

seriously. In 1508, James Grenehalgh was removed from Sheen to Coventry Charterhouse, no longer a professed monk, but a 'guest' of the Order, there – or elsewhere – to renew his profession, if any would have him. Grenehalgh came from the Northwest of England, and Coventry Charterhouse did have an external school, which Grenehalgh, as a former schoolmaster in Wells, could obviously have managed. Supplementary evidence of his removal there is to be found in personal annotations to the texts of the *Speculum Inclusorum*, by an anonymous English Carthusian, and to Rolle's *Parce Mihi Domine* in British Library, Royal MS 5.A.v – a manuscript which also contains a copy of the third book of David of Augsburg's *De Compositione* – which had been donated to Coventry Charterhouse by Robert Odyham, who had died there in 1479. Grenehalgh's annotations in this manuscript have much the same defensive character as those in Emmanuel College MS 35. He has marked, for example, one passage of the *Speculum Inclusorum* with the 'JGS' double monogram that he used for himself and Joanna Sewell:³⁴

Talis oracionis instancia per Dei gratiam finaliter victoriam optinebit, et si in pugna spirituali contra temptationes seu cogitationes illicitas multum fatigatus fuerit aliquis et turbatus labore et timore, tristitia seu dolore, dum tamen non plene consenciat in aliquod mortale peccatum: totum hoc exercitium est meritorium, totum confert ad meriti cumulum, totum est occasio magna premii, totum coronas glorie preparat in futuro.

[Such perseverance in prayer will finally, by the grace of God, gain victory, and if one is greatly tired by the spiritual battle against temptations or illicit thoughts, and troubled with labour and fear, sadness or pain, while he has not fully consented in any mortal sin, this entire exercise is commendable, it all adds to the accumulation of merit, it is all an occasion of great reward, it all prepares crowns of glory in the future.]

James Grenehalgh seems to have travelled in his exile to a number of the English Charterhouses: annotations in his hand place him, at one time or another, in London and Mount Grace; but he died, still a guest of the Order, in the Charterhouse of Kingston-on-Hull, in 1529. Joanna Sewell died in Syon three years later.

³⁴ Sargent, *James Grenehalgh*, p. 153. For the text of the *Speculum Inclusorum* see L. Olliger (ed.), *Speculum Inclusorum, Auctore anonymo Anclico saeculi xiv*, Lateranum n.s. 4, no. 1 (Rome, 1938); the passage cited is on p. 112.

Kalila et Dimna, Liber regius:
The Tutorial Book of Raymond de Béziers
(Paris, BNF MS Lat. 8504)

NANCY FREEMAN REGALADO

As an apprentice to medieval studies in the early 1960s, I was escorted through the medieval University of Paris by the ass Brunellus, hero of Nigel de Longchamps's satirical *Speculum stultorum*. A firm hand led Brunellus, that of Robert Raymo, whose edition was my guide and who was soon to become a valued colleague and friend at New York University.¹ It is a pleasure to celebrate Robert Raymo as a teacher and scholar and to express my gratitude for all I have learned from him by offering him a portrait of a medieval tutor who wrote himself into his book. This teacher too confided some of the burden of his wisdom to fables, spelling out his lessons in what Chesterton called a 'large animal alphabet ... handing down those tremendous truths that are called truisms'.²

Sometime before 1305, Raymond de Béziers, an otherwise unknown physician, undertook a commission of Queen Jeanne, wife of Philip the Fair: he was to render into Latin a Spanish version of the *Liber de Kalila et Dimna*. In his dedication, Raymond calls his book a *Liber regius*, a royal book: it is a collection of animal fables aimed at 'the investigation of royal secrets', that is, designed to instruct princes in the craft of kingship. Through this book, Raymond tells the king, 'You will learn how to rule yourselves, and to conduct yourselves among princes and barons, and to preserve yourselves from the dangers that arise in royal courts'.³ Centuries old, *Kalila et Dimna* is

¹ Nigel de Longchamps' *Speculum stultorum*, ed. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo, *English Studies*, 18 (Berkeley, 1960).

² G. K. Chesterton, 'Introduction', *Aesop's Fables*, trans. V. S. Vernon Jones, illust. Arthur Rackham (New York, 1912), pp. ix-x.

³ *Documenta igitur huius libri spectant ad secreta regalia pertractanda. Per ipsum enim reges possunt et principes philosophicis informari documentis, moribus et virtutibus animis illustrare ... scire nos regere et habere inter principes et barones, et a periculis in curiis regis contingentibus preservare* (Paris, BNF MS Lat. 8504, fol. 2v), ed. L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*,

a wisdom book that can be traced back to the Hindu *Panchatantra*; it passed from the original Sanskrit into Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and Hebrew. In medieval Europe, however, this specialized schoolbook – a primer for princes – did not circulate widely; it is known only in translations made for three of the great medieval courts: Spain, Rome, and France. It was translated from Arabic into Spanish for Alfonso the Wise in 1251, the year before his coronation.⁴ This may well be the version Raymond used for his translation from the Spanish, but he also drew extensively from the *Directorium humanae vitae*, a Latin version of *Kalila et Dimna* which John of Capua, a converted Jew, translated from the Hebrew sometime after 1263 for Cardinal Matteo Orsini, a nephew of Pope Nicolas III.⁵ Raymond reworked both his Spanish and his Latin sources in typical medieval fashion, incessantly amplifying, abridging, selecting, and arranging.⁶

In his preface, Raymond tells us that when Queen Jeanne died in 1305, he laid his translation aside. But he soon took it up again, rededicating it to Philip the Fair. Presenting himself as a tutor, Raymond aimed to offer the king and his family a book filled with philosophical teachings of worth and science, of greater utility to members of court than the vain meanderings of stories about Lancelot and Gawain.⁷ But he also hoped that his book would win a place of favour for him in the king's court. In his preface, he speaks of this aspiration in mournfully hopeful tones:

[Cum animaduertem quamplurimum me diu stetisse ... When I noticed how long I stood desolate and complaining before the king's hall, through spaces of time and times and half-time, not having access or entry to be presented to

Tome. V, *Jean de Capoue et ses dérivés* (Paris, 1899), p. 397–8; translations from the Latin are by E. A. R. Brown.

⁴ *Calila e Dimna*, ed. J. M. Cacho Blecua and M. J. Lacarra, Clásicos Castalia, 133 (Madrid, 1984), who note (17) that a revised version of *Calila*, ch. 1 was incorporated into Alfonso's *General Estoria* (c.1270), Primera Parte, Libro VII, Cap. 41.

⁵ Ed. Hervieux, V: 79–335.

⁶ Barry Taylor offers a precise and illuminating comparison of Raymond with his major Spanish and Latin sources in 'Raimundus de Biterris's *Liber Kalila et Dimna*: Notes on the Western Reception of an Eastern *Exemplum* book', *Cultures in Contact in Medieval Spain: Historical and Literary Essays Presented to L. P. Harvey*, King's College London Medieval Studies 3, (1990), pp. 183–203; see also Nicole Cottart, 'Le Livre de *Kalila et Dimna*', *Le livre au Moyen Age*, J. Glénisson (ed.) (Paris, 1988), pp. 144–6 and illust. 29, 31 (Lat. 8504, fols. 40, 83r).

⁷ *Vos igitur regalem curiam frequentantes, qui tempus uestrum in narrationibus ambagiosis [sic], uerbi gracia, Lanceloti, Galuani, consimilibusque consumitis, libros [sic] qui quibus nulla consistit sciencia, uel modica siget utilitas, crebrius instudentes, abiecta uanitatis palea, librum istum regium uirtutum graniferum, non solum semel, immo pluries attentissime perlegatis* (fol. 2v; V: 387–8).

the royal majesty ... And since I could get no known friends of the king to introduce me to the royal majesty, at least, through the path of knowledge, I could carry out my project and thus appear before the king's face, because it is said by the wise man: Fortune may endow with good counsel those to whom she denies strength.⁸

To further his ambition, Raymond undertook preparation of a presentation copy of his book, liberally illustrated with 143 rubricated miniatures and a splendid frontispiece portrait of Philip the Fair and his family: this is the manuscript Paris, BNF MS Lat. 8504.⁹

When the illustrated copy of his book was almost finished, Raymond still yearned for glory, still had not been admitted to court. It was therefore decided to link the presentation of his book to a special occasion, the great Parisian Pentecost Feast of 1313, which celebrated the knightly of the king's three sons and the taking of crusade vows by kings, nobles, and commoners.¹⁰ Adjusting his book to the occasion, Raymond made last-minute additions to his completed manuscript. He tipped in two folios: on fol. av he copied the preface cited above; on fol. bv and on the facing blank recto of fol. 1, pictures

⁸ [Cum animaduertem quamplurimum me diu stetisse desolatum ac querulosum ante aulam regiam, per tempus et tempora et medium temporis, non habens accessum seu introitum me coram magestate [sic] regia presentari ... Et quia per notas amicos regios non poteram me proponentes coram regia magestate, saltim [sic] ualerem per uiam scientificam meum propositum adimplere et per consequens me coram facie regia apparere, quia dicitur a sapiente: 'Consilio pollet cui vim fortuna negauit'. [Disticha Catonis, II, 9] (fol. av; V: 378–9).

⁹ Hereafter Lat. 8504. Originally 145 miniatures were planned: blank spaces were left on fol. 135, which was rubricated, and on fol. 136 where the rubric was omitted (Hervieux, V: 63, 700 and n. 3, and 703–4, n. 6). On this manuscript see S. de Sacy, 'Notice de l'ouvrage intitulé *Liber de Dina et Kalila, Manuscripts latins de la Bibliothèque du Roi, nos. 8504 et 8505*', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques*, 10, 2nde Partie (1818), pp. 3–65; Hervieux, V: 9–75; L. Delisle, *Journal des Savants* (1898), pp. 160–72; G. Paris, 'Raimond de Béziers, traducteur et compilateur', *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Vol. 33, pp. 191–253. The frontispiece portrait (fol. 1v) is reproduced in P. Sternemann, 'Les bibliothèques princières et privées au XIIIe et XIVe siècles', *Histoires des bibliothèques françaises*, vol. 1, *Les bibliothèques médiévales du VIe siècle à 1530* A. Vernet (ed.) (Paris, 1989), p. 184, Pl. 13; M.-H. Tesnière, 'Liber de Kalila et Dimna', *Creating French Culture, Treasures from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, M.-H. Tesnière, P. C.ifford (eds) (New Haven, 1995), no. 22, pp. 73–74; F. Avril, 'Raymon de Béziers, *Liber de Kalila et Dimna*', *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils* (Paris, 1998), no. 179, pp. 271–2.

¹⁰ See E. A. R. Brown and N. F. Regalado, 'La grant feste: Philip the Fair's Celebration of the Knighting of His Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313', in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. B. A. Hanawalt and K. L. Reyerson, *Medieval Studies at Minnesota*, 6 (Minneapolis, MN, 1994), pp. 56–86.



Regalado 1. Paris BNF, MS. Lat. 8504, fol. 6v. Presentation of Raymond de Béziers' *Kalila et Dimna* to Philip the Fair by Pierre Latilly, chancellor of France and bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne (1313).

were glued in that show the knighting, the crusade vow ceremonies, and the grand municipal parade.¹¹ The last-minute haste of these additions can be felt, for the miniatures are stuck in out of order next to the descriptive captions. This ensemble of miniatures in Lat. 8504 is important because this is the earliest known pictorial representation of the events of a historical royal celebration. It includes a picture of the ceremonial presentation of Raymond's book to the king by his patron, Pierre de Latilly, Chancellor of France and bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne (Fig. 1).¹² The physician himself kneels humbly to the right in his scholar's cap and gown. At last we see Raymond where he so longed to be, carried by his book into the presence of the king, 'before the king's face'. We cannot know if this presentation scene records a real event or just wish fulfillment. But whether or not Raymond actually presented his book to the king or not, he surely succeeded in inscribing himself within the pages of Lat. 8504, so that he appears before every reader who opens his book.

In this manuscript, Raymond stages himself in what we may call a tutorial performance: first, he portrays himself as a teacher to the king and amplifies the role of royal adviser; second, he inserts a tutorial programme, a copious number of interpolations into his translation of *Kalila et Dimna*; third, he creates a book design and page layout that spotlight his additions and his special role as a teacher; finally, he celebrates his illustrious pupils, the royal patrons honoured in his dedication and portrayed in glory in the images of the Pentecost feast of 1313 and in the frontispiece portrait of Philip IV, his brother, and his children (fols. bv-lv).

In the presentation scene of Lat. 8504 and in its dedication, Raymond speaks as a physician who seeks to 'illumine the minds of kings and princes with philosophical teachings, customs, and virtues'.¹³ Similar images of a king receiving wise counsel from a physician, philosopher, or teacher recur at every level of *Kalila et Dimna*. It is found in the outer frame tale, which tells how a physician named Berosias,¹⁴ counsellor to the king of Persia, was sent to the mountains of India to seek miraculous herbs said to bring the dead back to

¹¹ J. J. G. Alexander cites Lat. 8504 among more than two dozen examples of sticking in parchment patches (*Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, CT, 1992), pp. 35-6 and p. 158, n. 12).

¹² It is a pleasure to thank A. D. Hedeman, J. J. G. Alexander, and L. F. Sandler for conversations that have illuminated my understanding of the presentation miniatures in Lat. 8504.

¹³ *Per ipsum enim reges possunt et principes philosophicis informari documentis, moribus et virtutibus animos illustrare* (fol. 2v; V: 387).

¹⁴ Raymond calls the physician in the outer frame tale *Berzebwy* (from the Spanish *Berzebuey*) or *Berosias* (following John of Capua's *Directorium*). Throughout his introduction, Hervieux calls this character *Barzoyebé*, the name given him in the 6th-century Persian version (V: 5-6).

life. In India, Berosias sought in vain until wise men explained to him that the mountains were philosophers, herbs their wisdom, and the dead restored to life the ignorant illuminated by knowledge (fols 13-13v; V: 417- 18). The image of a king and his adviser is found yet again in the inner frame tale where *Kalila et Dimna* is depicted as one of the books which the physician Berosias is said to have brought back from India to the king of Persia. This inner frame tale represents a dialogue between a certain King Disles and his counsellor Sendebat (called Bidpay in the Arabic tradition), who instructs his king by telling him tales.¹⁵ Moreover, in story after story told by the philosopher Sendebat, a lion king seeks counsel from his animal advisers, as in the story of the title characters, Kalila and Dimna. These are two wolves, jackals in the Arabic tradition, who consider rising in estate by serving the king. Kalila stays at home, avoiding the perils of court; Dimna, on the other hand, is corrupted by power and finally is hanged on the gallows after confessing that he has despoiled the kingdom (fols 26v-60v; V: 450-535).¹⁶ Finally, in his dedication Raymond himself addresses yet another king, Philip the Fair, who is painted in glory on the opening pages of Lat. 8504.

Raymond announces his own tutorial role at the opening of the preface he added on fol. av (cited above), for he begins with the first three words of the *Disticha Catonis*, the first book which every schoolboy learned by heart¹⁷ - '*Cum animadverterem quamplurimum*'. It was not necessary for him to quote the rest to be understood, for every medieval reader could have supplied from memory the lines from Pseudo-Cato to which Raymond alludes: '*Cum animadverterem quam plurimos ...* When I noticed how very many go seriously wrong in their manner of living, I decided that they must be helped and counselled so that they might live gloriously and achieve honour'.¹⁸ Indeed, one reader of Lat. 8504 not only recognized the allusion but penned in an approximate version of the citation in the space left blank for the capital C

¹⁵ The tales of Sendebat begin fol. 25 (V: 445ff.). Translated from Arabic to Hebrew, without diacritic marks, the traditional name *Bidpai* was read as *Sendebai* (Hervieux, V: 18, citing S. de Sacy, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, IX, 1ère partie, p. 402). Raymond first calls this counsellor *Bendeba*, following the Spanish *Calila*, then *Sendebat*, following *Sendebat* in the Latin *Directorium*.

¹⁶ Taylor (p. 197) cites Dimna's confession as one aspect of Raymond's intermittent Christianization of *Kalila*. On the circulation of this confession at the court of Philip IV, see N. F. Regalado, 'Le Porcher au palais: *Kalila et Dimna*, Le Roman de Fauvel', Machaut, et Boccace', *Études Littéraires* (forthcoming).

¹⁷ P. F. Gehl notes the civic and political uses that could be made of Pseudo-Cato's moral teachings (*A Moral Art: Grammar, Society and Culture in Trecento Florence* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), pp. 107-21).

¹⁸ *Cum animadverterem quam plurimos graviter in via morum errare, succurrendum eorum opinioni et consulendum famae existimari maxime ut gloriose viverent et honorem contingerent* (cited and translated by Gehl, p. 109 and n. 5).

of *Cam* on the unfinished fol. av of Raymond's manuscript.¹⁹ Raymond, however, adjusts this tag from Pseudo-Cato to present himself, to set himself in the foreground: [*Cum animaduverterem quamplurimum me diu stetisse...* When I noticed how very long I stood desolate and complaining before the king's hall'. Raymond further bolsters his personal role as tutor by sprinkling images of humble counsellors and wise physicians throughout his book. He cites four times more the couplet from the *Disticha Catonis* that he uses in his preface and which praises the counsel of little men:

Corporis exigui vires contempnere noli;
Consilio pollet cui uim natura negauit.²⁰

[Do not disdain little men; Fortune may endow with good counsel those to whom she denies strength.]

He repeats three times another of Pseudo-Cato's couplets that advises consulting trustworthy doctors:

Consilium arcanum tacito com[m]it[t]e sodali;
Corporis auxilium medico com[m]it[t]e fideli.²¹

[Consult friends who can keep secrets; confide thy body to a trusted physician.]

Raymond also glorifies his tutorial counterpart in *Kalila et Dimna*, Berosias, the physician-philosopher of the outer frame tale, by fattening Berosias's part considerably. Raymond greatly augments the traditional 'autobiography' where Berosias tells how he turned from medical science to the art of healing souls: into Berosias's apostrophe to his soul, Raymond inserts some nine folios of instruction on the cardinal virtues and the two spiritual and five physical senses as well as 'Summe parens', a composition in 194 elegant hexameters which expresses Berosias's fervent prayers and his dream vision of Paradise, God, and the Virgin (fols 14-22v; V: 420-39). Raymond does not thus mark the importance of teachers in a spirit of sheer self-promotion. His alterations strengthen his educative purpose: the sage tutor tells the king tales in order that he may use the examples and precepts they contain to live well and govern wisely. The presence of the tutor brings such truths home to pupils: writing in about 1300, the Parisian scholar Radulphus Brito said, 'I rightly contend that we learn more by being taught than we find through our own efforts, for one lesson heard is of more profit than ten lessons read privately. ... What you hear from another person is

¹⁹ *animaduverterem quam plurimum in via morum errare plurimum nec minus* (Lat. 8504, fol. av, upper left corner), transcribed by A. R. Brown.

²⁰ *Disticha Catonis* II, 9; Lat. 8504, fols av, 27v, 29, 30v, 76; V: 380, 452, 456, 459, 575; J. W. Duff, A. M. Duff (eds and trans), *Minor Latin Poets*, vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library 434 (Cambridge MA, 1982)

²¹ *Disticha Catonis* II, 22; Lat. 8504, fols 34v, 47, 124; V: 468, 499, 675

situated deeper in your mind than what you learn by yourself.²²

In what sense can we say that Raymond 'teaches' *Kalila et Dimna* in his manuscript? There are three approaches a medieval tutor might take in teaching such a work inherited from ancient and pagan times. First, he could offer a detailed gloss to ensure comprehension and to build mental and moral sophistication: construing, summarizing, amplifying, reinventing the primary text.²³ Second, he could elaborate an interpretive allegorical commentary, building a Christian moral edifice upon the pagan foundation. Third, he could point up moral lessons by means of maxims and citations from the *auctores*.

Raymond glosses only one of his citations, the passage in hexameters, 'Summe parens', taken from the *Anticlaudianus* of Alain of Lille and inserted into the speech of the physician-philosopher Berosias.²⁴ Raymond stresses the special doctrinal status of these verses - and his own role as teacher - by writing one to six lines of explicative commentary in a small hand between the verses, and underlining glossed terms in red ink.

Summe parens, eterne Deus uiuensque potestas,

*Summe contra quem nichil parens, qui cuncta creasti eterne, carens principio et fine, deus in mortalis uiuens a quo omnis uita, potestas a quo procedit passet potentum.*²⁵

This, however, is the only passage of his book that is so glossed. The path of knowledge, the *via scientificam* of which Raymond speaks in his preface (cited above), is not a speculative philosophy but practical and moral wisdom whose truth is tested and proved by the exemplary fables.²⁶ At no

²² The quotation from Radulphus, cited by J. Coleman (*Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 26 (Cambridge, 1996), p. 90), appears in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny and J. Pinborg (Cambridge, 1982), p. 16. Coleman emphasizes the significance of public reading of *specula principis* such as *Kalila et Dimna* that might have led to 'joint consideration of the relationships among self-governance, power, and rulership' (p. 97).

²³ See Gehl's rich descriptions of moral-grammatical reading and teaching in the elementary classrooms of *trecento* Florence (pp. 149-50 and *passim*).

²⁴ Borrowing described in Alain de Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, R. Bossuat (ed.), *Textes Philosophiques du Moyen Age*, 1 (Paris, 1955), p. 45, n. 5; *Anticid.* V: 433-39.

²⁵ Fol. 19; V: 433; gloss transcribed by E. A. R. Brown.

²⁶ Gehl summarizes the aim of reading works such as collections of pagan animal fables in the elementary grammar curriculum: 'Wisdom in this context is the ability to make moral decisions in everyday life, and to do so by analyzing situations in terms of moral categories absorbed through reading and study, that is, Latin study' (p. 197). In their excellent introduction, Cacho Bleuca and Lacarra emphasize the practical goal of *Kalila et Dimna*: to teach princes and rulers to apply general rules to particular situations (pp. 21-2).

point does Raymond attempt Christianizing allegorical commentary of the Oriental fables themselves. Instead, to the unflinchingly pragmatic secular advice of the animal fables, Raymond added lessons for his audience of Christian princes, working in three extended dissertations on the virtues, on the seven deadly sins, and on the art of royal counsel. Raymond does not attempt to elaborate a political treatise like Gilles de Rome's influential *De regimine principum* composed for Philip the Fair in 1279. Instead his *Kalila et Dimna* promotes the value of good advice: a dozen of his nineteen chapters represent a king asking his advisers for practical counsel in matters of governing:

King Disles said to the philosopher Sendebat: 'I have heard your fable and your teaching; but give me now a fable and teaching about what happens between kings and their companions and counselors, when they become angry with someone and then bring him back from disgrace and their indignation fades away and favor is restored, after they have tested and examined him with many and various afflictions and whippings.'²⁷

Raymond interpolates a lengthy disquisition on royal counsel and the art of war, attributing it to a long-winded crow in the 'Fable of The War between the Crows and the Starlings'. This is not an astoundingly irrelevant intrusion, as Léopold Hervieux, Raymond's nineteenth-century editor, believed (omitting some eleven folios of the text from his edition).²⁸ Rather it is an instructive elaboration of themes central to *Kalila et Dimna*: the art of counselling kings. Raymond's ethical precepts are not addressed to a general public across the social classes, as was the popular *Moralium dogma philosophorum* attributed to Guillaume de Conches, but rather to a specific group of readers: the members of the royal family and their advisers. In his dedication, Raymond speaks of governmental matters that concern only kings: 'From what conditions of men he should choose seneschals, bailliffs, judges, notaries, officers, and others necessary to serve in the court of the

²⁷ *Ait rex Billet [= Disles] philosopho Sendebat: 'Audiui tuam parabolam et doctrinam; sed da mihi nunc parabolam et doctrinam de hoc quod accidit inter reges et eorum comitatus et consules, quando contra aliquem indignantur et post modum ab illo reconciliantur, et eorum indignatio tollitur et dilectio redditur, postquam illum approbaverunt et examinauerunt multis et variis afflictionibus et flagellis'* (fol. 138v; V: 709).

²⁸ Lat. 8504, fols 84v-95v; Hervieux lists the 22 rubrics that articulate this interpolated treatise on royal counsel such as: *De festinatione vitanda in consiliis, De secreto non propalando nisi pro necessitate vel utilitate, De non ostendo nobilitatem suam in consiliis, De consilio ab aliis petendo, Quorum consilium debet vitari, De vitando consilio illorum, qui sunt vel iam fuerunt inimici, sed postea in gratiam redierunt*, etc. (V: 599-600, n. 4). On the place of this interpolation in the council of the starlings, see Hervieux, V: 598-9, and Taylor, p. 195.

royal majesty'.²⁹

Raymond prefers to teach not through gloss or allegory but through authoritative maxims and citations. In the elaborate table of contents incorporated into his *Præmium*, he says that he offers *documenta sub exempliis*, that is, illustrative stories with teaching: fables, verse citations, images, and maxims from the sages and philosophers that bring out the letter and intention of the author:

The first chapter of this book is about the works and intentions of ancient philosophers and their general and specific lessons; within which are found illustrative stories with teaching [lit. proof texts] – fables, metrical verse, and figures through which the author's intention and the clear meaning of what is written is made manifest ... And within this [chapter] are fifty verses of maxims corresponding to the requirements of the subject matter with many citations from wise men and philosophers.³⁰

The fables offer cases: Raymond's task is to show his reader how to draw on a store of maxims to interpret such situations and eventually to use them to guide his own conduct. He therefore supplies his reader with a vast programme of what he calls *addiciones*, a *florilegium* of hundreds of moral maxims in verse and prose, which Raymond describes in his dedication.

To this book I added verses, proverbs, citations, and other things that I could remember, so that in the book the reader could gaze on them, and these additions I decided should be written in red ink, so that they could be distinguished from the ancient book.³¹

These *addiciones*, together with Raymond's voluminous interpolations on the vices, virtues, and royal counsel, nearly double the length of the original fable collection.³² They are the heart of Raymond's tutorial performance; they are taken from his memory store. Like every pedagogue, he

²⁹ *De quibus hominum condicionibus debeat eligere ac constituere senescallos, baillinos, iudices, notarios, prepositos et alios quotque necessarios servare curie regie maiestatis* (fol. 2; V: 387). Taylor shows that themes 'dear to the *Speculum principum*' are expanded in Raymond as in the Persian and Turkish versions, but attenuated in the Hebrew, Spanish and Arabic versions (pp. 196-97).

³⁰ *Primum huius libri capitulum est de condicionibus antiquorum philosophorum et intencionibus eorum documentisque in generali et in speciali; sub quo continentur documenta sub exempliis – fabulis, metris et figuris perque sensibilibus actoris intencio et littere declaratio manifestatur ... Et sub isto sunt quinquaginta versus proverbiales secundum exigenciam materie cum auctoritatibus quampluribus sapiencium et philosophorum* (fol. 2v; V: 388).

³¹ *In quo quidem libro addidi versus, proverbia, auctoritates et alia secundum propositam memoriam, prout in ipso libro lector poterit intueri, dictasque addiciones duxi per rubrum, ut ab ipso libro antiquo discerni valeant, conscribendas* (fol. 2; V: 383).

³² Hervieux, V: 40, 58.

amplifies and explains his primary material, as he says in his *Proemium*, so that 'the clear meaning of what is written is made manifest'. He points up his lessons, he continues, with pithy sayings 'corresponding to the requirements of the subject matter' and citations from Biblical and classical *auctores*, 'wise men and philosophers', that legitimize the wisdom dispensed by these extra-canonical tales.

Now many medieval works incorporate maxims: what is the difference between writing and teaching in *Kalila et Dimna*? In a culture founded on *memoria* and *inventio*, where readers and authors alike think within a vast network of intertextual recollections, virtually any composition might be truffled with proverbs, maxims, and citations: a work such as the *Moralium dogma philosophorum* of Guillaume de Conches is a compendium of excerpts from pagan authors in prose and verse. Teaching, in contrast with writing, uses citation to explain or confirm the truth of an existing text. Such citations may appear in writing in interlinear or marginal glosses, or they may be incorporated into the body of the original: Sanson de Nantuil's mid-twelfth-century bilingual *Proverbes de Salemon*, for example, makes his translation of the Book of Proverbs a 'moral textbook' by adding thousands of lines of commentary including maxims and citations from the *auctores*.³³ Like Raymond, Don Juan Manuel, prince royal and nephew of Alfonso the Wise, also added maxims and moral doctrine to his collection of exemplary tales, the celebrated *Libro del Conde Lucanor* (1335). He appended to his book of stories three chapters containing respectively one hundred, fifty, and thirty *sententiae*, which he called proverbs, and a final chapter of doctrinal exposition. Although he fitted these within the same framing fictional dialogue (between Count Lucanor and his adviser Patron) as his exemplar, Juan Manuel used word play and jumbled word order to make the maxims increasingly difficult to understand, saying that his friend Don Jaime de Rica wished 'that his books would speak more obscurely' to enhance their 'wisdom'.³⁴

³³ M. D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (Oxford, 1963), p. 41. *Les Proverbes de Salemon*, C. Claire Isoz (ed.), Anglo-Norman Texts, 44, 45, 50 (London, 1998-94); on the sources and perspectives of Sanson's glosses, see vol.3, pp.18-30.

³⁴ [M]e dixo que los mis libros fablassen más oscuro ... et tiene por mengua de sabiduría hablar en las cosas muy llana et declaradamente, in *El Conde Lucanor o Libro de los exenplos del conde Lucanor et de Patronio*, ed. J. M. Bleuca, 4th edition, *Clásicos Castalia*, 9 (Madrid, 1982), p. 277; on the proverbs see Bleuca, pp. 32-3 and M. A. Diz, *Patronio y Lucanor: La lectura inteligente 'en el tiempo que es turbio'*, *Scripta Humanística*, 2 (Potomac, MD, 1984), pp. 121-55; on the three-part structure, see *El Conde Lucanor*, ed. G. Serés, *Biblioteca Clásica*, 6 (Barcelona, 1994), pp. lxi-lxxiv.

Raymond's undertaking to fit out *Kalila et Dimna* with an anthology of moral maxims and disquisitions is, therefore, not unique. It is, however, unusual in two respects: first, in the range of his ambitious programme of citations; and second, in Raymond's concern that every reader should be able to distinguish his *addiciones* from the 'ancient book'. The range of Raymond's citations is strikingly restricted: they are drawn largely from works that his readers would have very likely memorized in the grammar curriculum – the *Disticha Catonis*; the *Ysopus*; and anthologies of moral commonplaces from antiquity, the Bible, the Church Fathers, and a couple of twelfth-century 'classics', the *Pamphilus* and Gautier de Châtillon's *Alexandreis* (1176).

No single work provided Raymond with more maxims than the *Disticha Catonis*, the late Latin compendium of moral commonplaces which was the first reader for all who undertook Latin.³⁵ 'Cato dixit...': his name appears more than three dozen times in Raymond's *Kalila et Dimna*. About one-third of the distichs are cited, some repeated as many as two, three, or even five times at some six dozen locations. Seneca, Ovid, Cicero, and Horace are also summoned to contribute sayings in prose and verse, gathered '*secundum propositam memoriam*', from Raymond's memory; perhaps he drew too from one of the medieval *florilegia* typically organized by topic, author, or text.³⁶ Raymond also cites more than three dozen elegiac distichs from *Ysopus*, a popular collection of fables in the *Romulus* tradition, attributed to Walter the

³⁵ The *Disticha Catonis* was often translated and adapted in the Middle Ages: Jean de Paris (d. 1306), the controversial Dominican theologian and political thinker who wrote in support of the policies of Philip the Fair, produced a French translation of the *Disticha* about 1302-3, just before Raymond undertook his *Kalila et Dimna*; see the *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Age*, ed. G. Hasenohr and M. Zink (Paris, 1992), pp. 227-8.

³⁶ On medieval *florilegia*, see E. M. Sanford, 'The Use of the Classical Latin Authors in the *Libri Manuales*', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 55 (1924), pp. 190-248; R. H. Rouse, 'Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Orleans', *Viator*, 10 (1979), pp. 131-62, especially pp. 155-60; R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the 'Manipulus florum' of Thomas of Ireland*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: Studies and Texts, 47 (Toronto, 1979), pp. 3-43. Taylor (pp. 194-95) notes that an important but previously unrecognized source of some of Raymond's 'rarer authorities', as well as of his interpolation on royal counsel is the 13th-century jurist Albertano da Brescia, whose *Liber consolationis et consilii* (1246) circulated widely in the following centuries in Renaut de Louhan's translation, *Le Livre de Mélibée et Prudence* and in Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee*. Like Albertano and Raymond, Jean de Meun (d. 1305), offers a compendium of sayings 'in a narrative and dialogic framework' (S. Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 16 (Cambridge, 1993), p. 60).

Englishman, tutor of William II at the Norman court of Sicily (c.1175).²⁷ Finally, Raymond harvested Bible proverbs and verses, principally from the wisdom books of the Old Testament, Proverbs, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and Ecclesiasticus, whose sober realism suits the pragmatic tone of his fables.

Raymond draws prose and verse passages indiscriminately from all these sources, as can be seen in an extended sample from the 'Fable of the Dove, the Mouse, the Crow, the Tortoise, and the Stag': (fol. 71v; V: 565-66). To facilitate perception of how Raymond worked in his *addiciones*: Raymond's prose additions are in italics; his verse citations (copied in red ink in Lat. 8504), are in boldface; names of *auctores* cited are capitalized; and sources cited by Hervieux are indicated in brackets (fol. 71v; V: 565).²⁸

Dixerunt coruus et ceruus muri: ... Dicunt enim sapientes quoniam in temporibus aduersitatum amici carissimi sunt temptandi, fideles autem uiri mercacionibus sunt probandi, socii uero in temporum accentibus. *-Iuxta illud: Licet in habendis amicis magna sit utilitas, nullius enim amicitie ante [re]probacionem te [c]onstringere debes. Ut ait MARTIALIS COCUS cuidam amico suo nomine Crispinus: Antequam ames, Crispe, proba; sed amare probatur cura. Vnde OUIDIUS dixit; uersus:*

Quale sit id quod amas, celeri circumpice mente,

Et tua lesuro subtraha colla iugo. [*Remedia amoris*, vv. 89-90]

Et SAPIENS dixit: Si possides amicum, in temptatione posside [Ecclesiasticus 5.7]. *Et PHILOSOPHA uolens amicum Dei fieri et sciens amicos probatos meliores aliis, forte dixit: Proba me, Domine, et tempta me et ire uenes meos et*

²⁷ Ed. Hervieux, I: 472-677, II: 316-91. Raymond's clear exposition of story and moral stand in marked contrast to the dense language of Walter's fables; Gehl points to the political value of Walter's 'telescopic' versions of fables that required students to master 'wordplay of a subtle and sometimes treacherous sort', thereby learning how language could be used to evil ends (pp. 122, 125).

²⁸ Analysis of a single page in ch. 1 reveals a similar pattern. On fol. 12 (V: 412-4), some ten anonymous sayings are blended with nine citations from Ovid, Seneca, and Martial, Ecclesiasticus and Romans, Walter the Englishman and Pamphilus, five attributed by Raymond himself to their authors. Some 64 citations may be distinguished in ch. 1 (fols 10-13; V: 405-16), counting insertions found only in BN MS Lat. 8504 (and not in BN MS Lat. 8505) and identified by Raymond's attributions, Hervieux's notes and typographical layout (material found only in BN MS Lat. 8504 is set in smaller type), or by markers such as verse form, red underlining, or introductory phrases such as *Iuxta illud* or *Vnde dixit sapiens* which are used for both prose and verse maxims. Although there are some 40 prose citations and only 24 in verse, these are approximately equal in volume since the verse insertions are often longer. Verse seems more readily identified than prose: of the 24 verse insertions, 9 bear attributions by Raymond and 10 more are identified by Hervieux; only 5 remain unidentified. In contrast, more than half of the 40 prose citations have not been identified; one-third have attributions by Raymond and four were identified by Hervieux.

cor meum [Psalm 25.2]. *SALOMON dixit: Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete, et ab omni specie mali abstinete nos* [Thessalonians 5.21-2]. *Et alibi dixit: Preter amicos non probatos provide et tibi semel de inimicis et milesis de amicis, quia forsitan quandoque amicus fiet inimicus. Et lesius poteris perquirere dampnum tuum. Et SENECA dixit: Tu omnia cum amico delibera, sed de te ipso prius; eligas ergo amicos probatos qui tibi fideles esse possint, et eos uno affectu, non uno habeas merito; et tales amicos elige quos non pudeas eligisse. At enim SENECA: Amare sic incipe tanquam non liceat desinere.* - *At mus: Documentis istis moralibus ista uerba michi uide[n]tur ut uadat ceruus [et] ut exeat extra uiam istius uenatoris.*

Author names float on the surface of this great flood of commonplaces without altering its direction; Raymond thus joins in the immense conversation that is medieval moral discourse. Like the authors of the *florilegia* and the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, Raymond often seems to disregard the full context of his sentences; whatever their source, his maxims reflect the same commonplace morality of prudent conduct. The half-dozen platitudes which he cites elsewhere from the *Pamphilus*, an elegantly cynical tale of seduction and rape from the late twelfth century, are indistinguishable from the dozen taken from Gautier de Châtillon's heroic epic, the *Alexandreis* (c.1176).

However, citations from other fables - a staple of the elementary curriculum - surely thickened and enriched the texture of *Kalila et Dimna* by prompting recollection of other stories. In the 'Fable of the Dove', cited above, Raymond quotes Walter's 'Fable of the Dog and the Ass':

Dixit mus: Non est tanta pernicitas in acquisita malicia et odio, sicut in hiis que radicibus non naturalibus producantur, - quia dicitur: Quod natura negat, tollere nemo potest [fol. 62; V: 539. Walter the Englishman, Fable XVII, v. 15; Hervieux II: 324].

Raymond makes little attempt, however, to combine the story matter of the *Ysopos* tradition with his own.²⁹ Instead, the couplets he inserts are almost always taken, as here, from the moral of the fable he is quoting.³⁰ If the

²⁹ Into his 'Fable of the Dog and his Shadow', Raymond inserts the moral of Walter's version of the same story (fol. 23v; V: 441), citing Walter's Fable V, vv. 5-6 (Hervieux, II: 318).

³⁰ Only one maxim, cited twice, is taken from the body of a fable (fols 44v, 163v; V: 494, 764; Walter, Fable III, vv. 3-4, ed. Hervieux, II: 317). The 36 couplets Raymond cites are taken from only 17 of the 62 fables in Walter's collection; twice he makes a couplet out of verses from different fables (fols 31v, 46: V: 461, 498). The couplet Raymond cites from Baldo, an Italian poet who apparently rhymed some of the fables of John of Capua in Leonine hexameters, is also taken from the moral of Baldo's 'Fable of the War of the Crows and the Owls' but cited in Raymond's 'Fable of the Lion and the Bull' (fol. 37; V: 473; Baldo, Fable XI, ed. Hervieux, V: 352).

association between fable and moral was very strong, these citations could call up other stories from the reader's memory. At the very least they associate *Kalila et Dimna* with the prestige of *Ysopus* and give readers the pleasure of linking the fable traditions of East and West.

Raymond's editor Hervieux judged all these *addiciones* to be clumsy interruptions inserted without regard for story line or the logic of dialogue; he thought they were added not by Raymond but by some 'very devout, very erudite monk' in a spirit of 'Christian propaganda'.⁴¹ The moralizing nature of the stories themselves, however, laid them open to whatever Raymond chose to add. Moreover, *Kalila et Dimna* is composed throughout in first-person speech; characters in the fables become storytellers in their turn. Even the Seven Deadly Sins speak for themselves in Raymond's tree of Vices, a handsome mnemonic figure on fol. 59v, where each Vice describes her own qualities and effects in a single line inscribed in a round medallion from which branches out a pair of four-line groups of descriptive phrases which are also cast in first-person speech:

Superbia

Cetera que supero memet transcendere quero. ...

Inuidia.

Prospera cum uideo, protinus inuidio. ...

Ira.

Nulla fugit dira mea mens, cum feruet in ira. (531-3)

It was easy for Raymond to put quotations in mouths of characters who were already well launched into moral reflection. It surely delights every reader to hear the familiar maxim from Walter's 'Fable of the Dog and the Ass' (cited above in Latin) when it is put into the mouth of a sententious mouse:

The mouse said, "There is not so much evil in acquired malice and hatred as in those things that grow from natural roots",

—whence it is said:

What Nature denies, no one can teach.

Raymond's teaching does not take the form of annotations copied in the margins like a learned gloss. Instead he incorporates his store of maxims into the stories themselves and attributes them – in direct discourse – to the characters of the fables, as in the 'Fable of the Dove' (cited above) where mice, crows, and stags cite Martial, Ovid, Ecclesiasticus, Solomon, and Seneca. All of Raymond's insertions are thus 'voiced', and this is part of their memorable charm. Most importantly, by inscribing his *addiciones* into the fables themselves and in a particular format, Raymond ensured that his own tutorial performance would be repeated and noticed at every reading.

⁴¹ ... un moine très dévot et très érudit qui ... en a fait un livre de propagande chrétienne (p. 72).

Raymond plays up his role as tutor by a special page layout, saying in his dedication (cited above): "These additions I decided should be written in red ink, so that they could be distinguished from the ancient book".⁴² Each verse insertion in Lat. 8504 is copied in red ink and in letters that are somewhat larger and more spread out than those of the prose. The visible integrity of these inserted verses is evidently prized more than symmetrical page layout, for each is copied as a separate unit and run out into the margin or on to a second line, if necessary, so that readers can easily perceive it as a verse. Ends of such second lines are left blank or filled with a lightly traced red-ink dash or two. This page layout was apparently decided upon after the copying began: up to fol. 22, verse is occasionally copied as prose (fols. 10v and 15), and the verse insertions are only underlined in red. Beginning with fol. 23, however, the verse interpolations are consistently arranged and copied in red ink as Raymond wished. These adjustments are a notable testimony to Raymond's desire for a particular layout: did he perhaps go back over the first folios, underlining the verse in red to make it stand out?⁴³ The idiosyncratic design of Lat. 8504 – taken together with its peculiar hand – suggests that Raymond may have supervised or even copied his manuscript himself for the king.⁴⁴ It is written in a personal hand which becomes gradually larger and looser; it is that of someone accustomed to writing but not that of a professional, well-trained scribe. This hand is Raymond's own 'voice', as it were. The novel design of Lat. 8504, its personal script, and its red-ink interpolations all proclaim Raymond's tutorial presence on every page, just as red ink identifies the verses as his own *addiciones*, to be 'distinguished from the ancient book'.

Raymond's remarkable table of contents signals the special importance of his verse insertions in yet another way. In it, Raymond counts the total number of lines of verse inserted in every chapter as well as the number of

⁴² On the page layout of Lat. 8504, see P. Bourgain, 'Les contes', *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, H.-J. Martin, J. Vezin (eds) (Paris, 1990), pp. 162–3, illus. no. 101 (Lat. 8504, fol. 34v), showing the lay-out of the red-ink verse insertions. Where the name of an *auctor* appears in the body of the prose, the initial is also touched with red.

⁴³ Many other mistakes were left uncorrected (Bourgain, p. 163; Hervieux, V: 73–4).

⁴⁴ Bourgain, p. 163. I am grateful to S. Cochis for pointing out that a 15th-century pedagogue, Antoine de la Sale – tutor to Jean de Calabre, son of René d'Anjou – specified a comparable layout in his autograph instructions in a manuscript of his *Petit Jehan de Saintré* (Paris, BNF MS fr. nouvelle acquisition 10057); correcting the didactic passages of his romance, Antoine specified that the Latin citations – verse and prose alike – should be indented and copied in red ink ('Antoine de La Sale's Delightful Teachings: Literature and Learning in his Late Medieval Books for Princes', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University (1998)).

fables each contains;⁴⁵ illustrations too were counted in the table of contents but only for the first five chapters.⁴⁶

And this chapter [III] contains nine figures and six fables. ... And there are also in this chapter 233 verses and several lessons in moral philosophy extracted and gathered from diverse books of the *antores* and wise philosophers. When these are understood and applied, we will all be able to make our way to the heavenly land above.⁴⁷

While stories may be numbered in tables of contents and songs in *chansonnières* are sometimes indexed by folio number,⁴⁸ it is unusual indeed to find a tally of verse insertions in a table.⁴⁹ The exceptional rubrication, layout,

⁴⁵ The table is copied on fols 2v-9v; V: 388-404. Hervieux signals discrepancies between the tally of fables in the table and the number in the chapters (V: 62-3). The counting of verses too is approximate: for example, the table (cited above) lists fifty verses in Chapter 1 compared to 56 in the chapter.

⁴⁶ Most commonly, a count of verses and fables appears at the end of each summary of topics and fables: for example, ch. 6, *Et in isto capitulo versus c.lxiii, fabule xii* (fol. 5; V: 394). The table even notes when a chapter contains no verses, as in ch. 17, *Et in hoc capitulo versus nulli continentur fabule v* (fol. 9; V: 402). Even the absence of illustrative illuminations, fables, and verses is noted, as in ch. 2, *Nulla figura, nulla fabula, nulli versus* (fol. 3; V: 389). Fables and figures but not verses are numbered throughout in the margin of Lat. 8504 by the rubricator, probably as a memo for payment rather than as a visual aid to the reader (Bourgain, p. 163); see J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, CT, 1992), pp. 165-6, n. 41 and n. 48. The chapter-by-chapter tallies of illustrations in the table of Lat. 8504 may be compared with the brief total recorded in Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal MS 3516, a 13th-century didactic compilation, whose index ends with the notation: *Cbi sont escrit les figures quantes il i a d'or et de color. Des figures d'or i a il LX, et des figures de color i a il IIIIxxet XIII* (fol. 3v).

⁴⁷ *Et sub isto capitulo nouem figure sexque fabule continentur. ... Sunt autem in hoc capitulo cc.xxxiii versus, pluraque documenta moralia abstracta et collecta ex diuersis libris a[nt]ictorum et sapientum philorophorum. Quibus intellectis et operi applicatis, poterimus omnes ad celestem patriam peruenire supernorum* (fols 3-4; V: 389-90).

⁴⁸ I have greatly benefitted from K. A. Duys's study of tables of contents in manuscripts of the 13th and 14th centuries ('Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the *Miracle de Notre Dame* of Gautier de Coincy', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University (1997)); see also G. Hasenohr, 'Les Systèmes de repérage textuel', in Martin and Vezin, p. 280.

⁴⁹ Although lyric-narrative compositions were popular throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, Raymond's decision to set verse interpolations within a pre-existing narrative frame is actually quite remarkable. There are only a handful of analogies: the strange *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* of Adam de la Bassée (c.1280), the refrains inserted into a 13th-century French translation of Ovid's *Art of Love*, and the version of the *Roman de Fauvel* in BN MS Fr. 146 (1317); see E. Roesner, F. Avril, and N. F. Regalado, 'Introduction', *Le Roman de Fauvel in the*

and index of Lat. 8504 all contribute to make the verse additions stand out. The unusual and systematic tallying in Raymond's table of contents points to the significance he attributed to each element in his 'composition' - the 'fables, metrical verse, and figures through which the author's intention and the clear meaning of what is written are made manifest' (see above, note 30).

These red-ink verse insertions tallied in the table of Lat. 8504 and laid out so carefully on its pages mark a significant shift in the balance between story and *sententia* in Raymond's *Kalila et Dimna*, for rubrication of lyric insertions is a rare phenomenon.⁵⁰ Pascale Bourgain suggests that the contrasts

Edition of Mesire Chabillon de Perstein: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146 (New York, 1990), p. 17 and M. B. M. Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200-1400*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA, 1993), pp. 295-7, and A. Butterfield, 'The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre in the *Roman de Fauvel*', *Fauvel Studies*, M. Bent, A. Wathey (eds) (Oxford, 1998), pp. 105-59. Fr. 146 offers many points of comparison with Lat. 8504, for it too contains lyric insertions called *additions*, animal allegories, political and historical contextualization, and an account of the Pentecost feast of 1313. In Fr. 146, however, the Latin and French lyric insertions are not numbered in the table of contents (fol. b) but grouped by genre and number of voices as was common in musical manuscripts of the time; see N. F. Regalado, 'The *Chronique métrique* and the Moral Design of BN fr. 146: Feasts of Good and Evil,' *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 467-94 at 468.

⁵⁰ While red ink is commonly used to articulate divisions of a work, to distinguish words to be spoken from the script of processional movements (as in a coronation *ordo*), or to distinguish text from gloss, I have found only a few examples of red-ink verse insertions. I am grateful to M. Bolton and A. Butterfield for their letters citing examples: red-ink songs written out like prose (as was customary for songs) but without music, in Gerbert de Montreuil, *Le Roman de la violette* (Paris, BNF Ms fr. 1374); a single red-ink rondeau in Jean le Court (Brisbarre), *Le Retor du paon* (Paris BNF, MS fr. 1554, fol. 158); red-ink copies of a *Bele Aslis* sermon (Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal MS 3142 and BNF MS fr. 12467); a red-ink *fatrasie* by Watrquet de Couvins (Paris, BNF MS fr. 14968, fol. 162). E. Roesner kindly pointed out two instances where red-ink was used to distinguish vernacular lyrics from their Latin alternatives: the English text of the celebrated canon *Summer is icomen in. Loude sing cuccu* (London, B.L. Harley 978, fol. 11v); French *incipits* written in red in the margin next to some Latin motets to cross-reference pieces with the same musical setting, in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 1099 Helmstad. In a manuscript of the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* written in prose and verse, verse is made to stand out by rubrication of initials and red line ornaments (R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'Moralization and History: Verse and Prose in the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (in B.N.f.fr. 20125)', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 97 (1981), p. 46). Finally, I thank K. A. Duys for her letter that reported red-ink Latin citations inserted into a French prose chronicle, *Chroniques de France en français depuis la destruction de Troie jusqu'au siège de*

in *Kalila et Dimna* – black and red, narrative and commentary, prose and verse – emphasize the opposition of eastern and classical wisdom; but she overlooks the abundant interpolations of classical and Biblical prose maxims which are blended seamlessly into the prose copied in black ink.⁵¹ Red ink was commonly used to guide readers' understanding; it serves to orient the reader's eye, revealing the order of a work through rubrics. Thus in the treatise on counsel which Raymond interpolates into the 'Fable of the War between the Crows and the Starlings', the main points are summarized in rubrics (see above, note 8); throughout Lat. 8504 red *tituli* identify the miniatures, which illustrate narrative themes rather than the moral precepts of the fables. Red ink could also be used to mark texts surrounded by glosses in some manuscripts, that is, readers' commentaries on fully institutionalized texts such as the Bible, canon law, and certain classical authors.⁵² *Kalila et Dimna*, however, has no such institutional value; it is marginal to the great stream of prestigious works which the European West inherited from antiquity and which were incessantly glossed. Raymond's red-ink *addiciones* to *Kalila et Dimna*, moreover, are not arranged like interpretive glosses set around a canonical text. Instead they are centred in the columns of text on the page, where they bear the weight of authority. By multiplying these wise sayings throughout the fables and magnifying those in verse by his page layout, Raymond reorders the expressive priorities of *Kalila et Dimna*. He gives his *sententiae* great prominence; they are the wisdom contained in the fables, which serve as curious mnemonic images. Memory is here, as everywhere, inseparable from the formation of moral virtues.⁵³ Delightful stories, memorable red-ink colour, and alternations between verse and prose thus work together in Lat. 8504 to fix nuggets of wisdom in the reader's mind.⁵⁴

Douze en 1216 (Paris, BNF MS fr. nouvelle acquisition 6295, fols 45v–46; see L. Delisle, *Notices et extraits des mss.*, 34.1 (1891), pp. 365–97).

⁵¹ 'Les contes', p. 163.

⁵² *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 10 (Cambridge, 1990), p. 215. S. Huot describes a layout made for meditative reading of the *Pater noster*, where each Latin verse is copied in red ink over a black-ink translation and commentary in French, in 'A Book Made for a Queen: the Shaping of a Late Medieval Anthology Manuscript (B.N. fr. 24429)', *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, S. Nichols, S. Wenzel (eds), *Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts* (Ann Arbor, 1996), pp. 127–29.

⁵³ Carruthers, p. 156.

⁵⁴ The alternation between prose and verse in *Kalila et Dimna* is by no means as fully orchestrated as in other classics of the school curriculum such as Prosper of Aquitaine's *Epigrammata*, his digest of St Augustine, or Boethius's *Consolation*; see Gehl, pp. 68–9 (Fig. 4), 137–42, and 153–8.

The nature and arrangement of this large repertory of maxims drawn from the staples of the school curriculum confirm its purpose in Raymond's royal book. He does not seek to display learning but to educate a prince: he does not choose citations outside the elementary curriculum, nor does he elaborate commentary on those prestigious *auctores* from the university curriculum who so delighted his contemporary, Jean de Meun; he cites no Virgil, no Boethius, no Aristotle; he reflects no trace of scientific, political, or intellectual controversy. But, although the stories and lavish illustrations of Lat. 8504 would surely please youthful readers, Raymond's book itself is not elementary in nature. Written in prose, it does not lend itself to memorization by children but to reading and consideration by adults who could each call up from his own memory many of the inserted verses. This is the 'pedagogy of recognition' of which Paul Gehl speaks, the internal authority of texts 'engraved on the memory for life'.⁵⁵ Raymond uses his maxims to reinforce at every point the educational purpose of *Kalila et Dimna* itself: the lesson in kingship. He hearkens back to the *auctores* and Scripture of the elementary curriculum to set forth moral lessons that will enable the king to exercise his great powers wisely. Exported into these foreign tales, these familiar sentences provide a pleasurable shock of recognition that reinforces home truths. Endlessly repeated throughout life, the sayings learned in childhood grow in significance with age. The opening chapter of *Kalila et Dimna* repeats this familiar medieval view of elementary education:

And [the ancient philosophers] were moved by three reasons to explain their meanings by exemplary stories: first, because what is set forth by means of such stories is more clearly understood and, by reason of the wonder they evoke, they remain longer and are more deeply rooted in memory; second, because the prudence of the philosophers is augmented when it is set out in a *florilegium* of maxims and *exempla*; third, because the amusing words of such stories give such pleasure to children struck by wonder that they are rooted deep into memory, so that when they reach a weightier age, they will take the sweetest fruit out of the hard shell; they will understand their proper meaning. And no treasure can be compared to such meaning.

Whoever, therefore, has read this book through, not for its words but for intrinsic understanding, should apply his mind so he will not be like someone who wants to eat nuts without taking them out of the shell or like a young schoolboy learning grammar who puts the parts of speech in his heart but does not grasp the underlying meaning. And it is useless to learn this knowledge unless what one learns and understands is put into practice.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *A Moral Art*, pp. 189, 108.

⁵⁶ *Et monebantur tribus rationibus ut suas intentiones exemplis sensibilibus explicarent: primo, quia quod declaratur sub exemplis talibus clarius intelligitur, et ratione admirationis diucius in memoria permanet et in ea forcius radicatur; secundo, quia multiplicator philosophorum [sic] prudentia, cum cogitantur fluctantem sententiam*

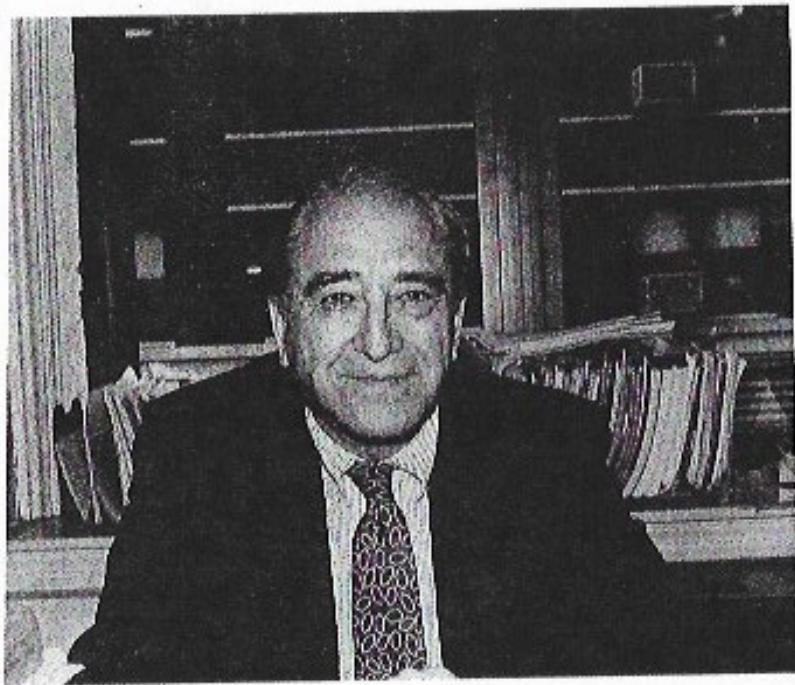
Raymond's dynamic tutorial performance uses the fables of *Kalila et Dimna* to recall for his princely readers a rich store of lessons memorized in youth. His work demonstrates how maxims from the earliest schoolbooks were integrated into a curriculum that was fundamentally cumulative in nature. Primers with which children learned to read provided a moral foundation whose essentials were not outgrown or laid aside in later years but continued to serve three purposes. First, Raymond's *addiciones* show how familiar sayings from the earliest schoolbooks were cited in order to guide pupils towards understanding of unfamiliar works such as *Kalila et Dimna*. Second, as Raymond says, home truths were confirmed and more deeply understood when recognized in new contexts. Finally, Raymond declares, 'It is useless to learn this knowledge unless what one learns and understands is put into practice.' Raymond puts his own learning into practice by setting his *addiciones* within the fables so that the animal characters might teach his glorious pupils, by example and maxim, how to apply moral principles learned in childhood as a guide to adult life and the craft of kingship.

Personal Note

It is a pleasure to thank several colleagues whose tutorial skills increased my understanding of Raymond of Bézier's *Kalila et Dimna*. I have benefited greatly from studying Lat. 8504 with the historian E. A. R. Brown in the context of our work on the Parisian Pentecost Feast of 1313; I am most warmly grateful for her codicological descriptions of this manuscript, her transcriptions of several passages of Raymond's *Kalila et Dimna* not edited by Hervieux, and her translations from the Latin cited here. M. J. Carruthers, R. Copeland, and T. F. X. Noble provided me an opportunity to present this paper before an audience knowledgeable in the Arabic, Spanish, and English fable traditions at one of the sessions on 'Elementary Education in the Middle Ages: Literacy, Numeracy, Artisanry', sponsored by the Medieval Academy of America at the 30th International Congress on Medieval Studies (Western Michigan University, 4 May 1995). I thank Sahar Amer for her comments on the Arabic tradition and both M. Carruthers and R. Raymo for our invaluable

exemplis sensibilibus adaptare; tercio, quia pueri admirati, in exemplis talibus congaudenter, dicta ioculatoria cum quadam delectatione in memoria radicabunt, ut, cum etatem ponderosiorum pervenerunt, de dura testa fructum dulcissimum educentes, sensum capiant oportunum; et nullus thesaurus huic sensui poterit coequari. Quid ergo librum istum perlegerit non ad dicta extrinseca, sed ad intellectum intrinsecum debet animum applicare ut non [sit] similis volenti [nuces] comedere non apertas, et puero nouello gram[m]aticam addiscenti, qui partes corde n[on] gnat sententiam ignoranti, et cognitio huius sciencie erit inutilis, nisi quod quis didicerit et intellexerit, ducerit ad effectum (fol. 10; V: 405-6).

discussions about the relation of Raymond's *Kalila et Dimna* to the medieval grammar curriculum.



Robert R. Raymo

SATURA

Studies in Medieval Literature

in honour of

ROBERT R. RAYMO

edited by

NANCY M. REALE

and

RUTH E. STERNGLANTZ

SHAUN TYAS

DONINGTON

2001