

# LES ENLUMINURES

PARIS CHICAGO NEW YORK

[www.lesenluminures.com](http://www.lesenluminures.com)

Collection of *Vitae Patrum*, including, JEROME, *Vita sancti Pauli primi heremite* (Life of St. Paul, the First Hermit); EVAGRIUS, *Vita sancti Antonii* (Life of St. Anthony); JEROME, *Vita sancti Hilarionis* (Life of St. Hilarion); JEROME, *Vita Malchi monachi captivi* (Life of Malchus, the Captive Monk); ANASTASIUS, *Vita sancti Iohannis Eleemosynarii* (Life of St. John the Almsgiver); AMPHILOCHIUS, *Vita sancti Basilii* (Life of St. Basil); GENNADIUS, *Vita sancti Ieronimi* (Life of St. Jerome); FORTUNATUS, *Vita sancti Hilarii* (Life of St. Hilarius); DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS, *Vita sancti Pachomii* (Life of St. Pachomius); EFFREM, *Vita beati Abrahamii et Marie neptis eius* (Life of St. Abraham and his Niece Mary); ANTHONY, DISCIPLE OF SYMEON, *Vita sancti Symeon* (Life of St. Symeon); [Anonymous], *Vita sancti Frontonii* (Life of St. Frontonius); [Anonymous], *Visio Fursei* (The Vision of Fursey); SOPHRONIUS, *Vita Zozime simul cum Marie heremite* (The Life of Zozimas and Mary the Hermit); [Anonymous], *Vita sancte Theodore* (Life of St. Theodora); [Anonymous], *Vita sancte Marine* (The Life of St. Marina); [Anonymous], *Vita sancte Euphrosyne* (The Life of St. Euphrosyne)

In Latin, manuscript on paper

France, Hostun or Eymeux(?), dated 1472

171 folios on paper, contemporary foliation in top right recto (folios 1 and 18 not foliated), complete, watermarks, bunch of grapes with a single line twisting stem, similar to Briquet nos. 13037 and 13038, head of a bull, similar to Briquet 14972, (collation i<sup>14</sup> ii-ix<sup>12</sup> x<sup>12+1</sup> [singleton added to beginning of quire] xi-xiv<sup>12</sup>), catchwords at end of gatherings, sporadic quire markings, frame ruled in lead, 30-32 lines in ff. 1-13, 38-39 lines in ff. 14-169, two main scribes writing in lettres batardes, the first (ff. 1-13) writing in a spacious, high grade of the script, the second (ff. 14-169) writing in a compact and current hand, front and back pastedowns contain legal documents in a sixteenth-century notarial cursive, the notary, Claudius Bertramus, adding notes in a very rapid cursive on f. av and 169v, summarizing the documents and dating them, marginal corrections in contemporary hand throughout, sporadic manicules (ff. 19v, 70v, 106v 107, etc.), table of contents and incipits in red ink, majuscules within text rubricated with single stroke of red ink, three-line initials in red ink at chapter headings, large nine-line initial in red ink in the shape of a fish (f. 5v), ink smudge on f. 152, slight staining in the top and bottom margins, otherwise good condition. Early sixteenth-century wooden binding covered with calf leather, somewhat scratched and scuffed, large brass corner pieces, gilt tooling on spine reads "SAINT JÉROME MANUSCRIT DU XV<sup>ME</sup>", good condition. Dimensions 291 x 211mm.

Signed and dated, this large manuscript containing seventeen lives of saints was likely intended for a monastic community, perhaps of women, near Hostun, France, possibly the community founded by Beatrix d'Ornacieu at Eymeux in 1301. The compiler focused on Jerome's lives of the Desert Fathers and other early ascetics, concluding with three lives of female saints who lived as men, Theodora, Marina, and Euphrosyne. A sixteenth-century owner added his own legal documents as pastedowns and bound the manuscript in calf with large brass corner pieces.

## PROVENANCE

1. This manuscript was produced under the direction of Telmonus Bertrandi according to the colophon on f. 169v that reads "Anno domini 1472 feci fieri hunc librum ego frater Telmonus Bertrandi humilis prior Hosteduni et rector Emusci" ["I, Telmonus Bertrand,

humble prior of Hostun and rector of Eymeux, had this book made in the year of the Lord 1472"]. Telmonus was the prior of Hostun (*Hosteduni*, see Brun-Durand, 1891, pp. 177-78) and the rector of Eymeux (*Emusci*, see Brun-Durand, 1891, pp. 137-38). Hostun boasted a priory dedicated to St. Martin since the eleventh century. Since the thirteenth century, Eymeux was part of the feudal holdings of Hostun and contained a church dedicated to St. Saturninus as well as a monastic community founded by Beatrix d'Ornacieux in 1301.

2. A later owner of the book, Claudius Bertramus Castelloneus (*uel* de Castellone), has left notes on f. av and f. 169v, dated 1564 and 1559 respectively. The notes are written in a very rapid cursive and seem to relate to legal documents used as pastedowns, probably written by Claudius as well. The document on the front pastedown is a marriage contract between one Gilabella and her husband-to-be Berthonus. The document serving as the back pastedown is a contract of sale that mentions a Petrus Artandi and contains a fragmentary dating clause *mensis Aprilis apud Hostedunum* (the month of April at Hostun). The toponym Castelloneus may situate Claudius in Chastel-Arnaud (see "Chastel (Le)" in Brun-Durand, 1891, p. 73).
3. The manuscript belonged to Denys Salvaing de Boissieu (1600-1683), a legal scholar and historian of Dauphiné, who amassed a large collection of Greek books and other manuscripts.
4. The manuscript is listed as no. 811 in a catalog compiled by Falque and Perrin for the sale of de Boissieu's books in 1897 at Grenoble.
5. Private collection.

## TEXT

ff. 1-5, *Incipit uita sancti Pauli primi heremite condita a beato Iheronimo*, incipit, "Inter multos sepe dubitatum est...quam imperatorum purpuratum cum regnis suis. EXPLICIT VITA SANCTI PAVLI";

Jerome's Life of St. Paul the Hermit (d. ca. 345) was well known and circulated widely in the Middle Ages (*Légendiers latins* lists 233 MSS, not including the present manuscript). The short text follows the life of Paul the Hermit and ends with St. Anthony's visit to Paul in Thebes. (BHL 6596 = CPL 609) (See "Paul the First Hermit (Paul of Thebes)" in ODS; "Paolo di Tebe, eremita, santo" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 10, col. 270-80; AA. SS. Ian. I (1643), 602-09; PL 23.17-28).

ff. 5-30v, *Incipit prologus Evagrii presbiteri in uitam sancti Antonii quam transtulit de Greco in Latinum*, incipit, "Presbiter Evagrius Innocentio carissimo...ut totius corruptionis artifices. EXPLICIT Vita sancti Anthonii Egyptii";

Considered the founder of the anchoritic monastic tradition, St. Anthony (251-356) is the best-known Eastern saint in the Western hagiographical tradition. *Légendiers latins* lists 233 MSS, not including the present manuscript, in which Evagrius's translation of Anthony's life appears.

(BHL 609 = CPL 2059a/b = CCSL 170) (See "Antony of Egypt" in ODS; "Antonio, Abate, santo" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 2 col. 106-36; AA. SS. Ian. II (1643), 107-62; PL 73.125-70).

ff. 30v-42v, *Incipit vita sancti Hylarionis*, incipit, "Scripturus uitam beati Hylarionis habitatorem...plus illum locum deliquerat. EXPLICIT VITA SANCTI HILARIONIS";

A disciple of St. Anthony, St. Hilarion (c. 291-371) became a hermit first in Gaza and then moved throughout the Mediterranean in search of solitude. Jerome's life of St. Hilarion is well attested. *Légendiers latins* lists 174 manuscripts containing the work, not including the present manuscript. (BHL 3879 = CPL 618) (See "Hilarion" in ODS; "Ilarione di Gaza, monaco, santo" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 7 col. 731-35; AA. SS. Oct. IX (1858), 16-59; PL 23.29-54).

ff. 42v-46, *Incipit prefatio sancti Iheronimi in uita Malchi monachi*, incipit, "Qui nauali prelio dimicaturi...mori non posse superari. EXPLICIT VITA CAPTIVI MONACHI";

According to Jerome's Life of Malchus, Malchus (d. ca. 390) was a monk who was enslaved by Bedouins but later ran away and told his tale to Jerome. The narrative was very popular in the Middle Ages and survives in 165 manuscripts, not including the present manuscript, according to *Légendiers latins*. (BHL 5190 = CPL 619) (See "Malchus" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*; "Malco, eremita, santo," in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 8, col. 585-87; AA. SS. Oct. IX (1869), pp. 59-69; PL 23.55-62).

ff. 46-75v, *Incipit prefatio Anastasii episcopi in uita patriarche Iohannis Alexandrini episcopi dei*, incipit, "Cogitante ac diu tacite solliciteque...et semper et in secula seculorum amen";

A Latin translation made by Anastasius from the Greek text of Leontius, the life of St. John the Almsgiver (fl. 620) catalogues the patriarch's abundant generosity. The Latin text survives in 96 manuscripts according to *Légendiers latins*, not including the present manuscript. The copy in this manuscript lists 54 chapters but only includes 53 chapters with a blank space of about 10 lines on f. 75v where chapter 54 should have been written. (BHL 4388) (See "John the Almsgiver" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*; "Giovanni l'Elemosiniere, patriarca di Alessandria, santo" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 6 col. 750-57; AA. SS. Ian. II (1643), 495-535; PL 73.337-84).

ff. 75v-90v, [Prologue and Life of St. Basilus], incipit, "Dilectissimi non est indiciorum fideles filios...et semper et in secula seculorum amen";

Basil the Great (ca. 330-79), bishop of Caesarea, was the first to codify monastic living in a Rule, which nearly all Eastern monastics still follow today. The Life of St. Basil found in this manuscript is listed in 76 manuscripts by *Légendiers latins*, not including the present manuscript. (BHL 1023) (See "Basil the Great" in ODS; "Basilio il Grande, vescovo di Cesarea, Dottore della Chiesa, santo" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* vol. 2 col. 910-44; AA. SS. Iun. II (1752), 807-958).

ff. 90v-94v, *Incipit uita sancti Ieronimi presbyteri*, incipit, "Ieronimus presbiter Stridonie...annis octoginta et mensibus sex";

Gennadius's (d. 496) Life of Jerome (ca. 341-420) chronicles the life of the famous biblical translator and commentator. Not including the present manuscript, the Life survives in 115

manuscripts according to *Légendiers latins*. (BHL 3869 = CPL 623) (See "Jerome (Hieronymus)" in ODS; "Girolamo, Dottore della Chiesa, santo" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 6, col. 1109-37; *PL* 22.175-84).

ff. 94v-98v, *Incipit prologus Fortunati in uita sancti Hyllarii*, incipit, "Domino sancto et beatissimo...celo gaudente. Explicit uita sancti Hyllarii";

The Life of St. Hilarius (ca. 315-68) by Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 530-ca. 600), narrates the life of the bishop of Poitiers and his tireless advocacy of orthodox Christianity against Arianism. The text was transmitted in 181 manuscripts in the Middle Ages, not including the present manuscript, according to *Légendiers latins*. (BHL 3885 = CPL 1038) (See "Hilary" in ODS; "Ilario, vescovo di Poitiers, Dottore della Chiesa, santo" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 7 col. 719-27; *AA. SS. Ian. I* (1643), 782-802).

ff. 98v-127v, *Incipit prefacio in uita beati Pachomii*, incipit, "Domino uenerando michi in Christo...gloria in secula seculorum. Explicit uita beati Pachomii";

Dionysius Exiguus's Latin translation of the Life of Pachomius (d. 346) survives in 36 manuscripts according to *Légendiers latins*, not including the present manuscript. Pachomius is the famous founder of Western cenobitic, i.e. communal, monasticism. (BHL 6410) (See "Pachomius" in ODS; "Pacomio, abate di Tabennesi, santo" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* vol. 10 col. 10-21; *PL* 73.227-72).

ff. 127v-137v, *Incipit uita beati Abrahamii et Marie neptis eius quam scripsit sanctus Effren*, incipit, "Fratres mei cupio uobis enarrare...in secula seculorum amen. Explicit uita beati Abrahamii et Marie neptis eius";

Attributed to the author Ephraem, the Life of Abraham Kindunaia and his niece Mary (6<sup>th</sup> century) details how Abraham, a native of Edessa in Mesopotamia, left his secular life behind on the eve of his wedding and became a hermit. Later, his orphaned niece, Mary, joined him. The text is transmitted in 33 manuscripts according to *Légendiers latins*, not including the present manuscript. (BHL 12) (See "Abraham Kidunaia" in ODS; "Abramo di Be(y)th Qidona, anacoreta, santo" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* vol. 1 col. 113-15; *AA. SS. Mart. II* (1668), 433-44; *PL* 73.281-92 and 651-60).

ff. 137v-143, *Incipit uita beati Symeonis*, incipit, "Sanctus Symeon ex utero matris...deposicio eius .iiii. die Augusti. Explicit Vita beati Symeonis";

Written by Anthony, a student of Simeon, the Life of Simeon (390-459) narrates the life of the famous hermit, who spent most of his life atop a column. The text was popular in the Middle Ages; *Légendiers latins* lists 64 manuscripts, not including the present manuscript. (BHL 7957) (See "Simeon Stylites" in ODS; "Simeone Stilita, l'Anziano, santo" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* vol. 11 col. 1116-38; *AA. SS. Ian. I* (1643), 261-86).

ff. 143-144v, *Incipit uita beati Frontonii hominis Dei*, incipit, "Qui homo Dei et Christi...satisfactionem delicta donentur. Explicit uita beati Frontonii hominis Dei";

Saint Frontonius, an abbot and later a hermit in Egypt, was not an especially popular saint in the Middle Ages but is probably best-known for the miracle of being provided food by camels in the desert. The anonymous Latin life was likely composed in the seventh century. *Légendiers latins* lists 14 manuscripts containing this text, not including this manuscript. (BHL 3192) (See "Frontone (Frontonio), abate in Egitto, santo" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 5 col. 1287-88; AA. SS. Apr. II (1738), 200-03; PL 73.428-32).

ff. 144v-148v, *Incipit visio Forsei abbatis*, incipit, "Fuit uir uite uenerabilis Forseus...radice amaritudinis generantur. Explicit uisio beati Forsei abbatis";

An early Irish pilgrim, Saint Fursey (d. 650) first left Ireland for England, and then England for France. He is remembered for his visions of Heaven and Hell. The life and vision of St. Fursey is transmitted in 88 manuscripts according to *Légendiers latins*, not including the present manuscript. (BHL 3209) (See "Fursey" in ODS; "Fursea (gaelico: *Fursa*), abate di Lagny, santo" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 5 col. 1321-22; AA. SS. Ian. II (1734), pp. 35-55; MGH *Scriptores rerum merov.*, 4.423-49).

ff. 148v-158, *Incipit uita Zozime simul cum Marie heremite*, incipit, "Fuit quidam senex in Palestine...de seculo migravit ad Dominum. Explicit uita Zozime simul et Marie heremite";

Mary of Egypt (5<sup>th</sup> century?) was a very popular saint throughout the Middle Ages. Initially a prostitute in Egypt, she later became a hermit, completely covered with hair, after a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This version of the life exists in 40 manuscripts according to *Légendiers latins*, not including the present manuscript. (BHL 5417) (See "Mary of Egypt" in ODS; "Maria Egiziaca, santa" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* vol. 8 col. 981-94; AA. SS. Apr. I (1675), 67-90).

ff. 158-163v, *Incipit uita et actus Sancte Theodore*, incipit, "In diebus Zenonis imperatoris...in secula seculorum amen. Explicit uita et miracula sancte Theodore."

This anonymous text details the life of St. Theodora (later 5<sup>th</sup> century), who avoided marriage by entering a monastery and living as a man. While the topos of a virgin living as a man is a hagiographical commonplace, the Latin text of this life is rare and is only contained in three manuscripts according to *Légendiers latins*, not including this manuscript. (BHL 8070) (See "Teodora, penitente di Alessandria, santa" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 12 col. 220-21; AA. SS. Sept. III (1761), pp. 788-91).

ff. 163v-165, *Incipit uita Beate Marine uirginis*, incipit, "Efratus erat quidam secularis...uirginis multa facit mirabilia. Explicit uita et conuersatio beate Marine uirginis";

St. Marina (5<sup>th</sup> century) joined her father, who wanted to spend his old age in a monastery, living as a man. Her life was translated into many medieval vernaculars, and the Latin version of her life was also circulated widely. *Légendiers latins* lists 95 copies of this text, not including the present manuscript. (BHL 5528) (See "Marina (Maria)-Marino, monaca, santa" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 8 col. 1165-70; AA. SS. Iul. IV (1725), pp. 278-88).

ff. 165-169, *Incipit uita sancte Eufrosine uirginis*, incipit, "Fuit in Alexandrina ciuitate...in secula seculorum. A.M.E.N. Explicit uite sanctorum patrum";

St. Euphrosyne (5<sup>th</sup> century) was betrothed to a rich man by her father, but to escape the arranged marriage she lived as a eunuch in a monastery. The Latin version of the life only survives in six manuscripts according to *Légendiers latins*, not including this manuscript. (BHL 1640 (Castissima (=Euphrosyna)) (See "Eufrosina (Smaragdo) di Alessandria, vergine, santa" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 5 col. 175-76; AA. SS. Feb. II (1735), pp. 535-44; PL 73.643-52).

Hagiography was one of the most popular literary genres in the Latin Middle Ages. Manuscripts containing collections of saints' lives were organized according to local interests, liturgical calendars, or different types of saints (Phillipart, 1977, pp. 24-25). This manuscript contains a collection of lives of early Christian hermits, monks, and ascetics belonging to the *Vitae patrum* tradition, i.e. a collection of saints' lives composed of Lives of the Desert Fathers and their Late Antique imitators (Phillipart, 1977, p. 26). The beginning of the *Vitae patrum* tradition in the Latin West is tied to the three lives (i.e. the lives of Paul the Hermit, Malchus, and Hilarion) composed by Jerome (c. 342 – 420) that comprise the beginning of this manuscript along with the Life of Anthony translated into Latin by Evagrius (Aigrain, 2000, p. 160). The other lives contained in this manuscript concern early saints from the fourth to seventh centuries, who pursued ascetic discipline. The final three lives (Theodora, Marina, and Euphrosyne) belong to women who lived their monastic lives as men. The Latin lives of Theodora and Euphrosyne are rare, contained in only three and six manuscripts besides this manuscript respectively. Thus, this manuscript is an important textual witness to the lives of these saints.

The number of extant Latin legends is vast, yet the studies of them are few, especially in the later Middle Ages. A study of similar collections from the fifteenth century in Southeastern France (greatly facilitated by the *Légendiers latins* database) would reveal much about this manuscript's textual relations to other legends. This collection of lives was likely intended for a monastic audience who would find models for sanctity and ascetic rigor in their monastic predecessors. The inclusion of the three lives of women who lived as men within monasteries may also indicate an intended female audience. A later owner, Claudius Bertramus, had the manuscript rebound with legal documents as pastedowns in the sixteenth century. The documents pertain to Hostun, where the manuscript was likely written. Some scrawled notes by Claudius give the dates 1559 and 1564, likely the dates of the documents. In the seventeenth century, the manuscript belonged to Denys de Salvaing de Boissieu (1600-1683), who wrote a history of the Dauphiné region of France, where this manuscript was produced.

This manuscript is an excellent example of a Latin legendary thematically focused on the *Vitae patrum*. Instead of focusing on local saints, this manuscript presents the lives of early monastic leaders as models for holiness and discipline. Thus, this collection was likely produced for a nearby monastic community in Hostun or Eymeux, perhaps the monastic community founded by St. Beatrix d'Ornacieux in 1301 (see "Beatrice di Ornacieu, beata" in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 2 col. 994). The fine hand and literary quality of the manuscript ensured that later owners took great care to give it fine binding.

## LITERATURE

AA. SS. = *Acta Sanctorum*, 68 vol., Antwerp, 1643-1940. (Online at <https://www.proquest.com/actasanctorum?rd=Y>)

Aigrain, René. *L'hagiographie: Ses sources – Ses méthodes – Son histoire*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Brussels, 2000.

BHL = *Bibliotheca Latina Hagiographica*, Brussels, 1898-1901. (Online at [archive.org](http://archive.org))

*Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 12 vol. and indices, Rome, 1961-70. (Online at [archive.org](http://archive.org))

Brun-Durand, Justin. *Dictionnaire Topographique du Département de la Drôme*, Paris, 1891.

*Catalogue d'une importante Bibliothèque composée d'ouvrages anciens, rares et précieux. Ancienne Bibliothèque de D. de Salvaing de Boissieu... 1600-1683*, Grenoble, 1897.

*Fortunati opera*, ed. B. Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi* IV, 2, Berlin, 1885.

Jerome. *Trois Vies de moines (Paul, Malchus, Hilarion)*, *Sources chrétiennes* 508, ed. E. M. Morales, Paris, 2007.

OSD = *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, ed. David Hugh Farmer, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. rev., Oxford, 2011.

Philippart, Guy. *Les Légendiers Latins et autres Manuscrits Hagiographiques*, Fasc. 24-25 in *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental*, Turnhout, 1977.

PL = *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vol., Paris, 1841-1865.

*Studies in the Text Tradition of St. Jerome's Vitae Patrum*, ed. William Abbot Oldfather et al., Urbana, 1943.

Townsend, David. "Hagiography," in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. A.G. Rigg and F.A.C. Mantello, Washington D.C., 1996, pp. 618-28.

Terrebasse, Alfred de. *Relation des principaux événements de la vie de Salvaing de Boissieu*, Lyon, 1850.

*Vitae Antonii Versiones Latinae*, ed. P.H.E. Bertrand and Louis Gandt, CCSL 170, Turnhout, 2018.

## ONLINE RESOURCES

*Clavis clavium*, <https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla/OA/Browse/Authors.aspx>

"Église Saint-Martin, Hostun," *Saint Martin*, <https://saint-martindetours.com/eglise-saint-martin-dhostun/>

"Hostun," *Drôme c'est ma nature*, <https://www.drome-tourism.com/fiches/hostun/>

*Légendiers latins*, <https://legendiers-latins.irht.cnrs.fr/>

Nocentini, Silvia. "Medieval Hagiography: 8<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century," *CENDARI*, [pdf file](#)

TM 1449