

The Artistic Patronage of John Stuart, Duke of Albany 1518–19: The ‘Discovery’ of the Artist and Author, Bremond Domat

Bryony Coombs*

ABSTRACT

This paper examines two genealogical manuscripts, dating to 1518–19, connected to John Stuart, Duke of Albany: one currently in Paris, the other in the Hague. Examining these two works together demonstrates that some of the recent scholarship on the Hague Manuscript is inaccurate. A comparison shows that this manuscript is not the work, as frequently stated, of the Franco-Flemish rhetorician, Jean Lemaire de Belges, but rather both manuscripts are the work of the same artist/author: Bremond Domat. Domat was employed by Albany for over a decade in Albany’s home town of Mirefleurs in the Auvergne. These two manuscripts reveal a great deal about Albany’s ambitions and priorities at a time when he was still Regent of Scotland, but also when his prominence was growing in France due to connections to the powerful Florentine Medici family.

BACKGROUND

John Stuart was born in the Auvergne, France, in 1482.¹ He was the son of Alexander Stuart, Duke of Albany: the second son of King James II of Scotland and Mary of Gueldres. Alexander Stuart had been forced to exile in France following rumours that he intended to overthrow his elder brother, King James III, and usurp the throne of Scotland. Alexander received a favourable reception in France, and Louis XI organised his marriage to Anne, the wealthy Duchess of Boulogne. It was to this marriage that John Stuart, Duke of Albany (hereafter Albany) was born.² He entered Louis XII’s court, and in 1505 married his cousin, Anne de la Tour. This match secured him the titles of Comte de Boulogne, de la Marche and d’Auvergne.

A turning point in Albany’s career came on 9 September 1513, when King James IV was killed at Flodden, leaving the infant James V as his successor. The coronation of the 17-month-old James V was held at Stirling, and his mother, Margaret Tudor, was appointed Regent. Albany thus became heir presumptive and, almost

immediately, ambassadors were dispatched from Scotland to Louis XII, to remind him of the two countries’ special bond, and to request that Albany travel to Scotland.³ Margaret Tudor forfeited her position in 1514 by marrying Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of Angus, thus causing Albany to be proclaimed Regent.

Albany first travelled to Scotland in May 1515. Of the three trips that Albany would make to Scotland, this first visit was the most successful: he managed to bring some degree of stability back to Scottish governance. Furthermore, he sought almost immediately to strengthen the Auld Alliance by signing a confirmation of friendship on 2 January, 1516. Unfortunately, the situation in France was shifting and Francis I could not ratify the treaty without inflaming English hostility, which he was not keen to do. Albany, eager to establish whether he could sway the French King’s feelings towards the Scots, sought agreement that he might return to France, which he did in June 1517. On his return, Albany immediately set about cementing the Alliance by negotiating the Treaty of Rouen, which was signed in August of that year. This treaty was key to the unfolding of many

* 28/2 Warrender Park Terrace, Edinburgh EH9 1EE

events of the 16th century, outlining the military alliance between the two countries, stressing each country's responsibility towards the other in time of war, and setting out an agreement in principle that James V be betrothed to a daughter of Francis I. Furthermore, in May 1518 Albany persuaded the French King to grant privileges to Scottish merchants under letters patent signed at Amboise.⁴

1518 was the year that heralded a chain of events that further bolstered Albany's career. On 2 May 1518, Madeleine de la Tour, his sister-in-law, was married to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino. The wedding was a grand and sumptuous affair held at Amboise, at which the guests were entertained by marvellous spectacles orchestrated by Leonardo da Vinci.⁵ The marriage was extremely important for Albany, substantially elevating his standing in France by allying him with the powerful Florentine Medici family, and by providing him with a direct connection to Lorenzo's uncle, Pope Leo X: a connection Albany was quick to exploit, both for his own ends and on behalf of Scotland. This can be seen in Albany's correspondence with the papacy soon after this time, in which the ancient privileges of the kings and kingdom of Scotland were confirmed.⁶ Within several months of the birth of Madeleine and Lorenzo's only child, Catherine, at Urbino on 19 April 1519, both parents died.⁷ This left the young child's closest relatives as Pope Leo X and Albany. Francis I decreed that the child should inherit her parents' share of the de la Tour lands and properties, making Catherine de Medici a great heiress in France. Following the death of Pope Leo X on 1 December 1521, Albany was appointed Catherine's tutor and guardian, as her closest male relative.

Anne de la Tour died at the château of Saint Saturnin, Auvergne, in 1524, and left most of her properties to her niece, Catherine de Medici, while she left many of her personal possessions to her husband, Albany.⁸ Albany's regency was terminated in July 1524, when Margaret Tudor arranged for the then 12-year-old James V to be declared of age. In a letter written by the young James V to Albany at this time, he expressed a wish that relations

between the two remain friendly, noting that he hoped that Albany, '... will remain as good a friend as ever to the realm and its king, who will do his best to respond, for there is none more closely allied to him by affection and blood'.⁹ Towards the end of his life, Albany acted on behalf of James V, in the long and protracted negotiations that took place to secure his marriage to Francis I's daughter, Madeleine de Valois. In 1536, while ensconced in these negotiations, Albany fell ill. Retiring back to his homeland of the Auvergne, he died at château Mirefleurs on 2 June. Both he and his wife are interred in their prized religious foundation, the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte.¹⁰

ALBANY'S MOTTO AND EMBLEM

Tracing the patronage of a historical figure relies on particular visual clues: heraldry, mottoes, and emblems are among the most important. These visual signifiers can aid not only attributions, but also tell us something of the value and meaning attached to a work. In terms of 'self-fashioning', these visual indicators provide information regarding loyalties, self-image, social identity and aspirations.¹¹ Several objects and documentary accounts are crucial for identifying evidence of Albany's patronage of the visual arts.

When Francis I succeeded to the throne in 1515 and made his state entry into Paris, Albany enjoyed an exalted position in the proceedings.¹² Accounts of this event provide a glimpse of Albany's preoccupation with displays of visual magnificence, a trait which would endure throughout his life. Albany is noted for his apparel of silver-brocaded white satin, decorated with birds' wings, wrought in silver gilt, which appeared to flutter as he moved. This was trimmed with gold cord, which was knotted at intervals and embroidered in golden thread, with his motto, 'SUB UMBRA ALARUM TUARUM'.¹³ To complete the spectacle he wore a bonnet of white velvet covered in white plumes.¹⁴ This account provides us with evidence of Albany proudly displaying his motto and emblem as a means of identification.

A second important account notes that on 29 March 1516, during Albany's first trip to Scotland, he was awarded the collar of the Order of St Michael, in a ceremony held in the presence of, 'Franceis ambassadouris in the abbay of Halyrudhous'.¹⁵ This is an important marker for the study of Albany's patronage, as thereafter the coat-of-arms used by Albany bore the collar of the Order of St Michael as its border.

In terms of surviving objects bearing Albany's arms, emblem, and motto, a small gold medal dating to 1524, held at the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, is among the most interesting. The obverse of the medal displays the crowned arms of Albany and his wife, with a cross behind, and the inscription, 'IOANNIS.ALBANNIE.DVC.GVBERN', as a proud statement of Albany's position as governor of



ILLUS 1 Gold medal struck for John Stuart, Duke of Albany. 1524. H.R. 208. © National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh

Scotland. The reverse of the medal shows the arms of Albany alone, crowned, and encircled by the collar of the Order of Saint Michael. Above the coronet stands the Holy Dove, with wings outstretched beneath a cross. The dove's head is encircled by a halo, and the inscription around the

circumference of the medal reads: 'SVB VMBRA TVARVM' (illus 1).¹⁶

A second interesting group of objects also bear Albany's motto and emblem. At the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, is a painted enamel copper plaque. The plaque displays an oval



ILLUS 2 Enamel plaque with the emblem and motto: 'SVB VMBRA TVARVM' (22.3×20cm) c 1525–36. 44.284 © Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

wreath of laurel leaves framing a pair of wings that are entwined with a banderole displaying Albany's motto: 'SVB VMBRA TVARVM.' The banderole and wings are white, the ground lapis is blue, the leaves are green with clusters of fruit, and the ties are amber. In the corners, gilding indicates sprigs of leaves (illus 2). Intriguingly, two other versions of this enamel plaque survive today: one at the Musée municipal de l'Evêché, Limoges, and another at the Louvre, Paris.¹⁷ Both medals and plaques demonstrate Albany's use of his motto and emblem in his patronage of visual material. To this patronage we may also add a group of manuscripts, two of which form the basis of this paper and are discussed below.¹⁸

THE PARIS MANUSCRIPT: BIBLIOTHÈQUE ST-GENEVIÈVE, MS 936.

At the Bibliothèque St-Geneviève, Paris, is a manuscript containing a French translation of the mid-15th-century Latin chronicle on Scottish history: the *Liber Pluscardensis*. The *Liber Pluscardensis* was a work based on Fordun's and Bower's earlier Scottish histories, updated and abridged in the early 1460s.¹⁹ The version of this work at the Bibliothèque St-Geneviève is the only known example of this Latin chronicle translated into French. The Paris Manuscript is not unknown to scholars of Scottish history. A description of the work was written by Francisque Michel, and published by Joseph Stevenson in his work *The Life and Death of James I*, in 1837.²⁰ Furthermore, Felix Skene, in his 1877 work on the *Liber Pluscardensis*, devoted a lengthy footnote to the Paris Manuscript, surmising that it was copied and translated from a Latin version of the work that he called the Marchmont Manuscript.²¹ Beyond these brief mentions, however, this manuscript has received little scholarly attention and some of its most intriguing features remain entirely unexplored, such as its elaborately illuminated genealogy of the kings of Scotland, situated at the end of the manuscript, and the context and circumstances surrounding the work's patronage by John Stuart, Duke of Albany.

The opening page of the Paris Manuscript is illuminated with a pen and ink drawing of the

crowned arms of Albany, encircled by the collar of the Order of St Michael and situated in a swirling bouquet of Renaissance foliage. At the base of the foliage is a banner bearing the inscription, 'VERITAS DE TERRA ORTA EST' meaning 'truth shall spring from the ground', a reference to one of the central themes of the manuscript, the genealogical tree.²² Above the foliage is a second banner bearing an abbreviation of Albany's motto, 'SVB VMBRA TVA', and hovering over the banderole is the small figure of the Holy Dove in flight, with striations of light emanating from its wings. The arms, emblem, and motto on this page leave no doubt that this work was commissioned by Albany.²³

The Paris Manuscript opens with a fourteen-line poem extolling the virtues of the very magnificent kingdom of Scotland. Stating that this solemn work was written to demonstrate, by clear evidence, how the sovereign and antique kingdom of Scotland was filled with great valour, and beseeching both nobles and lay-folk to recognise the faith and virtue of the Scottish nation:

Powerful Princes, this present chronicle,
Triumphant of dignified renown,
Demonstrates by very clear evidence,
How the very magnificent kingdom,
Of Scotland has [Bruict] sovereign and antique,
Because it was filled with great valour,
And is still why by excellence,
I write this here solemn work,
To demonstrate how the Catholic faith,
Was kept and judicial power,
Peace and love, equity, temperance,
And against Turks often took a lance,
Nobles and lay, I beg you, without replica,
See this fact, full of prudence.

Domat,
the author translator²⁴

Key to our interpretation of this manuscript is that the poem is signed 'Domat,' and below this is written 'the author translator'. That the work is handwritten and signed in this way, indicates not only that the translation is the work of Domat, but also that the handwriting and flourishes on these pages may be attributed to the same hand. The facing page continues to tell us that this work

was executed for the very high, very illustrious, magnanimous, double prince, 'Monseigneur Jehan duc Dalbanie', Count of Boulogne and Auvergne, de la Marche, and many other great seigniories, the great, serene, and pacific Regent of Scotland, and that Bremond Domat, his very humble servant, has made this work in humble reverence.

A convoluted passage praising God and the Virgin follows, asking that he be forgiven for his rude capacity, his unsubtle craft, and simple knowledge, although he begs all noble readers to bear his ignorance and not to pay attention to his poor language. He notes that he undertook this work in order to elucidate Albany's illustrious and noble blood, and to commemorate his predecessors of great renown. He lastly notes that he commenced this translation from Latin into French on 18 June 1519, ending by noting that he prays to God the Almighty to take him under his protection.

Following Domat's introductory paragraph is a preface stressing that the purpose of the work was to illuminate the truth, by recording the merits and noble remains of these honourable ancestors. It states that occupants of the noble kingdom of Scotland were resplendent in all parts of the world, and feared and redoubted by all nations. This is followed by a short prologue in which it is reiterated that the work was undertaken at the command of the high and powerful seigneur Jehan duc d'Albanie, pacific Regent of Scotland. Domat stresses that he wanted to follow the noble author of the Latin manuscript, who composed the work at the specific request of an abbot of Dumfermline.²⁵ He quotes this Latin author, saying that he had been asked to update the chronicle, recounting events of his own time, with certain other miraculous deeds, which the author had knowledge of, or had seen first hand. Lastly, he quotes the original author's statement that he would add a section concerning a certain marvellous maiden, who recovered the kingdom of France out of the hands of the tyrant Henry, King of England. It is noted that the author was conversant with the aforesaid maiden, and that he was in her company at the recovery of France and until the end of her life.²⁶ It is to be noted

with regret that the author of the chronicle does not fulfil his promise, and in no extant versions of the Latin history, nor indeed in Domat's French translation, do we find the account of the author's exploits in France with Joan of Arc.

There are six extant manuscripts of the Latin work known as the *Liber Pluscardensis*; two contain a prologue and preface, which tell us all we know about the author of this work. It was written at the request of an abbot of Dunfermline and that, although based on the work of Fordun and Bower, it was updated and abridged in 1461, and the author is known to have been in France in the company of Joan of Arc during the 1430s. Domat's French translation of this work is the third Manuscript to contain this interesting preface and prologue, although it also contains an additional poem and dedication that appear to be the original work of Domat himself.

The Paris Manuscript contains two distinct parts, the translation of the *Liber Pluscardensis* into French and an illuminated genealogy of the kings of Scotland. This illuminated genealogy bases its information on the preceding chronicle, but is effectively also an original work by Domat, and does not appear to follow any of the extant Latin manuscripts. Evidence in the Paris Manuscript would suggest that, contrary to Domat's introductory paragraph, where he humbly requests the readers forgiveness for his failings, he was proud of this work: he states his name several times in the introduction, and, throughout the manuscript, he includes his name and his initials 'B.D.' in the decorative embellishments.²⁷

That this work was undertaken for Albany is also highlighted repeatedly. For instance, the decoration surrounding the illuminated initial 'L' in the 'Le royaume de Scoce' on folio 73r contains a banderole with the text: 'VIVE SCOCE TERRE JOLIE ET SON REGENT DVC D'ALBANIE', or, Long live Scotland, beautiful land and its Regent, Duke of Albany.²⁸ Furthermore, visual evidence relating to Scotland may be found throughout the manuscript, for instance, at the beginning of the second book, the royal arms of Scotland are depicted surmounted by a helm bearing the crest of a lion and a banderole proclaiming 'VIVAT FELIX IN ETE NUM'. Also, on f.47r the initial 'P' is

embellished by a lion rampant, the heraldic beast of Scotland.²⁹

While the first part of the manuscript is a direct translation from the Latin original, which has been executed in a fair degree of haste and remains largely unfinished, it nevertheless provides indications of the circumstances surrounding the manuscript's commission. The work was evidently requested by Albany to act as an aid to the education of the newly appointed Regent of Scotland as to the history of his country. It was evidently intended both to act as a compilation of the great deeds accomplished by Albany's ancestors, and also as a testament to the values and virtues of Scotland as a country and as a nation. In the personal decorative features employed throughout the manuscript, Domat sought to highlight that it was from this distinguished bloodline that Albany was a direct descendant. As we have already seen, Albany was appointed Regent in 1514 and by 1519, the date of this work, Albany had undertaken his first and most successful trip to Scotland. He would have been, at this point, well aware of the need to return to Scotland very soon, and it is plausible that such a manuscript, briefing him on the history of Scotland, would, at this point, have been considered very useful. Furthermore, this work was undertaken the year following the marriage of Albany's sister-in-law, Madeleine, to Lorenzo de' Medici. It is, therefore, also likely that this newly formed bond to such a powerful and illustrious family prompted Albany to think about promoting his own powerful position as Regent of Scotland to the influential European nobles with which he was frequently in contact, both on diplomatic and family related errands.

MS 308876 in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, is one of the surviving Latin examples of the *Liber Pluscardensis*. Skene pointed out in 1877 that some of the notes written on the flyleaf to this manuscript suggested that it may have been in France in the early 16th century and that it may have been the manuscript Domat used for his translation. An examination of this manuscript confirms this hypothesis. Domat's workings, marginal notes and the highlighting of important sections, may be found throughout this manuscript. There can be little doubt, therefore,

that the inscription 'J(?) ... albinie' on f.1r within MS 308876 relates to this episode.³⁰ It is likely, however, that Domat only had this work available to him for a limited period, as the Paris Manuscript shows all the signs of being executed in haste. While the text and decorative elements of this first part of the manuscript were executed in black ink on paper, it is likely that the intention was to return to the work and complete the illuminations in colour and with gold embellishments. Whether it was time, money, or some other factor that prohibited this completion it is impossible to determine. This work indicates that, despite Albany's French upbringing, when thrust into the position of Regent of Scotland, he seized this opportunity and determined to do his best with it. He thus sought to familiarise himself with the history of Scotland and its rulers.³¹ Furthermore, the additional decorative features mentioned demonstrate pride in his new status, and a wish to convey to others the integrity and importance of Scotland as a key player on the early 16th century European stage.

The second part of the Paris Manuscript consists of eight leaves of vellum, containing an illuminated genealogical tree of the kings of Scotland. A close examination of the manuscript leaves no doubt that the two parts were executed by the same hand, although it is clear that the vellum leaves were executed with more care, leaving the issue of whether the two parts of this manuscript were originally intended to be bound together uncertain.³² The latter part of this work tells us a great deal, for while the information included stems from the preceding chronicle, the selective emphasis of certain themes demonstrates unequivocally what Domat considered most important and worthy of emphasis for his patron. The illustrated genealogy of the kings of Scotland at the end of this manuscript has eluded scholarly attention, save for a brief mention in a work dating to 1729 by Thomas Innes, in which he mentions 'a kind of abridgement of Scottish History, with pictures of the kings ... in very coarse miniature'.³³

The vellum part of the manuscript begins with an introduction, ornamented by the crowned royal arms of Scotland, where it is stated that these pages were written to 'clarify and resolve

Dan . feras Galahel . on galhel . de cestuy feras galhel fut filz
 galahel le premier Roy de scoce de son nom sont nommees plusieurs promues
 mesmeement portu galhel est adire portugail on ne pourroit reprandre
 pour ce q' par scriptz les noms en ce langage mais pens moy coruse il
 me fault s'en dire moy adieux de quel est Roy scoy s'ont Et en ce
 point le touche Or auons nous clarifie nre genealogie Jusques au
 point principal et a fin q' nul ne la ignore pourra nre par nre
 charne congnostre la Verite

L'ordonnance des Roys du brehustorieux
 et In superable Roy aulme de scoce .



the very illustrious and ancient lineage of Scots to that end that every noble prince descended from this line may apprehend the true source and origin of their lineage'.³⁴ Domat stresses that few kingdoms can claim such an ancient line of descent as that of Scotland, which here is traced back 330 years before the advent of Christ. The genealogy is traced, as it is in the *Scotichronicon*, from Japhet, third son of Noah, down to Galahel, who was proclaimed the first king of the Scots.³⁵

The illuminated tree itself begins with Galahel, the first king, and his wife Scota (illus 3).³⁶ Far from the 'very coarse miniatures' described by Innes in 1729, the illuminations in this work are, by and large, finely executed, with a liveliness and immediacy that is often lacking in works of this period. The draughtsmanship is assured, and demonstrates a talent for characterisation in a style that is entirely unlaboured. The upper half of each roundel contains a pseudo-portrait or effigy of a king, and, in two cases, queens are also included.³⁷ Following the outline of the roundel, in much the same way as a coin or medal, the name of the figure is given. The lower half contains a potted history of the illustrated figure. So, for instance, for Scota we are told that 'Scota his wife, daughter of King Pharaoh, the last in Egypt. From whom Scotland took its name. After the death of her husband she conquered Hibernia, after which she named her first son and reigned 28 years'.³⁸ Under each roundel is a

record of the figures offspring, so here Hiber is listed, as Scota's first son. There are 79 roundels complete with text, from Galahel and Scota to James I of Scotland. There are then nine further drawings of kings, which are without text and



ILLUS 4 Bremond Domat, Simon Brer. *Chronique d'Écosse & généalogie des rois d'Écosse*. MS 936: f.257r, 1519 © Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. Courtesy of Nabil Boutros

ILLUS 3 Bremond Domat, Illuminated Genealogy. *Chronique d'Écosse & généalogie des rois d'Écosse*. MS 936: f.256v, 1519 © Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. Courtesy of Nabil Boutros

difficult to account for.³⁹ Each of the roundels contains an original image, based to a large degree on the information with which Domat has been provided, such as the age of the king during his reign, the antiquity of the era, and the qualities of the figure.

Within the genealogical tree there are certain themes that surface repeatedly. Firstly, particular emphasis is placed on the concept of pre-ordained kingship, and specifically on the interceding of

figures, objects, or events that stress the divinely ordained nature of inherited kingship. So for instance, in the eighth roundel, under a slightly comic representation of Simon Brer, the text reads ‘Simon Brer came third from Spain to live in Hibernia and Scotland and he brought the chair of marble which he had drawn from the sea and had it put next to the most eminent place, to crown the kings. He did prowess and beautiful

be king. He also received a prophecy from the Gods stating that, wherever the stone was placed, a Scot would rule.

A second theme which surfaces repeatedly throughout the genealogy is, not unexpectedly, the history of Franco-Scottish relations, a theme which would no doubt be of particular interest to Albany. The 32nd roundel, which bears an illustration of Ferchard Brer, also known as Ferchar Fota, notes that he reigned in the year 646, and that he ‘reigned 18 years in peace. At this time a great portion of the Saxons were baptised, as was Penda their king’. It then continues ‘at this time Dido, Bishop of Poitiers was exiled to Scotland for safety’, we are told in the chronicle that this was on the orders of King Clovis (illus 5).⁴¹ In the 43rd roundel, which shows King Achaius, we are told that he came to power in 787 and reigned 32 years. His brother was the noble Gilmour the Scot, who fought against the infidels with Charlemagne. He was renowned for marvellous prowess and was the motive for the first friendship between Kings of France and Scotland (illus 6).⁴² This notion that the Auld Alliance dated back to the eighth century, and to a friendship between Achaius and Charlemagne, was often referred to by 15th-century scholars seeking to stress the longevity and respectability of the alliance.

This ancient and mythical origin for the Auld Alliance was still in use in 1646, where it was mentioned in an act by Louis XIV.⁴³

Albany had, by 1519, undertaken one prolonged visit to Scotland, and from the outset he had set about trying to strengthen ties between Scotland and France. So by this time, one might presume that Albany was already relatively well versed in historical matters regarding this ancient friendship, yet would no doubt have welcomed a work that set out so clearly the key names, dates,



ILLUS 5 Bremond Domat, Ferchard Brer. *Chronique d'Écosse & généalogie des rois d'Écosse*. MS 936: f.258v 1519 © Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. Courtesy of Nabil Boutros

deeds’ (illus 4).⁴⁰ This extract is based on one of the two origins given by Fordun, and repeated in the *Liber Pluscardensis*, of the Stone of Destiny. This particular account relates how Simon Brer let down anchor while caught in a storm off the Irish coast. When he was forced by adverse winds to weigh anchor, he drew up with it, and pulled onto the ship, a block of marble cut in the shape of a chair. He accepted that this stone was a precious gift from the Gods and a sure omen that he would

and events that could be used to emphasise its long and distinguished history.

What did Domat use as his inspiration for this work? There are few surviving earlier examples of illustrated genealogies of the royal house of Scotland.⁴⁴ Continental examples of such works developed from a long established history of genealogical illustration. Issues of kinship and family relations were a fundamental concern for all prominent families at this time. Complicated hereditary claims to territories often formed the basis for major disputes, so it was vital for eminent families to keep detailed records of their genealogies, in order to clarify the complex relationships that often existed between them. This concern frequently resulted in the production of illustrated family trees, genealogies, and heraldic displays.⁴⁵ Therefore, while it is useful to situate the Paris Manuscript within this genre of visual genealogical display, the question remains whether there was an established visual tradition for portraying the ancient kings of Scotland per se, or whether Domat was forced to adapt a Continental tradition to suit his purpose.

Domat's illustrations of the early Scottish kings in this manuscript may be an example of one of the ways in which the aesthetics of the French Renaissance spread to, and influenced, visual culture in Scotland. Much work has been undertaken examining the possible origins of the fantastic figures that appear in the woodcarvings of 16th-century Scotland, and it has already been noted that some of these works may have been the creations of French craftsmen brought to Scotland by Albany, or later by James V.⁴⁶ The Paris Manuscript was specifically commissioned by Albany in order to aid his understanding of Scottish history and act as an aide mémoire for

its most famous figures. It would be surprising if Albany had not brought this manuscript with him on one of his trips to Scotland, and did not show it off to the young James V. Certainly much of James V's Renaissance tastes stemmed from the influence of his tutor and governor, Albany, and this manuscript may be one of the, no doubt many, ways French Renaissance aesthetics influenced the tastes of James V.⁴⁷



ILLUS 6 Bremond Domat, Achaius. *Chronique d'Écosse & généalogie des rois d'Écosse*. MS 936: f.259r 1519 © Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. Courtesy of Nabil Boutros

With no known visual precedent for Domat's genealogy of the royal house of Scotland, it is reasonable to suggest that this work was the invention of Domat, working with the information made available to him in the *Liber Pluscardensis*, and basing his work on the Continental tradition of illustrating royal genealogies. What then may be understood from Domat's characterisation of the ancient kings of Scotland, and of his intentions in illustrating this genealogy? It is clear that a

description of these images as ‘portraits’ would be misleading, as even the most recent king to be depicted, James I, had already been dead 82 years by this time.⁴⁸ The images presented would more accurately be described as ‘effigies’, following the medieval tradition of visual representation

other nations, such as those of ancient Greece and Rome. The fantastic zoomorphic headware found on Domnal Brec, and on Conall, is repeatedly employed in the genealogy, to suggest antiquity, but also a general warlike prowess.⁵⁰ Other famous figures, such as Kenneth MacAlpin,

who were celebrated for their success in battle, are clad in a more contemporary form of Italianate armour, again used to suggest their invincibility. Evidence that Domat carefully adhered to the information within the *Liber Pluscardensis* may be seen in the representation of Aed Wing-foot, or EtvS Fretath, as he is called here. In this particular representation, Domat has acknowledged the description of the king as ‘fast and light of body’, and an athlete superior even to those of ancient Greece, such as Philonides, the hemerodromos of Alexander the Great who ran over 1,000 stadia in a single day.⁵¹ Domat’s representation of Aed shows a young and slight man bearing the symbol for swiftness, a wing, on his helmet or crown (illus 7).

The illustrated genealogy appended to Domat’s translation of the *Liber Pluscardensis* appears to have been an original invention by Bremond Domat. In no other version of this text do we find such illustrations, and it is

therefore likely that Domat was required to adapt an established French tradition to meet the needs of his patron. As such, Domat appears to have concerned himself primarily with the medieval concept of likeness, in which images often played a crucial role in mnemonic systems. When used in this way, physiognomic likeness was not crucial



ILLUS 7 Bremond Domat. EtvS Fretath or Aed Wing-foot. *Chronique d'Écosse & généalogie des rois d'Écosse*. MS 936: f.259v, 1519 © Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. Courtesy of Nabil Boutros

of famous figures as not necessitating a ‘true’ physiognomic likeness, but merely requiring a distinctive and memorable image in order to serve as an effective mnemonic.⁴⁹

In general terms, the images Domat created consistently conform to an ideology which proposed that physical superiority and political power were the typical and inseparable consequences of illustrious ancestry. The images stress the virtues of physical might, and their fantastic apparel suggests their remote and exotic past as well as alluding to the great heroes of

ILLUS 8 Bremond Domat. Self-portrait (?) *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. KB 74 G 11: f.2r. 1518 © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag



HOMME et exaltacion
 de la treshaultantique
 et magnifique lignee
 De treshaulte Et
 Puissante Et
 Illustrissime
 princesse de scoce



Da. Petau Len^{er} En
 Parlement

to the success of the image. It is likely therefore that Domat's concern was less whether these images represented a 'true' likeness, and more whether they reflected what the corresponding text told the reader, thus providing an image to remind Albany of the important part these figures played in Scotland's history.

THE HAGUE MANUSCRIPT: KB 74 G 11

At the Kroninklijke Bibliotheek in the Hague, is a manuscript catalogued under the title: *Genealogy of Anne de la Tour, Princess of Scotland*.⁵² Unlike the Paris Manuscript, this work has been extensively researched in recent years, with two key articles published in 2005–6: one by Colette Beaune and Elodie Lequain, and a second by Anne Schoysman.⁵³ Both are based, to some degree, on the premise that the manuscript was commissioned by Albany's wife, Anne de la Tour, from the renowned court historiographer, Jean Lemaire de Belges.⁵⁴ The connection to Jean Lemaire was first made when François Avril noticed that the banner held by the portrait of a nobleman on the second folio bore the motto 'Unless what we do is useful, our glory is in vain', a motto Lemaire had previously published on the closing page of his work *Legend of the Venetians*, published in Lyon in 1509 (illus 8).⁵⁵ In this section, these assumptions will be challenged: an alternative solution will be proposed for the artist/author and, to a degree, the patron of this work.

The first unusual aspect of this manuscript is its dedication. The author begins the manuscript by dedicating his work to 'the very high and powerful and illustrious princess of Scotland', hence the title it is catalogued under.⁵⁶ Anne de la Tour is not generally referred to by this title in other French sources. This prompted an investigation into other aspects of the manuscript that relate specifically to Scottish interests, and suggest the involvement of her husband, the Duke of Albany.⁵⁷ The opening page of the Hague Manuscript, and indeed the dedication, leave little doubt that regardless of who commissioned the manuscript, it was intended to be presented to Anne de la Tour. The opening page is decorated

with a colourful display of Anne's coat of arms, crowned, and encircled by a wreath of foliage. A comparison between the opening pages of both the Paris and Hague Manuscripts shows clear similarities in this heraldic composition.⁵⁸ The doves are very similar in size and attitude in both illuminations. Each dove bears a halo, similar striations of light, and in each instance, the same partial rendering of the motto has been used: 'SVB. VMBRA.TVAR'.

Clear evidence of Albany's involvement within this manuscript occurs on folios, 2r and 28r. Folio 2r includes a winding banderole, displaying the script 'vivite felicex J. A' or 'Live Happy, John Stuart and Anne de la Tour' (illus 8). On f.28r the same sentiment is repeated, this time arranged around a large 'J' and 'A', joined by a love knot (illus 9). This type of decoration was commonly employed throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, often in relation to marriage celebrations. It is clear, however, that this work was not a marriage gift. John Stuart and Anne de la Tour were married in 1505, and the manuscript can be accurately dated to 1518 (one year earlier than the Paris Manuscript), due to the inclusion of a mention of the marriage of Anne's sister, Madeleine, to Lorenzo de' Medici, which was celebrated in May 1518.⁵⁹ Yet there is no mention of the birth of their daughter, Catherine de Medici, in April 1519. Confirmation of this dating is given later in the manuscript, where it is mentioned that the crusade of 1060 was 458 years earlier.⁶⁰

The manuscript in the Hague contains an eclectic combination of elements, which may be divided into four parts. Following the introduction, the work begins with a story of the brothers Pharaon and Archemolu.⁶¹ This section ends on f.28, where the inclusion of the J & A love-knot heralds the beginning of the first genealogy of the counts of Boulogne and Auvergne. Introduced by the legend of Saint Nectaire, this genealogy is traced from Ligier, the nephew of King Arthur, to Jeanne de Boulogne, Anne's mother.⁶² The third part of the manuscript

ILLUS 9 Bremond Domat. 'J' & 'A' Joined by a Love Knot. *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. KB 74 G 11: f.28r. 1518 © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag

L'empereur loy seure et fiseunt de merueilles
 faictz qui trop long seorent a l'armer
 mais po' esmer proheite de l'ingage noz
 parterons de plusieurs comtes et vintiffes
 qui ont q'ez de bohoigne et d'annegne
 metre fin a nostre preambule Et pour
 congnostre et s'amen douz d'ardue ag
 canue

a comte d'annegne



Deuant que Jesus crist fut ne
 mille ans ou plus ces nobles armes
 Es comtes si fut ordonne
 pour leur grant prouesse en armes

contains a second heraldic genealogy, stretching from King Arthur to the marriages of John and Anne, and her sister Madeleine to Lorenzo.⁶³ The fourth part of the manuscript contains a collection of illuminated poems and epitaphs, ending in ten drawings of châteaux in the Auvergne, which formed the inheritance of Albany and Anne de la Tour.⁶⁴ This last section of the manuscript contains poems and drawings of the principal properties inherited by Albany after his marriage into the de la Tour family, and it is likely that one of the primary aims of the manuscript was to detail the split of properties inherited by Albany and Anne following the marriage of Anne's sister, Madeleine. This final section contains drawings of the châteaux at Vic-le-Comte, Buron, Mercuriol, Cremps, Ybois, Couppel, Saint Babel, Busséol, Mirefleurs, and Laps. All the châteaux depicted, a number of which still stand today, were located south-east of Clermont-Ferrand.⁶⁵ A comparison between those buildings that still stand and the illustrations in the Hague Manuscript indicate that these representations were executed from life, as sketchy topographical portraits.⁶⁶ The text that accompanies the images of the châteaux gives an evaluation of the revenues that Albany would have expected to gain from each property, and the poems that are situated next to the drawings extol both the virtues of the buildings and their surrounding countryside. For instance, the list of accounts next to the image of Vic-le-Comte details the income that Albany would have received from the sale of fabrics, cheese, wine, and rice, among other produce, and the poem accompanying the image stresses the antiquity and beauty of both the château and the town. That this section of the manuscript was aimed specifically at Albany, rather than his wife, is implied by the text accompanying the image of Saint Babel that states '*Je suis Saint Babel, belle mocte, mon maistre est le duc de' Albanie*'.⁶⁷

At the beginning of the fourth section of the work, the clearest evidence is found indicating that Albany was involved in its commission. The double-page arrangement, f.52v and 53r, occurs at the end of the heraldic genealogy and marks the start of the eclectic last section of the work. Albany and his wife's coat of arms form an impressive visual finale to the earlier heraldic

illuminations (illus 10). Golden striations of light have been used to highlight their importance. Beneath the heraldic composition is written an eight-line poem which reads:

The year one thousand, four hundred, eighty and
two in July
The eighth was born on earth,
Albany, bonnie child,
who will by sea conquer,
Scotland also England,
and put them into subjection,
by strength of arms and of war,
he will take possession of them.⁶⁸

These few lines provide us with some interesting information. Firstly, they confirm the exact date of Albany's birth, a date which has been cited as anywhere between 1480 and 1485. Secondly, it sets out in forceful terms his military ambitions. Although to some degree, such a bullish statement may be seen as political and social posturing, it is nevertheless notable that in August 1517 a letter was sent to Henry VIII from France, recounting rumours that Francis I was providing Albany with men and resources intended for an attack on England. The letter notes that Albany had approximately 30 of the best pieces of artillery made for the mission, and that he was collaborating with Richard de la Pole, the Duke of Suffolk, in this endeavour.⁶⁹ These recurring rumours have often been dismissed by historians as baseless, yet the poem in the Hague Manuscript must surely raise the question as to whether these rumours actually had some basis in fact, and whether they originated from some form of declaration of intent from Albany himself.

Below this poem is written: 'The prognostication of the nativity of prince John, Duke of Albany, as speculated by the planets.'⁷⁰ This is followed by three verses of eight lines on the influence of the planetary deities on the life of John Stuart. It starts by noting that Venus, the principal planet that governs his birth, promises

ILLUS 10 Bremond Domat. The Prognostication of the Nativity of John Stuart, Duke of Albany. *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. KB 74 G 11: f.52v and 53r. 1518 © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag

En due Jehan Salbanc les armes de
 son dame Anne de Boligne sa femme



In mel mi in et deus exultabit
 Et sanctissime nasquos sur terre
 De hanc enquis foliet
 De quel sea par mox cognere
 Et seore aussi angletre
 Et let matra en subreton
 Das fore d'armes et de guerre
 Si en prandra possion

a puenos firacion de la matrite

Les planetes Jehan Salbanc i perles de
 son dame Anne de Boligne sa femme

PLANETS planete premier pallement
 Somment sa matrite
 ny pmonet pmissire papalle
 V chent de la diminte
 A b'lie audofite
 Double conorne deus fore de
 Mast de menat d'antefite
 Aueg orig pen de de saueg

SOL planete ke s'magin facus
 qm gomme de enie de perre
 Comme vout digne est angletre
 ny doms corandice et p'monete
 fustitee se c'entente p'ntee
 Fendua et comonete p'ntee
 l'heut et de v'et d'ous p'ntee
 D'ont p'ntee de p'ntee

ATVNE de la matrite
 Et engendrea qu'ilqz nois
 Maie meure de g'entee
 D'effea tout plage en son
 ma fera tout a son
 sus p'ntee de bonie forme
 Maie qui m'entee ne de plage
 Contradition nauua auteme

a epistaphis de coniti Jehan pere de ma
 dame Anne de Boligne Salbanc

him papal power. He is then referred to as double-crowned, two times king, an affirmation of his military ambitions as expressed above. The other planets offer him various privileges and challenges: Mars threatens him with adversity, Sol governs his heart and grants him kingdoms and provinces, Jupiter punishes his enemies, Saturn will generate strife, Mercury is gracious, Luna promises good fortune, and contradiction shall be avoided in order not to displease Minerva. The poem as a whole can be seen as an affirmation of Albany's power, prestige, and a prophesy of what will be, according to the planets, a glorious life.⁷¹

The initial statement that Albany would be granted papal power is particularly interesting. This requires a brief explanation, as by 1518 Albany can have had no real idea of just how true this prediction would prove to be. The statement had no doubt been made in recognition of the marriage of Madeleine de la Tour to Lorenzo de' Medici, the nephew of Pope Leo X, and to the clear strengthening of ties that this family connection would bring between Albany and the Pope. By 1518 he may already have harboured ideas of exploiting this link for his own ends. He cannot, however, have known that within a couple of months of the birth of Madeleine and Lorenzo's only child, Catherine de Medici, both parents would be dead and thus Catherine's two closest remaining guardians would be Pope Leo X and Albany. Albany appears to have fully exploited this link to gain papal favours, both for his own interests and for those of Scotland.

The aim in this section has been to demonstrate that a number of the elements included in the Hague Manuscript relate specifically to the interests of Albany, and therefore suggest that it is worthwhile considering whether Albany commissioned this manuscript as a gift for his wife, following the betrothal of her sister to Lorenzo de' Medici: a gift that sets out her impeccable lineage, the excellent prospects of her husband, and details the couple's inheritance in terms of the châteaux they received after Madeleine's marriage. This hypothesis is given further weight by considering the question of who was the author/artist of this manuscript.

COMPARING THE MANUSCRIPTS

It has already been shown that the Hague Manuscript is closely connected to the Paris Manuscript. A careful examination of both works leaves little doubt that they were executed by the same hand. Comparisons between the male and female facial types, between the ornamentation of the illuminated letters, and between the handwriting and its embellishments show that the Hague and the Paris Manuscripts were very likely the work of the same hand (compare *illus 3* and *illus 8*).⁷² Small details, such as the finely drawn marginal embellishments of profile faces included throughout both manuscripts, and a comparison between the spelling and turn-of-phrase used in each work, strengthen this theory (*illus 3* and *illus 9*).⁷³

In Anne Schoysman's discussion of the authorship of the Hague Manuscript, she noted that 'we have every reason to think that it is Lemaire represented holding a *banderole* with the device in the frontispiece of the Hague Manuscript' (*illus 8*).⁷⁴ However, when she discusses this illustration she omits a key detail. She quotes the motto 'Unless what we do is useful, our glory is in vain', but does not mention the prominent capital letter 'D' facing the figure at the end of the *banderole*, a detail which is difficult to account for in relation to an identification of the figure as the court historiographer, Jean Lemaire de Belges. The explanation for this letter becomes clear, however, when we recognise that the author/artist of the Hague Manuscript is likely to be the same as that of the Paris Manuscript – ie Domat. This identification is strengthened by looking at *f.55* in the Hague Manuscript, which shows an image of a fool holding a banner bearing the Erasmian quote 'To feign stupidity is in certain situations the highest wisdom' (*illus 11*).⁷⁵ Below this is an eight-line poem on good government. Below the poem, and an elaborate calligraphic flourish, is a capital letter 'D' and a small letter 'o', again,

ILLUS 11 Bremond Domat. The Fool and a Poem on Good-Government. *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. KB 74 G 11: f.55r. 1518 © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag



Que font Ilz quilz ne soient venus
 Les empereurs Roys ducs ou comtes
 On ne men voit & eueux nulz
 Ilz sont a la chambre des comptes
 Ou Ilz tromperont grant mescomtee
 Silz ne se font bien gouvernez
 Leurs pechez rougnostront et homtee
 Dignitez seront et querdonnez

Do.

an element that has hitherto been ignored. It is here argued that this further confirms that the author/artist of this work was not Jean Lemaire de Belges, but Domat.

It is therefore proposed that the Hague and the Paris Manuscripts were both the work of Bremond Domat, for Albany and his wife. The Hague Manuscript was executed in 1518, and the Paris work begun in 1519. It is likely that both manuscripts were conceived at the same time, and formed two parts of the same commission, a commission which originated with Albany. Both works focus on clarifying the illustrious genealogies of Albany and his wife, the Paris Manuscript illustrating Albany's Scottish heritage, and the Hague Manuscript focussing on his wife's Auvergnate descent.⁷⁶ Each work contains a wealth of information that would have proved invaluable for Albany's diplomatic duties, both as Regent of Scotland and as guardian of his illustrious niece, Catherine de Medici. I suggest that, as these two works have not previously been examined together, this has led to a number of inaccuracies in their readings and has, certainly in the case of the Hague Manuscript, led to its references to Albany remaining entirely unexplored. Most important of all is the re-attribution of this work from one of the most famous and influential rhetoricians, Jean Lemaire de Belges, to an all but forgotten, yet fascinating figure, Bremond Domat.

WHO WAS BREMOND DOMAT?

Domat was a scholar and a historian, evidently capable of researching and compiling the two genealogical histories that came together in the marriage of Albany and Anne de la Tour. With regard to his source material, the preface of the Hague Manuscript states that the author extrapolated this genealogy from '*plusieurs grands et divers livres et volumes qui sont dans les tresors de nostre dame de boloigne gardes somptueusement en Picardie*'.⁷⁷ The Paris Manuscript consists of a faithful translation of one text, the Latin *Liber Pluscardensis*, into French, with his own reworking of this material into an illuminated genealogy appended.

The probable author portrait on f.2r of the Hague Manuscript shows a finely dressed young man, who clearly saw himself as well-to-do, wearing golden brocade robes, an exotic hat and bearing a hefty purse (illus 8).⁷⁸ He was clearly a skilled artist and trained scribe, and a fairly inventive poet, and while his poetry falls some way short of the finest courtly work composed for the French King at this time, he does display a familiarity with contemporary poetic fashions. Domat was clearly in the service of Albany by 1518 and, as we will go on to see, he held this position for some considerable time afterwards. However, establishing exactly where he came from is problematic. The name Bremond Domat, is not obviously either Scottish or French. Furthermore, the style of his lettering and embellishments would suggest that he may have trained in northern France or southern Flanders.⁷⁹

Regardless of Domat's origin, it is possible to piece together evidence regarding his employment in the service of Albany. Examination of the paper section of the Paris Manuscript reveals two distinctive watermarks on the paper used for this work. These watermarks correspond with those recorded for two paper mills operating in the Auvergne c 1520.⁸⁰ While this may come as little surprise, the confirmation that both paper and patron came from the Auvergne suggests that Domat may also have been working in this area. Fortuitously, an examination of Albany's lands and properties reveals that a building in Albany's home town of Mirefleurs is called, even to this day, *Maison Domat*.

In the early 16th century, Mirefleurs was the location of one of the ten châteaux belonging to Albany that featured in the Hague Manuscript. In fact, the Mirefleurs residence was the château most favoured by the Duke, and was the place where he died in 1536. It is unlikely that a building called *Maison Domat*, in the same small commune where Albany spent most of his time in France, could be a coincidence. *Maison Domat* itself dates to the late 15th century, and is known today as the house of the famed 17th-century jurist, Jean Domat.⁸¹ Certainly, in the 17th century, this grand town-house was the property of the Domat family, and it is quite likely that the building could have



ILLUS 12 Bremond Domat. Chateau Mirefleur. *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. KB 74 G 11: f.64v. 1518 © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag

been in the family's possession since the late 15th century.⁸² Of particular interest has been the recent discovery of a large volume of graffiti on the walls of the building, most of which appears to be 18th century in date, but some of which is almost certainly a great deal older.⁸³ The graffiti consists of hundreds of sketches of faces, of varying artistic merit, but also some sketches of buildings, etc.⁸⁴ The graffiti thus far uncovered may, at best, be seen as evidence of the family's continued artistic tendencies.

It is likely that Bremond Domat was an ancestor of the later, and more widely known, Jean Domat, and that he was one of the first residents of *Maison Domat*. Supporting this theory is the depiction of château Mirefleurs in the Hague Manuscript (illus 12). A comparison between this image and the other châteaux images suggests that Mirefleurs may have benefited from some extra attention. The palette of colours is much broader, the château and grounds have been rendered in a finer degree of detail, and the poem that accompanies the image is given two verses instead of one.⁸⁵ The poem is written as an address by the residence to the Duke and Duchess. The château claims that 'of the county I am the flower, a small château of great value, I am a beautiful sight, with beautiful parkland and am the best place at which to spend time'. It also goes on to note some of its most attractive assets, the plentiful vineyards, the ponds full of fish, and the flora and fauna.⁸⁶ While it may have been at the Duke and Duchess's request that this praise and additional attention was lavished on Mirefleurs, it may also be that this is a reflection of Domat's personal pride and particular familiarity with his own place of residence.

Two further pieces of information confirm that Domat was in the employment of Albany, in the Auvergne, 14 years after he penned his dedication to the Duke in the Paris Manuscript. Both of these documents concern the events of the year 1533, and a long journey that Francis I made around his kingdom, prior to travelling to Marseille to witness the marriage of Catherine de Medici and his son, Henri, duc d'Orléans. During this tour, Francis I visited the Auvergne, no doubt in part as recognition of Albany's services rendered in negotiating and securing this

marriage.⁸⁷ It is noteworthy that this visit caused great jubilation for the people of the Auvergne, as a French king had not visited this area for 160 years.⁸⁸ Triumphal entry ceremonies were planned by a number of towns which the King had promised to visit eg Riom, Vic-le-Comte, Clermont, and Montferrand among others.⁸⁹ Sir Anthony Browne, who was present at these events, wrote a letter to Cromwell stating that the King had arrived at Riom on 9 July, and the following day he was met several miles from the town by Albany. The same day, the King travelled to Montferrand, where he was

received by the citizens on horseback, and three hundred footmen with artillery, clothed in jerkins of cloth of gold, or orange velvet, or satin. Religious figures met him in the town with the sacrament and a procession. The streets were gravelled, and the sides hung with verdure, and covered with linen with the arms of the King, Queen, and Dauphin. In divers places there were fair pageants, and the streets were furnished with torches, and trumpets blown ... I have never seen three such towns so near together ... I never saw so goodly a country.⁹⁰

A second account of the style in which Albany greeted the king to the Auvergne was given by Robert Aldrydge, who stated that,

the King was [recei]uyd after a fashion as I have not seen befo[re] ... stage at the first gate gorgeously apparelled, [and there] upon stood a young woman richly clothed with ij ... of gold, speaking to the King, and delivering [the] keys. Within all the way the King went the t[own was] hanged over with fair linen cloths upon bowe ... walls hanged with arras, children to the num[ber of] forty in garments of silk, spears in their hands [crying] viva le Roy. In the midst of the town three o[r four] young women upon a stage in like gorgeous a[pparel]. In the third place, likewise the fyft, with tr[umpets] and other minstrelsy. I should have said ho[w that] without the town the burgeys met the King [on] horseback, of whom one spake a brief proposition ... the towns end the clergy with procession.⁹¹

It appears that Albany was responsible for ensuring that the towns of the Auvergne did their very utmost to impress their honoured guest. The accounts of the triumphal entries show that

Albany was at the very heart of the preparations, and no doubt oversaw the broader orchestration of the visit, however, he achieved this only by employing some of his most trusted advisers. Accounts for the provision of wine testify that Francis I stayed at château Mirefleurs during this visit, again demonstrating Albany's pride in this particular château.⁹² Surviving council records regarding the preparations involved in organising these pageants and spectacles tell us a great deal about the efforts that were made to honour this special occasion. The accounts for the town of Montferrand note expenditure for a triumphal arch and several scaffolds decorated with allegorical displays.⁹³ Danyel Martin, a painter from Bruges, was employed to ornament the stages.⁹⁴ The streets were cleaned, roads mended, and houses decorated all in the typical manner for an important State visit. It is unfortunate, however, that many parts of the accounts go without explanation, and that we are told almost nothing of the entertainments enacted on these stages, except that ladies from the town were employed and dressed in taffeta.⁹⁵ Of central importance are several accounts that note that the town councillors consulted a certain Bremond Domat, in order that he might advise them on their entertainments.⁹⁶ Even more fascinating is the fact that he was consulted not only by the councillors of Montferrand, but also by the town of Clermont, who were organising a quite separate entry ceremony, suggesting that Domat acted as an overall coordinator and artistic advisor for the spectacles prepared in towns under Albany's command.⁹⁷ So although we know little of these silent plays, enacted along the processional routes of the King's entry into both Clermont and Montferrand, we know that their planning was overseen by Domat, *arbiter elegantiarum* for the preparations.

CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the Paris and the Hague Manuscripts together for the first time. Both works are clearly connected to John Stuart, Duke of Albany, and their comparison demonstrates

that the Hague Manuscript has been the subject of certain misinterpretations. This misinterpretation has stemmed from scholars addressing the work purely in the light of Anne de la Tour and the French side of this family, and failing to investigate the Scottish side and thus the interests of her husband, Albany. Bringing these two manuscripts together not only demonstrates that similar themes were addressed in each work – ideal kingship, noble lineage, and Franco-Scottish relations – but also allows attribution of both works to the same hand, that of Bremond Domat. Much recent scholarship concerning Albany has focussed on his dual nationality. Marie Stuart's biography of Albany referred to him in its title as 'the Scot who was a Frenchman', and more recently, Elizabeth Bonner stated that it 'remains to be seen whether he would not be more justly described as the Frenchman who was also a Scot'.⁹⁸ An examination of Albany's manuscripts suggests that he himself was also clearly preoccupied with his national identity and with tracing his ancestral roots.

The identification of Bremond Domat as author, scribe, and artist of these two works is an important development. This situates Domat in the tradition of the leading French humanists of his time, fulfilling similar duties for Albany as we know Jean Perréal, for instance, fulfilled for successive French monarchs.⁹⁹ Like Perréal, Domat appears to have demonstrated his ability to fulfil a range of humanist endeavours, he was at once poet, artist, and artistic advisor for triumphal entry ceremonies. He was aware of his own talents and was not afraid to sign or leave clues to his identity for posterity. That some of Domat's work has been confused with that of Jean Lemaire de Belges can only be seen as further confirming his abilities and emphasising the quality of his work. With regards to the patron-artist relationship between Albany and Domat, this research has scratched the surface of what was, in all likelihood, a working relationship that spanned in excess of a decade. It is likely that beyond these two manuscripts, and the accounts for the triumphal entry ceremonies, there is more material still to be found.

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NOTES

- 1 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f.52v. Bremond Domat, 1518.
- 2 Baluze 1708, I: 344, II: 670–2; Michel 1862, I: 264.
- 3 *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, 1424–1567*: 281.
- 4 Moncrieff 1751: 67–9.
- 5 Solmi 1904, XXXI: 389–410. Documents published by Solmi in 1904 show that Leonardo da Vinci was employed at Amboise in 1518, arranging the spectacles for the double celebration of the baptism of the King's son, Henry II, and the marriage of Madeleine and Lorenzo. Albany is referred to in these accounts.
- 6 *The Letters of James V, 1513–1542*: 68–9. During Albany's visit to Rome in 1520 he not only secured a papal bull confirming his position as Governor, but also took the time to attend to some private business and gain permission for himself and his wife to construct the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte. Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, CH7/46; Paris, Archives Nationales, J/1130, no 25.
- 7 Baluze 1708, I: 352. They were interred with great magnificence in the Medici chapel at the church of San Lorenzo, Florence. Lorenzo de' Medici's tomb is ornamented with Twilight and Dawn, sculpted by Michaelangelo. Lorenzo was immortalised in the sculpture known as the Pensieroso.
- 8 Baluze 1708, II: 689. Among the items listed are: furniture, dishes, gold rings, money, precious stones, beds, tapestries, corn, wine, household utensils and all personal property that belonged to Anne on the day of her death.
- 9 *The Letters of James V, 1513–1542*: 111–12.
- 10 Baluze 1708, I: 357. For the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte see: Bielawski 1887 (a); Bielawski 1887 (b); Fouilhoux 1898 and 1909; Deshoulières 1925: 101–11; Fouilhoux 1926; Toynbee 1948; Billot 1987 and 1998; Luneau 1995 and 1996; Wessel 2003; Gatouillat & Hérold 2011; Coombs 2013.
- 11 'Self-fashioning' was a term coined by Stephen Greenblatt in relation to the process of constructing identity and public persona in relation to literary figures of the English Renaissance. Greenblatt 1980.
- 12 Godefroy 1649, I: 271–5.
- 13 The motto translates as, 'In the shadow of thy wings'. Psalms 16:8 of the Vulgate Bible: '*a resistentibus dexteræ tuæ custodi me ut pupillam oculi sub umbra alarum tuarum proteges me*', which translates as 'From those who resist your right hand, preserve me as the apple of thy eye. Protect me under the shadow of your wings'.
- 14 Godefroy 1649, I: 273; Baluze 1708, I: 354.
- 15 *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the Country of Scotland ...*, 1833: 7. A mention of the 'colar of cokkyllzeis' is also made in the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, V, 1515–1531*: xlvi.
- 16 For this medal see: Nisbet 1718: 191; Cochran 1873: 13, 47–8 and 1884: 35–6; Hawkins 1885–1911, I: 28; Coombs 2013. A letter from Thomas Wharton to Wriothesly, 1546, suggests that gold medals struck for Albany were made from Scottish gold found on Crawford Moor. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, V, IV*, no dxcciii: 575. There are at least two other casts of this medal, one at the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow, and another in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Several variations of this medal also exist. A description by Adrien Blanchet of a medal held at the Cabinet des Médailles, bears a different arrangement of the dove and the motto, and displays a slightly different inscription (Blanchet 1892, I: 33, 266–8). More intriguing is a third version of the medal, which is known today only through a sketch and description, published by an 18th-century German coin-collector, Johann David Köhler. The obverse of this medal bears a cypher monogram of the Duke's name and an

- enigmatic legend (Köhler 1749: 33). Also of interest, with regards to these medals, is a section of an inventory taken of Albany's belongings at château Mirefleurs after his death in 1536. This includes the following two entries: '*Plus quatre vingtz quinze pièces dor descosse aux armes aud. Feu Seigneur et le saint esprit avaluez par son brevet six escus pièce, montant cinq cens soixante dix (escus)*', and secondly, '*Plus cinquante pièce dor marquées dung cousté du saint esprit et de lautre ung chiffre, advaluez par led. Brevet à cinq escus pièce qui font deux cens cinquante escus*'. Fouilhoux 1926: 351.
- 17 For the Baltimore Plaque see: Verdier 1967, no 81. For the Louvre Plaque see: Baratte 2000: 83. For the Limoges Plaque see: Ducourtieux 1888: 318–37; Bourdery 1891–2: 414–24; Guibert 1894: 647–9. Albany's emblem is presented in a similar form, incorporating a pair of disembodied wings in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5227.
- 18 There were several copies made of the Hague Manuscript (KB 74 G 11) that should be noted: Paris, BnF fr 5227 is a copy of the genealogical sections, and was produced as a gift from Albany to Clement VII, c 1530. It contains the arms and emblem of Albany, and a portrait and the emblem of the Pope. This copy was executed by Jean Couteau. Paris, BnF fr. 20209 is another copy of the genealogies, although less lavish than the previous example. It was also made as a gift, this time for the la Guesle family, seigneurs de Busséol. Paris, BnF, Arsenal MS. 4264 dates to 1552 and contains the arms of Marie de Medici. It contains copies of the château portraits found in the Hague MS. Some differences show the deterioration of the properties between 1518 and 1552. Lastly a 16th-century manuscript sold at Sotheby's on the 3 May 2012 also includes copies of the château portraits. This manuscript contains the arms of Catherine de Medici and was apparently bound for presentation to Margaret de Valois. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue '*From the Collection of Prince and Princess Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne Lauraguais, 3 May, 2012*'. Also of interest is Paris, BnF, MS. fr 4652, which consists of an inventory of titles and charters of the House of Boulogne, and includes a list of the coats-of-arms once found decorating illuminated windows in the gallery of the château of Vic-le-Comte, f.30–45. This description was written by Augustin le Prévost for Catherine de Medici.
- 19 The *Liber Pluscardensis*, while based on Bower's *Scotichronicon*, includes a number of passages written in the first person by the chronicler as eye-witness accounts. The chronicle notes that the first five books follow Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*. It also acknowledges that the work up to the time of James II is indebted to Bower, stating that the remainder of the work is due to one whose name will appear at the end of the sixth book. This promise is not fulfilled in any of the surviving manuscripts. Skene proposed that the author of the *Liber Pluscardensis* was Maurice Buchanan, a cleric and previously treasurer to the Dauphine, Margaret Stuart. He suggested that Buchanan composed the work at the Priory of Pluscarden in 1461 for then Abbot of Dunfermline, Richard Bothuele (Bothwell). Skene 1870: 13–24 and 1872: 447–51; Drexler 1982: 62–74. Sally Mapstone more recently proposed Gilbert Hay as a possible candidate, Mapstone 1999: 4.
- 20 Stevenson (ed) 1837: xiii–xx. Francisque Michel included a short mention of the manuscript in his own work of 1862. Michel 1862, I: 341–4.
- 21 Skene 1877, VII: *Liber Pluscardensis*: xv–xvi; n.2. Skene lists six surviving manuscripts of the *Liber Pluscardensis* written in Latin. (1) Glasgow University Library, MS Gen 333, a signature on this copy indicates that it belonged to Archbishop William Scheves. (2) MS Advocates Library, 35.5.2. believed to be a copy of the Glasgow MS. (3) MS Cavers, 1696, also believed to be a copy of the Glasgow MS. (4) MS Bodleian, Fairfax 8. (5) MS Marchmont, Mitchell Library, MS 308876, believed to be a copy of the Bodleian MS. It contains a *praefacio* and *prologus* and a table of contents for the first book, which were probably copied from a now lost leaf of the Bodleian work. (6) Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, MS. 7396, also believed to be a copy of the Bodleian MS. It also contains the *praefacio* and *prologus* contained in the Marchmont MS. Skene surmises that the Paris Manuscript was copied from the Marchmont Manuscript for a number of reasons: the Paris Manuscript contains the preface and prologue only now found in the Marchmont and Brussels manuscripts. A poem on the flyleaf of the Paris Manuscript mentions the Scots combat against the Turks and in the Marchmont MS there is also a note in verse form on a similar theme. Furthermore, the Marchmont MS appears to have been in the possession of the French Roi d'Armes

- Montjoie. This indicates that the work may have been in Paris in the early years of the 16th century and thus may have been the work from which the Paris MS was translated. Lastly, the Marchmont MS is inscribed 'J(?) ... albinie' on f.1r, perhaps a reference to this episode. Supporting this view see Somerville 1928: 377–8.
- 22 Taken from Psalm 84:12. '*Veritas de terra orta est, et iustitia de caelo prospexit*': 'truth is sprung from the earth and justice has looked down from heaven'.
 - 23 The facing page contains a small handwritten explanatory note pasted onto the flyleaf, probably written by Francisque Michel and added to the manuscript at the time he examined the work and sent a description to Joseph Stevenson in the 1830s.
 - 24 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Chronique d'Écosse & généalogie des rois d'Écosse, MS. 936, f.2v. Bremond Domat, 1519.
 - 25 See note 19.
 - 26 This passage is important as it identifies the author of the original Latin chronicle of 1461 as a figure who was in the company of Joan of Arc during the 1430s and who was present at her death at Rouen.
 - 27 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936: f.22v, 63r & 167v. Bremond Domat, 1519.
 - 28 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936: f.73r. Bremond Domat, 1519.
 - 29 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936: f.19v, f.47r. Bremond Domat, 1519. A further connection to Albany is indicated on f.159 where the initial 'A' for Alexander is given half a page of extravagant decoration, including Renaissance style foliage, flowers, and birds perhaps intended to highlight the significance of the name Alexander, that of Albany's father.
 - 30 Mitchell Library, MS 308876, contains many sections of text which have been underlined. It also contains marginal notes written in the same handwriting as the Paris Manuscript. It appears that these notes are Domat's workings, used to aid his translation of the text and to help him compose the illuminated genealogy. Murray Tod discusses the scribal activity in this manuscript at some length in his PhD thesis (Glasgow University 2005). Knowledge of the Paris Manuscript, however, and an understanding of Domat's task significantly alters our understanding of this scribal activity. It does not just reflect an interested 16th-century reader, but reflects Domat's work in translating the text and condensing the history into an illustrated genealogical tree for Albany (Tod 2005).
 - 31 This was not the only manuscript of Scottish History in Albany's possession. An inventory of Catherine de Medici's belongings at château Mirefleurs, taken in 1560 (Paris, BnF MS. lat. 18610: f.201–221), includes further works of interest which almost certainly belonged to Albany before his death in 1536. These include a sea chart on paper of the Kingdoms of Scotland and England; a book written by hand of the line on the Kings of Scotland (this may refer to the Paris MS); and a book on parchment written by hand, gilded, and illuminated, named the *Cronique d'Escosse* (f.201v, f.207r, f.208r).
 - 32 There is a discrepancy in size between the vellum and paper pages. Some of the vellum pages have been folded at the bottom by approximately 25mm. It appears likely that after Domat undertook his hasty translation of the *Liber Pluscardensis* that he executed the smarter genealogy in preparation for Albany's return to Scotland.
 - 33 Innes 1729: 633–4. Innes was the vice-principal of the Scots College, Paris, so would have had ample opportunity to examine the manuscript in person. Joseph Stevenson, quoting Francisque Michel, only notes that '*Dans ce même volume il y a fur huit feuillets de vélin un abrégé chronologique de l'histoire d'Ecosse, jusque'à Jacques I d'Ecosse, avec des portraits des rois en une espèce de miniature*'. Skene and Somerville fail to mention the illuminated genealogy at all. Another brief reference to Domat's translation was written by Richard Hay, a canon of Ste Geneviève, Paris, in 1700. Despite mentioning the heraldic opening page to the manuscript, he also fails to mention the genealogical tree. Hay 1700, Nat. Lib. Scot. Adv. MS. 34.I.8. 337.
 - 34 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936: f.256r. Bremond Domat, 1519.
 - 35 Japhet was one of the three sons of Noah, the others being Shem and Ham. He is often, but not always, referred to as the youngest son. The Bible notes that Japhet had seven sons, of which Gomer was the eldest and writers have assigned to him the lineage of various nations, including the Armenians, Cimmerians, Scythians, Welsh, Irish, Germans, Huns, Turks and Franks.
 - 36 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936: f.256r. Bremond Domat, 1519.

- 37 Galahel and his queen, Scota, and Malcolm and his queen, St Margaret, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936: f.256r, f.260v. Bremond Domat, 1519.
- 38 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936: f.256v. Bremond Domat, 1519. The only other representation I have found of Scota and Galahel is the famous image of Scota and her husband sailing westwards from Egypt in a 15th-century manuscript of Bower' *Scotichronicon*: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 171: f.14r.
- 39 It is possible that Domat, being unfamiliar with Scottish history, wanted to update the genealogy to his own time but misjudged the number of kings this would require. Even if we include Regents there is no reasonable explanation for including nine further figures after James I.
- 40 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936: f.257r. Bremond Domat, 1519. Bower 1998, I: 63, 65, 67, 69, 197.
- 41 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936: f.258v. Bremond Domat, 1519. Bower 1998, III: 127, 129, 133, 143, 157.
- 42 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936: f.259r. Bremond Domat, 1519. Bower 1998, III: 161, 163, 167, 169, 175, 183, 271, 295.
- 43 'Whereas it hath been represented to the King, in his council, the Queen Regent, his mother present, that in the year 789, Charlemagne reigned in France, and Achaius in Scotland, the alliance and confederacy having been made between the two kingdoms, offensive and defensive, of crown and crown, King and King, people and people, as is set forth by the charter called the golden bull, it should have until present continued without any interruption, and been ratified by all kings ...', Moncrieff 1751: 63.
- 44 Older illustrated genealogies certainly existed but few survive. One example appears on f.345r of a copy of the *Scotichronicon* dating to 1510, held at Edinburgh University Library, MS. 186. Here a single folio is illustrated by a genealogical tree tracing the descent from Malcolm Canmore and St Margaret to James II. There is also a schematic text genealogy in the *Black Book of Paisley*, B.L. Royal MS 13 E.x, f.26v. There is a later example in a manuscript written by John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, in 1578 which is illustrated by a number of portrait medallions of the ancient kings of Scotland. Leslie, 1578. There is also a later genealogical tree featuring James VI's claim to the English throne through his grandmother, Margaret Tudor, dating to 1603. A print of this was published by John Woutneel soon after this (NPG D1370). Morgan 1914: 163–4; Farquhar 1915: 30–2.
- 45 For example, see the genealogical triptych commissioned by Margaret of Austria, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 14569, 1520–30. Margaret of Austria was contemporary to Albany; Margaret of Austria (10 January 1480–1 December 1530), Albany (8 July 1482–2 June 1536). She was an enthusiastic patron of the arts, with a notable interest in portraiture and genealogies. Furthermore, she performed a similar role to Albany as governor of the Hapsburg Netherlands, 1507–15, and guardian of her young nephew, the future Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor. Her interest in genealogical illustration was connected to her political position, just as it was in the case for Albany.
- 46 Stuart 1940: 65–6; Dunbar 1975: 20; Evans 1985: 31.
- 47 For instance, it is plausible that the Paris Manuscript may have had an influence on the programme of decoration employed in the King's Presence Chamber at Stirling Palace.
- 48 James I of Scotland (1394–21 February 1437).
- 49 Perkinson 2002: 687–723.
- 50 Similar types of fantastic zoomorphic headware may be seen, for instance, on sculpted heads of imaginary classical warriors from the château of Gaillon. These profile busts originated in northern Italy c 1506–8 and demonstrate French interest in this Italian aesthetic. Wolff 2011: 188–9.
- 51 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936: f.259v. Bremond Domat, 1519.
- 52 *Genealogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, Bremond Domat, 1518.
- 53 While both articles give detailed descriptions of the manuscript, they focus solely on the French historical material contained in the work, neither consider the Scottish references. Beaune & Lequain 2005: 385–417; Schoysman 2006: 57–8, 315–34. The manuscript is also discussed in Korteweg 2002: 127–8.
- 54 Jean Lemaire de Belges (c 1473–1525) was a Franco-Flemish poet and historiographer. During his career he was in the employment of a number of illustrious patrons: in 1498, in the service of Peter II, Duke of Bourbon; in 1504, of Margaret of Austria, afterwards Regent of the

- Netherlands; and in 1512 he was in the service of Anne of Brittany, Queen of France. He is of great importance to art historians for the interest he demonstrates in the visual arts. He even claimed to have practised painting himself, furthermore, his writing testifies to his friendship with the renowned French artist, Perréal.
- 55 ‘*Si non vtile est quod facimvs stvlta est gloria*’, ‘Unless what we do is useful our glory is in vain’. Lemaire de Belges, 1972; Beaune, & Lequain 2005: 386; Schoysman, 2006: 57–8, 315–16.
- 56 ‘*Pour l’honneur et exaltacion de la treshaultantique et magnificque lignee de treshault et puissante et illustrissime princesse d’Ecosse, duchess Dalbanie countesse de bologne et dauvergne et de la marche ... Anne de la tour.*’ The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f.2r, 2v. Bremond Domat, 1518.
- 57 On the treatise drawn up in 1518, which details the split of properties inherited between Anne de la Tour and her sister, Madeleine, agreed and signed by their husbands at Amboise, Anne is consistently referred to as Anne de Boulogne. In her will, composed in 1524, she is referred to as ‘*hault & puissant dame madame Anne de Boulogne duchese d’Albanie, comtesse de Bouloigne & d’Auvergne*’. Baluze 1708, II: 684–5, 689.
- 58 A connection between these two manuscripts has not previously been established, so no study has compared these two works. The most telling comparison on the heraldic opening pages are the small doves in flight, with emanating rays of light, and the accompanying motto.
- 59 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f.52r. Bremond Domat, 1518.
- 60 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f.42v. Bremond Domat, 1518. A note in the margin of this folio, probably written by Paul Pétau, a previous owner of the manuscript, notes the date of the work as 1518.
- 61 The story of Pharaon and Archemolu covers f.3v–28r. Beaune, & Lequain 2005: 390–2.
- 62 The legend of St Nectaire is found on f.28v–29v. The first genealogy covers f.30r–34r. The Hague, KB, 74 G 11. Bremond Domat, 1518.
- 63 The second genealogy is found on f.34r–52v. The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, Bremond Domat, 1518.
- 64 The final part of the manuscript containing the illuminated poems, epitaphs, and drawings of châteaux covers f.52v–65r. The Hague, KB, 74 G 11. Bremond Domat, 1518.
- 65 An interesting earlier manuscript, including topographical portraits of a number of the same châteaux, is the Revel Armorial. Paris, BnF. MS. fr. 22297, c 1456. See: Fournier 1973; Bernage, Courtillé & Mégemont 2002.
- 66 Evidence that the artist sketched these châteaux from life may be most clearly seen in the drawings of Buron, where the stone arched gateway still stands today, and in the drawing of Busseol, where the artist has presented the château from a slight aerial perspective. The layout of the château corresponds accurately to the building as it stands today. Comparisons with remains of the châteaux at Vic-le-Comte and Mirefleurs also correspond closely to the drawings.
- 67 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f.62v. Bremond Domat, 1518. There are further references specifically to Albany given in the accounts on f.65v and f.68r.
- 68 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f.52v. Bremond Domat, 1518.
- 69 Bonner 2004.
- 70 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f.52v–53r. Bremond Domat, 1518.
- 71 This interest in the planets was in vogue during this period. It also echoes earlier examples of Franco-Scottish interest in such matters. For instance, following his victory at the Battle of Baugé in 1421, the Earl of Buchan was awarded the honour of the services of the sovereign astrologer, Germain de Thibouville. After passing into Buchan’s service, Thibouville, apparently, prophesied the death of Charles VI and Henry V, who did indeed both pass away very soon after. Vallet de Viriville 1862, I: 260–1. Visual evidence of an interest in the planetary deities may also be seen in the calendar of the Monypenny Breviary, which contains copies of the planetary deities from the so-called Mantegna Tarrochi. Coombs 2013.
- 72 Bearing in mind the aesthetic differences between parts of the Paris Manuscript, executed in black ink on paper, and the Hague Manuscript and the genealogy in the Paris Manuscript, both executed in brown ink on vellum.
- 73 The letter flourishes of acanthus leaves and the diamond lattice embellishments also correspond closely.
- 74 Schoysman 2006: 324. Schoysman does, however, express some doubt as to whether the handwriting could be attributed to Lemaire and as to whether the verses included are his work.

- 75 ‘STVLTIOIAM SIMILARO LOCO SVMMA [SAPIENTIA] EST’, ‘*Sapientia*’ appears to have been cropped off by some over-zealous trimming of the margins. ‘*Stultitiam simulare loco, sapientia summa est.*’ Erasmus 1668: 62. Written in 1509 and first published in 1511, a copy of the Basel edition of 1515–16 was illustrated with pen and ink drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger. These include a depiction of a fool, not dissimilar to the fool in the Hague Manuscript. Saxl, 1943. The quote, ‘*stultitiam simulare loco prudentia summa est*’ is found in the work of Dionysius Cato (AD 3–4), ultimately deriving from, ‘*stultitiam simulare loco sapientia summa est,*’ Horace (65–8 BC).
- 76 Bearing in mind that Albany could also claim descent from this line, given that his mother was another Anne de la Tour. Albany’s patronage of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte also demonstrates his preoccupation with genealogical matters. The central stained glass window above the altar depicted the Tree of Jesse, with Albany and his wife shown kneeling below it. The overall choreography of decoration sought to highlight Albany’s direct descent from Louis XI, from whom he had inherited a thorn from the Crown of Thorns, which the Sainte-Chapelle was built to house. The chapel was constructed between 1520 and 1524, and was the ninth and last Sainte-Chapelle to be built following Louis XI’s principal foundation in 1246. It was consecrated under the double invocation of the *Saintly Crown of Thorns of Jesus Christ* and of *Saint John the Baptist*, the patron saint of the founder. Coombs 2013.
- 77 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f.2v. Bremond Domat, 1518. For the treasury of Notre Dame de Boulogne see Clauzel-Delannoy 2007.
- 78 His hair is not, however, depicted in a fashionable courtly style for the early 16th century.
- 79 In discussing the style of the Hague Manuscript, Schoysman notes that the neat bastard script and the decorations, in particular the decorated initials, are similar to those in Burgundian manuscripts at the end of the 15th and early 16th centuries. Schoysman 2006: 322.
- 80 Briquet 1968, nos 12914 and 13390. Briquet identified no 12914 as present in a document dating to c 1530 and no 13390 in a document dating to 1516.
- 81 Jean Domat (1625–95) was a French jurist born in Clermont Ferrand. He was the son of Jean Domat, a notary, and Marguerite Vaugron. His friendship with the mathematician and writer, Blaise Pascal, has subsequently proved the source of much scholarly interest. His principal work, *Les lois civiles dans leur ordre naturel* (1689) was to become one of the principal sources of the ancien droit on which the Napoleonic code was later founded. For this undertaking, Louis XIV gave him a pension of 2,000 livres.
- 82 The building is owned by Henri Desfeuilles and is currently used as the headquarters of an archaeological group who have informed me that earlier records for the building were lost. Prior to the 17th century, nothing is known of the building’s history. I am very grateful to Vincent Guichard for his kind assistance with this research.
- 83 I am also extremely grateful to Monique Bresson, the chair of the Mirefleurs Association, for sending me images of the graffiti. The drawing that has caused the most interest is a possible portrait of Blaise Pascal, perhaps drawn by Jean Domat himself. The drawing makes an interesting comparison to a portrait of Pascal executed in red chalk by Jean Domat, now held at Paris, BnF, RES M-F-8. See: Morvan 1984: 6–18; Brin 1962: 291–4.
- 84 Some of the sketches include text but what is decipherable has not proved particularly enlightening eg ‘Jeanne Domat la camuse’.
- 85 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, f.64v & 65r. Bremond Domat, 1518.
- 86 For the château at Mirefleurs, previously known as Chateauneuf, see Fouilhoux 1926: 339–60.
- 87 Between 1530 and 1533, Albany acted as chief negotiator on behalf of Francis I for the marriage of his niece, Catherine de Medici, and the duc d’Orleans. The negotiations were complex and protracted as there were numerous interests to be considered. In August 1533, however, Albany returned to Italy to escort Catherine to France for her wedding. Catherine arrived on 6 September at La Spezia, where Albany had provided a fleet of ships. There Catherine and her train waited while Albany collected Clement VII, accompanied by 13 cardinals and numerous prelates and officials, before returning to Villefranche on 6 October. Three days later, the entire party set sail for Marseilles. On 27 October, the marriage contract was signed by Clement and Francis I, and the next day the

- young couple were married by the Pope in a ceremony followed by a great banquet, a masked ball, and festivities which lasted for many days.
- 88 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1533*, VI, no 811.
- 89 Until the early modern period, Clermont and Montferrand remained separate cities: Clermont, an episcopal city; Montferrand, a comital one. On 15 April 1630, the Edict of Troyes forcibly joined the two cities into the single city of Clermont-Ferrand.
- 90 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1533*, VI, no 811, Teilhard 1888: 436.
- 91 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1533*, VI, no 831.
- 92 Château Mirefleurs was, however, of insufficient size to accommodate the King and all of his retinue, so a second château, Dieu-Y-Soit, was also prepared. All these preparations did not come cheap and Albany was reimbursed by the crown the sum of 14,000 écus d'or soliel for his expenses. Fouilhoux 1926: 348.
- 93 Teilhard 1888: 28–9; Bossuat 1957: 92.
- 94 Other painters employed included Jean Imbelot from Clermont and Loys Reynault. Teilhard 1888: 28–30.
- 95 Teilhard 1888: 33, 40. The only entry ceremony on this tour that was described in any detail by an eyewitness account was that at Puy, which was observed by Etienne Medici and which took place eight days after the events at Clermont and Montferrand. We know that at Puy there was a tableau vivant of the seven liberal arts, it has been speculated that this followed the famous wall-painting of this subject found in the cathedral there. Masson 1958: 150–70. For an account of the entry see Chassaing 1818. I.
- 96 ‘*Le mardi viii de Juillet, pour le desense dudict Fouchier et de Cholier, qui furent à Vic, pour parler à Mr Brémont Domat, à cause qu'on ne pouvoit finer de M. Jean de Fauçières pour faire les jeuz*’, ‘*Ledict jour, à Montferrand, pour ce que lesdicts Fchier et Cholier n'avoient trouvé ledict Domat, feirent besoigner M. François Lozoux et fust despendu pour le gouster dudict Lozoux, Cholier et Richomme*’, ‘*Plus fut donné à Mr Brémont Domat qui fut en ceste ville et feist ung gect des jeuz, qui se devoit jouer, lesquelz furent communiquez dans l'auditoire à la pluspart de messieurs les conseilhers, qui adversèrent lui donner un escu soliel, ce qui fut faict, pour ce*’, Teilhard 1888: 39–40.
- 97 ‘*Plus, a esté ordonné que sera baillé à MS Bremont Domat, qui a demeuré deux jours pour deviser la façon qu'on devra prendre à l'affere, la somme de six livres par Jehan Fournier, trésorier, auquel q esté baillé mandement d'icelle*’, ‘*A esté ordonné que mons. L'esleu Belabre ira à Riom, pour soy enquirir, et parlera à Mr Breymond Domat*.’ Bouillet 1842, III: 51, 63.
- 98 Stuart 1940; Bonner 2004.
- 99 Jean Perréal (b. after 1450– d. after 1530). Perréal's major patrons were Charles of Bourbon, King Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I. He painted portraits and illuminated manuscripts. He was also an accomplished designer of tombs, medals, theatre scenery and ceremonies.

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KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, THE HAGUE

Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse. KB, 74 G 11.

MITCHELL LIBRARY, GLASGOW

Liber Pluscardensis, MS 308876.

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