronation of Louis XI in 1461. The story of England begins with Brutus and retells the Matter of Britain—including a paragraph devoted to King Arthur—through the coronation of King Henry IV. The *Chronique* also includes a heroic account of Godfrey de Bouillons' conquest of Jerusalem and its eventual loss during the Crusades.

Chronicles by definition contain evidence of their moment of origin in their extent, which provides a *terminus post quem*, the earliest possible date of writing. The *Chronique* is no exception. Every known copy ends with the installation of Pope Urban VI in 1378, the coronation of Holy Roman Emperor Louis IV in 1328, and the coronation of the English King Henry IV in 1399. However, the French portion of the chronicle has several different endings, depending in part on when the manuscript in question was produced. The earliest manuscript, SP, concludes during the reign of Charles V with a description of the rites in Paris celebrating the enthronement of Pope Urban in 1378. Later copies conclude the reign of Charles V and add Charles VI, Charles VII, and Louis XI, who was crowned in 1461.⁷ Internal dates of extent in the prologue and elsewhere are altered to reflect these continuations. Additional evidence is provided by the genealogical tree, whose roundels include births, deaths, marriages, and elevations.

The earliest known copy of the *Chronique* was written in France but has been housed at the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg since 1788. Although manuscript SP ends at the year 1399, a more precise *terminus post quem* can be determined by the identification in the genealogical diagram of Charles VI's daughter Princess Michelle as Madame de Charolais, a title she assumed upon her marriage

7 Manuscript SG3, which extends the French chronicle to the year 1536, has been excluded from this study because of its late date.

in 1409. A *terminus ante quem* of 1415 can be assigned to the manuscript based on the identification of Prince Louis, who died that year, as dauphin while his surviving brothers (who later became dauphins themselves) are listed still as Count of Ponthieu and Duke of Tourraine. The explicit of the genealogical diagram therefore dates the earliest compilation of the *Chronique* in this form to between 1409 and 1415.⁸ Most of the other manuscripts, including H1, have a *terminus post quem* of 1461, ending with the death of Charles VII or the coronation of his successor Louis XI, although some manuscripts have a slightly later *terminus post quem* of 1473 based on the reference in the genealogical diagram to the death that year of Louis XI's son Prince François. Because it is incomplete, the *terminus post quem* of H2 is indeterminable; even so, it can be dated on stylistic grounds to the 1460s and likely had a *terminus post quem* of 1461. H1, on the other hand, seems to have been written a decade or so later.

The manuscripts of the *Chronique* divide themselves up rather neatly into two initial groups based on the entries for Charles VI and Charles VII.⁹ There are two versions of the reign of Charles VI: version 1 is used in 1495, 15373, A, BL, Cr, JR, M, N, P, SG, T, and H1; version 2 is quite a bit longer and is used in 1493, F, L, O, R, W, and X. For the reign of Charles VII, there are three versions: version 1 is found in JR only; version 2 is used in 1495, 15373, A, BL, Cr, M, N, P, SG, T, and H1; and version 3, a extremely lengthy *Annales* excerpted from Gilles le Bouvier's chronicle of the reign of Charles VII, is extant in 1493, L, R, and W.¹⁰ In sum:

8 The State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg, Russia), *The Art of V-XVI Century European Manuscripts* (St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishers, 2005), 134-136 (no. 26). With thanks to Prof. Barry Fagin for translating this catalog entry.

9 Most manuscripts give a distinct, brief notice of the coronation of Louis XI in 1461, with only minimal correspondence between copies. This indicates that the majority of copies were based on scrolls that did not include Louis' coronation, with the brief notice added by the scribe during copying. Because so many copies are lacking at the end, however, the Louis XI section is not particularly useful for determining manuscript relationships. For the same reason, only those manuscripts for which the relevant sections are extant are analyzed here.

10 See Jullien de Pommeroi, Marie-Henriette, ed., *Les Chroniques du Roi Charles VII par Gilles le Bouvier dit le Héraut Berry* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1979).

	Charles VI		Charles VII		
	Version		Version		
	1	2	1	2	3
JR	x		x		
1495	x		Not extant		
15373	x			x	
A	x			x	
BL	x			x	
Cr	x			x	
H ₁	x			x	
M	x			x	
N	x			x	
P	x			x	
SG	x			x	
T	x			x	
1493		x			X
F		x	Not extant		
L		x			X
O		x	Not extant		
R		x			X
W		x			X
X		x	Not extant		

Table 1

Manuscript H₁ belongs to the first group, sharing with those manuscripts its versions of the reigns of Charles VI and Charles VII. Because manuscript H₂ is fragmentary, however, this particular criterion is not applicable. Fortunately, the initial division based on explicit is also reflected in hundreds of other textual variants, including many that are included in the surviving section of H₂. Because these groupings appear again and again in the critical analysis of the text, the two versions can be considered distinct recensions of the *Chronique*—the first recension (exemplified by H₁ and so called because it agrees with the earliest manuscript SP), and the second recension (exemplified by H₂).

This analysis of the transmission of the *Chronique* has given particular weight to “strong” textual variants (variants unlikely to have been made by two scribes

independently of one another) such as multiple-word additions, deletions, and substitutions. “Weak” variants that could easily have been made by two scribes independently of one another, such as reversal of word order and minor changes in orthography, have been mostly ignored. Homeoteleutonic omissions—copying errors that result from the scribe skipping from one word to a nearby second instance of the same word and deleting the intervening text—are of particular importance in determining manuscript relationships. If a manuscript has a unique homeoteleutonic omission, it is unlikely to have served as an exemplar of any other known manuscript. If two or more manuscripts share such an omission, they are likely to be related. The genealogical diagrams and the content and style of the miniatures are also of use in determining the transmission history of the *Chronique*.

As it turns out, manuscripts of the *Chronique* can be immediately assigned to a recension based solely on the layout of the first six miniatures, if they are extant. In manuscripts of the first recension, including H1, Creation is illustrated by four roundels at the left, with the creation and fall of the angels as a separate illustrative cycle of two miniatures at the right. In manuscripts of the second recension, the two stories are conflated into a single six-image cycle.¹¹ The author’s forthcoming critical edition, translation, and study of the *Chronique* will demonstrate conclusively that this initial criterion is sufficient to distinguish recensional affiliation. For manuscripts such as H2 that are lacking this initial section, however, particular textual variants will serve to make the distinction (see below).

Detailed textual collation affiliates manuscript H1 with a family of first recension manuscripts that are visually similar and in fact appear to have been copied by the same scribe, even though they were not illustrated by the same artist. Manuscripts Cr, SG, and H1 include by design only the first twelve or thirteen miniatures, substituting small text-filled roundels for the remaining illustrations. Textually, the three manuscripts are nearly identical, sharing dozens of minor and major textual variants not found in other manuscripts. Many of these variants are of negligible import; the most important are listed below (line breaks added for comparative purposes). In these and all following examples, spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been standardized to conform with the base manuscript JR whenever possible.

11 See the facsimile of B, a second recension manuscript, in Davis, “Scrolling through History,” no. 16.

Base text (as in JR)	Cr, H1, SG
<p>Et pource si en occist cayn abel son frere avant quil eust nul hoir.</p> <p>And so Cain killed Abel his brother before he had an heir.</p>	<p>Et pource si en occist cayn abel son frere avant quil eust nul hoir de son corps. Ainsi que tesmoigne la sainte escripture ou vieil testament.¹²</p> <p>And so Cain killed Abel his brother before he had an heir of his body. So teaches the Holy Scripture in the Old Testament.</p>
<p>Et contient cest aage de lincarnacion nostre seigneur ihesucrist iusques a la fin du monde.</p> <p>And this Age comprises from the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ up to the end of the world.</p>	<p>Et contient cest aage de lincarnacion nostre seigneur ihesucrist iusques a la fin du monde ou nostre seigneur seigneur vendra juger les bons et les mauvais selonc leur desserte¹³ quilz auront vescu en cestui monde ainsi comme il est dit en la sainte escripture tout a plain¹⁴</p> <p>And this Age comprises from the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ up to the end of the world when Our Lord wil come to judge the good and the wicked according to their deserts, because of how they lived in this world, as it is said in the Holy Scripture quite clearly.</p>

12 Because the manuscripts are written in scroll form and the author's edition of the *Chronique* is still forthcoming, precise textual references cannot be given. For the purposes of the present argument, the author has adopted the following system of referring to the location of particular quotes in a particular manuscript—sheet number:column number:paragraph incipit. For example, the first line of this table is found in “H1:I:2:Abel le second,” meaning the first sheet of H1, second column, in the paragraph that begins “Abel le second.”

13 SG: lacking from this point

14 H1:VIII:I:Cy fin le cinquiesme aage

<p>Saint pierre fut decolle par neron empereur</p> <p>St. Peter was beheaded by Emperor Nero.</p>	<p>Saint pierre mourit en la croix les pieds contre mont et la teste contre bas par neron empereur¹⁵</p> <p>St. Peter died on the cross feet above and head below, [and it was done] by Emperor Nero.</p>
<p>Cy endroit commencerent les theutomens a imperer</p> <p>Here, the Teutons begin to reign</p>	<p>Cy endroit commencerent les cent hommes¹⁶ a imperer¹⁷</p> <p>Here, the Hundred Men begin to reign.</p>

In spite of the clear affiliation of manuscript H1 with Cr and SG, several significant and unique omissions in each manuscript indicate that none is the direct exemplar of either of the others. The implication is that their common exemplar is as yet unidentified, or that one of the scrolls was copied from one manuscript and simultaneously corrected against another. Three such unique omissions—all omissions of homeoteleuton—are found in H1:

15 H1:IX:1:Saint pierre

16 JR gives “chenchomens” for “theutomens”; the reading in Cr, H1, N, and SG of “cent hommes” may be evidence that the common ancestor of this group was copied directly from JR and inherited the mistake, attempting to correct it into something more sensical, resulting in “cent hommes.”

17 XV:2:Cy endroit comencerent les cent hommes.

Base Text	H ₁
<p>Cestui fist occire lxx filz que son pere avoit eu de pluseurs femmes. Et puis regna cela xii ans. Et puis regna iahir. Cestui avoit xxx filz et leur donna...</p> <p>He killed seventy sons that his father had had with many wives. And then Tola reigned for twelve years. And then Jair reigned. He had thirty sons, and he gave them...</p>	<p>Cestui fist occire lxx filz.</p> <p>et leur donna...¹⁸</p> <p>He killed seventy sons</p> <p>and he gave them...</p>
<p>...et fut en lan que romme avoit este fondee iiic lxxviii ans. Et en cel an ilz desconfirent les gallois. Et en ce temps ilz avoient bonne coustume...</p> <p>...and it was in the 368th year since Rome was founded. And in that year they defeated the Gauls. And in that time they had a good custom...</p>	<p>...et fut en lan que romme avoit este fondee iiic lxxviii ans.</p> <p>Et en ce temps ilz avoient bonne coustume...¹⁹</p> <p>...and it was in the 368th year since Rome was founded.</p> <p>And in that time they had a good custom...</p>
<p>Et clodmires ot orleans bourgongne prouance. Et mist son siege a orleans. Et clotaire ot picardie...</p> <p>And Chlodomer had Orléans, Burgundy, and Provence. And he had his throne in Orléans. And Clothar had Piccardy</p>	<p>Et clodmires ot orleans</p> <p>Et clotaire ot picardie...²⁰</p> <p>And Chlodomer had Orléans.</p> <p>And Clothar had Piccardy.</p>

18 H₁:IV:2:Gedeon fut iuge

19 H₁:VII:3:Apres ce que briamus

20 H₁:X:3:Lan de grace nostre seigneur

In each case, the scribe of H1 has skipped from one word to a second nearby instance of the same word, deleting the intervening text. Manuscripts Cr and SG have not inherited these omissions, implying that H1 is not the sole exemplar of either of the others. The same argument applies for both of the other manuscripts; each has major variant readings not found in the others, and therefore neither is a sole exemplar.

H1 and SG share several unique readings that affiliate them further. In both manuscripts, the final paragraph is a relatively lengthy description of the coronation of King Louis XI in 1461. The entry in Cr is quite different and significantly briefer; H1 and SG preserve the most extensive entry for Louis XI of any *Chronique* manuscript:

H1	SG
<p>Comment loys xi^e de ce nom fut fait roy de france.</p> <p>Le sacre si fut fait de loys xi^e de ce nom le iour de lamy aost le xiiii^e iour dudit moys lan</p> <p>mil iiii^elxi. Et puis apres se fist son entree a paris avecques moult belle compaignie en faisant de moult beaulx misteres et la fut receu moult honnourablement a grant ioye de tous.</p> <p>How Louis the eleventh of that name was made King of France. The coronation of Louis the eleventh of that name took place on the middle day of August, the fourteenth day of the aforementioned month, in the year 1461. And soon afterwards he made his entry into Paris with a very fine company, with the presentation of many fine plays, and he was received there most honorably to the great joy of all.</p>	<p>Comment loys xi^e de ce nom fut fait roy de france.</p> <p>Le sacre si fut fait de loys xi^e de ce nom roy de france la veille de lamy aost le xiiii^e iour dudit moys lan de grace nostre seigneur mil iiii^elxi. Et fist son entree a paris</p> <p>en faisant de moult beaulx misteres et la fut receu moult honnourablement</p> <p>How Louis the eleventh of that name was made King of France. The coronation of Louis the eleventh king of France of that name took place on the evening before the middle day of August, the fourteenth day of the aforementioned month, in the year of grace of Our Lord 1461. And he made his entry into Paris</p> <p>with the presentation of many fine plays, and he was received there most honorably.</p>

On the other hand, the explicit of the genealogical diagram affiliates H1 and Cr as compared to SG; while all three conclude with Louis XI and his wife Charlotte, the SG diagram additionally provides the names of five children, including a note mentioning one Prince François who died in Amboise. This is the standard first recension explicit of the genealogical diagram: of the manuscripts that are complete and conclude with Louis XI, only H1 and Cr do *not* record the five children.²¹ Prince François died in 1473, implying that these first recension manuscripts were written after that date. The absence of children in H1 and Cr does not mean that the manuscripts were written before any children were born, however. It is more likely that their absence is a scribal error shared by both manuscripts, and that they were also produced after 1473.

The second recension introduces to the text the second, longer version of the reign of Charles VI and (in complete copies) an extremely lengthy chronicle of Charles VII extracted from the *Chronique* of Gilles le Bouvier. These manuscripts, which range from ca. 1465 (manuscript O) to ca. 1470s (manuscripts B²² and R), share textual and genealogical variants, formatting decisions, and illustrative content. The second recension manuscripts form two sub-groups: Br, F, and V were illuminated in the same workshop and share textual variants; 1493, B, L, R, W, X, and H2 form another group, all of which share an as-yet unidentified common ancestor. All of the manuscripts in the latter family except for the fragments H2 and X can be ruled out as possibilities for the common ancestor; unfortunately, there is not enough surviving text of either fragment to allow for the positive identification of the exemplar of the sub-group, and of course the possibility that the exemplar is lost cannot be discounted.

One of the most important second recension readings—sufficient in and of itself to determine recensional affiliation and fortuitously preserved in the surviving portion of H2—is the placement of the section concerning the legendary British king Ebranc, called “Ebriali” in the *Chronique*.²³ In JR and all of the first recension manuscripts including H1, this section is found in the third column between two ancient Roman kings, even though the phrase introducing it is found in the British column at the far right: “And he had a son who was named Ebriali.” This paragraph is clearly drawn from the same source as the rest of the Matter of Britain—the French Prose Brut—

21 Manuscripts 1495, BL, M, N, P, and SG name the same five children at the end of the genealogical diagram. Of the few second recension manuscripts that are complete, only W includes any children of Louis and Charlotte, and these are described differently than in the first recension.

22 This date for manuscript B corrects the attribution made by this author in *Secular/Sacred*, p. 43 and no. 16.

23 The misnomer “Ebriali” for “Ebranc” is probably the result of a scribal misreading of the exemplar from which the Matter of Britain was originally extracted, particularly if “Ebranc” were spelled “Ebrank.” In this script, the letter k can be easily misread as li, and in fact several other misnomers in the *Chronique* can be explained by this same confusion (for example, “kent” is written as “lient” in every copy).

and belongs with it in the far-right (English) column.²⁴ Manuscript JR was responsible for the original misplacement of Ebriali. The scribe of manuscript O, a scroll that is identifiable as a second recension manuscript by text and format, noticed the mistake after he had copied the text and indicated with outlines and cross-reference marks that the paragraph should be moved to its correct spot. Every other second recension manuscript, including H2, inherited the correction (figure 3).²⁵



Figure 3. Ebriali section in (above) Houghton MS Typ 41 (col. 3; 150 x 650 mm) and (below) Houghton MS Fr 495 (col. 5; 200 x 480 mm).

²⁴ See Julia Marvin, *The Oldest Anglo-Norman Prose Brut Chronicle* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 86.

²⁵ It is worth noting that the scribe or an early reader of JR also made note of this error by inserting cross-reference marks at the appropriate place, but they are so minute as to have been overlooked by later copyists.

Several other variant readings preserved in H2 distinguish the first and second recensions:

First Recension	Second Recension
<p>Comment le roy assuere exilla la royne vasti sa femme pource quelle desobeist a son mandement.</p> <p>How King Ahashveros exiled Queen Vashti his wife</p> <p>because she disobeyed his commandment.</p>	<p>Comment la royne vasti fut exillee²⁶ par le roy assuere son mari pource quelle desobeist a son mandement.²⁷</p> <p>How Queen Vashti was exiled by King Ahashveros her husband because she disobeyed his commandment.</p>

The above rubric, for the section taken from the Biblical Book of Esther, has been changed in the second recension from an active to a passive voice, moving the focus of the rubric from King Ahashveros to the repudiated Queen Vashti (who would be replaced in the Biblical story by the heroine Queen Esther). The scribe of H2 has mistakenly added “la royne” after “exilee” (see note 26) which could easily have happened if he had had a first recension manuscript before him (in which he would have read “exilla la royne”), in addition to a second recension exemplar. He then inserted “la royne” interlinearly above “vasti,” perhaps to correct his error.

Similarly, in the first-column paragraph beginning “Apres Aristobolus,” the reading in H2 shows characteristics of both recensions, with a later hand working to make sense of the misreading:

26 H2: *add* la royne
27 H2:I:2:Comment la royne

First Recension	Second Recension	H2
Et tindrent la terre les roys ptholomeus digipte. And the kings Ptolemy of Egypt held the land.	Et tindrent la terre les romains. And the Romans held the land.	Et tindrent la terre les romains et enchassent roys ptholomeus digipte. ²⁸ And the Romans held the land and chased away the kings Ptolemy of Egypt.

The scribe of H2 has copied “les romains” from the second recension, followed immediately by “roys ptholomeus digipte” from the first recension. A later hand has added “et enchassent” interlinearly between “romains” and “roys” in H2 attempting to make sense out of the nonsensical reading that combines elements of both recensions.

One of the diagrammatic variants that distinguishes the second recension is preserved in H2: the descent of Ebriali. The first recension diagram agrees with the text in showing Leil as the son of Brut, himself the son of Ebriali.²⁹ In the upper right corner of H2, Leil is shown as the son of Brut’s brother Flechin instead, as in all second recension manuscripts. The two major genealogical variants that suffice to define recensional affiliation are not preserved in the surviving portion of H2. In the first recension, King David has no genealogical connection to any ancestor—he is an orphan. In the manuscripts of the second recension, he is properly shown as Jesse’s son, a critical link in demonstrating the descent of Jesus from David and Jesse in fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah. Another mistake is corrected only by a family of second recension manuscripts. In most copies, King Philip III’s three children by his first wife, Isabella of Aragon, are mistakenly assigned to his second wife, Marie de Brabant, while Marie’s three children are assigned to Isabella. Only the second recension family B, L, R, W, and X assigns the children to the correct mothers.³⁰

Several readings affiliate H2 with the sub-family B, L, R, W, and X; presumably it would have agreed with them in the previous example as well:

²⁸ H2:II:1: Apres aristobolus

²⁹ H1:VI:4

³⁰ The mistake is perpetuated in second recension manuscripts 1493, F, and O. Manuscript 1493 usually shares the readings found in H2’s sub-family; that it includes the incorrect assignation of children to mother may indicate that it is a direct copy of O, which would explain why it inherited the mistake instead of the correction.

Base Text	B, H2, L, R, W ³¹
Et fut prise la femme symon et ses deux mainsnes filz. Et puis gouverna la terre le filz iehan symon. Cestuy effondra ung des sept tresors...	Et fut prise la femme symon. Cestuy effondra ung des sept tresors... ³²
And the wife of Simon was captured along with her two youngest sons. And then John, the son of Simon, governed the land. He broke up one of the seven treasures...	And the wife of Simon was captured. He broke up one of the seven treasures...
Et ot deux filz lun ot nom ferres et laultre porres.	Et ot deux filz lun ot nom ferot et laultre porres. ³³
And he had two sons: one named Ferres and the other Porres.	And he had two sons: one named Ferot and the other Porres.

In the first example, the sub-family is lacking from “symon” to “symon,” a homeoteleutonic variant unlikely to have been made independently by several scribes. In the second, the name “Ferres” is written as “Ferot,” also unlikely to be an independent variant. The defining characteristics of this manuscript sub-family are a major homeoteleutonic omission and later correction, not preserved in the extant portion of H2, that results in the deletion of the last half of the reign of the French king Henry I and all of the reign of his heir, Philip I.³⁴

Art historical analysis contributes additional evidence to charting the transmission of the *Chronique*. Most copies of the *Chronique* are illustrated with more than sixty small roundels, in a standard cycle repeated with only minor variants from manuscript

³¹ Manuscripts 1493 and O also preserve these particular readings, but do not consistently affiliate with this sub-family of manuscripts. The section of X that would have included these readings is not extant.

³² H2:II:1:ludas macabeus

³³ H2:II:4:Cestui leyr ot

³⁴ Only three manuscripts—SP, JR, and 1495—give the complete text for Henry I and Philip I. All of the other first recension manuscripts, along with second recension manuscripts O, Br, and F, have a major lacuna at this point that represents the initial homeoteleutonic omission. The manuscripts of the sub-family to which H2 belongs include an addition apparently intended to account for part of the missing text. This omission will be analyzed in detail in the author’s forthcoming edition.

to manuscript.³⁵ Several styles and artists are represented among the manuscripts, with five copies having been created at the same Parisian workshop related to the atelier of Maître François, albeit based on two different exemplars: 1495 and BL from a first recension exemplar, and 1493, L, and X from a second recension exemplar.³⁶ The thirteen roundel illuminations in H1 are found at the beginning of the manuscript (see figure 1 for miniatures 1-11):

1. God creates Heaven and Earth
2. God creates plants and trees
3. God creates water and sea life
4. God creates animals and birds
5. God creates the angels
6. Fall of angels
7. Creation of Adam and Eve
8. God instructs Adam and Eve
9. Adam and Eve with tree and serpent
10. Expulsion from the Garden
11. Adam and Eve planting the branch of the Tree of Knowledge
12. The Toil of Adam and Eve
13. The Ark

In narrative order, the miniatures read first across the top of the sheet, followed by the first two at the left (positions 7 and 8), then the next two at the right (positions 9 and 10), and finally 11, 12, and 13 descending the page. In miniatures 1-4, the Creation cycle, God sits enthroned in an inverted crescent-shaped Heaven, presiding over, in turn, the creation of the sun, moon, and stars; plants and trees; marine life; and beasts and birds. The separate sequence of two miniatures at the right defines, as described above, the first recension of the *Chronique*. Here, God is similarly enthroned, this time with a red instead of blue background, presiding in miniature 5 over angels who are arrayed in the three-tiered ramparts of heaven, and, in miniature 6, flanked by spear-wielding angels who cast the rebellious angels—who have been transformed into demonic beasts—out of Heaven. In miniature 7, Adam reclines on a hillside as Eve rises from his flank in response to a gesture from God, who stands nearby. God shows Adam and Eve the

35 These are listed, albeit incompletely and with reference to manuscript L, in Neil Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–2002), 3:60–62. The author's forthcoming edition will include a detailed analysis of the illustrative tradition of the *Chronique*.

36 With thanks to François Avril for the attribution of these miniatures. This artist is distinguished by skillfully executed perspective interiors with arched doorways at the sides and arched leaded windows at the back, green tiled floors, gilt drapery, and gold-scroll backgrounds. Facial features are somewhat hurried and indistinct, although careful attention is paid to architectural and sartorial detail.

Tree of Knowledge within the walls of the Garden in miniature 8. In miniature 9, the serpent, “with the face of a woman” and wrapped around the Tree, offers an apple to Eve who has already bitten one and holds another; Adam has an apple in his hand as well. They stand on either side of the Tree, with the gates of Eden visible at the left. An angel with sword raised drives them through the gates in miniature 10. Miniature 11 depicts Adam and Eve planting a branch of the Tree of Knowledge that they brought with them from Eden (here more of a shrubbery than a branch).³⁷ In miniature 12, they are shown laboring over a ploughed field, Adam with a hoe and Eve with a rake. The final miniature (no. 13), somewhat further down the scroll, shows Noah and his wife on the ark, with a dove flying overhead.

Manuscript Cr and SG, shown above to be textually nearly identical to H1, are also the only other manuscripts to include an intentionally abbreviated cycle of miniatures at the beginning of the scroll. Of the two, the illustrations in manuscript Cr are stylistically most closely related to H1, though not drawn by the same hand. The images in Cr are heavily rubbed but are clear enough to easily discern the similarity to the miniatures in H1 (see figure 4).



Figure 4. (Above) London, Borough of Croydon Archives, s.n., miniatures 1-4 (100 x 530 mm) and (below) Houghton MS Typ 41, miniatures 1-6 (150 x 650 mm). Croydon images by permission of Croydon Local Studies Library and Archives Service.

37 This miniature has been interpreted several different ways. In Wieck, 22, it is identified as Adam and Eve warming themselves at a small fire, and in a catalog description pasted to the inside of the box currently holding the scroll is it said to be “Abel and Cain offering sacrifices to God,” but close examination and comparison with other manuscripts of the *Chronique* demonstrate that the miniature is actually Adam and Eve planting the branch of the Tree of Knowledge.

The content and layout of the miniatures in other manuscripts are also of use in determining manuscript relationships. In nearly every copy of the *Chronique*, the subjects of the miniatures in positions 7, 8, and 9 are the same as in H1, and position 12 is always the Toil of Adam and/or Eve. Positions 10 and 11 are somewhat more varied, however. In the first recension, two series are generally found in these two positions: 1) the Confrontation followed by the Expulsion or Robing; or 2) the Expulsion followed by Adam planting the branch:³⁸

First recension Manuscripts (in alphanumeric order)											
Miniature	1495	15373	15374	BL	Cr	H1	JR	N	M	SG	T
10	C	E	E	C	C/E	E	C	C	E	C	E
11	R	P	P	R	P	P	E	E	P	R	P

C: Confrontation; E: Expulsion; P: Planting ; R: Robing

Table 2: Subjects of Miniatures 10 and 11 in the First Recension

If the Expulsion is found in position 10, the Planting is found in position 11, as in H1. The paragraph illustrated by miniature 11 concerns the planting of the branch of the Tree of Knowledge, not the Robing of Adam and Eve; the illustration of the Planting is therefore a better fit at that position than the Robing, which is not mentioned in the text at all.

Manuscript N, which also can be affiliated with the Cr, H1, and SG family because of its textual variants, appears to have been written by the same scribe, although the miniatures (the manuscript is fully illustrated throughout with the complete cycle) were executed by yet a fourth artist.³⁹ The layout and content of the miniatures in N are somewhat different than in H1 and Cr, but there are elements present in N that are similar and may imply a direct artistic relationship between the manuscripts; note in particular the positioning of the three figures in miniature 7 and the design of the arched gate of Eden at the left of N’s miniature 8 (which appears in H1 in miniature 9).

The surviving portion of H2 includes five miniatures depicting subjects typical of those found at this point in every other fully-illustrated manuscript:⁴⁰

38 With one exception, the late fifteenth-century manuscript R, the Planting is found only in the first recension. In the second recension, position 11 is usually occupied by a sub-series of two conjoined miniatures depicting the Expulsion and the Robing. See facsimile of B in Davis, *Sacred/Secular*.

39 See Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Secular Spirit: Life and Art at the End of the Middle Ages* (New York: Dutton, 1975), 166, no. 184.

40 See Ker, 3:60-62.



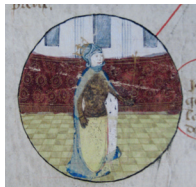
Daniel at Balthasar's Feast



Ahashveros banishes Vashti and crowns Esther



Alexander of Macedonia



Judah Maccabee



The Nativity

Figure 5. Miniatures in (left) Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 470 and (right) Houghton MS Fr 495 (each miniature 65 mm in diameter). Orléans images by permission of the Bibliothèque Municipale d'Orléans.

1. Daniel reading the writing on the wall at Balthasar's feast (partial)

The illustration is lacking the top third, and all that is visible are several seated figures at Balthasar's dining table at the left and a figure, presumably Daniel, at the right.

2. Ahashveros exiling Vashti and crowning Esther

Vashti is dragged off by a group of sword-wielding men at the right, while Esther kneels and is crowned by the enthroned Ahashveros. The king is attended by several courtiers. Most manuscripts of the *Chronique* illustrate only the Banishment of Vashti, while a handful illustrate the Crowning of Esther instead; only one other manuscript—O—depicts both at once.

3. Alexander of Macedonia

As in all second recension manuscripts, the Alexander miniature in H2 is a solo portrait (in the first recension, Alexander is shown in a narrative context, dying from poison). Here he is on horseback, armored, armed, and crowned. Only two other manuscripts—the transitional scroll 15373 and the early second recension O—depict Alexander mounted. The rubric in H2 identifies him as the “quatriesme preux,” the Fourth Worthy. The Nine Worthies were a group of historic figures who between them were thought to represent the highest ideals of chivalry and heroism. In literary sources, Alexander is the Second Worthy; in the *Chronique*, he is always identified as the fourth.⁴¹

4. Judah Macabee

Judah stands armored and cloaked in blue in a non-descript interior, holding a sword and shield and identified by rubric as the Sixth Worthy. The gold shield is too heavily rubbed to interpret, although there are traces of an image on its surface that may have been similar to that found in second recension manuscript B, where Judah's arms consist of a green dragon on a gold ground.⁴²

41 See Horst Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildender Kunst* (Göttingen, 1971).

42 See Davis, *Sacred/Secular*, no. 16.

5. The Nativity

The layout of this image is the same in nearly every manuscript of the *Chronique*, with only the addition of various animals altering the scene. Here, the nimbed infant lies in the center foreground, with Joseph kneeling to his right and Mary to his left. The manger is visible at the far left, adorned with a red and gold hanging cloth. Gold light beams down from above.

Stylistically, H2 is most similar to manuscript O, which is also dateable to the 1460s. Four of the five miniatures are extremely similar in layout and content to their analogous images in O (see figure 5). In general, the miniatures in H2 are more elaborate and include elements lacking in O—in the Nativity scene, for example, Joseph has a purse hanging from his belt, and an elaborate red and gold cloth hangs in the manger. The fact that H2 is the only manuscript of its family to illustrate Alexander on horseback in the same manner as O (albeit facing the opposite direction) and is also the only other manuscript to depict Esther and Vashti together, adds to the evidence that H2 may be the manuscript that stands between O and the sub-group to which H2 belongs.

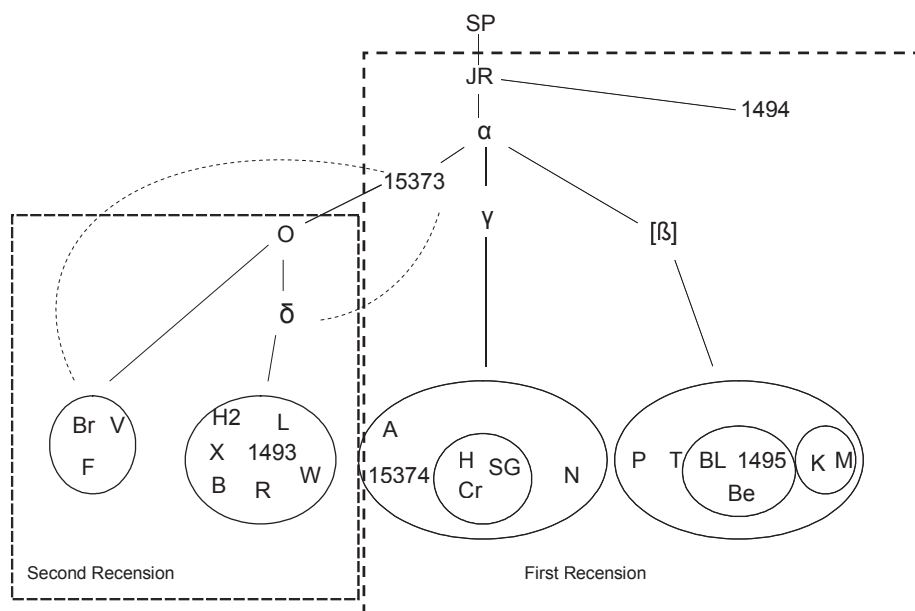
Because so many copies of the *Chronique* are fragmentary or lacking at the beginning and/or end, an incontrovertible stemma is impossible to construct.⁴³ There is simply too much information missing. However, based on the relationships posited above and supported by the more than 3,000 textual variants cataloged by the author for her forthcoming edition, a provisional stemma can be approximated (see figure 6).

The schematic stemma of figure 6 can be explained as follows. Manuscript SP is the earliest known copy of the *Chronique* and stands at the top of the stemma.⁴⁴ Manuscript JR belongs just below SP because it shares several textual readings with SP that are lacking in other manuscripts; for example, JR gives the complete text for the French kings Henry I and Philip I (see above).⁴⁵ Because all of the remaining manuscripts share variants lacking in SP, JR, and 1494, an unidentified, hypothetical manuscript α , which introduced the common readings, intervenes between JR and the other manuscripts.

43 Nearly half of the manuscripts are lacking at beginning and/or end: 1493, 1494, B, Be, BL, Br, E, H2, K, O, P, and X. One manuscript, V, has been missing since 1992, and another, Tournai BM 123, was destroyed in World War II.

44 While other Universal Chronicles of this era are similar to the *Chronique*, in particular Paris, Archives Nationale II 419 and New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library MS Marston 180, none preserves this exact combination of sources formatted and illustrated in this particular way. Manuscript SP is the earliest of this particular universal chronicle and therefore belongs at the top of the stemma.

45 Manuscript 1494 gives this text correctly as well, but because it also introduces numerous unique readings it can be considered a lone descendant of JR and a dead-end on the stemma.



α, β: Possibly 1495, Be, BL, or K
 δ: possibly H2 or X

Figure 6: Schematic stemma of the *Chronique*.

Two additional hypothetical manuscripts, β and γ, link most of the remaining first recension *Chroniques*.⁴⁶ Manuscript 15373 stands as the link between α and the second recension because, though clearly a first recension manuscript, it does have readings in common with second recension that are not found in other manuscripts of the first recension. In addition, there are several first recension sub-families that are linked by textual variants, illumination, and format. As demonstrated above, manuscripts Cr, H1, and SG are nearly identical in text and format, and include only the first twelve or thirteen miniatures. Although it is fully illustrated, the variant readings in manuscript N also affiliate it with this group. The manuscripts in another group, 1495, Be, and BL, are linked by textual variants, and the manuscripts of a third group, K and M, share unique illustrative content as well as textual variants.

Manuscript O, which originated the correct placement of the Ebriali section, is the first manuscript of the second recension. However, because it has strong variants that were not inherited by the other second recension manuscripts, its immediate descendants must have additionally been copied with a first recension manuscript at

46 By eliminating from contention all of the known first recension manuscripts that have homeoteleutonic omissions that were not inherited by other manuscripts and which therefore could not be exemplars, the list of known manuscripts that could be identified as α or β is reduced to 1495, Be, BL, or K. A more detailed examination of these four manuscripts—or the emergence of new copies of the *Chronique*—may enable a more precise identification of the hypothetical copies.

hand: that manuscript can be shown to have been 15373. The first sub-family of second recension manuscripts consists of Br, F and V. Because V is untraced, it is impossible to determine the copying sequence of these three manuscripts. For the final family, 1493, B, H2, L, R, W, and X, it appears that H2 may be the primary exemplar δ , although X or an unidentified manuscript are possibilities as well.

There is little doubt that the *Chronique*, with its clear emphasis on French nobility and pedigree, was originally compiled under the patronage of a French noble family. The primary purpose of this world history is fairly self-evident—to bring together various historical traditions and texts into a single Theory-of-Everything *über*-text, overlaid with an educational and political agenda in the context of the Hundred Years War. An examination of manuscripts of the identified sources of the *Chronique* that predate manuscript SP may help in the identification of the original patron of the compilation. One particular manuscript, a fourteenth-century *Bible Historiale* (Paris, BnF Arsenal 5057), shares unique readings with the *Chronique* that suggest it was one of the direct manuscript sources used in the original compilation of SP, the earliest *Chronique* manuscript.⁴⁷ Although Arsenal 5057 was originally part of the famed library of Jean, Duc de Berry, appearing in his 1373 inventory and bearing his signature, it is now thought to be the French Bible that was given by the Duke to Louis II, Duc de Bourbon, in 1397; the manuscript thus left the Berry collection well before the *Chronique* was first compiled.⁴⁸ Upon the Duc de Bourbon's death in 1410, the manuscript passed to his heir Jean I and his wife, Jean de Berry's daughter Marie, and would have belonged to them when it was used as a source for the *Chronique* soon thereafter. A growing body of evidence in fact suggests that the *Chronique* may have been compiled at the Bourbon library in the Chateau de Moulins under the auspices of Duke Jean I and Duchess Marie, perhaps to be used in the education of their three young sons.⁴⁹ Examination of additional source manuscripts may reveal textual variants inherited by the *Chronique* that will establish with certainty which particular manuscripts were used for the compilation, which will then lead to a more certain identification of the original patron. This analysis, currently being undertaken by the author, will lead to a deeper understanding of the origin and function of this delightful and fascinating world chronicle.

47 See Davis, *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle* (forthcoming).

48 Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868–81), 3:116, no. 20. See also Gilles Mallet, *Inventaire ou catalogue des livres de l'ancienne bibliothèque du Louvre fait en l'année 1373* (Paris, 1836), 3, no. 8; A. Le Roux de Lincy, "Catalogue de la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourbon en 1524," in *Mélanges de littérature et d'histoire recueillis et publiés par la Société des bibliophiles français* (Paris, 1850), 43–144; and <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNF0000012939&qid=sdx_qo> (accessed May 25, 2010).

49 See Davis, *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle* (forthcoming).

Appendix 1: Manuscripts of the *Chronique Anonyme Universelle*

Siglum	Location/shelf mark	Recension
A	Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 146	1
Be	Berlin, SMB-PK Kupferstichkabinett, MS. 78 F 2	1
B	Boston, Massachusetts, Boston Public Library, Ms. pb. Med. 32	2
Br	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. IV 1003	2
F	Cambridge, England, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 176	2
H1	Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 41	1
H2	Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Fr 495 (fragment)	2
W	Connecticut, private collection, s.n. (the Hauck scroll, sold Christie's New York, 28 June 2006, lot 111; and Hamburg, Antiquariat Dr. Jörn Günther, 2006)	2
X	Hanover, New Hampshire, Dartmouth College, Rauner Library, s.n. (fragment) + Orléans, Centre Jeanne d'Arc, ms. 35 (fragment)	2
K	Krakau, Czartoryski Museum, Ms. Czart. 2851	1
L	Leeds, University Library, Brotherton MS 100	2
Cr	London, Borough of Croydon Archives, s.n.	1
BL	London, British Library, Add. MS. 27539	1
JR	Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS.Fr. 99	1
M	New York City, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.1157*	1
N	New York City, New York Public Library, MA 124	1
O	Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 470	2
15373	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 15373	1
15374	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 15374	1
1493	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 1493	2
1494	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 1494	1
1495	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 1495	1
SG	Paris, Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 522	1
SG3	Paris, Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 523	1
P	Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Art Museum, Ms 5	1
R	Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 1137	1
SP	St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Ms Fr.v.I.9 and Ms Fr.F.v. IV.14	1
T	Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 975	1
V	Untraced, sold in Venice by Semenzato, May 2003, lot 148	2

* formerly on deposit at Houghton as *97M-56

Appendix 2: Houghton MS Typ 41

Chronique Anonyme Universelle

Northern France, ca. 1475

Cy sensuit la genealogie de la bible qui monstre et dit combien chascun
aage a dure depuis le commencement du monde iusques a ladvènement
nostre seigneur ihesu crist et comprennent en brief comment les trois filz
noe peuplerent tout le monde apres le deluge qui avoit este. Et comment
ils nommerent les terres et pays ou il habitoient de leurs noms propres.
Car en ces croniques est contenu les contrees entierement des lxxii
languaiges qui sourdirent et vindrent quant nembroth faisoit faire la tour
de babiloine. Et pource que lun ne pouoit entendre lautre si leur fut force
de eulx esprendre en plusieurs contrees ainsi comme vous veez quilz sont
maintenant par tout le monde. Et par especial apres comment les troyens
descendirent de la lignee iaphet. Et puis monstre par signes comment
manieres de gens se partirent de troye la grant apres la destruction di celle
lesquelz habiterent et peuplerent plusieurs pays et terres et les nommerent
de leurs noms. Et fonderent pluseurs cites et villes et chasteaux. Et par
especial romme paris de wanndes. Cest a dire peuplerent rommanie
lombardie france et angleterre. Et en quel temps et comment et combien
ilz ont regne lun apres lautre. Jusques au temps de ladvènement nostre
seigneur ihesu crist si comme il appert par lanseigne des branches des
genealogies. Et apres trouveres tous les papes qui ont este a romme depuis
nostre seigneur ihesu crist. Et aussi tous les empereurs de romme qui ont
impere a lempire. Et aussi tous les roys de france et dangleterre. Et jusques
en lan mille iiii cens lxi. Et tous les roys qui ont regne en iherusalem puis
goudefroy de billon comme vous orrez cy dedans bien entierement ... /
... col. 1 Urban qui estoit archevesque de saint nicholas du bar fut pape
lan mille iii cent lxxviii et fut sacre le jour de pasques en la cite de romme
a tres grand solempnite. / Cy ne parle plus des papes pour la division
qui puis a este en sainte eglise que dieu veille amender Amen. / ... col.
2 En lan mil iii cent xxxviii fut couronne a romme empereur louys de
baviere et lors les rommains furent a romme ung antipappe. / Cy finent les
empereurs de romme. / Explicit / ... col. 3 Comment loys xi^e de ce nom fut
fait roy de france. Le sacre si fut fait de loys xi^e de ce nom le iour de lamy
aost le xiiii^e iour dudit moys lan mil iiii^e lxi Et puis apres se fist son entree
a paris avecques moult belle compaignie en faisant de moult beaulx
misteres et la fut receu moult honnourablement a grant ioye de tous. /
... col. 4 et fut hanry de lanclastre couronne roy dangleterre le quel fit

mourir des plus grans nobles du royaume d'Angleterre si comme le dient
les croniques plus aplain.

Parchment scroll, seventeen sheets pasted together with approximately 25 mm overlap. 11740 x 642 mm. Writing space varies, one to five columns. Writing lines in plummet, no prickings.

Written in a Gothic cursive script in black ink. Paragraph marks throughout in blue with red penwork, or gold with blue penwork. Three- and four-line initials throughout in gold with red infill on blue background or blue infill on red background with white filigree. Yellow-stroked sentence initials. Opening 6-line initial in blue with light blue infill on gold with floriate infill in colors. Corner floriate border with acanthus, flowers, gourds, grotesques (a muzzled bear leashed to a tree trunk, and a hooded man at prayer) in upper left and left upper margin, extending 290 mm across the upper margin, 495 mm down the left. Arms of the Flemish Gavre family of Liedekerke in upper and lower margin: gules three lions rampant a sinister crowned or. Genealogical diagrams throughout in red, each name within a red circle 31 mm in diameter, drawn using a compass. Thirteen miniatures (an abbreviated version of the usual 64-miniature-cycle, but with standard content) inscribed in black circles averaging 78 mm in diameter, with the exception of numbers 1-6 which are only 65 mm. The first six miniatures are arranged in a row across the top of the scroll, the remainder are staggered throughout the text:

1. God creates Heaven and Earth
2. God creates plants and trees
3. God creates water and sea life
4. God creates animals and birds
5. God creates the angels
6. Fall of angels
7. Creation of Adam and Eve
8. God instructs Adam and Eve
9. Adam and Eve with tree and serpent
10. Expulsion from the Garden
11. Adam and Eve planting the branch of the Tree of Knowledge
12. The Toil of Adam and Eve
13. The Ark

Attached to wooden spindles, to the upper by twelve nails and the lower by 255 mm of modern (?) vellum, itself attached to the spindle by paste and six nails. Housed in a

custom red buckram box with several catalog descriptions attached. A few parchment repairs, and some water damage resulting in partial illegibility at upper right.

Provenance: Produced in Northern France in the 1470s. Arms of the Flemish Gavre family of Liedekerke at top and bottom, s. XVI (?). Owned by William Horatio Crawford (1812–1888), his sale Sotheby's, March 12, 1891, lot 718. Given to Harvard by William King Richardson in 1943.

Bibliography:

Harvard College Library. *The Houghton Library Report of Accessions for the Year 1942-43*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard College Library, 1943. See pp. 2-3.

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Bond, W.H. and C.U. Faye. *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1962. See p. 255.

Wieck, Roger S. *Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, 1350-1525, in the Houghton Library*. Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library, 1983. See pp. 22-23, no. 10.

Appendix 3: Houghton MS Fr 495

Chronique Anonyme Universelle

Northern France, ca. 1461

Column 1: *Le vi^e iadus./Comment ptholomeus roy degipte print iherusalem faulcement et en trayson.../... La nativite nostre sauveur ihesucrist et cetera.*

Egyptian kings Ptolemy I – VI; Judah Macabee; Aristobolus; and the Nativity

Column 2: *Balthasar fut roy de babiloine apres emerodach.../... Et fut mis en sepulture en la cite dalexandrie quil avoit fondee.*

Balthasar and the Fall of Babylon; Queen Esther; Emperor Alexander of Macedonia

Column 3: *... firent roy./ Apres la mort romullus tindrent leurs senateurs la cite l ans .../... Et il desconfist hanibal qui y ala pour son pais rescoure.*

Early Roman history from the death of Romulus through the Consular period, including the story of Lucretia and ending with Hannibal

Column 4: *Ceste gent cy qui a commencerent y demourerent .../... Et sy trouverons tous les roys qui onques en france regnerent et cetera.*

The foundation of Lutece (Paris). This narrow column ends after this paragraph and the text returns to the four-column format.

Column 5 (later 4): *... au quel iour mampus fit son frere tuer./... Comment donnebault conquist toute la terre de bretagne et porta couronne dor en son chief.*

The Matter of Britain: King Mampus; the foundation of Canterbury and Winchester; King Lear; the story of Ferres and Porres; and the division of Britain into the four realms of Scotland, England,

Cornwall, and Wales. The text in this column continues as Column 4 when the scroll returns to the four-column format.

Parchment scroll, two sheets pasted together with approximately 15 mm overlap. 1280 x 480 mm (originally approximately 30 sheets stretching 18 meters). Writing space varies: three columns of 75 mm and two of 37 mm, or four columns of 75 mm each. Writing lines in plummet, some prickings visible along outer margins.

Written in a Gothic cursive script in black ink. Paragraph marks throughout in blue with red penwork. Two- or three-line initials throughout in blue with red filigree or gold with blue filigree. Genealogical diagrams throughout in red, each name within a red circle 26 mm in diameter, drawn using a compass. Five miniatures (the standard subjects) inscribed in black circles averaging 67 mm in diameter:

1. Daniel at Balthasar's Feast (partial)
2. The Banishment of Vashti and Crowning of Esther
3. Alexander of Macedonia
4. Judah Macabee
5. The Nativity

Detached. Some staining, slight tears at upper and lower edges resulting from detachment from adjoining sheets, but otherwise in good condition, bright and legible.

Provenance: Produced in Northern France around 1461. Sold Bernard Quaritch Ltd., August 2008.

Bibliography:

Bernard Quaritch Ltd. *Early Books & Manuscripts*. London: Quaritch, 2008. A bookseller's catalog, issued August 2008. See no. 14.

