Guido de Columnis
Historia destructionis Troiae

# Guido de Columnis

# Historia
# destructionis Troiae

(Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cologny-Genève, Codex 78)

Colour Microfiche Edition

With an Introduction to
the Text Tradition and the Iconography
by Hugo Buchthal

# AVANT - PROPOS

La Bibliotheca Bodmeriana doit son origine au grand collectionneur suisse Martin Bodmer (1899-1971). Cet homme de lettres aux horizons vastes par ses études et son activité de co-éditeur de la revue littéraire 'Corona', réunit, depuis les années 1920, avec des connaissances et une passion extraordinaires, une bibliothèque de la 'Weltliteratur'. Celle-ci se trouva d'abord à Zurich et fut transférée en 1951 à Genève, où Martin Bodmer s'était mis au service de la Croix-Rouge Internationale depuis la deuxième guerre mondiale. Un mois avant sa mort, il transforma sa bibliothèque en une fondation de droit privée, garantissant ainsi la conservation de cette prestigieuse collection et son développement en tant que centre de recherches.

La richesse de ses documents fait figurer la Bodmeriana parmi les bibliothèques privées les plus importantes au monde. Aujourd'hui elle comprend environ 160 000 oeuvres, dont 200 manuscrits occidentaux, une centaine de manuscrits orientaux, 2000 autographes littéraires, musicaux, historiques et scientifiques, près de 300 incunables, dont un exemplaire de la Bible de Gutenberg, enfin une centaine de dessins.

L'énumération additive de quelques domaines particulièrement bien dotés, comme des livres de mort égyptiens (la collection la plus importante en Suisse), des papyri classiques et bibliques (voir les deux plus anciennes copies connues de l'Evangile de St-Jean), d'une impressionnante collection d'éditions originales de Shakespeare et de Molière, d'autographes de Goethe, de Hölderlin, de Flaubert, ne ferait, aussi étonnante soit-elle, que mal apparaître l'architecture spirituelle de la bibliothèque. Car l'ambition de Martin Bodmer fut de retrouver l'itinéraire intellectuel de l'homme, la diversité de la pensée à travers les âges, et d'en rassembler les témoins dans leur forme aussi originale que possible: des manuscrits les plus proches de leur auteur et des premières éditions. Où les manuscrits font défaut, par exemple pour la période de l'Empire romain, des objets d'art (monnaies, reliefs, statues) comblent la lacune.

La structure de la bibliothèque se dessine donc sur deux axes: celle du temps

et celle de l'espace. Martin Bodmer a choisi comme points de repère cinq oeuvres, chronologiquement réparties, et considérées comme autant de monuments inégales du génie humain: Homère, la Bible, Dante, Shakespeare et Goethe. Autour de ces cinq 'piliers' se cristallisent les autres grands esprits de tous les temps et font ressortir quatre sphères où l'homme créateur se manifeste dans chaque civilisation: le pouvoir (systèmes politiques, conceptions du droit, de l'économie), la foi (les religions du monde dans leur évolution), la science (philosophie, sciences humaines, naturelles, exactes) et l'art.

Après cette esquisse sommaire de l'idée dominante, revenons aux manuscrits qui sont au coeur même de la bibliothèque. Nous nous bornerons aux seuls manuscrits occidentaux. Leur diversité est frappante. Du point de vue linguistique, les manuscrits latins sont prépondérants. Mais cette galactée n'éclipse pas pour autant les belles constellations françaises, allemandes, italiennes et anglaises, ni les étoiles éparses de quelques textes isolés en anglosaxon, vieux-néerlandais et vieux-nordique. Quant à l'âge nous discernons, parmi les documents écrits entre le $II^e$ et le $XVI^e$ siècle, une cinquantaine de papyri grecs et coptes ($II^e$-$VI^e$ s.), un groupe de sept manuscrits carolingiens, et une forte concentration de textes du haut moyen-âge et du moyen-âge tardif qui reflètent puissamment des courants littéraires et des idées. Si les uns de ces manuscrits transmettent l'héritage de l' antiquité, les autres marquent des tournants, ouvrent des brèches dans les traditions littéraires. Aux textes rares voir uniques répondent des cycles narratifs jouissant d'une belle popularité, comme l'Histoire de Troie, avec ses multiples adaptations, l'Histoire d'Alexandre, la Matière de Bretagne. Des copies offrant uniquement le texte contrastent avec des versions enrichies de commentaires ou d'interpolations. Nous observons une grande variété pas seulement par rapport à la matière (droit, sciences etc.), mais aussi quant aux genres littéraires (allégories, satires, romans lignagers, chroniques, traités), quant à la présentation (enluminures, notations musicales qu'on rencontre même dans des textes classiques, reliures originales), et quant à la provenance qui oscille entre d'anciennes abbayes (Nonantola, Fulda, Tegernsee, Canterbury, par exemple) et des bibliothèques princières, royales, papales, des collections d'institutions et d'éminents particuliers.

La **Historia destructionis Troiae** de Guido delle Colonne, dans le Cod. Bodmer 78, réunit maints atouts évoqués: un thème de l'antiquité classique réapparaît, avec un retentissement européen, en tant que réception médiévale; un texte latin qui se nourrit principalement d'une source française, est compilé par un juriste sicilien à une période où son île natale, témoin naguère de la gloire et des troubles de l'empereur allemand, Frédéric II, passe sous domination aragonaise; un texte

finalement qui est rehaussé, à Venise, par une illustration prestigieuse, au moment où l'ambitieuse puissance politique, économique et culturelle du bassin méditerranéen s'apprête à une nouvelle extension - voilà de quoi être représentatif d'une bibliothèque de la 'Weltliteratur'.

Je suis particulièrement satisfait que la mise à disposition de ce beau manuscrit de la Bodmeriana, sous forme de microfiches, puisse faire progresser les recherches des historiens de l'art et de la littérature.

Dr. Hans E. Braun
Directeur de la Bibliotheca Bodmeriana

# CONTENTS

# INTRODUCTION

## The Text Tradition

The Latin Middle Ages derived their knowledge of the Trojan War not from Homer, but from two mythographical texts, literary curiosities which retold the story, as it were, with a vengeance. They were compiled by self-appointed "eye-witnesses" who pretended to have been present at the siege: the **De excidio Troiae**, allegedly written by one Dares Phrygius who claims to have been a follower of Antenor and to have fought with the Trojans, and the **Ephemeris de bello Troiano** by a certain Dictys Cretensis who calls himself a follower of Idomeneus and the official historian of the War on the Greek side.[1] The first account carries the story from Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece to the Fall of Troy, the second from the Rape of Helen to the death of Odysseus. The name 'Dares' actually does occur once or twice among the Trojan heroes in Homer and Virgil, but 'Dictys' is merely an eponym derived from the famous mountain cave in Crete. Though much of what they offer is ultimately derived from Homer, the mythographers wrote with the professed intention to correct and supersede him, and to present a more palatable version of what had happened before Troy. They had a success out of all proportion to their literary merit; incredible as it sounds, it was not before the early eighteenth century that these two "primary" sources were finally exposed as what they were, namely, downright literary forgeries.[2] They were originally written in Greek, probably in the first century A.D., but they survive only in Latin translations which were produced considerably later: Dictys in the fourth century, Dares probably not before the early sixth. Dares, especially, was to become one of the most influential books of the Latin Middle Ages.

The reason for his popularity was not only that he presented the familiar facts in the form of an easily digestible summary, but even more that the self-styled Trojan hero supplied the "authentic" story according to medieval wishful thinking: he glorified the Trojans at the expense of the Greeks. This shift in perspective had already started in classical Roman times, reflecting the legend of Trojan ancestry which was one of the mainstays of Roman political theory.[3] In Virgil's Aeneid the anti-Homeric and pro-Trojan bias is implied rather than explicitly stated.

But Dares undertook the task of complete re-writing. Prosaic he might be. But he transformed the epic of the Greeks into that of the Trojans; he made the Greeks into brutal aggressors and the Trojans into their innocent victims. The Trojans, fighting against overwhelming odds, win nearly all the time, and succumb only when Antenor, one of the Trojan leaders, plots with the Greeks and secretly admits them by night into the city.[4]

Dictys is the longer and the more articulate of the two mythographers. He is just as critical of Homer as Dares. But as he wrote from the point of view of the Greeks, he was not so much appreciated in the West as in the Greek East. The Latin translation was never more than an appendix to the Latin Dares,[5] though a necessary one as only Dictys contains the end of the story, namely, the account of the return of the Greek heroes to their homelands.

Dares and Dictys were, as far as we know, never illustrated. But their stories, with all their absurdities, were multiplied in innumerable manuscripts, north of the Alps even more than in mediterranean countries. The reason is probably that their fortunes were linked up with those of the Trojan ancestry legend. The myth of the Trojan origin of the Franks was formulated by Fredegar in the seventh century,[6] as an analogy to the legend of the descent of the Romans from Aeneas, and of the Veneti from Antenor, as put forward by Livy. In due course, fictitious Trojan family trees were provided for the kings of France and Britain. The ancestry story was even incorporated into the **Historia Normannorum** by William of Jumièges,[7] and, finally, into the vernacular **Chronique des ducs de Normandie**, written about 1175 for King Henry II by Benoît de Ste.-Maure.[8]

In all probability the author of the **Chronique des ducs de Normandie** was one and the same person as the Benedictine monk, Benoît de Ste.-Maure[9], who about 1160 - 1170 produced the poem in Old French which was to become the medieval standard work on the Trojan war, the **Roman de Troie.**[10] Benoît's principal sources were of course Dares and Dictys; he describes Dares as a contemporary and on the spot, and repeats his old charge against Homer that he had no first-hand knowledge of the events, having lived a full hundred years later. The truth is of course that Benoît never read Homer whose Greek text was unknown in the Latin West; and his classical education was probably too slight even to allow him to make intelligent use of the **Ilias Latina**, or of Virgil. Dares and Dictys were less sophisticated, and moreover well suited to the taste of the medieval public: they contain an enormous number of single incidents, thus creating the impression of accurate reporting of well-documented facts; and they introduce romance by telling of the secret love between Achilles and Polyxena.[11] Benoît not only improved and expanded this story, but also added a parallel episode of his

own: that of Briseis (Briseida) and Troilus, which was in its turn elaborated by his successors into the most famous love story of the Trojan War: Troilus and Cressida.[12]

A large place is held by long, very detailed descriptions, both of human beings and of inanimate objects such as towns,[13] palaces, statues, tombs,[14] etc. They are intended to excite the reader's admiration and to kindle his imagination. Those various "curiosités" and "merveilles" can ultimately be traced back to treatises on the Seven Wonders, Roman mirabilia literature and the like.[15] They reflect the idea that antiquity was a period of prodigious science and culture, which employed the finest and most precious materials, and knew and appreciated the secret qualities and magical virtues of things.[16] But otherwise the **Roman de Troie** is a typical product of the age of chivalry in Northern Europe. The Greek and Trojan heroes and heroines are transformed into barons and damsels, move in an entirely medieval environment, act in accordance with feudal customs and the medieval code of honour, and wear medieval dress and armour. Apart from the proper names and the ultimate origin of the subject matter itself, there is little that reminds one of antiquity.[17] The story is implicitly set in the twelfth century and could be perfectly well understood by Benoît's contemporaries without any knowledge of the classics.

From the early thirteenth century onwards, Benoît's influence spread to Italy, where French literature, and especially the French romances, were assiduously read and copied. It was probably as a result of the literary success of Benoît's **Roman** that the Trojan ancestry legend, which in the preceding century had flourished mainly north of the Alps, now took Italy by storm.[18] Thus it was a Northern French poem which brought the Italians into renewed contact with their own tribal legend.[19] Many Italian towns, from the Alps to the deep South, produced genealogies largely based on the invented names of Trojan heroes to trace their foundation back to Trojan exiles.[20]

The main focus of French influence in Italy was the South, i.e., the kingdom of Naples, which up to 1282 also included Sicily. It was ruled by a French dynasty, but had cultivated French literature even before the rise to power of the Angevin kings.[21] One result of the South Italian interest in French romances and in Trojan genealogy was a new full-length version of the story of Troy, the **Historia destructionis Troiae,** begun about 1270 and completed in 1287 by Guido de Columnis, a judge at Messina.[22] Guido's work is to all intents and purposes an abridged paraphrase of Benoît in Latin prose. Guido, who never so much as mentions Benoît by name, constantly refers to Dares and Dictys as the only trustworthy authorities

for the Trojan War. But his Latin style and vocabulary, which are full of gallicisms, his inclusion of numerous features which were first introduced into the story by Benoît,[23] and the naive repetition of many of Benoît's misunderstandings and mistakes, leave no doubt as to his principal source.

Guido de Columnis (delle Colonne) was born about or somewhat before 1220, and was appointed judge in his native town Messina in 1242.[24] Thus the **Historia destructionis Troiae** is a work of his maturity. It is not his first or only known literary activity. Though not actually a member of the "magna curia", in his younger days he had belonged to that group of high officials and jurists who gathered at the court of the Emperor Frederick II and, after the Emperor's death, of his son Manfred.[25] This group was, among other things, instrumental in creating a school of vernacular poetry based on Provençal models, which was the first of its kind anywhere in Italy.[26] The love songs composed at Frederick's court stand at the beginning of Italian literature, and were praised by Dante and Petrarch. Guido, too, was a poet of some distinction who wrote in the new vein. His six canzoni, characteristic products of the court school and of the "dolce stil nuovo", still hold an honourable place in the history of early Italian lyrics.[27] On the one hand, it would be strange indeed if Guido's affiliation with the most advanced and progressive intellectual centre of thirteenth-century Europe were not reflected in his treatment of the Trojan legend. We may a priori expect him to have a more enlightened approach than his medieval predecessors. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that Frederick's was first and foremost a medieval knightly court, a focus of chivalry; even the new love poetry is an aspect of the chivalrous, not of the learned atmosphere at the emperor's court.[28] No wonder that Guido's prose work, too, concerned as it was with a chivalrous subject par excellence, still contains a great deal of traditional medieval padding - though mostly on a somewhat different level than his model, the **Roman de Troie.**

In Guido's work, too, the classical subject is, generally speaking, treated like a contemporary "roman de geste", as if the Trojan War had happened in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Still, there are certain differences between his and Benoît's versions, and they are perhaps more revealing than their affinities. Guido, an educated man, addressed his work to an educated public ('qui grammaticam legunt').[29] His Latin style is far from elegant, but he took care to display his erudition and familiarity with ancient authors in every chapter of his book. The medieval story which he took from Benoît is interspersed with quotations from Virgil and Ovid.[30] He made an effort to correct some of Benoît's rather nebulous ideas of Mediterranean geography, and frequently consulted Isidore of Seville's

Etymologiae. In these instances he even proudly quoted his sources. Moreover, his ambition was to write a book of history rather than of literature, and to demonstrate his knowledge of things classical. Also, he constantly reverted to the books of Dares and Dictys themselves, i.e., to the "primary" authorities, in order to test, and to improve upon, Benoît's second-hand version.[31] He represents on the one hand a strange mixture of medieval superstitions and prejudices, the most curious of which are his repeated misogynic outbursts; on the other hand, he makes a genuine effort not to become submerged in spurious traditions for the sake of literary effect. His work is certainly more prosaic and less imaginative than Benoît's. But at the same time there is a tendency, however slight, to restore to the medieval tale a kind of classical setting. It would be disingenious to over-emphasize the merits of the **Historia destructionis Troiae.** But it is not plagiarism pure and simple, as it has sometimes been called. In its own modest way, it is a valiant attempt to return to a more appropriate scale of values, and thus forms a stepping stone on the way to the re-establishment of the classical tradition.

Because it was written in Latin, the international language which was more readily understood than Benoît's French, Guido's book proved to be even more influential than its model. Its success all over Europe was phenomenal; it was turned into practically every European language, and the impact of these translations can be traced through the ages, to works as far removed in time as Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida.[32]

## The Bodmer Manuscript

One of the most lavishly illustrated manuscripts of Guido's **Historia** was formerly in the libraries of H. Yates Thompson and Professor A. W. Woodward in London, and is now in the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana in Cologny near Geneva, no. 78.[33] It is adorned with no less than 187 miniatures, most of them on a rather small scale and inserted at different heights into the writing columns of which there are two to a page. Practically every page has a miniature, sometimes even two or three.

Fortunately the date and place of origin of this manuscript present no problems. For one thing, it has been pointed out that the instructions to the illuminator which are written in the margins of a number of pages are in Venetian dialect. For another, it is immediately obvious that the Trojan iconography has become entirely assimilated to the ambiente of Venice. The architectural backgrounds frequently depict Venetian Gothic buildings, with their characteristic chimneys

and trefoil arches (fol. 3r, 19v); in one instance Priam's Council of War is held on the balcony of an edifice the main features of which recall the Ducal Palace (fol. 18v).[34] Finally, the miniatures are very similar in style to the illustrations of a manuscript also written in the Venetian dialect and of undisputed Venetian provenance: the Leggenda dei gloriosi santi Pietro e Paolo, di Sant'Albano e della venuta a Venezia di Papa Alessandro III,in the Museo Correr in Venice,Ms I 383.[35] The illustrations in the two manuscripts are in fact so closely related to one another that they may be attributed without hesitation to the same workshop, and perhaps even to the same hand. Among the more obvious similarities are:

- the thin white lines ending in small circular arabesques which run parallel to the upper or lateral borders on the dark blue backgrounds of many miniatures;

- the buildings in the backgrounds, with their narrow, slit-like windows and square towers, either of a very light colour, mostly pink or ochre, or of a dark shade, with the windows and mouldings picked out by a system of linear white highlights (fol. 11v, 15v, 19v, 74v);

- the box-like interiors, opening in front through a multi-lobed arch (fol. 16r, 19v, 50v, 69v);

- the standing persons, with their arms folded over their chests and their abdomens grotesquely bulging under their long, tight-fitting caftan-like dresses which are decorated with rows of small white buttons (fol. 8v);

- the characteristic profile view of two horses side by side, stepping forward in unison, so that of the second horse only the legs are visible (fol. 10r, 23v);

- the bed with twin pillows of strangely convex outlines (fol. 5v, 6v).

The list could be extended at will. There is no doubt that we are here dealing with one and the same pictorial tradition.

Mirella Levi d'Ancona has included the miniatures of the Museo Correr manuscript in the oeuvre of Master Giustino del fu Gherardino da Forlì, a Venetian illuminator who signed his name in the splendidly illustrated Antiphonary of Sta. Maria della Carità in Venice.[36] Dr. D'Ancona was able to trace altogether nine manuscripts which are unmistakably by the master, whose activities extended from 1362 to the very end of the century.[37] Though not without hesitation and reserve, the Guido manuscript may now be added to her list. The Antiphonary, which is dated 1365, comes rather early in the master's work. Dr. D'Ancona considers the Museo Correr manuscript to be of slightly later date, i.e. about 1370; and as of all the manuscripts assembled by her this is by far the closest to our **Historia**, its miniatures, too, may safely be assigned to the same stage in the workshop's career. This is confirmed by a comparison of the initial on fol. 1 of the Guido manuscript, depicting Hector in full armour, with that representing Catiline, also

in the garb of a medieval knight,[38] in a Cicero manuscript illuminated by Master Giustino and also dated ca. 1370. There are also relations with the Antiphonary of 1365; for example, the row of trilobe arches which support the structure in which the Annunciation takes place[39] recalls the more elaborate portico forming the groundfloor of the building in which Priam's council of war is held (fol. 18v). Thus the Guido manuscript fits easily into the early years of the workshop of which Master Giustino was the leading member; it was produced in Venice about 1370.

The Bodmer manuscript, in spite of its great iconographical interest, should not be valued too highly as a work of art. It is a product of popular craftsmanship in which the heroic character of the subject matter is diluted almost to the level of caricature. The difference becomes abundantly clear when it is compared with its close iconographical relative, the Guido manuscript in Madrid.[40] The forerunners of Master Giustino's style and its relatives are the Gospels and the Missal in the Marciana Library, lat.I.100 and lat.III.111[41], somewhat pedestrian works from the second quarter of the century, which are quite unrelated to the Madrid manuscript stylistically. In view of this stylistic disparity the iconographical relationship between the Guido manuscripts in Madrid and Geneva is all the more interesting and important. Though it may not be self-evident at first sight, an attentive study will gradually reveal that they are very close relatives indeed. They contain to all intents and purposes the same cycle of illustrations.[42] There is indeed a very intimate overall connection between the two.

In the present context it is important to establish the priority of the two Guido manuscripts. The Bodmer copy has by far the more comprehensive cycle: there are more than twice as many miniatures as in Madrid. The illustration is, as it were, much more verbose. Still, the Madrid manuscript, dated about 1340,[43] was produced about a generation earlier. The unavoidable conclusion is that the Bodmer manuscript is based on a model that was not only earlier but also more complete than its Madrid counterpart. It is also more correct in relation to the text.[44]

In other words, there was an earlier manuscript, now lost, which the masters of the Madrid and Bodmer versions copied independently of each other. It must have been a manuscript of Guido's **Historia,** and in all probability it was Venetian. Though it is of course impossible to be definite about it, this may well have been the first Guido manuscript that was ever illustrated. The master of the Bodmer manuscript may well have copied it practically complete, but at the same time maintained a certain independence, and introduced a number of elements which were not contained in his model. It cannot be denied that the

Madrid copy is the more original one of the two, and deserves penetrating study.[45] But the interest of the cycle in the Bodmer manuscript, too, is far from negligible.

## Iconography of Guido Illustration

I have mentioned that the text of Guido's **Historia** depends almost entirely on that of Benoît's **Roman.** One might therefore expect from the outset that the first Guido illustration was likewise based primarily on an illustrated Benoît manuscript. Generally speaking, this is indeed the case. The Guido cycle as a whole reflects to a large extent the tradition of the preceding French and Italian Benoît illustration.[46] But one should add at once that the connection is not immediately obvious. The original cycle has undergone a number of sweeping alterations and additions. But to the serious student the continuity will be obvious indeed. Singly the comparisons listed in another place[47] may not be very impressive, but in the aggregate they are telling enough to suggest that the miniature cycle of the two Venetian Guido manuscripts may ultimately reflect a French illustration of the **Roman de Troie.** Most revealing from this point of view are those Guido illustrations which include details told in Benoît's **Roman** but not taken over into the text of Guido's **Historia.**[48] It is only to be expected that the Trojan cycle in the numerous manuscripts of the **Histoire ancienne** is similarly related.[49]

The similarities between the Benoît and Guido cycles are, however, not nearly so interesting and revealing as the differences. In spite of the traditional nucleus of their iconography the Guido manuscripts in Madrid and Geneva may confidently be said to offer the most original secular illustrations of the Italian Middle Ages which have come down to us. Still, it is necessary to distinguish between those features which are shared by both manuscripts and those which are found in one of them only. The first group must be traced to their common model, while the second must consist essentially of additions and alterations introduced by their individual masters.

To the first group belong, most conspicuously, the costumes and fashions. In the Benoît illustrations the events of Greek mythology were re-told in terms of contemporary chivalrous romances. The heroes and heroines not only behaved like medieval knights and ladies, but they looked and dressed like them as well. In the Guido manuscripts all the accessories of medieval court life re-appear; the knights in chain mail, the chivalrous pursuits, the horses with their grooms, the hunting falcons and pet monkeys. Nevertheless the naive attitude of the Benoît manuscripts is gradually being replaced by something that may perhaps be called

an incipient feeling for historical distance. For the most part the Greeks and Trojans no longer appear in the familiar medieval garb, but have savage features and sport long hair and flowing beards. They wear eastern dress and varied, pointedly foreign headgear, mostly broad-rimmed Palaeologan hats, occasionally also Mohammadan turbans and sometimes even the conical caps and spiked helmets of Mongols. In the Bodmer manuscript there is even a deliberate and consistent distinction between the two groups of combatants: it is only the Greeks who are given the Palaeologan hats. In spite of occasional slight exaggerations these articles of eastern dress are recognizably reproduced; they are not treated as objects of fancy.[50] Through this device the story is removed - not indeed in time but, perhaps even more remarkably, in place[51] - from western Europe into a remote and exotic world. The Trojan War is now located in the mysterious East. The costumes evoke the atmosphere of contemporary Byzantium, or even of the non-Christian countries beyond the confines of the Empire.

The idea of reproducing these eastern types on the pages of an illuminated manuscript must have been suggested by Byzantine practice.[52] Greek manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially secular ones, not only exhibit Palaeologan costumes and fashions - which is, after all, only to be expected - but also abound in portrayals of more exotic attire. Even in the Vatopedi Octateuch the vague attempts of earlier Bible illustrations to depict Eastern dress and headgear are usually replaced by a correct rendering of these oriental paraphernalia[53]. The miniatures of the Alexander Romance in S.Giorgio dei Greci in Venice, a fourteenth century book, show the protagonist in the garb of a Byzantine emperor, but his councellors are worthy Mohammadan sheikhs wearing long kaftans and turbans, and the subjected Persians are depicted with the Barbarians' long, wide trousers fastened at the ankles.[54] By the middle of the fourteenth century exotic dress must have been known and appreciated in most Western European countries[55], though probably nowhere more than in Venice, 'the gateway to the East'; the travels of Marco Polo and his successors must have made the Venetians particularly conscious of the appeal of these costumes, and their wearers could occasionally be seen in the streets of Venice itself. As there are some instances where the identical headgear appears in the same scene in both Guido manuscripts,[56] we may take it that the introduction of Oriental dress had already been made in their common model.

The model must also have included a number of scenes which were not carried over from the Benoît cycle but were either taken from some other source or were freely invented on the basis of Guido's text alone.[57] They are not illustrated in any thirteenth- or fourteenth century Benoît manuscript. Moreover,

certain other subjects, such as the various incidents connected with the first destruction of Troy, are far more elaborately illustrated in Guido than in any known manuscript of the **Roman.** It can hardly be accidental that almost all those scenes contain figure types of obviously Byzantine inspiration, or even reminiscent of classical art. One is inevitably led to the question whether the illuminator of the first Guido manuscript used some source other than a Benoît cycle, and whether that second source may have been a Byzantine manuscript. It is true that some scenes could easily have been adapted from biblical illustrations. But in other instances the impact of a Byzantine illustration of the Troy story itself seems a serious possibility. Unfortunately, on this question nothing can be proven one way or the other. The few surviving Byzantine miniatures of Trojan subjects[57] certainly do not encourage speculations of this kind. The Byzantinizing scenes and figural types in the Guido manuscripts may have been transmitted in many different ways, and in fact may not all be derived from the same source. The impartial observer can only pass them in review and state the problem, without venturing to propose a solution, since there seems to be no solution that satisfactorily meets all the facts.

Among the motifs which are not derived from a Benoît illustration are the fleeing women in the miniatures depicting the first sack of Troy. Groups of fleeing parents carrying their children on their backs or leading them by the hand,whether rushing to safety in the face of some impending catastrophe or simply on the march, are a well-known motif in Early Christian and Byzantine art.[58] They may here ultimately be derived from a Greek Octateuch, though there must have been Byzantine intermediary stages. The interesting point is the vitality of the Byzantine tradition: the impact, even at this late date, and on a second-rate illuminator, of the Byzantine formula which is here preserved in amazing purity, and this in spite of the generally inferior level of craftsmanship in the Bodmer manuscript.

Thus, generally speaking, it may be said that the principal achievement of the first Venetian Guido illustration, as far as it can still be reconstructed on the basis of its adaptation in the copies in Madrid and Geneva, was twofold. The illuminator may be credited, first, with the inclusion of new subjects which had not previously been present in medieval Trojan iconography; and secondly, with the introduction of Eastern costumes and, on a rather modest scale, of Byzantine types and formulas. These Byzantine elements may well have been borrowed from a Greek miniature cycle illustrating a Byzantine version of the story of Troy. They not only add a welcome note of variety to the monotonous flow of the

heckneyed old narrative, but are also an attempt to 'authenticate' it by evoking its Eastern Mediterranean background and setting. The first Guido cycle may have differed from its basic model, i.e., the traditional Benoît illustration, in a way roughly comparable to the difference which exists between the two texts themselves. Compared with the cycle of the miniatures in Madrid, the illuminations of the Bodmer manuscript appear tame and conservative. But their contribution to our problem is not without interest.

Take, for instance, the scene referring to the Trojan Horse. In Guido's text it is no longer wooden but brazen; in the Bodmer manuscript it is rendered as of shining gold (fol. 73v). It is drawn along by Greeks pulling at ropes which are fixed around its neck, without the help of a second team pushing; and behind there is a group of tonsured priests raising their hands in prayer. Moreover, there is one new feature which cannot be explained by reference to Guido's text, or indeed to any other: the Horse not only moves on wheels, but also stands on a wooden base to which the wheels are attached. This is also true of the following miniature, which illustrates a subject not represented in any Benoît cycle, namely, the Greek warriors emerging from the cavity inside the Horse (fol. 74r). The wheels are fixed, not to the animal's legs, but to its wooden base. The introduction of the base must be deliberate and significant.

It is hardly necessary to say that this addition was not the idea of the Bodmer illuminator. He must have used a new model, which already contained the wooden base. In fact, trivial and inconspicuous though it may appear, the base is a unique and precious remnant of a pictorial tradition going back to classical antiquity itself. It is found in practically all classical and most 'sub-classical' representations of the Wooden Horse, including Pompeian frescoes,[59] the Tabula Iliaca A,[60] a Roman sarcophagus lid in Oxford,[61] a Gandhara relief with the story of Laocoon,[62]; and finally the Vatican Virgil manuscript, precisely in the scene of the Greek warriors climbing out of the Horse's womb.[63] It appears to have been a regular attribute not only of the Trojan Horse, but also of other large-size manmade animals in classical Roman art.[64]

What exactly was our master's model ? In the present state of our knowledge no definite answer to that vital question can be given. The probability is, of course, that it was an illuminated manuscript, for the time had not yet arrived when Roman reliefs with mythological scenes were systematically studied and copied.[65] But among surviving manuscripts there are few candidates, and none really suits our situation. Naturally, one thinks first of the two Late Antique Virgil manuscripts in the Vatican Library: not only the Vaticanus just mentioned, but also

the Romanus has a miniature illustrating an episode connected with the Wooden Horse.[66] The Romanus, however, may be immediately dismissed as the Horse has neither wheels nor base. The Vaticanus, on the other hand, can indeed be compared with the Guido illustration on several counts, especially with the second Guido miniature which represents the same subject. However, it must be admitted that the similarities are of a rather general nature; the proportions of the horses are different, and the wooden base itself, which in the Guido miniature is rendered as a flat plank, appears in the Virgil illustration more like a hollow box. The plank-like base in the two Guido miniatures is much closer to the bases represented in several Pompeian frescoes than to the Virgil illustration.

Still, faute de mieux, the most reasonable assumption remains that this feature entered the Guido cycle straight from a Virgil illustration - even though the particular model still eludes us, and may elude us forever. This is not an over-interpretation. In fact, the wooden base is not the only feature in our Guido manuscript which must be considered a survival of the classical tradition. I have mentioned earlier that the broad-brimmed Palaeologan hats have in this manuscript become the distinctive attribute of the Greeks. The Trojans are depicted just as consistently with equally characteristic headgear, namely, strange bonnets of soft material with pointed ends which can only be misunderstood imitations of the Phrygian caps usually worn by the Trojans in both Virgil manuscripts, and indeed throughout classical art. Here the bonnets have degenerated into ridiculous accessories looking like nightcaps. But there can be no doubt that they are based on a classical model, or on a model in the classical pictorial tradition. Without such a source our master could never have known the ancient convention of depicting Trojans in Phrygian caps.

It has been noticed before that the master of the Bodmer manuscript works altogether on a lower level than the Madrid illuminator: generally speaking, he shows less initiative and discharges his task rather indifferently. But we have also seen that he, too, occasionally displays some originality. Sometimes he even introduces ideas not suggested by the text, for instance when he illustrates King Priam's reception of the Greek emissaries as a sumptuous banquet echoing that given for Jason by King Oetes (fol. 4v and 50v). Moreover, he must have had his own set of motif books, which contained pictorial material quite different from those used by the illuminator of the sister manuscript in Madrid.

Equally different are the types of horses used as stopgaps by the illuminator of the Bodmer manuscript. They are prancing horses, with or without riders, which are quite schematically repeated throughout the manuscript in battle and disem-

barkation scenes (fol. 10r, 35v, 39v), and which have a distinct family likeness to the horse in the panel of St. George slaying the dragon in Paolo Veneziano's polyptych in Bologna;[67] and a very curious group of two or three horses seen from the front (fol. 46v, 51r, 59r). Only their forelegs, their chests and their heads, slightly turned to one side, are visible; their bodies, hindlegs and tails are ruthlessly suppressed. This frontal type is almost reminiscent of the lion "contrefais al vif" in Villard de Honnecourt's sketchbook of ca. 1235;[68] at this late date, only twenty or thirty years before animal drawings from nature were painstakingly executed in Northern Italy on an ever increasing scale,[69] this abstract rendering strikes one as singularly outmoded and inept. It can in fact be shown to be a retrograde step. When the frontal horse makes its first appearance in our manuscript, in the miniature of the Judgement of Paris (fol. 17v), the body, seen very slightly from the left and including the hindlegs and tail, is fully visible. The wooden appearance of the animal with its stiff front legs, its broad chest, and the identical trappings and bridle, clearly shows that it was based on the same model as the others. What happened is that the model was reproduced correctly the first time it was used, but our master then realized soon enough that he was not up to the task of perspective foreshortening, and subsequently restricted himself to copying the horse's front, taking care to place the animals as closely as possible to the picture frame so that the omission of the rest of the body might appear to have been caused by lack of space.

One last particularity has to be mentioned, which does not occur in the Bodmer manuscript's counterpart: the series of portraits of Greek and Trojan leaders and their ladies, seventeen for the Greeks, fourteen for the Trojans (fol. 25v - 28r). They illustrate the descriptions of the principal characters taking part in the War, which immediately precede the catalogue of the Greek ships assembled at Athens to sail against Troy. The descriptions are an integral part of all medieval Trojan texts, from Dares through Benoît to Guido; but they are not as a rule illustrated. Guido again expressly quotes Dares as his source: Dares had seen and personally met all the protagonists of the War. The descriptions outline in a few sentences the physical appearance of the various heroes, their character and their personal qualities; they are trite and repetitive, and show little insight. The Bodmer manuscript offers conventional full-size portraits of medieval kings and nobles in armour or court dress and of damsels in modish attire, most of them in full frontal view, and performing standard gestures. The kings wear their crowns, and have sceptres and orbs; Ajax holds a hunting falcon, and Paris his cross-bow and an arrow. Some points made in the text are taken up in the pictures: Nestor and Neoptolemus are huge men, Achilles is bearded, Polidarius fat, Machaon bald,

and Ajax Telamonius beautiful, with long hair down to his shoulders. But the more individual features of Guido's description, such as the small scar which Helen had between her eyebrows, and which gave distinction to her appearance, had to be ignored by the illuminator because of the reduced scale of the portraits.

Undistinguished as this gallery of portraits is artistically, it is not without interest when it is viewed in conjunction with the various fresco cycles of famous men which became popular as decorations of princely castles and palaces in the course of the Trecento. The frescoes in the Carrara palace in Padua illustrating Petrarch's De viris illustribus, exact contemporaries of our manuscript, are only concerned with statesmen and generals of Roman antiquity.[70] But the series of the **Neuf preux** which started from France on its triumphant course all over Europe in the second quarter of the century included at least one of our heroes, namely, Hector of Troy.[71] Perhaps more relevant is the decoration of the 'Sala degli uomini famosi' executed about 1332 by Giotto for King Robert of Naples in the Castel Nuovo.[72] Among its nine famous figures from antiquity were four heroes of the Trojan War: Hector, Aeneas, Achilles, and Paris. Similar fresco cycles existed in Milan, Verona, Rome, and elsewhere. The series in the Bodmer manuscript may have been inspired by this tradition of portraying illustrious men of the age of paganism. The survival of the tradition into the Quattrocento may for instance be traced in the chronicle formerly owned by Sir Sydney Cockerell, which unites on one page the figures of Agamemnon, Menelaus, Paris presenting Helen to Priam, Jason with the Golden Fleece, and Hector.[73]

Although this iconographical survey has told us a good deal about the Bodmer manuscript and its model, there remains at the end a certain sense of frustration. The most tantalizing questions have been raised, but most of them had to be left unanswered. It has become clear that our cycle of Guido miniatures originated in Venice, that it was based on a French Benoît illustration, and that in a way it represents a parallel to the Italian Benoît cycles. We also traced some of the extraneous pictorial material, probably gleaned from motif books, which was added to the cycle whenever a new copy was produced; and thereby gained valuable insight into the working methods of the Venetian masters illustrating secular texts. Finally it became evident that some effort was made, albeit with insufficient means, to overcome the parochialism and self-sufficiency of western mythological illustration and to restore to the story at least part of the setting in which it belongs. This 'progress' corresponds roughly to the difference in the approach to classical mythology we found to exist between Guido's and Benoit's texts. We traced the easily recognizable Byzantine figural types first introduced into the

original Guido illustration, and the meagre but unmistakable quotations from classical imagery in the Bodmer manuscript. But we were unable to say whether the Byzantine elements point to the presence of a Greek manuscript with miniatures of the story of Troy, or whether they are disiecta membra introduced at random. Nor did we succeed in discovering the source of the classical features: they seem to point to a Late Antique Virgil manuscript, but the individual model eludes us. We could do no more than collect the evidence for the use of these highly unorthodox models, in the hope that one day a solution may come forward from some unexpected quarter.

## Notes

1)      Daretis Phrygii De Excidio Troiae Historia, ed. F. MEISTER, Leipzig 1873. - Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridos belli Troiani libri sex, ed. W. EISENHUT, Leipzig 1958. - The Trojan War, The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian, transl. by R. M. FRAZER, Jr., Bloomington 1966.

2)      W. SPEYER, Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum, München 1971 (Handbuch d. Altertumswissenschaft, I, 2), p. 46.

3)      H. BOAS, Aeneas' Arrival in Latium, Amsterdam 1938. - J. PERRET, Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome, Paris 1942. - A. ALFÖLDI, Die trojanischen Urahnen der Römer, Basel 1957. - On the early discrediting of Homer cf. W. R. STANFORD, The Ulysses Theme, Oxford 1954, pp. 146ff.

4)      On the contradiction inherent in the medieval attitude towards Aeneas and Antenor, cf. M. REINHOLD, 'The Unhero Aeneas', Classica et Medievalia, 27, 1966, pp. 195-207.

5)      N. E. GRIFFIN, 'Unhomeric Elements in the Medieval Story of Troy', The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 7, 1907/08, pp. 32-52.

6)      E. FARAL, La légende arthurienne, I: Des origines à Geoffrey de Monmouth, Paris 1929, pp. 262ff. - A. E. COHEN, De visie op Troje van de westerse middeleeuwse Geschiedschrijvers tot 1160, Assen 1941, p. 16.

7)      G. HIGHET, The Classical Tradition, New York 1949, p. 54.

8)      BENOîT, Chronique des ducs de Normandie, publ. C. FAHLIN, Uppsala 1951-1954.

9)      G. A. BECKMANN, Trojaroman und Normannenchronik: Die Identität der beiden Benoît und die Chronologie ihrer Werke, München 1965.

10)     BENOîT DE STE.-MAURE, Le Roman de Troie, ed. L. CONSTANS, 6 vols., Paris 1904-1912 (Société des anciens textes français).

11)     HIGHET, op. cit., p. 52.

12)     R. K. PRESSON, Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida and the Legends of Troy, Madison 1953.

13)  G. D. WEST, 'The Description of Towns in Old French Verse Romances', French Studies, 11, 1957, pp. 50-59, esp. p. 50f.

14)  O. SÖHRING, Werke bildender Kunst in altfranzösischen Epen, Erlangen 1900, p. 34f. – E. FARAL, Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du Moyen Age, Paris 1913, pp. 325ff.

15)  FARAL, op. cit., pp. 307ff.

16)  A. PAUPHILET, Le legs du Moyen Age, Melun 1950, p. 98.

17)  G. RAYNAUD DE LAGE, 'Les romans antiques et la représentation de l'Antiquité', Le Moyen Age, 67 (sér. 4, vol. 16), 1961, pp. 252f.

18)  H. FRENZEL, 'Der Stammbaum der Este, Ein Beitrag zur genealogischen Trojalegende', Wort und Text, Festschrift für Fritz Schalk, Frankfurt 1963, pp. 187-198.

19)  E. PANOFSKY and F. SAXL, 'Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art', Metropolitan Museum Studies, 4, 1933, p. 260.

20)  FRENZEL, op. cit., p. 194.

21)  F. SAXL, 'The Troy Romance in French and Italian Art', Lectures, London 1957, p. 133.

22)  Standard edition by N. E. GRIFFIN, Cambridge (Mass.) 1936.

23)  Cf. BENOîT DE STE.-MAURE, ed. CONSTANS, op. cit., VI, pp. 318ff.

24)  On Guido, cf. R. CHIANTERA, Guido delle Colonne, Naples 1956. – C. DIONISOTTI, 'Proposta per Guido Giudice', Rivista di Cultura classica e medievale, 7, 1965, pp. 453-466. – S. CARAMELLA, 'L'umile tragedia di Guido delle Colonne', Arcadia, Accademia letteraria Italiana, Atti e Memorie, ser.3, vol.4, 1967, pp.106-111.

25)  E. H. KANTOROWICZ, Kaiser Friedrich II, Berlin 1927, pp. 307ff.

26)  BERTONI, Storia letteraria d'Italia, Il Duecento, Milan 1930, pp. 88.

27)  CHIANTERA, op. cit., pp. 151ff.

28)  KANTOROWICZ, op. cit., p. 298.

29)  E. PANOFSKY, Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art, Stockholm 1970, p. 71.

30)  CHIANTERA, op. cit., p. 238.

31)  Ibid., p. 223ff.

32)  HIGHET, op. cit., p. 55.

33)  Bibliography in H. BUCHTHAL, Historia Troiana, Studies in the History of mediaeval secular Illustration (Studies of the Warburg Institute, 32), London-Leiden 1971, p. 28 note 1; add: B. DEGENHART and A. SCHMITT, Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto, in Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 14, 1973, p. 54, figs. 66-68; B. DEGENHART and A. SCHMITT, Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300-1450, Teil II: Venedig, Berlin 1980, p. 100ff., Abb. 170-174; Catalogue: Manuscrits latins de la Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cologny-Genève 1982, pp. 142-147.

34)  Cf. fol. 18v. While the building is, of course, characteristically Venetian, the similarity with the Ducal Palace is not absolute, but limited to a few easily recognizable features. Depictions of Trecento buildings, even when they were intended to reproduce a definite well-known edifice, are still mostly imaginative, cf. Th. E. MOMMSEN, 'Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum illustrium in Padua', The Art Bulletin, 34, 1952, pp. 95-116, reprinted in his Medieval and Renaissance Studies, ed. E. F. RICE, Jr., Ithaca, N. Y. 1959, pp. 130-174.

35)   Cf. DEGENHART and SCHMITT, op. cit., p. 101, Abb. 175-178.

36)   Ibid., p. 100f.

37)   BUCHTHAL, op. cit., p. 29.

38)   Ibid., p. 29.

39)   Ibid., p. 29.

40)   DEGENHART and SCHMITT, op. cit., p. 97, Abb. 161-166.

41)   Ibid., p. 30, Abb. 67, 79, 81; 64, 91-93.

42)   BUCHTHAL, op. cit., passim.

43)   Ibid., pp. 20ff.

44)   Ibid., p. 30.

45)   Ibid., pp. 47ff.

46)   BUCHTHAL, op. cit., pp. 32ff.

47)   Ibid., p. 33.

48)   Ibid., p. 33.

49)   Ibid., pp. 33ff.

50)   Cf. L. OLSCHKI, 'Asiatic Exoticism in Italian Art of the Early Renaissance', Art Bulletin, 26, 1944, p. 95.

51)   F. SAXL, 'Jacopo Bellini and Mantegna as Antiquarians', Lectures, London 1957, p. 152.

52)   Ibid., p. 152.

53)   On the process of improving and correcting on the model employed in the Vatopedi Octateuch, cf. WEITZMANN, Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der makedonischen Renaissance, Köln-Opladen 1963, p. 43.

54)   Reproductions of all the miniatures: A. XYNGOPOULOS, Les miniatures du roman d'Alexandre le Grand dans le codex de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise (Bibliothèque de l'Institut hellénique d'études byzantines de Venise, 2), Athens-Venice 1966. - D. J. A. ROSS, Alexander historiatus (Warburg Institute Surveys,1), London 1963, p. 43f. - L. GALLAGHER, 'The Alexander Romance in the Hellenic Institute at Venice, Some Notes on the initial Miniature', Thesaurismata, 16, 1979, pp. 170ff.

55)   OLSCHKI, 'Asiatic Exoticism', op. cit., pp. 99 and 104.

56)   BUCHTHAL, op. cit., pls. 29, 32.

57)   Cf. BUCHTHAL, op. cit., p. 35.

58)   Cf., e.g., BUCHTHAL, The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter (Studies of the Warburg Institute, 2), London 1938, pp. 30ff.

59)   M. H. SWINDLER, Ancient Painting, New Haven 1929, fig. 578.

60)   Cf. A. SADURSKA, Les tables iliaques, Warsaw 1964, pp. 24ff.

61)   K. WEITZMANN, Ancient Book Illumination (Martin Classical Lectures, 16), Cambridge, Mass. 1959, fig. 54.

62)   Ibid., fig. 55.

63)   J. DE WIT, Die Miniaturen des Vergilius Vaticanus, Amsterdam 1959, pl.8,2.

64)   Cf., e.g., Pasiphae's brazen cow : G. E. RIZZO, La Pittura ellenistico-romana, Milan 1929, pl. 34.

65)   PANOFSKY, Renaissance and Renascences, op. cit., pp. 162ff.

66)   E. ROSENTHAL, The Illuminations of the Vergilius Romanus, Dietikon-Zürich 1972, fig. XX.

67)   R. PALLUCCHINI, La Pittura veneziana del Trecento, Venice-Rome 1964, fig. 126.

68)   H. R. HAHNLOSER, Villard de Honnecourt, Vienna 1935, p. 147, pl. 48.

69)   O. PÄCHT, 'Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 13, 1950, pp. 13ff.

70)   MOMMSEN, 'Petrarch and the Decoration', op. cit., p. 115.

71)   R. L. WYSS, 'Die neun Helden, eine ikonographische Studie', Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte, 17, 1957, pp. 73ff.

72)   MOMMSEN, 'Petrarch and the Decoration', op. cit., p. 113.

73)   I. TOESCA, 'Gli uomini famosi della Biblioteca Cockerell', Paragone Anno III, 1952, no. 25, p. 16f., pl. 9.

COLOUR MICROFICHE EDITION

## C O D .   B O D M E R   7 8

### N O T I C E   D U   C A T A L O G U E

(Manuscrits latins de la Bodmeriana. Catalogue établi par Elisabeth Pellegrin.
Cologny-Genève: Fondation Martin Bodmer 1982. p. 144-147.)

GUIDO DE COLVMNIS, *Historia destructionis Troiae*

Parch., XIVe s. (vers 1370?), 88 ff., 325 × 230 mm., justification:
240-245 × 170 mm.

Ecriture de chancellerie italienne régulière, une main, 2 colonnes,
f. 1-8v: 52 lignes à la colonne, ensuite 44 à 46 lignes.

Titres rubriqués au début de chaque chapitre, seulement jusqu'au
f. 46v. Au f. 1 bordure, encadrant la page et entre les 2 colonnes,
de tiges rouges et de feuilles d'acanthe parsemées de grande pastilles
roses cerclées de bleu ou de rouge vineux, en bas, dans un médaillon
rond encadré de feuilles d'acanthe, blason recouvert de peinture du
même rose que les pastilles, écaillé, dans la marge de droite blason
également repeint en rose; entre les deux colonnes, sur fond or, un
oiseau au long cou recourbé; l'initiale, sur fond or écaillé, contient
un guerrier en cotte de maille, casqué, armé d'une épée et tenant un
bouclier portant la lettre E gothique (Hector, selon BUCHTHAL,
*ouvr. cit. infra*, pl. 31b); f. 12 bordure sur trois côtés de feuilles
d'acanthe et grandes pastilles d'or cerclées de noir, dans la marge de
droite blason d'or avec une figure grattée au milieu; f. 41 initiale
historiée avec courte bordure de feuilles d'acanthe. Autres initiales
bleues à filigranes rouges ou rouges à filigranes bleus. Pieds de
mouche rouges et bleus dans le texte.

Nombreuses peintures illustrant le texte, de la largeur d'une
colonne: environ 60-80 × 90-105 mm., presque à chaque page,
parfois deux à trois dans une page, par exemple: f. 11v, 3 peintures
superposées remplissent une colonne, f. 23v, une large peinture
occupe les deux colonnes (cf. BUCHTHAL, *ouvr. cit.*, pl. 37b et 30b).
Au f. 87v note de l'enlumineur estimant le total de ces peintures à
178: « Queste de (?) penture son 10078 (sic pour: 178) », en dessous
rectification d'une autre main: « non tot sed centum et septuaginta

due si recte numeraui » (xive s.). M. R. JAMES, *ouvr. cit. infra*, p. 243-251, donne une description de toutes les peintures qu'il numérote de 1 à 176; BUCHTHAL, *ouvr. cit.*, p. 28, en a compté 187. En marge de plusieurs miniatures subsistent des instructions pour l'enlumineur en dialecte vénitien, d'une très fine écriture, souvent grattées, effacées ou rognées au bord, commençant généralement par la formule: « fa qua de sovra como... », par exemple f. 18v: « ... como Priamo a fato I obro (?)... coloquio ai suo... estat in pie », f. 43v en bas: « fa qua de sovra como li griexi (?) combate con li troiani... », f. 42: « fa qua de sovra Troia como lo re Priamo xe (?) in lo so palazo in una gran sala... et fa li con le gran barbe » (B. QUARITCH, *Catalogue cit. infra*, reproduit une autre note particulièrement détaillée).

Cahiers: 11 quaternions avec réclames.

Le f. 86v est blanc, sauf quelques traces de textes en latin très effacés, d'une grande écriture penchée italienne du xvi-xviie s.; f. 87v, en haut note en italien: « Arme (ou: « A me » ?) ddite (ou: « dolente », selon M. R. JAMES, *ouvr. cit. infra*) qual terra o qual mare ormai me reneuera (?) » (xive-xve s.), puis le début de l'*Ave Maria* (xvie s.); f. 88, en haut, note de 3 lignes en hébreu (note de mise en gage datée de 1646) [1], à gauche, un nom: « dan Joh » (xve s.), une note en italien: « Vostro son e ma non fu d'altruy e chi me vole si me domande a uoy » (xve s.), et 8 vers amoureux de la même main:

> inc.: Za non me in amoray per tradimento
> Za non me in amoray per far follia...

> expl.:... Ch'io seruo a pura fede per non fallire
> E falsso ven tenuto el mio seruire. (édition complète par M. R. JAMES, *ouvr. cit. infra*, p. 242).

Au f. 88v une note sur l'ouverture de la tombe de s. Antonin, martyr de Plaisance, en 1371, semble témoigner que le manuscrit se trouvait cette année-là à Plaisance:

« Anno Christi 1371 de mense augusti propter magnam siccitatem fuit aperta tomba sancti Antonini militis, que est in uisceribus terre, in claustro ecclesie Sancte Marie in Cortina, et eadem ebdomada sequute sunt pluuie in ciuitate et episcopatu Placentie. Et ita erat consuetudo dictam tombam aperiri quando ciuitas et episcopatus carebant pluuia, congregato episcopo et clero, et tandiu durabat pluuia quamdiu stabat aperta illa tomba » (éd. par JAMES, *ibid.*, p. 242).

On lit aussi en bas, en sens inverse: « Sanctus Bartholameus » (xve s.); quelques lignes en italien, grattées, sont à peine lisibles aux rayons ultra-violets.

f. 2: // in presentia dictorum nobilium...

---

[1] Déchiffrée par M<sup>me</sup> Michèle Dukan, de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes.

**Reliure:** récente, plats de bois nus, dos de cuir beige revenant sur un tiers des plats, estampé à froid de grands rinceaux et de petites frises. (D'après les catalogues de vente de 1919 et 1943, le manuscrit avait une reliure de maroquin rouge.)

**Origine:** vénitienne; les peintures seraient l'œuvre de l'enlumineur vénitien Giustino da Forli, vers 1370, d'après BUCHTHAL, *ouvr. cit.*, p. 29.

**Possesseurs:** Le Marquis d'Astorga (ex-libris en espagnol sur une feuille de garde disparue: « Trojanus liber... Manus. del siglo XIII... V. Astorga cuero 1870. C. Lefeb. (2, 145 fr.)...» (d'après JAMES, *ouvr. cit.*, p. 241). Vendu à Paris en 1870 (Catalogue, I, nº 11).

Ricardo Heredia, comte de Benahavis. Vente à Paris, 1893, nº 2981 du catalogue.

Catalogue de vente, Quaritch, 1893, nº 29. Acheté en 1895 chez Quaritch par Henry Yates Thompson (1838-1928). Vente Sotheby, 3 juin 1919, nº 14.

Professeur A. W. Woodward de Londres (cf. BUCHTHAL, p. 28). Vente Quaritch 1943, catalogue 613, nº 11.

Acquis par Martin Bodmer en janvier 1952, sans doute directement, chez le libraire Hoepli de Milan.

### Bibliographie:

*Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia, comte de Benahavis*, 3e partie, Paris, 1893, p. 55, nº 2981.

M. R. JAMES, *A descriptive catalogue of fifty manuscripts from the collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, Cambridge, 1898, p. 241-251, nº 44.

[H. Y. THOMPSON], *Illustrations from one hundred manuscripts in the library of Henry Yates Thompson*, II, Londres, 1907, p. 9, nº 44, pl. XXII-XXV.

*Catalogue of twenty-eight illuminated manuscripts... the property of Henry Yates Thompson*, Londres, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, 3 June 1919, p. 27 nº 14, pl. 20.

S. DE RICCI, *Les manuscrits de la collection Yates Thompson*, dans *Bulletin de la Société française de reproduction des manuscrits à peintures*, X, Paris 1926, p. 55, nº 44.

*A catalogue of illuminated and literary manuscripts*, nº 613, Londres, B. Quaritch, 1943, p. 6, nº 11, pl. 6-7.

H. BUCHTHAL, *Historia troiana. Studies in the history of mediaeval secular illustration*, Londres-Leyde, 1971, p. 28-31, pl. 19, 26-37, 39-40, 44-48, 50-51 (39 reproductions de peintures).

B. Degenhart et A. Schmitt, *Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto.
Zwei Literaten des 14. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Wirkung auf Buchillustrierung
und Kartographie in Venedig, Avignon und Neapel,* dans *Römisches Jahr-
buch für Kunstgeschichte,* 14, 1973, p. 54 et fig. 66-68 = enluminures
des f. 42, 18v et 2.


f. 1-86, Gvido de Columnis, *Historia destructionis Troiae.*

    titre, f. 1 en haut, entre les deux colonnes: Troianus liber.
    inc. (prol.): Et Si cotidie uetera recentibus obruant nonnulla...
        col. 2:... ut ad eius narrationis seriem accedamus.
    (texte), inc.: In Regno Thesalie de predictis scilicet prouinciis Romanie...

    f. 12: Liber secundus noue Troie. Destructa igitur et euersa funditus...
    (= liv. V de l'éd. Griffin *cit. infra* — pas d'autre division apparente).
    expl., f. 86:... Diomedes uero interfecit Regem Antipum, Esterium
    et Optometium (sic).
        Epitaphium Hectoris (*Anthol. lat.* 631, précédé d'un vers supplé-
        mentaire).
        inc. Troum protector Danaum metus hic iacet Hector...
        expl.:... Condidit et merens accumulauit humo (11 v.).
        Epitaphium Achillis. (*Anthol. lat.* 630).
        inc.: Pelides ego sum Tetidis notissima proles...
        expl.:... Cur (sic) pressi hostilem fraude peremptus humum (10 v.).
        Explicit liber excidii Troie. Deo gratias. Amen.

éd. N. E. Griffin, *Guido de Columnis, Historia destructionis Troiae*
(The Mediaeval Academy of America, 26), Cambridge (Mass.), 1936.
éd. et trad. anglaise; M. E. Meek, *Guido delle Colonne, « Historia des-
tructionis Troiae »* translated and edited... (Humanities Series, 71),
Bloomington (Ind.), 1974.

# LIST OF PICTURES

The descriptions of the pictures have been taken from the publication of
M. R. JAMES, A descriptive catalogue of fifty manuscripts from the collection
of Henry Yates Thompson, Cambridge 1898, p. 243-251, but have been abbreviated.
- Numbers in angle brackets refer to the item numbers of this list.

fol. 1r : Full border with two obliterated shields and an initial of a man in
mail. <1>

fol. 2r : King Peleus and five other figures seated in or before an open building.
On right outside stands Jason. <2>

fol. 3r : City on the shore. Two mailed men seated on shore, addressed by a
servant. This is Laomedon's messenger addressing Jason's party. <3>

fol. 4v : A feast. Aeëtes, Medea, Jason, two others at table under architecture.
<4>

fol. 5v : Medea and Jason seated in front of a bed. <5>

fol. 6r : Medea and Jason in bed. <6>

fol. 6v : Medea and Jason in bed. <7>

fol. 7r : Aeëtes and three men stand by a palace on the shore. Medea's head
seen at a window above. Jason and another in mail put off in a boat. <8>
Jason in mail with sword and shield. Two bulls breathing fire. <9>

fol. 7v : An island, a boat on the shore. Jason kills a black dragon. He ploughs
with the two bulls. <10>
A battle of cavalry. Jason fighting the "Spartoi", the offspring of the dragon's
teeth. <11>

fol. 8r : A rock in the sea. On it Jason stabbing a golden ram. <12>

fol. 8v : On shore by a gateway King Peleus embraces Jason: four or five other
men. <13>

fol. 9r : Jason and his fleet sail for Troy. <14>
The Greeks land before Troy. <15>

fol. 9v : Tents on the shore. Ships. City. A crowned king (Peleus) seated in a
tent in the midst of five mailed men: consultation. <16>

fol. 10r : An assault on Troy. On right two women with children on their shoul-
ders. <17>

fol. 11r : The Greeks retreat to their ships. <18>
Another assault. Women flee carrying children. <19>

fol. 11v : Greeks carry sacks of spoil to their ships. In front one empties a bag
of gold into a measure. A man with a strike watches him, and another, seated,
reads the amount on a scroll. <20>

Peleus on horseback, another king, and Greeks go to their ships leading captive women. <21>
Troy. Ships in full sail. <22>

fol. 12r : Initial. Two masons build a city: a king watches. <23>

fol. 12v : King Priam surrounded by courtiers in a tent. A messenger with javelin comes to announce the death of Laomedon. City. <24>

fol. 13r : Troy, with three streams running out through arched openings in the walls. Two men in pointed caps. <25>

fol. 14r : Under architecture in the city of Troy. King Priam sits and addresses a group of Trojans. <26>

fol. 14v : A city. In it stands King Peleus; Antenor with one follower addresses him. <27>
A similar scene: Antenor addresses King Castor. <28>

fol. 15r : Nestor addresses Antenor, who has two followers. <29>

fol. 15v : A similar scene. <29a>
A storm at sea. White rain falling. Antenor's ships with anchors lashed to their side. <30>

fol. 16r : Antenor before Priam in the city. Ships. <31>
Priam addresses the Trojans. <32>

fol. 16v : Priam is speaking to Hector and his other sons. <33>

fol. 17r : Paris stands before Priam and addresses him. <34>

fol. 17v : The Judgment of Paris. <35>

fol. 18r : In a hall. Priam sits: five men in pointed caps seated, Deiphobus is one of them. <36>

fol. 18r : Similar scene: Deiphobus stands and speaks to Priam. <37>

fol. 18v : In a loggia with arcade in front. Troilus speaks to Priam. <38>
Under a marble gateway Priam stands in the centre of a crowd.
He is addressing the citizens. <39>

fol. 19r : Hall. Portheus addresses Priam. <40>

fol. 19v : The city of Troy. Cassandra stands in the gate, prophesying. <41>
In a hall. Priam throned among soldiers. Cassandra before him with two women attending. <42>

fol. 20r : Troy. Priam in the gate with others says farewell to a group of mailed men about to sail for Greece. <43>

fol. 20v : A temple: two open trefoil-arches. This is the temple of Venus or Cytherea. In the left arch is a group of men and women: Helen, crowned, in front. Outside mailed men, one (Menelaus) with a crown on his helmet and two trumpeters. Ships. <44>

fol. 21v : The temple, empty, with the idol on the altar. Trojan boats with planks leading ashore. <45>

fol. 22r : The temple. Outside it men in broad hats slain by Trojans. Behind, Helen with attendants, among armed men. <46>

fol. 22v : The temple in front. Behind it a castle, whence issue Greeks and fight Trojans. <47>
Ships (one with Helen and Paris). Shore with men shooting arrows. <48>
Ships. Helen and soldiers descend a plank to the shore. On right Tenedos. Trumpeters before it welcome Helen. <49>

fol. 23r : In a hall: Helen and two men seated. Paris exhorts her not to weep. <50>

fol. 23v : Across the page: on left Helen crowned; by her a woman bare-headed, and several Trojans in pointed hats, all on horseback. They are met by a group of men blowing trumpets before the city gate. One man holds Helen's bridle.
In the centre, the city: Cassandra stands in a gate, tearing her hair. On right a priest in cope marries Paris to Helen. Priam and trumpeters. A temple with four images on the altar. <51>

fol. 24r : Curtains and a throne in background. A group in broad hats headed by Menelaus crowned. Agamemnon and two kings head a similar group. Agamemnon speaks. <52>

fol. 24v : A storm at sea: four ships, each with two men in it, tossed up and down. <53>

A series of portraits of the principal Greeks and Trojans, fol. 25r-28r:
fol. 25r : ELLENAM. – AGAMEMNON. <54-55>

fol. 25v : Menelao. – Achilles. – Tantalo. – Aiax. – Telamon. <56-60>

fol. 26r : Vlixes. – Diomedes. – Dux Nestor. – Protesilaus. Neptolomus. <61-64>

fol. 26v : Palamedes. – Polidario. – Machaon. – Brisaida. – Dares Rex. <65-69>

fol. 27r : Rex Priamus. – Hector. – DEIFEBO ET ELLENO. – Troilo. <70-73>

fol. 27v : Paris. – Eneas. – Antenor. – Polidamas. – Rex Menon. <74-78>

fol. 28r : AECVBA. – Andromaca. – Chasiandra. – Polisena. <79-82>

fol. 29r : Agamemnon takes counsel. Ships with men in them. <83>

fol. 29v : A small island (Delos) with temple. <84>

fol. 31r : Temple on island. In the temple three men; one takes the hand of Calchas. <85>
In a building, Agamemnon and others seated. Calchas. Ship outside. Calchas joins the Greeks. <86>

fol. 31v : In a tent a group with Calchas. Other tents. Ships. Building. <87>

fol. 32r : A domed temple with nude gold image (of Diana) on altar. Agamemnon adores. Soldiers with shields. Ships with men. <88>
Four ships. <89>
Assault on Sarabona. Trojans have lions on their shields. City. Ships. <90>

fol. 32v : Shore with ruined city (Sarabona) and trees cut down. Ships sail away. <91>
Assault on Tenedos. Scaling ladder and archers. Ships. <92>

fol. 33r : Council in tent. <93>
A similar scene: Figures in tent standing. Ruined city. Ships. <94>

fol. 34r : Tent with seated figures. Diomede and Ulysses (as ambassadors) in broad hats, bearing branches, riding. Ships. <95>
A building in which are Priam and Trojans. The ambassadors approach. A man holds their horses. <96>

fol. 34v : In the building Priam stands. Two Trojans unsheath and brandish their swords. The ambassadors. <97>

fol. 35r : Priam and Trojans in building. The ambassadors ride off. <98>
Horses held by a man. Ambassadors approach tent in which Agamemnon and Greeks are seated. City. <99>

fol. 35v : Agamemnon and Greeks stand in tent. Ships. <100>
A battle before Messana. <101>

fol. 36r : King 'Teutra' (Teuthras) in bed. A man stands over him with a fan.
Achilles and 'Telafus' (Telephus) sit on the bedside. <102>

fol. 36v : In a domed building the tomb of Teutra with white effigy of him. <103>
King Telafus seated receives a scroll inscribed with sham lettering. Four horsemen
in broad hats. <104>

fol. 37r : Ships. On shore Achilles and two others received by Agamemnon and
others in front of tents. <105>

fol. 37v : A ruined city: a king stands in it. Ships and men with furled sails.
(Arrival of Palamedes at Tenedos ?) <106>

fol. 38r : Tents on shore. In one Agamemnon and another rebuked by Diomede.
<107>

fol. 38v : The ships sail. Troy on the shore. <108>

fol. 39r - 40v : Six scenes representing assaults and engagements before Troy.
<109-114>

fol. 41r : Initial. Half length of man with bow. <115>
Towered and walled enclosure: a man in one tower: rivers run out through arches
in the wall. Hector on a horse saluted by Troilus who is about to ride out with
a troop of horse. <116>

fol. 42r : Two arches: in the left stand Priam and others; Hector with a troop
addresses him. <117>
Hector with vizor down, and his troop, ride out of the gate: women look over
the walls. <118>

fol. 42v : Assault of the cavalry troops. Patroclus attacked by Hector. <119>

fol. 43r : Another similar battle. <120>

fol. 43v : A similar picture. <121>

fol. 44v : The Greeks drive the Trojans in at the city gate. Hector on foot
protects their retreat. <122>

fol. 45v : An engagement of cavalry: flight of arrows in the air; a knight falls
wounded in the head. <123>

fol. 46r : The Trojans sally out, a Greek horseman flees: a tent attacked: Greeks
fly to their ships. <124>

fol. 46v : Priam seated surrounded by Trojans: two Greeks in broad hats enter.
A man holds their horses. <125>

fol. 47r : The tomb of Protesilaüs. On left are Agamemnon and another: on
right, a woman tearing her hair (Laodamia). <126>

fol. 47v : Cavalry engagement: trumpeters, city. <127>

fol. 48r : Sally of the Trojans: Greeks in flight. <128>
Another battle. <129>

fol. 49r : Sally of the Trojans. <130>
A loggia with five arches. Priam within, and courtiers before him. <131>

fol. 50r : A battle. <132>

fol. 50v : A battle by the Greek tents. A dead centaur with broad hat and bow:
also Hector and Achilles on their backs.

Greeks on horses in steel hats lead Antenor on a horse with hands bound, to a tent. <133>

A feast: Priam and four men at table under arches, servant, two men. <134>

fol. 51r : Tents. In the foremost are two groups of men in tunics talking, outside two Trojans hold horses. <135>

fol. 52r : A room with a bed. Troilus embraces Briseis. <136>
Briseis on horseback escorted by Greeks in broad hats with feathers, to tents. Trojans ride back to city. <137>

fol. 52v : Tents: in one Calchas (?) addresses Briseis: outside he greets her: two men hold the horses. <138>

fol. 53r : A battle: Hector on foot kills a Greek. <139>

fol. 55v : A battle: Achilles pierces Hector through the heart with a lance. <140>

fol. 56r : An arched and domed apsidal building. In the centre is a huge block of marble: on this is a throne on which is seated the body of Hector. Priam tearing his beard, and a crowd of Trojans. <141>

fol. 56v : Tents: Agamemnon standing in one tent addresses a group of Greeks; horses feeding out of mangers. <142>

fol. 57r : Agamemnon seated in tent addresses a group of men outside, a youth with hawk on hand, and armed men. <143>

fol. 57v : A battle: sally of Trojans headed by Priam, who pierces a horseman with a lance. <144>

fol. 58r : Hector's tomb. Greeks: Hecuba crowned, and two women. <145>

fol. 59r : Tent. Achilles reclining: an attendant at his head. Two horsemen (his messengers to Hecuba) in the tent.
The city gate. Horses outside: within, the messengers speak to Hecuba. <146>

fol. 59v : Tents. A group of Greeks seated in one: Achilles outside in hat and feather, addresses them. City. <147>

fol. 60v : Sally of the Trojans: Greeks on horse and foot retreat to their tents. <148>
Battle on the shore: Trojans set fire to Greek ships in the sea. <149>

fol. 61v : Tents. Achilles seated on a cushion: Greeks stand and speak to him. <150>

fol. 62v : A battle. Diomede dead is carried on a shield to tents. <151>

fol. 64r : A battle: the Greeks slain at their tents: Trojan cavalry. <152>

fol. 64v : An engagement of cavalry: the headless corpse of Troilus dragged at the heels of Achilles' horse. <153>

fol. 66r : A temple: two altars. In front, Achilles and Archilogus with scimitars are slain by Paris and other Trojans in peaked hats. <154>

fol. 66v : Cavalry battle: Ajax cleaves the head of Paris with his sword. <155>

fol. 67v : Battle of the Greeks and Amazons. Penthesilea in mail with crown and long hair, the others in steel hats with long hair. Penthesilea wounds Diomede with a lance. <156>

fol. 68v : Another battle. Pyrrhus cuts off Penthesilea's left arm with a sword. <157>

fol. 69v : In an arched loggia over the moat, Priam sits with hand to head. Antenor speaks: Eneas, and others before him, also dejected. <158>

fol. 70v : In a building Priam and courtiers seated. Soldiers before him. <159>
Tents: Agamemnon and others seated in one: Antenor speaks to them. Troy on right: Trojans on the wall hold branches. <160>

fol. 71v : A tent: Ulixes and Diomede consult with Antenor: other men outside waiting: city. <161>

fol. 72v : Building with trefoil arch. A huge altar, on it a victim which an eagle is seizing. In front six Trojans kneel in terror. <162>

fol. 73v : Shore; men carry sacks over gangways to the ships. On shore, three men face and watch the Horse being dragged into the city gate by a crowd of men. <163>
(joins on). The Greek ships sail to left: on shore Trojans in the gate, and by the walls, watch them. <164>

fol. 74r : A Greek emerges head first from the belly of the Horse: a crowd of his companions are already out. On right Greeks slay three people in a bed. <165>
In a temple with altar and gold idol Pyrrhus wounds kneeling Priam in the neck: two other Greeks watch. <166>

fol. 74v : Two men carry chest and bag down rocks: burning buildings in front. Greeks set fire to buildings. <167>

fol. 75v : In a building with flat ceiling in square panels Pyrrhus in centre beheads kneeling Polyxena. Her head falls into the marble sarcophagus where Achilles lies in full armour. The lid is propped up. On left three Greek youths weep: on right Hecuba rends her clothes. <168>

fol. 76v : Greek ships. City. <169>

fol. 77r : Antenor and three companions on an island point at a city. <170>

fol. 77v : A storm, masts breaking, sails torn: submerged men and ships. <171>

fol. 78v : The Greek ships passing under a high rock: five men (Nauplius, etc.) cast stones on them. <172>

fol. 79r : Aegisthus with sword cuts the throat of Agamemnon in bed. <173>

fol. 81r : In an arched building Orestes crowned stands up from his throne and cuts off the head of Elicomestra (Clytemnestra), who stands bound before him. Armed men. <174>
Orestes points to Aegisthus, who lies in white shirt bound on a sledge drawn by a horse. On right is a gibbet. A man stands on the shoulders of a struggling criminal bound and blindfold. Two others hang on the gibbet. Soldiers. <175>

fol. 83v : On an island, before a building between thick bushes Peleus crowned embraces Pyrrhus. Ships. <176>