

# Amigotus and his colleagues: a note on script, decoration, and patronage in some south-western French manuscripts c. 1300<sup>1</sup>

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Browsing through the handwritten catalogue of liturgical manuscripts at the British Museum many years ago I came across a reference to Add. 42132, identified as a fragmentary noted breviary of Agen, consisting of 56 individual leaves mounted on paper, acquired in 1930. An article in the *British Museum Quarterly* in the same year by A.J.C.<sup>2</sup> cited an 1860 study of the manuscript by J. Labrunie, who had identified the liturgical use on the basis of the inclusion of the feast of Caprasius, martyr of Agen (20.X), with octave (27.X), and of Vincent (9.VI), also martyred at Agen as the prefatory rubric to his feast makes clear (figs. 1–3)<sup>3</sup>. Furthermore, the fragment contains the name of its scribe, written back to front on the verso of the last folio (fig. 4)<sup>4</sup>:

‘verum scriptoris si scire/ nomen velletis oportet si/ne mora quod vertatur/ sutogima [Amigotus].’

When François Avril, with his customary generosity, drew my attention to Paris, BNF n.a.lat 2511, it became clear that here was another part of the same book (figs. 5, 6). By then it was too late for Avril to add the London fragment and the name of Amigotus to his remarkable reconstruction of the book and his identification of its scribal hand and its idiosyncratic illuminations in other manuscripts<sup>5</sup>. MS W. 130 in the Walters Art Museum (formerly Gallery) in Baltimore, published by Lilian Randall in her monumental catalogue of the Walters manuscripts (figs. 7, 8, 9), he also identified as part of the breviary<sup>6</sup>, and two further leaves, Sotheby’s 18.vi.96 lot 13<sup>7</sup>. Thanks to the pioneering work of Lilian and François, Amigotus’s output no longer stands in isolation. Here I outline what the London fragment brings to the Breviary and add a note about some of Amigotus’s antecedents and collaborators.

## AMIGOTUS AND HIS SCRIPT

Amigotus’ script is distinctive, and has been identified by Avril in two other books, a bible in Stuttgart, WLB, Cod. bibl. 2° 8, given to the Cathedral of Toulouse before 1390 by the patriarch and archbishop of Toulouse, Jean de Cardaillac who died in that year (fig. 10)<sup>8</sup> and the missal of Clement V,

<sup>1</sup> This article owes much to François Avril, Lilian Randall, Ron Akehurst and Hiromi Czaplicki. I thank all of them here.

<sup>2</sup> A.J.C., no. 63. Fragments of an Agen Breviary. *British Museum Quarterly* 5 (1930–31) 88–89.

<sup>3</sup> J. LABRUNIE, Les livres liturgiques de l’église d’Agen. *Recueil des travaux de la Société d’agriculture de sciences et d’art d’Agen* 2e sér. 1 (1860) 217–94, using Breviarium aginense, Limoges 1526 (BL Microfilm 478).

<sup>4</sup> The practice of writing the name back to front rather than as an acrostic would appear to be unusual; I have not uncovered parallels. Amigotus even appears to have escaped the notice of the otherwise vigilant Bénédictins du Bouveret.

<sup>5</sup> F. AVRIL, Un élément retrouvé du bréviaire choral W. 130 de la Walters Art Gallery: le ms. N.a.lat. 2511 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France. *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 55–56 (1997–1998) 123–34.

<sup>6</sup> L. M. C. RANDALL, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery I. France, 875–1420. Baltimore and London 1989, 158–62, no. 60, figs. 124, 25.

<sup>7</sup> They are now in a private collection in London.

<sup>8</sup> AVRIL (cf. n. 5), n 26; C. SAUER and U. KUDER, Die Gotischen Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart I. Vom späten 12. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert (*Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart* 3). Stuttgart 1996, 181–85; C. SAUER, Studium, Lektüre, Andacht. Zur Handschriften-

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 51 (fig. 11)<sup>9</sup>, containing the masses from St Andrew (30.XI) to the second Mass of Christmas. Another part of Clement's missal, written in the same hand, is Città del Vaticano, BAV, Archivio di San Pietro B 76 (fig. 12)<sup>10</sup>, it has the masses from Pentecost to St Lawrence (10.VIII); the rest is now missing. Avril characterized the script of the Breviary as 'une belle minuscule gothique aux formes aiguës,' and its particularly 'spiky' features and hairline serifs were noted by Randall. Derolez, writing about f. 81v in the Cambridge volume of Clement's missal, described the script as 'a large Southern Textualis Formata, bold and quite angular. Note the treatment of the feet of the ascenders and minims, the form oa a, the use of the two forms of d in order to produce the frequent fusions, the diamond-shaped o, rounded t, and typical x and z'<sup>11</sup>.

#### AMIGOTUS'S COLLABORATORS

Amigotus worked with a number of penflourishers and several artists<sup>12</sup>. More than a single painter worked on the Breviary, as Avril has noted<sup>13</sup>, while the Bible's principle illustrator reappears in the Missal, alongside a second artist whose work is entirely unrelated and is Amiénois in inspiration<sup>14</sup>. The latter artist I have suggested was also responsible for the illustrations in two copies of Guilbert d'Auvergne's Chronicle of Cluny, New York, M. 301 and Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana 1184bis<sup>15</sup>. The Breviary artists, if inferior qualitatively to the painter of the Bible and Missal, were nonetheless capable of some interesting and unusual iconographical choices<sup>16</sup>. Avril has commented on the rare scene of the ark on the quadriga (P f. 76). Several of the sanctoral images in the Breviary are also far from common: angels throwing down stones on the executioner of Katherine (25.XI, W f. 81v); the several translations of Stephen with relics borne and venerated (21.XI, W f. 78; 7.v, W f. 26v, fig. 9); Ireneus of Lyon at the bier of St Martin (28.VI, L f. 46v); Mary Magdalen and Martha in the

produktion im 13. Jahrhundert. Ein Ausstellung der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart. Stuttgart 1996, 28–29.

<sup>9</sup> M. R. JAMES, A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Cambridge 1912, 101–103, pl. XXXVIII. On the Cambridge part see also P. R. ROBINSON, Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737–1600 in Cambridge Libraries. Bury St. Edmunds, 1988, 70, no. 217, pl. 134 (f. 22); A. DEROLEZ, The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century (*Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology* 9). Cambridge 2003, 116, pl. 51 (f. 81v).

<sup>10</sup> M. DYKMANS, Le missel de Clément V. *Ephemerides liturgicae* 86 (1972) 449–473; ID., Le Cérémonial papal de la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance II. De Rome à Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi. Brussels and Rome 1981, 192–93, 254, 339–50 (MSS Ca, Cl); F. MANZARI, Commande épiscopale et pontificale. Manuscrits avignonnais de la Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane. *Memoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse* VIII s., 6 (1997) 29–36; EAD., Contributi per una storia della miniatura ad Avignone nel XIV secolo, in: La Vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique à la cour des papes d'Avignon. Ed. J. HAMESSE (*Fédération internationale des Instituts d'Études médiévales: Textes et Études du Moyen Âge* 28). Turnhout 2006, 111–40, at 122–23; EAD., Libri liturgici miniati nel Palazzo di Avignone: tre serie di messali solenni per l'uso del Papa (forthcoming); EAD., La Miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei Papi (1310–1410). Modena 2006, 9–11, 22, 27, 33, 85, 101, 114, 205–206, 294–295, 344–345, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 45; A. STONES, Illuminated Manuscripts of Popes Clement V and John XXII: Toulouse or Avignon?, in: Petrarch's Babylon: Cultural Intercourse in Papal Avignon. Ed. S. NOAKES, Minneapolis (forthcoming). In this article and in the 2003 Medieval Academy paper on which it is based, I drew attention to Amigotus and his contribution to the Breviary.

<sup>11</sup> See n. 9.

<sup>12</sup> The intricacies of the penflourishing present several patterns which I cannot address here: it is to be hoped a future study may address this dimension of the books mentioned here.

<sup>13</sup> AVRIL (cf. n. 5) attributes the illumination to two artists. The main hand did all of P except ff. 97, 104, 104v; this assistant also did W f. 1 and most of the initials from f. 21 onwards, as well as the Sotheby fragments. L is entirely by this artist.

<sup>14</sup> MANZARI and I have independently reached the same conclusion on the styles in Clement's missal. For references, see n. 10 above.

<sup>15</sup> STONES, forthcoming (cf. n. 10). For images of M. 301, see <<http://corsair.morganlibrary.org>>.

<sup>16</sup> See the Appendix for a list of subjects.

same initial, the former with Christ in a *Noli me tangere* configuration, the latter stirring a pot (29. VII, W f. 34v, fig. 7); Dominic and the books unconsumed (4.VIII, W f. 41); Louis and a lion (an unusual subject, the source of which is not in the text) (25.VIII, W f. 50v)<sup>17</sup>, Quiteria of Aire-sur-Adour holding her severed head (W f. 24, fig. 8) like Valérie of Limoges, who is not included. These examples attest to a lively interest in the subjects depicted and an independence of stock models, although Avril has also noted that many of the Old Testament subjects are drawn from standard biblical illustration.

What characterizes the Breviary's illustration above all, and is also characteristic of the illustrations in the Bible and Missal, is the border treatment. Its hallmark, regardless of which artist was responsible, is the use of terminals forming long curling, undulating and twisting necks supporting a figure or more usually a head, human or animal, often with a grinning face and tongue hanging out (figs. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12); the king's head in profile, on which stands a dalmatian reading a book is of particular note<sup>18</sup>. This border treatment is consistent throughout all the components of the Breviary; it is also found in the Bible and in the parts of the Missal attributable to the Bible's artist. Avril has traced similar border features in the *Decretum* of Gratian, Berlin, SBBPK, Ms. lat. fol. 4 and the *Speculum judiciale* of Guillaume Durand Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 4258<sup>19</sup>, and has also noted two manuscripts of Justinian, Basel, UB, C. I. 2<sup>20</sup> and Siena, Bibl. Comunale degli Intronati I.IV.5<sup>21</sup> in this context as well as other copies of the *Decretum* produced in university circles in Toulouse<sup>22</sup>.

With the two Justinians and the Gratians, the borders designed by Amigotus's collaborators for the Breviary, Missal, and Bible, often take on a life of their own and are copied by artists whose work in other respects lies outside the close-knit group of manuscripts written by Amigotus. The legal manuscripts depart in script from the work of Amigotus, being largely Italian imports, or written in Toulouse by Italian scribes. Thus, whereas the illustrations in Berlin, SB Ham. 279 are similar in figure style and in border motifs to the Amigotus group<sup>23</sup>, the Basel Justinian UB C.I.2 (figs. 14, 15)<sup>24</sup> and the Gratian in Lublin, Catholic University MS 1<sup>25</sup>, both contain work by the Ham. 279 artist and also by an Italianate artist, both of whom employ the 'head-on-long-twisted-neck' motif. Yet another artist used the motif in a poorly preserved Roman missal in Toulouse, BM MS 92<sup>26</sup>. If the figures are somewhat related to the Basel Justinian, the illustrative format is different altogether, using border scenes on curving foliage bars (fig. 16). Another manuscript displaying these borders is Paris, BNF lat. 892, an Evangeliary whose illustration is limited to fine penwork and foliate initials and borders with faces, some on the familiar curling necks (cf. f. 4v, 31v, 40v, 41, 45, 45v, 46v, 59, 61,

<sup>17</sup> AVRIL (cf. n. 5), fig. 16.

<sup>18</sup> AVRIL (cf. n. 5), fig. 15.

<sup>19</sup> AVRIL (cf. n. 5), figs. 12, 13, 14

<sup>20</sup> AVRIL (cf. n. 5) 133, n. 25.

<sup>21</sup> Avril (cf. n. 5) *ibid.*, citing: Lo Studio e i Testi. Il libro universitario a Siena (secoli XII–XVII). Siena, 1996, 130–31, figs. 57–60.

<sup>22</sup> The best study of the Toulouse Gratian manuscripts is still the unpublished dissertation by M. RUSIUS, *L'illustration des Décrets de Gratien dans l'enluminure toulousaine au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Thèse de l'Université de Paris-VI-Sorbonne 1986; see also A. MELNIKAS, The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of *Decretum Gratiani*. *Studia Gratiana* 16–18 (1975); C. NORDENFALK, Review of Melnikas. *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 43 (1980) 318–37. A full study of southern French Justinian manuscripts remains to be written. Some examples are included in SRONES, forthcoming (cf. n. 10). I note that the Justinian cutting, Sotheby's 21.vi.88, lot. 10, is now in a private collection in London. Another manuscript displaying the heads-on-long-necks feature is the Clementinae, Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Inv. No. 289 (*De Handschriften en Incunabeln van het Rijksmuseum Twenthe*. Ed. A. L. HULSHOFF. Enschede 1975, 30–31, n. 23).

<sup>23</sup> Illustrations are in MELNIKAS (cf. n. 22), *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> K. ESCHER, *Die Miniaturen in der Baseler Bibliotheken, Museen und Archiven*. Basel 1917, 82, no. 117, Taf. XXIII-1, 2.

<sup>25</sup> MELNIKAS (cf. n. 22), *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France II*. Paris 1924, 222, no. 395. St Louis is in the calendar in red but not in the sanctoral, suggesting the body of the manuscript dates to the 1290s.

67v, 69v); only on f. 1 are figures shown, engaging in bird trapping and shooting on the border<sup>27</sup>. And the Siena Justinian, Bibl. Comunale degli Intronati I.IV 5 (fig. 17) has the heads-on-long-necks coupled with a figure style that links it to another group altogether, one related to the inserted full-page miniatures of the Dominican Missal, Toulouse BM 103 on the one hand<sup>28</sup> and the Missal of Augier de Cogeux, Abbot of La Grasse, London, BL Add. 17006, on the other<sup>29</sup>. The foliate initials in Toulouse 103 are by several artists, none of which is the painter of the full-page miniatures; these initials include one border with a frontal head on a long neck (f. 223); but the additions to the missal are important in documenting a later phase in Amigotus's career, to which I return below. In Augier's missal other border motifs including figures with flying cloaks and 'Ramon Llull' style full beards are prominent. This group of books, on the borders of the Amigotus group, merits a study of its own, and I return to it at a later date.

#### LITURGY AND HISTORY: AGEN, TOULOUSE, OR ELSEWHERE ?

##### *The Liturgy*

The argument for the Breviary being for the use of Agen, noted above for the London fragment by comparison with the printed Breviary of Agen, is also supported by entries in the Walters part for Foi and Dulcidius of Agen, and Antony of Liaroles, a native of Agen whose relics were preserved at Liaroles (Dioc. Auch). Interesting parallels are to be drawn between Amigotus' writing and that found in an earlier Agen manuscript, to which I return below; and it may be no coincidence that the see of Agen was held between 1292 and 1313 (with a lacuna in 1305–6) by Bertrand de Got, uncle and homonym of Clement V, whose Missal's scribe is Amigotus<sup>30</sup>. But the questions of use and of place are far from straightforward. Several notable commemorations in the Breviary point to places other than Agen. Randall also noted the inclusion of the feasts of Cecelia, Tiburtius and Salvius of Albi; the mention of Auch in the rubric to the feast of Bertrand of Comminges, and the inclusion of Orentius of Auch; she also noted possible Cistercian connections in the mention of the abbey of Escaledieu (fil. Morimond, Dioc. Tarbes). And Avril advanced several arguments pointing to Toulouse. Citing P.-M. Gy, he noted that the responses for matins on the three nights before Easter are of the use of Toulouse<sup>31</sup>; the rubrics for summer lections are based on the ordo of the Canons of the Order of Saint-Ruf<sup>32</sup>; and an annotation on f. 10 in n.a.lat. 2511 about the return of the Holy Shroud from Toulouse to Cadouin (O. Cist., Dioc. Périgieux) in 1463, he thought also pointed to the presence of

<sup>27</sup> The "Catalogue général" notes the presence, beneath the flysheet glued to the front cover, of a note reading 'Epistolarium Albiense 2796,' in a hand of the 17th c.; but Cecaelia and Salvi, saints of Albi, are not in the sanctoral, where the only distinctive commemoration is of Rufina and Secunda (f. 62), so the Albi reference would not seem to be an indication of original use. This manuscript was kindly drawn to my attention by H. Czaplicki.

<sup>28</sup> LEROQUAIS (cf. n. 26) 143–45, no. 324; Rois maudits (cf. n. 54), no. 227, linked, as has long been recognized, with the Diptych de Rabastens in the Musée du Périgord (Rois maudits [cf. n. 54], no. 226). See also below.

<sup>29</sup> Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCXLVI–MDCCCXLVII. London 1864, repr. 1964, 345–46; E. DECLERCQ, unpublished notes held at the British Library (Department correspondence 3157, Dec. 1979); J.-P. SUAÛ, *L'iconographie du Christ et de la Vierge dans le vitrail gothique méridional (vers 1280–vers 1360)* (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris-X-Nanterre), 1983, 213, fig. 397 (f. 130v). I thank H. Czaplicki for kindly drawing the last item to my attention.

<sup>30</sup> AVRIL (cf. n. 5) 131.

<sup>31</sup> AVRIL (cf. n. 5) 133, n. 16, citing P.-M. Gy, *Les répons de matines des trois nuits avant Pâques et la géographie liturgique du moyen âge latin*, in: *Requientes modos musicos. Mélanges offerts à Dom Jean Claire*, ed. Dom D. Salmier and M. Albert. Solesmes 1995, 29–39.

<sup>32</sup> AVRIL (cf. n. 5) 133, n. 16, with reference to BNF lat. 1233, P.-M. Gy, *La liturgie dans l'histoire*. Paris 1990, 129 and *id.*, *La liturgie des chanoines de l'ordre de Saint-Ruf*, in: *Le monde des chanoines (XI–XIVe s.)*. *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 24 (1989) 181–191.

the breviary in Toulouse at that date. 'L'an mil IIII cens et LXIII (emended to LXIII) e lo X de juni fut portat de Tholosa a Cadonh (Cadouh ?) lo sanct susarii'<sup>33</sup>.

### *The Shroud of Cadouin*

The Shroud, a sheet of linen with bands of silk embroidery at each end<sup>34</sup>, was believed to be the winding-sheet of Christ, allegedly the one mentioned by the Piacenza Pilgrim in a monastery on the banks of the Jordan in the sixth century, then seen in Jerusalem by Arculf c. 670<sup>35</sup>. Whereas the linen on neither the Cadouin Shroud nor the related cloth in Apt has been dated, it is thought most likely that these textiles and their embroidery were spoils of the Crusades<sup>36</sup>. The Shroud had certainly arrived at Cadouin by 1214 when Simon de Montfort made a donation to the abbey to pay for lamps to burn perpetually before it<sup>37</sup>, a donation confirmed in 1217 or 1218 by his son Amaury, who donated a receptacle of gold to put it in<sup>38</sup>. In 1392, pending invasion by the English, it was removed for safety to Toulouse by Abbot Bertrand de Moulins, and kept at the Église du Taur<sup>39</sup>, with a journey to Paris with Louis de Sancerre in a vain attempt to cure the madness of Charles VI in 1399<sup>40</sup>. In 1453 a deputation of young monks was sent to La Taur from Cadouin by Pierre de Gaing, newly appointed Abbot of Cadouin, to remove it by subterfuge and return it to Cadouin. Following a brief spell at Obazine (O. Cist, Dioc. Tulle) to avoid reprisals from La Taur, the shroud ended up back at Cadouin in 1463<sup>41</sup>. During the wars of religion (1562–98) it was taken to the Château de Montferrand

<sup>33</sup> AVRIL (cf. n. 5) 123 and n. 13, refers to J. B. DUBÉDAT, *Le Saint Suaire de Cadouin à Toulouse. Revue catholique de Bordeaux* 12 (1890) 63–73; A. CHARLES, *Histoire du Saint Suaire de Cadouin*. Toulouse 1879, 45–46; J. MAUBOURGUET, *Le suaire de Cadouin. Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord* 63 (1936) 348–363; J. FRANCEZ, *Un pseudo-linceuil du Christ*. Paris, 1935; and B. and G. DELLUC, *Le suaire de Cadouin, une toile brodée. Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord* 110 (1983) 162–79.

<sup>34</sup> Technical descriptions (all recording slightly different measurements and details as to the backing) are given in A. DE GOURGUES, *Le Saint Suaire*. Paris 1868, 62; FRANCEZ; CHARLES; as reported by MAUBOURGUET (cf. n. 33) 349. An expertise performed in 1934 by France, revealed that its distinctive embroidery, not woven into the linen, contains the name of Musta-Ali, calif of Egypt 1094–1101 and of his minister El Afdal; Francez also noted the presence of the same name on the supposed veil of St Anne at Apt. See also DELLUC (cf. n. 33) 175, where mention is made of similar textiles at the Musée de Cluny.

<sup>35</sup> J. WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage Before the Crusades*. Warminster 1977, 2nd. ed. 2002.

<sup>36</sup> MAUBOURGUET (cf. n. 33) 351 cites various accounts of the Shroud's acquisition by Cadouin, including one by Alberic of Trois Fontaines, according to which it was discovered in Antioch together with the Holy Lance, in a lead vase. The bishop of Le Puy, Adémar de Monteil gave it to his Périgourdin chaplain with a letter to the canons of Le Puy, asking them to receive him as one of them, which they refused to do, whereupon he returned home and gave the Shroud to Cadouin c. 1117 (citing Paris, BNF, *Périgord* XXXVII, 130; *Historiens des Croisades* V 299–301 and LIX–LXII; MGH *Scriptores* XXIII, 809, 824).

<sup>37</sup> J. MAUBOURGUET, *Le Périgord méridional I*. Cahors 1926, 84, citing *Les Olim ou Registres des arrêts rendus par la cour du Roi sous les règnes de Saint Louis, Philippe le Hardi, Philippe le Bel, Louis le Hutin, Philippe le Long* I. Ed. A.-A. BEUGNOT. Paris 1839, 22; and Paris, BNF, *Périgord* XXV, 76; XXXVII, 70, 72, 108.

<sup>38</sup> MAUBOURGUET (cf. n. 33) citing Paris, BNF lat. 1154 and E. MARTÈNE and U. DURAND, *Thesaurus Novus Thesaurus novus anecdotorum. Complectens Regum ac Principum, aliorumque virorum illustrium epistolas, et diplomata, monumenta prosa de Schismate Pontificum avinionensicene chronica varia, monumenta historica, varia concilia, statuta Synodalia, et opuscula varia SS. Patrum, aliorumque auctorum Ecclesiasticorum* IV. Paris 1717, 1370.

<sup>39</sup> A house for the Abbot and monks was built by the canons of the Cathedral of Saint-Etienne, Toulouse, to which an oratory was added with revenues from pilgrims (MAUBOURGUET [cf. n. 33] 353, n. 1 cites Avignon, BM 303, f. 478v).

<sup>40</sup> MAUBOURGUET (cf. n. 339), n. 3 citing J. JOUVENAL DES URSINS, *Histoire de Charles VI roy de France et des choses mémorables advenues durant quarante deux années de son règne depuis 1380 jusqu'à 1422 (Nouvelles Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France)*. Paris 1850–51, 416; *Les Chroniques de Jean Tarde, chanoine théologal et vicaire général de Sarlat, contenant l'histoire religieuse et politique de la ville et du diocèse de Sarlat, depuis les origines jusqu'aux premières années du XVIIIe siècle*. Annotées par le Vicomte GASTON DE GÉRARD,... précédées d'une introduction par M. G. TARDE. Paris 1887 (repr. Marseille 1981), 55–56.

<sup>41</sup> MAUBOURGUET (cf. n. 33) 353–354; see also D. AUDERIE, *Le Suaire de Cadouin aux Archives municipales de Toulouse. Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord* 115 (1988) 101–104.



for safety, and survived the Revolution hidden beneath the floorboards of the Mayor of Cadouin.<sup>42</sup> The fourteenth-century noted Antiphony-Hymnal of Cadouin, Périgueux, Archives Départementales de la Dordogne, MSS 166–167, includes an office for the Shroud celebrated on the Tuesday following 14.IX in MS 166, ff. 63–70v; and, beginning incomplete, in MS 167, f. 45<sup>43</sup>.

Concern about the Shroud and its whereabouts in the 1450s was not limited to Toulouse, however, and it is not impossible that the annotation in the Breviary may be a sign of interest from further north. An attempt by the Périgourdins to get the Shroud back was made c. 1431, for instance, but Charles VII granted the abbot and monks of Cadouin the right to stay in Toulouse for several more years.<sup>44</sup> Again, once the raid on La Taur had taken place, the Consuls of Périgueux asked on 24. IX.1455 whether the Shroud had arrived back at Cadouin.<sup>45</sup> Indulgences had been issued to visitors to the Shroud from 1344 by popes Clement VI, Urban V, and Gregory XI, so that the revenues thus generated would explain the concern of the Consuls in the regional capital and episcopal centre in whose county and province Cadouin was situated. What is lacking in the story of the Shroud's peregrinations from Cadouin to Toulouse to the Périgord and the Corrèze is a connection to Agen, the neighbouring episcopal see and county, unless it were perhaps a sign of interest on the part of a bishop of Agen whose nephew was pope as Clement V, a prelate elevated to the papacy from the archbishopric of Bordeaux, of which Agen was a suffragan.

### *The Agen »Costuma«*

Are other parallels to be found for Amigotus' writing, and where? It is here that an antecedent in Agen may be cited and thereby strengthen the case for a provenance of the Breviary in the Agenais: the *Costuma* of Agen in Occitan, Agen, Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne, MS 42. This manuscript displays in part (ff. 1–81 line 10) a formal scribal hand which closely parallels that of Amigotus, using the same two forms of d, the diamond-shaped o, rounded t, and x and z comparable to the features identified by Derolez in Amigotus's work (figs. 1, 18). A second scribe, approximately contemporary, wrote ff. 81 line 10 to 93, sharing many of the same letter forms (a, e, diamond-shaped o, distinctive z with a hairline descender), but using taller ascenders and descenders and more compressed smaller letter forms (fig. 19).

Might the *Costuma*'s main scribe be Amigotus himself<sup>46</sup>? If so, it is most likely a work of his youth — or of the person who trained him — since the most likely dates for Agen 42 are between 1271 and 1279, at least a generation earlier than the Breviary, as I show below. The Breviary was made after 1297 because of the inclusion of St Louis and before 1315 since Corpus Christi is absent in the Paris volume which contains the Temporal from Easter to the 20th Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost.

<sup>42</sup> DELLUC (cf. n. 33) 163, 166.

<sup>43</sup> E. CHAMINADE, Monographie des manuscrits de chant de Cadouin. Tournai 1887, 27–29; S. CORBIN, Le fonds manuscrit de Cadouin. *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord*. Supplément au tome 81 (1954) 1–34; R. AMIET, Les livres liturgiques manuscrits et imprimés des diocèses de Périgueux et de Sarlat. *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord* 112 (1985) 128–63 at 139; Richesses du patrimoine écrit. Ed. F. BORDES. Périgueux 1992, no. 40. The fragmentary Gradual of Cadouin, Périgueux, Archives Départementales de la Dordogne, MS 161, is part of the same set of liturgical books and dates after 1318 because it includes the Feast of Corpus Christi, adopted by the Cistercians in that year (V. LEROQUAIS, Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France I. Paris 1934, xcix); it lacks the section that would have contained the feast of the Shroud. All three volumes in my view are to be dated in the mid-fourteenth, not the fifteenth century (pace AMIET, followed by Richesses).

<sup>44</sup> MAUBOURGUET (cf. n. 33) 354, n. 1 citing Paris, BNF, Périgord XXXVII 73, 105, 202.

<sup>45</sup> MAUBOURGUET (cf. n. 33) 354, n. 3 citing Périgueux, AD Dordogne, E Sarlat 24, pp. 2–3 and Périgueux, Archives Municipales, CC86, f. 8v.

<sup>46</sup> This possibility was first suggested to me by Hiromi Czaplicki whom I thank for much helpful debate about this and other southern and south-western manuscripts in July, 2005.

Agen 42 is the most fully illustrated, and the earliest, of six surviving copies of the *Costumas de Agen*<sup>47</sup>, and the swearing copy<sup>48</sup>. It is a book that was still in use up to the Revolution<sup>49</sup>, and it was certainly made in and for the city of Agen. Like the *Livre rouge de Montauban* of the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Montauban, Archives Departementales de Tarn-et-Garonne, AA 1)<sup>50</sup>, and three manuscripts of the third quarter of the century, the *Livre vert* of Cahors (Cahors, Archives Municipales, MS 1, on deposit at the Bibliothèque Municipale)<sup>51</sup>, the *Livre juratoire* of the bastide town of Cologne (Gers), now in private hands<sup>52</sup>, and the *Costuma* of Limoges (Limoges, Ar-

<sup>47</sup> I am grateful to Martine Salmon-Dalas for her kind reception at the AD Lot-et-Garonne and to Ron Akehurst and Stephanie Van D'Elden for much helpful discussion of the manuscript in situ and elsewhere, and for making their photos available to me. Editions: A. MOUILLÉ, Coutumes, privilèges et franchises de la ville d'Agen (*Recueil de la Société académique d'Agen*, 1er sér. 5). Agen 1850, 237–343; Coutumes d'Agen, ed. H. BARKHAUSEN, Livre des coutumes de Bordeaux V. Bordeaux 1890, 216–269, edited from the copy at the Archives Municipales de Bordeaux; H. TROPAMER, La Coutume d'Agen (Thèse, Université de Bordeaux) 1911, based on the Noubel manuscript, Agen, AD, Lot MS 5; Ed. and tr. from Agen MS 42 by F. R. P. AKEHURST (forthcoming). See also A. MOUILLÉ, Notice sur les divers exemplaires manuscrits des Coutumes de la ville d'Agen (*Recueil de la Société académique d'Agen*, 1er sér. 6). Agen 1853, 154–80; J. ANDRIEU, Histoire de l'Agenais I. Paris 1893, 34–41, 62–63, 66–140; P. LAUZUN, Le livre juratoire des consuls d'Agen. Agen 1910; G. P. CUTTINO, Livre d'Agenais. Toulouse 1956, vii–xiv; H. GILLES, Les livres juratoires des consulats languedociens. *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 31 (1996), 333–354 at 346; Patrimoine des bibliothèques VII. Aquitaine, Languedoc-Rousillon, Midi-Pyrénées. Paris 1995, 20–21 (notice by A.-M. ESQUIROL); B. MOREL, L'image du châtement dans les manuscrits de droit romain à la fin du Moyen Age, in: 'Utilis est lapis in structure'. Mélanges Léon Pressouyre. Ed. M. FRANÇOIS and P.-Y. LE POGAM (*Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, Mémoires de la section d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 9). Paris 2000, 257–268 at 260, n. 14; D. BRUNA, Piercing: sur les traces d'un infamie médiévale. Paris 2001, 82–83, fig. 9 (f. 44v, identified as f. 43v); F. R. P. AKEHURST, Good Name, Reputation, and Notoriety in French Customary Law, in: Fama: the Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe. Ed. T. FENSTER and D. L. SMAIL. Ithaca–London 2003, 75–94, figs. 17 (f. 44v), 18 (f. 42v); ID., Adultery in Gascony, in "De sens rassis": Essays in Honor of Rupert T. Pickens. Ed. K. BUSBY and L. E. WHALEN. Amsterdam 2005, 1–15; ID., Remarks on the Relative Pronouns and Clauses in the Costuma d'Agen, in: Études de langue et de littérature médiévales offertes à Peter Ricketts à l'occasion de son 70ème anniversaire. Ed. D. BILLY and A. BUCKLEY, Turnhout 2005, 587–594; ID., personal communications; H. CZAPLICKI, personal communications. Web: <<http://www.cg47.fr/archives/coups-de-coeur/Tresors/tresors-archives.htm>>, dating the manuscript in the middle of the thirteenth century.

<sup>48</sup> LAUZUN (cf. n. 47) 2 lists the other places of preservation — but no shelf numbers — as in the Vatican, Bordeaux, Paris, another Agen manuscript and a sixth copy, also at Agen. F. R. P. AKEHURST in personal communication has clarified this list as follows: the 'Vatican copy' is Stockholm, KB, MS B 697, citing J. CLEMENS, L'espace coutumier d'Agen au Moyen Age. *Revue de l'Agenais* (1982) 3–19; the Paris copy is Paris, BNF cartons CC (sic), and is a copy of a now lost original made by an École des Chartes student and used by Mouillé; one of the Agen copies is Agen, BM 5 (c. 1300), given by Henri Noubel, former Mayor of Agen and edited by TROPAMER (cf. n. 47) (MS N). It is smaller than Agen, AD 42 in format, with foliate initials only, similar to Chansonier, R, Paris, BNF fr. 22543, probably from Toulouse or Bordeaux, suggesting that MS N was a copy taken for administrative purposes c. 1300 in either Toulouse or Bordeaux. The other Agen copy is a vidimus at the AD Lot-et-Garonne used by MOUILLÉ (cf. n. 47) in his edition; the Bordeaux copy is a late fourteenth-century partial copy which was used by BARKHAUSEN (cf. n. 47) for his edition.

<sup>49</sup> The medieval component consists only of the Costuma without names of individuals. The first three pages and the later sections (ff. A, B, I, 94–106) date from 1633 to 1789 and include names of consuls. At the Revolution the manuscript disappeared for some years before surfacing again in 1825 when one 'D.B' was responsible for touching up the illustrations on several folios and had the audacity to sign and date his work at the bottom of the initial on f. Iv. Most probably he is to be equated with the M. Debeaux who in 1840 presented a faithful copy of the manuscript to the Société académique d'Agen, having allegedly borrowed it from an unnamed source (Lauzun [cf. n. 47] 9); he certainly owned MS 42 itself. This is also probably the time when the original double vertical rulings in leadpoint at the left and right of the text block were gone over in red ink throughout.

<sup>50</sup> Trésors d'enluminure en Languedoc. Préface d'A. CHAMSON, Introduction de M. DURLIAT. Montauban 1963, pl. II; M. MÉRAS, Guide des Archives de Tarn-et-Garonne. Montauban 1972, cover illustration.

<sup>51</sup> Ed. P. LACOMBE and L. COMBARIEU, Le Te igitur. Cahors 1874–1888; see also Eid., Quelques mots sur le Te igitur. *Bulletin de la Société des études du Lot* 1 (1873) 227; A. ALBE, Inventaire des Archives municipales, XIIIe siècle. *Bulletin de la Société des études du Lot* (1914) 3; H. STEIN, Bibliographie générale des Cartulaires français. Paris 1907, 103, no. 733; Trésors d'enluminure en Languedoc. Ed. M. DURLIAT. Toulouse 1963, 7–8, no. 7; Patrimoine des bibliothèques VII. Aquitaine, Languedoc-Rousillon, Midi-Pyrénées. Paris 1995, 92–93, notice by C. LAURIN, f. 88 reproduced in colour; GILLES (cf. n. 47) 333–54, at 349, fig. 1 (f. 89v), fig. 8 (f. 88).

<sup>52</sup> Ed. E. CABIÉ, Chartes et coutumes inédites de la Gascogne Toulousaine. *Archives historiques de la Gascogne* (1884) 147–58.

chives Municipales, AA1)<sup>53</sup>, Agen 42 is prefaced by two full-page miniatures, now badly defaced because they served to receive the hands of councilors swearing their oath of office; and the other illustrations, consisting of rectangular miniatures or historiated initials, depict the customs. In this respect it may be compared with the Latin Customary of Toulouse, Paris, BNF lat. 9187, written in 1296 for Petrus de Solis (Pierre de Seilh), a member of a noted consular family of Toulouse<sup>54</sup>. Of particular note in Agen 42 are the depictions of the punishments for bearing false witness (fig. 20) and for adultery (fig. 21), where the accused were paraded in public view, the former with stakes through his tongue, the latter roped together and half naked<sup>55</sup>.

These manuscripts reflect the early existence of legal institutions in the face of shifting political allegiances and attempts of civic bodies to assert a degree of independence in the south-west. The most likely date for the production of Agen 42 is between 1271 and 1279 when the region was under the control of the French crown. It was ruled by the Angevins from 1152 and in 1196 was acquired as a fief by Count Raymond VI of Toulouse as dowry for his marriage to King Richard's sister Joan. A civil court was already in existence at Agen from 1182. When Raymond VII died without male heir in 1249, Henry III tried to recover the Agenais but it was still a part of the county when the Toulousan inheritance fell to the France in 1271. It was acquired by Edward I at the Treaty of Amiens in 1279, on whose behalf his nephew William de Valence (c. 1230–1296) took possession of Agen and founded the bastide of Valence during his sojourn in the region. Agen reverted to the French again in 1294<sup>56</sup>. It is notable that the arms of England are not included on the prominent banner in the military service miniature on f. 18v (fig. 22), where the other arms, in part ambiguous, might be read as those of France and Castile (*azure a fleur de lis or* and *gules a castle or*), referring to Louis VIII and IX and Blanche of Castile; but they might also be meant as the arms of Agen which on the seal of the city of 1243 included a castle and an eagle (is the gold motif on blue in the miniature a bird or a fleur de lis? it is hard to say which, even on the original manuscript); and the third shield is certainly that of Toulouse<sup>57</sup>. If the *azur* and *or* arms are indeed a reference to France, then they are likely to support a date between 1271 and 1279 or after 1294, suggesting that this copy was made to reaffirm the citizens' rights and customs in the face of a new French overlord in 1271 or just possibly in 1294; but the later date I think is too late for the manuscript, whose decoration and costume, particularly the pie-shaped 'touret' headgear worn by women, would suggest that the earlier date is more likely<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> A. THOMAS, Inventaire sommaire des Archives communales de Limoges antérieurs à 1790. Limoges 1882, sub numero; P. DUCOURTIEUX, Les manuscrits et imprimés à l'exposition de Limoges. *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 35 (1888), 73, 116–18; M.-M. ERLEVINT, La Bibliothèque municipale de Limoges. *Bulletin de la Société des Bibliophiles de Guyenne* 82 (1965) 11–12; A. LEROY, Le cartulaire du consulat de Limoges: Un livre juratoire en occitan limousin (XIIIe–XVIIe siècle) (Thèse de l'École des Chartes) 2005. There are two further full-page miniatures in Limoges, AM, AA1, both repainted in the 1320s, probably by the artist responsible for the wall-painting in the chapels of Sts Peter and Katherine, the two easternmost chapels on the north side of the choir at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Limoges, begun under bishop Renaud de la Porte (1294–1316), continuing to 1327: the manuscript pages depict St Valérie presenting her severed head to St Martial, and the Virgin and Child.

<sup>54</sup> There are no swearing pages in the Toulouse Customary. E. MARTIN-CHABOT, La tradition capitoline à Toulouse à la fin du XIIIe siècle. *Annales du Midi* 1917–1918, 345–54 at 348; Dix siècles d'enluminure et de sculpture en Languedoc, VIIe–XVIe siècle. Toulouse 1954, no. 55, pl. XI (f. 34, p. 68); Manuscrits à peintures. Ed. J. PORCHER. Paris 1955, no. 138; H. GILLES, Les Coutumes de Toulouse [1286] et leur premier commentaire. Toulouse 1969, 46–61; MOREL (cf. n. 47) 257; L'art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils. Paris 1998, 329, no. 228 (f. 32, p. 64) by F. AVRIL. I thank Susan L'Engle for helpful discussion of the manuscript.

<sup>55</sup> In the Toulouse customary the corresponding image for the punishment of adultery shows the offending male member roped to the female.

<sup>56</sup> See especially T. N. BISSE, The General Court of Agenais in the Thirteenth Century. *Speculum* 36 (1961) 254–81 and *id.*, Assemblies and Representation in Languedoc in the Thirteenth Century. Princeton 1964, 73–101.

<sup>57</sup> Paris, BNF lat. 9187 f. 1 has three circles on the upper frame of the miniature, displaying the arms of Toulouse accompanied by those of France (*semé of fleurs de lis* not a single lis) and a circle with a blue field and a castle and a tower left reserved — perhaps a reference to the city of Toulouse.

<sup>58</sup> The other legal manuscript from Agen, the Acept book (of payments on change of lordship) dated 1285 in Oxford, Bodl., Bodley 917, is unrelated in either script or illumination, though the script is formal and the use of gold in the initials indicates the Acept book was considered a luxury document. Edited by G. P. CUTTINO, *Le livre d'Agenais*, pub-



The presence of the second scribe in Agen 42, as noted above, suggests that perhaps Amigotus, or his teacher, had moved on before the manuscript was finished. In addition to the two swearing pages and small rectangular miniatures, Agen 42 has historiated initials with cusped borders, white beading, and gold balls, and miniatures with gold fillet frames. Those that accompany the second scribe have more beading but the figure style is the same throughout. The initial format is comparable in some respects to manuscripts from further south such as the Bible of Vic, Biblioteca Episcopal, written by Raimundus de Burgo Sancti Saturnini super Rodanum at the command of 'Domini Petronis de Aureis vicensis canonici suis propriis missionibus et expensis...' in 1268, and bequeathed by him, along with books of Catalan manufacture, to the Cathedral of Vic at his death in 1278 (fig. 23)<sup>59</sup>. Although the historiated initials are also encased in cusped frames decorated with gold balls, and the figure style is somewhat similar, the colours in the Vic manuscript are darker than those in Agen 42; and Raimundus's script bears no relation to that of Amigotus. Where was Raimundus trained? His name suggests somewhere in Languedoc, and the obvious place would be the metropolitan, Narbonne, of which Vic is a suffragan. Indeed, the Vic bible is related to a number of southern bibles such as Paris, BNF lat. 20, 30, 39 and Baltimore, W. 126, which are likely to have been produced in the metropolitan and exported to the various suffragan bishoprics; further work is needed to sort out which of these are to be ascribed to Catalonia and which to Roussillon<sup>60</sup>.

Another stylistic parallel for Agen 42 is the Evangeliary of Carcassonne Cathedral, Carcassonne, Archives Départementales de l'Aude, G 288, which also has a combination of gold-fillet miniatures and historiated initials with gold balls (fig. 24)<sup>61</sup>. This time the colours are pastel shades dominated by light green and pastel blue, but the figures are quite close to those in Agen 42 and so is the script, which shares many features (the two kinds of d, diamond-shaped o, a), but the tail of g and the x, for instance in *dixit*, are notably different from Amigotus's letter forms. This scribe may be a precursor.

Where do these comparisons leave Amigotus? So far as I know, no further major manuscript copied by his hand has come to light. If the Toulousan lawbooks would appear to be written by Italians, there are many bibles comparable in size and level of illustration to the Cardaillac bible in Stuttgart<sup>62</sup>. So far as I know, Amigotus did not contribute to the writing of these bibles, although one of them, Brussels, BR 9157, has some foliate initials with heads on long necks (fig. 25) but is written in a scribal hand entirely unrelated to that of Amigotus<sup>63</sup>. The initials in BR 9157 also stand

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lié d'après le MS. Bodley 917 (*Cahiers de l'Association Marc Bloch de Toulouse, Documents d'histoire méridionale* 1), 1956; see also C. V. LANGLOIS, Documents relatifs à l'Agenais, au Périgord et à la Saintonge à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> et au commencement du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 51 (1890) 300–304; J.-P. TRABUT-CUSSAC, Le Livre d'Agenais: à propos d'une édition récente (review of Cuttino). *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 115 (1957) 179–89; O. PÄCHT and J. J. G. ALEXANDER, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford I. British, French and Flemish Schools. Oxford 1966, no. 540; A. WATSON, Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435–1600 in Oxford Libraries. 2 vols. Oxford 1984, 22, no. 121, pl. 130 (f. 53).

<sup>59</sup> F. DELCLAUX, Imágenes de la Virgen en los codices medievales de España. Madrid 1973, 120–25; E. JUNYENT, Le scriptorium de la cathédrale de Vich. *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 5 (1974) 65–69; I. ESCANDELL PROUST, La Biblia de 1268 del archivo episcopal de Vic. *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 2 (1990) 103–115; EAD., Las iniciales y sus miniaturas en el gótico lineal catalán. *Fragmentos* 17–19 (1991) 110–17. The last three references were kindly drawn to my attention by H. Czaplicki.

<sup>60</sup> For attributions to Catalonia see F. AVRIL and Y. ZALUSKA, Manuscrits enluminés de la Péninsule ibérique (*Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* 2). Paris 1982; A. VERNET, La Bibliothèque de la cathédrale de Narbonne au Moyen Age, in: ID., Études médiévales. Paris 1981, 491–499; D. DE COURCELLES, La Bibliothèque de Saint-Just de Narbonne, in: Livres et bibliothèques XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle). *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 31 (1996) 185–207 at 188. For some later bibles, especially Brussels, BR 9157, see below.

<sup>61</sup> J. POUX, Archiviste de l'Aude, Rapport général, à Monsieur le Préfet, présenté à la session du Conseil général d'août, 1907; G. FURNEMONT, L'évangélaire de Saint-Nazaire à Carcassonne (Mémoire de maîtrise, Faculté de Philosophie et lettres, Université de Toulouse le Mirail) 1989–1990. On f. 2v is a note explaining that the silver cover was melted down in 1793 along with the rest of the cathedral's silver.

<sup>62</sup> In addition to the 13th c. bibles listed above, are the late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century bibles Vat. lat. 17, 19, Marseille, AD Bouches du Rhône 2 G 1357 (MS 1)/Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanès 1554 (1419), Toulouse, BM 1, Bordeaux, BM 3, Brussels, BR 9157 (see following note).

<sup>63</sup> Often attributed to Flanders, the splendid Genesis page is by the main artist of Augier de Cogeux's London Missal and can be attributed in my view to Toulouse or Narbonne. BR 9157 was attributed to Avignon by P. M. DE WINTER, La

at some distance stylistically from the work of the artists of Clement V's missal and the Stuttgart bible and constitute another instance of the spread of the head-on-long-neck motif beyond the close-knit Amigotus group of manuscripts, to the Augier de Cogeux and Narbonne missals groups<sup>64</sup>.

Where Amigotus has been traced again is among the additions to two Dominican Missals in Toulouse, MSS 103 and 105<sup>65</sup>. MS 103 is well-known for its expressive Crucifixion and Christ in Majesty pages, as noted above<sup>66</sup>. They anticipate the mannerisms of the full-page miniatures in Augier de Cogeux' missal, also mentioned above<sup>67</sup>. Most of the feasts in Toulouse 103 are illustrated with foliate initials, and the only historiated initial is the *Te igitur* initial, showing the Crucifixion, which is not by the hand of the full-page miniatures and is hard to match elsewhere in Toulouse manuscripts. The minor initials are by several hands; notable among them is an I for the feast of St Dominic with a bust of the saint at the top (f. 236v, fig. 26); and there is one initial (f. 223) displaying a frontal head on a long neck. In other respects, Toulouse 103 depends on an earlier Dominican missal, Toulouse 105, as Czaplicki has noted: they are similar in dimensions and layout and in their use of penflourished and foliate initials, although in Toulouse 105 turquoise is used instead of mauve and the foliate initials are simpler than those in Toulouse 103 and lack head-terminals. Whereas the script of these books, like that of the Carcassonne Evangeliary, shares a number of features with the script of Amigotus, they are not by his hand. Several additions were made at the end of these volumes, however, and remain undecorated, with spaces left blank to receive initials that were never added. This is where script closely resembling that of Amigotus is found. In MS 103, the additions were written by several scribes: they comprise masses for the feasts of Maturin (I.XI) (ff. 322v–323); Alexis (17.VII), adopted by the Dominicans in 1303 (ff. 323–323v); Louis (25.VIII), adopted by the Dominicans in 1301<sup>68</sup>, not by Amigotus; then follow (ff. 324v–325) Corpus Christi, adopted by the Dominicans in 1323 and (f. 325v) Thomas Aquinas (7.III), adopted in 1326<sup>69</sup>. The office for Corpus Christi and St Thomas Aquinas are the ones that display the 'spiky' features characteristic of the work of Amigotus. MS Toulouse 105 has some of the same additions: Corpus Christi (f. 324), Thomas Aquinas (f. 324v), Mathurin (f. 325–325v), and the 11,000 Virgins of Cologne and Servais (f. 325v)<sup>70</sup>, this time the work of Amigotus is found in the office for the 11,000 Virgins (fig. 27).

#### CONCLUSION

From the decade of the 1270s in the Agen *Costuma* to the Breviary, Bible and Missal of Clement V after 1297, and on to the additions in Toulouse 103 and 105 after 1326, the script associated with the name of Amigotus was long-lived. A working life of close to six decades would not have been an

Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364–1404). Paris 1985, 197–200, no. 5, figs. 79, 81, 82; de Winter's comparison with the Verona Ugucione is also to be noted (Ugucione, *Summa super Decretum Gratiani*, Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, CXCIV, fig. 80). See also La Librairie de Philippe le Bon. Brussels 1967, no. 1; Manuscrits à peintures du IXe au début du XVe siècle. Brussels 1985, no. 33; J. HAMBURGER, *The Rothschild Canticles*. New Haven–London 1990, 51, fig. 101; G. SCHMIDT, in: *Die Wenzelsbibel. Kommentar*. Ed. H. HEGER et al. (*Codices Selecti* 70). Graz 1998; V. SEKULES, *Gothic Art*. Oxford 2001, 184, fig. 133.

<sup>64</sup> The minor initials align most closely with the ex-Breslauer Crucifixion miniature where Sts Justus and Pastor accompany St John at the foot of the cross, suggesting use at or in the Province of Narbonne, see The Bernard H. Breslauer Collection of Manuscript Illuminations. Ed. W. M. VOELKLE and R. S. WIECK. New York 1992, 72–73; two more missal leaves are closely related: Christie's, 3.vi.1998, lot 3, Crucifixion; Hugo Helbing, Munich, 27.v.1934, lot 340, Christ in Majesty, both kindly drawn to my attention by F. Avril. All three leaves are now in a Private Collection in London.

<sup>65</sup> The presence of Amigotus's work here was kindly drawn to my attention by H. Czaplicki.

<sup>66</sup> See n. 27.

<sup>67</sup> See n. 28.

<sup>68</sup> V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France I*. Paris 1934, Introduction, p. C, referring to B.-M. REICHERT, *Acta capitulorum generalium* (1220–1303), (1304–1378), (1380–1498) (*Monumenta ordinis Praedicatorum historica* 3, 4, 8). Rome 1898–1900.

<sup>69</sup> V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France II*. Paris 1924, 143–144, no. 324. At the end, a further addition by a later scribe and decorator (who did not see fit to add the missing decoration in the previous additions) contains the office of St Anne.

<sup>70</sup> LEROQUAIS, *Sacramentaires et missels* (cf. n. 69) 145–146, no. 326.

impossibility, then or now, nor would movement within the south-western regions of Aquitaine, Gascony and Rousillon, to the places with which these books are associated, particularly when the patrons of this scribe included prominent members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy: certainly pope Clement V and the Dominican house of Toulouse and perhaps Clement's homonym at the see of Agen<sup>71</sup>. That the corpus of Amigotus's writing — or that clustered around his name — also included part of the Agen *Costuma* adds a range beyond the strictly religious to his output. One might speculate that the bright young scribe of the *Costuma* came quickly to the attention of the local bishop who launched him on a career working for the leading ecclesiastical patrons of the day, bringing him into collaboration with a large number of artists, many of whom can be traced across several books. Whether or not all the manuscripts discussed above were actually written by the hand of Amigotus, it is highly likely that a thorough search will reveal more work in Amigotus's distinctive style and allow further assessment of the degree to which his work set the pace for Southern French Formata at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries.

#### APPENDIX

Contents of the Fragmentary Breviary Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouvelle acquisition latine 2511/ Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W 130/ London, Private Collection (Sotheby's 18.vi.96 lot 13)/ London, British Library MS Additional 42132

Agen, Bordeaux or Toulouse ?  
between 1297 and 1315

Paris, BNF n.a.lat. 2511 (siglum P), Temporal from Easter to the 20th Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost (interleaved with L)  
137 ff., 530×382 (385×260), 2 cols. 34 lines.

Baltimore W 130: Temporal for the 22nd–24th Sundays after the Octave of Pentecost (ff. 2–17); Sanctoral fragments (ff. 1, 18–83, interleaved with L and S) (siglum W)  
83 ff., 514×383 (390×260)

London, Private Collection (Sotheby's 18.vi.96 lot 13) (siglum S): Sanctoral fragments (interleaved with L and W)  
2 leaves, 470×370.

London, BL Add. 42132 (siglum L), Temporal for the 7th–22 Sundays after the Octave of Pentecost (ff. 1–12, interleaved with P); Sanctoral fragments (ff. 13–56, interleaved with S and W).

56 ff. (individual sheets of parchment mounted on paper), 475×335 (365×260) 2 cols., 34 lines, written in a distinctive 'spiky' (cf. Randall) formata script by Amigotus (colophon in red: 'verum scriptoris si scire/ nomen velletis oportet si/ne mora quod vertatur/ sutogima [Amigotus]' (L f. 56v).

Square notation on a four-lined staff ruled in red. Penflourished initials red and turquoise, blue and red. Foliage and dragon initials with faces, supporting animals, on almost every page, many enclosing heads on long curling necks or accompanied by borders with terminals consisting of heads on long curling necks. Historiated initials and borders; some notes in Latin or Occitan (cf. P ff. 76, 101) for the illuminator, most illegible.

Easter, beginning incomplete: E, foliate initial (P f. 18v); First Sunday after Octave of Easter: A, John the Evangelist writing, note, 'Johannes apostolus scribens et nubes super eum' (P f. 19); Third Sunday after Octave of Easter: P, Peter holding key, preaching to seated crowd, note, 'Ymago sancti Petri apostoli claves tenentis et predicantis populo presenti' (P f. 34); P, foliate initial (f. 39v); feasts in the Octave of the Ascension: Per signum crucis de inimicis nostris alleluia libera nos... ini-

<sup>71</sup> On the mobility of illuminators in the south-west, see G. SCHMIDT, Beobachtungen betreffend die Mobilität von Buchmalern im 14. Jahrhundert. *Codices Manuscripti*, 42–43 (2003) 1–25, repr. in: Id., Malerei der Gotik: Fixpunkte und Ausblicke. Ed. M. ROLAND. Graz, 2005, 65–87.

tial with soldier's face (L f. 16v); Pentecost: D, Pentecost with Peter and Paul, Virgin Mary absent, note (P f. 50v); Trinity: D, Two Persons and Dove, note 'Pater filium tenens in cruce Spiritus sanctus in forma columbe' (P f. 60); First Sunday after Octave of Pentecost: F, Priest celebrating; Anna, barren wife of Elkanah, praying for a child (P f. 69); lesson 4, A, foliate initial, dog and stork (W f. 13); Second Sunday: A, Ark carried on cart drawn by 4 bulls, note, 'quadriga et archa desuper...' (P f. 76); Third Sunday: Q, man playing rebec; border: affronted male and female hybrids (W f. 14v); Seventh Sunday: beginning in complete (L f. 1); Eighth Sunday: G, foliate initial; hare chases dog; stork/man hybrid (L f. 1v); Ninth Sunday: D, Solomon rebuking kneeling Roboam, note, '.I. rei coronat ab .I. enfant ...devant' (P f. 101); Tenth Sunday: C, foliate and interlace initial, face terminals, goat chasing stag (L f. 2v); V, King (Ecclesiasticus) sitting on a throne (P f. 107); D, King enthroned, note (P f. 110v); C, female head in hair net and headbands on long neck, dragon body on whose tail goat chases hare (L f. 2v); Eleventh Sunday: A, foliate initial, border: stork (trimmed) (L f. 3); Twelfth Sunday: P, stork terminal with curling neck and bearded man's head blowing trumpet (W f. 15v); Thirteenth Sunday: G, foliate initial, border: affronted dog and hare (L f. 4); Thirteenth Sunday: V, Job on dunghill addressing his wife (P f. 117); Fourteenth Sunday: S, foliate initial; border: trumpeting ape-head on long curling neck (L f. 5); Fifteenth Sunday: N, foliate initial (L f. 6v); Fifteenth Sunday: I, Esther and Ahasuerus (P f. 133); Sixteenth Sunday: T, foliate initial with dragons (L f. 7); Seventeenth Sunday: O, foliate initial; addorsed hybrids on stork-legs (L f. 8); Seventeenth Sunday: E, Battle (cf. I Maccabees in Bibles) (P f. 137v); Eighteenth Sunday: P, dragon in initial on long curling neck (L f. 9); Twentieth Sunday: T, foliate initial with dragon on long curling neck; border: bird (L f. 10v); Twentyfirst Sunday: C, foliate initial with dragon on long curling neck (L f. 11); Twenty-second Sunday: E, foliate initial with dragons on long curling necks (L f. 12v); 22–24 weekdays and Sundays (W ff. 2–17): E, Ezekiel in prayer before Head of God in cloud (W f. 2); U, King Nebuchadnezzar enthroned, teaching 3 children of Israel (W f. 4v); U, Hosea in prayer before Head of God in cloud (W f. 5v); U, Joel in prayer before Head of God in cloud (W f. 6); U, Amos, seated orant before Head of God in cloud (W f. 7); U, Obadiah seated, chin on hand, pointing, before Head of God in cloud (W f. 7v); U, Micah, seated crosslegged in chair before bench (W f. 8v); H, Nahum in prayer before Head of God in cloud (W f. 9v); H, Habakkuk, standing, orant, before Head of God in cloud (W f. 10); U, Zephaniah standing reaching up towards Head of God in cloud (W f. 11); I, foliate initial Saturday: I, bearded king's head on long neck, a dalmatian holding an open book standing on the king's head (W f. 12); Q, youth playing vielle (W f. 14v); Sanctoral: 3.XI P, Hilary and Valentine beheaded (W f. 82v); 6.XI. L, Leonard, with a chain round his neck as patron of prisoners, blessed by Rémi of Reims (L f. 43v); 8.XI B, Claude beheaded, Nicostrate, Castor, Symphorien kneeling, hands bleeding (W f. 75v); 9.XI N, Theodore beheaded (W f. 76); 11.XI. B, Martin as bishop celebrating mass at altar with chalice and cross; Christ hands down host (?) (L f. 45); 21.XI F, Translation of Stephen, body on bier borne by dappled horse (W f. 78); 22.XI R, Cecelia of Albi (looking like a man) beheaded (W f. 79); 23.XI. S, Clement drowned by 2 men; a huge halo-like millstone behind his head (L f. 49); 23.XI. R, Felicity stands, blessing her seven kneeling sons (L f. 51v); 24.XI. I, Romanus of Blaye stands praying before the head of God in cloud (L f. 52); 24.XI R, Chrysogonus beheaded (W f. 80); 25.XI R, Katherine of Alexandria beheaded, angels throw stones at executioner, wheel fragments at right (W f. 81v); 4.IV P, Ambrose and Isidore, both mitred and holding books, seated talking (L f. 13); 14.IV R, Martyrdom of Tiburtius and Valerianus by sword and club; border: stork. (L f. 14v); 25.IV Mark E, symbol of St Mark holding scroll in feet (L f. 33, by a very crude artist); 28.IV A, Crucifixion of Vitalis on saltire cross; border: bird (L f. 15v); 3.V: Invention of the Cross: P, square and lozenge motif containing frontal male head in chain mail (L f. 16v); 3.V. Quiriacus, I, Helen kneels before praying Constantine (crowned), holds True Cross; top border: ape plays bagpipes standing on head of seated man who plays vielle with plectrum and himself sits on lion-head on long curling neck with gold balls (L f. 17v); 1.V B, foliate initial for Orientius, bishop of Auch (W f. 27); 4.V O, Genius of Lectoure, tonsured, kneeling before Head of God (W f. 58v); 6.V. N, John at the Latin Gate, boiled in oil (W f. 25v); 7.V T, Translation of Stephen, two hooded men carry four-tier reliquary; woman in prayer (W f. 26v); 10.V R, Gordianus and Epimachus beheaded (L f. 18v); 22.V I, Quiteria of Aire-sur-Adour, kneeling before altar, holding her bleeding head; border: stork with



long twisted neck and lion-head wearing dunce's hat and blowing trumpet with blue banner with white circles (W f. 24); 5.VI. L, Group of saints kneel before head of God in cloud (text is for St Boniface) (L f. 38); 1.VI Clarus: rubrics only (W f. 23); 9.VI. R, Primus and Felicianus beheaded, blessed by God in cloud; large head on twisted neck, wearing black and white almuce (W f. 24); 9.VI S, Martyrdom of St Vincent at Agen: kneeling, fully clothed, executioner raises sword; head of God in cloud; border: head wearing pointed hat on long neck (L f. 20); 11.VI N, Barnabas roped and dragged by feet (W. f. 20); 13.VI. A, Exuperius of Toulouse as bishop kneeling before Head of God (W f. 19); 13.VI Basilidis Cirinus Naboris, Nazarius: N, foliate initial enclosing long-necked dragon-head (L f. 21v); 10.VI. O, Lawrence on gridiron (W f. 1); 16.VI. S, Cyriacus and Julitta addressed by Diocletian, bear-head on long curling neck (W f. 18); 17.VI Avitus: rubrics only (W f. 22v); 18.VI. R, Marcus and Marcellianus, one saint beheaded, Head of God in cloud; border: head on twisted neck blowing trumpet (W f. 22v); 18.VI H, Potentiane: two sons Simplicius and Felix in bed (they were sent from Gascony to Holy Land) (L f. 19v); 28.VI. L, Hymerius (sic, for Hyreneus of Lyon) keels at the bier of St Martin (L f. 46v); 22.VII. E, Mary Magdalen prostrate at the feet of Christ at table with Simon the Leper (W f. 29v); 25.VII. X, Christopher shot with arrows by two archers (W f. 32v); 26.VII. N, Nazarius and Celsus beheaded (W. f. 33); 29.VII. M, Martha: left: *Noli me tangere*; right: Martha with back turned to Christ stirring pot over fire (W f. 34v); 29.VII. R, Felix, Simplicius and Faustinus beheaded (W f. 35v); 30.VII. R, Abdon and Sennes beheaded (W f. 36v); 31.VII G, Germanus of Auxerre blessing resuscitating corpse of bishop in coffin (W f. 37); 1.VIII M, Peter in Chains: Peter released from prison by angel (W f. 38v); 2.VIII R, Pope Stephen enthroned holding cross and key (W f. 39v); 3.VIII R, Invention of Stephen: Bishop Lucianus orders digging by two men (W f. 40v); 4.VIII B, Dominic and Dominican friar pointing at books not consumed in fire between them; early marginal addition: Dominic blessing kneeling laic, abbot kneeling at left (W f. 41); 6.VIII Transfiguration: N; hooded male hybrid standing on initial, wields sword and shield against large spider (L f. 22v); 7.VIII Sixtus: T, foliate initial; hooded hybrid with twisted neck stands on border (L f. 23); 9.VIII Romanus: I, saint standing praying, Head of God above (L f. 62); 11.VIII F, Crown of Thorns: Christ holding up Crown of Thorns to Pilate (seated, crowned) and three men (W f. 42v); 11.VIII? Tiburtius: R, large fleur de lis motif (W f. 43v); 13.VIII R, Hippolytus, dragged on rope by man with winged headdress riding dappled horse (W f. 44); 13.VIII B, Radegonde in prayer before Head of God in cloud (W f. 45); 14.VIII? Eusebius: N, foliate initial containing large sexfoil rose (L f. 24); 15.VIII D, Assumption of the Virgin: Dormition: Virgin on deathbed attended by Peter and Paul and apostles, her soul received by God in heaven (W f. 46); 17.VIII Octave of Lawrence: B, foliate initial (L f. 25); 17.VIII Mammetis: I, foliate initial (L f. 26v); 19 or 22.VIII R, Timothy beheaded (W f. 47); 22.VIII M, Octave of the Assumption: man giving alms to kneeling man; Q, Virgin holding Child and round object (W f. 49v); Assumption: B, Virgin received in heaven (W f. 51); B, Head and shoulders of woman wearing white veil (W f. 51); 25.VIII B, Louis: seated, patting lion whose forelegs are in his lap (a reference to Louis as 'alter Salamon' in adjacent column ?) (W f. 50v); 25.VIII N, Genesius and companions, all bleeding, attacked by soldier with bloody sword (L f. 27); 28.VIII P, Augustine (28.VIII) and Paulinus of Nola (22.VI), seated, holding books (border repainted) (L f. 13); 28.VIII Augustine preaching (London, Private Collection, Sotheby's 18.vi.96 lot 13, leaf 1); 29.VIII. Sabina praying before Head of God (London, Private Collection, Sotheby's 18.vi.96 lot 13, leaf 2); 29.VIII C, Decollation of John the Baptist: Salome presenting head on charger (W f. 53); 30.VIII R, Felix and Audactus beheaded (W f. 54); 1.IX L, Lupus of Sens blessing kneeling youth, three men standing at right (W f. 54v); 1.IX S, Gilles receiving stag whose neck is pieced by arrow (W f. 55v); 2.IX U, Anthony of Liaroles (Dioc. Auch) beheaded (W f. 56v); 2.IX P, Antonin of Pamiers attacked with a sword in the shoulder (W f. 57); 8.IX. Birth of the Virgin: O, Annunciation to Joachim by angel (W f. 59); H, Nativity of the Virgin (rubbed) (W f. 59); A, Virgin standing, crowned, holding Child blessing (W f. 60); 10.IX Salvius, Bishop of Albi, unillustrated (the translation of his relics at Albi is celebrated 11.X) (W f. 62v); 11.IX R, Protus and Hyacinthus beheaded (W f. 62v); 14.IX C, Cornelius and Cyprian beheaded (W f. 63); 14.IX. Exaltation of the Cross: A initial: saint holds up cross before group of standing kings (L f. 28v); 15.IX Octave of the Birth of the Virgin: A, Virgin standing, crowned, holding Child and round object (W f. 60);

15.IX N, Nicomedis beheaded (W f. 65); 21.IX. M, Matthew, at money-chest, called by Christ (W f. 65v); 22.IX. S, Seated king orders execution of St Maurice and companions (L f. 30v); 27.IX A, Cosmas and Damian, one of them holding urinal (W f. 64v); 29.IX. A, Michael slaying dragon (W f. 66v); 2.X. L, Leodegarius blessing kneeling man, woman and three men standing right (W f. 67); 4. X. F, Francis preaching to birds, Brother Leo at right (W f. 68v); 6.X Octave of Michael: M, Michael holding cross, confronting dragon (W f. 69v); 6.X. S, Foi of Agen beheaded (W f. 70v); 6.X. I, Raphael the Archangel, holding blank scroll and pointing at text (W f. 71v); 9.X. S, Denis holding his entire, mitred, severed head (L f. 32v); 13.X Gerald, unillustrated (W f. 72); 14.X. N, Calixtus beheaded (W f. 72); 16.X. S, Bertrand de Comminges as bishop, seated blessing kneeling laic, Hand of God above (W f. 73v); 16.X. A, Dulcidius of Agen as bishop preaching from pulpit to three men seated on ground (W f. 74); 19.X. E, Ox, symbol of Luke, holding scroll saying Sanctus Lucas; border: bird, hooded head terminal (L f. 33); 23.X. S, Dulcidius of Agen as standing bishop (L f. 34v); 20.X. R, Beheading of Caprasius of Agen (faces retouched) (L f. 35v); 27.X. Octave of Caprasius: P, Caprasius celebrates mass at draped altar with chalice (L f. 36); 28.X. S, Kneeling saint wearing triangular papal tiara executed by the sword (Simon or Jude) (L f. 37); Common of Martyrs: H, group of saints kneel before head of God in cloud (heads retouched) (L f. 39); I, foliate initial enclosing head on long curling neck with gold balls (L f. 53v); M, soldier raises club to attack three kneeling figures (L f. 55); Common of Virgins: C, Virgin saint beheaded (W f. 83).

21.XI Presentation of the Virgin, beginning incomplete, added in the fifteenth century (W f. 84).

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## FIGURES

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- Fig. 3: London, British Library, Additional 42132, f. 20 (Photo: British Library)
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- Fig. 6: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n. a. lat. 2511, f. 133 (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France)
- Fig. 7: Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 130, f. 34v (Photo: The Walters Art Museum)
- Fig. 8: Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 130, f. 24 (Photo: The Walters Art Museum)
- Fig. 9: Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 130, f. 26v (Photo: The Walters Art Museum)
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- Fig. 11: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 51, f. 59 (Photo: James Marrow)
- Fig. 12: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 51, f. 116 (Photo: James Marrow)
- Fig. 13: Città del Vaticano, BAV Archivio di San Pietro B 76, f. 105 (Photo: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana)
- Fig. 14: Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, C I 2, f. 1 (Photo: Author)
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- Fig. 16: Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, 92, f. 250 (Photo: Author)
- Fig. 17: Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, I IV 5, f. 150v (Photo: Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati)
- Fig. 18: Agen, Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne, MS 42, f. 36v (Photo: Author)
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- Fig. 24: Carcassonne, Archives Départementales de l'Aude, G 288, f. 56v (Photo: Author)
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Fig. 1: London, British Library, Additional 42132, f. 35v  
(Photo: British Library)



Fig. 2: London, British Library, Additional 42132, f. 36  
(Photo: British Library)

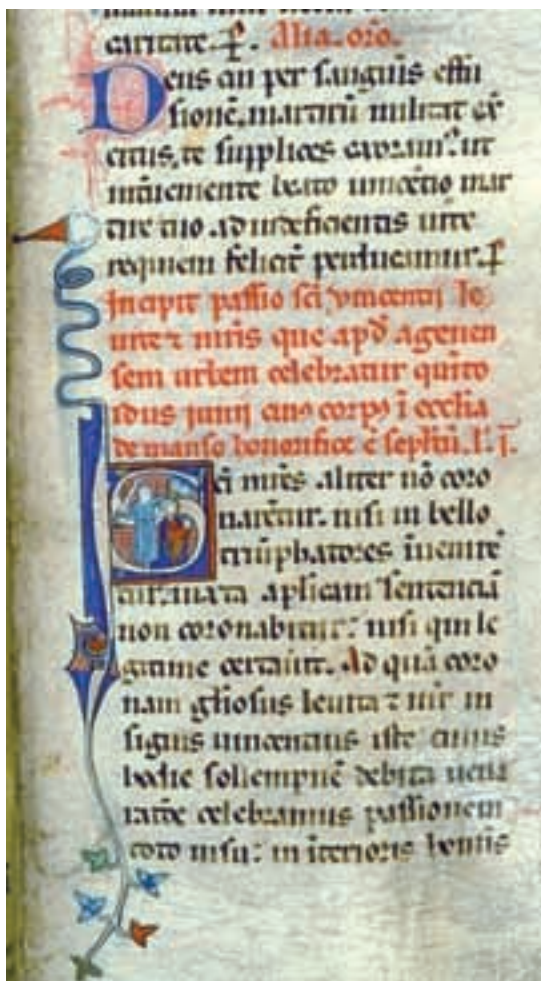


Fig. 3: London, British Library, Additional 42132, f. 20  
(Photo: British Library)

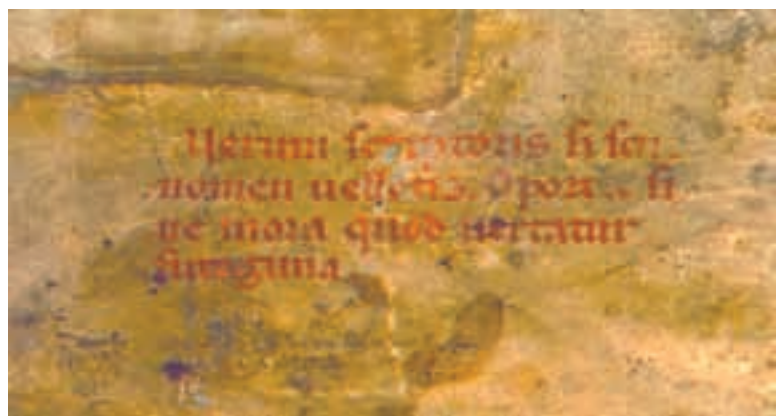


Fig. 4: London, British Library, Additional 42132, f. 56v  
(Photo: British Library)



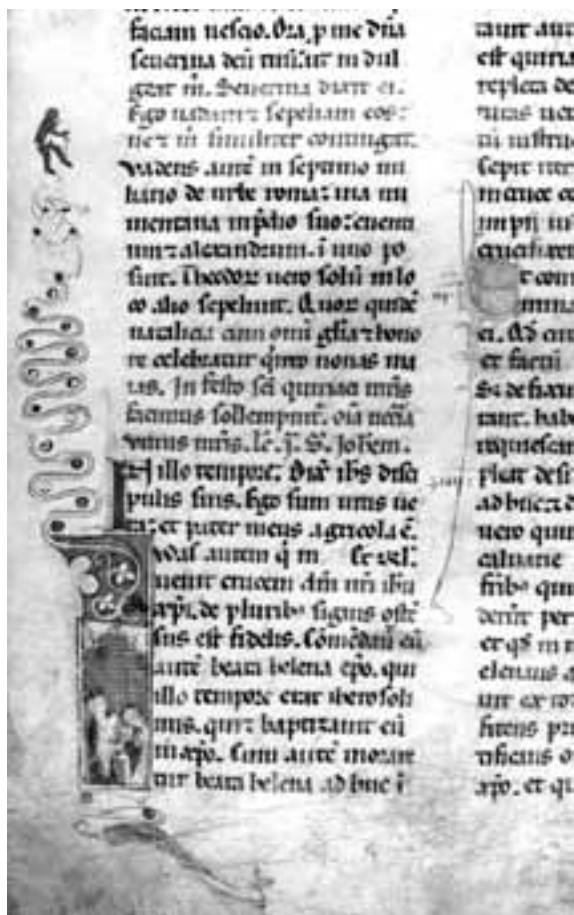


Fig. 5: London, British Library, Additional 42132, f. 17v (Photo: British Library)



Fig. 6: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n. a. lat. 2511, f. 133 (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France)



Fig. 7: Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 130, f. 34v (Photo: The Walters Art Museum)



Fig. 8: Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 130, f. 24 (Photo: The Walters Art Museum)





Fig. 9: Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 130, f. 26v  
(Photo: The Walters Art Museum)



Fig. 10: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Bibl. 2° 8, f. 240  
(Photo: Author)

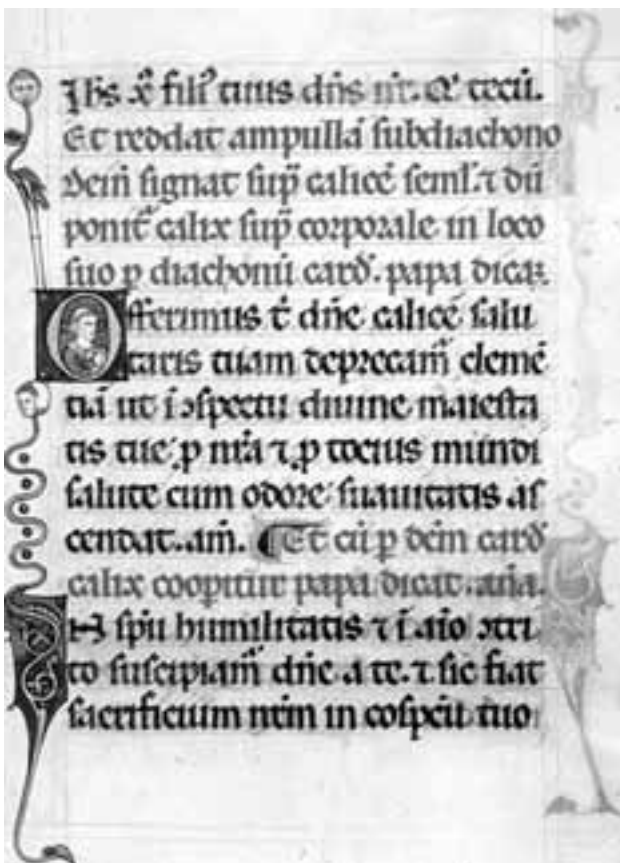


Fig. 11: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 51, f. 59  
(Photo: James Marrow)



Fig. 12: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 51, f. 116  
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Fig. 13: Città del Vaticano, BAV Archivio di San Pietro B 76, f. 105 (Photo: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana)



Fig. 14: Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, C I 2, f. 1 (Photo: Author)



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Fig. 16: Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, 92, f. 250 (Photo: Author)





Fig. 17: Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, I IV 5, f. 150v (Photo: Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati)



Fig. 18: Agen, Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne, MS 42, f. 36v (Photo: Author)



Fig. 20: Agen, Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne, MS 42, f. 44v (Photo: Author)

Fig. 19: Agen, Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne, MS 42, f. 81 (Photo: Ron Akehurst)



Fig. 21: Agen, Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne, MS 42, f. 42v (Photo: Ron Akehurst)



Fig. 22: Agen, Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne, MS 42, f. 18v (Photo: Author)



Fig. 23: Vic, Archivo Episcopal, I, f. 55 (Photo: Author)



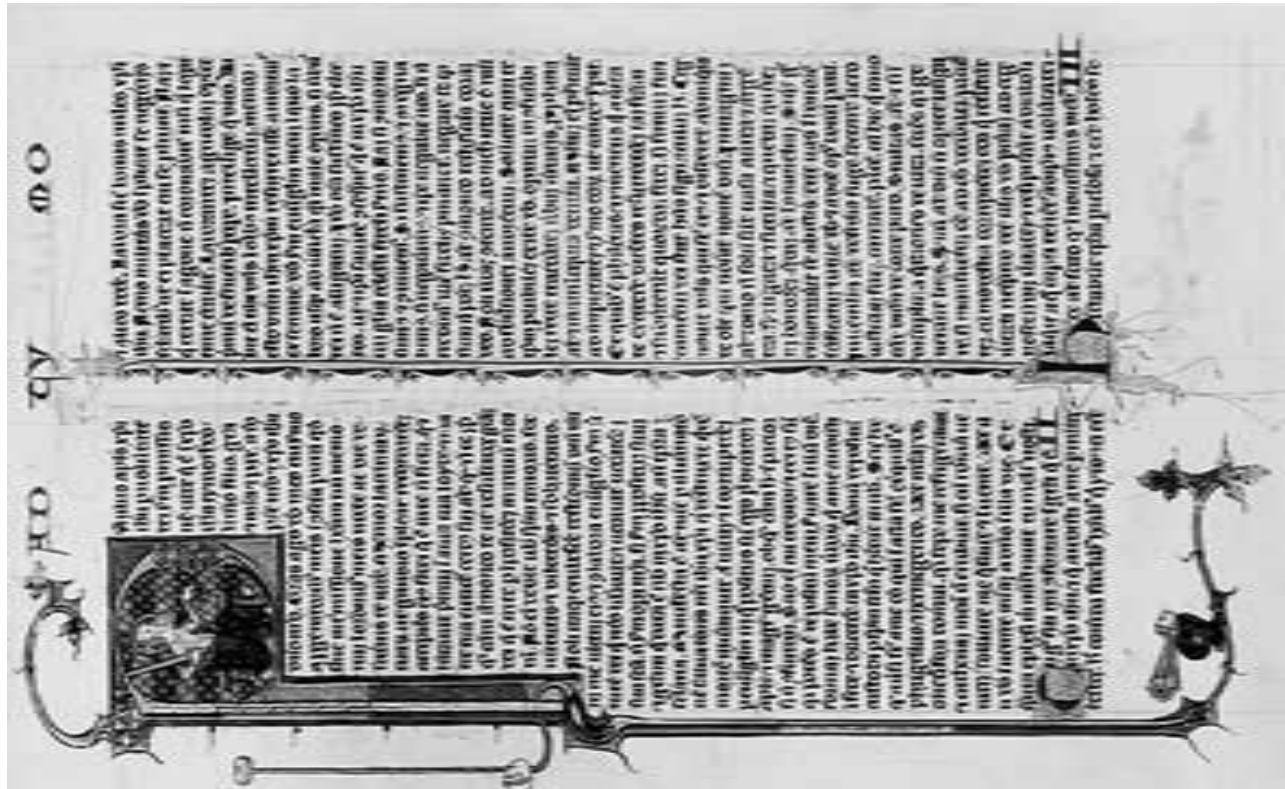


Fig. 25: Brussels,  
Bibliothèque Royale  
Albert Ier, 9157, f. 418v  
(Photo: Bibliothèque  
Royale Albert Ier)



Fig. 24: Carcassonne,  
Archives Départementales  
de l'Aude, G 288, f.  
56v (Photo: Author)



Fig. 26: Toulouse,  
Bibliothèque Municipale,  
103, f. 326v  
(Photo: Author)



Fig. 27: Toulouse,  
Bibliothèque Municipale,  
105, f. 325v  
(Photo: Toulouse,  
Bibliothèque Municipale)