

THE RAPONDI, THE VOLTO SANTO DI LUCCA, AND  
MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION IN PARIS CA. 1400

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In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries members of the Rapondi banking family were prominent advisers and merchants at the French and Burgundian courts. Originally from the Tuscan city of Lucca, the Rapondi were one of many Italian merchant and banking families with operations in Northern Europe in the late Middle Ages. The Rapondi firm was one of the more prosperous of these family companies and by 1400 had established major bases in Bruges and Paris with branches in London, Avignon and probably Montpellier<sup>1</sup>.

Dino, the head of the organization, and his brothers Filippo and Jacques were involved in a number of financial and trading activities. In addition to supplying arms and luxury goods to the princes and nobles of France and Flanders, Dino held the honoured position of *maître d'hôtel*, principal counsellor and banker to the duke of Burgundy. Filippo managed the Avignon branch of the family business while Jacques Rapondi, although not officially attached to the court, supplied the duke of Burgundy with a range of items including fine Lucchese cloth, diamonds and jewels.

According to the inventories of Duke Philippe le Hardi Jacques also provided him with several fine illuminated manuscripts. After his patron's death in 1404, he continued to supply books to his son and successor, Jean sans Peur. Three of the manuscripts Jacques supplied to Philippe le Hardi have been identified; the others are assumed to be lost<sup>2</sup>. While these

1. For the Rapondi and Lucchese in Paris see: Léon Mirot, "Études lucquoises. Chapitre I: La colonie lucquoise à Paris du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle", *BEC* 88 (1927), 50-86; Id., "Études lucquoises. Chapitre III: La société des Raponde - Dino Raponde", *BEC* 89 (1928), 299-389; Christine Meek, *Lucca 1369-1400: Politics and Society in an Early Renaissance City-State* (Oxford, 1978); Raymond de Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948).

2. The extant manuscripts supplied by Jacques Rapondi to the duke of Burgundy are: Hayton's *Fleurs des Histoires* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 12201); Boccaccio's *Des Femmes nobles et renommées* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 12420); and Barthélémy l'Anglais' *Propriétés des choses*

administrative records reveal that Jacques Rapondi sold illuminated manuscripts to the dukes of Burgundy, art historians have long speculated that Jacques was also personally involved in organising the manufacture and illumination of these books.

Millard Meiss discussed Jacques principally as a broker of manuscripts who obtained books from the *libraire* or person in charge of production, and then resold them at a profit. Meiss also hinted that Jacques may have personally engaged illuminators from the Netherlands, although he did not elaborate<sup>3</sup>. Others have suggested that Jacques, far from being a simple supplier of manuscripts, was in fact responsible for supervising the entire enterprise, including recruiting artists and overseeing the illumination. On occasion he may even have commissioned translations. In short, Jacques effectively performed the usual role of the *libraire*, resulting in reduced costs and, presumably, control over both quality and content<sup>4</sup>.

(Brussels, BR, MS 9094). Jacques received payment for the last manuscript on 3 January 1402. He gave the Boccaccio to Philippe le Hardi on New Year's Day 1403 and the *Fleurs des Histoires* was presented to Philippe the following May. Other manuscripts provided to the duke of Burgundy by Jacques but now assumed lost are: two additional copies of the *Fleurs des Histoires*, one of which Philippe presented to his brother the duke of Berry, the other to his nephew Louis d'Orléans; a *Légende dorée*; and a Bible. On New Year's Day 1400 Dino Rapondi offered the duke of Burgundy a copy of the *Tite-Live* for which he received 500 gold francs. This is also lost, as is probably the *Lancelot* manuscript Jacques presented to Jean sans Peur in February 1406, although this manuscript has sometimes been identified as the copy now Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MSS 3479-3480. Jacques is also recorded as providing a manuscript for Jean de Berry in 1413. All these manuscripts are discussed and relevant documents are reproduced in Patrick M. de Winter, *La bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404). Études sur les manuscrits à peintures d'une collection princière à l'époque du «Style gothique international»* (Paris, 1985).

3. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1967), 1:47.

4. This was first proposed by Paul Durrieu, "Les manuscrits de luxe exécutés pour les princes et les grands seigneurs français", *Le manuscrit* 2 (1895), 163. This is also the view of de Winter, *La bibliothèque*, pp. 104-105 and Brigitte Buettner, "Jacques Raponde marchand de manuscrits enluminés", *Médiévales* 14 (1988), 23-32. Some evidence that Jacques Rapondi independently organized illuminators can be found in an oft-cited document of May 1407, in which Jacques is recorded as receiving reimbursement from the Burgundian treasury for payments made to three artists for decoration of a Bible in Latin and French. These artists, a painter and two illuminators named Jacques Coene, Ymbert Scanier, and Haincelin de Hagueneau, were evidently sub-contracted by Jacques, who may well have selected them and supervised their work. This document is reproduced in de Winter, *La bibliothèque*, p. 266. While Jacques Rapondi appears to have supervised production and illumination of manuscripts for his clients in the manner of a *libraire*, he cannot be called a *libraire* in the usual sense of the word. Certainly he was not subject to the

It has also been claimed, most adamantly by Patrick de Winter and Brigitte Buettner, that Jacques was in part responsible for the reinvigoration of Parisian illumination shortly after 1400, when an influx of foreign artists injected new realism and spatial sophistication into the comparatively static styles of the previous century. While the origins of these immigrant artists have been disputed, the styles exhibit northern traits, suggesting that the artists received training in the Netherlands, possibly in Bruges. Jacques Rapondi, with his strong connections in that city and extensive trading networks, was in an excellent position to recruit the best foreign artists expressly for the purpose of illuminating books for the Burgundian court<sup>5</sup>.

Unless further documentary evidence emerges, we cannot know for sure whether Jacques Rapondi did in fact supervise various stages of manuscript production, including recruitment of artists. However in this discussion I provide circumstantial evidence to indicate that on occasion Jacques Rapondi did influence the content of text and illumination in the books he owned or supplied. My discussion will centre on illustrations of the devotional crucifix from their home city known as the Volto Santo di Lucca, to which the Rapondi family was very attached. A long illustrated narrative of the construction, translation and subsequent miracles of the statue, the *Légende du Saint-Voult* appears in several illuminated manuscripts produced in Paris ca. 1400. It is possible that Jacques Rapondi commissioned these manuscripts and also personally supervised the inclusion of the illustrated narrative.

Before discussing these particular manuscripts it is useful to describe the illuminated manuscripts Jacques is known to have provided the duke of Burgundy. The illumination of the three identified manuscripts reveals a stylistic unity indicating Jacques habitually employed the talents of the same group of artists. The work of several of these artists first appears in Parisian manuscripts around 1400, which is consistent with the theory that Jacques personally selected them. The best of the artists is known as

regulations of the University of Paris that governed *libraires* as members of the Parisian book trade. See the note by Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, 2 vols. (London, 2000), 2: 58.

5. Meiss, *The Late Fourteenth Century*, 1:251-252, suggested Flemish or Netherlandish origins for these artists. De Winter, *La bibliothèque*, p. 104 suggested that these artists stayed in Bruges prior to relocation to Paris, but originated in the Rhine-Westphalia region and the cities of the Hanseatic League, of which Bruges was a major port of destination. De Winter also notes that most of the Rapondi's commercial exchange was within the League.

the *Maître du livre Des Femmes nobles et renommées de Philippe le Hardi*, named by Patrick de Winter for his work in the Boccaccio given by Jacques to the duke on New Year's Day 1403 (BnF fr. 12420)<sup>6</sup>. This artist or his atelier also contributed miniatures to the other two manuscripts Jacques is known to have supplied to the duke of Burgundy. These include all five illuminations of the manuscript of Hayton's *Fleurs des Histoires* (BnF fr. 12201) and several in the copy of Barthelémy l'Anglais' *Propriétés des choses* (Brussels 9094). The first manuscript was one of three copies of the work sold by Jacques to Philippe le Hardi in 1403. Philippe presented this manuscript to his brother, Jean de Berry on 22 March 1403. Jacques received payment from the duke of Burgundy for the illuminated copy of the *Propriétés des choses* on 3 January 1402.

The *Maître du livre Des Femmes nobles et renommées de Philippe le Hardi* enjoyed a short career in Paris. He appears to have arrived shortly after 1400 and his work cannot be found after about 1405. This Master's style, characterized by subtle colouration, airy conception of space and developed sense of narrative, does seem to have originated elsewhere, either in the north or in Westphalia. He was evidently a favorite artist of the duke of Burgundy and his disappearance from Paris may be related to the duke's death in 1404. However, he did not work for him exclusively, so was probably not employed as a court painter. The fortunes of the *Maître du livre Des Femmes nobles et renommées de Philippe le Hardi* may equally have been tied to those of Jacques Rapondi. Jacques does seem to have favoured this Master, for he was also called upon to decorate the frontispiece of a manuscript almost certainly owned by Jacques or Dino Rapondi.

This manuscript, now Vatican City, BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 1988, written in French and in all likelihood illuminated in Paris, describes the construction, discovery, translation and miracles of the famous statue known throughout Christendom since the early Middle Ages as the Volto Santo di Lucca (Fig. 5)<sup>7</sup>. This particular account, by Leobinus, dates from the

6. De Winter, *La bibliothèque*, pp. 96-99.

7. The Volto Santo is a life-size polychrome image of Christ housed in the church of San Martino in Lucca and was a well-known pilgrimage destination in the Middle Ages. The present statue probably dates from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and evidently replaced an earlier statue, for reliable sources record its existence from around 1100. Venerated as the true image of Christ, according to legend the face of the Volto Santo was fashioned by angels. The image is distinguished from most other devotional crucifixion statues by the tunic-like garment or colobium, extending from the wrist to the ankles and tied at the waist by a cord hanging in a double strand down the front. The Volto Santo has

eighth century, although many of the miracles are later additions to his text<sup>8</sup>.

The manuscript, comprising 44 folios, is written in a single column in a formal *littera textualis* and measures 357 × 245 mm<sup>9</sup>. It is decorated by a frontispiece followed by 27 large miniatures, 13 illustrating the construction of the image in Jerusalem and 14 illustrating the miracles subsequent to its translation to Lucca<sup>10</sup>. With the exception of the unframed

been much studied. See W. Foerster, "Le saint Vou de Luques", *Romanische Forschungen* 23 (1907), 1-55; Gustave Schnürer and Joseph M. Ritz, *Sankt Kimmernis und Volto Santo*, 2 vols., *Forschungen zur Volkskunde* 13/15 (Düsseldorf, 1934); Reiner Hausscherr, "Das Imerwardkreuz und der Volto-Santo-typ", *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 16 (1962), 129-190; Giuliano Agresti, Italo Alighiero Chiusano, Aurelio Amendola, *Volto Santo* (Lucca, 1989); Pietro Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca* (Lucca, 1982); Accademia Lucchese di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, *Lucca, il Volto Santo e la civiltà medioevale. Atti. Convegno internazionale di studi, Lucca, Palazzo Pubblico 21-23 ottobre 1982* (Lucca 1984); Herbert Kurz, *Der Volto Santo von Lucca: Ikonographie und Funktion des Kruzifixus in der gegürteten Tunika im 11. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg, 1997).

8. The versions of the legend are summarized by Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Les images d'une image. La figuration du Volto Santo de Lucca dans les manuscrits enluminés du moyen âge", in *The Holy Face and the paradox of representation: papers from a colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*, eds. G. Wolf and H.L. Kessler (Bologna, 1998), pp. 205-227 at pp. 220-223. A version of this article also appears as "Cendrillon crucifiée. A propos du Volto Santo de Lucques", in *Le corps des images. Essais sur la culture visuelle au Moyen Age*, ed. Jean-Claude Schmitt (Paris, 2002), pp. 217-271. Manuscripts of the Leobinus version are discussed in Schnürer and Ritz, *Sankt Kimmernis*, pp. 123-124.

9. This manuscript and its decoration has been discussed by: Karl Christ, "Die alt-französischen Handschriften der Palatina", *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 46 (1916), 100-104; Elmar Mittler et al., eds., *Biblioteca Palatina*, 2 vols., exhibition catalogue (Heidelberg 1986), 1:315-316 and 2:213-215; Isa Belli Barsali, "Le miniature della 'Legende de Saint Voult de Lucques' in un codice Vaticano appartenuto ai Rapondi", in *Lucca, il Volto Santo e la civiltà medioevale*, pp. 122-156; Buettner, "Jacques Raponde", 23-32; Schmitt, "Les images d'une image", pp. 220-223.

10. According to Leobinus' account, the statue was made in Jerusalem by Christ's disciple Nicodemus in the year of His crucifixion. Unable to replicate the Holy Face of Christ, Nicodemus is assisted by angels, who carve the face from the impression of Christ's body left on the shroud. Fearing for the safety of this miraculous work, Nicodemus conceals it. Several centuries later the location of the Volto Santo is revealed by angels to an Italian bishop, Gualfredus, while in Jerusalem on pilgrimage. Gualfredus carries the statue to the port of Jaffa, where it is put on a ship by carpenters who adorn it with lamps and caulk it with pitch "just as Noah did his ark". Angels steer the ship to the port of Luni, near Lucca, where it resists being brought in by the citizens of Luni until the bishop of Lucca is told by angels to bring the ship in. He finds several relics within the head of the statue, including part of the crown of thorns, one of the nails, a fingernail and hair the Virgin cut from the Saviour and a phial of blood and holy sweat she collected around the neck of Jesus Christ. This last relic Gualfredus gives to the bishop of Luni. The Volto Santo is then



frontispiece the miniatures have ivy leaf borders typical of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century courtly Parisian illumination. Although the manuscript has been dated ca. 1410 by Mittler, Barsali and Schmitt, both these formal borders and the apparent end of the career of the *Maître du livre Des Femmes nobles et renommées de Philippe le Hardi* around 1405, suggest an earlier date.

The frontispiece (fol. 1v) shows the Volto Santo on an altar before two kneeling, well-dressed men who clasp their hands in prayer (Fig. 6). The striking and unusual background of golden circles on a red ground is repeated in several other miniatures in the manuscript and signifies the devotional setting of a chapel. Two coats of arms appear: those of the Rapondi with six pairs of golden ears of wheat on a blue ground, and the white and red colours of the city of Lucca. As Jacques and Dino were the representatives of the family in Paris it is surely they who are represented<sup>11</sup>. It is likely that Jacques, or perhaps Dino, also closely supervised the illumination to ensure that the story of the holy statue was depicted correctly.

The 27 other illuminations in the Vatican manuscript are by at least two Parisian artists whose work I have been unable to identify elsewhere. In contrast to the fluid grace of the frontispiece these artists' work is static and linear, and evidently owes little to the vigorous new styles imported into Paris around the turn of the century.

These artists do, however, pay considerably attention to detail, and for French miniaturists they are rather unusually faithful to the Italian setting for the legend. The cityscapes of Luni and Lucca, with their numerous *campanili*, are recognisably Tuscan, and the two cities are correctly identified by their respective colours and devices. This is evident in the miniature on fol. 14 where the red and white colours of Lucca are displayed in preparation for the statue's arrival in the city (Fig. 7) and also on fol. 13, which shows the bishop of Lucca handing to the bishop of Luni the holy relic of Christ's blood and sweat. In this miniature the ships of Luni are identified by the crescent moon (Fig. 8). A further Italianate influence can be seen in the miniature on fol. 8v depicting the dream of bishop

carried to Lucca by a cart led by two young bulls, where it is greeted with happiness and joy and placed in the Church of San Martino in the year 742. The statue then performs several miracles which are also described and illustrated in the Vatican manuscript.

11. Christ, "Die altfranzösischen Handschriften", 101 first identified the arms as those of the Rapondi and the city of Lucca. The words on fol. 6v below the miniature, "Comment le digne et precieux vouldt ...", may include a pun on the name Dino.



Fig. 5. The Volto Santo di Lucca, Cathedral of San Martino, Lucca.



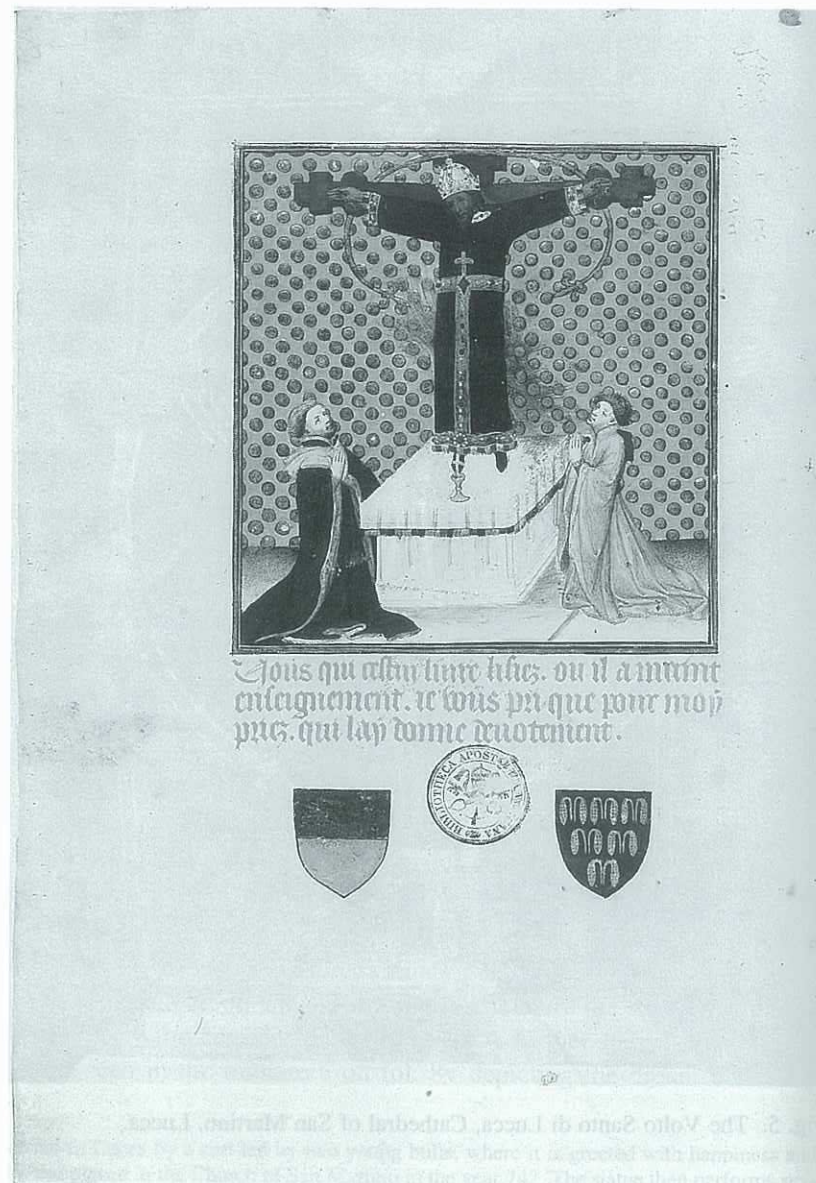


Fig. 6. *Légende du Saint-Vault*, Vatican City, BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 1988, fol. 1v: Frontispiece with dedication and donors (Paris, ca. 1400).

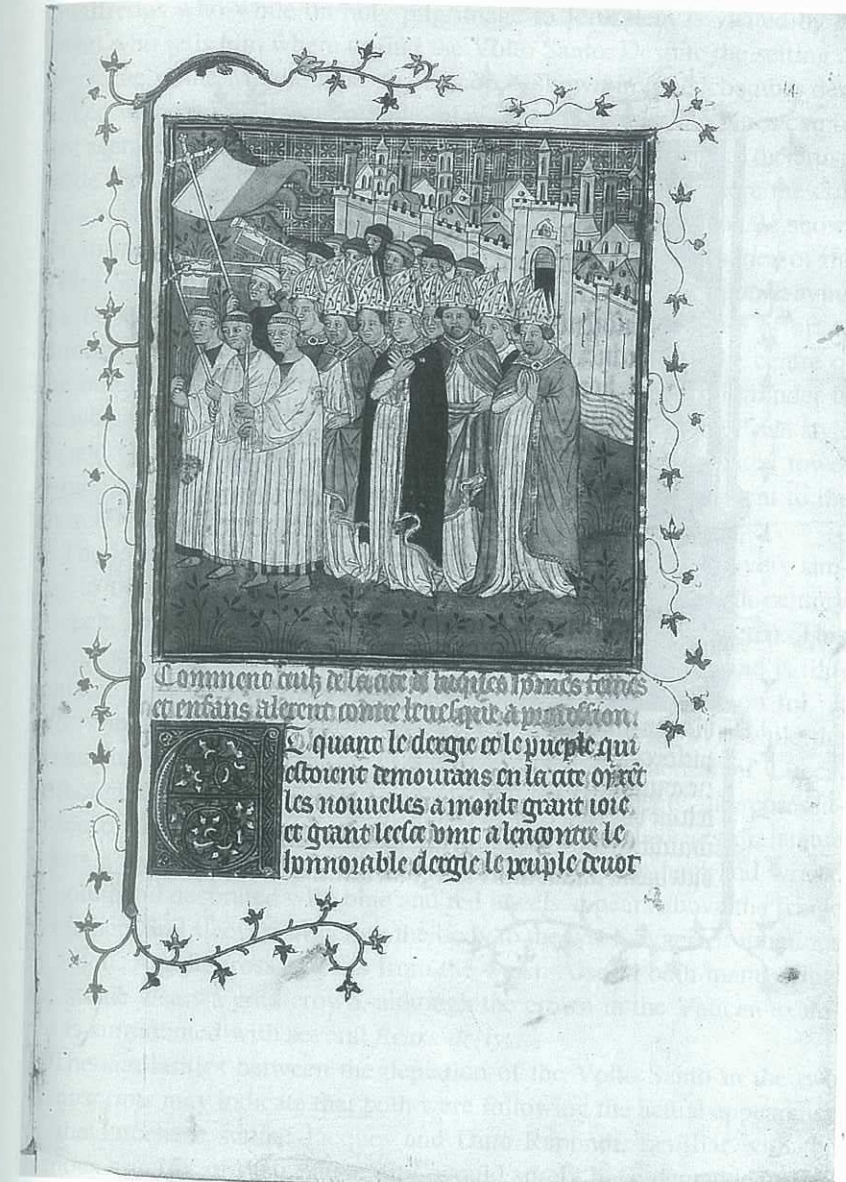


Fig. 7. *Légende du Saint-Vault*, Vatican City, BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 1988, fol. 14r: The people of Lucca greet the Volto Santo (Paris, ca. 1400).



Fig. 8. *Légende du Saint-Vault*, Vatican City, BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 1988, fol. 13r: The bishop of Lucca gives the holy relic of Christ's blood to the bishop of Luni (Paris, ca. 1400).

Gualfredus who while on holy pilgrimage to Jerusalem is visited by an angel who tells him where to find the Volto Santo. Despite the setting of the scene in the Middle East, the bishop is shown in a bedchamber decorated with pink Italianate marble inlay. Above, two Italian pines can be just seen behind a balustrade (Fig. 9). It is even conceivable that the artists made a reference to the cathedral of Lucca, San Martino, where the crucifix was transported from the Holy Land. The miniature on fol. 31 shows the miracle of the exorcism of the boy Bienvenu in the presence of the Volto Santo. The corresponding text tells the reader that upon leaving the boy's body in the form of a goat, the demon, in a futile effort to demolish the church, ripped through a large cross-beam in the centre of the building. (We are told that it is still there, a cautionary reminder to all worshippers). While the church itself does not resemble the Pisan style façade of San Martino, with its rows of loggias, the crenellated tower behind may be a reference to the romanesque campanile adjacent to the church (Fig. 10).

The jewelled robes of the Volto Santo in this manuscript are very similar to those in an Italian manuscript from the early fourteenth century (Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, Codice Tucci-Tognetti). This manuscript contains the Latin version of Leobinus' narrative and is illuminated with three miniatures by an Italian artist. The first, on fol. 2, shows the Volto Santo surrounded by worshippers (Fig. 11), while the others represent the liturgical procession in the cathedral of Lucca. Although the miniatures do not illustrate the same subjects, the representation of the Volto Santo is very close. In both manuscripts the statue wears a long dark robe with a variegated fringe at the hem and wrists. A gold band decorated with blue and red jewels appears above the fringe at the hem and sleeves, bisecting the body to the waist, where it functions as a belt. A gold cross extends from the waist. Also in both manuscripts the statue wears a gold crown, although the crown in the Vatican example is surmounted with several *fleurs-de-lys*.

The similarities between the depiction of the Volto Santo in the two manuscripts may indicate that both were following the actual appearance of the Lucchese statue. Jacques and Dino Rapondi, familiar with the famous crucifix of their native city, would surely have demanded exactitude in both the representation of the Volto Santo and that of Lucca. However, in 1384 the image was furnished with new ceremonial robes, the description of which does not correspond to the miniatures in the





Fig. 9. *Légende du Saint-Vault*, Vatican City, BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 1988, fol. 8v: Bishop Gualfredus is visited by an angel (Paris, ca. 1400).

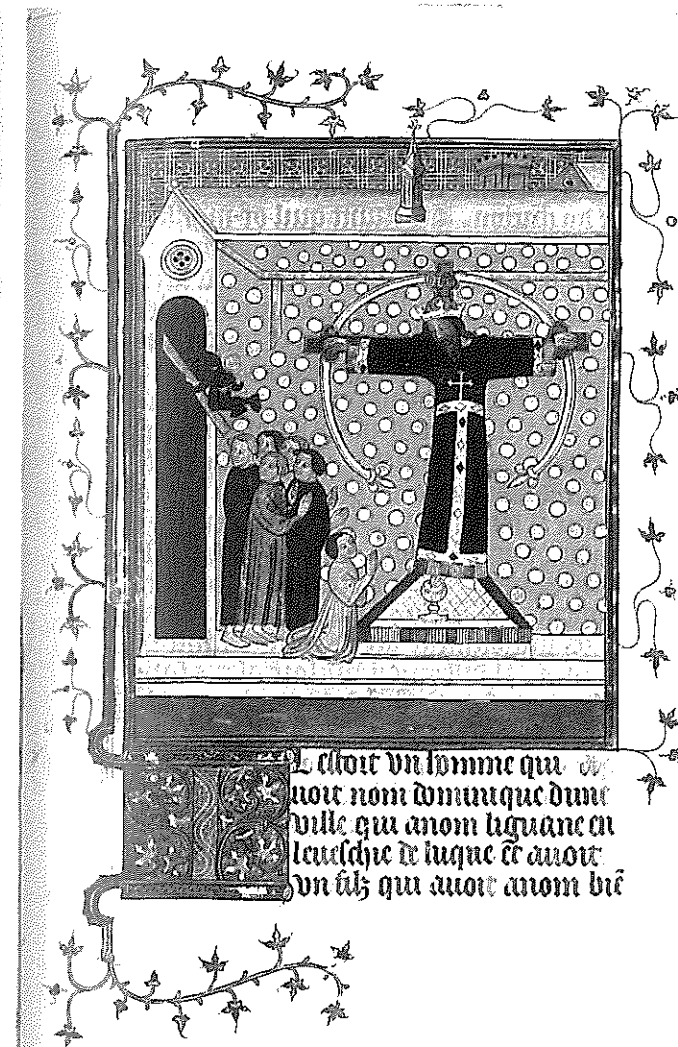


Fig. 10. *Légende du Saint-Vault*, Vatican City, BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 1988, fol. 31r: The exorcism of the boy Bienvenu (Paris, ca. 1400).

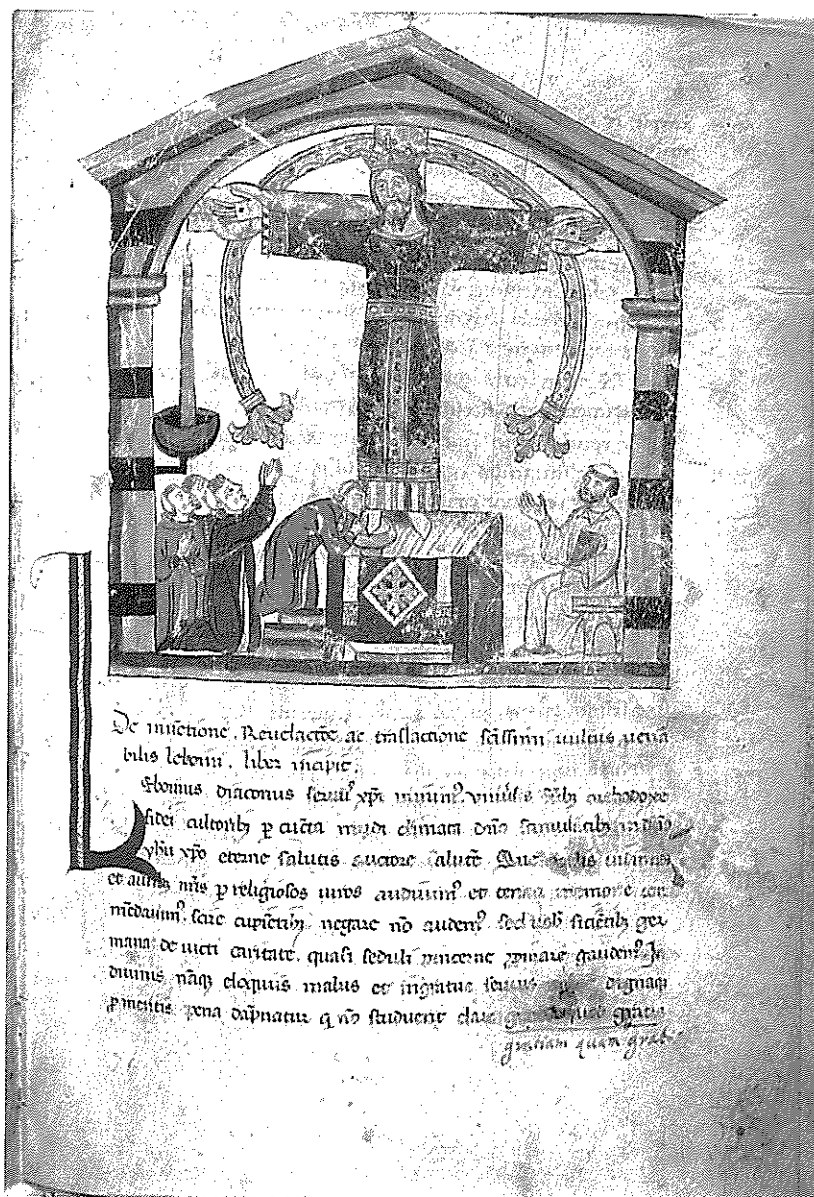


Fig. 11. *Leggenda di Volto Santo*, Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, Codice Tucci-Tognetti, fol. 2r: Leobinus relates the legend of the Volto Santo to worshippers (Lucca, early 14<sup>th</sup> century).

Vatican manuscript of the *Légende du Saint-Voulf*<sup>12</sup>. Perhaps, as Barsali suggests, both the Vatican and Lucca miniatures were based on a common pictorial source. This may account for the Italianisms in the Vatican cycle. However, it does seem puzzling that Jacques and Dino Rapondi, who supposedly insisted on correct detail in the miniatures, would otherwise accept outdated images of the Volto Santo, particularly given the great significance of the statue for the Lucchese community in Paris and elsewhere, as I will discuss shortly.

Like many ex-patriot Luccese merchant families throughout Europe the Rapondi closely identified with the Volto Santo di Lucca. From the early Middle Ages the Volto Santo was a well-known pilgrimage destination and stopover for pilgrims travelling through Lucca to Rome. The statue enjoyed considerable celebrity throughout Europe; Dante mentioned it in the *Inferno* and according to Eadmer and William of Malmesbury, William II of England used to swear "per vultum de Luca"<sup>13</sup>. Consequently the image of the Volto Santo was also widely dispersed, both through pilgrims' seals and badges and numerous life-size copies<sup>14</sup>.

Despite the dissemination of the images of the Volto Santo, and the wide recognition the statue enjoyed, it remained closely associated with the city of Lucca. As Lucca's most famous holy image, it was indissolubly linked to the city, and by the fourteenth century functioned as a symbol of both identity and religion for ex-patriot Lucchese such as the Rapondi. Although geographically dispersed, Lucchese merchants throughout Europe formed a coherent, controlled community with statutes, rules and jurisdiction affecting all their main commercial centres of Paris, Bruges and London. The Volto Santo provided a compelling and potent figurehead for these ex-Lucchese merchants who organized themselves into confraternities under name of the holy statue.

Although Dino and Jacques Rapondi lived outside Lucca – Dino had even been bestowed with the resident status of *bourgeois* of Paris –, both brothers returned frequently to their city of birth. The Rapondi in Northern

12. Belli Barsali, "Le miniature della Legende", p. 143 (see above n. 9).

13. Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), p. 116.

14. The dispersal of images and copies of the Volto Santo is discussed in Haussner, "Das Imerwardkreuz" (see above n. 7). Mirot, "La colonie lucquoise", 55 (see above n. 1) notes that in France chapels dedicated to the Volto Santo were found in Provence, in Marseilles, in Avignon, in Lyon and in Amiens. These chapels were probably furnished with copies of the Volto Santo statue.



Europe maintained close familial and commercial ties with their native city; members of the family were still active within local politics and held powerful positions in the government. It is clear that although in many respects they assimilated into their adopted cities the Rapondi and other Lucchese merchants in the North continued to identify themselves as Lucchese.

The Volto Santo is frequently invoked in surviving documents relating to the Lucchese community in the North. We also know that outside Italy, in Antwerp, Bruges, Paris and elsewhere, ex-patriot Lucchese merchants established and worshipped in chapels dedicated to the Volto Santo<sup>15</sup>. In Bruges, this was the church of the Holy Cross, and in Paris, the now destroyed church of Saint-Sépulcre, which stood on the rue Saint-Denis, close to the rue Cossonnerie.

The Lucchese in Paris formed a topographically focused group, favouring the Italian merchant area near the rue des Lombards. The Rapondi *hôtel*, owned by Dino and after his death in 1415 bequeathed to Jacques, was located in this district, in the rue de la Vieille-Monnaie, parallel to rue Nicolas-Flamel and now subsumed by the Boulevard Sébastopol. Given their place of residence, the official parish church of the Rapondi was Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie<sup>16</sup>. However, the church of Saint-Sépulcre founded in 1325 by Louis de Bourbon was traditionally the church where both foreigners and pilgrims returning from the Holy Land made their devotions. Among the relics of Saint-Sépulcre were several reputedly from the Holy Land including fragments of the True Cross<sup>17</sup>. This church was the ideal location for a chapel dedicated to the Volto Santo. The statue was honoured by foreigners and the narrative of its legendary construction in Jerusalem and translation to Italy had clear parallels with the story of the True Cross. The Volto Santo was commemorated on 14 September, the universal feast day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. This feast marks the triumphal entry into Jerusalem of the seventh-century Christian emperor Heraclius, with the sacred relic of a

15. The 1478 statutes of the Bruges and Antwerp confraternities are reproduced by Eugenio Lazzareschi, "Gli statuti dei Lucchesi a Bruges e ad Anversa", *Ad Alessandro Luzio: Miscellanea di studi storici*, vol. 2 (Florence, 1933), pp. 75-88.

16. Mirot, "La colonie lucquoise", 68 notes that among the Lucchese only the Bondoz and Belloni families are recorded at Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie. Dino appears to have regarded this as his parish church as he left it a small legacy in his will. Mirot, "La société des Raponde", 379.

17. Émile Molinier, ed., "Inventaire du trésor de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre de Paris", *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 9 (1883), 239-286.

section of the True Cross, which he recovered after it was stolen by the Persians.

The richly endowed chapel of the Volto Santo in Saint-Sépulcre was established on 15 July 1348 by Huguelin Bellon (Hugo Belloni), who like the Rapondi several decades later, was an ex-patriot Lucchese merchant who supplied the Valois court. It is known that Dino Rapondi was a member of the confraternity associated with the chapel. His attachment to both the Volto Santo and the chapel was made apparent in his will. He left a substantial bequest to the chapel of the Volto Santo in Saint-Sépulcre and gave instructions that if he died in Bruges he was to be interred in the chapel of the Volto Santo in the Augustinian Church of the Holy Cross<sup>18</sup>. For some reason these instructions were not followed; at his death in Bruges on 14 February 1415 he was laid to rest in the chapel of John the Baptist in the church of Saint Donatian in Bruges.

We know something of the appearance of the chapel of the Volto Santo at Saint-Sépulcre from a surviving inventory of 1379 which mentions the presence of a large crucifix. In 1790 an inventory described a coloured stone sculpture of Christ on the cross, wearing a "couronne gauloise" and a long tunic<sup>19</sup>. This statue, we must assume, was a copy of the statue in Lucca. The inventory of 1790 also mentions ten paintings by a Flemish master depicting the "histoire de saint vout"<sup>20</sup>. Unfortunately these paintings do not survive and there is no way of knowing their date.

As it is evident that Dino, and probably also Jacques Rapondi worshipped in the chapel of the Volto Santo at Saint-Sépulcre, there is a strong probability that their illuminated manuscript of the *Légende du Saint-Vout* was made in part to aid their personal devotions in this chapel. There are a number of reasons for suggesting this.

With its elaborate illumination and borders, the decoration of this manuscript resembles that adorning many courtly secular and historical manuscripts made for the French and Burgundian courts. However the text

18. Mirot, "La société des Raponde", 378.

19. Molinier, "Inventaire du trésor", 247. According to Mirot, "La colonie lucquoise", 67-68 this chapel was very well endowed by the Lucchese community and survived until the French Revolution. For example, Lande and Huguelin Belloni and their wives, Pierre Sevestre, son-in-law of Huguelin and his wife Oursine donated 300 *livres parisis* to ensure that a daily mass was said at the altar of the Santo Volto during their lifetimes; also for a requiem mass on their deaths and for three sepulchres for them and their families in the chapel.

20. Molinier, "Inventaire du trésor", 246.

itself, the version of the legend by Leobinus, is very close to the Latin original in the previously cited early fourteenth-century Lucchese manuscript (Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, Codice Tucci-Tognetti). This manuscript, as Jean-Claude Schmitt has argued, was made for the confraternity of the Volto Santo at San Martino in Lucca. Similarly the vernacular translation may have been used by the confraternity at Saint-Sépulcre. In addition, although in French, the formal script of the Vatican manuscript is not typical of the fashionable *cursiva* employed for many contemporary French vernacular manuscripts; rather it has more in common with the script commonly used in liturgical and devotional works.

References to the Volto Santo chapel at Saint-Sépulcre may also be found in the miniatures. The miniature on fol. 6v depicts bishop Gualfredus, who in response to a heavenly vision rediscovers the Volto Santo in Jerusalem in the house of a faithful Christian (Pl. 1). In the upper left the empty sepulchre of Christ is shown, surely a reference to the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and, by implication, to the Parisian church of the same name.

It was noted previously that the Volto Santo, despite the general accuracy of other details in the miniatures, is wearing a jewelled robe not worn by the statue in Lucca after 1384. The manuscript image also wears a crown in the shape of the *fleur-de-lys*. This type of crown is not found in the miniatures of the fourteenth-century Lucchese manuscript, suggesting that it was not used by the Parisian artists as the pictorial source for this aspect of the statue's costume. The inventories of the chapel at Saint-Sépulcre make mention of a "couronne gauloise" worn by the copy of the Volto Santo. Perhaps, like that shown in the manuscript, this was a crown surmounted by *fleurs-de-lys*. If so, the seemingly outdated robes worn by the Volto Santo in the Vatican manuscript may in fact reflect those worn by the copy of the statue at Saint-Sépulcre in Paris, modelled after the pre-1384 original in Lucca.

Reference to a devotional setting is also evident in the unusual background of gold circles on a red ground seen in many miniatures in the Vatican manuscript (Figs. 6 and 10). As noted previously, this background only appears in miniatures where the Volto Santo is depicted *in situ*, that is, in a chapel. The gold and red pattern may possibly represent a decorative altar screen or hanging behind the statue in Lucca, but it does not appear in the Lucchese manuscript images. A similar background does however, appear in three frescoes depicting the Volto Santo;

one in the Villa Buonvisi in Lucca, one in the Church of Santa Chiara in Assisi and another from the fourteenth century in the baptistery of the cathedral in Parma<sup>21</sup>. While two of these frescoes postdate the manuscripts, they point to a common pictorial source. Possibly the copy in Saint-Sépulcre was furnished with a similar background; or perhaps the Flemish panels documented in the eighteenth-century inventory, if they were in the chapel in the Middle Ages, provided a model for the artists of the manuscript, complete with the same unusual patterning. We can only speculate on the derivation of this unusual background. However, it is striking that the Parisian artists appear to understand fully the implications of the pattern, including it only when the Volto Santo is depicted within a chapel setting. The artists' care with execution suggests they were under close instruction from an individual with an interest in preserving the devotional implications of the manuscript, that is, Jacques or Dino Rapondi who used the manuscript to aid their devotions in the chapel at Saint-Sépulcre.

\* \* \*

As I have argued, the Rapondi *Légende du Saint-Voult* manuscript held great personal, political and devotional significance for its owners. It told the story of the Volto Santo, a strong reminder of their native city as well as an emblem of the Lucchese merchant diaspora. A miraculous statue of the crucified Christ, the Volto Santo also functioned as a holy icon and focus for devotion.

The Rapondi manuscript is not the only surviving example in French of the *Légende du Saint-Voult*. Virtually the same text also appears in ten manuscripts of the second, augmented version of Jean de Vignay's *Légende dorée*, his translation of Voragine's *Legenda aurea*<sup>22</sup>. The earliest of these manuscripts can be dated shortly after 1400, more or less

21. These are reproduced in Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo*, pp. 115, 117 and 139.

22. The illumination of the Volto Santo text in these manuscripts was first described in my doctoral thesis, *The Illuminated manuscripts of the Légende dorée: Jean de Vignay's translation of Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda aurea* (University of Melbourne 1990), pp. 97-103. In the context of images of the Holy Face they have subsequently also been discussed by Schmitt, "Les images d'une image", pp. 220-227 (see above n. 8). The manuscript tradition of the Volto Santo is also discussed by Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Cendrillon crucifiée", pp. 268-269.



contemporaneous with the Vatican *Légende du Saint-Voult*. The others range in date from the early years of the fifteenth century to around 1470<sup>23</sup>.

Together the Vatican *Légende du Saint-Voult* and the ten manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* form a small group representing the only known French examples of this version of Leobinus' account. The Volto Santo narrative is illuminated in only eight of these manuscripts, including the Vatican example, in cycles of between one and twelve miniatures, in the *Légende dorée* manuscripts, and 27 in the Vatican manuscript<sup>24</sup>.

The *Legenda aurea* is a lengthy collection of saints' lives and major feast days arranged according to the order of the church year, compiled by the Dominican Jacopo da Voragine around 1260. Sherry Reames has argued that the *Legenda* was used as a preacher's manual in part to combat heretical sects threatening the church in the thirteenth century<sup>25</sup>. In the later Middle Ages the *Legenda* was translated into all the major European languages including French. The most influential of the French translations was completed around 1333 by Jean de Vignay, who claims in his prologue that his translation was undertaken at the special request of the Queen, Jeanne de Bourgogne. Sixteen manuscripts of this initial Vignay translation survive, including a number of beautifully illuminated examples intended for a courtly clientele<sup>26</sup>.

23. The *Légende du Saint-Voult* is included in the following manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* (the date of the illumination is also listed): Brussels, BR, MSS 9228 (ca. 1420); 9282-5 (ca. 1460-1485); Paris, BnF, MSS fr. 184 (ca. 1400), fr. 242 (ca. 1400), fr. 243 (ca. 1415), fr. 415-416 (ca. 1415); Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, MS fr. 57 (ca. 1400); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Gall. 3 (ca. 1430); Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Gall. 86 (ca. 1420); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MSS M. 672-675 (ca. 1460-1480); Mâcon, BM, MS 3 (ca. 1470). The legend is illuminated in all except Brussels MS 9282-5; Paris fr. 243; and fr. 415-416.

24. Schmitt, "Les images d'une image", pp. 226-227 and Id., "Cendrillon crucifiée", pp. 268-269 have included a useful table outlining the programme of illumination in these manuscripts.

25. Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda aurea: a Reexamination of its Paradoxical History* (Madison, 1985), pp. 85-86 and 132-133.

26. For description and analysis of all the illuminated manuscripts of all versions of Vignay's *Légende dorée* see my *The Illuminated Manuscripts of the Légende dorée* and also my two articles: "Illumination in Jean de Vignay's *Légende dorée*", in *Legenda aurea: sept siècles de diffusion. Actes du colloque international sur la Legenda aurea, texte latin et branches vernaculaires, à l'Université du Québec à Montréal 11-12 mai 1983*, ed. B. Dunn-Lardeau (Montréal and Paris, 1986), pp. 155-170; "Pictures for Aristocrats: The Manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*" in *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, eds. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir (Chur,

Shortly after 1400 Vignay's translation was augmented by 46 additional saints' lives and feasts, arranged approximately in the order of the liturgical year, beginning with Saint Eloy on 1 December. All these saints, who include Genevieve and Germain of Paris, Soupplice of Bourges and Medard of Noyon, were of particular significance for a French audience and most of them were indeed worshipped in various Parisian churches. Other feasts like the feast of the Blessed Sacrament were new additions to the calendar. The *Festes nouvelles*, as these additions are called, also include the narrative of the Volto Santo in a form very close to that of the Vatican manuscript<sup>27</sup>.

According to the colophon in a manuscript of the *Légende dorée* now in Geneva (Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, MS fr. 57) the translator of the *Festes nouvelles* was the eminent Carmelite Jean Golein, who had already undertaken translations such as Guillaume Durand's *Racional*, for Charles V. After an illustrious career in which he had occupied the positions of prior of the Paris Carme from 1354 and provincial of the Carmelites in France from 1369, he became chaplain of Pope Clement VII at Avignon. From 1391 he lived at the Paris Carme, perhaps acting as librarian. Golein died in 1403 and according to the Geneva manuscript the translation was undertaken in 1401; other *Festes nouvelles* prologues give the year as 1402, but without specifically naming the translator.

Like Vignay's initial translation of the *Legenda aurea*, manuscripts of this second, augmented version were found mainly in the libraries of the French and Burgundian nobility<sup>28</sup>. Unlike manuscripts in Latin, which were used by the clergy for preaching and lessons, those in the vernacular were used for personal reading and as an aid to devotion in private chapels.

1991), pp. 1-23. A list of illuminated manuscripts of the three versions of Vignay's translation is included in "Pictures for Aristocrats", pp. 11-13.

27. For discussion of the *Festes nouvelles* in the *Légende dorée* see R. Hamer, "Jean Golein's *Festes nouvelles*: a Caxton source", *Medium Aevum* 55 (1986), 254-260. Richard Hamer and Vida Russell have identified all extant manuscripts of the three versions of Vignay's translation. The full list of manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* appears in Vida Russell, "Evidence for a Stemma for the De Vignay mss.: St. Nicholas, St. George, St. Bartholomew, and All Saints", in *Legenda aurea: Sept siècles de diffusion*, ed. Dunn-Lardeau, p. 132. See also Richard Hamer and Vida Russell, "A Critical Edition of Four Chapters from the *Légende dorée*", *Mediaeval Studies*, 51 (1989), 130-204.

28. A list of known owners is included in my "Pictures for aristocrats", pp. 11-13. These include Philippe le Bon, duke of Burgundy, Philippe de Clèves and Françoise de Luxembourg, Raoul de Goncourt, chamberlain to King Charles VII, Aymar de Poitiers, and Jean d'Auxy, chamberlain to Philippe le Bon.

In general appearance these manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* are typical of those produced within the courtly milieu of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Most are adorned with expensive illuminations by a number of select artists and in appearance they conform to the expectations of wealthy bibliophiles. As far as we can tell, in all its versions this devotional reference book was an essential component of the aristocratic library.

While Dino and Jacques Rapondi had an obvious motivation for commissioning their own illuminated manuscript of the *Légende du Saint-Voult*, the presence of the lengthy narrative in the *Légende dorée* manuscripts is a little harder to explain. In some respects its inclusion is an anomaly. While most of the texts in the *Légende dorée* collection take the form of convenient summaries, the Volto Santo legend is much longer<sup>29</sup>. It is arranged according to sections called "hystoires" often with a miniature introducing each section. This is in contrast to the usual arrangement in both the core *Légende dorée* and the *Festes nouvelles*, where a single miniature customarily introduces each saint's life or feast day. Also, unlike the other entries the Volto Santo was not a saint and was not celebrated in the Paris liturgy, although specific celebrations were probably conducted at the church of Saint-Sépulcre on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 14 September, the date at which the entry appears in the *Festes nouvelles*. While this important feast day is already covered in the body of the *Légende dorée*, the entry in the *Festes nouvelles* provides an alternative or additional reading for those with a special interest in celebrating the Volto Santo on this day<sup>30</sup>.

As the longest and most extensively illustrated entry in the *Festes nouvelles*, the *Légende du Saint-Voult* is not merely an acknowledgement of the Lucchese statue, but an extensive reference to it. We must question, then, how and why the Volto Santo narrative entered the *Légende dorée* in the early fifteenth century. What also was the relevance of the Volto Santo to the owners of the early manuscripts?

29. The entry for Saint Genevieve in the *Festes nouvelles* is also quite long and like the *Légende du Saint-Voult* can be found separately. It is also in Vatican City, BAV, MS Reg. Lat. 178, fols. 16-24 and Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5667, fols. 96-11v. See Hamer, "Jean Golein's *Festes nouvelles*", 259.

30. Schmitt, "Les images d'une image", p. 221, suggests that the entry appears at the end of the texts and resembles a treatise, but this is not the case, for it is incorporated into the liturgical year, and is not, with the exception of BnF, MSS fr. 184, fr. 242, and fr. 243, the final entry of the compendium. The reader of the text would be able to locate without difficulty the Volto Santo reading at the day of its celebration, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

While the Volto Santo in Lucca was well-known in northern Europe as a pilgrimage destination and as a devotional focus for the Lucchese merchant communities, there is not a great deal of evidence to suggest that it was the object of particular devotion among the French nobility in the late Middle Ages<sup>31</sup>. If this had been the case, or if the Volto Santo had been subject to widespread popular devotion, we would expect to find evidence of this in books of hours and other devotional books of the period. However as far as I am aware the Vatican *Légende du Saint-Voult* and *Légende dorée* manuscripts are the only fifteenth-century French books which include any text or images relating to the Volto Santo. These illuminations also appear to represent the *only* paintings of the Volto Santo which survive from France in the Middle Ages<sup>32</sup>.

These few pictorial cycles are related in ways that suggest that the inclusion of the Volto Santo narrative in the *Légende dorée* manuscripts was due to the strong influence of Jacques and Dino Rapondi at the Burgundian court. When comparing the Rapondi *Légende du Saint-Voult* manuscript and the two contemporary *Légende dorée* cycles one is struck by common stylistic and compositional characteristics<sup>33</sup>. These indicate that all these manuscripts were produced, if not with direct reference to each other, certainly within the same artistic circle.

31. From this period there are two references to the Volto Santo. In 1388 on the eve of the feast of Saint Veronica, Philippe le Hardi received his brother the duke of Berry as a guest at his *hôtel d'Artois* in Paris and gave him a gold cross "du vau de Lucques" adorned with several rubies and pearls. This cross was surely supplied to the duke by his principal supplier of luxuries, Jacques Rapondi. This is probably the same cross as that cited in the duke of Berry's inventories, see Mirot, "La colonie lucquoise", 55 n. 4. Jeanne d'Evreux is also reported as commissioning a copy of the Volto Santo for her funerary chapel at Saint-Denis. See Patrick de Winter, *The Patronage of Philippe le Hardi Duke of Burgundy 1364-1404*, doctoral dissertation (New York University, 1976), p. 198.

32. Schmitt, "Les images d'une image", pp. 214-215 lists known frescoes and panel paintings of the Volto Santo narrative from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of the six he describes four are Italian (including the fresco in the Parma baptistery), one German and one from the Cologne school of Stephan Lochner.

33. Another manuscript of the *Légende dorée* that includes an illuminated Volto Santo text dating from ca. 1400 is Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, fr. 57. It includes two miniatures by the artist sometimes called the *Maître du Polycratique*. This artist painted in a style consistent with French illumination of the fourteenth century and cannot be regarded as among the influx of foreign artists who arrived in Paris in the early fifteenth century. The two miniatures of the Volto Santo are summary and cannot be seen as clearly derivative of any other Volto Santo cycle. The original owner of this manuscript is unknown but in the early sixteenth century it belonged to Aymar de Poitiers.



The original owners of the two early manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* are unknown. The duke of Burgundy's inventories list three copies of the *Légende dorée* and other documents reveal that in 1400 Jacques Rapondi did indeed supply him with a copy, in French, of the *Légende dorée* at a price of 500 gold *écus*. The manuscript is described as "hystorié de belles hystoires a chascun son hystoire et par dehors une anuunciacion Saint Jehan et Sainte Katherine"<sup>34</sup>.

While the descriptions in the Burgundian records cannot be matched with any certainty to extant manuscripts, they do reveal that Jacques had access to copies of the *Légende dorée* and found a ready buyer in the duke. This documented *Légende dorée* may not have included the *Festes nouvelles* which was evidently not appended to the *Légende dorée* until 1401 or 1402. We may, however, speculate that the duke did commission another copy complete with the fully illustrated narrative of the *Légende du Saint-Voult*. This book, Paris, BnF MS fr. 242, is extensively illuminated with 219 miniatures by several artists. The beautiful frontispiece representing the kneeling Virgin being crowned by Christ in Heaven is the work of the *Maître du livre Des Femmes nobles et renommées de Philippe le Hardi*, the same artist responsible for both the frontispiece of the Rapondi *Légende du Saint-Voult* and contributions in the three manuscripts documented as being provided to the duke by Jacques Rapondi (Pl. 2)<sup>35</sup>.

Most other miniatures in this *Légende dorée* manuscript, including the twelve illustrating the story of the Volto Santo, are executed in a spare but spirited style marked by a confident sense of narrative and volume. The figures in these pen and wash illustrations are characteristically stocky with large, round heads and gesticulating hands (Fig. 12)<sup>36</sup>. Like the *Maître du livre Des Femmes nobles et renommées de Philippe le Hardi* this artist first appeared in Paris around 1400. He also was active in the courtly milieu, contributing his distinctive pen and wash images to the pictorial programs of several manuscripts including a copy of Digulleville's *Pèlerinages* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 829). Michael Camille has named this illuminator the Artist of the Berry *Pèlerinages* after a copy of this work (BnF, MS fr. 829) purchased by the duke of Berry sometime between 1402 and

34. Documents reproduced by de Winter, *La bibliothèque*, pp. 133, 163 and 167.

35. Identified by Meiss, *The Late Fourteenth Century*, 1:252 and 355.

36. This artist is responsible for miniatures on fols. 4-23; 34-40v, 99v, 100, 115, 116, 117-120v and 137-335v.



Fig. 12. *Légende dorée*, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 242, fol. 329r: the Volto Santo is loaded onto a ship at the port of Jaffa for transportation to Italy (Paris, ca. 1400) (cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France).

1405<sup>37</sup>. Whether this book was supplied by Jacques Rapondi, who also imported the artist from Westphalia or Flanders, we can only guess.

The Artist of the Berry *Pèlerinages* was entirely responsible for the illumination of another, less lavish, copy of the *Légende dorée* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 184). The 44 pen and wash miniatures include only one illustrating the Volto Santo narrative (fol. 415v) (Fig. 13). This represents the best-known of the miracles enacted by the statue, the story of the poor *jongleur* pilgrim to Lucca, who unable to give any material offering to the holy image, gives praise on his instrument. After his sweet playing

37. Michael Camille, *The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville's 'Pèlerinages', 1330-1426*, 2 vols., unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Cambridge, 1984), pp. 207-218.





Fig. 13. *Légende dorée*, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 184, fol. 415v: the miracle of the jongleur (Paris, ca. 1400) (cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France).

and singing, one of the statue's silver shoes miraculously falls off into his lap. In MS fr. 184, the image acts as a frontispiece to the entire narrative rather than as an illustration to the specific text. While it is an abbreviated version, and the artist has omitted the silver shoe, it is very close to the miniature of the same subject in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 242, both stylistically and in terms of composition (Fig. 14).

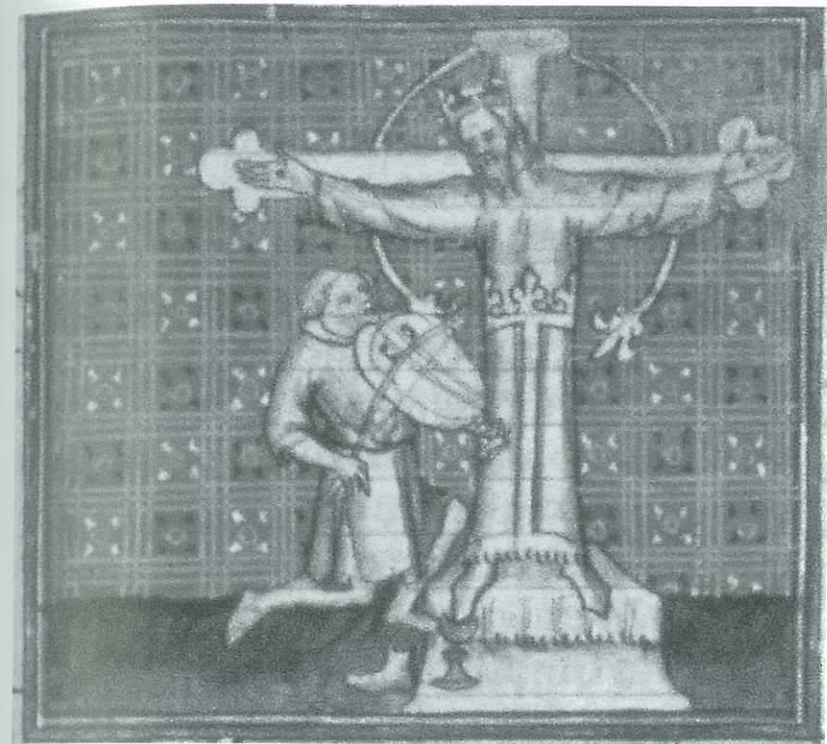


Fig. 14. *Légende dorée*, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 242, fol. 328r: the miracle of the jongleur (Paris, ca. 1400) (cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France).

The Artist of the Berry *Pèlerinages* did not contribute to the full colour illuminations of the Vatican *Légende du Saint-Vault* manuscript. However at least one composition in the *Légende dorée* MS fr. 242 closely resembles a miniature in the Vatican manuscript, indicating the artists had access to some shared pictorial sources. Both manuscripts illustrate the passage or "fourth history" describing the invention or discovery of the Volto Santo in Jerusalem by bishop Gualfredus. In the Vatican version a large miniature on fol. 6v shows the walled (rather Italianate looking) Holy City including Christ's empty tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Pl. 1). According to the legend, for safety the holy statue was hidden and its whereabouts remained unknown for several centuries. Bishop Gualfredus, responding to an angelic vision, finds the Volto Santo in the house of a good Christian, who is depicted gesturing towards the image.





Fig. 15. *Légende dorée*, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 242, fol. 325v: bishop Gualfredus discovers the Volto Santo in Jerusalem (Paris, ca. 1400) (cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France).

The *Légende dorée* miniature of the same text is an abbreviated version of the Vatican example (Fig. 15). In both the Volto Santo is framed by an arched window, the custodian of the image gestures towards it, turned to Gualfredus, who is accompanied by several figures including a tonsured monk to the immediate left. As the text is not sufficiently detailed for these similarities to be coincidental, the artists must have accessed common sources<sup>38</sup>.

38. It must be noted that the costume of the Volto Santo in the seven *Légende dorée* manuscripts is subject to variation. None is consistent with that worn by the statue in the Vatican manuscript. Most *Légende dorée* images wear the *fleur-de-lys* crown and the examples in BnF fr. 184 and fr. 242 wear a similar robe also decorated with the *fleurs-de-lys*.

The various similarities and possible connections I have described suggest that the two *Légende dorée* manuscripts and the Vatican Volto Santo manuscript were produced and illuminated within the courtly milieu of Philippe le Hardi and Jean de Berry. The participation of the *Maître du livre Des Femmes nobles et renommées de Philippe le Hardi* in the *Légende dorée* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 242), also leads to the possibility that Philippe le Hardi may have commissioned this manuscript. As Jacques Rapondi was the duke's principal agent for this artist, he may well have supplied this copy of the *Légende dorée*. Given that the Volto Santo pictorial cycle in this manuscript bears some relationship to the miniatures in the Vatican manuscript, the possibility exists that Jacques also organized the illumination, providing the artist with his own manuscript or a now lost related cycle, as a model.

To facilitate the inclusion of the Volto Santo in the *Festes nouvelles* Jacques may very well have commissioned the French translation from Jean Golein. Golein's translation of the *Festes nouvelles*, which according to the *Légende dorée* manuscripts was undertaken in 1401 or 1402, is close in date to the Vatican manuscript. Interestingly, both Golein and Dino Rapondi appear to have been at Avignon in 1390, Dino supplying Pope Clement VII with tapestries while Golein was the Pope's chaplain. Whether they commissioned it or not, the Rapondi appear to have gained access to Golein's translation very soon after it was completed. However, if Jacques or Dino did commission the translation from Golein evidently they were not the only book merchants who similarly ordered translations. According to the dedication preceding the prologue of Laurent de Premierfait and Antoine d'Arezzo's double translation of Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, the two translators were hosted for the duration of their task by the merchant, Bureau de Dampmartin in his Paris *hôtel*. Dampmartin, who is recorded as supplying several manuscripts to Jean de Berry, appears to have paid the salary of the two translators, suggesting that he contracted them to undertake the work<sup>39</sup>.

Brigitte Buettner has argued that Jacques Rapondi also commissioned translations on behalf of the duke of Burgundy, in particular Boccaccio's

39. This is discussed by Buettner, "Jacques Raponde", 28 (see above n. 4). Although she argues that Jacques was functioning as a *libraire*, Buettner was not aware of the Volto Santo text and illuminations in the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*.



*Des Femmes nobles et renommées*. According to a colophon the translation of this text was completed by an unnamed translator, possibly Laurent de Premierfait, in September 1401. If commissioned by Jacques Rapondi, it was in good time for the production of the extravagant illuminated copy he presented to Philippe le Hardi on New Year's Day 1403<sup>40</sup>.

These various connections prompt me to speculate that Jacques Rapondi commissioned Golein to translate from the Latin, the *Légende du Saint-Voult*, and that he provided Golein with an exemplar; further, that he subsequently supervised the illumination of a manuscript of this text for his own use in the chapel of the Volto Santo at Saint-Sépulcre. Possibly around the same time Jacques requested that Golein also include the narrative within the 46 texts of the *Festes nouvelles* which Golein was translating to be appended to the *Légende dorée*. Indeed, Jacques himself may have commissioned Golein to translate the complete *Festes nouvelles*, perhaps for the duke of Burgundy. The duke already owned copies of the first version of Vignay's *Légende dorée*, and was likely to be eager to update it with feasts celebrated in the diocese of Paris. Using his own contracted illuminators, Jacques may then have arranged for the illumination of several volumes of the augmented *Légende dorée* for use within the Burgundian and French courts.

\* \* \*

Certainly as both the brother of one of the most powerful figures at the Burgundian court and the duke's principal supplier of luxury illuminated manuscripts, Jacques Rapondi possessed both the opportunity and means for the task. However, his motive for disseminating the legend of the Volto Santo to a non-Lucchese audience through the conduit of the *Légende dorée* is perhaps not as apparent. As the Rapondi were already eminently rich and powerful it is hard to know what particular advantages Jacques would have hoped to gain by this.

As we have seen, in early fifteenth-century Paris the Volto Santo was closely identified with the Lucchese community. In addition to functioning

40. Buettner, "Jacques Raponde", 29-31 finds oblique textual and pictorial references to the Rapondi trade in Lucchese silk cloth in the entry for Pamphile, the inventor of weaving, BnF MS fr. 12420, fol. 69. While her argument is inconclusive, it does support Rapondi intervention in the translation of the text and illumination of the manuscript.

as a focus for religious devotion, it carried meaning as a strong symbol of Lucchese nationality and collectivity. In the milieu of the Burgundian court and particularly within the world of courtly book production and commerce, the Rapondi were the dominant Lucchese presence. For this reason the lengthy Volto Santo narrative in the *Légende dorée* is a virtual Rapondi signature, closely associated with Jacques and Dino.

Perhaps the bourgeois Rapondi aspired to the aristocracy they served and saw the acceptance of the Volto Santo text as an indication of their upward social mobility. Their own copy of the *Légende du Saint-Voult*, decorated according to the custom of the court and illuminated by an artist esteemed by the duke of Burgundy himself, seems to bear this out. However this does not answer the question of why the patrons and owners of the *Légende dorée* manuscripts, who as far as we know numbered among the titled elite, found the long, comparatively densely illustrated *Légende du Saint-Voult* narrative acceptable or even relevant.

I would like to suggest that the answer to this question may be found rather in the evolving nature of book production than in a simplistic analysis of competing class interests. Modern copyright laws generally dictate that intellectual ownership of a work rests with the author or the creator of the work's content. However, the concept of intellectual copyright is comparatively recent and did not exist at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the Middle Ages the creator of the work's content was considered to play a less essential role than is the case today. Within the French and Burgundian courts the person granted authority over the book was often the appointed translator, as numerous presentation miniatures attest. The fluidity of the role of the author is also evident in the late fifteenth century with Anthoine Vérard, Parisian publisher of printed books, who describes himself as a "humble libraire". In his fully illuminated, printed presentation copies of French translations of works by authors such as Boethius and Boccaccio, Vérard not only replaces the author's and translator's prologue with his own, but has himself represented presenting the book to his royal and noble patrons<sup>41</sup>.

Vérard was not the author in the modern sense, or even the translator of these books. He was a successful merchant of printed books, and, while court patronage gave him credibility, he did not rely on it for his livelihood.

41. Mary Beth Winn, *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian Publisher 1485-1512* (Geneva, 1997), figs. 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.8, 5.13, 5.14 and 5.25.



Jacques Rapondi was also a wealthy merchant, although providing illuminated manuscripts for the court was only part of his entire enterprise. Like Rapondi, Vérard may have supervised much of the production of his illuminated books, including selection and organization of illuminators. It could be seen that responsibility for the production of the physical object gave these effective *libraires* authorial status. Similarly when early fifteenth-century presentation illuminations show the contemporary translators handing the completed, bound manuscript to the patron, the focus seems to be not on the intellectual contents so much as the material object.

As the individual responsible for the production of early fifteenth-century illuminated manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*, Jacques Rapondi may well have assumed an authorial role. In this way his inclusion of the illuminated Volto Santo legend, the "signature" of the Rapondi, could be viewed as much a corollary of authorship as a bourgeois ambition. As a dealer of illuminated manuscripts Jacques Rapondi still worked according to the long-established system of courtly patronage. However he was wealthier and better connected than other merchants or *libraires* providing books to the court and certainly not reliant on the income received from this particular activity. That this afforded him a freedom from demands of patronage is demonstrated by his capacity to include in his commissioned manuscripts a long illuminated text apparently of no great interest to his clients. Jacques' mercantile and intellectual autonomy is perhaps more typical of later large-scale book entrepreneurs, such as Anthoine Vérard, and as such heralds the era of the printed, mass-produced book<sup>42</sup>.

42. Unfortunately a study relevant to this paper was published too late to be included in my discussion: Eva Linquist Sandgren, *The Book of Hours of Johanneke Ravenelle and the Parisian Book Illumination around 1400* (Upsala 2002); Sandgren identifies artists of the Vatican *Légende du Saint-Voult*, (BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 1988) and two *Légende dorée* volumes (Paris, BNF, MSS fr. 242 and 184). Her argument does not alter my contentions in this paper.

# L'ATELIER DE JEAN TREPPEREL, IMPRIMEUR-LIBRAIRE PARISIEN (1492-1511<sup>1</sup>)

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J'ai rencontré Jean Trepperel lors de ma maîtrise sur l'illustration des traités de chasse imprimés (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle). Pour les textes de Tardif, Phébus et Gace de La Bugne<sup>2</sup>, il est l'imprimeur des éditions qui suivent celles de Vérard et c'est son fils, Jean II Trepperel, qui publie la troisième édition du *Livre du roi Modus*<sup>3</sup>. Or ces quatre traités composés au Moyen Âge sont les seuls textes que peuvent consulter les amateurs de chasse au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle; on voit ainsi l'importance de la production de livres d'une officine<sup>4</sup>

1. Sa première édition connue est *La destruction de Jérusalem et la mort de Pilate...*, datée du 22 février 1492 n. st. (Amiens, BM, Rés. 493 A). La dernière serait *Les Prouesses et vaillances [d'] Hercule* de Raoul Le Fèvre, du 7 juin 1511 (Paris, BnF, Rés. Y<sup>2</sup> 690), car des Ordonnances de Louis XII, promulguées en avril 1512, sont publiées par sa femme qui signe Veuve Trepperel. Pour les dates d'exercice des imprimeurs et/ou libraires, voir l'incontournable Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1898; rééd. par Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer et Brigitte Moreau, Paris, 1965). Les pp. 413-414 concernent les Trepperel.

2. Guillaume Tardif, *L'art de fauconnerie et des chiens de chasse*, Jean Trepperel, 8 mai 1506 (Paris, BnF, Rés. S 592); Gaston III Phébus, *[Le livre de la chasse]* suivi du *[Roman des oiseaux]* de Gace de La Bugne, Jean Trepperel, s.d. [c. 1507-1511] (Paris, BnF, Rés. S 155).

3. [Henry de Ferrières], *Le livre du roi Modus et de la reine Ratio*, Jean II Trepperel, s.d. [c. 1529] (Paris, BnF, Rés. S 596).

4. De 1492 à 1511 on peut attribuer 240 éditions environ à Jean Trepperel. Sa veuve et son gendre Jean Janot, qui lui succèdent, comptabilisent 175 éditions environ, de 1511 à 1521, date du décès de ce dernier, et peut-être encore sur quelques années si la veuve Trepperel a continué à exercer seule. Parmi ces éditions qui ne sont pas toujours datées, beaucoup ne sont pas signées non plus du nom de l'imprimeur. Elles sont attribuées à l'officine grâce au matériel typographique et aux illustrations. Nous sommes donc peut-être en deçà de la réalité de leur production.

A titre de comparaison, Antoine Vérard aurait publié 371 éditions de 1485 à 1513, voir John Mac Farlane, *Antoine Vérard, libraire parisien* (Londres, 1899) et Mary Beth Winn, *Antoine Vérard, Parisian publisher (1485-1512): prologues, poems and presentations* (Genève, 1997); Denis Janot, le fils de Jean Janot, en aurait publié 347 de 1534 à 1545, voir la thèse, consultable à la Réserve de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, de Stephen Rawles,