

# Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany

DIANE E. BOOTON



MANUSCRIPTS, MARKET AND THE TRANSITION  
TO PRINT IN LATE MEDIEVAL BRITTANY

*Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany* surveys the production and marketing of non-monastic manuscripts and printed books over 150 years in late medieval Brittany, from the accession of the Montfort family to the ducal crown in 1364 to the duchy's formal assimilation by France in 1532. Brittany, as elsewhere, experienced the shift of manuscript production from monasteries to lay scriptoria and from rural settings to urban centers, as the motivation for copying the word in ink on parchment evolved from divine meditation to personal profit.

Through her analysis of the physical aspects of Breton manuscripts and books—parchment and paper, textual layouts, scripts and typography, illumination and illustration—Diane Booton exposes previously unexplored connections between the tangible cultural artifacts and the society that produced, acquired and valued them. Innovatively, Booton's discussion incorporates archival research into the prices, wages and commissions associated with the manufacture of the works under discussion to shed new light on their economic and personal value.

*Diane E. Booton, Ph.D., is an independent scholar specializing in the history of the book in late medieval and early modern Europe. She has published on manuscript production, illumination and patronage.*

*To my parents*

# Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany

Diane E. Booton

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## Note

Titles appear in a commonly recognized form in the text, whilst in the endnotes they appear as originally written on the edition, with any variant spellings.

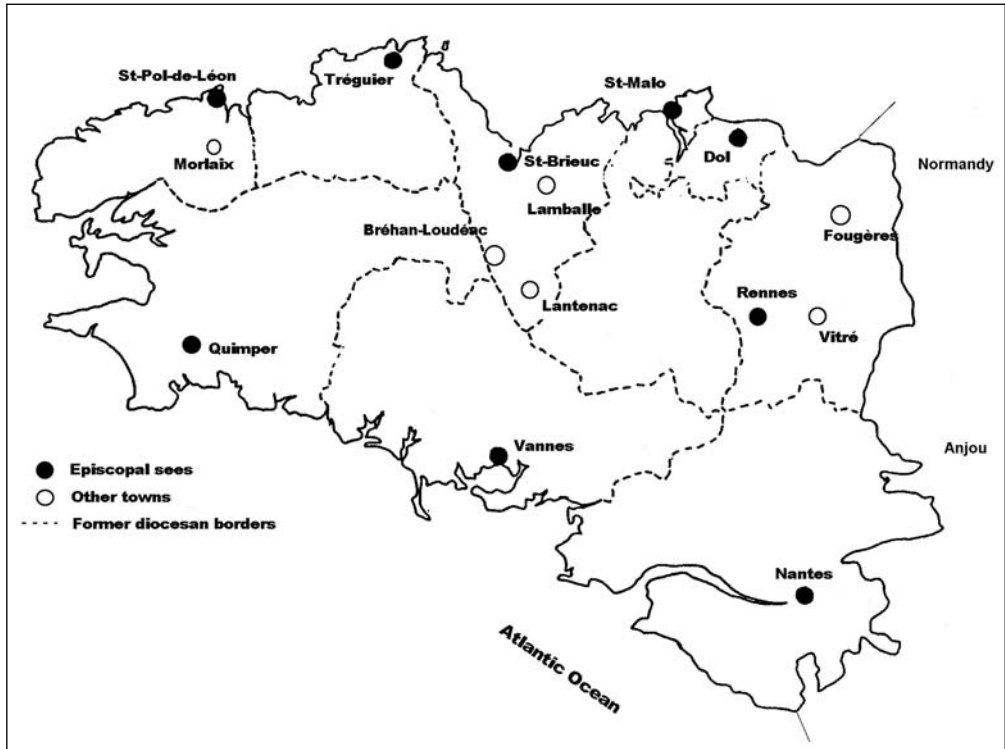
## List of Abbreviations

AB	<i>Annales de Bretagne</i>
ADCA	Archives Départementales des Côtes-d'Armor, St-Brieuc
ADF	Archives Départementales du Finistère, Quimper
ADIV	Archives Départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine, Rennes
ADLA	Archives Départementales de la Loire-Atlantique, Nantes
ADM	Archives Départementales du Morbihan, Vannes
AM	Archives Municipales
BAV	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
BEC	<i>Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes</i>
BL	British Library
BM	Bibliothèque Municipale
BMC	<i>Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum</i> (London, 1908)
BMSAIV	<i>Bulletin et mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine</i>
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Bod-inc	<i>A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century Now in the Bodleian Library</i> , eds Alan Coates et al. (Oxford, 2005)

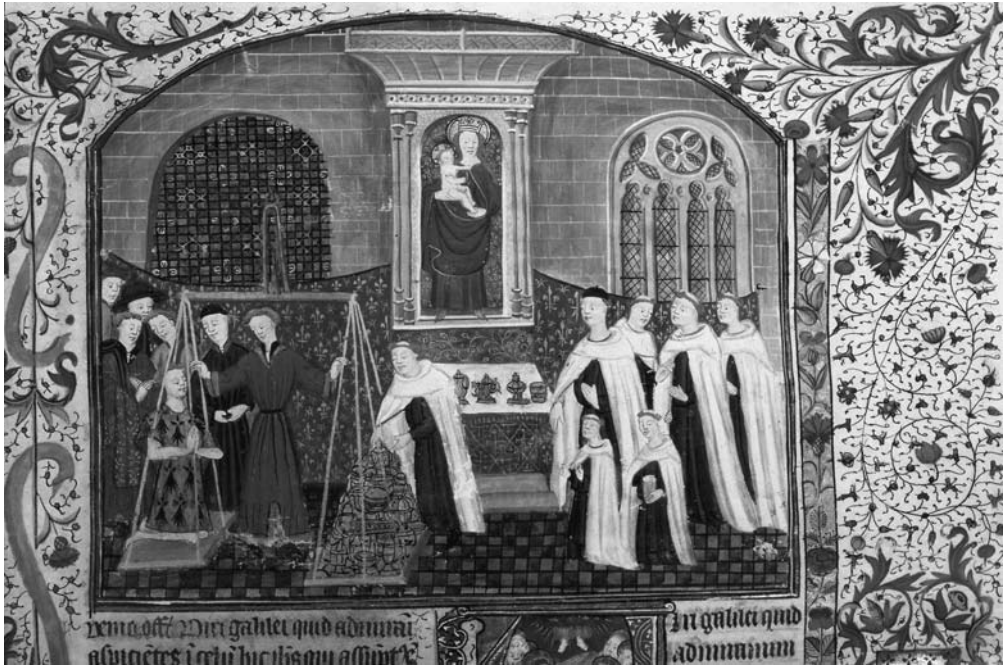
Bodl. Libr.	Bodleian Library
<i>Bretagne. Die Kultur</i>	Schallaburg, Schloss Schallaburg, and Amt der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung, <i>Bretagne. Die Kultur des "Landes am Meer," 1300–1990</i> (Vienna, 1990)
<i>La Bretagne au temps des ducs</i>	Daoulas, Abbaye de Daoulas, and Musée Dobrée, Nantes, <i>La Bretagne au temps des ducs</i> , ed. M.-H. Santrot (Daoulas, 1991)
Briquet	Briquet, C.M., <i>Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600</i> (repr., Amsterdam, 1968)
BSAF	<i>Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère</i>
BSAHN	<i>Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique de Nantes</i>
<i>Cat. gén. mss. bibl. publiques</i>	France, Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, des Beaux-Arts et des Cultes, <i>Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France</i> , 66 vols (Paris, 1886–1980)
<i>Chantilly. Manuscrits</i>	Chantilly, Musée Condé, <i>Chantilly. Le cabinet des livres: Manuscrits</i> (4 vols, Paris, 1900–11)
<i>Chantilly. Imprimés</i>	Chantilly, Musée Condé, <i>Chantilly. Le cabinet des livres. Imprimés antérieurs au milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle</i> , ed. Léopold Delisle (Paris, 1905)
CIBN	Paris, BnF, <i>Catalogue des incunables</i> (Paris, 1981–)
<i>Colophons</i>	Bénédictins du Bouveret, <i>Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle</i> (6 vols, Fribourg, 1965–82)
d.	deniers
Delisle, <i>Cabinet</i>	Delisle, Léopold, <i>Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale</i> (3 vols, Paris, 1868–81)
FB	<i>French Vernacular Books: Books Published in the French Language Before 1601</i> , eds

	Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby, Alexander Wilkinson (2 vols, Leiden: Brill, 2007)
fr.	francs
Goff	Goff, Frederick R., <i>Incunabula in American Libraries: A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North American Collections</i> (New York, 1964)
GW	<i>Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke</i> (Leipzig, 1925–)
H	Hain, Ludwig, <i>Repertorium bibliographicum</i> (1826–39; repr. Milan, 1966)
HC	Copinger, Walter A., <i>Supplement to Hain's Repertorium bibliographicum</i> (1895–1902; repr. Milan, 1950)
IRHT	Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes
ISTC	BL, <i>Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue</i> (available online at < <a href="http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/index.html">http://www.bl.uk/ catalogues/istc/index.html</a> >)
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek
ℓ.	livre
Meiss, <i>Boucicaut Master</i>	Meiss, Millard, with the assistance of Kathleen Morand and Edith W. Kirsch, <i>French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master</i> (London, 1968)
Meiss, <i>Late Fourteenth Century</i>	Meiss, Millard, <i>French Painting in the Time of Jean De Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke</i> (2 vols, London, 1967)
Meiss, <i>Limbourgs</i>	Meiss, Millard, with the assistance of Elizabeth H. Beatson and Sharon Off Dunlap Smith, <i>French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries</i> (2 vols, New York, 1974)
Morice, <i>Preuves</i>	Morice, Hyacinthe, <i>Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne</i> (3 vols, Paris, 1742–46)

MSHAB	<i>Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne</i>
MSHIV	<i>Mémoires de la Société Archéologique d'Ille-et-Vilaine</i>
Mss datés	Samaran, Charles and Robert Maréchal, <i>Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste</i> (7 vols, Paris, 1959– )
NYPL	New York Public Library
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
Pellechet	Pellechet, Marie, <i>Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France</i> (Paris, 1897–1909)
Peyron, <i>Cartulaire</i>	Peyron, Paul, <i>Cartulaire de l'Eglise de Quimper</i> (Quimper, 1909)
PML	Pierpont Morgan Library
Proctor	Proctor, Robert, <i>An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum: From the Invention of Printing to the Year 1500</i> (London, 1888–1906)
s.	sols
Thierry-Poux	Thierry-Poux, Olgar, <i>Premiers monuments de l'imprimerie en France au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle</i> (Paris, 1890)
Torchet	France, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, Direction du Livre, <i>Catalogues régionaux des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France. V. Bibliothèques de la région des Pays de la Loire</i> , ed. Louis Torchet (14 vols, Bordeaux, 1987– )
WAM	Walters Art Museum (formerly Walters Art Gallery)



Map of the Duchy of Brittany



I.1 Duke Jean V on a balance, fulfilling his pledge. Carmelite missal, c.1450.  
Garrett Collection of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts No. 40, f. 121<sup>r</sup> (detail).  
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## Introduction

In 1420, Jean V de Montfort, duke of Brittany, was captured by ruse and imprisoned for five months by his arch-rivals and cousins, who still contested his father's victory in the War of Succession in 1364. After negotiations by Duchess Jeanne de France, the duke was released. He attributed his liberty to hours of devout prayer and to his pledge that, if freed, he would offer his weight in gold to the Carmelite brothers at Nantes. A Carmelite prior, writing in the early seventeenth century, recounts how the duke's pledge was made good on 14 July 1420:

Arriving at the image of the good Virgin, his liberator, he threw himself on the ground before her in thanks while the religious chanted a suffrage of grace, and before all present, he drew on his heaviest *harnois* and had all his vessels and jewels brought (because he lacked sufficient coin) and had them placed on one side of the balance and he on the other. And he gave the convent the equivalent of his weight, which was 304 marks, 7 ounces in gold, as one shall see towards the end; all these things and many others can be seen well painted and illuminated in an old missal on parchment dearly looked after in the sacristy of Nantes.<sup>1</sup>

The prior's *vieil missal* is the rare and complex manuscript, datable c.1450–77, now held at Princeton University Library, in which a miniature illustrates the duke's pledge (Figure I.1).<sup>2</sup> Before the statue of Our Lady and many witnesses, the duke kneels on the scale in prayer as Prior Olivier Briend places gold cups and vessels on the other side. The miniature is one of 24 small paintings on parchment in this manuscript that represent the Breton dukes, duchesses, and their children from Jean IV (reigned 1364–99) to François II (r. 1458–88). The dukes and their families are primarily shown kneeling before the statue of Our Lady in the Carmelite Church, thereby linking ducal rule to the favored protection of the Virgin Mary, as well as underscoring ducal patronage of a local religious institution.

A brief look at the Carmelite missal reveals its codicological complexity. The calendar feast of St Vincent Ferrier points to the missal's production after 1455, when the saint was canonized, and the miniatures of the dukes and duchesses and of other noble families, illuminated by a single artist,

are dated slightly earlier. The canon pages suggest, however, that the missal was not yet complete and bound even some 20 years later. The bifolium for the illustrated canon pages comprises two full-page miniatures, facing one another like a diptych, of the Crucifixion and God the Father, which were painted by a second artist inspired by Touraine illumination (Figure 2.28). In the margin of the Crucifixion are painted the figures of Duke François II and his second wife (after 1471), Marguerite de Foix. The absence of their daughter, Anne, born in January 1477, suggests that the leaf was painted before this date. Yet, in the border of the opposing page appears the duchess's brother, Cardinal Pierre II de Foix, who was raised to cardinal-deacon only in December 1476 and elevated to full cardinal in January 1477. It is possible that the bifolium replaced earlier leaves, executed with the patronage of the Jean II de Tournemine family, whose coat of arms and "portrait" representations by the same artist of the earlier ducal miniatures are shown in the next quire (consisting of three, not the usual four, bifolia), which marks the beginning of the Canon of the Mass. If the bifolium was not a replacement quire, the possibility that these important liturgical pages were left undone during the first campaign of c.1450 then reflects a conscious and as yet unexplained decision made during the production of the manuscript. The complexity of the Princeton missal amply demonstrates the value of close codicological and stylistic observations in evaluating manuscript-making and patronage.

*Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany* examines the production and marketing of non-monastic manuscripts and printed books in the late medieval duchy of Brittany, from the accession of the Montfort family in 1364 to the duchy's formal assimilation by France in 1532. At a crossroad of trade routes and geo-political struggles, Brittany's production of books and manuscripts reflected a combination of regional and outside influences. As elsewhere in Western Europe, Brittany experienced a gradual shift of manuscript production from monasteries to lay scriptoria and from rural settings to urban centers, as the motivation for copying the word in ink on parchment evolved from an aspect of religious meditation to personal profit. By studying the physical aspects of Breton manuscripts and printed books—materials, layouts, scripts and typography, illumination and illustration—together with archival sources that explain the works' economic and personal value in terms of prices, wages, and commissions, we can begin to make connections between the tangible cultural artifact and the society that produced, acquired, and valued them.

Modern historians recognize that war and political turmoil often caused illuminators, as well as other craftsmen, to travel in search of safety, patronage, and better markets. Itinerant artists brought their own styles and models to new towns and to new collaborations, which would then generate acceptance, modification, or resistance. The migration of artists from one town to another, the portability of books and manuscripts, and their availability on the market reveal some of the challenges that face the historian attempting to identify specific criteria that characterize regional schools of medieval manuscript

illumination. Even the possibly unifying aesthetic of court culture developed through patronage of the arts may not account for the lone illuminator working for a cathedral chapter or a rural nobleman.

In recent years, the history of the medieval book has benefited greatly from the in-depth focus of regional studies on patronage, book ownership, and artisan practices of several geographic areas of Western Europe.<sup>3</sup> Such studies offer an important perspective on manuscript production that supplements traditional art-historical analyses of patronage and individual artists by not only revealing regional style traits, but also aspects of book trades, supply and demand, and book marketing. In these respects, however, the medieval book in Brittany remains largely unexplored. While Breton manuscript illumination in Rennes and Nantes was examined stylistically three decades ago, and while several deluxe manuscripts have received fuller description and contextual study, regional book production deserves broader treatment.<sup>4</sup> Because so few medieval manuscripts are dated and localized by their colophons or inscriptions, art historians necessarily rely on distinguishing styles and influences in order to group associated manuscripts and to provide a basis for analysis of the existence and organization of manuscript-making. The role of liturgical use, ornamental initials, and border decoration carries varied weight with past scholars in their analysis of a manuscript's origin. Parallel investigations into the archaeology of the book and relevant archival resources have been only partially explored.<sup>5</sup> As for early printed books produced in Brittany, scholars have focused on bibliographic description and brief histories of individual printers.<sup>6</sup> Less has been said about the printers' technical production and market contact. Finally, patterns of literary acquisition among Breton book owners has received very little attention.

Relying heavily on first-hand examination, this study identifies, dates, and localizes a variety of late medieval books and manuscripts owned by Bretons through internal evidence, such as coats of arms, mottoes, signatures, inscriptions, and colophons. Page layout and scripts, rubrics and illuminations are also explored as aspects of codicological and decorative practices current in Brittany and western France. The names of more than 175 artisans—parchment-makers, scribes, illuminators, binders, printers, and booksellers—working in different parts of Brittany have been gathered from financial accounts, contracts, inventories, and manuscripts. Together, these historical records, books, and manuscripts permit us to identify the primary centers of production, labor, and marketing associations, and the literary genres in demand.

In its first half, *Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany* concentrates on the production and commerce of manuscripts and printed books (Chapters 1–3). Chapter 1 identifies manuscript-makers (parchment-makers, scribes, illuminators, and bookbinders), their works, and commissioners, as permitted by colophons and inscriptions. In addition, payment registers, inventories, and other archival sources identify artisans by name and trade, and sometimes provide detailed information about titles,

extent, and costs. While Breton parchment-makers were organized into religious trade confraternities, there is no evidence that other artisans formed similar associations. Parchment prices seem to have been slightly higher in Brittany than in northern France, and it is likely that imports of paper were required to meet demand. Research compiled from many sources identifies Nantes, Rennes, Tréguier, and Vannes as primary centers of production.

Chapter 2 explores the complex geography of Breton manuscript illumination by bringing together manuscripts that are dated, or at least datable, and can be localized to Brittany by inscriptions, colophons, and other internal evidence. The dated works are important visual landmarks that help compare undated manuscripts on the basis of page layout and decoration, and style and iconography. Together, the manuscripts demonstrate knowledge of the influential styles of the Rohan Master, the Master of Marguerite d'Orléans, and Jean Fouquet, styles made fashionable at the royal and ducal courts of Paris, Bourges, and Angers. The latter town in particular played a dominant force on the arts in western France.

A commercial trade in manuscripts beyond the duchy, especially of books of hours for Breton dioceses, is also examined in this chapter. Manuscripts produced for Breton owners at Paris, Angers, Bruges, and to a lesser extent Tours counter earlier theories that generally attributed the production of a book of hours to the place of its liturgical use or to the nearest major center. The market in manuscripts demonstrates the desire and economic capability of Breton nobles to acquire books of hours decorated in a much sought-after courtly style by more skillful artists than were then available in the duchy.

Chapter 3 considers the transition from script to print in late fifteenth-century Brittany by examining the modest output of a number of experimental presses. Between 1484 and 1532, ten printers produced fewer than 50 titles in the Breton towns of Bréhan-Loudéac, Lantenac, Nantes, Rennes, Tréguier, and Vannes. The physical state of surviving copies, publishing statements, printers' devices, and historical sources help to illuminate the printers' methods and their business relationships with colleagues and booksellers in Brittany and elsewhere. In Brittany, however, small presses found support chiefly from private individuals; funding by the ruling family, government, or university—types of sponsorship critical elsewhere in France—were absent in the initial stages of the Breton print trade.

Like manuscripts, the early printed book was part of the larger trade beyond the boundaries of Brittany. This chapter also describes the relatively short-lived careers of printers in Brittany that underscore the critical role of *libraires*. As booksellers and publishers, *libraires* functioned as business intermediaries between a prospective buyer and printer, or between a printer and bookseller. Many bookseller-publishers established in the duchy had business ties to printers in Rouen, Angers, and Paris.

The second half of the book (Chapters 4–6) focuses on the manuscripts and early books acquired by Bretons, aspects of book circulation, and patterns of literary acquisitions. Testaments and inventories, as well as inscriptions,

signatures, mottoes, and coats of arms in surviving books and manuscripts, identify book owners, book titles, and sometimes method of acquisition (purchase, gift, or bequest). Chapter 4 presents the book commissions and collecting interests of the dukes and duchesses of Brittany. Ducal emblems of power and rank express significance by their proximity to holy images and to certain prayers. By the mid fifteenth century, dukes enjoyed greater wealth and sought to display patronage through manuscripts of secular, devotional, didactic, and historical literature. Women took the lead in fostering the talents of poets and chroniclers through patronage of their works. Duchess Anne's collection of books and manuscripts demonstrates her patronage of the book arts; her sponsorship of authors typifies, albeit on a greater scale, some of the interests shown by earlier duchesses and female relatives of the Montfort family.

In Chapter 5, we examine the book commissions and acquisitions of noble families, bishops, priests, ducal administrators, and university masters as supplemental examples of patronage, book ownership, and literary tastes. Like ducal acquisitions, the placement of heraldic marks often appears to be a visual way of entreating divine consideration and expressing familial rank and social authority. We also encounter much of the same literature, notably books of hours, and chronicles of biblical and secular history. The seigniorial collections, however, often outnumber ducal libraries in volumes, and present a greater diversity of literature. The libraries of ecclesiastics and administrators consisted chiefly of works related to their professions, but common to the religious and laity alike was the ownership of breviaries and books of hours.

In Chapter 6, we review the acquisitions of Bretons against the backdrop of recommended readings of their times, notably those found in the writings of Philippe de Mézières, Jean Gerson, Geoffrey de la Tour Landry, and Christine de Pizan. That these moralists advised their charges to read is significant and leads to a review of literacy and education in Brittany. While many volumes circulated by means of passive acquisition, that is, by family gift and bequest, other titles were selected precisely for their text or illumination. Chiefly, however, we find that Bretons acquired religious, moral, and devotional works, and in this way, they were no different in their book collecting from their French and English contemporaries.

Two appendices offer additional information and a practical reference of historical, archival, and bibliographic details. Appendix A contains names of manuscript and book artisans, their locations, dates of activity, payment history, and known works. Appendix B lists names of Breton book owners and their known books and manuscripts gathered from inventories, testaments, and surviving copies; where possible, the entries present codicological details, provenance, and bibliography. The names of authors and titles of works are generally formulated according to Richard Sharpe's List of Identifications.<sup>7</sup> Transcriptions and book titles retain original orthography with the following exceptions: abbreviations are expanded silently; apostrophes have been added, as well as the final *accent aigu* to the final syllable; and words are separated

to conform to current usage. Monetary amounts in accounts and financial documents are transcribed in Arabic numerals. A doubtful transcription appears as [?] following the word in question, and missing or illegible passages are replaced as [...]. Where a transcription appears in a published source, that bibliographic citation is provided; there are other instances where I have supplied the transcription and refer to a bibliographic citation (cf.) that discusses but does not transcribe the document. Any English translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

### **Heritage in Parchment and Ink**

Manuscript-making in Brittany has a long history, traced to early gospel books and saints' lives copied in monasteries in the eighth to early tenth centuries. Illumination in these early Breton manuscripts was strongly influenced by the English and Irish insular styles and only later by the Carolingian schools of Tours and Chartres.<sup>8</sup> The insular influence helped to produce the well-known idiosyncratic style of early Breton illumination with its abstract evangelist portraits and zoomorphic creatures. More than 100 early medieval manuscripts from Breton monasteries survive to this day.<sup>9</sup> Like religious houses elsewhere in early medieval Europe, Breton monasteries helped to preserve classical, biblical, and religious texts by carefully re-writing and binding them into parchment codices as part of the monks' devotional and meditative practice. While monasteries continued to produce their own manuscripts into the later Middle Ages, the rise and development of the mendicant orders—particularly, the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites—in Breton towns, as elsewhere in Western Europe, created a new demand for religious and didactic books.<sup>10</sup> The mendicant orders' demand for manuscripts shifted production from rural to urban settings, while at the same time, the act of making manuscripts was transformed from a vehicle for personal monastic devotion to one for public religious instruction. No longer limited to serving the liturgical and meditative needs of the monastery, the production of manuscripts moved gradually into the sphere of commerce. Generous donations to the mendicant orders from the lay nobility and the ducal family financed new chapels, furnishings, and manuscripts; more than one third of all donations to mendicant orders in Brittany came from ducal patronage.<sup>11</sup> Despite the region's strong monastic heritage in manuscript illumination, it appears to have played little role in later manuscript-making in the duchy.

Cathedral libraries also held Bibles, commentaries, missals, breviaries, psalters, antiphonals, graduals, passionaries, processions, evangelaries, and pastoral works, many of which were acquired from donations, bequests, or purchases. For instance, the Cathedral of St-Corentin at Quimper listed 49 volumes in its library inventory of 1273; its collection had grown to 103 volumes by 1371.<sup>12</sup> The cathedral chapter of Dol owned 67 volumes in 1440,

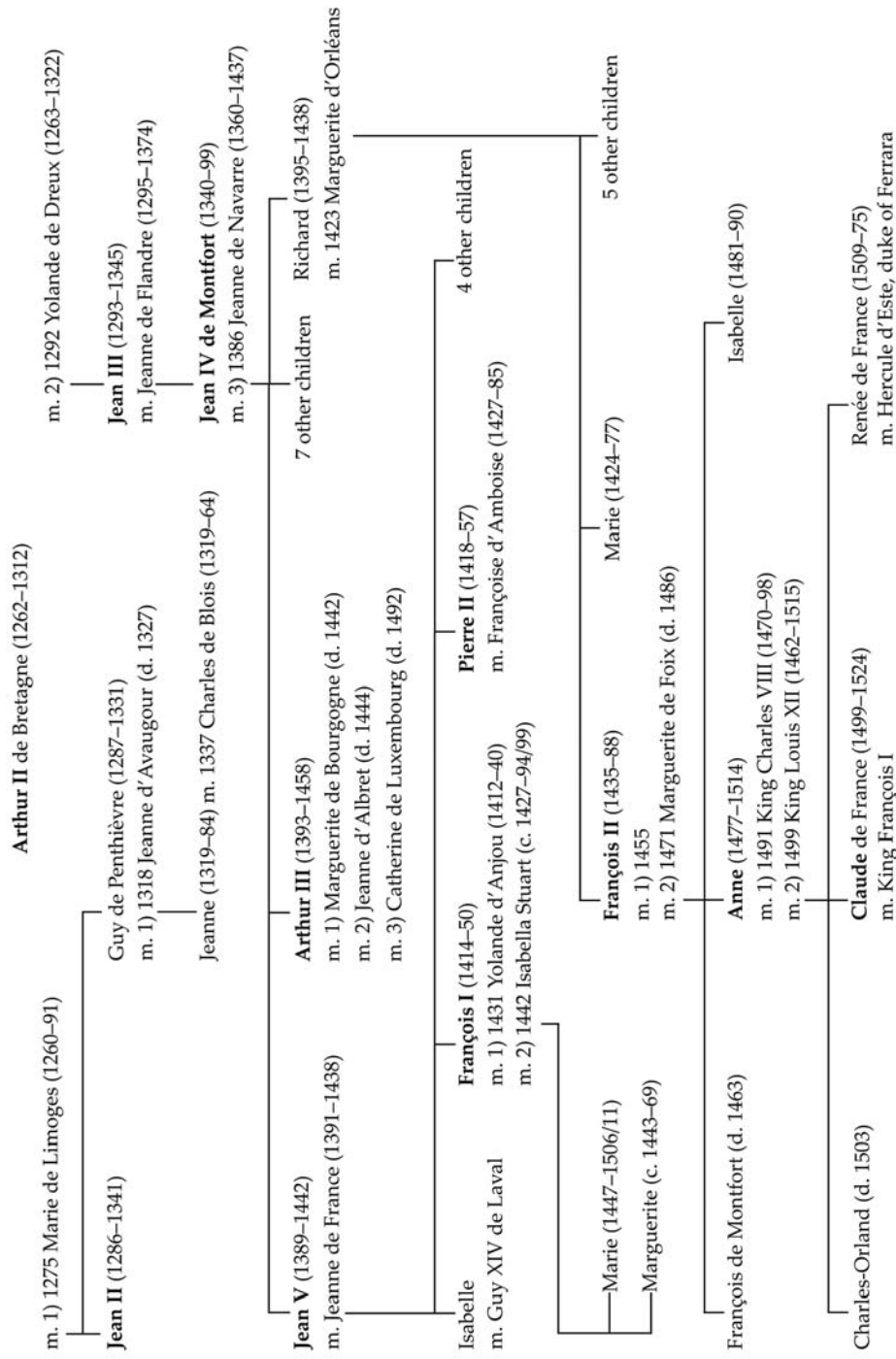
while the cathedral library at Tréguier tallied 191 volumes in 1491.<sup>13</sup> Cathedral registers bear witness, in the numerous payments to manuscript-makers of liturgical and spiritual codices, to a growing prosperity of the chapters, especially during the second half of the fifteenth century. Most of the volumes recorded in cathedral inventories, however, have not been identified in present collections, suggesting significant losses to the manuscript heritage in Brittany.

### A Fragmentary History

Piecing together the story of manuscript- and book-making in late medieval Brittany from archival evidence is also challenging. To begin with, there is the difficulty of some documents whose legibility is obscured by wrinkles, tears, or an untidy script. Missing documents that might have shed light on the matter present a different kind of problem.<sup>14</sup> In Brittany, cartons of ducal, familial, and municipal records were destroyed, sometimes intentionally, from the late medieval period to modern times. For instance, the *Commission de Triage* reviewed in 1795–96 some 3,000 collections (*liasses*) in Nantes from the financial and legislative archives of the *Chambre des comptes* and the *Etats de Bretagne*, as well as charters, titles, and *aveux* of religious houses and lay nobility. Over half were declared historically unimportant, and ordered destroyed or dispatched to the army and navy for use as artillery wadding. The Commission retained only 126 of the 959 collections that once concerned the *Chambre des comptes*, and only 26 of the 470 collections relating to the *Etats de Bretagne*. In the nineteenth century, town authorities in Nantes swept their shelves of old documents and sent them away to be washed, intending to reuse them as parchment wrappers for modern civil records. A mass of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century documents was fortuitously bought by the pound from the washers by local historians, thereby saving some of the financial ledgers of the *Chambre des comptes*. Nonetheless, what remains still provides a rich though often fragmentary study of book- and manuscript-makers in Brittany.

### The Montfort Dynasty

Book and manuscript production in Brittany and their acquisitions by Breton nobles were surely curtailed by the political, military, and economic consequences of the Breton War of Succession (1341–64), the Hundred Years War (1339–1453), and the Franco–Breton War (1487–88). The death of Jean II in 1341 set the stage for the long Breton conflict between his descendants, Jean de Montfort and Jeanne de Penthièvre, pulling in the armies of England and France as each backed a contestant heir and vied for potential control over the duchy. The numerous skirmishes, sieges, and sporadic truces ended with



I.2 Shortened genealogy of the ducal house of Brittany

the death of Charles de Blois, husband of Jeanne de Penthièvre, at the Battle of Auray in 1364, which led to Jean IV de Montfort being recognized as duke of Brittany.<sup>15</sup> Peace eluded the duke as he continued to face internal rebellion and intrigue, which forced his exile to England for a dozen years beginning in 1369.

The dispute for Breton dominion must be placed within the broader context of the dynastic war between France and England. The military campaigns and destruction across Brittany and Normandy have been amply described by historians.<sup>16</sup> As vassals of both France and England, the dukes of Brittany balanced and at times exploited their liege obligations to both crowns. From the English king, the duke received the customary title, rights, and revenue of the seigniorial lands of Richmond in North Yorkshire, a hereditary right descended from Alain of Brittany (d. 1146). Duke Jean IV was brought up at the court of King Edward III, where his mother, Jeanne de Flandre, and her children had fled in the early years of the War of Succession. A political alliance was made personal with his own marriage to the English king's daughter Mary. However, King Charles V of France also demanded fealty for the duchy of Brittany. In another marriage alliance, the duke betrothed in 1396 his young son, the future Duke Jean V, to the king's infant daughter Jeanne, and placed his son under the tutelage of the king's brother, Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy.

In 1487, France renewed hostilities with Jean V's nephew, Duke François II, who was forced to sue for peace and to sign the crushing Treaty of Le Verger in 1488, in which he not only pledged vassalage to France and renounced control over several Breton territories, but also consented to seek royal permission on the future marriage of his daughter and sole heir, Anne de Bretagne. That final clause constrained Anne to marry King Charles VIII of France in 1491, and his heir Louis XII in 1498. After Anne's death in 1514, the title of duchess of Brittany passed to her daughter Claude, who, contrary to her mother's wishes, was married to François d'Angoulême, the future François I of France. The ducal title was soon transferred to the French crown, and the duchy was officially assimilated by France in 1532.

## Notes

- 1 La Borderie and Villers, p. 220 (my translation); for its authorship, see Bouchereaux, pp. 8, 25. An inventory of the duke's pledge (ADLA H 243) was published by Morice, *Preuves*, vol. 2, cols 1026–31. Concerning the duke's imprisonment, see Bourdeaut, "Jean V," pp. 331–417. The scarcity of coin reflects the consequences of the so-called "bullion famine" in the early fifteenth century; see Day, p. 3.
- 2 Princeton University Library, Garrett ms 40. For the manuscript, see New York, PML, *Last Flowering*, no. 34; Köllermann, pp. 375–402.
- 3 Regional studies include Nash, *Between France and Flanders*; Clark, *Made in Flanders*; Burin, *Manuscript Illumination in Lyon*.

- 4 König, *Französische Buchmalerei um 1450*; *ibid.*, "L'Enluminure à Rennes," pp. 121–6; Mérimodol, "Le Livre peint," pp. 499–514; Legaré, "Reassessing Women's Libraries," pp. 209–29; Winn, "Treasures," pp. 667–80.
- 5 La Borderie, "Notes sur les livres," pp. 39–50; Granges de Surgères, *Artistes*; Rebillon, "Recherches."
- 6 Plaine, "Essai historique," pp. 241–58, 354–71, 458–65; La Borderie, *L'Imprimerie en Bretagne*; *ibid.*, *Archives*; Granges de Surgères, *Notes*.
- 7 Available at <<http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/sharpe/list.pdf>>.
- 8 Amezonowa, pp. 21–45. See also Alexander in Wormald, pp. 13–23; Guillotel, "Recherches," pp. 9–36; Alexander, "La Résistance," pp. 269–80.
- 9 For a list of manuscripts and bibliography, see Deuffic, "La Production manuscrite," pp. 289–321.
- 10 Cf. Martin, *Les Ordres mendiants*, pp. 170–73.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 222.
- 12 For Quimper, see La Borderie, "Notes sur les livres," pp. 40–41; Le Men, p. 349; Bekker, no. 154; Peyron, *Cartulaire*, no. 334.
- 13 For Dol, see La Borderie, "Notes sur les livres," pp. 41–3; Bekker, no. 278. For Tréguier, see Decolle, pp. 1–16.
- 14 For the survival of the ducal archives and their sometime serendipitous preservation, see Jones, "Membra disjecta of the Breton *Chambre des Comptes*," pp. 209–20.
- 15 Jones, *Ducal Brittany*, Chapter 1.
- 16 For instance, Sumption.

## The Economics of Manuscript-Making

In 1424, Nicolaus de Launey, prior at Mont Dol, copied *Le Tombel de Chartrose et autres poèmes mystiques en français*, and at the end of his 244-page manuscript (Avranches, BM, ms 244, f. 122<sup>r</sup>), he wrote his name and dated his work:

Scriptum in Villa Dolensi, per me fratrem Nicholaum de Launey prior [sic] de Monte Dolis, anno Domini M<sup>mo</sup> IIII<sup>mo</sup> visecimo [sic] tercio, mense februarii. [Written at Dol, by me, brother Nicolaus de Launey, prior of Mont Dol, in the year of the Lord, February 1424 n.s.].

The personalization of Nicolaus de Launey's transcription of saints' lives and other moral tales exemplifies the historical significance of colophons that identify the copyist, his origin, and the terminal date of a work. Such scribal inscriptions are instrumental in recognizing manuscripts written in the late medieval duchy of Brittany. Additional Breton manuscripts can be identified in ducal tax registers, ecclesiastical payment ledgers, and municipal account books, but many of these manuscripts do not survive or have yet to be traced to their current whereabouts. The historical record, however, does provide noteworthy details on the cost of parchment and paper, as well as the wages paid to manuscript-makers. Together, extant manuscripts and archival records help to distinguish centers of manuscript-making by parchment-makers, scribes, decorators, and illuminators. These sources also inform us about contractors and booksellers in the trade, and the marketing ties between suppliers in the duchy and those in neighboring regions.

This chapter examines the labor and products of manuscript-makers in late medieval Brittany. First, we look at the manufacture of parchment and paper as writing support for Breton manuscripts. Where was it made? How much did it cost? Second, manuscript-makers working in Brittany—scribes, illuminators, and bookbinders—are identified and discussed chronologically and, where possible, are associated with their manuscripts, regional location, working wages, and the names of their patrons or employers. We also identify dated or datable manuscripts that can be localized to Brittany; these manuscripts cover an array of literary genres and show ownership among the lay and ecclesiastical community. Nobles and clerics commissioned

manuscripts to their specifications, but they also purchased ready-made manuscripts, prepared as a speculative gamble by a bookseller. As we shall see in the final section, prices for commissioned and ready-made manuscripts varied considerably.

To understand the prices, wages, and market influences in late medieval Brittany, it is important to recognize that various currencies circulated in the region. The dukes of Brittany minted both gold and silver coins at Nantes, Rennes, and Vannes.<sup>1</sup> The Breton gold coin was the *franc*, in circulation during the reigns of Jean IV (1364–99) and Jean V (1399–1442); after about 1422, the *franc* was superseded by the *écu de Bretagne*, averaging 22 *sous* (s.) 9 *deniers* (d.). Silver coins were *le gros* (10d.), *le demi-gros*, *blancs*, and *deniers*. Other (non-Breton) currency included the French *écu* (= 22s.), the *livre paris* (1 *livre* (ℓ) = 20s.; 1s. = 12d.) and the *livre tournois*, valued at about 25 percent less than the *livre paris*, which it superseded as the preferred coinage in France during the fifteenth century. Gold *saluts* circulated mainly in English-occupied areas; dauphine *moutons*, Dutch *plakken*, and Italian *florins* and *ducats* were also exchanged or used as systems of accounting in trade. Multiple currencies underscore commercial diversity in the duchy, which enjoyed a relatively strong maritime trade, particularly in salt and cloth.<sup>2</sup>

Our understanding of the economic panorama in medieval Brittany remains fragmentary due to the irregular remains of the historical record. Medieval account books rarely specify a particular monetary system, recording instead nominal amounts, rather than real values. Moreover, monetary fluctuations occurred at varying rates in different regions of France, and the changing rates of coinage were generally not registered. Late medieval Brittany, however, appears to have suffered shorter periods of monetary fluctuations than France, for only after about 1467, during the reign of François II, did the Breton *écu* experience significant depreciation, dropping thereafter from 25s. to 16s. 8d. in relation to the *livre tournois*. This study presents prices and currency as found in historical documents; Breton currency is assumed, unless otherwise indicated.

### **Parchment and Paper as Writing Supports**

According to archival records, the duchy of Brittany produced both parchment and paper for local and regional markets, as well as for export to neighboring French provinces. The same archival evidence allows us to chart the changing monetary values of writing support in the later Middle Ages and its comparative value in cost in northern France.

#### *PARCHMENT-MAKERS*

The primary centers of parchment-making in medieval Brittany were Rennes and Lamballe. The earliest reference to an organization of parchment-makers

in Rennes occurs in 1340, when their Confraternity of St-Michael joined with other religious trade groups (bakers, weavers, leather-workers, fullers, saddlers, butchers, cobblers, and others) in contributing to the foundation of the hospital and chapel of St-Anne for poor people and itinerant pilgrims (“pour reception ces poiuvres personnes malades et les pelerins passons”).<sup>3</sup> The contributions to the hospital foundation charter by the ten trade confraternities point to a robust and diverse economy in Rennes before the mid fourteenth century. During the fifteenth century, Rennes had nearly 30 religious and trade confraternities in a population estimated at 13,000–14,000.<sup>4</sup>

The confraternity of parchment-makers in Rennes represents an early instance of the trade’s growth as a professional organization.<sup>5</sup> Although no statutes survive for this group, Duke Jean V confirmed unspecified privileges and exemptions to the Rennais parchment-makers in 1407, implying that trade regulation and promotion existed in some form before that date.<sup>6</sup> Sometime before 1487, the parchment-makers of Rennes were accorded exemption from the *coutume*, a tax levied on trade merchandise paid equally in thirds to the bishop, the abbess of St-Georges in Rennes, and the baron of Fougères; they were still liable, however, for the lesser *vepny* tax. In 1491—following Brittany’s loss of independence to France—King Charles VIII reconfirmed “plusieurs beaux et grands privileges, franchises, libertés et exemptions avec plusieurs frairyes et mestiers jurés” [several good and important privileges, franchises, liberties, and exemptions with several confraternities and sworn trades] in Rennes, without identifying the confraternities by name or specific privileges.<sup>7</sup>

Maps of medieval Rennes also reflect the presence of the parchment trade. Two adjoining streets were named after parchment-makers and mentioned in documents from 1395—*rue de la haute parcheminerie* (old town) and *rue de la basse parcheminerie* (new town)—which suggests not only collocation but also growth of the profession.<sup>8</sup> The leather trades in Rennes also grouped themselves geographically, for near the parchment-makers’ street we find the leather-workers’ *rue de la basse baudrerie* (from *baudroyer*, meaning a piece of leather). Regional animal markets were apparently unable to supply all their needs, for both parchment-makers and leather-workers are known to have imported raw materials from Anjou, Poitou, and Normandy between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>9</sup> Town tax registers, which are organized by neighborhood and sometimes record a taxpayer’s occupation, identify book tradesmen living in or near *rue de la parcheminerie* and the marketplace. For example, in 1480, the parchment-maker Raouart Arbaud rented part of a house “pres bout de cohue de la ville de Rennes en la paroisse de Toussaint” [near the end of the market in the town of Rennes in the parish of All Saints] for 60s.; in 1515 the *libraire* and printer Jean Macé rented a house in the same market area for 30s.<sup>10</sup>

Parchment-makers of Lamballe, a small town of 1,700 inhabitants in the fifteenth century, ranked foremost in Brittany for their *fin parchemin*, sought after at the market fairs in Chartres, Paris, Poitiers, and St-Denis.<sup>11</sup> The Lamballois

parchment-makers organized as the Confraternity of St-Nicolas and located themselves professionally in the *rue du Val*. The confraternity's earliest records do not survive, but their statutes, which name 28 members of the parchment trade, must have been well in place before their confirmation in 1474.<sup>12</sup> The statutes portray the group as having both religious and professional interests. The confraternity organized religious feasts and an annual mass in honor of the group's patron saint, distributed financial assistance, and arranged funeral services for its members. It was also concerned with employment conditions, the training of apprentices with master parchment-makers, and employment rules and fines for infractions. The statutes make no reference to other trade groups in Lamballe that might have exerted an important economic influence, as is known to have occurred in other medieval towns.<sup>13</sup> Although medieval trade statutes are sometimes considered idealistic or reflective of a local authority's political intent and less reliable observations of practice, still, at a time of increased production of paper and growing competition between manuscripts and printed books, it is noteworthy that such a sizeable group of men in a small Breton town identified themselves as parchment-makers in the late fifteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

There is some evidence as well that parchment-makers found work in Vannes. One-third of the population size of Rennes, Vannes was the seat of the ducal *Chambre des comptes*, and one of the habitual assemblages of the *Etats de Bretagne* as well as the seat of the diocese. Names of a few parchment-makers appear in the records, such as Hervé Le Goff, Guillo Mahé du Mené, and Guillaume *le parcheminier* de Ploërmel.<sup>15</sup> No mention has yet been found in the archival record of a trade group or religious confraternity of parchment-makers in Vannes, though the examples of Rennes and Lamballe suggest that it cannot be discounted.

Historical documents record scattered purchases of Breton parchment, which was generally sold by the skin, or *peau*; or by a group of 24 *peaux* that equaled 1 *botte*.<sup>16</sup> During the years 1423–26, the *châtellenie* of Lamballe purchased *VI douzaines de peau*, that is, 72 *peaux*, for 114s. or 1 *botte* for 24s.<sup>17</sup> Later in the century, Vannes cathedral bought *une pièce* for 15d., and 1 *botte* for 35s.<sup>18</sup> In 1491, the tax receiver (*miseur*) in Rennes asked for 30ℓ to cover the cost of 50 *peaux* and the six-week salary of two clerks to write the city's accounts.<sup>19</sup> The *miseur* in Nantes still required parchment during the years 1515–17 and recorded a purchase of 13 *peaux* for 20s. or 1 *botte* for 36s.<sup>20</sup> According to this data, parchment in late medieval Brittany varied in cost from 24s. to 36s. per *botte*. This price range fits well within the costs determined by Bozzolo and Ornato for parchment in northern France for the years 1367–1401. In their study, parchment prices ranged from 20s. 4d. to 52s. per *botte*.<sup>21</sup> Their average of 31s. per *botte* approximately equals the average of this Breton sample. Bozzolo and Ornato conclude that parchment prices in medieval France were fairly stable, in part because production techniques remained relatively unchanged, and that parchment was generally sold in similar formats.

## PAPER-MAKERS

Among the earliest references to paper in medieval Brittany are documents described as drawn *ou papier* about 1310, and more specifically, accounts written on paper about 1342 for the lordships of Alienor de Thouars and her family.<sup>22</sup> At least eight paper mills are known to have operated in fifteenth-century Brittany, half of which were located in or near Vannes, the ducal and legislative seat. Taxed like grain and fulling mills, paper mills supplied rent in money and in kind to the local lord, who granted water rights on his domain to enterprising paper-makers. The *libraire* Jean Lise (also, Lize or Lizé) of Rennes, for example, approached the lord of Orenge to grant him permission to build a paper mill on the Couesnon River in Vieux-Vy, in the area of Fougères. By 1440, Lise had built the mill and organized workers, half of whom lived at the mill and half at a nearby house. In addition to exemptions from the usual resident taxes, the workers were permitted fishing rights on certain seigniorial ponds:

Jean Lise a fait un moulin à papier en la dicte paroisse, sur la ripvière de Couesnon où qu'il n'y a fors ses valletz qui y besoignent et y couchent partye d'eux, et aultre partye en une aultre maison qu'il faict faire assez prez doudict moulin. Et ne payent rien les dictes demourants es moulin et maison pour ce que le dit Jehan Lize, qui est demourant en la ville de Rennes, tient les dictes choses noblement dou Sieur d'Orange avecq le peschage des escluses doudict moulin.

[Jean Lise built a paper mill in the said parish, on the river Couesnon where there is none but his workers who sleep there and another group in another house that he had built fairly near to the said mill. And the said dwellers at the mill and house in the employ of the said Jehan Lize, who resided in the town of Rennes, held the said things in fiefdom from Sieur d'Orange with rights to the fishing ponds of the said mill.]<sup>23</sup>

Lise's paper trade flourished sufficiently for his son Michel to succeed him in 1478; the family business still existed in 1514.

The ducal *rentier* of 1455 identifies paper mills in operation in and near Vannes.<sup>24</sup> For instance, Robin de Meigne built and operated a mill there sometime between 1413 and 1455. *Maître* Gilles Loret owned a mill on the banks of the Groutel River; in addition to an annual tax of 60s., Loret paid one *rame* of paper to the duke of Brittany. In the parish of St-Paterne were located the mills of Lisses *dans la garenne du duc*, as well as the mill of Buzo on the Liziec River on lands belonging to the lord of Boismourant.

Better known among the early paper mills in Brittany were those of Ville-Jégu on the Lié River at Bréhan-Loudéac and at Plumieux, built by Jean de Rohan, lord of Gué-de-l'Isle from 1463 to 1493.<sup>25</sup> Jean de Rohan is also recognized for his support of the first printing press in Brittany, established in 1484 by Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès. The two printers brought out a dozen religious and legal titles within one year, before their efforts were interrupted by war.<sup>26</sup> The Rohan paper mills are mentioned in an *aveu*, a legal document summarizing the lands and possessions of an heir, as presented to the king of

France in 1499 by Jean II de Rohan, grandson of the first: "Item les moulins a papier audit seigneur du Gué de l'Isle appartenans, iceux moulins, tant a blez, foullerets, que a papier situez sur la ripviere de Helyer [Lyé], ès paroisses de Plumieux et de Brehand." [Item the paper mills of the said lord of Gué de l'Isle belonging to those mills, wheat and fulling as well as paper, located on the river Lyé, in the parishes of Plumieux and Bréhan].<sup>27</sup> The mills were again recorded in the *aveu* of 1510 submitted by his sister Cyprienne de Rohan, wife of François de la Feillée; the mills continued to function until sometime in the nineteenth century.

Yves Pinart, lord of Le Val, operated a paper mill at Le Val (le Val-Pinart) on the Jarleau River near Morlaix on land belonging to Jean de Kerloaguen, lord of Rosampoul.<sup>28</sup> In 1499, Pinart agreed to provide 36 *rames* of paper, payable half on the feast of the Nativity (25 December) and half on the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June), for rights and privileges to the mill, its gardens, and dependencies. In addition, Pinart paid 11 *livres*, which Kerloaguen redirected in support of the Chapel of St-Eutrope that his mother had founded in 1442. The mill functioned until the eighteenth century. Documents also refer to lesser-known paper mills operating at Trédion (diocese of Vannes) and at Perno en Langast (diocese of Dol).<sup>29</sup>

Breton church and municipal documents show a number of watermarks, though none has been associated with a specific paper-maker. The paper in the account register for the parish Church of St-Melaine in Morlaix for 1463 and those of the Chapter of Cornouaille in Quimper for 1464 both display a unicorn looking backwards.<sup>30</sup> Another watermark is found in the Morlaix church accounts for the years 1468 and 1472; that watermark shows a shield with a single fleur-de-lys surmounted by a Latin cross with additional small crosses at the cross bar and an "X" on the stem. Similar watermarks occurred in papers used at Châteaudun, Blois, Poitiers, and a number of Breton towns, but none is identical in the details.<sup>31</sup> Another watermark of a bull's head appears in *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, copied at Callac in 1469; it is close to one datable to Tréguier in 1470.<sup>32</sup>

Despite our knowledge of regional paper mills, archival records provide scarce references to the price of paper in Brittany; moreover, payments do not always specify the quantity purchased and the dimension of the sheets of paper. Paper-makers normally sold their paper by the *main* or *cahier*, which contained 24 sheets, or by the *rame*, containing 20 *mains*.<sup>33</sup> Paper sold by the *main* was commonly available in two formats: 30 × 40 cm and 40 × 60 cm, the latter being the usual format for book production.<sup>34</sup> In the accounts dating 1420–22, the *châtellenie* of Lamballe records the purchase of "II pappiers" in Rennes for the sum of 51*l*, or 25*l* 10s. for an unspecified unit.<sup>35</sup> Between 1423 and 1426, they purchased "III mains de papiers" and a bottle of ink for a total of 115s.<sup>36</sup> The *châtellenie* of Lamballe, however, was probably not engaged in book production but used the paper for inventories or other documents. During the years 1437–40, the same *châtellenie* recorded a payment of 65s. to Thomas Lecorgne for "un grant papier qu'il acheta a Rennes."<sup>37</sup> The cost of

paper gradually decreased. In 1479–81, the *fabrique* of the Tréguier cathedral paid 10d. for a “main de pappier.”<sup>38</sup> In Nantes, the municipal *miseur* responsible for the accounts of 1515–17 paid 20d. to “ung librayre [...] pour ung petit papier pour extroyre les mandemens que l’on tireroit dehors dudit coffre affin de les recouvrer” [to a *libraire* ... for a small piece of paper to copy the decrees, so that one may withdraw it from the said coffer for rebinding].<sup>39</sup> The last purchase shows that, at least on one occasion, a *libraire*, besides organizing artisans to produce books and manuscripts, and printing and selling books, might also offer services as a retail paper dealer.

It is difficult to evaluate the prices of these paper purchases, because of unspecified dimensions and extent. According to Bozzolo and Ornato, the average price of paper for the years 1391–1502 in France was 10d. per *main*.<sup>40</sup> As a seigniorial enterprise, it would seem that the paper-making “industry” in medieval Brittany yielded an insufficient supply of paper for the regional market, and therefore paper was also likely imported, resulting in higher prices than the calculated average. On two occasions mentioned above (1420–22 and 1437–40), the castellan at Lamballe bought paper at Rennes and not locally; it is unknown whether local paper mills existed at Rennes and supplied paper to customers, or whether Rennes functioned as a market center for products from the region and elsewhere. In comparison, it is worth noting that four *papetiers jurés* in late fifteenth-century Paris controlled the market of paper-makers at Troyes, Corbeil, and Essonnes, even stipulating the different grades of paper to be distinguished by watermarks.<sup>41</sup> No comparable monopoly is apparent in Brittany. Bozzolo and Ornato have found that the price of paper was less stable than that of parchment, but in general, paper cost four times less than parchment in the fourteenth century, and thirteen times less in the fifteenth century.<sup>42</sup> While paper mills may have provided an adequate supply of paper for the duke and local lords, it is likely that they failed to meet the larger regional demand.

### Manuscript-makers: Scribes, Illuminators, and Bookbinders

Manuscripts and archival documents identify numerous scribes, illuminators, and bookbinders by name who found employment in ducal Brittany; the named manuscript-makers are presented in Appendix A. In this section, we address the evidence of labor associations and compensation.

#### SCRIBES

Wages paid to a skilled and experienced scribe represented a large portion of a manuscript’s cost. Scribal salaries in late medieval Brittany, however, are difficult to ascertain and to quantify in all cases, because payment ledgers usually record only a short descriptive title and omit the length, format, and degree of illumination. Monetary payments to scribes, as collected from Breton

archival sources, are presented in Table 1.1; none of the manuscripts described in the table has been identified in extant collections. Table 1.1 primarily lists cathedral-sponsored projects, because registers from cathedral chapters survive in greater numbers. The registers reveal a range of manuscript commissions from the copying of letters in 1403 for a chapel foundation at Rennes cathedral (Table 1.1, no. 1) to textual additions made in 1411 to a *Catholicon*, a grammar and dictionary by Giovanni Balbi of Genoa (Table 1.1, no. 3). The scribal wage for the same type of manuscript could vary significantly. For example, Vannes cathedral commissioned two legendaries in 1483 and 1497 (Table 1.1, nos 10 and 20), yet the two manuscripts differed greatly in format, should we judge solely on the wages paid to the scribes (35s. vs 49ℓ).

Thanks to certain payment entries that record the expected length of the commissioned manuscript, we are able to calculate the scribal wage per folio for three manuscripts: a gradual, an antiphonal, and a legendary. In 1485, Tréguier cathedral commissioned a 20-quire gradual (Table 1.1, no. 11) from the priest Jehan Kerchen, paying him 15ℓ, or 12s. 6d. per quire. Three years later, the same cathedral commissioned an antiphonal of 53 quires plus 2 leaves (Table 1.1, no. 17), and paid the scribe Pierre Even the sum of 66ℓ 10s., or 20s. 8d. per quire. These two payments from the same cathedral chapter within three years for a similar manuscript type (choir books) show that wages might vary greatly, from 12s. 6d. to 20s. 8d. per quire, probably depending on the book's format, the number of lines per leaf, and any rubrics added by the scribe. Scribal payment for Tréguier cathedral's choir books excluded musical notation, because the cathedral paid an additional 100s. to Mathieu (Mahé) Le Bras to insert musical notation (Table 1.1, no. 12) in the gradual copied by Jehan Kerchen. In 1412, Rennes cathedral paid 20s. to Robin Luce to add musical notation to a psalter (Table 1.1, no. 4); the lesser amount may reflect the fact that the psalter required less musical notation than the gradual. It would appear that musical notation was the realm of a specialist. Finally, in 1497, Vannes cathedral commissioned, as previously mentioned, a 56-quire legendary from Jehan Pocart for 49ℓ, or 14s. 6d. per quire (Table 1.1, no. 20). This large compilation of saints' biographies rivals the two commissioned choir books in its length, as well as in its price, suggesting that it was an important and carefully written manuscript.

In some cases, we can calculate a manuscript's length from the wages received and compare the result with more complete data compiled by Bozzolo and Ornato. Those authors have shown that whether the scribes were *écrivains de forme* or *écrivains de lecture* mattered greatly, because the latter, writing in a cursive script, could copy text more rapidly than the former who wrote in a liturgical book-hand.<sup>43</sup> From their evaluation of wages, Bozzolo and Ornato calculate that the average scribal wage might range from 7s. 4d. to 9s. 4d. per quire in France during the years 1396–1478.<sup>44</sup> Bozzolo and Ornato concluded that a scribe might receive between 8.42d. and 12.63d. per folio. In calculating the low and high wages paid for quaternion and senion quires respectively, they determined an average wage of 10.53d. per folio. In contrast,

Table 1.1 Scribal compensation

No	Date	Entry	Price	Locale	Payer
1	1403	Jean Durocher "pro copiando litteras fundacionis cappellanie beate Margarete" <sup>1</sup>	15s.	Rennes	Cathedral
2	1408–09	<i>Prepositus</i> Guillaume Moichan "pro scriptura unius psalterii pro capitulo" <sup>2</sup>	20s.	Rennes	Cathedral
3	1411	Priest Guillaume Dionsius "pro surrogacione novorum foliorum in libro de catholicon" <sup>3</sup>	20s.	Rennes	Cathedral
4	1412	Robin Luce "pro nota unius psalterii" <sup>4</sup>	20s.	Rennes	Cathedral
5	1419	Priest Raoul de Cerisay "un livre messel complet et fourni et un saultier fériel complet et fourni, ..., en bon velin et de bon volume, tournez d'azur et de vermeillon sans flourir sauf une douziesme des grans lettres, dedans un an et demi prochain venant" <sup>5</sup>	80ℓ	Vitré	St-Martin
6	1432	Jehan Malou <i>escripvain</i> "pour avoir escript le tablieu en breton de la messe du duc" <sup>6</sup>	20d.	Tréguier	Cathedral
7	1461	Messire Yves Maguez "pour avoir escript la legende et office divin de la presentacion de nostre dame et l'avoir fait a notté et la mettre en livre en ladite eglise de St Melaine et reliev ledit livre" <sup>7</sup>	20s.	Morlaix	St-Melaine
8	1461–62	Messer Salomon Bocquezen "d'un misal que les paroisses acheterent de luy pour la somme de 22ℓ" (paid in 2 installments) <sup>8</sup>	22ℓ	Morlaix	St-Melaine
9	1467–68	Jehan Auregan <i>presbytre</i> "pour escrire la legende saint Malein en parchemin aveque la messe de la feste visitacion nostre dame" <sup>9</sup>	12s. 6d.	Morlaix	St-Melaine
10	1483	Pierre Aliet "pour avoir escript en parchemin en lettres fourmées ... les legendes des saints et saintes" <sup>10</sup>	35s.	Vannes	Cathedral

11	1485 n.s.	Priest Jehan Kerchen: gradual, with 20 quires <sup>11</sup>	15ℓ	Tréguier	Cathedral
12	1485	Messire Mahé Le Bras <i>presbyter</i> "pour avoir noté le graduier de la maisse du duc de ladite eglise" <sup>12</sup>	100s.	Tréguier	Cathedral
13	1485–86	Jehan Kerchen <i>presbyter</i> "pour partie de son salaire pour escrire et noter le livre nommé anthiphonere a Morlaix" <sup>13</sup>	40s.	Morlaix	St-Mathieu
14	1486	Dom Jehan Kerchen "pour son poyement d'avoir escript et noté ung antiphonyre pour ladite paroisse" <sup>14</sup>	8ℓ 19s. 2d.	Morlaix	St-Mathieu
15	1486	Guillaume Frotin "pour avoir escript les statuz" <sup>15</sup>	5s.	Vannes	Cathedral
16	1486	Priest Guillaume Guybon "pro conficiendo et faciendo unum collectorium novum in choro, et pro matutinis beate Marie Virginis ad notam" <sup>16</sup>	11ℓ	Quimper	Cathedral
17	1488	Pierre Even: antiphonal, with 53 quires and 2 leaves <sup>17</sup>	66ℓ 10s.	Tréguier	Cathedral
18	1489	Pierre Even: gradual <sup>18</sup>	26ℓ	Tréguier	Cathedral
19	1491	Pierre Even: gradual and 2 psalters <sup>19</sup>	175ℓ 16s. 9d.	Tréguier	Cathedral
20	1497	Jehan Pocart "l'escripture de cinquante saix cayers de vellin du legendaire" <sup>20</sup>	49ℓ	Vannes	Cathedral

## Notes

- 1 ADIV G 209; transcribed in ADIV 1 F 433, p. 21.
- 2 ADIV G 209; transcribed in ADIV 1 F 433, p. 58.
- 3 ADIV G 209; transcribed in ADIV 1 F 433, p. 63.
- 4 ADIV G 209; transcribed in ADIV 1 F 433, p. 65.
- 5 La Borderie, "Notes," pp. 46–8.
- 6 ADCA G 373/1, f. 10<sup>v</sup>.
- 7 ADF 151 G 15, f. 6<sup>r</sup>.
- 8 ADF 151 G 15, f. 6<sup>r</sup>; ADF 151 G 16, f. 4<sup>v</sup>.
- 9 ADF 151 G 21, f. 8<sup>r</sup>.
- 10 ADM 74 G 3, f. 39<sup>r</sup>; Leguay, "Vannes," p. 96.
- 11 Leguay, *Réseau*, p. 356; Droguet, p. 211.
- 12 ADCA G 373/3, f. 17<sup>r</sup>; Droguet, p. 211.
- 13 ADF 150 G 18, f. 11<sup>v</sup>.
- 14 ADF 151 G 19, f. 10<sup>v</sup>.
- 15 ADM 74 G 3, p. 56.
- 16 Le Men, pp. 319–20.
- 17 Droguet, p. 211.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 211.
- 19 Leguay, *Réseau*, p. 356; Droguet, p. 211.
- 20 ADM 74 G 15, p. 39.

our data, though fragmentary, suggest that Breton cathedral chapters paid wages ranging from 12s. 6d. to 20s. 8d. per quire or an average of 2s. per folio. The study by Bozzolo and Ornato takes into consideration manuscripts of varying quality, both high and low quality, yet without knowing the range of wages on which their calculated average is based, it is difficult to interpret the Breton scribal wages. It is possible that the Breton manuscripts listed

here represent manuscripts of above-average quality, written by professional scribes who commanded higher wages; or that the higher wages demonstrate that the demand for manuscripts exceeded the local supply of scribes. Breton scribes were certainly not the highest paid copyists, however. Jehan Thomas, a cleric in Paris, copied a prose version of *Le Pèlerinage de l'ame* in 12 quires for the duke of Bedford in 1427 and was paid 16s. *parisis* per quire.<sup>45</sup> Scribes responsible for truly deluxe commissions received handsome rewards: Gillet Daunai, for example, was paid 34s. 4d. per quire as the scribe of a large Bible commissioned by Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy.<sup>46</sup> Whether large or small, the wage paid to a skilled scribe—not the cost of parchment and materials—was the principal expense of a new manuscript.

The time necessary for a scribe to copy a manuscript varied greatly. In 1420 the parish church of St-Martin in Vitré (diocese of Rennes) contracted with Raoul de Cerisay to produce a missal and psalter on good vellum. The parish church lent him “le viel messel” to use as “exemplaire a escripre” the new one.<sup>47</sup> His contract stipulated that the missal and psalter (Table 1.1, no. 5) should be completed in 18 months, but the finished length of the manuscripts was not specified in the contract. Bozzolo and Ornato calculate a scribe’s daily output at 2.85 folios.<sup>48</sup> According to a straight calculation of de Cerisay’s work over the span of 18 months, each manuscript would consist of about 61 quires, an uncommonly large manuscript for either liturgical book. Evidently, the estimate does not account for extra time required to paint the colored initials and decorated letters. In regard to the 20-quire gradual for Tréguier cathedral (Table 1.1, no. 11), the scribe Jehan Kerchen would require nearly 57 days to complete the choir book at the same projected work rate of 2.85 folios a day (assuming quaternion quires). As for Pierre Even, the payment record indicates that he began the 53-quire antiphonal (Table 1.1, no. 17) for Tréguier cathedral by Advent 1486 and completed it by February 1488, suggesting a 15-month contract. Yet, at the calculated daily work rate of 2.85 folios, the 53-quire antiphonal would require about 149 days, or just over six and a half months, with time off for the usual feast days and half-day holiday vigils.<sup>49</sup> One explanation for the difference in projected work time concerns Pierre Even’s possible role as coordinator of the manuscript’s production, which might have included the time-sensitive task of contracting with a music notator, illuminator, and binder. His role as scribe-coordinator is suggested by the gradual (Table 1.1, no. 18), which he finished in 1489 and then received payment to have it illuminated (see below). It is also possible that Pierre Even worked part time on several simultaneous projects and, like Raoul de Cerisay, he developed multiple talents that translated into higher wages. One extant manuscript, however, allows us to calculate the number of folios copied by the scribe thanks to a four-line verse in Breton in the breviary.<sup>50</sup> Johannes Spine (Jean de l’Epine) finished his copy of the breviary at Quimper on 23 June 1472 for *magister* Guillermus Goardet, as his colophon describes (f. 415<sup>v</sup>); he also included the following verse (f. 198<sup>r</sup>): “Gruet eu tom hep chom an comun | Goude dilun an suzun guen | Breman ez guellet guelet scler | Na gueu quet

ter map an spernen." [The Common was completed quickly without pause after the Monday of Rogations; now you can clearly see that the son of l'Epine is brilliant.] According to indications by Loth and Leroquais, Jean de l'Epine completed the Common of Saints on 4 May 1472, the Monday after Easter week, and finished the second part of the Temporale and the whole of the Sanctorale on 23 June 1472. In this span of 50 days, the scribe copied 4.32 folios per day, but it was likely more, given the uncounted feast days and holidays. Although the scribe's payment for the breviary has yet to be found, in this instance, the scribal colophon provides unusually detailed information concerning the making of the manuscript.

#### FLOURISHERS AND ILLUMINATORS

No statutes survive and no references have been found to any organized trade group of Breton illuminators. Nor were illuminators likely to have belonged to any organized group of painters, or to a loosely affiliated trade group, known as a *métier libre*. Free from professional constraint—unlike some of their French colleagues—Breton illuminators were permitted to practice and receive payment not only for manuscript illumination, but also for wall and panel paintings, and stained-glass painting.<sup>51</sup> Jehan de la Chasse worked as an illuminator, painter, and glazier in Nantes and was ennobled in 1444 in compensation for his art work by Duke François I.<sup>52</sup> Jehan *l'enlumineur* worked with Georges Huet to paint decoration for a mystery play of the Last Judgment presented at the *carrefour des changes* in Nantes for the coronation celebration of Duke Pierre II in 1450.<sup>53</sup> Pierre de la Chasse (active 1480–97) trained in the same professions as his father Jehan and was called the "vitrier et enlumineur du duc" under Duke François II. He worked as a mural painter chiefly after the duke's death in 1488.<sup>54</sup>

The cost of illumination is more difficult to determine than other aspects of manuscript-making, because the few payments that mention decoration rarely specify format or quantity. Sometimes the task of supplying colored, flourished, or decorated initials fell to the scribe. In the previously mentioned contract with the *fabrique* of the Church of St-Martin at Vitré, Raoul de Cerisay promised to paint letters in azure and vermillion as well as twelve large flourished initials (Table 1.1, no. 5). No mention is made of illuminated miniatures or burnished gold. For his work as scribe *cum* painter of colored and decorated initials, the priest received the large sum of 80*l*.

Despite the scarce data, payments provide significant comparisons in a single Breton town (Tréguier), one type of manuscript (graduals), and a five-year period (c.1485–90). In the 1480s and 1490s, the cathedral chapter at Tréguier embarked on ambitious architectural renovation, expansion, and decoration. During this time, the chapter employed three painters, two master glaziers, and five goldsmiths, as well as five scribes and binders, one illuminator, and one printer.<sup>55</sup> Between March and October 1485, the illuminator Jehan le Roux received 28*s*. 6*d*. in payment for flourished letters (Table 1.2, no. 1)

Table 1.2 Wages to flourishers and illuminators

No	Date	Entry	Price	Locale	Payer
1	1485	Jehan le Roux "pour flourisser le gradier de nouveau fait comme dit est pour la maisse du duc" <sup>1</sup>	27s. 6d. <i>en vin</i> 12d.	Tréguier	Cathedral
2	1489	Paul Kergazon for painting nine letters in gold, azur, and other colors in a gradual <sup>2</sup>	3 <i>écus d'or</i>	Tréguier	Cathedral
3	c.1489	Unnamed illuminator [Paul Kergazon?] for "ung histoire au commencement dudit livre quell fut fait a Rennes, <i>Resurrexit</i> " <sup>3</sup>	50s.	Tréguier	Cathedral

## NOTES

1 ADCAG 373/3, f. 17<sup>v</sup>.

2 Droguet, p. 211.

3 Leguay, *Réseau*, p. 356; Droguet, p. 211.

in the 20-quire gradual copied by Jehan Kerchen (Table 1.1, no. 11).<sup>56</sup> The illuminator's relatively low wage suggests that he was responsible only for the gradual's decorated initials. Le Roux's wage as illuminator should be seen in comparison with the much higher fee of 15*l* received by the scribe Kerchen. Altogether, the gradual cost 22*l* 8s. in wages for the scribe, music notator, and illuminator; the scribe's wage equaled more than two-thirds of the calculated cost of the manuscript.

On 16 June 1489, the illuminator Paul Kergazon received 3 *écus d'or*, or 68s. 5d., for nine letters painted in gold, azure, and other colors (Table 1.2, no. 2) in the gradual copied by Pierre Even for Tréguier cathedral (Table 1.1, no. 18).<sup>57</sup> Each illuminated letter in this gradual was therefore valued at 7s. 6d. The cathedral chapter had already paid 26*l* to Pierre Even, of which 50s. was intended to "fait faire ung histoire au commencement dudit livre quell fut fait à Rennes" [to have an illumination at the beginning of the said book which was made at Rennes], called *Resurrexit* (Table 1.2, no. 3).<sup>58</sup> In total, the illuminator's labor was valued at 118s. 5d., that is, for one miniature (50s.) and nine painted initials (68s. 5d.). The payment differentiates two graduals, describing one made, or copied, at Rennes, which presumably was then brought to Tréguier to be finished. This is a rare documented example of different aspects of manuscript production being completed in two towns. It also raises questions concerning the busy *fabrique* at Tréguier, which apparently found their five skilled scribes to be insufficient in number to complete all the available work.

How many of the 191 volumes listed in the cathedral library's catalog of 1491 were made locally in the previous decade is unfortunately impossible to determine from the inventory.<sup>59</sup>

The Breton illuminators Jehan le Roux and Paul Kergazon were paid 28s. 6d. and 68s. 5d. respectively for the complete decoration and illumination of two graduals; their wages compare favorably to Parisian colleagues. For instance, the Collège de Dormans-Beauvais in Paris paid 62s. in 1392 for the illumination of a gradual.<sup>60</sup> In comparison to the piece wage of 7s. 6d. received by Kergazon, we should note that Angelot de la Presse, painter and illuminator at Blois, received 10s. *tournois* for each of the 20 miniatures painted in a book of hours for the duchess of Orléans in 1398,<sup>61</sup> and in 1470, Loyset Liedet received 16s.—more than twice as much as Paul Kergazon—for each of his *histoires* in *Le Songe du viel pellerin* for Charles le Téméraire.<sup>62</sup> In 1486 the Parisian illuminator Jacques de Besançon received the large sum of 13*l* 8s. *parisis* (268s.) for painting all the initials with decorative *baguettes* and pen scrolls in a gradual.<sup>63</sup> A gradual's illumination, like that of any other manuscript, might differ greatly in quantity and quality, and, therefore, value.

#### BOOKBINDERS

Bookbinders, like illuminators in medieval Brittany, did not organize as a separate trade group or confraternity. In addition to binding new and old books, they often supplemented their wage with other manuscript-related employment, most commonly as a *libraire* or illuminator.<sup>64</sup> Breton financial accounts record more payments to bookbinders than to scribes and illuminators, but the payment registers are still vague; rarely do entries indicate the book format or binding material. Table 1.3 assembles some of these payments and demonstrates the difficulty of comparing binding expense in Brittany, where wages varied considerably even for a similar type of manuscript. The data lean heavily on payments made in the mid to late fifteenth century as a result of surviving registers.

Quimper cathedral library, which could boast of more than 100 volumes in its inventories of 1361 and 1365, continued to refurbish its bound volumes and to provide bindings for newly copied manuscripts.<sup>65</sup> The bookbinder Quillyen was paid 33s. 6d. in 1458 “pro religacione magni libri de latere” (Table 1.3, no. 5). *Presbyter* Yian Com bound both a modest hymnal at 3s. 4d. in 1468, as well as a missal for the main altar for 35s. in 1469 (Table 1.3, nos 6, 11). What must have been a truly sumptuous binding at a cost of 10*l* 5s. 10d. fell to Yves Sy “pro religacione librorum de mandato cappeli” (Table 1.3, no. 7).

Tréguier cathedral paid Alain Riou for binding two choir books in 1484 (Table 1.3, nos 20–21), paying 30s. for a gradual and 15s. for an old antiphonal. The former, however, was described “excessiff de volume” and for the duke's Mass; it was, therefore, probably larger and more ornate than the antiphonal. In 1483, Vannes cathedral paid different rates for the binding of two missals: 3s. 9d. to François Rosnohen and 12s. 6d. to *Dom* Jehan Michel (Table 1.3, nos

Table 1.3 Bookbinding expense

No	Date	Entry	Price	Locale	Payer
1	1409	Huidour "pro reparando Bible, et pergameno" <sup>1</sup>	15s.	Quimper	Cathedral
2	1413–14	Petrus de Brolio "pro religacione unius libri dicte ecclesie nuncupati libri Johannis" <sup>2</sup>	25s.	Rennes	Cathedral
3	1418–19	<i>Magister</i> Guillelmus de Montfort "pro repparacione et religacione librorum dicte ecclesie" <sup>3</sup>	5d.	Rennes	Cathedral
4	1440	Yves Timeur "pro religando duas libros" <sup>4</sup>	13s. 3d.	Quimper	Cathedral
5	1458	Quillyen "pro religacione magni libri de latere" <sup>5</sup>	33s. 6d.	Quimper	Cathedral
6	1468	Yian Com <i>presbyter</i> "pro religando et coopiendo librum hymnorum in medio choir positum" <sup>6</sup>	3s. 4d.	Quimper	Cathedral
7	1468	<i>Messir</i> Sy "pro religacione librorum de mandato cappeli" <sup>7</sup>	10l 5s. 10d.	Quimper	Cathedral
8	1468	Yves Sy "pro reparacione librorum in libraria existentium" <sup>8</sup>	60s.	Quimper	Cathedral
9	1468	Oliver Soeon "pro parando [ <i>sic</i> ] quendam librum in choro" <sup>9</sup>	10d.	Quimper	Cathedral
10	1468	Jehan Godet <i>presbytre</i> "pour relier le misal de ladite eglise compris le vin sur le marché et apres Jehan presbytre pour metre ung couverture et cloux sur ledit missal" <sup>10</sup>	10s. 10d.	Morlaix	St-Melaine
11	1469	Yian Com <i>presbyter</i> "pro religando missale magni altaris de ordinatione duorum cappelli" <sup>11</sup>	35s.	Quimper	Cathedral
12	1478	Yves an Com "pro religando libros in ecclesia" <sup>12</sup>	70s. 10d.	Quimper	Cathedral
13	1483	François Rosnohen "pour avoir reliez pastorale gregorii, ... pour avoir mis ung missel couvert de neuff deux fermours" <sup>13</sup>	9s. 2d.	Vannes	Cathedral
14	1483	François Rosnohen "pour aver relyé ung saulmier noté et aussi le grant missel" <sup>14</sup>	7s. 6d.	Vannes	Cathedral

15	1483	Dom Jehan Michel "tout [antiphonals] reliés de neuff et pour avoir relié de neuff manuale divinorum officiorum et couvert de peau de serff" <sup>15</sup>	21s. 6d.	Vannes	Cathedral
16	1483	Dom Jehan Michel "pour avoir relié de neuff ... un missel" <sup>16</sup>	12s. 6d.	Vannes	Cathedral
17	1485	Pierre Even "pour avoir fait de cuir registier" <sup>17</sup>	4s. 2d.	Tréguier	Cathedral
18	1484	Alain Riou "pour avoir relié troys psaultiers qui Kerchen les avait escript" <sup>18</sup>	46s.	Tréguier	Cathedral
19	1484	Alain Riou "pour la relieure de autres quatre livres collecteres" <sup>19</sup>	38s. 4d.	Tréguier	Cathedral
20	1484	Alain Riou "pour le relieure dudit livre [gradual] ... quel est excessiff de volume" <sup>20</sup>	30s.	Tréguier	Cathedral
21	1484	Alain Riou "pour aver relié un veil antiphoner de ladite eglise" <sup>21</sup>	15s.	Tréguier	Cathedral
22	1484	Alain Riou "pour aver relié quatre livres processionale pour ladite eglise" <sup>22</sup>	40s.	Tréguier	Cathedral
23	1486	Guyon Floys "une couviaye de cuyr et un fremaill ... pour ledit psaultier" <sup>23</sup>	20d.	Vannes	Cathedral
24	1488	Dom Pierre Jubé "pour reliev un saultier, le reliev et aussi aviller un aultre saultier" <sup>24</sup>	7s. 6d.	Vannes	Cathedral
25	1490	Alain Riou "pour aver relié deux grans anthiphoniers et deux volumes" <sup>25</sup>	4ℓ	Tréguier	Cathedral
26	1491	François le libraire "l'evangelire le quel fut relyé et couvert de cuir noir" <sup>26</sup>	7s. 6d.	Vannes	Cathedral
27	1493	François le libraire "un greffier" <sup>27</sup>	25s.	Vannes	Cathedral
28	1493	François le libraire "un legendaire couvert de cuir noir" <sup>28</sup>	20s. 10d.	Vannes	Cathedral
29	1494	François le libraire "deux grands messaulx, deux petez missaulx, un grand legendaire, deux psaultiers" <sup>29</sup>	10ℓ	Vannes	Cathedral
30	1524	Ruich <i>presbyter de Tregoures</i> "qui relignavit quinque librii de libraire" <sup>30</sup>	35s.	Quimper	Cathedral

## NOTES

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| 1  | ADF 2 G 70, f. 5 <sup>r</sup> ; Le Men, p. 321. | 16 | ADM 74 G 3, p. 39.                                  |
| 2  | ADIV 1 F 433, p. 68.                            | 17 | ADCA G 373/3, f. 19 <sup>r</sup> .                  |
| 3  | ADIV 1 F 433, p. 79.                            | 18 | ADCA G 373/3, f. 21 <sup>v</sup> ; Droguet, p. 212. |
| 4  | Le Men, p. 321.                                 | 19 | ADCA G 373/3, f. 21 <sup>v</sup> .                  |
| 5  | ADF 2 G 72, f. 2 <sup>r</sup> ; Le Men, p. 321. | 20 | ADCA G 373/3, f. 21 <sup>r</sup> ; Droguet, p. 212. |
| 6  | ADF 2 G 72, f. 3 <sup>r</sup> .                 | 21 | ADCA G 373/3, f. 21 <sup>v</sup> ; Droguet, p. 212. |
| 7  | ADF 2 G 72, f. 4 <sup>r</sup> .                 | 22 | ADCA G 373/3, f. 21 <sup>v</sup> .                  |
| 8  | Le Men, p. 321.                                 | 23 | ADM 74 G 6, p. 56.                                  |
| 9  | Ibid., p. 321.                                  | 24 | ADM 74 G 8, p. 35.                                  |
| 10 | ADF 151 G 22, f. 6 <sup>r</sup> .               | 25 | ADCA G 373/10, f. 13 <sup>r</sup> .                 |
| 11 | ADF 2 G 73, f. 3 <sup>r</sup> ; Le Men, p. 320. | 26 | ADM 74 G 10, p. 34.                                 |
| 12 | Le Men, p. 320.                                 | 27 | ADM 74 G 12, p. 34.                                 |
| 13 | ADM 74 G 3, p. 40; Leguay, "Vannes," p. 95.     | 28 | ADM 74 G 12, p. 34.                                 |
| 14 | ADM 74 G 3, p. 49.                              | 29 | ADM 74 G 12, p. 41.                                 |
| 15 | ADM 74 G 3, p. 39.                              | 30 | ADF 2 G 79, f. 7 <sup>r</sup> .                     |

14, 16). In 1483 and 1488 the same cathedral paid the rate of 3s. 9d. each to bind two psalters (Table 1.3, nos 14, 24), while in 1486 Tréguier cathedral paid 15s. 4d. for binding a psalter (Table 1.3, no. 18).

Just as it is difficult to compare bookbinding expenses for Breton manuscripts, it is equally difficult to compare Breton bookbindings with the cost of books bound in Paris. In 1457, St-Jacques-la-Boucherie in Paris paid 61s. to clean and bind "quatre livres a chanter," or 15s. 3d. each, while St-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins in Paris paid 38s. in 1472 to refurbish and replace the bindings of nine service books, or 4s. 2s. each.<sup>66</sup> The service books likely had simple parchment bindings, as compared to the rate of 3s. paid for a binding "de grous parchemin fort" in 1380.<sup>67</sup> Given the incomplete information of archival registers concerning the material and type of binding, the comparative prices and wages paid to bookbinders, while suggestive of their economic status, in the end remain inconclusive.

### Dated and Localized Manuscripts

Archival sources identify parchment-makers, scribes, illuminators, and bookbinders working in late medieval Brittany, but very few can be matched to extant and dated manuscripts. The following artisans can be associated with their dated manuscripts, here described in chronological order:

- Yves Luce copied a book of hours at Nantes in 1402 (New York, PML, ms M. 515, f. 216<sup>v</sup>): "Y. Lucas. L'an mil iiiic et ii. furent escriptes et enluminé cestes matines a la ville de Nantes ..." (additional scribal signatures on ff. 12<sup>v</sup>, 94<sup>r</sup>, 150<sup>r</sup>).<sup>68</sup>
- Nicolaus de Launey, prior of Mont Dol, copied *Le Tombel de Chartrose et autres poèmes mystiques en français* in February 1424 n.s. (Avranches, BM, ms 244, f. 122<sup>r</sup>): "Scriptum in Villa Dolensi, per me fratrem Nicholaum de Launey, prior [sic] de Monte Dolis, anno Domini M<sup>mo</sup> IIII<sup>cmo</sup> visecimo [sic] tercio, mense februarii."<sup>69</sup>

- Johannes Albi, rector of Plougastel (diocese of Quimper), completed his copy of *Sacramentale* by William of Mont Lauzun in 1426 for *magister* and canon Johannes Militis of Quimper (Tours, BM, ms 438, f. 71<sup>r</sup>): “Completus per me, Iohannem Albi, rectorem de Ploegastell, dyocesis Corisopitensis, manu propria et proprio nomine venerabilis ac circospectissimi viri magistri Iohannis Militis, in utroque iure licenciati canonicique Corisopitensis ac officialis ejusdem, anno Domini millesimo CCCC<sup>o</sup> vicesimo sexto. [Signed] Io. Albi.”<sup>70</sup>
- Jean Brulelou, a scribe originally of Pipriac and residing at St-Seglin (diocese of St-Malo) in 1437, copied Ovid’s *Remedia amoris* with Cato’s *Distiques* (Leiden, Universiteits-Bibliotheek, BPL 138, f. 165<sup>r</sup>): “Iste liber competet Johanni Brulelou clerico dyocesis Macloviensis, qui quidem Johannes hunc presentem librum propria manu sua scripsit”; (f. 165<sup>v</sup>) “Explicit liber remedii amoris scriptus in parochia de Sancto Seguelino dyocesis Macloviensis a me Johanne Brulelou diocesis Macloviensis finitusque XVIII<sup>a</sup> die mensis septembris anno domini millesimo CCCC<sup>o</sup> XXX<sup>o</sup> VII<sup>o</sup>. Johannes Brulelou, verum est.”<sup>71</sup>
- Jehan Olivero, copied Guillaume de St-André’s *Le Livre du bon duc Jean* for Yvon Conan at Vannes in 1441 (Paris, BnF, ms fr. 1659, f. 57<sup>v</sup>): “Cest livre fut complet et escript | En l’onneur de Jhesucrist | L’onziesme jour dou moys de may | Affin que ne soies en esmoy | Pour et ou nom d’Yvon Conan | Mil quatre cens quarante et ung an | Par Jehan Olivero de sa main | De ce an soyes tresbien certain | De Venes.”<sup>72</sup>
- Yves Even, rector of the parish church of Troguéry, copied a missal in 1457 (Paris, BnF, ms nouv. acq. lat. 172, f. 266<sup>r</sup>): “Yvo Eveni, presbiter, rector ecclesie parrochialis de Tuonguerri, Trecorensis diocesis, scripsi hoc missale pro domino Johanne Ynisan, doctor eximio et vice cancellario Britannie, et complevi die XX<sup>a</sup> mensis marci, anno Domini M.CCCC.LVII.”<sup>73</sup>
- Guillaume Charles copied a book of hours at Plemet (diocese of St-Brieuc) for Eon de La Vallée, lord of Quédillac, in 1457 (Ex-Nantes, M. Saint-Gal and C. Douillard, 22 May 1985): “En l’an mil quatre cens cinquante sept | Eon de la Vallée par son fet | Ou bourc de plemet fist escrire | A Guillaume de Charles cest libure | Et y fist mettre cest escuzon | Garni de foilles aviron | Pour orfraize sans faillir | De Quedillac est sans mentir | Ou leurs armes sont posées | Par la moitié bien deuisées | Or prion Dieu a touz dis | Que il nous doint paradis.”<sup>74</sup>
- G. Rest copied *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* at Callac (diocese of Tréguier) in 1469 (Paris, BnF, ms fr. 4984, f. 227<sup>v</sup>): “Explicit jusques cy en cest jour qui est le vj<sup>e</sup> jour de decembre l’an mil iij<sup>e</sup> lxiix, et escript a Callac de la main G Rest qui au lxxij ans d’age a janvier ensuyvant.”<sup>75</sup>
- Johannes Spine copied a breviary at Quimper in 1472 for *magister* Guillelmus Goardet (Paris, BnF, ms lat. 1294, f. 415<sup>v</sup>): “Explicit hoc totum, pro Christo da michi potum. Anno millesimo CCCC<sup>o</sup>LXXII<sup>o</sup> per Iohannem Spine. Explicit proprium sanctorum, pro magistro Guillelmo Goardet, dyocesis Cornubiensis, [Cornouaille] per Iohannem Spine, Corisopiti, eiusdem dyocesis civitatis, XXIII<sup>a</sup> iunii anno 1472<sup>o</sup>.”<sup>76</sup>