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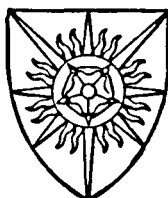
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TEXT AND ICONOGRAPHY FOR JOINVILLE'S

CREDO

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By
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PREFACE

The history of the fate of Joinville's *Credo*, first produced some seven hundred and seven years ago, is still not entirely known. It is quite evident that the initial appearance of the work required the joint effort of author, scribe, and illuminator, yet the first of these gives us no information concerning the others. Nor is the only extant manuscript more revelatory of those responsible for its creation.

Present custom holds otherwise. First to be acknowledged and thanked is the Mediaeval Academy of America and its conscientious editors, Mr. C. R. D. Miller and Mr. Van Courtlandt Elliott for help offered and care taken. Thanks, too, are due the Bibliothèque nationale and the Public Library of Leningrad for their transmission for publication of the documents so preciousy preserved by them. Acknowledgment of gratitude must also be made to The Meriden Gravure Company and the Crimson Printing Company for the material execution of the work.

Whatever the changes in customs between the age of Saint Louis and our own, certain virtues have remained constant. In consequence, another's modesty requires that I give only anonymous public recognition to his interest in the arts and that generosity which has made this publication possible.

LIONEL J. FRIEDMAN

TO A. J. F. IN MEMORY OF M. H. F.

TEXT AND ICONOGRAPHY FOR JOINVILLE'S
CREDO

TEXT AND ICONOGRAPHY FOR JOINVILLE'S *CREDO*

BY LIONEL J. FRIEDMAN

1. The account in the *Vie de saint Louis* of his life at Acre makes no mention of an activity which has assumed importance in Joinville's literary biography: the composition of the *Credo* between the months of August 1250 and April 1251. The lessons of Saint Louis reported in sections 43-45 of the *Vie* are generally believed to be the initial inspiration for this pious project to aid the moribund in their struggle with the devil.¹ The ancient enemy of mankind, no longer able to take away good works already performed, would seek to bring the dying to damnation by temptation in matters of faith. With the other bodily senses sinking at this moment, the only pathways left open to him would be those of the eyes and ears. The *Credo* found its utility in closing these last two entrances, for the patient could hear the words of the Creed read to him and see the illustrations of the faith shown to him. This use of the two media of sight and hearing characterizes the *Credo* in which the miniatures are an integral part of the whole economy, not mere adornment. Both Perdrizet and Mâle have called attention to the interest offered by the *Credo* with its close interrelation of text and illumination for the study of mediaeval religious iconography.²

The only known text of the *Credo* is that preserved in MS 4509 of

¹ References to the *Vie de saint Louis* are to the numbered paragraphs of Joinville, *Histoire de saint Louis, Credo et Lettre à Louis X*, texte original, accompagné d'une traduction, par M. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1894).

² *Speculum humanae salvationis*, texte critique, traduction inédite de Jean Mielot (1448): les sources et l'influence iconographique principalement sur l'art alsacien du XIVe siècle, par J. Lutz et P. Perdrizet (Mulhouse, 1907), I, 332.

Emile Mâle, *l'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, 8th ed. (Paris, 1948), p. 177, n. 1.

the *nouvelles acquisitions du fonds français* (former 7857) of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Its history has been adequately recorded.³ After recognition by Paulin Paris that the work was by Joinville, a fac-simile edition limited to twenty-five copies, with an accompanying translation, was published by Artaud de Montor in 1837. This in turn was reproduced in reduced format by Ambroise-Firmin Didot in 1870. The text was subsequently re-edited by Natalis de Wailly after a collation by Paul Meyer of the Montor edition with the original manuscript then at Ashburnham Place. Wailly appended line drawing reproductions of the miniatures—totally inadequate—from the earlier edition of Didot. The Montor edition was notably faulty and Wailly has not always indicated the changes he made. These are difficult to determine from a comparison of the two editions, since the latter editor applied to the *Credo* the technique he used on the *Vie*, namely the modification of the orthography of the manuscript in accord with norms derived from other works from the chancellory of Joinville. For these reasons, as early as 1898, Gaston Paris indicated the utility of a new edition.⁴

As is apparent from the text, this version of the *Credo* can scarcely be the redaction of Acre in 1250-1251,⁵ and 1287 is accepted as the date of the extant text.⁶ That the only known copy is considerably posterior to the known date of composition has resulted in much conjecture about the changes which might have taken place between the

³ Gaston Paris, "Jean, sire de Joinville," *HLF*, XXXII, 363-364.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Joinville declares, ". . . fis je premiers faire cest euvre en Acre . . ."; a reference to Henry the German, whose death is placed in 1254, states "mout fu grant clers"; the first reference to Louis IX contains the pious exhortation "que Diex absoille," indicative that the text was written after the king's death (1270) and probably prior to his canonization (1297), since the epithet "saint" does not appear.

⁶ Natalis de Wailly set the date, from the statement in the text that 1287 years had passed since the dispersion of the Jews. The Diaspora is generally reckoned from the fall of Jerusalem to Titus in the year 70, so that this would date the redaction as 1357, posterior to Joinville's death and not, according to Paris, in agreement with the paleographic evidence. Hence it has been assumed that Joinville considered the Diaspora to be a consequence of the Incarnation, so that the indication 1287 would be the year of the redaction. Cf. *Vie*, "Eclaircissement XIV," p. 491.

two redactions.⁷ Except for the passage concerning the old Saracen and the captive French crusaders, agreement is almost universal that such additions were limited to the introductory passages preceding the exposition of the Creed proper.

2. It is fortunate that two media were employed in the exposition of the *Credo*, for although the verbal text has been preserved in only one version, three versions of the iconographic text are extant. These three sets of miniatures will offer a third interest of the *Credo* for the study of problems and techniques of manuscript illumination. MS 4509 is incomplete in its illumination, having only twenty-six miniatures although the text specifically announces eleven more scenes as depicted. Three blanks unfilled by miniatures have been left on the folios. Since the miniatures are introduced interruptively and directly into the text of this manuscript, it has been taken for granted by Delaborde and Langlois that this was the fashion in which the text ought to be illuminated. Considering that the specific indications for the placing of the miniatures given by the text rarely coincide with their actual placement, this assumption is less warranted than it has previously seemed to be. The miniatures have been here left in the positions they occupied in the manuscript, even though this position may not be the one designed by the wording of the text.

The second set of illustrations comprises a series of outline drawings, inspired by the *Credo*, found on folios 231r°-232v° of MS *latin*

⁷ For Paris, paragraphs 772-777 of the Wailly edition were added. He also believed that the account of the captive crusaders was in the original version (Paris, p. 365). Langlois has taken over these opinions textually, except for adding his personal opinion that the episode of the crusaders must also be considered added, in accord with his general theory that everything which appears both in the *Credo* and the *Vie* must be considered an addition to the former (Ch.-V. Langlois, *la Vie en France au moyen âge*, IV [Paris, 1928], 4-5, 13, n. 3). If such was really Langlois' viewpoint, why did he not mark the closing paragraphs of the *Credo* as additions, since they, too, are contained in the biography? A. Foulet ("When did Joinville Write his *Vie de Saint Louis*?" RR, XXII [1941], 242) believes that the preamble was inspired by the deposition of Joinville at the inquest for canonization and that the author wished to include several lessons of the future saint. G. Lozinski ("Recherches sur les sources du *Credo* de Joinville," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, XXXI [1930], 200) believes that the entire work may have undergone extensive revision and addition between the two dates.

11907 of the Bibliothèque nationale, already reproduced photographically by Delaborde and Lauer in 1909.⁸ At least one folio, possibly more, is missing, so that the series begins with the illustrations for the first part of Article V of the Creed. These drawings are here reproduced on Plates I-IV. At first glance, they give the impression of preliminary sketches to be used later by an illuminator, a hypothesis rejected by Delaborde on the grounds that the arrangement of the sketches in a continuous series does not reveal how they could be broken up to take their proper places in the text, that there are inversions in the order of the sketches compared to the text, and finally that all the legends with the exception of that for the scene of the captive crusaders are in Latin, which would not befit a work written in Romance. Hence the drawings were not the preliminary work for illuminating a text of the *Credo*.⁹ Having arrived at these perhaps valid conclusions (based implicitly on the assumption that the illumination of the *Credo* was to have been as it appears in the extant text), the author then elaborated the hypothesis that the sketches were to serve for the mural decoration of the Maison-Dieu of Joinville. There is nothing easier than to fill a no longer extant building with murals. However, the subsequent discovery by W. Bakhtine of a 13th-century Breviary, ostensibly for the service of Saint-Nicaise of Rheims, executed before the canonization of Saint Louis, and preserved in the Public Library of Leningrad, offered a more plausible alternative which was not seized, probably because Delaborde's publication had been lost from sight.¹⁰ The Breviary contains the only known complete set of

⁸ H.-F. Delaborde and Ph. Lauer, "Un projet de décoration murale inspiré du *Credo* de Joinville," *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris: Fondation Piot, 1909), XVI, 61-84, and Pls. VII-X.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

¹⁰ Ch.-V. Langlois, "Observations sur un missel de Saint-Nicaise de Reims, conservé à la Bibliothèque de Leningrad," *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Bulletin de octobre-décembre, 1928), 362-368. Langlois refers to the work as a *missal*. H.-F. Delaborde, *les Principaux Manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque impériale publique de Saint-Petersbourg* (Paris, 1936) refers to it as a *Breviarium romanum*. Since much of Langlois' report has proven to be inaccurate while Delaborde's publication conforms to what is known, the latter's designation will be accepted here. This publication will be referred to henceforth in the notes as Delaborde, *les MSS à peintures*.

illuminations for the *Credo*, which are here reproduced on Plates V-XXII.¹¹ Since these illustrations include the scene of the captive French crusaders (Pl. XVII), their origin in Joinville's work is beyond doubt. The Breviary fulfills all the conditions of the sketches, containing a set of miniatures not ostensibly subordinated to a Romance text, legends which, with the same exception as in the outline drawings, are in Latin, and a slight displacement in the order of the miniatures. The relation between the outline drawings and the Breviary will be examined at some length later.

3. Until now the main source of information on the Leningrad Breviary was a highly misleading report made by Ch.-V. Langlois to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres of a communication from W. Bakhtine of the Public Library of Leningrad. Langlois' inaccuracies were all the more regrettable since the Académie claimed to have lost Bakhtine's original. Among other things, Langlois stated that the scenes from the Old and New Testaments were brought together in symmetrical pairs on successive folios. The inaccuracy is patent from the most cursory glance at the illuminations. Plate VII brings together the Annunciation and Isaiah, the Nativity and Daniel, neither of which persons could be termed New Testament; plates VIII-IX contain both events of the Passion and of the "Estoire Joseph"; Plate X contains an event of the Passion and four Old Testament figures. Such examples could be further multiplied. What is the actual state of affairs?

In the body of the work, Joinville's task was to expound the Creed by the witness of Holy Writ. The tradition of scriptural testimony hardly requires review here, but its specific function in the *Credo* seemingly does. From his discussion in the second paragraph, it is

¹¹ Two of these were reproduced by Delaborde, *les MSS à peintures*, Pls. VI-VII. He describes the MS: "Velin, petit in-4°. Deux feuillets blancs, 365 numérotés et un blanc. Dimensions: 235 x 165 mm. Justification: 150 x 105 mm. Longues lignes. Cahiers de 8 feuillets avec réclames. Contenu: le Bréviaire romain. Provient de la collection Dubrowski. 20 grands miniatures."

I should here like to express my thanks to the authorities of the Leningrad Public Library for their courtesy and kindness in sending photographic reproductions of the Breviary miniatures.

clear that Joinville believed that faith was of things not manifest, concerning which we have certainty only through hearsay (*fides ex auditu*). In the category of hearsay is placed the witness of the Scriptures conceived as testimony from the mouth of the Almighty through the holy persons of both Testaments. As such, it transcends all other types of witness. The Scriptures are the *divina auctoritas* and in the *Credo* scriptural references are not the starting point of argumentation but the final proof.¹²

In the opening paragraph Joinville announces that "poez veoir ci après point et escrit les articles de nostre foi par letres et par ymages," from which it has been assumed that the expression "les articles de nostre foi" is equivalent to the twelve articles of the Creed. It is not, however, certain whether the author drew any careful distinction between the articles of faith construed specifically as the articles of the Creed or construed more generally as doctrinal points.¹³ The concluding paragraphs of the work refer more precisely to the "romant qui devise et enseigne les poinz de nostre foi," for there can be no doubt that the term "les poinz de nostre foi" has an exact meaning not to be identified with the articles of the Creed as such but more generally with points of doctrine which the faithful are required to believe.¹⁴ The situation in the *Credo* is that the articles of the Creed may serve as the fundamental basis representing the minimum re-

¹² Lozinski's failure to realize the role of scriptural testimony, so explicitly stated by Joinville, has led him to write some curious pages. His conclusion that Joinville was no theologian of mark is quite valid (Joinville probably would have been the first to agree), but the logic by which it is reached is not valid. For Joinville to have entered into discussion of the problems raised by his authorities—the exact concordance of the length of time passed by Jonah in the whale's belly and by Christ in the tomb, the title of "prophet" given to Caiaphas, the faith of devils, etc.—as Lozinski would have him do, would have been to depart completely from the indicated treatment and to indulge in all the digressive, rambling, artless traits which have traditionally been assumed characteristic of Joinville's lack of style.

¹³ The only direct reference to the articles of the Creed is the remark "Vous qui regardez cest livre trouverez le *Credo* en letres vermeilles et les propheties par euvres et par paroles en letres noires." The articles are, to be sure, in red letters, but the black portions of the text contain expositions of points of doctrine in addition to the propheties.

¹⁴ Joinville first uses the term in Saint Louis' lesson on what to do should the devil send temptation "dou sacrement de l'autel ou d'aucun autre point de la foi" (*Credo*,

quired of the faithful for salvation, but the actual unit of composition is the "point of faith" seen to be contained in or derived from the article. These "points" have brought about the fragmentation of the articles and an expansion or development of each fragment.¹⁵ More interesting is Joinville's identification as "points" of the faith of traditional scenes of mediaeval iconography: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Baptism, "toute la Passion et l'Ascension et l'avenement dou Saint-Esperit." Mâle has indicated that the number of New Testament scenes treated in the middle ages was restricted and seldom varied. A partial explanation can perhaps be sought in the concept that they were explicit in some of the articles of the Creed. That the problem in the *Credo* was the application of this traditional material to the Creed is apparent in the iconography.

4. Although Delaborde was puzzled by it, there does exist a fairly obvious order in the arrangement of the outline drawings in registers. The portions of the articles of the Creed, in red letters, occur only in alternate registers, two of them side by side, inscribed over such scenes as the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection, the Ascension, Christ seated at the right of God, Christ of the Second Coming, Pentecost, and the Last Judgment. In the preceding, unfilled portion of the register and in the preceding register are found the illustrations

p. 30). This does not offer much precision. More revealing is the account of the chapel which the king had constructed to attract the Mongols to the faith and in which he "fist entaillier . . . par ymages, l'Annonciacion Nostre Dame et touz les autres poins de la foy" (*Vie*, 134). A second narration of the incident is more explicit: ". . . et pour aus atraire à nostre creance, il lour fist entaillier, en la chapelle, toute nostre creance, l'Annonciacion de l'angre, la Nativitei, le bautesme dont Diex fu baptiziez, et toute la Passion et l'Ascension et l'avenement dou Saint Esperit . . ." (*Vie*, 471).

Outside Christianity, when speaking of the Assassins, he writes: "Li uns des poins de la loy Haali est que, quant uns hom se fait tuer pour le commandement son signour, que l'ame de li en va en plus aisié cors qu'elle n'estoit devant . . ." (*Vie*, 460). Speaking of the same group and of the Beduins, he writes: "Li autres poins si est teix, que il croient que nulz ne puet mourir que jusques au jour que il li est jugié . . . Et en cesti point croient li Beduin," (*Vie*, 461). The "points" patently refer to doctrinal beliefs and the expression "les poinz de nostre foi" refers to the general corpus of Christian doctrine rather than to the specific articles of the Creed.

¹⁵ L. J. Friedman, "On the Structure of Joinville's *Credo*," *MP*, LI (1953), 1-8.

for the prophecies in work and word for these "points," the prophecy in work on the left, in word on the right.¹⁶ In almost all instances these prophetic scenes have the same order as in the text of the *Credo*. The prophecy in word is represented by a figure with an appropriately inscribed phylactery. If a prophecy occurs in the unfilled portion of a register containing the illustrations for the "points," it is always a prophecy in word. Lastly, for the portion of text concerned, the outline drawings adhere rigidly to the system of parallel prophecies in work and word.

The fragmentation into "points" is confirmed by the Leningrad Breviary which, by its ascription of each article to an Apostle opposed to a Prophet, permits definite identification of Joinville's division of the Articles and their subdivision into eighteen "points."

Article I. Apostle, Peter. Prophet, Jeremiah.

Point 1: *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem . . .* (The Fall of the Angels).

Point 2: *Creatorem celi et terre* (The Creation).

Article II. Apostle, Andrew. Prophet, Nebuchadnezzar (?).

(Joinville uses this article for the Advent and combines it with the following in his treatment, so only the prophecies occur.)

A. *Credo in Jhesum Christum Filium Eius.*

B. *Unicum Dominum nostrum.*

Article III. Apostle, James. Prophet, Isaiah (?).

Point 3: *Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto* (The Annunciation).

¹⁶ As noted, the separation of the articles and prophecies by the use of red and black ink respectively is a device of the text. Its preservation in the outline drawings may cast some doubt on Delaborde's assertion that the sketches are not subordinated to any text of the *Credo*.

It has been generally assumed that Joinville's prophecies are Old Testament sayings or events interpreted as predictions of the events of the New Testament. The assumption will not bear examination, since the prophecy in word for the Ascension is the message which Christ enjoined Mary Magdalene to carry to the Disciples, the prophecy for the Entombment is Christ's answer to the wicked and adulterous generation seeking after a sign, and the prophecy in work for eternal life is the parable of the wise and foolish Virgins. The prophetic system is more extensive than the simple accommodation of the two Testaments.

- Point 4: *Natus ex Maria Virgine* (The Nativity).
- Article IV. Apostle, John. Prophet, Esdras.
- Point 5: *Passus sub Pontio Pilato* (The Passion):
- a.* Pilate washes his hands, *b.* the Sale of Christ, *c.* the Flagellation, *d.* the Bearing of the Cross).
- Point 6: *Crucifixus* (Christ between the two thieves).
- Point 7: *Et mortuus* (Christ's death on the Cross with the accompanying prodigies).
- Point 8: *Et sepultus* (The Entombment).
- Article V. Apostle, Thomas. Prophet, Hosea (?).
- Point 9: *Descendit ad inferna* (The Harrowing of Hell).
- Point 10: *Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis* (The Resurrection).
- Article VI. Apostle, James the Less. Prophet, David.
- Point 11: *Ascendit ad celo* (The Ascension).
- Point 12: *Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis* (Christ seated at the right of God).
- Article VII. Apostle, Philip. Prophet, Joel.
- Point 13: *Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos.* (Christ of the Second Coming).
- Article VIII. Apostle, Bartholomew. Prophet, Zachariah.
- Point 14: *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum* (Pentecost).
- Article IX. Apostle, Matthew. Prophet, Solomon.
- Point 15: *Sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam* (The Church).
- Article X. Apostle, Simon. Prophet, Micah.
- Point 16: *Sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum* (The Sacraments: *a.* Baptism, *b.* Marriage, *c.* Confession, *d.* the Eucharist).
- Article XI. Apostle, Thaddeus (Jude). Prophet, Ezekiel.
- Point 17: *Carnis ressurectionem* (The Resurrection and Judgment).
- Article XII. Apostle, Matthias. Prophet, Daniel.
- Point 18: *Vitam eternam. Amen* (The Marriage Supper of the Lamb).

In the illumination of the Breviary, the prophecy in word for these

“points” has frequently been incorporated into the miniature depicting the “point.”

The described order does not obtain in the outline drawings after the first register of f. 232r° where the composition by prophecy undergoes considerable modification in the text. Another exception occurs with the first of the articles depicted (compartments 1-2, top register, Pl. I) where the red legend is placed over two drawings: the first, showing Samson opening the jaws of the lion, the other, the Harrowing of Hell. The usual symmetry is missing, the point appears also over the prophecy in work, and the prophecy in word is lacking, despite the fact that it, not Samson, should have appeared to the left of the Harrowing of Hell. In the corresponding miniatures in the Breviary (lower register, Pl. XIV), the portion of the Creed also covers both the prophecy of Samson and the Harrowing of Hell. In a previous publication attempting to demonstrate that the *Credo* was skillfully contrived, we indicated that the prophecy of Hosea, with its equivocation on the term “mors” concorded directly in *word* with Article IV of the Creed and the development on the Fishing of Leviathan, while it concorded directly in *idea* by its exegetic treatment with the exegesis of the Samson prophecy and the Harrowing of Hell.¹⁷ It is gratifying to discover that the illumination of the Breviary confirms this by including the Hosea prophecy with the iconography for the Fishing of Leviathan (compartment 3, bottom register, Pl. XIII).

There is again an exception in the outline drawings for the point “Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis” (compartments 1-2, bottom register, Pl. I) where there is no separate illustration for the Resurrection, but where the red legend again appears over two compartments, the first of which contains a truncated Resurrection scene, with, inside its borders, the additional black legend “Resusitatio leunculi.” The adjoining compartment shows the figure of David with his prophecy “Et reffloruit caro mea.” Both are Joinville’s prophecies for the Resur-

¹⁷ Friedman, “Structure,” pp. 5-6.

rection. The remainder of the register is occupied by the illustration for the Ascension. In compartment 3 of the top register, where we should expect to find the prophecy in work for the Resurrection, occurs the prophecy in work for the Ascension, followed by a portion of the prophecy in word for the same event (compartment 1, middle register). The remainder of this register contains one compartment depicting two different scenes: (1) Jonah coming forth from the whale, with the legend "Jonas exit de ventre ceti" and (2) the old Saracen talking to the captive crusaders, with the legend "Li Saradins dit au barons pris an Negite." This latter scene has suffered truncation of the young armed Saracens mentioned in the text. The Jonah scene is one of those believed by Delaborde to be out of order, since he thought it the Jonah prophecy for the Entombment given in the text. A different conclusion presents itself, however: the prophecy given is not for the Entombment but for the Resurrection. The middle ages distinguished three separate prophecies in the Jonah story: (1) his being cast into the sea: the Passion, (2) his being swallowed by the whale and the length of time passed in its belly: the Entombment, (3) his live return to shore: the Resurrection.¹⁸ The *Speculum humanae salvationis* employs both Jonah's being swallowed and his being regurgitated with these different implications.¹⁹ In the outline drawings, contrary to the extant text where the emphasis is placed upon a concordance of the time spent by Jonah in the whale's belly and by Christ in the tomb,²⁰ the reference is to Jonah's release (*Jonas exit de ventre ceti*) and it is, consequently, a prophecy for the Resurrection. There can be no doubt of Joinville's application of its accompanying illustration to the Resurrection.²¹

¹⁸ "Factis quoque praefiguratae sunt: projectio enim Jonae in mare Christi passionem, susceptio ejusdem in ventre ceti Christi sepulturam, redditio ejus vivi in littus Christi resurrectionem, aperte praefiguravit." Radulphus Ardens, *Homilia XXIV*, in Migne, *PL*, CLV, 2028.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 57, 67, 145, 150 and II, Pls. 54 and 64.

²⁰ Cf. p. 37.

²¹ Did Joinville intend it to serve as the prophecy in word? Or did the Jonah scene itself represent not only the prophecy in work of the Old Testament event but also the prophecy in word through the specific interpretation given it by Christ in the Gospels? Since the words of Christ have already been used prophetically in connection with the Entombment, the latter seems improbable.

In the corresponding miniatures for the Breviary (Pl. XV) here too Elijah's being carried off in a fiery chariot, the prophecy in work for the Ascension, precedes the prophecies for the Resurrection, represented by Jonah coming forth from the whale (*Jonas exit de ventre cetis*) and David (*Et refluuit . . .*). The prophecy in word for the Ascension has been absorbed into the illumination for that point (upper register, Pl. XVI), the illumination for the Resurrection follows in the lower register, the resuscitation of the lion cub is neither depicted nor mentioned, and the scene of the captive crusaders appears out of place (compartment 1, upper register, Pl. XVII).

That the Jonah scene occurs here as a prophecy for the Resurrection is confirmed by the use in the Breviary of Jonah's being swallowed by the whale under the Entombment, with the legend "*Jonas mittitur in mare*" (compartment 1, upper register, Pl. XIII), so that the Breviary follows the same usage in this matter as the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. Langlois maintained that the appearance of the Jonah prophecy at this point demonstrated that the miniaturist had not servilely copied Joinville's text and had asserted his independence by substituting the more scriptural Jonah scene for the original lion cub.²² This explanation, if it ever was satisfactory, certainly is no longer, since the same irregularity is found in the outline drawings (except that the resuscitation of the lion cub is there mentioned) and obviously stems from reasons more immediately discernible than an artist's strivings for independence and more readily discoverable by better methods than mindreading.

5. The hypothesis to be advanced is that the outline drawings stem from a version of the *Credo* in which the Resurrection was supported by the Jonah prophecy, the prophecy of the lion cub, the prophecy of David, and the personal exemplum (used as a prophecy?) of Joinville's experience in Egypt. This has resulted in overcrowding the space available for the illuminations, an artistic problem tentatively solved in the drawings by the pictorial suppression of the lion cub, and by the

²² Langlois, "Observations," p. 366.

inclusion of the David prophecy in the illustration for the point. The Leningrad Breviary has solved the same problem in another fashion: the complete suppression of the lion cub, and the maintenance of a separate David prophecy. This still does not leave room for the captive crusaders, a scene which, in the Breviary, has been put in place of Jacob's rending his coat, the prophecy in work for the point "Sedet ad dexteram . . ." (compartment 1, top register, Pl. II). In the Breviary, the replaced prophecy has been moved back into position in the preceding cycle of the "Estoire Joseph" (compartment 2, upper register, Pl. X).²³ It seems apparent that both the outline drawings and the Breviary stem from a version of the *Credo* different from that conserved in MS 4509. Since the lion cub is still mentioned although pictorially suppressed in the outline drawings, the latter are perhaps intermediate between the original text and the Breviary, where the cub nowhere appears. A simple comparison between the order of the scenes in the drawings and the Breviary from this point on shows an identity of arrangement (except where the prophecy in word of pseudo-Job has been normally incorporated into the illustration for its point), including the inversion of the last two articles of the Creed which occur in the order "Vitam eternam. Amen" and "Carnis resurrectionem" (Pls. IV and XXII). The identity in anomalies and deviations from the extant text in both drawings and Breviary, the identity of treatment (except for the problems posed by the Resurrection), and the identity of order indicate a very direct relation between the sketches and the illuminations. The final purpose of the order of the sketches does not become apparent until the successive folios of the Breviary are brought into opposition. In opposing Plates IX

²³ The Breviary shows another instance of overcrowding at the Crucifixion. A balance between prophecies in word and work is maintained by treating each of the prodigies accompanying the Crucifixion as a prophecy in work. The prophecies of Isaac, the pascal lamb, David, Caiaphas, and the Queen of Sheba appear on Pl. XI, with both David and the Queen of Sheba in one compartment. Habakkuk and the Centurion are absorbed into the illumination for the Crucifixion. Of the four prodigies, only the eclipse is illustrated by a scene from the legend of Saint Denis. Impossible to absorb into the point, this appears beneath the framework of dual registers. Pl. XII. It cannot be known whether Jeremiah or Saint Denis appeared in the outline drawings.

and X, it is seen that the upper register of both folios contains the continuous exposition of the "Estoire Joseph" while the lower register carries the parallel story of the Passion. The opposition in this instance is not, as Langlois would have it, between folios, one devoted to New Testament scenes, the other to Old, but an opposition of Old and New Testament between upper and lower registers of two succeeding folios treated as a unit. If Plates XIII and XIV are opposed, the upper register of both pages contains the illuminations for the Entombment and its prophecies, while the lower contains the Harrowing of Hell with its materials. The opposition of Plates XV and XVI brings the prophecies for the Ascension into line with the illumination for the point in the upper register and the Resurrection material together in the lower. Plates XVII and XVIII appear to depart from this arrangement, unless it is recalled that the captive crusaders appear in place of a prophecy for the point "Sedet . . .," and the lower register is consistent in its application to the point "Inde venturus . . ." The same obtains for the remaining folios, so that it is only in this final opposition of the completed illuminations of the Breviary that the rationale of the order of the outline drawings becomes apparent.

Although a direct relation between the sketches and the Breviary is demonstrable in this fashion, were the sketches actually the preliminary work for the illumination of the Breviary? The answer to this question is outside the competence of this writer and is best left to specialists in the field of mediaeval fine arts. The treatment of the individual scenes is not always identical, but certainly shows greater similarity than the treatment of the corresponding scenes in the extant version. On the other hand, it seems difficult to reconcile the rather wooden, stocky figures of the drawings with the graceful, svelte, elegant figures of the Breviary.²⁴ In the sketches, all the figures look alike; in the Breviary, they are highly individualized, with a particularly distinctive Christ and Virgin. All beards in the sketches receive

²⁴ Delaborde, *les MSS à peintures*: "C'est l'art charmant et plein de noblesse des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles dont Honoré est le représentant le plus connu. Les peintures de ce MS rappellent celles qui ornent le Bréviaire de Philippe le Bel, conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale à Paris sous le n° 1.023 du fonds latin."

the same treatment, which recurs only as one style among several in the Breviary. The compact crowns of the sketches have little resemblance to the flaring, elongated crowns of the Breviary. Many of these discrepancies may perhaps be attributed to the differences inherent between preliminary and finished work. There nevertheless remain differences of considerable importance. In the drawings, the scene of the captive crusaders depicts only the turbaned Saracen, leaning on one crutch, talking to the French captives in a pavillion (middle register, Pl. I). In the Breviary, the little old man, with a turban, leans on one crutch and appears in the company of the young Saracens with drawn swords. The French captives are within a tower or pavillion inside another enclosure (upper register, Pl. XVII). If the Breviary was illuminated from the drawings, a text was still necessary for the restoration of these details. Lastly, both these illustrations are far more faithful to the text than is the miniature of the extant version which merely opposes the band of armed Saracens with drawn swords and the little old man leaning on *two* crutches to the French captives (p. 40).²⁵

Similarly the sketch for the Judgment of Solomon shows the king seated on a throne, the disputing women, and the executioner with the babe and a sword (compartment 3, top register, Pl. II). This treatment is similar to that of the extant version (p. 44) and both are adequate renderings of the Biblical scene. In the Breviary however these Biblical details have been relegated to the sides of the miniature, the center of which is occupied by Solomon, seated on a throne, holding a two-edged sword (lower register, Pl. XVII). A glance at the text shows that this is a complete rendering of Joinville's discussion centering chiefly around the two-edged sword of justice. The extant version and the sketches contain illustrations for the Biblical account of the Judgment

²⁵ "De sa resurrection vous dirai je que je en oi en la prison lou diemenche après ce que nous fumes pris, et ot on mis en un paveillon les riches homes . . . une grant foison de jeunes gens sarrasinz entrèrent ou clos, la ou on nous tenoit pris, les espees traites . . . il amenerent un petit home si viel par samblant comme home poist estre . . . lors s'apoya li viex petit hom sor sa croce, et atout sa barbe et ses treces chenus . . ." (*Credo*, pp. 39-41).

of Solomon, while the miniature in the Breviary applies specifically to the use of this prophecy in Joinville's *Credo*, so that again a text would have been required for this highly particularized treatment.²⁶

6. If the relation of the sketches to the Breviary is more or less clear, what is the relation of the extant version to either or both of them? The declaration of the independence of the Breviary illuminations from the text of the *Credo* was made by Langlois. If he meant that the Breviary is not accompanied by a text, the statement is manifestly true. But if he referred to formal problems of the relation of the miniatures to a text, the statement is false, particularly as qualified by Langlois' explicitly stated opinion that the author intended the text to be illuminated in the manner of the extant version. In the author's statements of purpose there is nothing to warrant this sort of dependence: "Et devant lou malade façons lire le romant . . . si que par les eux et les oreilles mete l'on lou cuer dou malade si plain de la verraie cognoissance que li anemis . . . ne puisse riens metre ou malade dou sien . . ." (p. 51). This program calls for a text to be read to the patient and illustrations to be shown to him, but there is no necessity that the two occur together and in alternation. The opening lines of the body proper read: "Vous qui regardez cest livre trouverez le *Credo* en letres vermeilles et les prophécies par euvres et par paroles en letres noires." No mention at all is made that the *reader* is going to encounter illuminations, since the indications apply only to the text. That a complete separation into a textual and pictorial series does not seem to have been the author's intent, however, is indicated in the opening lines of the preamble: "poez veoir ci après *point et escrit* les articles de nostre foi *par letres et par ymages* . . ." (italics ours) although it must be recalled that this preamble is considered an addition to the original version.

In regard to the formal problems of the relation of the miniatures to the text, the problem of "independence" appears to be the reverse of the position taken by Langlois. Indeed what mode of illumination

²⁶ Cf. p. 44.

could be more "independent" than that of the extant version, where the scribe or composer could interrupt the column of text wherever necessary or desired to insert an illustration? As many or as few as wished could be included, and they could all be placed with facility in their proper positions. Despite this maximal freedom, the specific textual references to the placement of the illuminations do not agree with the actual placing, nor do many of the scenes specifically announced appear at all. These discrepancies were evidence for Gaston Paris that the extant version was not executed under Joinville's eyes, the implication seemingly being that the 19th century critic found the work badly finished. In any event, it is evidence that the extant version was copied from a text, the redaction of 1287, in which the miniatures were placed according to the given indications. This view is confirmed by the pagination references in the text which do not refer to the actual pagination of the manuscript of the extant version. What information is supplied by the wording of these indications? They are, with the frequency of their occurrence: "Que vous veez ci après point" (3), "qui ci après sont point" (4), "ci après" (1), "que vous verrés ci après point" (2), "qui desus est point" (2), "que vous veez ci desuz point" (1), "que vous veez ci point" (4), "qui devant est point" (1), "que vous veez ci devant pointes" (1). Aside from the expression "ci point," although the opposing terms "ci après" and "ci devant" occur, there is no term opposed to "ci desuz." Such indications could conceivably apply to a page in which columns of text appeared *beneath* a group of miniatures.²⁷ The very use of these references in the text would seem applicable not to a system of illumination where the text could be opened wherever desired, but indicative of an attempt to synchronize a text with a series of miniatures which have to meet their own formal requirements of placement. The problem of overcrowding as witnessed for the Resurrection is a problem only if the formal arrangement of the miniatures must still be synchronized with a text. Completely liberated

²⁷ As is clear by Joinville's use of the term, "ci après" does not mean "immediately following" but merely "following." An even larger interval might be indicated by the use of the future *verrés* for the present *veez*. It is futile to follow this track further, for a multitude of possible meanings opens up for these vague indications.

from the text, the artist could utilize as many or as few compartments as he wished.

Conversely, the method of illumination by opening the text leaves complete liberty to the author to modify his text as he wishes. Yet the extant version gives the appearance of having still another attempted solution to the problem of overcrowding in the iconography of the Resurrection—the textual suppression of the Jonah prophecy. At the point where it should occur, we find a discussion of the need of confession within a period of three days and a sentence of a pagan on sin. Neither of these requires illumination nor is consistent with the plan of the *Credo*. Are we dealing with a substitution for the Jonah prophecy? If so, such a substitution, rather than an outright deletion, is required only if a specific ratio between lines of text and iconography must be preserved.²⁸

Are there other indications in the extant version to support this view? The miniatures for the Passion in the extant version contain a nimbed figure with a phylactery who has no relevance to the text (p. 33). Is he perchance a remnant of Saint John, the Apostle to whom the article is ascribed in the Breviary and whose nimbed head and phylactery appear there (compartment 1, lower register, Pl. IX)? Similarly the last miniature of the extant version (p. 50) applies to nothing in the text. Again is he the Prophet Daniel or Ezekiel, both of whom are opposed in the Breviary illuminations to Matthias and Jude respectively on the final folio (Pl. XXII)? The first of the two crucifixion scenes²⁹ contains a strange crowned figure holding a book in his left

²⁸ The only other possibility is that Joinville's remark "Au tiers jour vraiment Nostre Sires resuscita de mort a vie pour tenir covant a ses apostres et a ses deciples de sa resurrection . . ." is a reference to the Jonah prophecy. This hardly seems credible, since Christ gave the sign of Jonah not to his disciples and the Apostles but to the scribes and Pharisees, of which Joinville seems to be quite aware ("La profecie de la parole si disten Diex meesmes as Juis qui le requeroient qu'il lour feist aucun signe,").

²⁹ The substitution in the extant text of Jeremiah for Saint Denis could have two causes: the replacement of what was later realized to be a non-scriptural quotation by an authentic one, or an attempt to solve the arrangement problems occasioned by overcrowding. In the extant text the eclipse is represented in the first Crucifixion scene at Jerusalem, rather than at Heliopolis as required by the Saint Denis prophecy. Once Saint Denis is removed, the eclipse may be absorbed in the existing illustration.

hand, with his right raised in the gesture of speech, who has no relevance to the Crucifixion. In all likelihood he is David, but the fusion of a prophecy in word with the illumination for the point is a technique of the Breviary.³⁰ Although the extant version has a miniature for the Jonah prophecy for the Entombment, it has the wrong scene from the cycle, unless we accept the iconographic peculiarity of Jonah's being swallowed feet first (p. 37). That the picture represents the Resurrection is quite conclusively proved by the presence of the tree, which figures only where Jonah is deposited by the whale on *terra firma* and not where he is being swallowed. At another sensitive spot (p. 42), the "Tunica Joseph" for the point "Sedet . . .," the extant version again has the wrong scene from the cycle (Joseph's coat presented to Jacob rather than Jacob's rending his own coat). Mere chance could hardly explain all these peculiarities, occurring only at the places which the sketches and Breviary have shown to be sensitive and a source of problems. Finally, the inversion of the last two Articles of the Creed in the sketches and Breviary seems dictated by artistic considerations requiring an ascending order from the Resurrection to the Judgment to Paradise, with the damned being cast off into Hell at the bottom, to God's left. Such a situation would only arise if the two Articles had to be fused into a composite or arranged in two registers on the same folio, since the textual order is that of the Articles. That the two have been treated as a whole is also apparent in the text, for Article XI is accompanied only by a prophecy in word, while Article XII is accompanied only by a prophecy in work. In the textual discussion, the prophecy in word applies to the damned, the prophecy in work, by its exegesis, principally to the elect. The division of the prophecy in work into two scenes occupying the upper register has necessitated an additional, balancing, verbal authority, that of Augustine. The textual indication that the illumination for the joys of the blessed is seen "ci après" while the following sentence states the parable of the wise and foolish Virgins is "ci desuz" (with the illustrations for the parable

³⁰ Even where prophet and point are juxtaposed elsewhere in the miniatures of the extant version, the two elements are isolated in separate frames (pp. 32, 33).

intervening) does not apply to the extant version, but could readily apply to a manuscript such as we have described, where the ten Virgins appeared at the top of a folio, above a text, whereas the joys of Paradise would by normal distribution occur on the following, opposed folio.

The indications are then that the extant version is a copy of the redaction of 1287 the latter of which was seemingly illuminated in a manner similar to the Breviary and offered a third solution to the Resurrection problem. It will be recalled that Joinville states, "fis je premiers faire cest euvre en Acre." Gaston Paris and Wailly both correctly expressed their opinion that this did not signify that Joinville ordered the work to be composed by someone else. The text is Joinville's. On the other hand, the term is more than a mere synonym for "écrire" or "dicter." The program envisioned by Joinville posed definite problems whose solution called for close synchronization between author, scribe and illuminator. The iconographic evidence still reveals some of these problems of collaboration and adds a new dimension to the term "faire faire."

7. The ascription of the articles to the Apostles presents no problems, other than to note that Joinville's account of the lesson of Saint Louis given in the *Vie* reports: "Donc devez-vous croire fermement touz les articles de la foy, *lesquies li apostre tesmoignent*, aussi comme vous oez chanter au dymanche en la Credo"³¹ (italics ours). Neither the preamble nor the body of the extant version makes any reference to this old tradition of the ascription of the articles to the Apostles. Is its appearance in the Breviary merely an *hors d'œuvre* added by the illuminator without specific connection with Joinville's text? These figures do not appear in the outline sketches, although it is not impossible that they occurred together on a now missing folio.

The ascription to the Prophets, on the other hand, presents some problems which may cast light upon the question. Although the figures of the Prophets normally occur outside the framework of the illuminations, no such figure appears for Article III (Pl. VIII). Are we to

³¹ *Vie*, 45.

assume that Isaiah, whose name appears in the margin, serves both for the opposed Prophet and for the prophecy in word? In Article V (Pls. XIII-XIV), again no prophet appears in the margin, but Hosea is provided with his prophecy in word for the text on a phylactery and a second prophecy extending down the side of the frame. In the first instance, the prophet and his prophecy serve both the needs of ascription and of the text, while in the second the Prophet is used twice, but he is provided with separate prophecies for his dual role. In Article II (Pls. VII-VIII), the Prophet is seemingly Nebuchadnezzar. Elsewhere we have shown that Articles II and III have been treated as a unit for the Advent by Joinville, as indeed they are when the successive folios of the Breviary are brought together.³² The prophecy of Nebuchadnezzar which does not appear in the text is needed, however, to restore the balance between the prophecies in word and work, resulting in three of each.

The extant version, in the preamble, the text, and the iconography (except where the figures perhaps occur mistakenly, as discussed above) seems to have dispensed with the Apostles and Prophets. Such deletion would cause no problem in the first two instances cited above, but would create an imbalance in the third, since the prophecy of Nebuchadnezzar is needed in the text. It is not impossible that the Apostles and Prophets were originally an integral part of the *Credo*. Their disappearance is consistent with Joinville's alteration of Saint Louis' lesson in the preamble to the extant version.

The Prophets and their prophecies are as follows:

ARTICLE I. (Pl. VI) Jeremiah: *Patrem vocabis me dicit dominus qui fecit celum et terram in fortitudine sua et prudentia sua firmavit celos*. As is apparent, this is not a direct quotation but an allusion composed of several fragments of Jeremiah: *Et dixi: Patrem vocabis me . . .* (Jer. 3:19); *Ecce, tu fecisti coelum et terram in fortitudine tua magna* (Jer. 32:17); *Qui fecit terram in fortitudine sua . . . et prudentia sua extendit coelos* (Jer. 51:15); see also Jer. 10:12.

ARTICLE II. (Pl. VII) Nebuchadnezzar: *Ecce, inquit, video viros*

³² Friedman, "Structure," pp. 2-4.

quatuor solutos et ambulantes in medio ignis et nichil corruptionis in eis est, et species quarti similis filio Dei . . . (Dan. 3:91).

ARTICLE III. (Pl. VIII) Isaiah: *Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitur nomen [eius Emmanuel]* (Isa. 7:14).

ARTICLE IV. (Pl. IX) Esdras: *Clamantes ante tribunal vinxistis, et humiliastis me: suspensum in ligno morti tradidistis me.* The prophecy is not from the Vulgate and its provenance presents difficulties. The most extensive treatment is given by Montague R. James, *The Fourth Book of Ezra*, Texts and Studies, ed. J. Armitage Robinson, III, 2 (Cambridge, 1895), xxxviii-xl, from which the following texts are quoted. The closest Biblical text is IV Esdras 1:33 as preserved in only one MS, a Bible of the XIth century: “. . . acclamantes ante tribunal iudicis ut me traderet uobis. Accepistis me tanquam iniquum, non ut patrem, qui uos liberaui de seruitute et suspensum ligno morti tradidistis.” This text is supposed to represent a Spanish version of Esdras as opposed to the French manuscript tradition. The text closest in wording is a Latin version of the “Acts of Silvester’s Dispute with the Jews,” as transcribed by James from a XIIth century MS: “Vinxisti me non sicut patrem qui liberaui uos de terra Egypti, Clamantes ante tribunal iudicis humiliasti me: suspensum in ligno tradidisti morti me.” This differs somewhat from the Greek reported by Georgius Cedrenus in Migne, PG, CXXI, 525. These three are the only instances of the line which James discovered, and no liturgical references are cited.

ARTICLE V. (Pl. XIII) Hosea: . . . *et vivificabit nos post duos dies, in die tertia suscitabit nos* (Hos. 6:3).

ARTICLE VI. (Pl. XVI) David: *Ascendit Deus in jubilatione* (Psalm 46:6, *Ascendit Deus in iubilo*).

ARTICLE VII. (Pl. XVIII) Joel: *Ego suscitabo omnes gentes ut consurgant et ascendant in vallem Josaphat, quia ibi sedebo et iudicem eos.* This is again a compound of several verses: *Congregabo omnes gentes* (Joel 3:2); *Ecce, ego suscitabo eos* (Joel 3:7); *Consurgant et ascendant gentes in vallem Josaphat, quia ibi sedebo, ut iudicem omnes gentes in circuitu* (Joel 3:12).

ARTICLE VIII. (Pl. XX) Zachariah: *Septem oculi Domini qui discurrunt in universam terram requiescere fecerunt spiritum meum in terra aquilonis*. Compounded of *Septem isti oculi sunt Domini, qui discurrunt in universam terram* (Zach. 4:10) and *Ecce, qui egrediuntur in terram aquilonis, requiescere fecerunt spiritum meum in terra aquilonis* (Zach. 6:8).

ARTICLE IX. (Pl. XX) Solomon: *Una est columba mea, (perfecta mea), una est matris suae, electa genitrici suae* (Cant. 6:8).

ARTICLE X. (Pl. XX) Micah: *Reliquie fratrum nostrorum convertentur ad filios Israel in fortitudine Domini et deponet omnes iniquitates nostras*. Compounded of *Et reliquiae fratrum ejus convertentur ad filios Israel, Et stabit et pascet in fortitudine Domini* (Micah 5:3-4) and *deponet iniquitates nostras et projiciet in profundum maris omnia peccata nostra* (Micah 7:19).

ARTICLE XI. (Pl. XXII) Ezekiel: *Ecce, ego aperiam tumulos vestros et educam vos de sepulchris vestris, et inducam vos in terram vestram* (Ezek. 37:12, *Ecce, ego aperiam tumulos vestros, et inducam vos de sepulchris vestris, populus meus, et inducam vos in terram Israel*).

ARTICLE XII. (Pl. XXII) Daniel: *In tempore illo salvabitur populus meus, omnis qui inventus fuerit scriptus in libro vite* (Dan. 12:1, *In tempore illo salvabitur populus tuus, omnis qui inventus fuerit scriptus in libro*).

A comparison of the ascription of the articles to the Apostles and Prophets in the *Credo*, the Munich Blockbook (*Symbolum Apostolicum*, Blochbuch-unicum der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München, Paul Kristeller, Graphische Gesellschaft, XXIII Veröffentlichung [Berlin, 1917], Pls. I-XII) and the Psalter of the Duke of Berry (V. Leroquais, *les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques de France* [Mâcon, 1940-1941], II, 145-146) indicates that the attribution of the articles to the Apostles is uniform in all three and that, within the variations in the division of the articles permitted, all three fall into tradition 2 of the chart presented by Curt F. Bühler, "The Apostles and the Creed," *Speculum*, XXVIII (April, 1953), 336-337. No such agree-

ment, however, exists with the prophets as shown in the following table.

Article	Apostle	Prophet		
		<i>Credo</i>	<i>Blockbook</i>	<i>Psalter</i>
I.	Peter	Jeremiah	Jeremiah	Jeremiah
II.	Andrew	Nebuchadnezzar	David	David
III.	James, Major	Isaiah	Isaiah	Isaiah
IV.	John	Esdras	Daniel	Zachariah
V.	Thomas	Hosea	Hosea	Hosea
VI.	James	David	Amos	Zephaniah
VII.	Philip	Joel	Jonah	Joel
VIII.	Bartholomew	Zachariah	Joel	Malachi
IX.	Matthew	Solomon	Micah	Amos
X.	Simon	Micah	Malachi	Daniel
XI.	Jude	Ezekiel	Zachariah	Ezekiel
XII.	Matthias	Daniel	Ezekiel	Micah

Only three of the Prophets, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Hosea appear for the same article in all three instances. Apart from them, only Daniel, Joel, Zachariah, Micah, Ezekiel and Daniel appear in all three lists, although in different positions. The *Credo* stands alone in using Nebuchadnezzar, Esdras, and Solomon. Amos and Malachi appear in both Blockbook and Psalter, although the Blockbook alone uses Jonah and the Psalter alone uses Zephaniah. Some of the differences of the *Credo* are explicable from the use in the text proper of prophets or prophecies occurring in the other lists. The Belleville Breviary also paired off the Apostles and Prophets in the calendar, of which, unfortunately only November and December are left, with the Apostles Thaddeus and Matthias, and the Prophets Malachi and Zachariah, introducing still a fourth variation. (See V. Leroquais, *les Bréviaires manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France* [Paris, 1934], III, 205). Only an extensive collection of such attributions could determine whether there were several distinguishable traditions.

8. In the essay on Joinville, Gaston Paris cast doubt on the probability that Joinville, aged twenty-six, possessed the vast theological knowledge necessary for the composition of the *Credo*. Hence he must have received the aid of some learned clerk.³³ Such a statement was an open invitation to the *sourciers* to busy themselves with the indices of the *Patrologia latina* and even *graeca*, with the result that the "sources" were discovered either nowhere, or, which ultimately amounts to the same thing, everywhere. The deviner was left with his hazel switch pointed inquisitively at the cathedral windows of XIIIth-century France for no better reason than that Flaubert alleged, in the XIXth century, to have once found inspiration in a similar quarter.³⁴ The first objection to be made is that Paris' attitude derives more from the portrait of Joinville handed down by the romantic critic Villemain through Sainte-Beuve than from an examination of Joinville's work itself. Whatever service these early critics may have done Joinville, they also did him the immense disservice of riveting, seemingly insolubly, the epithets "naive," "primitive," "spontaneous," and "charming" to his name. The terms "naive" and "primitive" had a specific meaning to romantic critical theory and were based upon equally romantic historic and anthropologic concepts. Their use by later critics down to the present day, however, has no such justification, since the supporting systems have long since collapsed. Nor have the terms been reinterpreted through the meanings currently ascribed to them by the contemporary disciplines of history and anthropology. Anthropologically speaking, the term "primitive" is restricted to the meaning "preliterate" which results in manifest nonsense when applied to a writer. Whatever vague, judgmental or descriptive meaning is still left to these terms in the parlance of post-romantic criticism seems closely allied to the popular cliché of the mediaeval knight so eloquently expressed by Hanz von Wittenstein zu Wittenstein: "Comme chacun le sait, la part la plus importante du chevalier, c'est le cheval."

As might be expected, the most pregnant parts of the *Credo* are

³³ Paris, "Joinville," pp. 367-368.

³⁴ Lozinski, "Recherches," pp. 203-204.

those which baffled or defied attempts to find their sources. We have pointed out, in the wake of Delaborde and Lauer, that Joinville's Job prophecy does not come from the book of Job but is the Response to a Lesson taken from the book of Job for the Service of the Dead in the Roman Breviary.³⁵ In other instances, such puzzling items resolved into Biblical concordances of the two Testaments, presenting the appearance not of the activity of concordance, but its results, indicative that the author had a fund of theological knowledge derived from a specific mode of reasoning developed in mediaeval exegesis.³⁶ Indeed, upon examination, there is little in the *Credo* which requires looking farther than the Breviary or the liturgy to find its "source." The vast theological knowledge possessed by the author of the *Credo* had already been conveniently assembled by the Church. There are no grounds for suspecting the truthfulness of Joinville's description of his life at Acre at the moment he was composing the *Credo*: "Je avoie dous chapelains avec moy, qui me disoient mes hores; li uns me chantoit ma messe si tost comme l'aube dou jour apparoit, et li autres atendoit tant que mi chevalier et li chevalier de ma bataille estoient levei. Quant je avoie oÿ ma messe, je m'en aloie avec le roy."³⁷ No definite attempt has been made to trace Joinville's liturgical inspiration, since the obvious starting point, the text of the Leningrad Breviary, is inaccessible.

In addition to this constant exposure to liturgical influence at the time of the composition of the *Credo*, Joinville had undoubtedly had a normal, Christian upbringing. Various treatises of the time show the use of the same materials for the purposes of catechism, and it may well be asked whether the knowledge shown in the *Credo* is more extensive than that possessed by any reasonably intelligent mediaeval knight who had been through his catechism. To these may be added the on-the-spot Biblical observations made to Joinville by Saint Louis in the Holy Land and the general piety of the entourage of a king who thought that one of the best distractions for the court was to hear

³⁵ Friedman, "Joinville, Job, and the Day of Wrath," *MLN*, LXVII (1952), 539-541.

³⁶ Friedman, "A Mode of Medieval Thought in Joinville's *Credo*," *MLN*, LXVIII (1953), 447-452.

³⁷ *Vie*, 501.

sermons, in Latin, subsequently translated into the vernacular for those who might not have comprehended. In short, this theological knowledge was undoubtedly a basic element, if not a commonplace, in Joinville's environment.

9. The text has been transcribed from photographic reproductions. In the transcription, fidelity to the manuscript was the guiding principle. Any editorial additions have been enclosed between parentheses, while elements to be deleted from the text have been enclosed within square brackets. A distinction has been made between *i* and *j*, between *u* and *v*. The various symbols have been resolved according to the full form most frequently used by the scribe in the given word. Final accented *e* has been indicated, and the trema has been used to distinguish words of otherwise identical orthography, *pais pais*, etc. Foliation of the MS has been indicated between square brackets within the text.

Certain problems have arisen in differences in conventions in regard to the proper appearance of a page. Such problems arose where, in the extant version, the rubric of a miniature occupied the left hand half of a line while the text began on the right half; or, when the miniature occupied either the right or left half of a folio while the text continued in the unoccupied portion. To indicate such occurrences, and to remedy any instances where our printed page does not synchronize exactly with the placing of words and miniatures in the original, an asterisk has been placed after the last letter preceding a miniature in the original and before the first letter following it.

A commentary is appended, divided according to the Articles of the Creed.



u non et en l'enor dou Pere et dou Fil et dou Saint Esperit, un Dieu tout poissant, poez veoir ci après point et escrit les articles de nostre foi par letres et par ymages selonc ce que on puet poindre selonc l'humanité Jhesu Crit et selonc la nostre. Car la Deité et la Trinité et le Saint Esperit ne puet poindre main d'ome, car ce est si grant chose si com saint Poul et li autre saint le tesmoignent que *iex ne puent veoir ne oreille oir ne lengue raconter* pour les pechiez et les ordures don nous sumes plain et chargié en ceste mortel vie qui nous tolent a veoir la clarté souveraine.

Or disons donc que foiz est une vertuz qui fait croire fermement ce que hons ne voit ne ne set mais que par oir dire, ensi com nous creons nos peres et nos meres de ce que il dient que nous sumes lor fil et si n'en¹ avons autre certaineté; et donc devons nous croire plus fermement que nule autre chose terriene les poinz et les articles liquel nous sont tesmongné et enseignié de la bouche del tout poissant par touz les sainz dou viel testament et dou novel.

De croire ce que l'an ne voit me dist li rois Loys (que Diex assoille!) une haute parole que li cuens de Montfort, cil qui fu peres madame de Neele, avoit dite as (Au)b[r]i(g)ois. Cil dou païs vindrent a lui et li distrent qu'il venist veoir le cors Nostre Seignor qui estoit venuz en char et en sanc; et il lor dist: "Alez le veoir, qui ne le creez; car endroit de moi, le croi je bien desouz le pain et desouz le vin, ausinc come sainte Eglise le m'enseigne." Et il li demanderent que il i perdrait se il le venoit veoir. Et il lor dit que se il le veoit face a face, et il le creoit, point de guerredon n'en avroit; et dist que se il creoit ce que Diex et li sainz li

¹ Ne superscript between *si* and *navons*.

enseignoient, qu'il en ² atendoit plus grant guerredon et plus grant corone ou ciel que de toutes autres bones œvres qu'il porroit faire en ceste mortel vie.

Or veons donc que deus choses sont qu'i nous covient a nous sauver: ce est a savoir, bones euvres faire et fermement croire. En bones [1v^o] euvres faire m'aprist li roi Loys que je ne feisse ne ne deisse chose, se tout li mondes le savoit, que je ne l'osasse bien faire et dire; et me dist que ce soffisoit a l'onor dou cors et au sauvement de l'arme. De croire fermement me dist li rois que li enemis s'efforce tant com il puet a nous giter de ferme creance; et me enseingna que quant li enemis m'anvoieroit aucune temptacion dou sacrement de l'autel ou d'aucun autre point de la foi, que je deisse: "Enemis, ne te vaut; que ja, a l'aide de Dieu, de la foi crestiene tu ne me osteras, nes se tu me feisses touz les membres tranchier."

Et me dist li rois que ce estoit la ferme creance, laquel creance Diex a envoiee de son non, (car de *Crist* somes apelé *crestien*), laquele Diex a fait profetisier et tesmoignier a creanz et as mescreanz, ce que onques autre loi ne fu, ensi come il dit en .i. livre:

Au sainz, as saiges, au rois,³
Fist Diex (son tesmoing porter);⁴
As genz de diverses lois,
Que nus n'en puet douter.

VOUS QUI REGARDEZ CEST LIVRE TROVEREZ LE CREDO EN LETRES VERMEILLES ET LES PROPHECIES PAR EUVRES ET PAR PAROLES EN LETRES NOIRES.

Frere Henri li Tyois, qui mout fu grant clers, dist ⁵ que nus ne pooit estre saus se il ne savoit son *Credo*. Et je, pour esmouvoir les gens a croire ce de quoi il ne se pooient soffrir, fis je premier faire cest euvre en Acre, après ce que li frere le roi en furent venuz, et devant ce que

² *en* superscript.

³ Final *s* superscript.

⁴ *first Diex porter son tesmoing*. See Commentary, pp. 54-55.

⁵ *dist* superscript.

li rois alast fermer la cité de Cesaire en Palestine. Et ces premieres letres dient:

JE CROI EN DIEU LE PERE TOUT POISSANT, LE CREATOR DOU CIEL ET DE LA TERRE.

Sa grant poissance poez veoir en la creation dou monde, que vous veez ci après pointe, car il n'est nus qui poist faire la plus petite de toutes ces creatures. *Creerres* est cil qui fait de noient aucune chose. Il n'est nus qui ce puisse faire, fors que Cil seulement qui fist le ciel et la terre, le soloil et la lune, et quant que il a et haut et bas. Sa grant poissance poons veoir par les anges, qui ci après sont point, qu'il trabaucha dou ciel en enfer, et de si biaux et de si gloriex come il estoient, les fist il si lait et si hideus.

[2] Des prophecies n'a il nules sor ceste premiere page pour ce qu'ele touche de l'encomencement dou monde, que Cil fist qui est commencement et qui durra sanz fin.°



°ET EN JHESU CRIT SON FIL, NOSTRE SEIGNOR.

En la seconde page dou *Credo* ci après, si sont les prophecies de l'avenement dou Fil Dieu. Ce est a savoir que troi ange vindrent herbegier chiés Abraham, enmi desquex quenut Abraham par la volenté Dieu le Fil Dieu; et pour ce que il sout que ce estoit Cil qui le devoit rachater des poines d'enfer, il l'aora.°

[2v°]

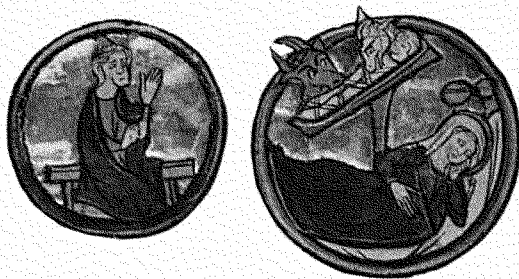


°Moyses le vit et le quenut ausinc ou boisson qui sembloit qui ardist, et si n'ardoit mie; et en ce fu senefie la virginité dou cors la benoite Virge Marie, la ou il descendi pour nous sauver. Et ces deus sont les prophecies de l'euvre. Et de la toison ausi, la ou la rosee dou ciel descendoit par merveilleuse meniere par la volenté Dieu.°



QUI EST CONCEUZ DOU SAINT ESPERIT,

°La prophecie de la parole si est de Ysaie le prophete, que vous veez point ci après, qui prophetiza que la Virge concevroit.°



°NÉ DE LA VIRGE MARIE.

La prophecie Daniel le profete, qui desus est point, sor la Nativité, dist [3] as Juis que quant li Saint des Sainz venroit, lor onction faudroit. Et ce fu veritez que quant Diex vint en terre, il n'avoient ne roi ne avesque enoint, et n'avoient roi mes que l'empereor de Rome, que rois ⁶ estoit, et non pas de lor loi ne de lor creance. Nul evesque il n'avoient enoint, ainçois achetoient les eveschiés cil qui les voloient avoir par annees.°



QUI SOUFFRI DESOUZ PONCE PYLATE,

°Et que soffri il, biax Sire? Il soffri estre venduz, batuz et fustez, et li fist on porter sa croiz; et molt d'autres viltez et vilenies li fist on avant qu'il fust crucefiez, lesquex il soffri debonairement pour l'amor de nous et pour nous delivrer des mains de l'enemi.°

⁶ See Commentary, p. 59.



La profecie de l'evre de ce fait fu de Josep⁷h, lou fil Jacob, que vous orroiz ci après commant Judas ses freres le⁸ vendi pour [3v°] trente pieces d'argent, autant com Judas li traitours vendi Jhesu Crist.

*Par molt de choses est senefié Joseph a Jhesu Crist, meismement par la cote Joseph, qui senefie la char Jhesu Crist, que ses peres li avoit fait, qui molt l'avoit chier, d'une piece, ainsi comme on fait les gans de laine. Par cele cote est senefie la char Jhesu Crist qui fu de la Virge seulement; et les nos chars sont d'ome et de fame, ce est de deus pieces.

Li freres Joseph, quant il l'orent vandu, decouperent sa cote et l'ansanglenterent et la porterent lour pere, et li firent attendant que tres pesmes bestes l'avoient devouré.*

[4] *La cote Joseph, ce est la beneoite chars Jhesu Crist, qui fu decoupee quant il fu batus en l'estache des felons Juis, qui devoient estre si frere; et tres pesmes bestes devourerent Jhesu Crist: ce fu anvie que li felon avoient seur lui. Et ainsi poez veoir que l'estoire Joseph, qui devant est pointe, est la profecie de l'evre.

La profecie de la parole si est que li roys David dist, que ci après est point: *Li felon forgeront seur mon dos, et me demousteront lor felonie.*

⁷ The scribe began an *h* replaced by *p*.

⁸ *le* superscript. See Commentary, p. 61.

ET FU CRUCEFIEZ ET MORS,^o



^oLa profecie de l'evre seur la crois, ce est de Ysaac, que vous verrés ci après point, qui fu obeissans a son pere jusques a la mort. A la mort fu livrés Nostre Seignor Jhesu Crist pour les felons Juis, et ausi honteuse mort comme de la crois, la u il pandoient alors les larons, ausi comme on fait orandroit les larons au fourches.⁹ Entre deus larons le firent il pandre en la crois pour faire attendant au pueple que par son mesfait avoit mort deservie.^o

[4v^o]



⁹ s superscript.

*Heremie dist: *O vous qui passez par la voie, regardez se il est dolours qui se preingne a la moie.* Nulle dolours ne se prist onques a la soe, car se fu Cil qui plus ot a soffrir en cest monde; et ce li acroisoit ses dolours que ill ere touz poissanz de l'amander et tout soffroit pacianment.*



*La profecie de l'euvre fu senefie en Egypte par le sanc de l'angnel de quoi l'en seingnot les antrees des ostiaux et les frons des [5] gens. Ce estoit d'une lettre que li Juif apelent *thau*, qui est samblant a la croiz. Et ce faisoient li Juif pour ce que li angle Nostre Seignor ocioient les ainz nez des ostiex de ceuz qui ne estoient seingné de cel seing, et senefie que tuit cil qui ne seront seingné dou sing de la croiz et dou sanc Jhesu Crist seront dampné. Et ce est la profecie de l'euvre.

La profecie da la parole que David dist ou Sautier que li Filz Dieu seroit samblant a un oisel que l'en apele *pellican*, qui se ocist et pierce ses costes pour raviver ses poucins.

La roine de Sabba vint voir le roi Salemon et quenut lou fust de la croiz, qui estoit en Jherusalem, et lou dist a Salemon en profetizant; et si n'iere pas dou pueple de Israel qui creoient Nostre Seignor.

Cayphas, qui lors estoit souverainz evesques quant Diex fu crucefiez, profetiza que il covenist que uns hons morust pour le pueple sauver; et encore fust il des souverainz enemis Jhesu Crist, si li fist Jhesu Crist dire la verité.

Abbacuc li profetes, qui ci après est point, profetiza mil anz devant et dist ausi comme se il eut veu Jhesu Crist morir et crier en la croiz: *Sire, fait il, je oï ta voiz et me apoantoi et m'en esbahi*. Cil qui ont entendement s'en doivent bien espoanter et esbahir, quant les creatures qui n'ont point d'entendement en furent esbahies. Car li solaus en perdi sa clarté et ne vit on nulle goutte endroit l'ore de none par tout le monde. La courtine dou temple s'en deschira. Les roches des montaignes en fendirent.¹⁰ La terre s'en ovri et geta fors les mors, qui furent veu en Jherusalem. [5v°] En icelle ore avoit en Jherusalem un riche ome qui avoit cent chevaliers desouz lui (*Centurio* estoit apelés), qui profetiza quant il vit ces merveilles et dist: *Vraiment, Ciz estoit vrais Fiz Dieu.*[°]



[°]ET FU ENCEVELIS.

La profesie de l'euvre de ce qu'il fu mis ou sepulchre si est de Jonas, que vous veez ci point, qui fu mis ou ventre de la balaine; car autretant comme Jonas fu ou ventre de la balaine tant fu li Filz Dieu ou sepulchre.

La profecie de la parole si dist Diex meesmes as Juis qui le requeroient qu'il lour feist aucun signe. Et il leur dist que il ne lor donroit autre signe que de Jonas le profete, et leur dist: car autant com Jonas fu ou ventre dou poisson, autretans seroit il ou sepulchre. Et entendez seurement que la Deité ne morut pas en la croiz, mais l'humanité qu'il prist en la Virge pour la nostre humanité delivrer des poines d'anfer.

La parole sor enfer brisé de parole se dist Diex a Job long tans avant

¹⁰ *taingnes en fendirent* is repeated at the bottom of the page.

ce qu'il venist en terre. *Job*, dist Diex, *sauras tu prendre le dyable a l'aing, si comme je ferai?* Vous savés que quant [6] li pechierres veut prendre le poisson a l'aing, il cuevre lou fer de l'eche, et li poissons cuide mangier l'eche et li fers lou prent. Or veons que pour prendre le dyable ausi comme a l'aing, couvri Diex sa Deité de nostre humanité. Et pour ce que dyables cuida que ce fust uns hons, si li pourchasa sa mort pour ramplir anfer; et maintenant la Deité lou prist, laquel descendi en anfer. °



IL DESCENDI EN ANFER.

°La profecie des portes d'anfer que Diex brisa et en traist ses amis qui leens estoient, poez entendre la profecie de l'uevre par Sanson le fort, qui ouvri la bouche dou lion a force et en trait braches de miel. Par les braches, qui sont douces et porfitables,¹¹ sont senefié li saint et li prodome que Diex traist d'anfer, liquel avoient menee en lor tens viez douces et porfitables.

Por ce profetiza Osee li profetes qui dist: *O mort, je serai ta mort, et tu anfer, je mordrai en toi.* Car ausi comme cil qui mort en la pome une partie enporte et l'autre lait, ausi anporta il d'anfer les bons et les maus laissa.

[6v°] ET AU TIER JOUR RESUCITA DE MORT. °

¹¹ *poufitables*; one stroke of the *u* has been expunged.



* Au tiers jour vraiment Nostre Sires resuscita de mort a vie pour tenir covant a ses apostres et a ses deciples de sa resurrection, laquelle nous devons croire fermement.

La profecie par euvre de la resurrection Nostre Seignor poez veoir par lou lyon qui resuscite son lioncel au tierz jour.

A sa resurrection doit prendre prodome essample, car dedans le tiers jour que l'an chiet en pechié, s'en doit on resusciter par lui confesser au plus tost que il puet; car molt foux est qui en pechié s'andort. Et pour ce dient li saint qu'il n'est pas merveille quant prodom chiet, mes ce est merveille quant tost ne se releve, pour l'ordure la[u] ou il gist. Que pechiez soit ordure, ce tesmoigne li paiens qui dist que se pechiez estoit aumone, ne le feroit il pas, car trop est vil chose.

La profecie de la parole parla David qui en la persone dou Fil Dieu dist: *Ma char refflorira par ta volenté.*

[7] De sa resurrection vous dirai je que je en oï en la prison lou diemenche après ce que nous fumes pris, et ot on mis en un paveillon les riches homes et les chevaliers portanz baniere par eus. Nous oimes . i . grant cri de gent. Nous demandames ce que estoit, et on nous dist que ce estoient nostre gent que om metoist en un grant parc tout clos de mur de terre: ceus qui ne se voloient renoier, l'an les ocioit;

ceus qui se renioient, on les laissoit. En icelle grant paour de mort ou nous estiens, vindrent a nous jusques a . xiiij . ou . xiiij . dou consoil dou soudan, trop richement appareillié de dras d'or et de soie, et nous firent demander par un frere de l'Ospital qui savoit sarrazinois, de par le soudan, se nous vorriens estre delivre. Et nous deimes que oil, et ce pooient il bien savoir. Et nous distrent se nous donriens nus des chastiaus dou Temple ne de l'Ospital pour nostre delivrance. Et li bons cuens Pierres de Bretagne lour respondi que ce ne pooit estre, pour ce que li chastelain juroient seur sainz quant om les i metoit que pour delivrance de cors d'ome ne les renderoient. Et il nous demanderent après se nous lor ¹² donriens nus des chastiaux que baron tenoient ou reame de Jherusalem pour nostre delivrance. Et li cuens de Bretaigne dist que nanil, que li chastel ne estoient pas dou fié dou roy de France. Quant il oirent ce, il nous dirent que puisque nous ne voliens faire ne l'un ne l'autre, il s'an iroient et nous amenroient ceus qui jueroient a nous des espees. Et li cuens de Bretagne lor dist que legiere chose estoit de occirre celui que on tient en sa prison.

Quant il s'en furent alé, une grant foison de jeunes gens sarrazinz entrèrent ou clos, la ou (on) [le] nous tenoit pris * [7v°] *les espees



traïtes, desquies je cuidai vraiment qu'il venissent por nous occirre.

¹² After *lor*, the scribe has written the left hand portion of an *s*, which has not been completed.

Mais non faisoient. Ançois nous anvoia Diex nostre confort entre aus, car il amenerent un petit home si viel par samblant comme home poist estre; et le tenoient par samblant celle jeune gent pour fol, et distrent au conte de Bretaigne, qui le feissent oir ce ¹³ que c'estoit uns des plus prodome de lor loi. Et lors s'apoya li viex petit hom sor sa croce, et atout sa barbe et ses treces chenues, et dist au conte que il avoit entendu que li crestien creoient un Dieu qui avoit esté pris pour aus, batus pour aus, mors pour aus, et au tierz jour estoit resuscitez; et tout ce li otroia li cuens. Et lors reedit li viex hons que "Donc ne vous ¹⁴ devez vous mie plaindre se vous avez esté pris pour li, batuz por li, navrés por li, car ausi avoit il esté pour vous. Ne encore n'avez pas la mort sofferte pour li, ausi comme il avoit fait pour vous." Et après nous dist que "Si vostre Diex avoit eu pooir de lui resusciter, et donc vous avoit il bien pooir de delivrer quant li plairoit." Et vraiment encore croi je [8] que Diex le nous anvoia, car il tarda molt pou après ce qu'il s'en fu alés que li consaus le soudan revint, qui nous dist que nous envoissiens quatre de nous parler au roi, liquiex nous avoit, par la grace que Diex li avoit donnee, touz seus pourchasia nostre delivrance. Et sachiez que voirs estoit, car ausi sagement l'avoit pourchacie li rois, par la grace Dieu, com se il eust tout le conseil de la crestienté avec lui.

IL MONTA ES CIAUX.*

*La profesie de l'uevre si est le ravissement de Helye, que vous veez ci desuz point, qui monta es cieus par la volanté Nostre Seignor, et demoura jusques a la venue Antecrist; et lors Nostres Sires l'anvoiera por conforter lou pueple par quoi il ne croient en Antecrist ne en ses huevres.

La profecie de la parole est de ce que Dieu meismes dist a ses apostres, quant il lor dist: *Je monterai a mon Pere et lou vostre*. Et li angles meismes, qui desuz est point, lour dist: *Car ausi com il montoit*,

¹³ The interpretation which should be given this line is doubtful: *cui il le feissent oir* (?), *qu'il le feisse* [nt] *oir* (?), etc.

¹⁴ *vous* superscript.

revenroit il au jour dou jugement. [8v°] La profecie de l'uevre de cele
 jornee que nostre humanité fu assise a la destre Dieu le Pere fu la cote
 Joseph que vous veez ci* °pointe, la cote Joseph presentee a Jacob



son pere depecie et ensanglantee; et ausi fu la char Jhesu Crist a Dieu
 le Pere. Et que fist Jacob? Il desirra la soie cote, et en icele memoire
 poons nous dire que Diex li Peres redesirra la soie cote. Par la cote
 Nostre Seignor poons antendre la loy des Juis, car ausi com la cote Ja-
 cob estoit plus pres de lui que nus de ses autres vestemens, ausi estoit
 lors la loy des Juis plus pres de Nostre Seignor que nules des autres
 loys qui lors fust. Et maintenant que il orent crucefié son Fil, il les
 desirra de lui en la maniere que li hons bien correciez desirre sa cote
 as .ij. mains, et si en giete une piece ça et autre la. Par mautalent
 desirra Nostre Sires les Juis d'antor lui; les pieces en a gité par lou
 monde une partie ça et autre la. Par molt d'autres pechiez qui furent
 en la vielz loi furent mis en chetivoisons, et adés lor donoit Nostre Sires
 terme de leur delivrance de cent anz en aval. Or a ja .mil. cc. iiij^{xx}.
 et sept qu'il [9] sont en chetivoisons en diverses regions, sanz nul terme
 certain de leur delivrance. Et pour ce que il n'a de lor delivrance ne
 terme ne mesure, por ce pert il bien qu'il ont pechié outre mesure.

ET SIET A LA DESTRE LOU PERE TOUT POISSANT.*

°(L)a¹⁵ profecie de la parole dist David: *Mes Sires dit a mon*

¹⁵ Although this and the following line have been indented, the *L* was not put on
 by the illuminator of capitals.



Seignor, 'Sié toi a mon destre jusques je mete tes enemis souz ton pié.'

Or veons donc que se nous conoissiens bien comment nous sommes desouz les piez Jhesu Crist et lou grant pooir qu'il a sor nous, nous ne feriens jamais mal. Mais les besoignes de ce monde ne le nous laissent pas si bien quenoistre comme besoing seroit a nous. Mes a celui jour que il vanra dou ciel por jugier les vis et les mors, lors conoistront nous sa grant poissance clerement et apertement; car il n'i avra ja ne saint ne sainte qui ne tramble de paour a sa venue.

Cele venue et celle jornee avoit bien Job ou cuer, car encore fust il li plus grant amis que Diex eust a son tens en terre, se dotoit il tant celle jornee qu'il dist a Dieu: *Sire, ou me responderai je au jor del jugement que je ne voie l'ire ta face?*

[9v°] ET VENRA AU JOUR DOU JUGEMENT, JUGIER LES MORS ET LES VIS. °



°La profecie de l'uevre si est le jugement, que vous veez ci après point, que Salemons fist des .ij. fames, qui nous senefient la viés loi et la nouvele. Noble chose et honorable et porfitable a en droit jugement, car Salemons dist que *joutise et droit jugement plait plus a Nostre Seignor que offrande* ne autre dons. Et pour ce vous en touchera un petit, pour enseigner ceus a cui joustice apartient. Et disons que l'espee qui tranche de .ij. pars senefie la droite joustice. Ce que l'espee tranche ausi bien devers° °celui qui la tient com devers les autres° °nous donne entendre que nous devons° °faire droite joustice ausi bien de nous° °comme d'autrui, et ausi de nos amis¹⁶ com de° °nos anemis. Et sachiez, li princes qui° °einci lou feroit seroit amés et dotez° °dou pueple ausi com la Bible dist que Sa° [10] °lemons fu loez et doutés dou pueple dou droit jugement qu'il ot [ot] fait a deus fames. JE CROI OU SAINT ESPERIT ET SI CROI EN SAINTE EGLISE.°



¹⁶ s superscript.

°Au Saint Esperit devons nous [grace] (croire), car par lui nous viennent tuit li bien, ce est la grace de Dieu le tout poissant.

La profecie de l'uevre sor le jour de Pentecoste si est de Helie le profete cui Diex envioia le feu dou ciel qui se espandoit sor les sacrefices; et fu senefiance que Diex enveroient lou Saint Esperit en samblance de feu le jour de la Pentecouste a ses apostres.

La profecie de la parole si est de Johel, qui dist com cil qui parloit pour Dieu le Pere, et dist: *Je respandrai mon esperit sor mes serjans.* ET OU PARDON DES PECHIEZ QUI NOUS EST FAIT PAR LES SACREMENS DE SAINTE EGLISE.

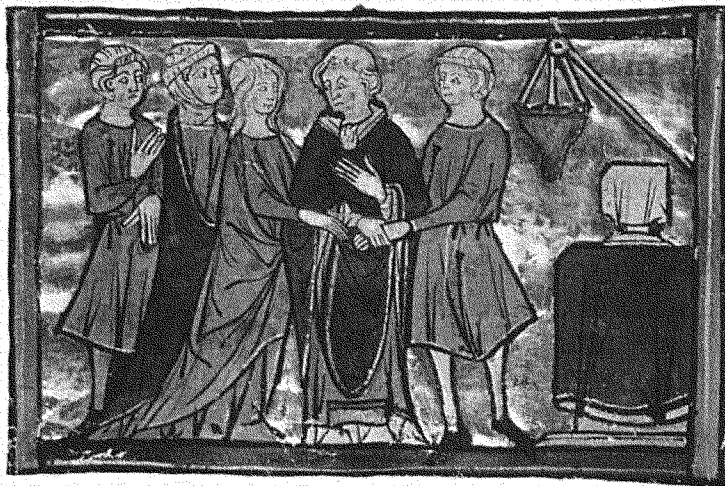
Nous devons croire la sainte Eglise de Romme et devons croire es commandemens que li apostole et li prelas de sainte Eglise nous font, et faire les penitances que il nous enjoignent. °

[10v°]



°Nous devons croire es comuns sacremens de sainte Eglise, qui ci après sont point: ce est a savoir, en baptesme, ou sacrement de l'autel, en mariage, ou pardon des pechiez, et es autres saint sacrement que sainte Eglise nous ensaigne a croire. Et ausi comme je vous ai dit devant, si fermement i devons croire que riens terriene ne nous ¹⁷ puisse deseuvrer, ne habundance ne pestilence. °

¹⁷ See Commentary, p. 77.



[11] *Nostres Sires nous a donnés les sacremenz desuz diz par les-
 quieux nous serons roy coroné ou reaume dou ciel que jamais ne nous
 faura. Et de ce dist David et profetiza, ausi com se il fust de la loi
 crestiene et dist: *Ha! Diex Sires, que te randrai je pour tous les biens
 que tu m'as fait?**



*Ma profecie de l'uevre sor les nouveles graces que je vous ai
 touchie, si est de Jacob cui en amena (1)es ¹⁸ deus filz Joseph, por ce
 que il lor donast sa beneisson. Et li mist om l'ainé devers sa destre main,
 et le mains né devers la senestre. Et li prodome croisa ses bras et mist
 sa main destre sor le moins né, et la senestre sor l'ainz né; et ce fu

¹⁸ ses

seneffiance et profecie que Diex osteroit sa beneïçon de la loi des Juis, qui ançois fu faite que la nostre, et meteroit sa beneïçon sor la nostre loi crestienne. Et ce apert tout cler, car il n'o[i]nt ne rois ne evesque enoint et nous les avons.

ET SI CROI LA RESURRECTION DE LA CHAR.

[11v^o] En la resurrection de la char devons croire fermement, car tuic cil sont fors de la foi qui n'i croient. Car se li mort ne resuscitoient, Diex ne seroit pa(s)¹⁹ an cest androit droiturex. Et ce poez vous veoir tout cler par les sains et les saintes qui furent, dont li cors soffrirent tant de torment pour l'amour de Nostre Seignor, que se Diex ne randoit le guerredon au cors qui cez tormans ont soffert, malvais service avroient fait. Et or reveons d'autre part lou contraire, c'est a savoir dou cors au pecheors, que Diex a soffert ausi con toute leur aise en ce monde, que[s]²⁰ des²¹ prosperités que Diex leur avoit presteez il ont guerroié Nostre Seignor; la ne seroit pas la balance Nostre Seignor droite se li cors de ceus ne resuscitoient pour attendre lou jugement et la joutise que Diex leur appareillié en anfer, si com il meismes lou tesmoigne de sa bouche. Et leur maus vengera Diex seur les armes et seur les cors d'aus en l'autre siecle, pour ce que Diex ne fist nulle vangence d'aus en se siecle. Bon euré iert la resurrection des mors qui es euvres Dieu moront, si com dist saint Jehan en l'Apocalipse,°
°car leur joies et leur bieneurtez leur°
°doubleront, ce est a savoir en cors et°
°en arme. Et au malvais desuz dit re°
°doubleront leur poignes et leur ma°
°leurtés en cors et en armes.

Et a ceus profetize Zophonias,°
°que vous veez ci point, et dist que°
°celle jornee iert a aus dure et de misere°



¹⁹ par

²⁰ s superscript.

²¹ s superscript.

*et de pleurs et de chativetés, a ceus encore qui en iroint en anfer.

[12] Et dist saint Augu**stin, que vous ve**ez ci point, *que vaut a l'o**me se il conquiert tout* *le monde a tort que main**tenant li faura et il en* *conquiert anfer et la* *mort qui touz jours li* *dura?* ET LA VIE PARDURABLE. AMEN.



Nous devons croire fermement que li saint et les saintes qui trespasé sont et li prodome et les prodefames qui ores vivent avront vie et joie pardurable es cieus la sus amont, et seront a la table Nostre Seignor, laquelle joie vous verrez point ci après .i. petit selonc ce que l'Apocalypse le devise.*



[12v°]

*La profecie de l'uevre poez veoir par ²² les .v. sages et par les .v. foles, que vous veez ci devant pointes, qui senefient les cinc senz de l'ome. Par les cinc senz dou preudome entendons nous les cinc sages

²² The *and* sign has been converted into the *par* abbreviation.



vierges, par lesquies li saint et li preudome sont senefié, par ce que il gardent leur cint senz et leur vies netemens. Et par ce qu'il netement les gardent en cest siecle, n'iert pas lor lumiere estainte par pechié. Et pour ce qu'il verront a tout lor lampes emprises, par lesquies nous poons antendre netes viez, la porte de Paradis lor sera overte et anterront as noces lou Fil Dieu, qui nous est senefiez par l'angel. Et pour ce que lors seront les noces plainnes et seront closes les portes de Paradis que jamais nus n'i anterra, ançois dira Diex a touz les autres ausi come li espouz dist as foles vierges,²³ pour ce qu'eles avoient lor lumieres estaintes, lour dist quant elles hucheront a la porte: *Je ne vous conois. Je ne vous conois*, fera [13] Diex a touz les malvais. He, Diex! com mal mot! Car ostel ne troveront ou il se puissent herbegier, fors que en anfer seulement, car toute iert ars et brui, terre et mers et toute autre creature terrienne, fors que li bon et li malvais. Et pour ce que lors ne seront que cez .ij. manieres de gens—li bon qui ampirer ne porront, li malvais qui jamais n'amenderont—ne laira Diex que .ij. ostiex, dont li uns ce est li dolerex ostiex d'anfer, dont Diex nous gart par sa grace et nous meismes nous en gardons, si ferons que sage; et li

²³ s superscript.

ostiex de Paradis, ouquel nous nous travaillons a habiter, si ferons plus que sage. Et Diex le nous otroie par la priere de sa douce Mere!

Nous trouvons qu'il fu un preudome en la viele loi qui ot a non Jacob, a cui Diex s'aparut; et maintenant que Jacob le vit, il l'ambrança, et tant le tint embracié que Diex li changa son non et li mist non Israel. Et la glose vaut autant de *Jacob* com *combaterres* ou *luiteottes*, et senefie que preudome en cest siecle doivent estre combatteur ou luiteur. Tuit preudome se doivent combatre contre l'enemi et contre les malvais deliz de la char; car par chevalerie covient conquerre lou regne des ciex, dont Job dist que *la vie dou preudome est chevalerie sor terre*. Luiteur doivent estre tuit preudome, car il doivent tenir Diex ²⁴ a deus bras sanz partir de lui tant qu'il lor ait donee lor beneïçon et changié lor nons ausi comme il fist Jacob, cui il mist non *Israel*, qui vaut autant comme *cil qui voit Dieu*. A ce mot poons antendre que nus n'est seurs en cest monde qu'il ait la beneïçon Dieu droitement jusque en l'autre siecle, la ou nous verrons Dieu face a face.* [13v]



Et pour ce nous est mestiers ²⁵ que nous tenons a .ij. bras* *Dieu joint en nous tant com* *nous serons en ceste mortel vie,* *par quoi li anemis ne se puis* *se metre entre nous et lui. Les* *.ij. bras de quoi nous devons* *Dieu tenir embracié si sont fer* *me foi et bones huevres. Ces .ij.* *nous convient ensamble se nous volons Dieu retenir, car li uns ne vaut riens sanz l'autre. Et ce poez

vous veoir par les dyables qui croient fermement touz les articles de nostre foi et riens ne leur vaut, por ce qu'il ne font nulles bonnes euvres. La contraire poons nous veoir es Sarrazins et es bougres parfait, qui font molt de grant penances, et riens ne lour vaut; car il est

²⁴ *Diex* superscript.

²⁵ *s* superscript.

escrit que cil qui ne croiront seront dampné. Or poons veoir que il covient avoir ensamble ferme foi et bonnes huevres. Et pour nous oster ou de l'un ou de l'autre se combatent li anemi a nous touz les jours; et plus s'an traveilleront ²⁶ au darrien jour qu'il ne font ore, ce est a antendre au jour de la mort, la ou Diex et sa Mere, et si saint et ses saintes nous veillent aider. Au ²⁷ jours darrieins verra li fel qu'i nous ne porra tolir les biens que nous avrons fait et verra que nul mal ne nous porra faire, pour ce que touz li pooir dou cors nous het faillis. Lors nous assaura d'autre part et se travaillera et fera son pooir de nous metre en aucune tempta[14]tion contre la foi ou en autre maniere par quoi il nous poisse[nt] faire morir en aucune malvaïse volanté, dont Diex nous gart! Et lors sera touz propre li Romans as ymages des poinz de nostre foi, jusques enz enz la mort, pour ce que li anemis n'en apere par aucune malvaïse avisions. Et devant lou malade façons lire le romant qui devise et enseigne les poinz de nostre foi, si que par les eux et les oreilles mete l'on lou cuer dou malade si plain de la verrière cognoissance que li anemis ne la ne aillour ne puisse riens metre ou malade dou sien, douquel Diex nous gart a celle jornee de la mort et aillors!

Devisé vous ai, au mielz que je sai, comment nous devons tenir Dieu embracié a deus bras, ce est a savoir en bras de ferme foi et en bras de bonnes huevres. Car en grant peril sont cil que li enemis puet esloignier de lui, car Diex les menace qu'il les ferra de son glaive et les menace qu'il lor traira de ses saietes. Et de ce n'ont garde si ami, qui a lui sont joint et qui embracié lou tienent. Or ne le guerpissons pas, si ferons que sage, et nous joignons a lui tant qu'il nous ait donnee sa beneïçon et tant qu'il nous ait changié le non de Jacob, qui vaut autant comme *luterres* et *combaterres*, a Israel, qui vaut autant com *cil qui voit Dieu*. Liquiex Diex nous gart et nous otroit que nous le ²⁸ puissons veoir face a face, a la sauveté des armes et des cors. Et ce nous poisse il ²⁹ otroier a la priere de sa douce Mere, et monseignor saint Michiel, et touz sainz et toutes saintes. Amen.

²⁶ a following *a nous* has been barred.

²⁷ the letters *ider au* seem to be a scribal correction.

²⁸ *le* superscript.

²⁹ *il* superscript.

COMMENTARY

PAGE 29. *que iex* . . . The phrase in this or variant forms is a mediaeval commonplace. By the ascription to "saint Poul et li autre saint," Joinville's awareness of its Biblical origin is obvious. It results from a concordance of I Cor. 2:9-10, Isaiah 44:4, and II Cor. 12:3-4. See Friedman, "Mode," pp. 447-448.

Or disons donc . . . "Il [li rois Loys] disoit que foyz et creance estoit une chose où nous deviens bien croire fermement, encore n'en fussiens-nous certain mais que par oïr-dire. Sus ce point, il me fist une demande: comment mes peres avoit non? Et je li diz que il avoit non Symon. Et il me dist comment je le savoie? Et je li diz que je en cuidois estre certains et le creois fermement, pour ce que ma mere le m'avoit tesmoingnié. Lors il me dist: 'Donc devez-vous croire fermement tous les articles de la foy, lesquels li apostre tesmoignent aussi comme vous oez chanter au dymanche en la Credo.'" (*Vie*, 45).

This argument for belief in things unseen was introduced into catechistic tradition by Augustine in the *De utilitate credendi*. See Migne, *PL*, XLII, 84.

An analysis of the differences between the parallel passages of the *Credo* and the *Vie* may be found in Friedman, "Observations on the Style of Joinville's Credo," *RP* (1954), 272-278.

De croire . . . This "exemplum" concerning Amaury VI, son of the famous Simon, is told in the *Vie*, 50: "Li sainz rois me conta que plusours gens des Aubigois vindrent au conte de Montfort qui lors gardoit la terre des Aubijois pour le roy, et li distrent que il venist veoir le cors Nostre Signour, qui estoit devenuz en sanc et en char entre les mains au prestre. Et il lour dist: "Alez le veoir, vous qui ne le creez; car je le croi fermement, aussi comme sainte Esglise nous raconte le sacrement de l'autel. Et savez-vous que je y gaignerai, fist li cuens,

de ce que je le croy en ceste mortel vie aussi comme sainte Esglise le nous enseigne? Je en averai une couronne es ciex plus que les angres, qui le voient face à face; par quoi il couvient que il le croient.” Villani and Raynaldus later use this same “exemplum,” ascribing it not to the Count of Montfort but to Saint Louis, who is supposed to have made this response when asked to see the same miracle in the Sainte Chapelle in 1260. See Le Nain de Tillemont, *Vie de saint Louis, roi de France*, ed. J. de Gaulle, Société de l’Histoire de France, IV (Paris, 1848), p. 224 and V (1849), p. 376.

PAGE 30. *En bones euvres* . . . “Il [li rois Loys] me demanda se je vouloie estre honorez en ce siecle et avoir paradis à la mort; et je li diz, oÿl. Et il me dist: ‘Donques vous gardez que vous ne faites ne ne dites à votre escient nulle riens que, se touz li mondes le savoit, que vous ne peussiez congnoistre: Je ai ce fait, je ai ce dit.’” (*Vie*, 24).

De croire fermement . . . Begins a new paragraph in the MS. “Il [li rois Loys] disoit que nous deviens croire si fermement les articles de la foy que, pour mort ne pour meschief qui avenist au cors, que nous n’aiens nulle volentei d’aler encontre par parole ne par fait. Et disoit que li ennemis est si soutilz que, quant les gens se meurent, il se travaille tant comme il puet que il les puisse faire mourir en aucune doutance des poins de la foy; car il voit que les bones œuvres que li hom a faites, ne li puet-il tollir; et voit aussi que il l’a perdu se il meurt en vraie foy.

“Et pour ce, se doit-on garder et en tel maniere deffendre de cest agait que on die à l’ennemi, quant il envoie tel temptacion: ‘Va-t’en! doit-on dire à l’ennemi; tu ne me tenteras jà à ce que je ne croie fermement touz les articles de la foy; mais se tu me fesoies touz les membres tranchier, si vueil-je vivre et morir en cesti point.’ Et qui ainsi le fait, il vaint l’ennemi de son baston et de s’espee, dont li ennemis le vouloit occirre.” (*Vie*, 43-44).

Et me dist . . . Does not begin a new paragraph in the MS.
envoiee . . . Wailly has *ennorée*.

Au sainz . . . Wailly was the first to observe that a simple transposition could turn the text back into four lines of verse, still un-

identified, but in the opinion of G. Paris taken from a "chanson pieuse" (G. Paris, "Joinville," p. 369).

Frere Henri li Tyois . . . Henry the German, or Henry of Marburg, Dominican, master in theology of the monastery at Cologne, later prior to the Holy Land. Having returned to Paris in 1238, he came to the attention of Saint Louis and, according to Echard, was instrumental in the condemnation and burning of the Talmud. Thomas of Cantimpré speaks of him on several occasions in the *De apibus*, giving the following appreciation of his preaching: "Quantum vir iste praedicatione profecerit in clero Parisius, quantumve consilio, aut etiam alias ubi diversis clericis et populis praedicavit, ad plenum posse neminem arbitror aestimare," (Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus* [Douay, 1627], 148). He accompanied Saint Louis on the seventh crusade. See Lecoy de la Marche, *la Chaire française au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1886), 112-113; Echard, *Scriptores ordinem praedicatorum* (Paris, 1719), I, 148-149; Thomas of Cantimpré, *Op. cit.*, pp. 17, 187, 417-418, 559-560.

après ce que . . . The indication is August 1250 to April 1251.

ARTICLE I. "Je croi en Dieu le Pere tout poissant, le creator dou ciel et de la terre."

Apostle: Sanctus Petrus (Pl. V).

Prophet: Jeremiah. "Patrem vocabis me, dicit Dominus qui fecit celum et terram in fortitudine sua et prudentia sua firmavit celos" (Pl. VI).

Points: Joinville uses both points to illustrate the omnipotence of God. Although the discussion of both the Creation and the Fall of the Angels is attached to the concept "omnipotentem," the Creation is also attached to the concept "creatorem." The division of the article into two points, with "creatorem" in the second produces an inversion of the scenes in the Breviary as compared to the text.

1. *Credo in Deum omnipotentem* . . . Joinville employs the traditional "trébuchement des anges." The text is an excellent verbal rendition of the scene as it appears in the *Psalter of Saint Louis and*

Blanche of Castille, where the faces and forms of the angels undergo progressive deformation from serene beauty to grotesque ugliness as they fall into the jaws of Hell (*Psautier de saint Louis et de Blanche de Castille*, 50 planches reproduisant les miniatures, initiales, etc. du manuscrit 1186 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, 1909, Pl. XV). For the history and iconography of the scene, see *Speculum humanae salvationis*, I, 181-182, where the authors ascribe the treatment of the changes in the appearance of the falling angels to the beginning of the XVth century, which is visibly too late.

Extant Version (henceforth referred to as EV): The miniature shows none of the characteristics just discussed. p. 31.

Outline Drawings (henceforth referred to as OD): Missing.

Leningrad Breviary (henceforth referred to as LB): In the Fall of the Angels, those to the extreme right and left still preserve their angelic robes, those next to them are already transformed into mediaeval devils, and the center is occupied by a crowned Lucifer (Pl. V).

2. *Creatorem celi et terre*. The textual development seems based on the traditional verse of Rom. 1:20, "Invisibilia enim ipsius, a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur; sempiterna quoque ejus virtus et divinitas." Of particular interest is the author's use of *definitio*: "*Creerres* est cil"

EV: Announced as depicted, but does not appear.

OD: Missing.

LB: Pl. VI.

Prophecies: "Des prophecies n'a il nules sor ceste premiere page por ce qu'ele touche de l'encomencement dou monde"

ARTICLE II: "Et en Jhesu Crit son Fil, Nostre Seignor."

Apostle: Sanctus Andreas (Pl. VII).

Prophet: Nebuchadnezzar. "Ecce, inquit, video viros quatuor solutos et ambulantes in medio ignis et nichil corruptionis in eis est, et species quarti similis filio Dei . . ." (Pl. VII). Nebuchadnezzar gained wide use as a prophet of Christ through his appearance in the *Sermo de*

symbolo of pseudo-Augustine, where he figures as the arch-foe of the Jews. The applicability of the prophecy to the Advent is manifest in the sermon: "O alienigena, unde tibi hoc? Quis tibi annuntiavit Filium Dei? quae Lex, quis Propheta? Nondum quidem mundo nascitur, et similitudo nascentis a te cognoscitur. Unde tibi hoc? Quis tibi istud annuntiavit, nisi quia sic te divinus ignis intus illuminavit, et cum illic apud te captivi tenerentur inimici Judaei, sic diceres testimonium Filio Dei?" (Migne, *PL*, XLII, 1126).

Points: Joinville announces only the "prophecies de l'avenement dou Fil Dieu." This article and the following are treated as a unit for the Advent or Incarnation. See Friedman, "Structure," pp. 2-4.

1. *Credo in Jhesum Christum Filium Ejus . . .*

Prophecy in work (1): Abraham and the three angels. Abraham was regarded as the first of the long line of Patriarchs and Prophets who awaited the Advent. His visitation by three angels on the plain of Mambre (Gen. 18:1-5) and that "tres vidit et unum adoravit" were interpreted as a recognition of this event. As such, it was concorded with Christ's words "Abraham quaesivit diem meum videre, vidit, et gavisus est" (John 8:56). The remaining angels were identified with Moses, who gave the Law, and Elias, who was to announce the Second Coming, the same two with whom Christ appeared during the Transfiguration. A complete exegesis with the implications for the Passion and particularly the sacraments may be found in Isidore of Seville (*PL*, LXXXIII, 243-245). The *Psalter of Saint Louis* has carefully portrayed the most minute of these details (*Psautier de saint Louis*, reproduction réduite des 92 miniatures du manuscrit latin 10.525 de la Bibliothèque nationale, [Paris, n.d.], Pl. VII).

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Missing.

LB: The Breviary portrays only the material applicable to the text. It should be recalled that Sarah's smile "non est dubitatio sed prophetia" (Isidore, *loc. cit.*). Pl. VII.

Prophecy in work (2): Moses and the burning bush. See Exodus 3:1-6. In his contention that this and the following prophecy are mis-

placed, Lozinski has mistaken a portion of the exegesis for the total prophecy (Friedman, "Structure," p. 3).

EV: The artist separates the kneeling figure of Moses from the Lord in the burning bush, by including them in separate frames. p. 32.

OD: Missing.

LB: The miniature is more detailed, showing the flock of Jethro; Moses with the traditional horns, unloosing his shoe; the Lord in the burning bush (lower register, Pl. VII).

Prophecy in work (3): The Fleece. Although the reference to Gideon's fleece is obvious (Judges 6:36-38), Joinville's statement, in its vagueness, is equally applicable to the traditionally concorded text of liturgical use "Descendet sicut pluvius in vellus" (Psalm 71:6). Both texts are used in this context by Honorius of Autun (*PL*, CLXXII, 840-841). The application of this prophecy not to the Virgin but to the Incarnation is witnessed by Hugh of Saint-Victor: "Vellus namque rore profusum est, quando beata Virgo Christum concepit" (*PL*, CLXXV, 678).

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Missing.

LB: Compartment 2, lower register, Pl. VII.

Prophecy in word (1): Nebuchadnezzar. As indicated in the "Introduction," (p. 21), the prophecy of Nebuchadnezzar is needed here to maintain the proper balance between the prophecies in word and work.

ARTICLE III. "Qui est conceuz dou Saint Esperit, Né de la Virge Marie."

Apostle: Sanctus Jacobus (Pl. VIII).

Prophet: Ysaiah (?). See Pl. VIII and "Introduction," pp. 20-21.

Points: 1. *Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto*, The Annunciation.

EV: The Annunciation appears in a square frame to the left of figure of Isaiah. p. 32.

OD: Missing.

LB: The Annunciation is fused with the prophecy of Isaiah, who balances the figure of St. James. Gabriel's phylactery is inscribed 'Ave Gracia Ple(na).' Upper register, Pl. VIII.

Prophecy in word (2): "Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel" (Isa. 7:14). On the concordance of this prophecy with the account of the Annunciation (Luke 1:31) and against Lozinski's contentions that the prophecy is misplaced, see Friedman, "Structure," p. 3.

EV: Isaiah appears in a circular frame to the right of the Annunciation. p. 32.

OD: Missing.

LB: Pl. VIII.

2. *Natus ex Maria Virgine*. The essential idea for Joinville was the Nativity.

EV: The Nativity appears in a circular frame to the right of the figure of Daniel. p. 33.

OD: Missing.

LB: The motif of the Nativity is reinforced by the appearance of the shepherds, two of whom are in adoration while a third bears a bagpipes, and of the three Magi bearing gifts. Lower register, Pl. VIII.

Prophecy in word (3): "Cum venerit Sanctus Sanctorum, cessabit unctio." This prophecy of the birth of the Child King comes from the *Sermo de symbolo* of pseudo-Augustine and derives from Daniel 9:24. The discussion of the cessation of the anointing of kings seems to be based upon John 19:15 ("Dicit eis Pilatus: Regem vestrum crucifigam? Responderunt pontifices: Non habemus regem nisi Caesarem"). Wailly has accurately noted that the text has suffered alteration at "que pois estoit" and suggests the reading "qui paiens estoit." However, the textual emendation to "rois" seems clear in the photographs. The observations on the priesthood are a commentary on John 11:49-52 ("Unus autem ex ipsis Caiphas nomine, cum esset pontifex anni illius . . . Hoc autem a semetipso non dixit, sed cum esset pontifex anni illius, prophetavit"). Chapter 27 of Augustine's 49th *Tract on John*, used as a

Lesson in the Breviary, is typical of the developments to which this text gave rise to explain the phrase *anni illius*.

EV: Daniel appears in a circular frame to the left of the Nativity. p. 33.

OD: Missing.

LB: The prophecy is fused with the illumination for the point. Pl. VIII.

ARTICLE IV. "Qui souffri desouz Ponce Pylate, et fu crucefiez et mors, et fu encevelis."

Apostle: Sanctus Johannes (Pl. IX).

Prophet: Esdras. "Clamantes ante tribunal vinxistis, et humiliastis me: suspensum in ligno morti tradidistis me." Variant of IV Esdras 1:33. See Pl. IX and "Introduction," p. 22.

Points: 1. *Passus sub Pontio Pilato*. The Passion. The text specifically mentions four events of the Passion ("venduz . . . batuz . . . fustez . . . et li fist on porter sa croiz") referring apparently to the Sale of Christ, the Buffeting, the Flagellation, and the Bearing of the Cross. Of these four sufferings, only the Flagellation is supported by prophecies; the "Estoire Joseph" is the prophecy in work, matched by the prophecy in word of David. However, by developing the parallel between Joseph (Gen. 37:3-33) and Christ, Joinville connects his material back to the previous discussion of the Incarnation and also illustrates the Sale of Christ. The Buffeting receives no special attention.

EV: (1) Christ before Pilate, p. 33. For the nimbed figure with a phylactery who corresponds to nothing in the text, see "Introduction," p. 18. Another set of miniatures in a laterally divided frame, depicts (2) the Flagellation and (3) the Bearing of the Cross. p. 34.

OD: Missing.

LB: (1) The illumination for the point depicts Christ before Pilate washing his hands (Matth. 27:24, "Videns autem Pilatus, quia nihil proficeret, sed magis tumultus fuerit, accepta aqua, lavit manus coram populo, dicens: Innocens ego sum a sanguine justi hujus: vos videritis"). Compartment 1, lower register, Pl. IX. (2) The Sale of Christ by Judas. "Judas vendidit Jhesum Dominum suum."

Compartment 2, lower register, Pl. IX. (3) The Flagellation, with the accompanying prophecy in word of David. Compartment 1, lower register, Pl. X. (4) The Bearing of the Cross, with the legend (Luke 23:28) "Nolite flere super me sed super (vos ipsas flete, et super filios vestros)".

Prophecy in work (1): "l'Estoire Joseph" (Gen. 37:3-33). The MS shows obvious corrections at the words *orroiz* and *commant*; the pronoun object *le* has been inserted above the line, suggestive of an initial reading ". . . que vous verrez ci après point, que Judas ses freres vendi pour" It is doubtful the correction was made to bring the text into accord with the disposition of the drawings, since such would be an isolated phenomenon. It is rather to be assumed that a scribal error has been corrected to bring the reading back to that of the text being copied. Following the words ". . . Judas li traitours vendi Jhesu Crist" a blank of eight lines has been left on the folio, probably to accommodate the illumination for the "Estoire Joseph." On the first line of this blank, the words "(P)ar molt de choses est senefie" have been obliterated, showing an error in recommencing the text so soon. In regard to the sum of money for which Joseph was sold, Joinville follows a tradition different from either the Vulgate or Septuagint, but preserved in Isidore of Seville: "Ille [Joseph] per Judae consilium triginta argenteis distrahitur, et hic Christus per consilium Judae Iscariotis eodem numero venundatus est," (PL, LXXXIII, 272). It may be asked whether the concordance between the *tunica polymita* of Joseph and the *tunica inconsutilis desuper contexta per totum* (John 19:23) of Christ has not resulted in a substitution of the latter for the former in this development. See Friedman, "Mode," p. 450. Certainly Joinville's development follows the traditional exegesis of the garments of Christ. The *Clavis sancti Melitonis*, Cap. II, "De Filio Dei, secundum carnem," article *Tunica* reads: "Tunica etiam coelestis, caro Christi. Genesis: 'Israel autem diligebat Joseph super omnes filios suos, fecitque ei tunicam polymitam.' Confestim igitur ut pervenit ad fratres, nudaverunt eum tunica talari et polymita, miseruntque eum in cisternam veterem Induta autem fuit haec tunica, quando Verbum carnem assumpsit

in unitatem suae personae Fuit distracta in venditione: Evangelium: 'Quid vultis mihi dare, et ego vobis eum tradam?' At illi constituerunt ei triginta argenteos. Haec est enim venditio Joseph, qui a fratribus venditus est Ismaelitis Confracta fuit in flagellatione et crucifixione Conscissa fuit in passione Haec est enim tunica Joseph, qua fratres sui Judaei non sine scissura spoliaverunt eum, et tinxerunt eam in sanguine haedi Tandem vero fuit reposita, quando 'Dominus quidem Jesus assumptus est in coelum, et sedet a dextris Dei.' " (Edited by J. B. Pitra, in *Spicilegium Solesmense* [Paris, 1855], II, 39-42). The passages cited are from Petrus Capuanus. Joinville's development, too, seems to have a possible concordance between "Israel diligebat Joseph super omnes filios suos" (Gen. 37:3) and "Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui" (Matth. 3:17).

A second blank of seven lines has been left following the words "que tres pesmes bestes l'avoient devouré."

EV: Not depicted, although announced as such.

OD: Missing.

LB: The Breviary depicts three scenes from the Joseph cycle: Joseph is sold to the merchants, with the legend "Judas vendidit Joseph fratrem suum" (Upper register, Pl. IX); two scenes labelled "Tunica Joseph" the first of which shows the "fratres Joseph" rending the coat and staining it with the blood of a kid, the second the coat presented to "Jacob plorans" who rends his own tunic (Upper register, Pl. X). The latter, although a part of the Joseph cycle, does not belong at this point in the illumination of the *Credo*. See "Introduction," p. 19.

Prophecy in word (1): "Supra dorsum meum fabricaverunt peccatores: prolongaverunt iniquitatem suam," (Psalm 128:3). Joinville's change from a perfect to a future ought not be considered a misquotation but a bad habit, frequent enough to be deplored in the *artes praedicandi*. See Th.-M. Charland, *Artes praedicandi*, Publications de l'Institut d'Études médiévales d'Ottawa, VII (Ottawa, 1936), 118.

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Missing.

LB: The crowned head and shoulders of David appear, with

a phylactery inscribed "Supra dorsum meum fa . . ." in the Flagellation scene, compartment 1, lower register, Pl. X.

2. *Crucifixus*, Christ between the two thieves. The text develops the humiliation of Christ's being crucified between the two thieves. For its closing portion, there is a possible influence from Isa. 53:12, "Tradidit in mortem animam suam, et cum sceleratis reputatus est."

EV: p. 35.

OD: Missing.

LB: Beneath the inscription "Crucifixu" appears Christ crucified with Mary and John standing on either side. The point is fused with the prophecy of Habakkuk, "Domine, auditum tuum audiui," and of the Centurion, "Vere, Filius Dei erat iste." Both prophecies seem more rightfully to belong to the following point "Mortuus," just as one would expect to find here Christ between the two thieves. Upper register, Pl. XII.

Prophecy in work (1): Isaac (Gen. 22:1-8). Joinville does not narrate the account of Genesis but develops instead the concordant text of Philippians 2:8, "Humiliavit semetipsum factus obediens [Patri] usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis." See Friedman, "Mode," pp. 448-449. Lozinski's contentions that this development is unusual are to be rejected. The same parallel can be found in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, I, 140: "Ysaac, oyant que son pere Abraham le vouloit sacrefier a Nostre Seigneur, se disoit prest et volontaire de lui obeir. Pareillement le fil Dieu obey jusques a la mort a son pere celestien, et se demoustra volontaire et prest a obeir a tous ses commandements et plaisirs."

EV: Not depicted, although announced as such.

OD: Missing.

LB: Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac is stopped by an angel who holds back the sword inscribed "Accipe arietem in Domino," compartment 1, upper register, Pl. XI.

Prophecy in word (1): Lam. 1:12, "O vos omnes, qui transitis per viam, attendite, et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus."

EV: The figure of Jeremiah appears in the following miniature along with Tau and the Pascal Lamb, p. 36.

OD: Missing. Cf. p. 13, n. 23.

LB: This prophecy does not appear.

3. *Et mortuus*, Christ's death on the Cross and the accompanying prodigies.

Prophecy in work (1): Tau and the Pascal Lamb. The development is the traditional combination of the account of the Passover (Exodus 12:1-13) and of the vision of Ezekiel 9:4-6.

EV: p. 36.

OD: Missing.

LB: Compartment 1, lower register, Pl. XI.

Prophecy in word (1): David, "Similis factus sum pellicano solitudinis" (Psalm 101:7). The pelican as a symbol of Christ is well known, although its frequent use is not to be explained by a predilection for the tales of the *Physiologus*, but from the appearance of the bird in this Psalm, which, as one of the Penitential Psalms, had extensive liturgical use. This is clearly demonstrated in the *Expositio in psalmos selectos* of Honorius of Autun (PL, CLXXII, 297-300).

EV: No doubt contained in the crowned figure who appears in the Crucifixion scene.

OD: Missing.

LB: Included in the same compartment with the prophecy of the Queen of Sheba, lower register, Pl. XI.

Prophecy in word (2): The Queen of Sheba. The legend of the Queen of Sheba and the Cross can be found in Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica* (PL, CXCVIII, 1370) and in Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, "De inventione sanctae crucis."

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Missing.

LB: Compartment 2, lower register, Pl. XI, with the inscription "Sibilla cognovit crucem et predixit." Both Bakhtine and Langlois believed that the appearance of the Sibyl in place of the Queen of Sheba is here due to an inadvertance on the part of the scribe (Langlois, "Observations," p. 366). Lozinski takes exception to this view and insists that, since there is a version of the

legend current in the Middle Ages in which the Sibyl appears *in place of* the Queen of Sheba, the indication is that the illuminator of the Missal employed sources other than the *Credo* in executing the work. To this viewpoint may be applied the mediaeval admonition “*pluritas non est ponenda sine necessitate*” and in this instance there is no necessity. In the Middle Ages, particularly in Germany, there was an established tradition of the Queen of Sheba *as* the thirteenth Sibyl, which reduces the plurality to a unity, the “inadvertance” to a synonym. See Paul Heitz and W. L. Schreiber, *Oracula Sibyllina* (Strasbourg, 1903), p. 15.

Prophecy in word (3): Caiaphas, “. . . expedit vobis, ut unus moriatur homo pro populo, et non tota gens pereat” (John 11:50). The problems raised by Lozinski concerning the validity of the prophecy of a *mala propheta* have no bearing on the question. If the commentary of Augustine in the 27th chapter of the 49th *Tract on John* does not suffice, despite its regular use as a lesson in the Breviary, the account given by Salimbene of the dispute between Hugh of Digne and Peter of Apulia is explicit on the viewpoint of Joinville’s contemporaries. Peter has denied that the prophecies of pagans, specifically Merlin, and heretics have any validity. Hugh proves to him *multipliciter* that he has lied. The sixth of these proofs is “. . . exemplo ecclesie, quia ecclesia non spernit propheticam Balaam et Cayphe, quorum unus prophetavit de nativitate Christi, alter de passione” This same sixth proof contains another prophecy, later used by Joinville and even more strongly objected to by Lozinski, “et plus profuit centurioni prophetica istius” (Salimbene, *Chronica*, ed. Oswaldus Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, XXXII [Hannoverae et Lipsiae, 1905-1913], 244-245).

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Missing.

LB: Cayphas, the *pontifex*, holds a phylactery inscribed, “Expedit vobis ut unus moriatur pro omnibus,” compartment 2, upper register, Pl. XI.

Prophecy in word (4): Habakkuk, “Domine, audiavi auditum tuum, et timui: Domine, consideravi opera tua, et obstupui.” Lozinski claims

there are no indications Joinville used any text other than the Vulgate, while he maintains that many of Joinville's quotations are so far from their original that we must assume he quoted from memory and that his memory betrayed him. The two opinions are mutually dependent and equally erroneous. The quotation in this instance is not from the Vulgate but from a version found in both the Itala and the Septuagint, Hab. 3:1. As well as appearing in the *Sermo de symbolo* of pseudo-Augustine, it is still preserved for the Verse for the Sixth Responsory, Second Nocturn for the Octave of the Nativity, and is the regular reading of the Song of Habakkuk in the Roman Breviary. Joinville's other *misquotations* will be seen to arise in the same manner, or to be allusions.

EV: Not depicted, although announced as such.

OD: Missing.

LB: See Pl. XII.

Prophecies in work (2, 3, 4, 5): Cf. p. 13, n. 23. In LB the eclipse is supported by a scene from the life of Saint Denis. Studying at Heliopolis, Denis and Apollophanes witness the eclipse. On the right, the Areopagite bears his prophecy "Hec nox quam nostris oculis novam descendisse miramur toti(us mundi veram lucem adventuram signavit atque Deum humano generi effulsisse serena dignatione dictavit.)" (Cf. C. J. Liebman, Jr., *Etude sur la vie en prose de saint Denis* [New York, 1942], p. 147.) On the left, Apollophanes bears "Istae, bone Dyonisi, divinarum retributiones sunt rerum," (pseudo-Dionysus, *Epistola VII*, in Migne, *PG*, III, 1081).

EV: p. 35.

OD: Missing.

LB: Beneath lower register, Pl. XII.

Prophecy in word (5): Centurion, "Centurio autem, et qui cum eo erant, custodientes Jesum, viso terrae motu et his, quae fiebant, timuerunt valde, dicentes: Vere Filius Dei erat iste" (Matth. 27:54).

4. *Et sepultus*, the Entombment.

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Missing.

LB: Upper register, Pl. XIV, where there occurs the inscription *et seplutu* (sic).

Prophecy in work (1): Jonah 2:1, "Et praeparavit Dominus piscem grandem, ut deglutiret Jonam; et erat Jonas in ventre piscis tribus diebus, et tribus noctibus."

EV: The miniature, p. 37, is not Jonah being swallowed by the whale, but his being cast forth. See "Introduction," p. 11.

OD: Missing.

LB: Beneath the caption "Jonas mittitur in mare" occurs the illumination, compartment 1, upper register, Pl. XIII.

Prophecy in word (1): Matth. 12:38-40, "Tunc responderunt ei quidam de Scribis et Phariseis, dicentes: Magister, volumus a te signum videre. Qui respondens ait illis: Generatio mala et adultera signum quaerit, et signum non dabitur ei, nisi signum Jonae prophetae. Sicut enim fuit Jonas in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, sic erit Filius hominis in corde terrae tribus diebus et tribus noctibus." See also Luke 11:29.

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Missing.

LB: A diminutive Christ answers the Scribes and Pharisees with "Sicut fuit Jonas . . . ," compartment 2, upper register, Pl. XIII.

ARTICLE V. "Il descendi en anfer, et au tier jour resuscita de mort."

Apostle: Sanctus Thomas (Pls. XIV and XVI).

Prophet: Osee. "Et vivificabit nos post duos dies, in die tertia suscitabit nos" See "Introduction," p. 10 and Pl. XIII.

Points: 1. *Descendit ad inferna*, The Harrowing of Hell.

EV: p. 38.

OD: Compartment 2, top register, Pl. I. The crowned head is undoubtedly that of David, while the two horns which Lauer attributes to a devil are to the contrary the customary sign of Moses. The first two persons, man and woman, are Adam and Eve. According to Lauer, the flames in the mouth of Leviathan are red in color.

LB: Compartment 2, lower register, Pl. XIV.

Prophecy in word (1): The first line of this paragraph, obviously garbled, should probably read “la prophecie de la parole sor enfer brisé” Job 40:20-21, “An extrahere poteris Leviathan hamo . . . ?” The famous exegesis of these lines is compactly contained in Honorius (*PL*, CLXXII, 937), and is perhaps best known iconographically in the form it takes in the *Hortus deliciarum* (Mâle, *l'Art religieux en France au XIII^e siècle* [Paris, 1948], 384). For the function of this passage in the composition of the *Credo*, see Friedman, “Structure,” pp. 5-6.

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Missing.

LB: The material is treated differently in the Breviary, which devotes two compartments (1-2, lower register, Pl. XIII) to the subject. The first shows a figure (God? Job?) with the inscription “Nunquid capiet leviathan hamo.” The second depicts Christ and Job in a vessel; Christ holds a fishing pole in His right hand, while a winged, horned Satan appears in the depths of the waters.

Prophecy in work (1): Sanson le fort, Judges 14:5-9.

EV: Not depicted.

OD: According to Lauer, Samson's hair has been given a pinkish hue (compartment 1, top register, Pl. I).

LB: Compartment 1, lower register, Pl. XIV.

Prophecy in word (2): Hosea, “Ero mors tua, O mors, morsus tuus ero, inferne” (Hos. 13:14). The bite into Hell is explained by Honorius: “Morsus inferni extitit quia partem ei abstulit partemque reliquit (*PL*, CLXXII, 938). The specification of an apple in the *Credo* is to be expected. The play upon words in the original passage was quickly taken up by mediaeval authors of equivocations, with specific application to Eve and the forbidden apple, a trend no doubt aided by the further equivocation or *annominatio* possible on *mālum* and *mālum*. See Baudouin de Condé, “Dit de la pomme,” *Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé*, ed. Aug. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1866), I, 181. A further equivocation was made with the “Benedictus fructus ventris tui” of the *Ave Maria*, as well as the comparison of the fruit

which brought death and that which brought life. See Baudouin de Condé, "li Ave Maria," *Op. cit.*, pp. 183-186, and Jean de Condé, "li Ave Maria," *Ibid.*, III, 131. The latter poem in this stanza also carries out an extensive *annominatio* with the terms *porte*, *deporte*, *desporte*, *aporte*, etc. Joinville's text seems to carry some vague memory of this tradition with its reference to the *portes* and the recurring verb *enporter*. Very similar constructions to those of the Condé are found in *la Senefiance de l'A B C en équivoque* of Huon le Roi, especially under the letters E and P.

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Missing.

LB: The figure of Hosea is provided with the inscription "O mors, ero mors tua, morsus tuus ero inferne," compartment 3, lower register, Pl. XIII.

2. *Tercia die resurrexit a mortuis*, the Resurrection.

EV: p. 39.

OD: Christ arises from the tomb, over an arch. It was this latter element which helped persuade Delaborde that the sketches were the preliminary work for mural decoration, since he felt this arch had been left to accommodate a doorway or window. More plausibly, it was to contain the recumbent figures of the guards, or even possibly the lion. Compartment 1, bottom register, Pl. I. The inscription "Resusitatio leunculi" also appears in this compartment.

LB: Lower register, Pl. XVI.

Prophecy in work (1): As in the case of the pelican, the tale of the lion has value in the exegesis of a Biblical line of liturgical importance. Following Easter, fairly extensive use is made of Rev. 5:5, "Ecce vicit leo de tribu Juda." This line was concorded in commentaries on Gen. 49:8-12, relating Jacob's blessing of Judah. The application of these verses to the events of the Passion, the Harrowing of Hell and the Sacraments is immediately transparent and may be found developed in full in Isidore of Seville. It is only the element *catulus leonis* which is of interest here, and its explanation as a *figura . . . expressa in animalium natura* has been given by Honorius, who sums up Isidore.

This tale from the *Physiologus* was introduced into this exegesis at a very early date by Rufinus. See Honorius, *Op. cit.*, 935-936.

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Not depicted, but mentioned in compartment 1, bottom register, Pl. I.

LB: Not depicted.

Prophecy in work (2): Jonah's release from the whale, see "Introduction," pp. 10-12. This prophecy has seemingly been replaced in the extant text by a digression on the necessity of confessing within three days after falling into sin, supported by the dictum of a "pagan" off-handedly identified by Gaston Paris as Seneca. Lozinski cast this identification into doubt, and no suggestive passage has been brought to light in Seneca.

EV: The miniature used for the Entombment, p. 37, is actually that of Jonah's release from the whale.

OD: Compartment 2, middle register, Pl. I.

LB: Compartment 1, lower register, Pl. XV. It is interesting that the treatment of the walls of Nineveh is identical with that of the enclosure and pavillion of the scene of the captive crusaders (compartment 1, upper register, Pl. XVII), if one recalls that the latter scene occurs at this point in the outline drawings. It would be interesting to know if the scene of the captive crusaders had been started and suppressed through lack of space.

Prophecy in word (1): David, "Et reffloruit caro mea," (Psalm 27:7). On Joinville's change in verb tense, see prophecy in word (1), point 1, Article IV.

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Compartment 2, bottom register, Pl. I.

LB: Compartment 2, lower register, Pl. XV.

The prophecies from both points give a total of six, three in word and three in work for the Article. Joinville's narrative of the Old Saracen and the captive crusaders is contained also in the *Vie*, 334-339: "Nous n'eumes gueres demourei illec, quant on fist lever l'un des plus riches hommes qui là fust, et nous mena l'on en un autre paveillon.

Mout de chevaliers et d'autres gens tenoient li Sarrazin pris en une court qui estoit close de mur de terre. De ce clos où il les avoient mis, les fesoient traire l'un après l'autre, et lour demandoient: "Te veus-tu renoier?" Ceus qui ne se vouloient renoier, on les fesoit mettre d'une part et coper les testes; et ceus qui se renoioient, d'autre part.

"En ce point, nous envoya li soudans son consoil pour parler à nous; et demanderent à cui il diroient ce que li soudans nous mandoit. Et nous lour deismes que ils le deissent au bon conte Perron de Bretaingne. Il avoit gens illec qui savoient le sarrazinnois et le françois, que l'on appelle drugemens, qui enromançoient le sarrazinnois au conte Perron. Et furent les paroles teix: 'Sire, le soudans nous envoie à vous pour savoir se vous vourriés estre delivre.' Li cuens respondi: 'Oil.'

"'Et que vous donriés au soudanc pour vostre delivrance? —Ce que nous pourriens faire et souffrir par raison,' fist li cuens. —'Et donriés-vous, firent-il, pour vostre delivrance, nulz des chastiaus aus barons d'outre mer?' Li cuens respondi que il n'i avoit pooir; car on les tenoit de l'empereor d'Alemaingne qui lor vivoit. Il demanderent se nous renderiens nulz des chastiaus dou Temple ou de l'Ospital pour nostre delivrance. Et li cuens respondi que ce ne pooit estre; que quant on y mettoit les chastelains, on lour fesoit jurer sur sains que pour delivrance de cors de home, il ne renderoient nulz des chastiaus. Et il nous respondirent que il lour sembloit que nous n'aviens talent d'estre delivrez, et que il s'en iroient et nous enveroient ceus qui joueroient à nous des espées, aussi comme il avoient fait aus autres. Et s'en alerent.

"Maintenant que il s'en furent alei, se feri en nostre paveillon une grans tourbe de joenes Sarrazins, les espées çaintes; et amenoient avec aus un home de grant vieillesce, tout chanu, liquex nous fist demander se c'estoit voirs que nous creiens en un Dieu qui avoit estei pris pour nous, navrez et mors pour nous, et au tiers jour resuscitez. Et nous respondimes: 'Oÿl.' Et lors nous dist que nous ne nous deviens pas desconforter, se nous aviens soufertes ces persecucions pour li: 'car encore, dist-il, n'estes-vous pas mort pour li, ainsi comme il fu mors pour vous; et se il ot pooir de li resusciter, soiés certain que il vous deliverra quant li plaira.'

“Lors s’en ala, et tuit li autre joene gens après li; dont je fu mout liés, car je cuidoe certainement que il nous fussent venu les testes tranchier. Et ne tarja gueres après quant les gens le soudanc vindrent, qui nous distrent que li roys nous avoit pourchacie nostre delivrance.”

EV: p. 40.

OD: Compartment 3, middle register, Pl. I.

LB: Compartment 1, upper register, Pl. XVII. For this position of the miniature, see “Introduction,” pp. 12-13.

ARTICLE VI. “Il monta es ciaux, et siet a la destre lou Pere tout poissant.”

Apostle: Sanctus Jacobus (Pl. XVI).

Prophet: David. “Ascendit Deus in jubilatione” (Pl. XVI).

In selecting prophecies for this article, Joinville presents only those which are applicable to both the Ascension and the Judgment, the latter being the anagogic implication of the former. See Friedman, “Structure,” pp. 4-5.

Points: 1. *Ascendit ad celo*, The Ascension.

EV: Not depicted. A blank has been left on the folio, following the rubric, “Il monta es ciaux,” although whether it was left to illustrate the Ascension or the prophecy of Elijah cannot be determined.

OD: Compartment 3, bottom register, Pl. I.

LB: Upper register, Pl. XVI. For the inversion of this scene and that for the Resurrection, see “Introduction,” p. 12.

Prophecy in work (1): “Le ravissement de Helye.” The reference is to IV Kings 2:11-13. Misled by the inscription “Dimisit palium suum Heliseo” of the outline drawings, Lauer identified this as III Kings 19:19-20, but it is quite obvious that the figures are those of a horse and chariot, not twelve oxen and a plow. The return of Elijah before the Second Coming is based upon Malachi 4:5 and Revelation 11:3-12. See Isidore of Seville, *De ortu et obitu patrum* in Migne, *PL*, LXXXIII, 140. The identification of the two witnesses of Revelation as Enoch and Elijah is made in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, following the account of the Harrowing of Hell (Gospel of Nicodemus, 20:1-4).

EV: Announced, but not depicted.

OD: Compartment 3, top register, Pl. I. For the position of this sketch, see "Introduction," p. 11.

LB: Top register, Pl. XV. The Breviary, too, carries the inscription "Dimisit pallium suum Helyseo."

Prophecy in word (1): "Noli me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum: vade autem ad fratres meos, et dic eis: Ascendo ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum: Deum meum et Deum vestrum" (John 20:16-17). The words of Christ to the Magdalene are the prophecy for the Ascension. However, to preserve the dual nature of these prophecies, Joinville has added a second element, the words of the men in white to the Disciples following the Ascension: "Viri Galilaei, quid statis aspicientes in caelum? Hic Jesus qui assumptus est a vobis in caelum, sic veniet, quemadmodum vidistis eum euntem in caelum" (Acts 1:11).

EV: The angel is announced as depicted, but does not appear.

OD: Compartment 1, middle register, Pl. I. The inscription is "Viri Galilei, quid statis aspicientes"

LB: The angel has been absorbed into the illumination for the Ascension. The inscription reads "Viri Galilei, quid admira" Upper register, Pl. XVI.

2. *Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis*, Christ seated at the right of God. In EV the prophecies for the second point precede the actual rubric. In his analysis of the work, Lozinski has accepted the placing of the rubrics in EV as the framework of the text and has considered prophecies that precede to be "out of order." However, these rubrics generally appear directly above or beneath the miniature for the scene, wherever such miniatures or a blank occurs, suggestive that their arrangement has been determined by the illumination rather than by the text. Following our hypothesis of a page with miniatures arranged similarly to the Breviary at the top, with a text beneath, the Jacob prophecy would occur "ci desuz" on a left hand page, while the illumination for the point would follow on the right hand page; when transcribed in the manner of EV, this would make the prophecies precede the point.

EV: Does not depict a Trinity. p. 43.

OD: Compartment 2, middle register, Pl. II. The inscription reads "Sedes (sic) a dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis." God, Christ, and the Holy Ghost are enthroned, with surrounding, adoring angels.

LB: Top register, Pl. XVIII. The treatment is similar to that of OD.

Prophecy in work (2): Jacob rends his coat, Gen. 37:32-34. The exegesis given by Joinville perhaps reflects certain personal elements. In the account of the envoys of the Old Man of the Mountain who returned to Saint Louis at Acre, Joinville states that they brought back two gifts, in the guise of messages: "Dedans la quinzeine, revindrent li message le Vieil en Acre, et apportèrent au roy la chemise dou Vieil; et distrent au roy, de par le Vieil, que c'estoit senefiance que aussi comme la chemise est plus près dou cors que nus autres vestemens, aussi veut li Viex tenir le roy plus près à amour que nul autre roy . . ." (*Vie*, 456). For the chronology of the Diaspora, see "Introduction," p. 2.

EV: p. 42. The scene, however, does not show Jacob rending his own coat.

OD: Compartment 1, top register, Pl. II. Beneath the inscription "Tunica Josephus" Jacob rends his coat upon seeing Joseph's torn coat presented by his brethren.

LB: Compartment 2, upper register, Pl. X. For the position of this miniature, see "Introduction," p. 13. Beneath the heading "Tunica Joseph," *Jacob plorans* rends his own tunic.

Prophecy in word (2): "Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum" (Psalm 109:1).

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Compartment 2, upper register, Pl. II.

LB: Compartment 2, upper register, Pl. XVII.

ARTICLE VII. "Et venra au jour dou jugement, jugier les mors et les vis," Christ of the Second Coming.

Apostle: Sanctus Philippus (Pl. XVIII).

Prophet: Joel. "Ego suscitabo omnes gentes ut consurgant et ascendant in vallem Josaphat, quia ibi sedebo et iudicem eos" (Pl. XVIII).

EV: p. 43.

OD: Compartment 3, middle register, Pl. II.

LB: Lower register, Pl. XVIII.

Prophecy in word (1): Pseudo-Job, "Domine, quando veneris iudicare terram, ubi me abscondam a vultu irae tuae." Delaborde and Lauer correctly identified this as the beginning of the 3rd Response to the 1st Nocturn of the Office of the Dead in the Roman Breviary. Joinville has falsely ascribed the Response to the author of the Lesson. See Friedman, "Joinville, Job, and the Day of Wrath," *MLN*, LXVII (1952), 539-541.

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Compartment 1, middle register, Pl. II.

LB: Compartment 1, lower register, Pl. XVIII. The inscription reads "Domine quando venies iudicare."

Prophecy in work (1): *Judicium Salomonis*, III Kings 3:16-28. Not recognizing the anagogic implications for the Last Judgment of this development and interpretation of the judgment of Solomon as the election of the Church over the Synagogue, Lozinski has come to the conclusion that this prophecy has nothing to do with the subject matter of the *Credo*. See Friedman, "Structure," pp. 4-5. Lozinski also believed that "joutise et droit jugement plaît plus a Nostre Seigneur que offrande" was a misquotation of Prov. 21:3 in the Vulgate. However, "Facere justitiam et iudicium magis placet Domino, quam victimae" is an attested mediaeval variant. See J. de la Haye, *Biblia Maxima* (Paris, 1660), VI, 168, and the wording of the A. V. The end of the development is a loose paraphrase of III Kings 3:28. For differences in the iconographic treatment, see "Introduction," pp. 15-16.

EV: p. 44.

OD: Compartment 3, top register, Pl. II.

LB: Bottom register, Pl. XVII.

ARTICLE VIII. "Je croi ou Saint Esperit," Pentecost.

Apostle: Bartholomeus (Pl. XX).

Prophet: Zacharias. "Septem oculi Domini qui discurrunt in universam terram requiescere fecerunt spiritum meum in terra aquilonis" (Pl. XX).

Although the rubric of EV includes "et si croi en sainte Eglise," LB, by the ascription to the Apostles, makes the division into two articles clear. The text for the second does not occur until two paragraphs further along, following the rubric for Article X. It must also be noted that there are no prophecies for Article IX. The miniatures for the sacraments, announced as following, both precede and follow the pertinent text, suggestive that the top set of miniatures may be inserted in a blank left for the illumination of "sainte Eglise."

EV: p. 44.

OD: Compartment 2, top register, Pl. III.

LB: Compartment 1, upper register, Pl. XX.

Prophecy in work (1): Elijah, III Kings 18:36-38.

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Compartment 1, bottom register, Pl. II. The celestial fire is represented by undulating, parallel lines. The inscription reads "Ignis descendit de celo sacrificium."

LB: Compartment 1, top register, Pl. XIX. Although the treatment of the sacrificial victim is not similar to that of OD, the fire descending from heaven is treated in the same way. The inscription has been restored to "Ignis descendit de celo super sacrificium."

Prophecy in word (1): Joel. For the prophecy of Joel, the outline drawings show the prophet with a phylactery inscribed E:FFŪDĀ : SPŪ : MEO : SR̄ : OMEM̄, which Lauer has read as "Effundam spiritum meo super omnem" and identified as Joel 2:18, "Effundam spiritum meum super omnem carnem." A more accurate reading would seem to be "Effundam spiritu meo super omnem" which suggests the use of this prophecy by Peter in Acts 2:17, "Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem" as indeed it appears in LB, "Effundam de spiritu meo super omnem." Joinville's text seems much closer to either Joel

2:29 (“Sed et super servos meos et ancillas in diebus illis effundam spiritum meum”) or to Acts 2:18 (“Et quidem super servos meos, et super ancillas meas in diebus illis effundam de Spiritu meo”).

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Compartment 2, bottom register, Pl. II.

LB: Compartment 1, top register, Pl. XIX.

ARTICLE IX. “Et si croi en sainte Eglise,” Holy Church.

Apostle: Matheus (Pl. XX).

Prophet: Salomon. “Una est columba mea, una est matris suae, electa genitrici suae” (Pl. XX).

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Compartment 3, top register, Pl. III.

LB: Compartment 2, upper register, Pl. XX.

ARTICLE X. “Et ou pardon des pechiez qui nous est fait par les sacremens de sainte Eglise,” the Sacraments.

Apostle: Symon (Pl. XX).

Prophet: Micheas. “Reliquie fratrum nostrorum convertentur ad filios Israel in fortitudine Domini et deponet omnes iniquitates nostras” (Pl. XX).

The text mentions Baptism, the Eucharist, Marriage, and the Remission of sins. Since he believed the entire preamble to the *Credo* to be an addition to the original version, Langlois was forced to label the specific reference to it (“et ausi comme je vous ai dit devant . . .”) an addition, too. After *riens terriene ne* the scribe has started the *p* of *poisse* and written instead *nous poisse deseuvrer*”

EV: Depicts Baptism, the Eucharist, and Marriage.

OD: Middle Register, Pl. III. Baptism, Marriage, the Eucharist, and Remission of sins symbolized by confession.

LB: Lower register, Pl. II. Baptism, Marriage, Remission of sins symbolized by confession, and the Eucharist.

Prophecy in word (1): David, “Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi?” (Psalm 115:12).

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Compartment 1, top register, Pl. III. Lauer's reading of the inscription, "quod retribuam Domino Deo" is erroneous; David's hand obscures the bottom portion of the *pr* symbol, so what Lauer has transcribed as *Deo* is actually *pro*.

LB: Compartment 2, lower register, Pl. XIX.

Prophecy in work (1): Jacob's benediction, Gen. 48:13-20.

EV: The miniature includes the figures of the Church and Synagogue, which do not occur in OD or LB. p. 46.

OD: Compartment 3, bottom register, Pl. II.

LB: Compartment 1, lower register, Pl. XIX.

ARTICLE XI. "Et si croi la resurrection de la char." The Resurrection of the Body and the Judgment.

Apostle: Thadeus (Pl. XXII).

Prophet: Ezechiel. "Ecce, ego aperiam tumulos vestros et educam vos de sepulchris vestris, et inducam vos in terram vestram" (Pl. XXII).

Joinville's development on the Resurrection is very compact. Essentially it is one of the mediaeval rational proofs of the resurrection. In his history, William of Tyr claims it to be original with him, an affirmation which is more than doubtful, since the idea occurs in Job. It is completely worked out by Vincent of Beauvais ("Resurreccio corporum probatur ratione," *Speculum morale* [Douay, 1624], 770-771). The same ring of feudal service and chivalry as in Joinville's *malvais service* can be found in the exposition of Vincent of Beauvais, who claims "Hoc exigit summi Regis curialitas." In the latter author, the scriptural authority is Malachi 3:14. The reference to "la balance Nostre Seignor" rests perhaps upon some of the Biblical injunctions against diverse weights and measures (Prov. 20:10 and 23).

The witness of Christ is to the *jugement et la joutise que Diex leur a appareillié en anfer* and refers to Matthew 25:31-34. See Friedman, "Mode," pp. 450-452.

The reference to Saint John is to Rev. 14:13, "Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur. Amodo jam dicit Spiritus ut requiescat a laboribus suis: opera enim illorum sequuntur illos."

On the doubling of joys and penalties as a proof of the Resurrection,

which is probably based upon Rev. 18:6, "Reddite illi sicut et ipsa reddidit vobis: et duplicate duplicia secundum opera ejus: in poculo, quo miscuit, miscete illi duplum," see Friedman, "Mode," pp. 450-452.

EV: Not depicted.

OD: Bottom two registers, Pl. IV.

LB: Lower register, Pl. XXII. On the inversion of the scenes in OD and LB see "Introduction," p. 19.

Prophecy in word (1): Zephaniah. Although Joinville refers to Zephaniah 1:15, "Dies irae, dies illa, dies tribulationis et angustiae, dies calamitatis et miseriae, dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nebulae et turbinis," the inscription of OD "Dies illa, dies ire, calamitatis . . ." and of LB "Dies illa, dies ire, cal . . ." agrees with the Response sung at Absolution after the Office for the Dead: "Dies illa, dies irae, calamitatis et miseriae"

The balancing statement of Augustine is actually Matthew 16:26, "Quid enim prodest homini, si mundum universum lucretur, animae vero suae detrimentum patiat?" Although this passage occurs frequently in Augustine, it is most suggestively used in two sermons, recovered from mediaeval Lectionaries, in which they are attributed to the Bishop of Hippo, for the feasts of Saint Cyprian and of Saint Lawrence (Migne, *PL*, XXXVIII, 1385-1393, 1414-1420). The particular interest of these two sermons is that the passages terminated by this quotation also employ the figure of the balance. The recovery of Joinville's breviary or of the missal of the Chapel of Saint Lawrence at Joinville could be most instructive. It is hard to believe, however, that the hypothetical "learned clerk" who supplied Joinville with his authorities would have made such a slip as this. The added authority of Augustine to the single prophecy in word for this article balances the double scene for the single prophecy in work of the next.

EV: pp. 47-48. Augustine is treated as an Augustinian monk.

OD: Bottom register, Pl. III. It was the placing of the sketches of Zephaniah and Augustine which contributed to Delaborde's and Lauer's belief that the sketches were the preliminary work for mural illumination. The curved right hand border was supposedly to ac-

commodate some sort of pilaster at a corner. A less involved explanation would be seemingly lack of space: to move the figure of Augustine to the following folio would have resulted in a total disruption of the four registers which follow; instead, it has been squeezed in here. Differing from both EV and LB, Augustine has here been treated as a bishop.

LB: The figures of Augustine and Zephaniah have been restored to their positions balancing the dual scene of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, lower register, Pl. XXI.

ARTICLE XII. "Et la vie pardurable. Amen," the Marriage Supper of the Lamb.

Apostle: Mathias (Pl. XXII).

Prophet: Daniel. "In tempore illo salvabitur populus meus, omnis qui inventus fuerit scriptus in libro vite" (Pl. XXII).

The concept of paradise as a banquet is not nearly so rare as Lozinski would have us believe. It rests upon the words of Christ at the Last Supper, "et ego dispono vobis, sicut disposuit mihi Pater meus, regnum ut edatis, et bibatis super mensam meam in regno meo, et sedeatis super thronos judicantes duodecim tribus Israel" (Luke 22:29-30). The contributions of Revelation to the scene will be observable in the iconography.

EV: Not depicted, but announced as such.

OD: Compartment 1, top register, Pl. IV, shows the concordance with the marriage supper of the Lamb, Rev. 19:7-9. Compartment 2 seems to represent the elders casting their crowns before the throne, Rev. 4:10. The second register derives from Rev. 5:8, "Et cum aperuisset librum, quatuor animalia et viginti quatuor seniores ceciderunt coram Agno, habentes singuli citharas et phialas aureas plenas odoramentorum, quae sunt orationis sanctorum." I am indebted to Mrs. Lander MacClintock for the identification of the instruments as a viol, harp, tabar, psaltery and chime-bells.

LB: The scene has been fused, and considerably altered, portraying only the crowned figures and the marriage supper of the Lamb from Revelation. The instruments are played by angels.

Prophecy in work (1): The Ten Virgins, Matthew 25:1-13. Joinville has evidently interpreted this parable as a prophecy in work.

EV: pp. 48-49. The miniatures merely depict the two sets of Virgins.

OD: Compartments 1, 2, bottom register, Pl. III. The sketches are a much closer rendering of the text, showing the five wise Virgins within the gates, the five foolish ones without, with the figure of Christ rising over the gates with the inscription "Nescio vos." The second sketch shows the foolish Virgins asking the wise for oil.

LB: Compartments 1, 2, upper register, Pl. XXI. The first, labelled "Quinque virgines fatue" shows three of the foolish Virgins, their lamps reversed, outside the gates, demanding "Date nobis de oleo vestro." The figure of Christ rises over the gates, with the inscription "Amen dico vobis; nescio vos." In the second compartment, labelled "Quinque virgines prudentes" the five wise Virgins walk in a garden, their lamps upright, stating "Ite et emite vobis."

PAGE 49. The . *ij* . *ostiex*. See Augustine, *Enchiridion*, in Migne, *PL*, XL, 284: "*Duae civitates post iudicium in aeterna vel beatitudine vel miseria*. Post resurrectionem vero facto universo completoque iudicio, suos fines habebunt civitates duae, una scilicet Christi, altera diaboli; una bonorum, altera malorum, etc. . . ."

PAGE 50. On the exegesis of Jacob's fight with the angel, see Friedman, "Observations," pp. 276-278. The reference to Job is "Militia est vita hominis super terram" (Job 7:1).

For the prophet who agrees with nothing in the text, see "Introduction," p. 18. The only other possibility is that it represents Job.

The reference to the faith of devils is James 2:19, "Tu credis quoniam unus est Deus: bene facis: et daemones credunt et contremiscunt."

Car il est escrit . . . Possible allusion to John 3:18, or John 3:36, or Revelation 21:8.

PAGE 51. *Et pour nous oster* . . . See comment on *De croire fermement* of p. 2.

car Diex les menace . . . "Deux judex justus, fortis, et patiens: numquid irascitur per singulos dies? Nisi conversi fueritis, gladium suum vibrabit: arcum suum tetendit, et paravit illum. Et in eo paravit vas mortis, sagittas suas ardentibus effecit" (Psalm 7:12-14). On the iconographic development of the theme of God casting a jav-

elin or shooting arrows, see Paul Perdrizet, *la Vierge de miséricorde*, étude d'un thème iconographique, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 101 (Paris, 1908), pp. 107-136.

PLATES

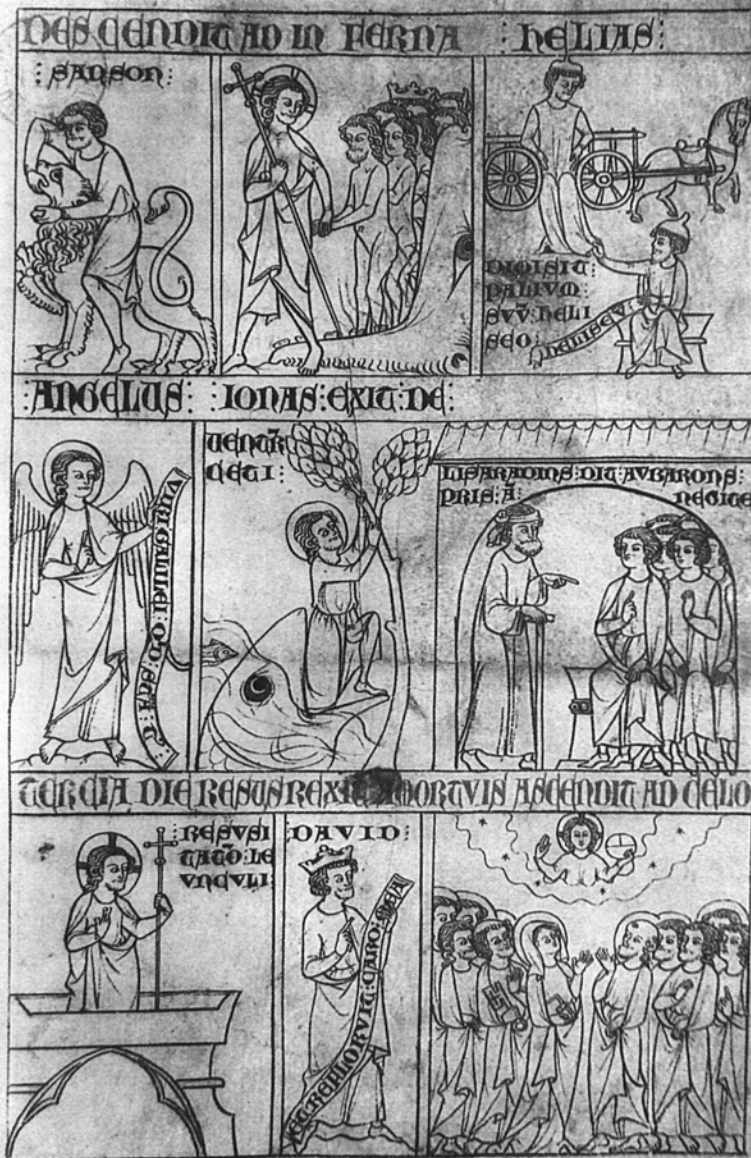


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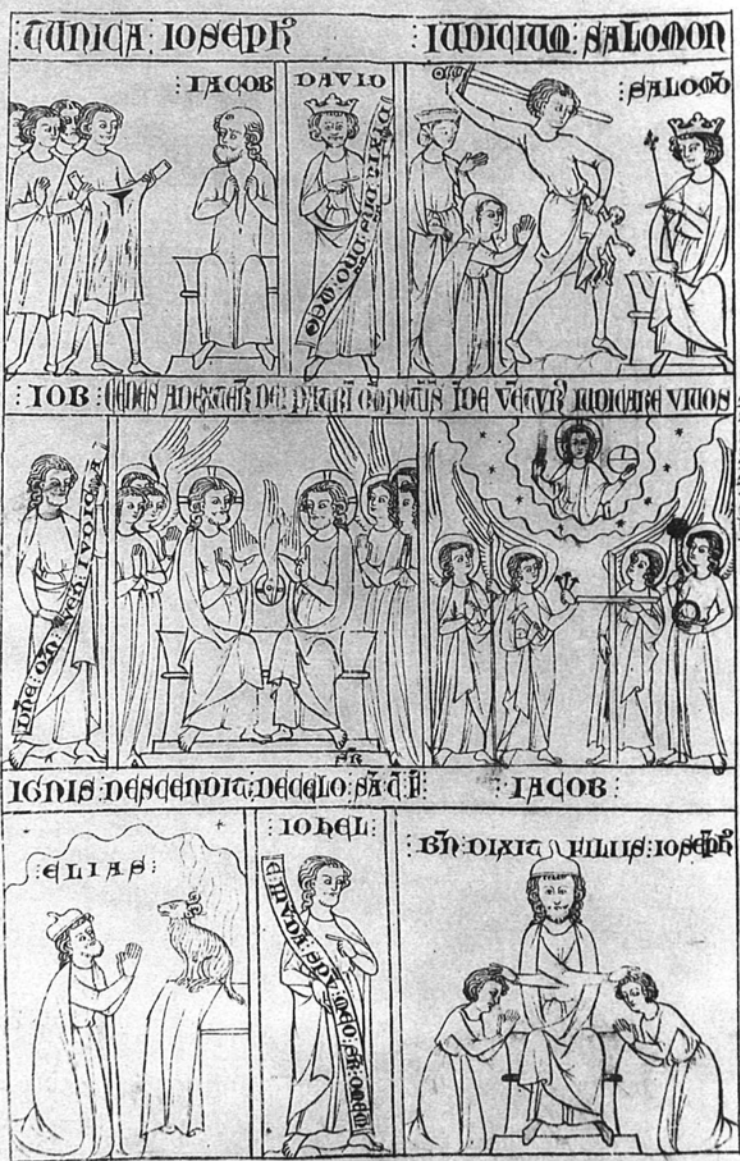


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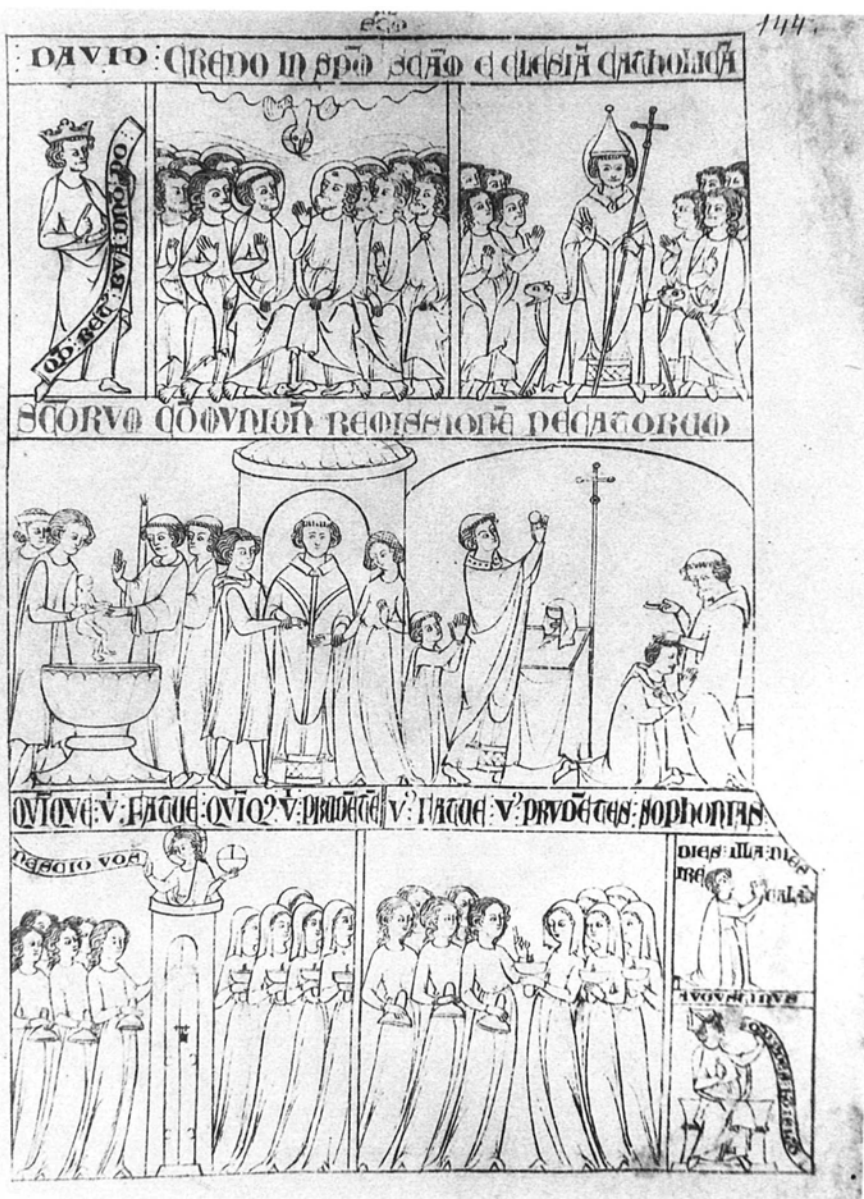


PLATE III



PLATE IV

Sanctus pater.





PLATE VI

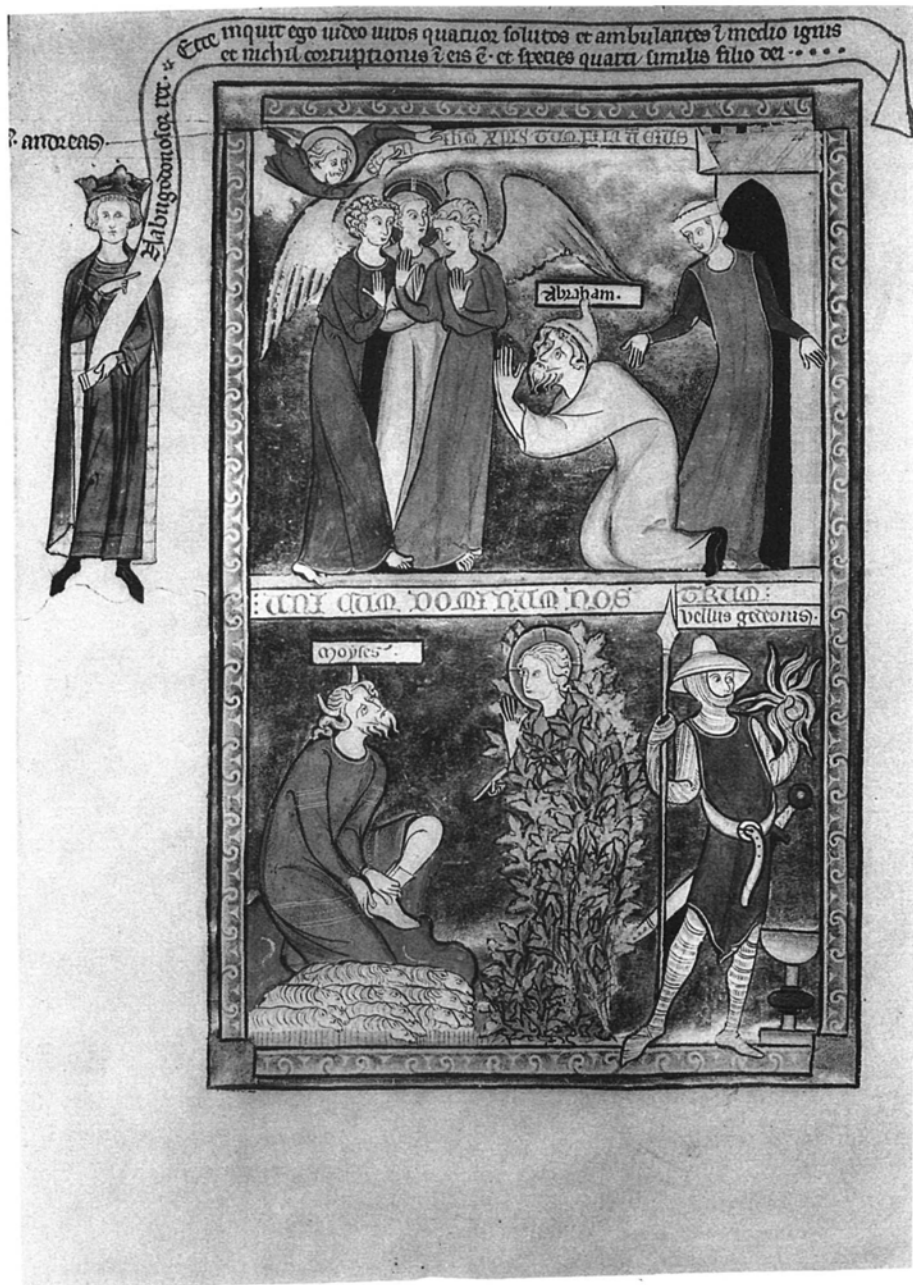


PLATE VII

plains

S. Iacobus.







PLATE X



PLATE XI

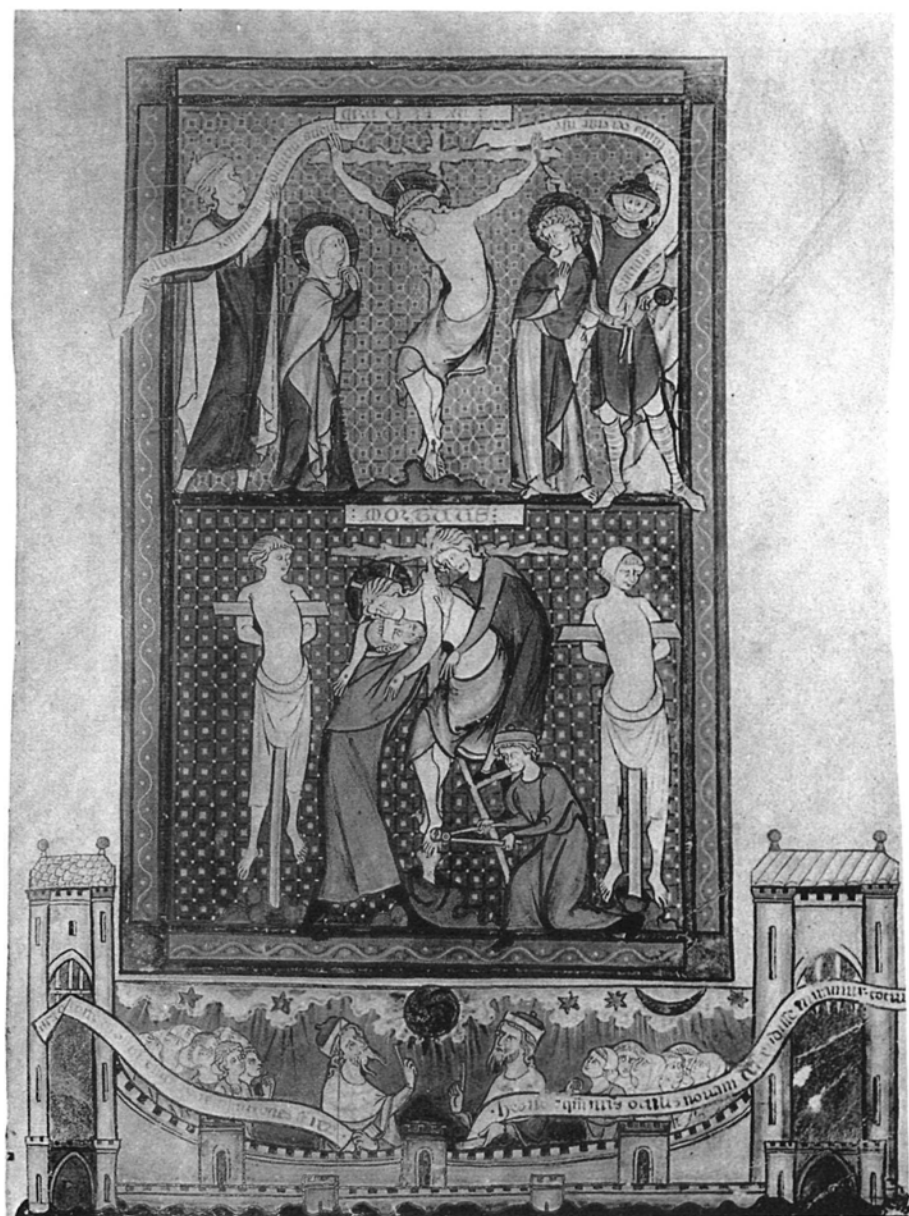


PLATE XII

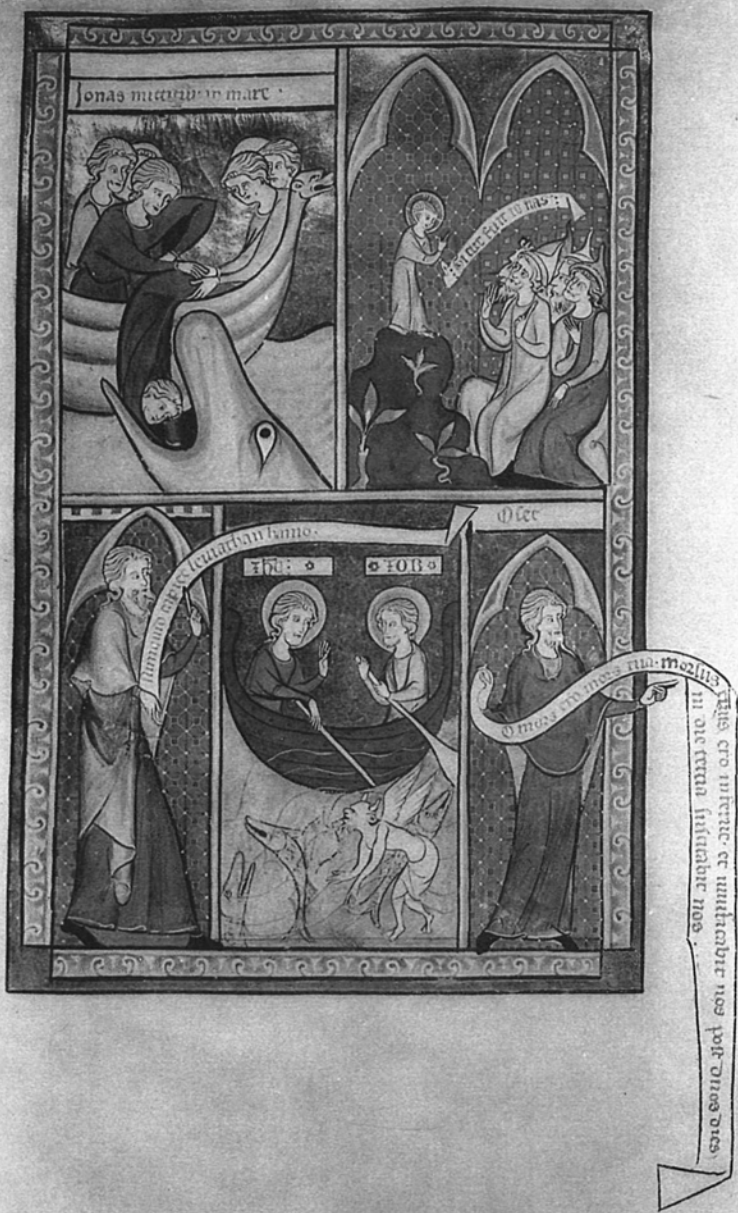
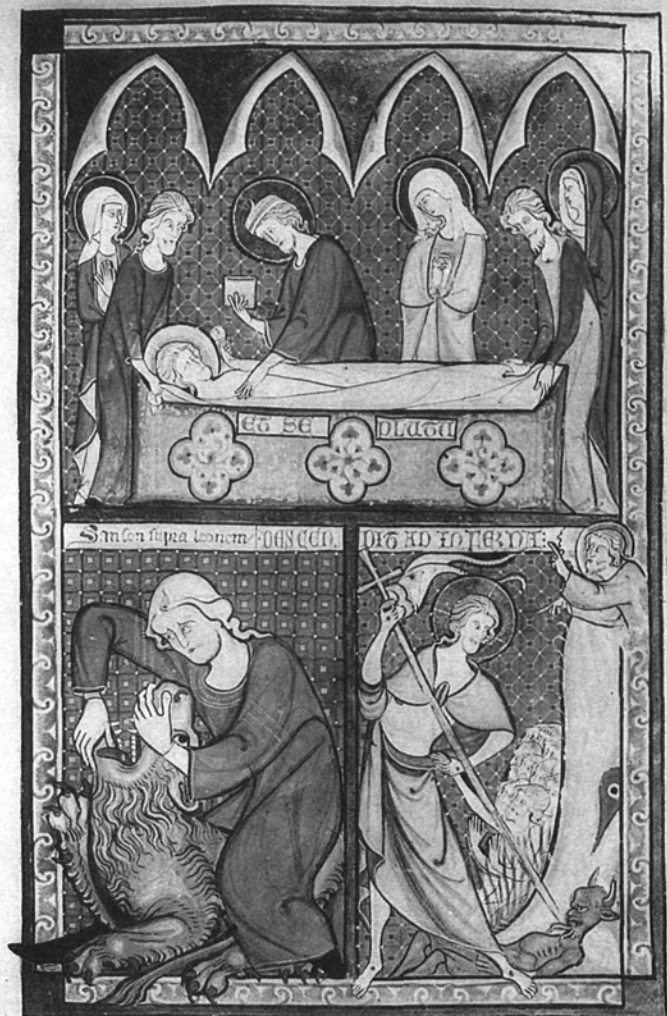


PLATE XIII



Sa thomas.

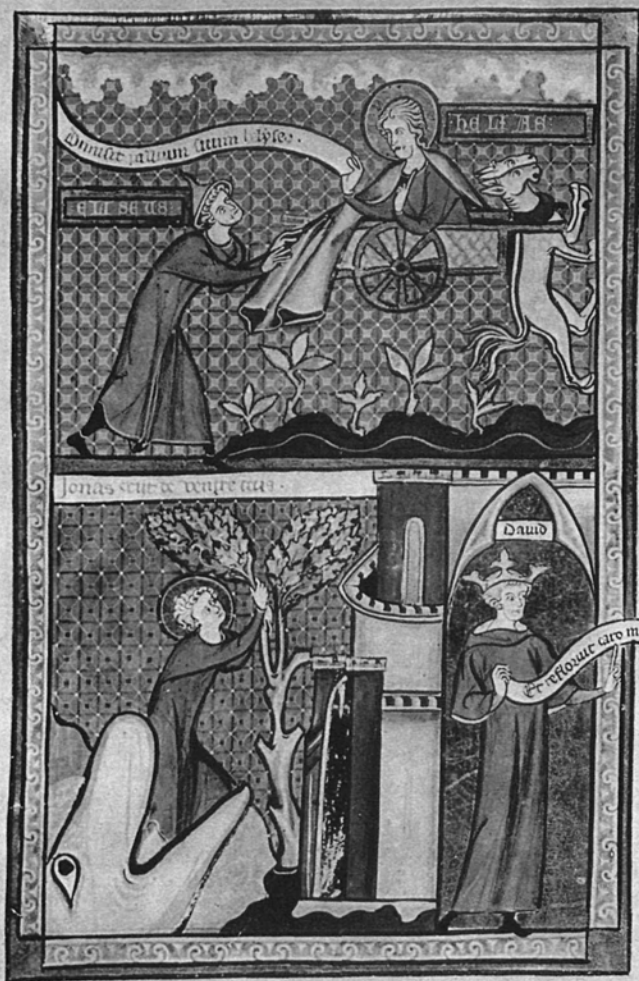


PLATE XV

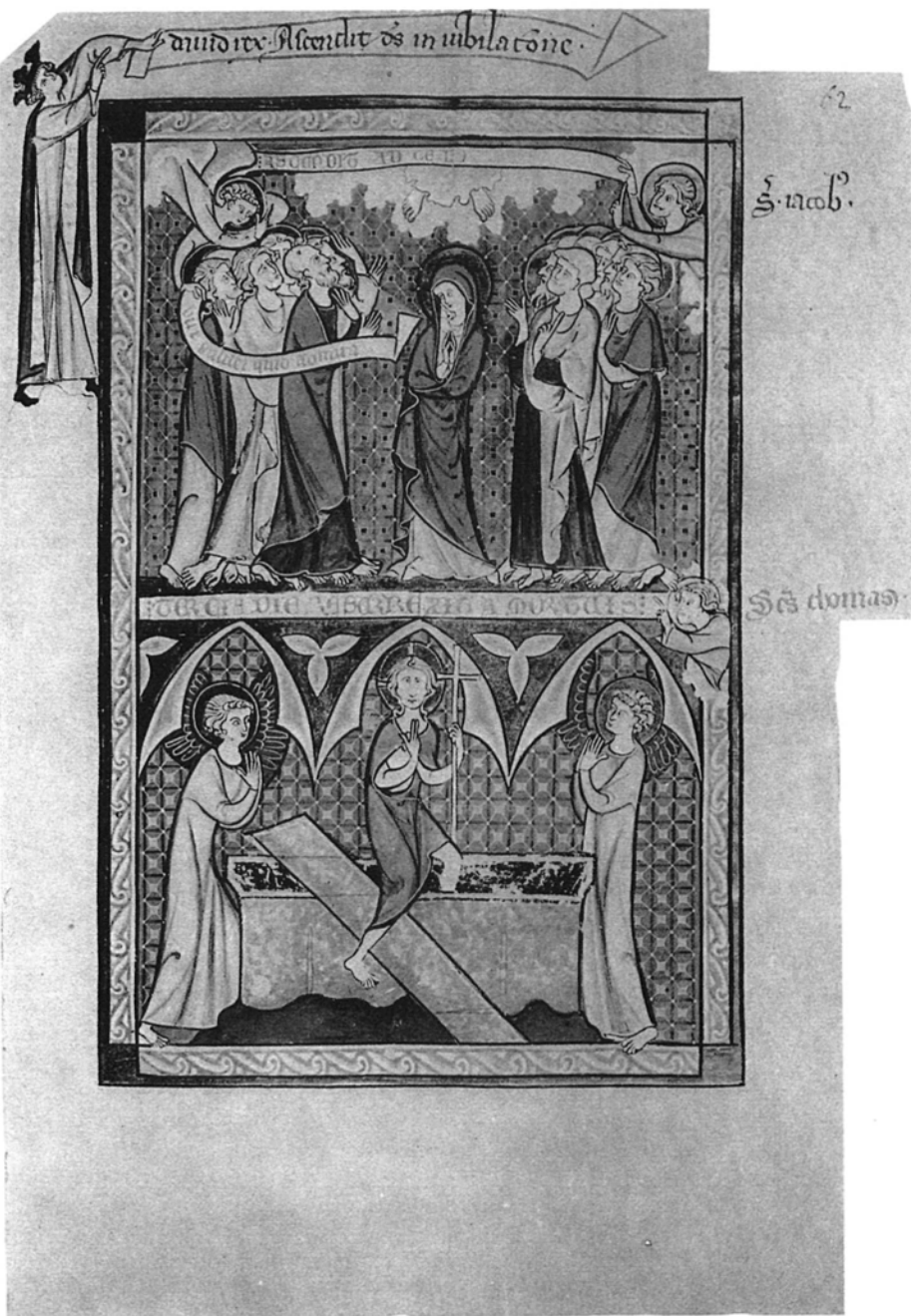


PLATE XVI

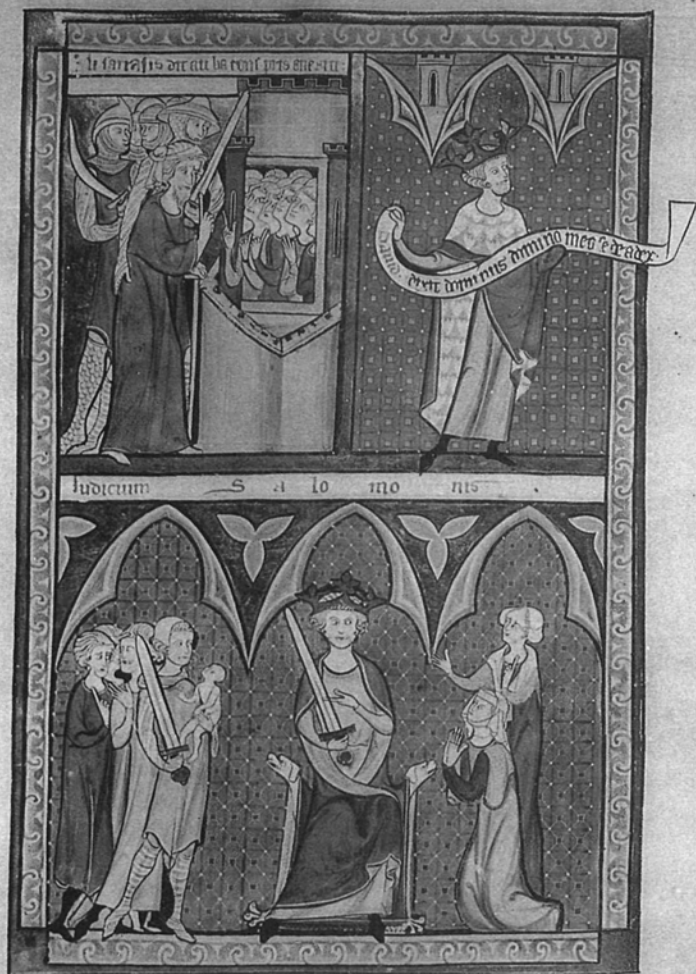
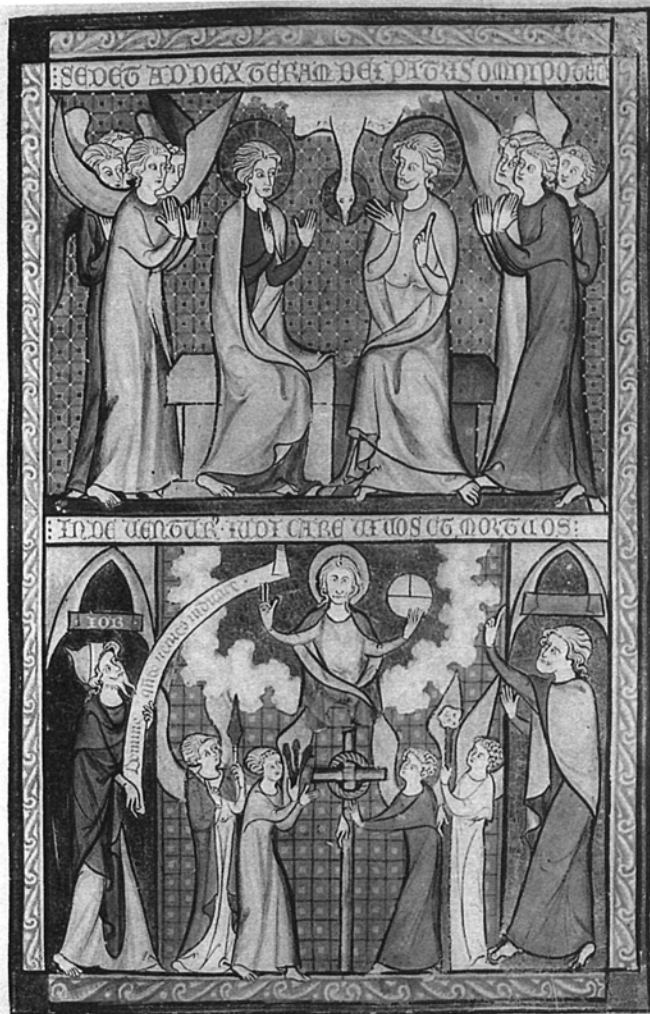


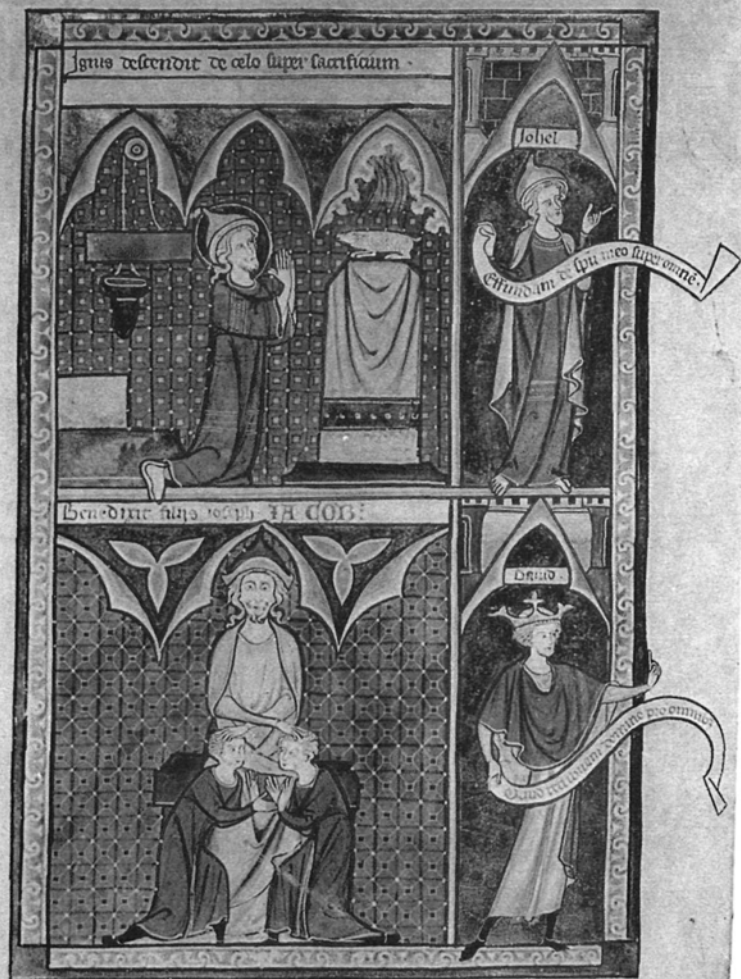
PLATE XVII

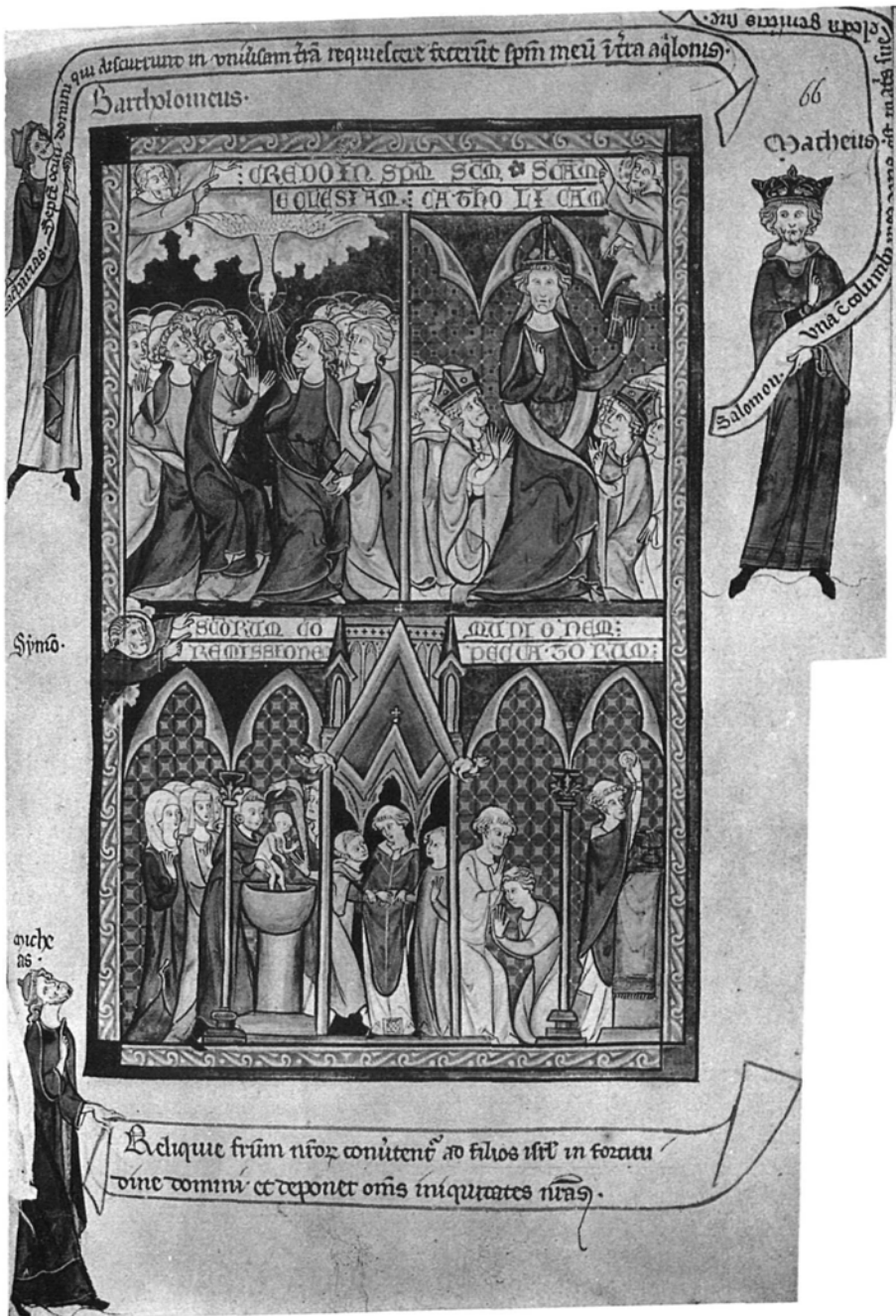


S. phiupp

iohel.

Ego suscitabo omnes gentes ut confluent et ascendant in uallem
iosaphat quia ibi sedeo ut iudicem eos





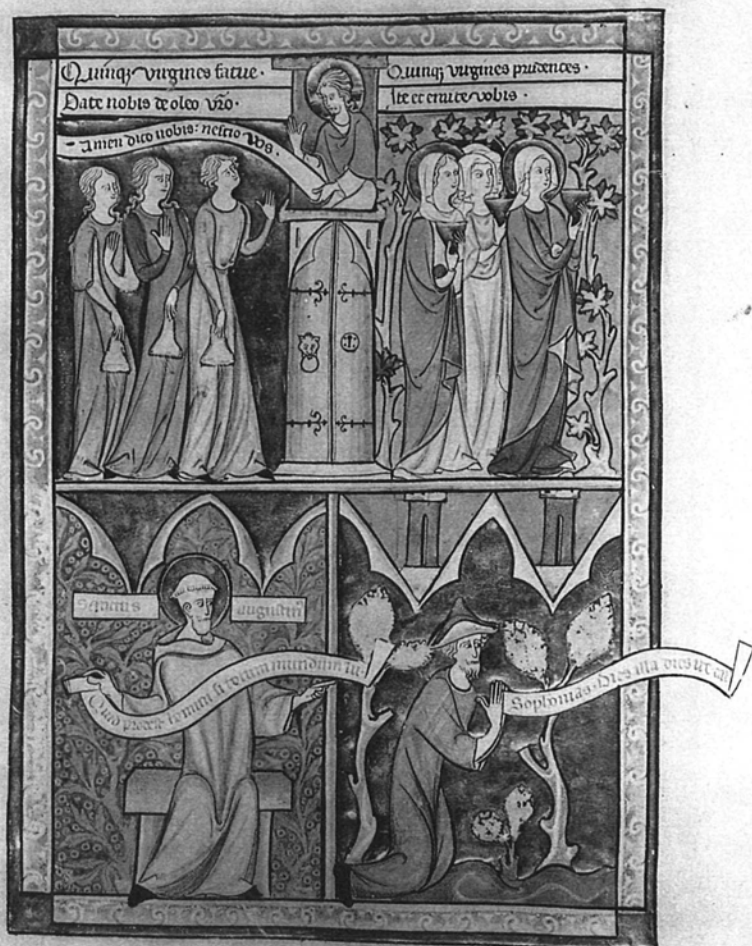
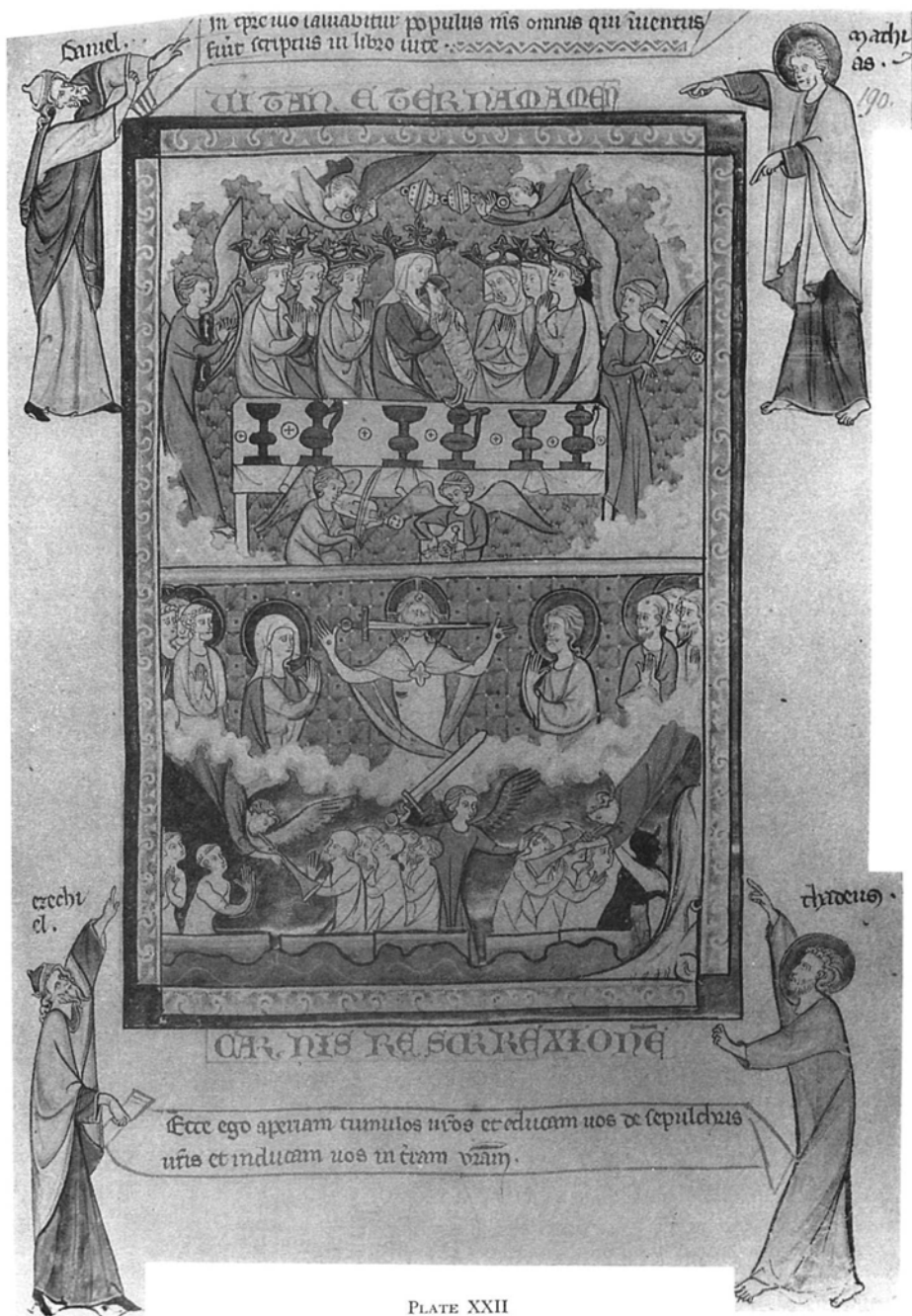


PLATE XXI



Composed at
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