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Working with digitized manuscripts in brazil – the case of Traicitié de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournois (Paris, bnf ms. français 2695)

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Resumo: O The Traicitié de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournois (Paris, BnF ms. Français 2695) escrito por volta de 1460 pelo duque René d'Anjou (1409-1480) é digno de nota por sintetizar em um único trabalho as práticas da cultura de corte principesca da aristocracia da Baixa Idade Média, com enfoque em torneios, além da originalidade de combinar material textual e iconográfico para transmitir uma mensagem pretendida pelo autor. A despeito de suas particularidades, há poucos estudos sobre este tratado, uma vez que os estudiosos vêm considerando o material textual irrelevante. Neste artigo, demonstraremos a importância de revisitar um manuscrito de forma a fornecer uma fonte histórica correta para análise futura. Ao mesmo tempo, mostraremos as possibilidades e limitações de expandir os estudos medievais no Brasil a partir do trabalho com manuscritos digitalizados.

Palavras-chave: René d'Anjou, Torneios, Manuscritos Digitalizados, Paleografia, Codicologia

Abstract: The Traicitié de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournois (Paris, BnF ms. Français 2695) written around 1460 by the Duke René D'Anjou (1409-1480) is noteworthy for synthesizing in a single work practices from princely court culture aristocracy of Late Middle Ages, focusing on tournaments and, moreover, an originality of combining textual and iconographic material to convey a message intended by the author. Regardless of its particularities, there are a few studies about this treatise since scholars have been considering it an irrelevant textual material. In this paper, I will demonstrate the importance of revisiting a manuscript to provide a corrected historical source for future analysis. Concurrently, I shall exhibit the possibilities and limitations of expanding the research for medieval studies field in Brazil working with digital content.

Keywords: René d'Anjou, Tournament, Digitized Manuscripts, Paleography, Codicology

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René d'Anjou and the Traicitié

The *Traicitié de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournois* is one of the three books written by the Duke René d'Anjou (1409-1480). Anjou received his education according to his high noble status, however, it was the contact with different cultures that directly influenced his literary and artistic preferences, as well his court patronage. Part of a royal family of France, heir of one of the largest princely households inside French territory and other noble titles acquired through marriage or inheritance, the Duke developed esteem for erudition and he was wealthy enough to support the *princely court culture*² with its all material and luxurious presentation. He established cultural contacts with Iberian and Italian peninsula, as well with the German reigns while in the possession of the county of Provence, and, as a consequence, the Duke transformed this territory in an independent princely State. The proximity to the Italians made possible for him to purchase several manuscripts, support exclusive artists for his court, and simultaneously acquire direct influence from Humanism. His activities and manners were all related to practices and values of courtly, chivalry and humanistic culture, which he employed until his death.

Concerning the manuscript patronage, the *librarie* of Anjou – a medieval term for princely libraries and private collections in the Late Middle Ages – reflected his cosmopolitan cultural milieu and taste for innovation due to the influence of Humanism, as well typical books of secular and religious themes. After his death and with few inventories left, it seems difficult to infer what codices belonged to the prince, even though it is possible to notice which were his preferences in more than fifty confirmed codices that he owned (AVRIL, 2010: 73-84). All his books partially reflected the aristocracy ideology, simultaneously to the new features of the period indicated by a mixture of manuscripts and incunables, paper and parchment support, also different languages (including Ancient and Oriental dialects). The absence of courtly and chivalry themes in his recognized collection did not denote a lack of interest or knowledge in those subjects. On the contrary, the cultural exchange went beyond physical and material boundaries, and those topics can be recognized in the remained works written by Anjou. He composed three manuscripts later in his life and they were symbolic pieces intended to be edifying literature.

² Malcolm Vale has been studying royal and princely courts of north-west Europe and their culture during the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and defining *princely court culture* from a broader point of view. According to him, the court at this time was intimately and inextricably entangled with the ruler's household, while provided a context in which habits and modes of behavior were both acquired and perpetuated. For instance, patterns of consumption, religious beliefs, devotional practices, ways of dress, and other markers or tokens of status and function, as well as patronage of the arts. Court culture emphasized, among different facets, the standard values, and expectations shared by high-status groups across territorial, linguistic, and ethnic boundaries, simultaneously was open to external forces of influence. At last, he has differentiated royal courts, such as France and England, from smaller states called princely courts. (VALE, 2001: 02-03).





The *Traicitié de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournois* was finished around 1460 and 1465, to be offered as a gift to his younger brother Charles, Count of Maine (†1473). Nowadays, the codex is part of the collection of Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris, BnF ms. Français 2695). This piece exemplifies all the fundamental features of chivalry orders and spectacles appreciated by Anjou. The *Traicitié* deserves attention for being a work which summarizes the courtly behavior, as well as a description of how to organize a tournament with its codes and all pageantry related to the aristocracy of the Late Middle Ages. Another particularity of the manuscript is its originality in combining iconographic and textual material to transmit the message intended by the author.

The objective established by Anjou was to make a treatise of how to organize a tournament, moreover respecting chivalry practices and codes correctly. He based his *tournoy* on three different customs which he followed to create a new and fourth way of the contest. The competition, presented implicitly, would be a combat between two groups inside a delimited space prepared to serve as war battlefield. Two high nobles or princes would lead the groups: one would defend the territory (the *defendant*) against the challenger (the *appellant*). Each lead noble or prince would battle with his team of knights, squires and heralds, all free to choose one of the sides to fight for unless an oath of allegiance bound them to one of the princes. Other types of combat, such as jousts (*joustes*) or melées (*bouhort*), would also occur alongside the main event totalizing four days of festivities. The juridical vocabulary developed throughout the Late Middle Ages had influenced the rules and would cover all possible situations arising through the combat to ensure the acceptance of chivalry codes by the participants.

The carefulness showed in writing down the preparation regarding this event only reveals how vital was the social role of this activity for the late aristocracy. Since its first appearance in the eleventh-century, tournaments had become spectacles of growing importance for the nobility as a symbol of distinctiveness before other classes, even though there were similar combats promoted by the Flanders bourgeoisie at the same period. There were several differences between the war exercises of the twelfth-century and the spectacles of the fifteenth-century such as the place chosen for the combat, the time needed for preparation and the role of the spectator, much more significant within the late event (GUTTMANN, 1981: 13-18). Anjou was aware of the singularity of the tournament as a social event, and, as a consequence, he was more concerned in showing an accurate portrayal of the rituals and ceremonies behind it than with the description of the dispute itself, which occupies only a few folios at the end of the manuscript. This peculiarity was not proclaimed openly by the author and opens the door to explore these implied choices.

Scholars have posited different opinions regarding the finality and genuineness of the *Traicitié*, hence establishing any conclusion about it is troublesome. François Avril, one of the first scholars all together with L. M. J. Delaissé to work with codicology of the ms. Fr. 2695 have offered new perspectives about the codex. Likewise, his contribution to establishing the date of the manuscript around 1460-1465, as well as the reproduction of the whole iconographic cycle of





the *ms. Fr. 2695* was crucial to expanding the studies about the work. However, Avril used the abridged version of the text published at the beginning of the twentieth century by Edmond Pognon and declared that the text is irrelevant as a literary source. According to him, the treatise is a technical and documental piece explaining how to organize a tournament, despite the uselessness of its rules and practices, and not an allegorical or poetic work (AVRIL, 1986: 08).

According to Jean Favier, who recently has published a biography of the Duke, the book describes real practices and juridical customs applied in Anjou's territories. Furthermore, these rules were consensual among the aristocracy (FAVIER, 2008: 149-151). Évelyne Van Den Neste, who has investigated chivalry combats in Flanders regions between 1300 and 1486, has supported the theory about the *Traicitié* was written to be appreciated by the aristocracy since tournaments had been decreasing while jousts gained popularity among the nobility (VEN DEN NESTE, 1996: 39-41). Individual prowess became more important than the sense of group brought by the tournaments. Recent scholarship has been focusing more on the ideological aspect of the treatise and less in practice described³. Justin Sturgeon has provided the most recent analysis of the manuscript and a scholar edition of the text. His study has been decisive to compare all the scripts, as well as new theories developed on the transmission of the content, as a consequence of the interdisciplinary work of examining the codicology, the textual and visual evidence of the manuscripts⁴. As the most comprehensive study of the treatise, I will propose a comparison of my analysis electronically supported with Sturgeon's thesis to determine the possibilities and limitations of research outside Europe and major medieval centers using digitized resources.

Manuscript analysis – the first divergences

Working with the codex in question has been possible because of the digitization of documents and dissemination by electronic means. Just as these media have modified man's relationship to the physical book, they have also become an integral part of historical research practices by allowing broad access online to primary sources. Also, the electronic reproductions allow the simultaneous investigation of one or more codices and greater access to a previously restricted corpus. The public domain granted by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France gave me

³ For a few studies see FREIGANG, Christian. *Le tournoi idéal: la création du bon chevalier et la politique courtoise de René d'Anjou*. In: BOUCHET, Florence (dir.). **René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)**. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011. p. 179-198; NIEVERGELT, Marco. *The Quest for Chivalry in the Waning Middle Ages: The Wanderings of René d'Anjou and Olivier de la Marche*. In: DUBRUCK, Edelgard E. et al. **Fifteenth-Century Studies 36**. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011. p. 137-168.

⁴ I would like to thank Dr. Justin Sturgeon (University of West Florida) for allowing me to consult his thesis and comparison with my dissertation, especially for this paper. His thesis will be published by Boydell & Brewer under the title of "The Tournament Book of René d'Anjou" (2019).





access to visualize the work through the digital portal *Gallica*⁵, moreover to carry out the transcription of the source from the digital version. Although it does not replace the *in loco* work of the researcher, the online availability facilitates the expansion of the field of studies on manuscripts. Despite this recently broadening access, I will demonstrate, using Sturgeon's survey as a parameter, the limitations for working with digitized contents within the paleographical and codicological field.

Concerning the date of the codex, the tendency among scholars has been dating the composition around 1460 because of two widely accepted theories. The first one is concerned with the indirect quotation within the *Traicitié* to the work of Antoine de La Sale (†1460/1), *Traité des anciens et nouveaux tournois* written in 1459. De La Sale was a well-versed knight in chivalry themes and preceptor of Anjou's son until 1448, later in his life he composed this treatise and offered to Jacques of Luxembourg (†1487), knight of the Order of Golden Fleece. Secondly, a comparative study of watermarks conducted by Délaissé and Avril using other known dated manuscripts from Bibliothèque Nationale to place production of the *ms. Fr. 2695* around this time (AVRIL, 1986: 08-10).

Regarding codicological descriptions, I relied on previous studies for two reasons. First, my examination of the *Traicitié* focused on the content and the ideas behind. As a consequence, my transcription was essential since there was none accurate modern edition of the text. Secondly, for the codicological analysis, that is, the work with the physical part of the manuscript, it is essential to consult the original. This precondition will be evident while comparing with Sturgeon's analysis. According to the description of the catalog of Bibliothèque Nationale, the support material of the codex is paper. Support acknowledged as something original while parchment was still considered much more valuable. The initial number of folios was sixty, although forty-nine blank folios were added in the seventeenth century. Its original size was 385 x 300 mm and its foliation consists in iv + 2 + 2 + 107 + vi. Between ff. 1v-2r there are two folios without pagination nominated here as NP 1 and NP 2 (*no pagination*) following the library procedures. The page layout has a written space of 250 x 185 mm in one single column, in general, twenty-five long lines in black ink, but there are some variations as one line (f. 39r) or forty (f. 107v), with no signal of pricking, but some marks of the ruling. Another singularity concerning the column is its division in many sections with red titles, and blue and red initials interchangeably, marking a clear intention of communication because each section is related to a particular function within the text. However, in the attempt to make my own measurement from my imprint of the codex compared with the description of the catalog, I found a discrepancy in

⁵ *Traicitié de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournois* par RENE D'ANJOU. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Français 2695. DOI: [ark:/12148/btv1b84522067](https://doi.org/10.1111/btv.1b84522067) . Access in: 21 Mar 2018





the measurements. This procedure shows that there is often a need to review these catalogs, just to confirm the traditional descriptions.

There are many damages which mark an intensive use and misuse of the manuscript. The most common unintentional damage is the fingerprint marks in the upper and bottom margins that occur in the entire codex, perhaps an indication of intense use by its readers. Damages created by insects and rodents were common, and wormholes were found in the ff. NP1-17r and ff. 37r-45r. Although, there are no marks of this kind in the folios inserted in the seventeenth-century, which demonstrates better preservation or decrease in the use of the manuscript. Regarding intentional damages, as alteration or mutilation, trimming is found in the upper margins: 45r, 54r, 66r, 91r, 97r e 103r, 105r. Even if they are codicological descriptions, I can easily make assumptions about the damages from the digital version. However, scans do not always provide high image quality, so there are a few obstacles to assert the source of contamination. Some institutions, such as BnF (Paris) itself, do not offer better free versions for consultation, while others, such as Parker Library (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College)⁶ or the Foundation Martin Bodmer (Cologny, Switzerland)⁷, already offer high-quality versions for further research. Without the possibility of evaluating the details of the manuscript, it is not possible to infer anything with certainty. This limitation is explicit for working with the codicological field.

Concerning the description of the iconographic cycle, which provides a complete visual narrative, it corresponds to a third part of the whole manuscript totalizing thirty-six folios. The size of images depends on their technical or documental function, as also, the complexity of each one, which can occupy one or two folios. Both text and images were part of a singular intention of the author, who attempted to structure the work by a succession of titles, rubrics, and descriptions. Therefore, the audience could understand a coherent composition, and simultaneously, could perceive it as two independent narratives. Another particularity of the *Traicitie* regarding its iconographic cycle is about the style, which does not follow the illuminated manuscript patterns of the time and it can be attested comparing the treatise with other manuscripts ordered by the Duke. Bathelémy Van d'Eyck, who was a frequent artist of Anjou's court chose watercolor for the codex and followed the Italian and Flemish aesthetics (ELSIG, 2004: 31-33; FERRÉ, 2010: 123-131). It is worthy to note that watercolor was an unusual choice for manuscripts, which marks one of many peculiarities of the codex. Sturgeon compared all the images of the existing scripts and was able to identify artistic details that indicated the style adopted in each codex. In this way, he was able to propose a new stemma to explain the

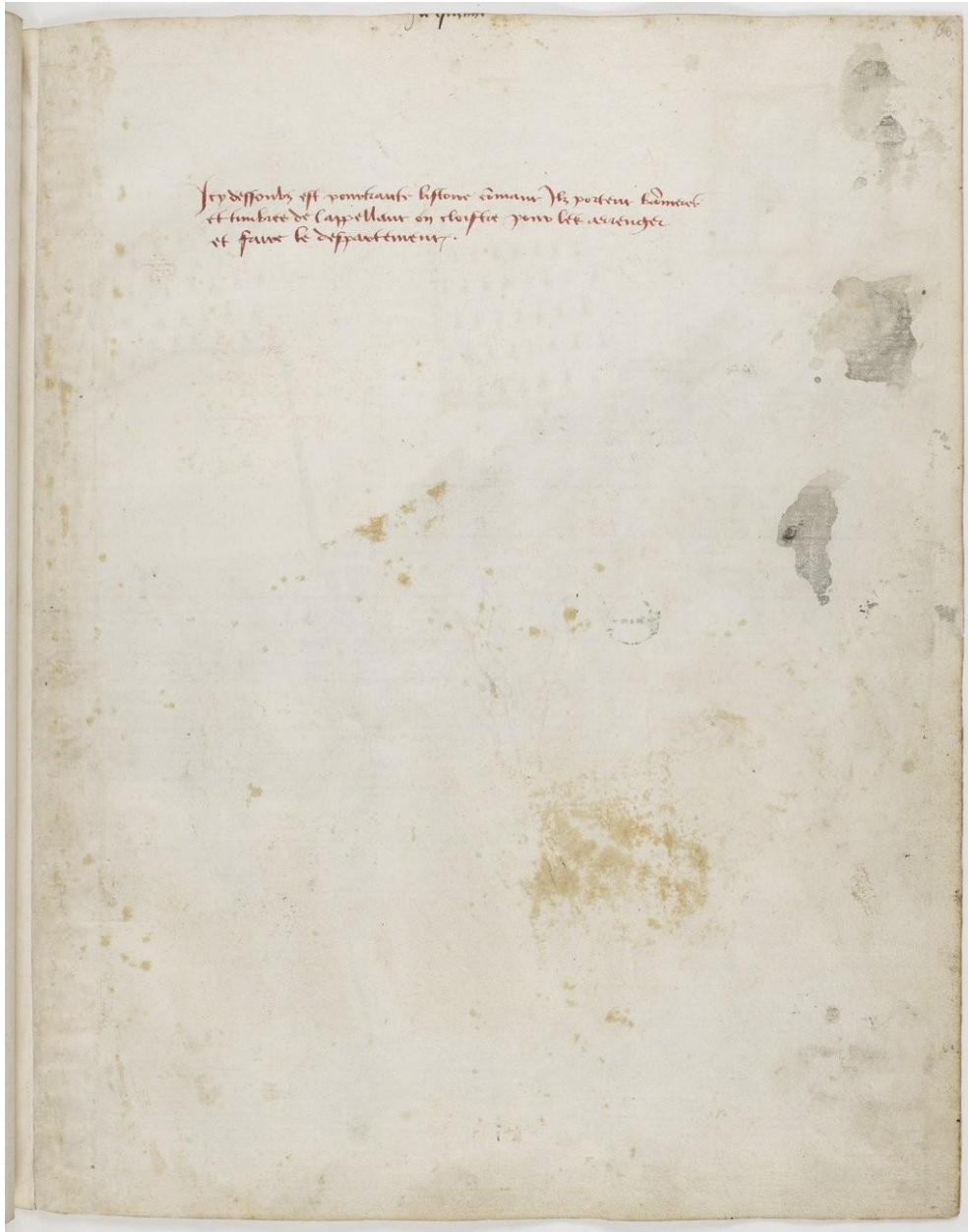
⁶ A partnership between Corpus Christi College and the Stanford University have provided a collection fully digitized. DOI: <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker>. Access in: 25 Feb 2019.

⁷ Following the example of Cod. Bodmer 147, *Estoire Del Graal (interpolated)*, in which is possible to examine all details of the illumination, also transcribing the text. DOI: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fmb/cb-0147/1r/0/Sequence-878> Access in: 25 Feb 2019.





transmission of the codices and suggest that there was a lost intermediate copy (STURGEON, 2015: 315-376; 717).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Français 2695

Image 1: Folio 66r – Example of intentional and unintentional damage

Regarding the paleographic analysis, working with online material does not suffer much interference. I was able to identify the scribes, orthographic variations, as well as perform the transcription of the text. I recognized the script used in the manuscript as *Littera gothica hybrid*

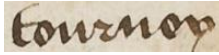
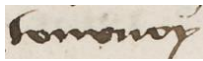




or known merely as *Bâtarde* and based on the two levels of its execution (*Media* and *Currens*), also there were three different scribes, who switched along the text⁸. An example of:

hybrida media is the word *tournoy* on folio NP1 –

hybrida currens for the same word written on folio 17v –

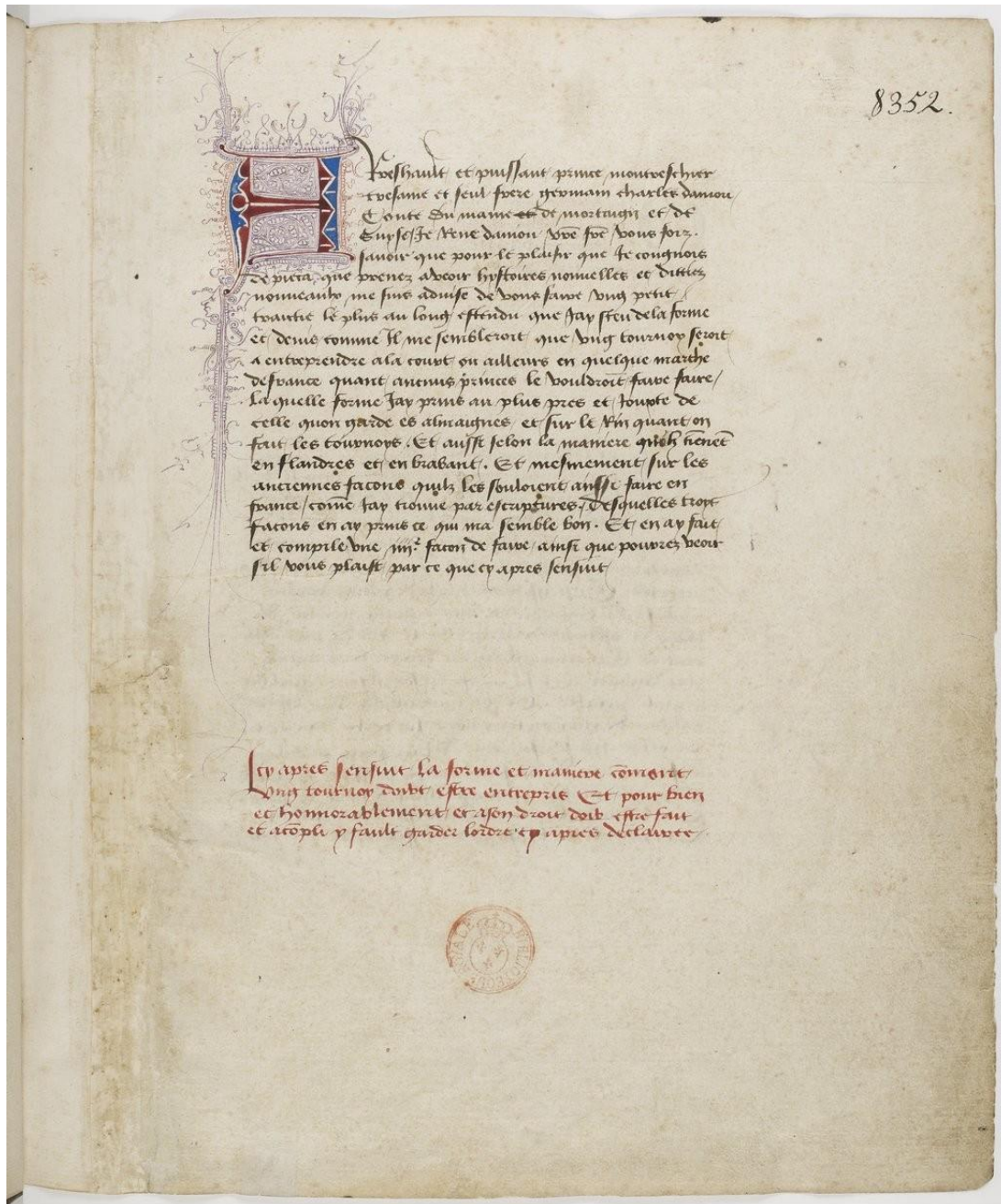
The script of the *ms. Fr. 2695* is marked by the typical orality involving written work in the Middle Ages. In the late period, punctuation by *positurae* continued in use, even if it was less frequent in vernacular works. Some manuscripts, as the  *ms. 2695*, were punctuated by the *punctus* alone altogether with the *virgula suspensiva* (/), which could indicate pauses of different values. Another  frequent mark found in Anjou's work is a combination of both previous marks (./), perhaps used to point a pause of most reliable value, and two slashes (//) to indicate continuation or correction. Either way, the whole set of punctuation should be read accordingly with the text (CLEMENS; GRAHAM, 2007: 86-87).

The language of the text could be the dialect of the *Isle de France*, the official language adopted by the King in the fifteenth-century (MATORÉ, 1985: 261-273), although, a synchronic and morphologic analysis with other dated scripts is indispensable to state that correctly. Even though it was not the focus of this survey, it is possible to carry out this language examination from digital media, especially with an online database, such as the BMF (Base de *Français Médiéval*). Therefore, the work *in loco* for analysis of the language (paleography, linguistic or literary studies) is not essential, as for the study of the physical material.

The codex starts with a note written possibly in the seventeenth-century with a distinctly different hand from the three scribes of the main text: (f.1v) “*Ce present livre a este dicté par Le Roy Rene de Sicille et paint De sa propre main.*” The treatise begins in f. NP1: “*A tres hault et puissant prince mon tres chier, tres amé et seul frere germain Charles d'Anjou/*” and finishes in f. 109r: “*Item ceulx qui ont gaingné le pris sont tenuz de donner aucune chose aux trompectes et menestrelz, et les deux princes chiefz du tournoy aussi.*”

⁸ I would like to thank Dr. Greti Dinkova-Bruun (University of Toronto) for her Paleography classes and invaluable input to this essay.





Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Français 2695

Image 2: Folio NP1

A transcription I have realized from the folio NP1 above following the criteria from the paleographic field:

[f. NP1] A tres hault/ et/ puissant/ prince mon tres chier
 tres ame et seul frere german charles danjou/
 Conte du manie de mortaign et/ de
 Guyse/. Je Rene danjou v(ost)re f(re)re vous foiz.
 5 savoir que pour le plaisir que je congnois
 depieça que prenez a veoir hystoires nouvelles et / dittiez
 nouvealx me suis advise de vous faire ung petit/





- traictie le plus au long/ estendu que jay sceu de la forme
10 et/ devis/ comme il me sembleroit/ que ung tournoy seroit/
a entreprendre a la court/ ou ailleurs en quelque marche
de france quant/ aucuns prínces le voudroi(en)t faire faire/
la quelle forme jay prins au plus pres et/ jouxte de
celle quon garde ce almaignes/ et/ sur le Rín quant/ on
15 fait/ les tournoys /. Et/ aussi selon la maniere quilz tie(n)ne(n)t
en flandres et/ en brabant /. Et mesmement/ sur les
anciennes façons quilz les souloient/ aussi faire en
france/ co(m)me jay trouve par escriptures./ Desquelles troys
façons en ay prins ce qui ma semble bon. Et/ en ay fait/
20 et/ compile une (quarte) façon de faire/ aínsi que pourrez veoir
sil vous plaist/ par ce que cy apres sensuit/
Icy apres sensuit la forme et maniere co(m)ment/
ung tournoy doibt/ estre entrepris Et/ pour bien
et honnorablement/ et a son droit doib estre fait
25 et aco(m)pli y fault garder lordre cy apres declairee/
Transmission and editions – the difference between digital and in loco

After its composition at the end of the fifteenth century, the *Traicitié* achieved wide circulation among the aristocracy until the eighteenth century. Altogether there are six more medieval manuscripts, and four modern “copies.” All of them tried to maintain the main features of the original made by Anjou, according to a few studies about each codex. However, according to Sturgeon's survey, there is a seventh manuscript that was not included in the earlier catalogs: *Ms. E1939.65.1144*, owned by the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum. In addition to this uncounted work, in his analysis of all codices, he proposed that an intermediate codex would have served as a basis for the composition of the other works owned by the BnF and the Glasgow Art Gallery. As a consequence, the inclusion of other codices modifies the stemma previously proposed by the academics, including the form of transmission between them.

The *stemma codicum* I will present below is a brief attempt to assemble information about the manuscripts. However, for not having access to the codices and be able to compare them, it can contain errors concerning dates, codicological information or transmission. At this point, the difference between *in loco* and digital research is enormous, since online material still relies on accurate information, which sometimes is unavailable. To demonstrate this limitation, I will compare my *stemma* directly with one created by Sturgeon in his review of the manuscripts.

A few comments concerning the *stemma*. Firstly, all dates correspond to Avril's description (AVRIL, 1986: 80-84), especially for those in possession of BnF. Secondly, instead





of giving Greek letters for the manuscripts, name and number of the codex were given to identify the institution which holds the manuscript nowadays. The same is valid for their location, a reference of their institution. Sturgeon adopted the same parameter. Where there is an interrogation mark, it means disagreements among scholars about the date of production. Otherwise, the *stemma* follows the parameters for direct transmission through *vertical lines* and *dashed lines* for significant changes from Anjou's work (BASSETO, 2001: 46-48). In order to point the difference between my *stemma* and Sturgeon's, I will indicate it with *red lines*.

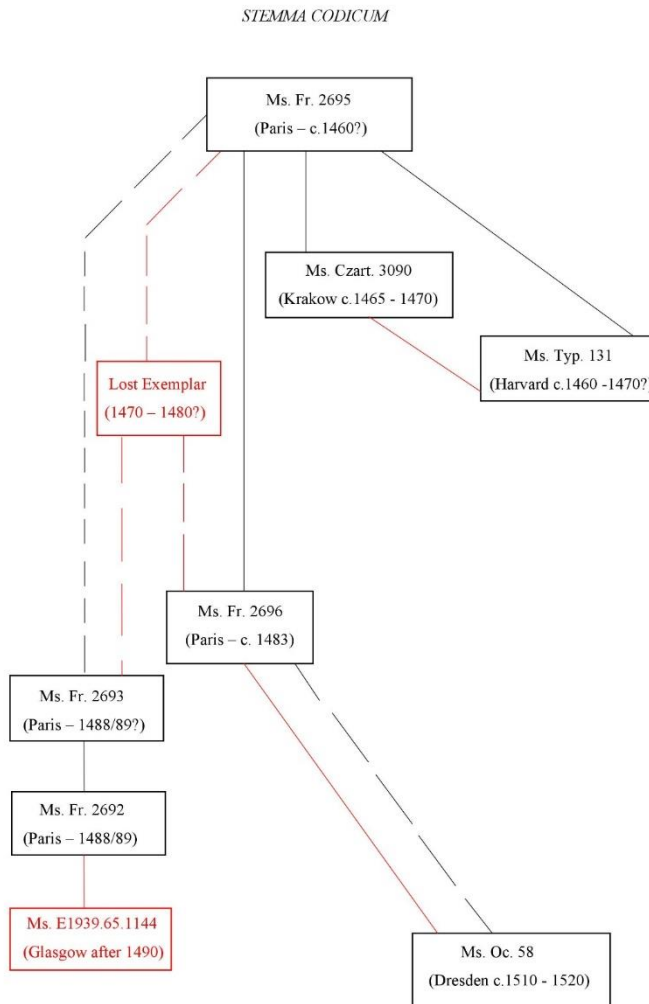


Image 3: Stemma

According to the catalog, while it was momentarily in possession of Jacques d'Armagnac († 1477), son-in-law of Charles of Maine, the first copy of *ms. 2695* was made at his request in French ateliers. *Ms. Czart. 3090 IV* (Musée Czartoryski, Krakow, Poland), written in *Bâtarde* letter on parchment, was one of the first copies of the *ms. Fr. 2695*, because it counts with both the text and the watercolor images of the original, although it presents slight modifications in the iconographic cycle. Due to fidelity, some authors credit the production to a disciple of Barthélemy





d'Eyck, the illuminator of several books of the Duke of Anjou. The manuscript came to belong to the Duke of Bourbon at the turn of the sixteenth century, a fact attested by the coats of arms of the French princely house on folio 1 until it was presented to the Polish royalty in the nineteenth century (PLONKA-BALUS, 2005: 11-18).

The *Traicitié* also served as inspiration for Armagnac to compose a treatise with the same theme. The work, entitled *La Forme des tournois au temps du Roy Uterpendragon et du Roy Roy Arthus*, was possibly performed to be dedicated and offered to Gaston de Foix, Prince of Vienna († 1470). Among the various remaining manuscripts of his text, *Ms. Typ. 131* (Harvard University, Cambridge [Mass.], Houghton Library) includes a partial copy of *ms. Fr. 2695*, also produced in a French region. This version included only part of the images of the iconographic cycle of the Anjou's book, although there is the omission of some excerpts of the content. Armagnac's idea probably was to provide another comparative basis for the validation of his text (SANDOZ, 1944: 389-390). Sturgeon confirmed these were the two oldest copies of the treatise of Anjou, and the Krakow codex was the model for the creation of the Harvard. Simultaneously, he confirmed that both manuscripts could be linked to Armagnac. Although, he established the dates of production for both manuscripts around 1465 - 1470 based on his biography and similarities between the codices (STURGEON, 2015: 322-332).

Throughout 1480 three manuscripts were produced in the Flemish region. According to Avril's analysis, the *ms. Fr. 2696* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France – around 1483) is the closest copy to the original with the same script, written in paper and the same images. However, there is a debate among scholars concerning its possessor. Avril has posited that the manuscript belonged to the Sallenove family, while others confirm Louis de la Gruthuyse († 1492), Lord of Bruges, ordered this one, as well two more copies in the same period: *ms. Fr. 2693* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France – 1488 -1489) and *ms. Fr. 2692* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France – 1488 -1489) (GAUTIER, 2010: 282). Both manuscripts were written in parchment and had few differences from Anjou's book concerning script and insertion of four new images, which adopted Flemish aesthetics. The *ms. Fr. 2692* was produced to be a gift for the king of France, Charles VIII († 1498), and attests the practice among the aristocracy of exchanging manuscripts as gifts (QUATREBARBES, 1843: CV-CX).

At the beginning of sixteenth-century the *Mscr. Dresd. Oc. 58* (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – 1510 -1520) in parchment was produced in the same Flemish region. However, it was completely different from others. Françoise Robin has stated that it was possible the scribe did not have Anjou's original work in hand to produce a copy. Therefore, to satisfy all the demands of his patron, he inserted modifications concerning technical images and their description as a means to focus only on the spectacle (ANJOU, 1993: 20-21). Sturgeon proposed that *ms. Fr. 2696* had textual variations that indicate his copy of the possible lost manuscript and served as inspiration for the Dresden codex, always considered an anomaly by its differences. In addition to the linguistic variations, by having access to both manuscripts, Sturgeon may note





slight similarities in the visual presentation which demonstrates the awareness of the artist about the *ms. Fr. 2695* (STURGEON, 2015: 333-345).

The last manuscript outside of the traditional catalogs and without online availability is *Ms. E1939.65.1144*, owned by the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum. Few studies were carried out on the codex, composed in the paper, of small size, with only six miniatures integrating the imaging cycle. According to Sturgeon's analysis, the many changes in text and images are a clear intention to erase traces of the invented or historical identity of the original. Still, he was able to identify textual patterns of the Glasgow copy that influenced the creation of the codices in possession of the BnF *ms. 2692* and *ms. 2693* (STURGEON, 2015: 352-355).

Regardless of the popularity of manuscripts as objects of collection, the recognition of the authenticity of the *ms. Fr. 2695* by scholars has oscillated according to the period, which led an incorrect modern edition. Under the supervision of Champollion-Figeac (Jacques-Joseph), the editors prepared the first printed edition in the nineteenth-century entitled *Les Tournois du Roi René* (Paris, 1827). They intended to reproduce the *ms. Fr. 2695* as a printed version, so it was remade as a facsimile with gothic letters without any critical analysis (CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 1825: 271-274).

A few years later, the first modern edition of the *Traicitié* was made to be part of the monumental work in four volumes entitled *OEuvres complètes du roi René* (Angers, 1844-46) about the life of the Duke and his books. Although, the theory supported by Champollion-Figeac in which the *ms. Fr. 2695* would be the original manuscript, M. Le Comte T. de Quatrebarbes, the editor of the later edition, argued that this codex could not be the authentic script due to several errors and corrections found in it (QUATREBARBES, 1843: CIX-CX; 01-44). Therefore, the genuine one would be something closer to the Flemish copies (*ms. Fr. 2692* and *ms. Fr. 2693*), which he chose to serve as the basis for his edition. Through visual and written analysis, Sturgeon has demonstrated that the "errors" of writing identified by Quatrebarbes were in fact corrections made by the author himself while composing the treatise. In his revised *stemma*, all codices correctly replicate the text of *ms. 2695* without the original patches (STURGEON, 2015: 317).

Edmond Pognon provided the first translation in the 1940s, albeit an abridged version in French suited for modern readers according to him. It is worth noting that the images he chose to reproduce belong to the Flemish manuscripts, especially from the *ms. Fr. 2692*. Pognon considered the iconographic cycle of the *ms. Fr. 2695* unsatisfactory for publishing because "the images were inferior" (POGNON, 1946: 67-69). Elizabeth Bennett in the 1990s translated the text into English directly from middle French and could be considered an attempt to provide an academic source⁹. She based her translation on the version found in one of the appendices of the book written by F.H. Cripps-Day (*The History of the Tournament in England and France*.

⁹ There is no printed book of this translation, although the study and texts are available at: <http://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renehome.html#about>. Access in: 21 Mar 2016.





London, 1918), who did not provide information concerning his source. According to Bennett, the edited source he used would come from the *OEuvres complètes du roi René* and possibly the transcription would be based on *ms. Fr. 2692*.

Notwithstanding, the English translation could be the best version for historical studies, especially for accompanying the medieval text, Bennett compromised the formal precision of the treatise with some modifications made to make it more understandable. In the introduction, she has indicated that her translation of technical terms concerning the tournament and armors came directly from middle English rather than from middle French, whereby could lead to misinterpretations lost in translation and compromise any accurate historical or literary study. Therefore, it is possible to demonstrate that the medieval text she based on her translation was not the same text of *ms. Fr. 2695*. Comparing both versions, I have noted that there are changes in the order of the images and rubrics, also textual additions and suppressions which could be modifications introduced by her or brought from the appendices of Cripps-Day.

Final Considerations

As stated by Roger Chartier, the materiality of the book is inseparable from that of the text, if what we understand by that term is the ways in which the script is inscribed on the page, giving the work not only a fixed form but also mobility and instability, because the “same” work is in fact not the same when it changes its language, its text, or its punctuation (CHARTIER, 2014: ix). Although having the same content, the alterations within Bennett’s translation compared to *ms. Fr. 2695* suggest that the first script went through two modifications: first, at the request of the patron in the fifteenth-century and second, by the hands of the editor in the nineteenth century. After that, the recent translation refers to work within a historical duality and cannot be seen as an authentic medieval source related directly to Anjou’s work. As a consequence, a revision of all editions and a new translation, also accompanied by a manuscript study, is imperative to continue the studies concerning the *Traicitié*.

Another important point relates to working with online digital sources. As I have tried to unveil, the relation with the paleographic analysis and the possibility of transcription of texts, especially those which were never before transcribed, becomes beneficial for the expansion of studies of manuscripts, especially when one can compare works located in different institutions. For Brazilian medievalists, it is an opportunity to broaden our available sources and, as a consequence, reach out the equivalency in abroad researching. However, the codicology work and the making of editions are still inaccessible by digital means, because most of the codices, either the same or other work, are not online or available in high quality. This dilemma leads to inaccuracies, as occurred in my dissertation, due to the lack of knowledge of a particular





manuscript. Despite this, digital technologies nevertheless came to modify and broaden the research work, including the exchange of information among scholars.

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