Networks of Manuscripts, Networks of Texts

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Connecting Chronicles

Material and Social Bonds
in the Circulation of *Chroniques Abrégées*
in Fifteenth-Century Paris

Abstract   Using the methodology of Network Analysis, we can visualize the network of owners associated with manuscripts of fifteenth-century French histories and the material connections between the manuscripts themselves. This provides clues as to where to look for additional manuscripts in this corpus, which we know is incomplete. A clear distinction emerges between a group of male historians associated with the French court whose manuscripts were privately owned, and other texts in institutional collections which were subject to public consumption. The work of Nicole Gilles is examined as a case-study of the first sort of manuscript. Both sorts of manuscripts – whether associated with individuals or institutions, particularly monasteries and the royal court – are revealed as key points of exchange and contact. The study, based on the Archives Nationales de France, could be expanded to other archives to give a more complete picture of the way in which texts circulated. Certain actors, most notably Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, are revealed to have a similar pattern of manuscript ownership as institutions like the great abbey libraries of Paris.

1.   Introduction: Networks of People – Networks of texts

This paper examines a corpus of 26 French vernacular histories that circulated – and for the most part were written – in the fifteenth century. Substantial scholarship has been devoted to the issue of textual overlap between these histories, with scholars seeking to determine which texts are wholly distinct, which are separate redactions of the same text, and how the texts influenced each other.[1] Rather than addressing these textual questions, the current paper aims to shed some light on the personal and material connections that may have facilitated the transmission of texts. Network Analysis permits a visualization of the connections between people associated with manuscripts, allowing us to see how texts may have been transmitted and providing clues as to where lost or unattributed manuscripts might originally have been found. Network Analysis is used here primarily as a means to represent a large number of connections that cannot easily be shown by other means. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were not as bureaucratic as our age and so most people did not leave a trail of documents comparable in size to that which we create today. As a result, many people are hard to locate and have few documented connections to other people. This means, as we shall seee, that the network we are examining is not dense: that is, the likelihood that two nodes in the network will share an edge is low. However, by producing a visual representation of the network, we can see some of the connections between actors. This representation can be refined by grouping nodes based on modularity – a tool which allows us to identify communities of nodes within the network that share more edges with each other than with others. This permits us to identify actors who may have come into contact with lost or unidentified manuscripts containing texts in the same corpus. Since we know that such manuscripts did once exist, analysis of these clusters provides one set of clues as to where to look for them. Another sort of clue is provided by analysing the physical similarities between manuscript witnesses, which permits us to identify different patterns of ownership within the larger social network. The ego network of Nicole Gilles – that is, a subset of the larger network containing only the actors that are linked to this person – the author and owner of one of the manuscripts in question, provides a case study, showing where Gilles interacted with other people with documented connections to manuscripts containing texts in this corpus.

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1   See Guyot-Bachy and Moeglin, "Comment on été continuées les *Grandes chroniques de France.*"

The corpus has been divided into separate texts according to groupings identified in the Jonas database.[2] Hosted by the French national *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes,* this database is an exhaustive repertory of French medieval manuscripts. It presents the most recent scholarship on texts and on the manuscript witnesses to them, grouping texts by content rather than by title.[3] The corpus is listed in section 1.1 below, where departures from the groupings suggested by Jonas are signalled. It will be noted that many of the texts are referred to in at least some manuscripts as 'chroniques abrégées'. This designation can be regarded as a marker of genre rather than of text, given the diversity of texts that are given this title.

The physical properties of manuscripts have been determined largely with reference to the catalogues of the libraries housing them, as has information about the individuals associated with those manuscripts. I have investigated the social and legal connections between these individuals using the records of the French National Archives and in particular its *minutier central des notaires de Paris,* a vast register of legal documents signed in the city between the end of the fifteenth century and 2012.[4] This source provides documentation which is predictably rich in the case of individuals based in Paris. Men associated with the royal court are particularly prominent, due to the volume of legal relationships created by the business of government, such as homage for land. I have supplemented these records by consulting other documents in the French National Archives, such as the papers of the court itself. However, court records are less detailed for the period in question and contain fewer references to named individuals. Figure 1 below is a visualization of the resulting network, where nodes represent people or institutions and undirected edges represent the relationships between them. Since the court records are less detailed, most of the edges reflect connections documented in the *minutier.* This has the inevitable result of highlighting the legal relationships of Paris-based individuals. The prominence of the node representing Charles Duke of Berry, younger son of Charles VII of France, in figure 1 can be explained in this way. In 1462 and 1463, the year following the death of his father and the succession of his brother Louis XI, it was Charles – and not the king – who received homage for royal lands. As a result, there are a large number of records of legal relationships between Charles and other people. Charles was possibly the owner of a copy of Guillaume de Nangis's *Chronique abrégée des rois de France* (text 13 below: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 12246).[5] He was linked by family to

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2   Leurquin, Anne-Françoise, Marie-Laure Savoye et al., "Jonas."
3   Guyot-Bachy, "La Chronique abrégée des rois de France et les Grandes chroniques de France," 209.
4   This resource contains over 100 million notarized documents, grouped into 122 reports. Documents from the fifteenth century are mainly found in MC/ET/XIX. This corpus is catalogued in Béchu, Greffe, and Pébay, *Minutier central des notaires de Paris.*
5   Provenance is established by means of a note 'C'est au seigneur de Berry', see Van den Gheyn et al., *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale,* 131.

his father and brother (who are both named as the subject of a number of the histories in the corpus), as well as to 141 other men and women, mostly because he received homage from them.

Examining the personal and legal connections between individuals gives some insight into how texts may have been transmitted. Combining this with information about the physical form taken by the manuscripts containing the texts allows us to see whether physically similar texts circulated in socially similar contexts. It is to be expected that physically similar copies may occupy a similar place in the lives of the people who commission, produce, and own them. Physically similar manuscripts may have been put to similar uses, stored in similar ways, and therefore also had similar fortunes as far as dissemination is concerned. In some cases, a similar material presentation may imply shared source material, for example where a passage is copied with its accompanying illustrations. This is not necessarily the case: physically similar books occupy the same niche in a material ecosystem. The content of those books may be an alternative text – that is, a different text fulfilling the same purpose – rather than an identical one.

This study of documented legal relationships and their intersection with the different material form in which texts circulated is complemented by a case study of Nicole Gilles. Gilles makes a good point of comparison, because we have a description, dating from 50 years after his death, that hints at how his work was transmitted, and because his life is richly documented in the French National Archives and elsewhere. A notary and secretary to the king, he was also a churchwarden in the parish of St Paul, and involved in a business partnership with the publisher Antoine Vérard.[6] The death of his wife Marie Turquam (1499) prompted an inventory of books owned by the household, including a number of unbound volumes that should have been returned to Vérard, and one of two surviving manuscripts which bear traces of Gilles's ownership.[7] By comparing what we know about Gilles to what we can conclude about people in similar positions in the network, we can make preliminary conclusions about how the texts may have been diffused. Looking at the material forms in which these texts survive tells us something about the sort of texts that were transmitted through different connections. This is thus a study of textual diffusion, rather than of reception: the evidence examined is traces of legal and familial relationships between individuals and information about the manuscripts they produced and owned, rather than evidence about how or whether the texts were read.[8] It is anticipated that in the future this work can be extended with reference to archives beyond the French National Archives and in the light of fresh provenance information.

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6   See Scheurer, "Nicole Gilles and Antoine Vérard."
7   For information on these manuscripts, see Emerson, "Nicole Gilles and Literate Society,"
     56; Doucet, *Les Bibliothèques parisiennes,* 83–89.
8   For this distinction, see Brix, "Aux marges des manuscrits," 61.

1.1   Corpus

The corpus considered in this article consists of 26 vernacular histories which survive in manuscripts from the fifteenth century or the very early years of the sixteenth century. Many of the texts were written or compiled during this period, but earlier texts have been included because the survival of manuscript witnesses from this era confirms an ongoing interest in the text. Initially drawn up on the basis of texts identified by Kathleen Daly, the corpus has been extended and refined with reference to the Jonas database, which has in some cases revised scholarship concerning the textual tradition of individual manuscripts.[9] The texts considered are as follows:

1) *Chroniques abrégées.* A text apparently composed in Paris around 1330, it survives in 41 manuscript witnesses from the period, catalogued under titles ranging from *Les Chroniques abregées du commencement du Monde jusqu'au temps pape Jehan* (London, British Library, Harley 4001) to *Les hystoires et les croniques de Vincent abregiees, seconde rédaction, avec continuation jusqu'en 1347* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 1368);[10]

2) Nicole Gilles, *Annales et chroniques de France* (2 manuscripts);[11]

3) Jacques le Picart, *Chronique abrégée* (1 manuscript, catalogued as *Abrégé des chroniques de France, depuis l'origine des Français jusqu'à Charles VIII,* Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 812);[12]

4) *Grandes chroniques de France* (83 manuscripts belonging to different redactions of the text);[13]

5) Louis Le Blanc, *Bref récit des rois de France* (5 manuscripts);[14]

6) Louis Le Blanc, *Mémorial des hauts faits des rois de France* (1 manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 5869);[15]

7) Louis Le Blanc, *Sainte vie et les hauts faits de monseigneur saint Louis, roy de France* (1 manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 5869);[16]

8) Louis Le Blanc, *Prétensions des rois d'Angleterre* (2 manuscripts);[17]

9) Jean Le Bègue, *Manuel* (1 manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 12815), not listed in Jonas but described by Daly;

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9   See footnote 2.

10   Details of the text and its known witnesses can be found at: http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/3693. Where applicable, a comparable page will be cited for each text.

11   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/2907.

12   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/22360.

13   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/3892.

14   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/2319.

15   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/2320.

16   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/2321.

17   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/22358.

10) Pierre Amer, *Manuel* (1 manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 10988) (also described by Daly);

11) *Chronique de France 1403–1434* (9 manuscripts). A note in the Jonas database draws attention to the fact that different manuscripts present text with different end points;[18]

12) *Chronique abrégée des rois de France* (1 manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 4811);[19]

13) *Chronique abrégée des rois de France jusqu'en 1382* (1 manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 4951);[20]

14) Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique abrégée des rois de France* (14 manuscripts);[21]

15) Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique amplifiée des rois de France, dite de Guillaume de Nangis* (22 manuscripts);[22]

16) *Chronique abrégée et continuée dite de Baudouin d'Avesnes* (9 manuscripts);[23]

17) *Chronique universelle de la création à Charles VII* (8 manuscripts);[24]

18) *Chronique du règne de Charles VI,* previously attributed to Jean Juvenal des Ursins (2 manuscripts);[25]

19) Jean Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII roi de France* (16 manuscripts);[26]

20) *Généalogie des rois de France* (64 manuscripts, including many in rolls);[27]

21) Jean le Tartier, *Chronique abrégée de 1095 à 1328* (4 manuscripts);[28]

22) *Chronique universelle de la création à Philippe IV* (13 manuscripts);[29]

23) Gilles Le Bouvier, *Chronique de Charles VII* (21 manuscripts);[30]

24) Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique amplifiée,* continued with material from *Chronique* of Noël de Fribois. This redaction is presented in a single manuscript, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 00306, a manuscript that is also listed in Jonas as a witness to the two texts it combines (items 15 and 25 in this list);[31]

25) Noël de Fribois, *Chronique* (23 manuscripts);[32]

26) *Miroir historial abrégé de France,* considered by Daly and others to present striking similarities with the work of Noël de Fribois. It is attributed to him,

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18   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/23096.
19   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/24080.
20   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/22289.
21   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/5295.
22   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/5277.
23   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/5326.
24   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/10123.
25   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/5748. For the attribution, see Lewis, "L'Histoire de Charles VI, attribuée à Jean Juvénal des Ursins."
26   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/10112.
27   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/4293.
28   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/7094.
29   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/5336.
30   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/10924.
31   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/73811.
32   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/3294.

though the Jonas database considers this attribution erroneous. Jonas lists 5 manuscripts. A sixth, sold by Christie's on 25th May 2016 and listed in the catalogue of that sale as a *Miroir historial abrégé* with a possible attribution to Noël de Fribois, is now considered by the Jonas database as a witness to text 25 above.[33]

As this enumeration demonstrates, the definition of what constitutes a separate text is fluid, as texts often incorporate lengthy passages from other sources, and continuations using excerpts from other texts. This is particularly the case for the three final items on this list, but as we shall see, it is also true of the interrelation between 2 and 15, and between many of these texts and 4.

1.2   Methodology

Taking this corpus into consideration, I have noted all indications of a manuscript having been in contact with an actor – through production, sale or ownership etc. – in the fifteenth century or the first four decades of the sixteenth century. However, not all manuscripts can be linked to an individual in these early years. In this corpus of 26 texts, transmitted in 295 separate mauscripts, 64 occurrences of a text can be linked to 61 separate individuals.[34] There are also institutions, such as the Abbeys of Saint-Denis and that of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, whose libraries held copies of these manuscripts. In sum, just over 18% of manuscripts containing a text in this corpus can be associated with an individual or institution before 1540, with some actors being linked to more than one text. These actors form the nodes in a network shown in figure 1 below. Edges represent documented contact between these nodes as shown in the records of the French National Archives. The methods for constructing and visualizing this network, which result in figure 1, will be described more fully below.

Amongst the nodes we find patrons and owners such as Thomas Thwaytes, who ordered London, British Library, Royal 20.E.I–VI (a witness to text 4), and Henry VII of England, to whom the same manuscript was dedicated. We also find scribes and illustrators. These people are frequently anonymous craftsmen, whose names are not known. Nevertheless, in many cases there is evidence of a relationship between these anonymous figures and a particular patron. For instance, the Master of the Getty Froissart was one of the illustrators of London,

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33   http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/5344. The catalogue of sale of this final manuscript can be found at: https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-noel-de-fribois-d1467-8-miroir-historial-abrege-5994385/? [accessed April 2022].

34   Some manuscripts, such as Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 10233-10236, contain more than one work in the corpus (in this case 16 and 20). Where such a manuscript is linked to the same individual, this person is naturally linked to both texts. Conversely, some individuals, such as Philip the Good of Burgundy, owned several manuscripts containing more than one text in the corpus.

British Library, Cotton Augustus V (containing text 1), alongside the similarly anonymous Wavrin Master. The Master of the Getty Froissart is believed to have also worked for Louis de Gruuthuse, owner of another illustrated manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 2691, containing text 19 and illustrations attributed to the Master of the Harley Froissart, the Master of the Commynes Froissart, and to Philippe de Mazerolles. Because the names of these artisans are not known, we cannot determine the full extent of their ego network. Nevertheless, it is important to include them because they provide links between bibliophiles and patrons, who in turn share edges with other people in the network. Such connections are best documented where a manuscript is illustrated. This is an instance of a phenomenon noted by Anotine Brix whereby illustrated manuscripts receive more attention, with the result that their provenance is better documented.[35] We will see below how illustrated manuscripts feature in the network in different ways, reflecting these different relationships between individuals and their manuscripts.

The network described in figure 1 is constructed using the concepts of primary and secondary relationships. A primary relationship is defined as a relationship between a person or institution who had direct contact with a manuscript and another person with whom they appear together in documentation, such as the *minutier*. The nature of the relationship can be purely legal (that between tenant and landlord, or client and patron), it can be familial (husband and wife, or father and son), or it can be corporate (colleagues or members of the same association). Secondary relationships are defined as those between actors already appearing in the network, but where neither party has a documented connection to a manuscript in the corpus. Looking at these secondary relationships increases the density of the network by revealing all the edges between its nodes, thus showing indirect links between two people associated with manuscripts. For instance, it allows us to see a relationship between Claude Goffier, whose inheritence was settled by Jacques de Beaune, and Goffier's friend Hans Breda, who accompanied Francis I on his Italian campaign. This in turn reveals an indirect connection between Jacques de Beaune and Francis I.

The sample is limited chronologically to the years 1440–1540. End points are formed by the careers of Francis I (d. 1547, formerly Francis of Angoulême – owner of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 61 – a manuscript of text 20 – and of London, British Library, Harley 4878 – a manuscript containing text 1) and of Antoine, Cardinal Sanguin de Meudon (d. 1559, owner of St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Fr. F.v.IV.1, a manuscript of text 4). Data was processed in a spreadsheet, comprising 4801 rows, each documenting an edge between two nodes. There are 1153 nodes in the network, and 2582 separate edges. This means the graph has a density of only 0.003, even when secondary relationships are in-

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35   Brix, "Aux marges des manuscrits," 62.

cluded. This is, as I have said, a low density, reflecting the relative absence of bureaucratic records for the period. However, even though there are comparatively few documented edges between nodes, we can still identify features of the network and draw some speculative conclusions about the connections between texts and the actors that came into contact with them during the period 1450–1550. In order to visualize this network, a graph was produced using Gephi graph visualization software. Edges have been coded in the initial spreadsheet to reflect whether one or both nodes represent an actor directly associated with a manuscript. This enables the visualization in figure 1, where nodes representing actors associated with manuscripts are coloured blue and those representing actors not directly associated with a manuscript are coloured yellow.

The weight of the edge between the two nodes shows the number of different connections between two individuals. The average degree of a node is 3.5, but there is a large variation. 45% of nodes have a degree of 1, meaning they share an edge with just one other actor, and a further 22% have a degree of two. Edges also have weights of up to 20. This number can reflect different documents which link two nodes, or different sorts of links mentioned in the same document. For instance, Nicole Gilles and the apocethary Guillaume Gaigny appear together in four documents issued between 1494 and 1500 because they were churchwardens in the same parish of Saint Paul, charged with maintaining the fabric of the church and receiving donations on its behalf. This results in an edge with a weighting of four, reflecting each of the legal relationships that linked the two men. Conversely, when Antoine, Cardinal Sanguin de Meudon rented a land and a title to his neice, Anne de Pisseleu, and her husband, Jean IV de Brosse, the deed is testimony to two sorts of link between each of the three people, one reflecting their family relationship and one their financial one.[36] This single deed then contributes a weighting of two to these edges, although the family relationship is only encoded once in the graph regardless of how many times it is mentioned in documents. The graph is undirected, partly because of the wide range of relationships encoded in the edges. If all the edges showed the same sort of relationship (for example if all the edges represented lease agreements between landlords and tenants), it would be possible to construct a directed graph, but this is not the case. Many of the relationships are between equals: for instance, Gilles and Gaigny acting to represent their parish, sometimes together with other men. Even where there is an imbalance, it is not always easy to determine which of the parties is favoured. For example, Louis and Pierre-Martin Affaitati appear on the graph because they lent money to Francis I in 1549. However, the relationship between creditor and debtor is not necessarily that of dominant and subordinate, particularly when the debtor is the monarch. As a consequence, the edges shown in figure 1 simply reflect the fact that two individuals knew each other and do not

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36   Paris, Archives nationales de France, *Minutes de Michel de Felin,* MC/ET/III/13, 12 July 1537.
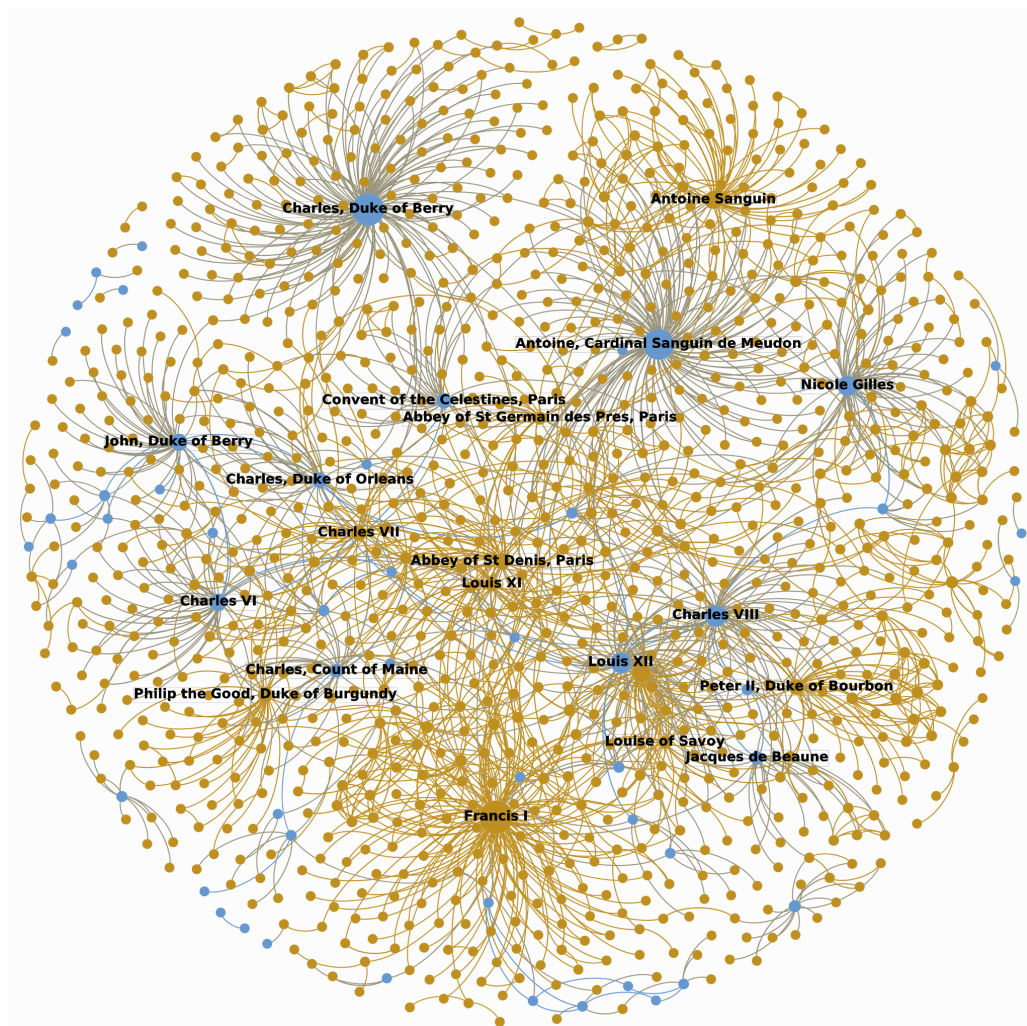
Fig. 1 Network of all known individuals associated with manuscripts (nodes in blue) and their links to other individuals not associated with manuscripts (nodes in yellow) based on documentary evidence in the French National Archives. Textual labels have been given only to nodes with a degree of 20 or more.

illustrate the quality of that relationship. Given that the purpose of the graph is to look at how texts may have been diffused through social connections, it is the fact of the connection which is of primary importance for the current study. A connection represents a possible pathway for diffusion, whether or not it is used for this purpose. Where there is no pathway, diffusion cannot happen.

In this figure, only nodes with a degree of 20 or more are labelled, while the colour has been assigned based on whether the individual is associated with a manuscript containing a text in the corpus (blue) or not (yellow). Given the meth-

odology used to construct the graph, which takes the manuscript as the starting point, it is not surprising that some of the most connected people in this graph are associated with manuscript copies. We also see a few large yellow nodes, representing well-connected individuals without a direct connection to a manuscript. These are men (and one woman, Louise of Savoy – Francis I's mother) with close family ties to people who collected books, and secondary relationships with the same people their relative interacted with. There are also a number of small blue nodes, representing early owners or producers of manuscripts who are not well connected in the network. The smaller blue nodes on the periphery are often the anonymous craftsmen whose presence in legal documents might become more apparent if their names were known. Others represent men such as Anthony, bastard of Burgundy, who were active outside Paris and therefore do not appear much in Parisian legal documents. If the network was expanded with reference to other archival material, such nodes might increase in prominence.

2.   The Case of Nicole Gilles – Indications of how transmission might work

Before examining the distribution patterns of different types of texts through this network, it is illustrative to zoom in on one part of the network, Nicole Gilles, and examine how his case illuminates our study of transmission through the network. Gilles is a good example precisely because he was a Parisian, meaning that his ego network is likely to be more fully represented in the Paris records than that of men from outsite the city. As such, his case may illustrate what a network might have looked like for other, less-well represented, individuals. In his network, nodes can be clustered on the basis of shared edges, that is, subgroups of people who interacted with each other can be observed in Gilles's ego network. Some of these clusters are more connected to manuscripts in the corpus than others. Gilles also provides a good case study because we have additional evidence about his own connection to a manuscript in this corpus, allowing us to understand one way in which such manuscripts may have been compiled and used.

Gilles himself is associated not only with manuscripts in this corpus, but also with other manuscripts. The 1499 inventory of his books appears to be incomplete in that it includes Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 17088, a copy of the *Doctrinal des simples gens,* which he signed on the flyleaf, "C'est a N. Gilles's" but not Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 789, despite the fact that it bears Gilles's signature and the date on which he purchased it.[37] Also missing from the inventory is a manuscript, now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1417, generally consid-

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37   Doucet, *Les Bibliothèques parisiennes,* 83–89. This manuscript is digitized at: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107232000 [accessed April 2022].

ered Gilles's autograph copy of his French-language chronicle (number 2 in our corpus).[38] The text found in this manuscript, along with its presentation, give a fascinating insight into the way that a writer of a French-language chronicle approached his work in the late fifteenth century. The subject was a popular one at the time and the layout of Gilles's manuscript recalls that of contemporary printed books and presentation copies of manuscripts. Some sections have been marked in the top right-hand corner of the recto folio with indications of the reign being discussed, in a manner reminiscent of running heads.[39] Most paragraphs are marked with a title, and many also with a pilcrow, indicating that the writer was copying the conventions of formal textual transmission which facilitate orientation around a manuscript or a printed text. Whilst these features are reminscent of printed texts and presentation quality manuscripts, other features of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1417 demonstrate that it is a working copy: it contains numerous deletions, emendations, and insertions that indicate the author's revisions over a period of time, and led one of the text's early editors, Denis Sauvage, writing in 1549, to deplore the quality of the text that he was forced to engage with.

> [C]ertainement ceulx, à qui estoyent ces Exemplaires, ou Copies à la main, curieux d'avoir en un seul livre tout ce qui povoit avoir esté fait en tous pays (au moins en beaucoup) par chacune année, avoyent entremeslé, chacun à par soy, sur la marge de leurs livres, plusieurs choses, non accordantes à nostre principal: qui estoit aussi pour la pluspart accoustré de mesme les autres.

> [Certainly those people, the owners of these examples, or handwritten copies, anxious to have in one book everything that could have occurred in all countries (at least in many) year by year, had each individually added in, in the margin of their books, many things which did not fit in with our main topic: which was also, for the most part laid out like the others].[40]

Sauvage's testimony is interesting, because it suggests that not only did this editor use Gilles's autograph manuscript, but also that he was familiar with other codices laid out in a similar manner. He writes that he has based his edition on 'plusieurs vieux Exemplaires, et entre autres un, qui fait quelque foy d'estre de la main de l'Autheur' [many old examples and among others one, which has some claim to be by the hand of the author].[41] This comment implies that the practice of add-

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38   This manuscript has been digitized at: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9007155s [accessed April 2022].

39   This is particularly true of the earlier sections of the manuscript, for instance, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1417, fols. 2–9. Riche considers these early pages as representing authorial revision.

40   Sauvage, "A tous Lecteurs, dignes de ce nom."

41   Sauvage, "A tous Lecteurs, dignes de ce nom."

ing to and revising these manuscripts was common to many owners of copies of the text Sauvage was editing, not merely Gilles, its author. Gilles's chronicle does not appear to have been printed before 1525, two decades after the author's death. Earlier, supposedly lost, printed editions of the chronicle are cited by Jacques Le Long and subsequent scholars as having been published in 1492 and 1498, but Jacques Riche concluded that these were in fact editions of the French chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis (text 15 above), which presents similar material to Gilles's work, and is often published with a similar title. Sauvage's observations as to the state of Gilles's text in 1549 hint at a way that the text may have remained in circulation for so long after the author's death without a diffusion in print format. If Gilles shared his work with his associates during his lifetime, and if they engaged with their copies in the same way that the author did with his own, this would indicate a diffusion that predated printing. It would also imply the possibilty of other, lost or as yet unidentified, manuscripts of Gilles's work. Indeed, in 2013, Marie-Laure Savoye identified a manuscript, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 937, as a second witness to Gilles's text, which had previously been thought to be preserved only in Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1417.[42] The Vatican manuscript, catalogued as *Histoire depuis Charlemagne jusques a Philippe second, roy de France,* presents, as this title indicates, a less complete text than the Paris manuscript. It currently begins and ends mid-sentence, obscuring the full extent of the text originally copied. Savoye dates it to the first decade of the sixteenth century, making it slightly more recent than Gilles's autograph copy, and it contains none of the marks of early engagement – additions, erasures and emendations – that distinguish Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1417. Its early provenance is also obscure; the only indication in this regard is that the manuscript was owned in the seventeenth century by Jean and Pierre Bourdelot, which tells us nothing more about how Gilles's text circulated in the years between the author's death and the first printing of his text.

2.1   Proliferation and Confusion of Vernacular Histories

The very fact that the Vatican manuscript was not recognized as a witness to Gilles's text for so long points to difficulties in separating the many similar historiographic works circulating in the period. We have seen how supposed early printed editions of Nicole Gilles are now thought to be editions by Jean Trepperel of Guillaume de Nangis's *Chronique* containing later continuations.[43] This inference is rendered more plausible by the fact that the first references to editions

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42   See the notice in Jonas: http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/76109 [accessed June 2021].
43   For a discussion of Guillaume de Nangis's work and related texts, see Delisle "Mémoire sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Nangis;" Guyot-Bachy "La Chronique abrégée des rois de France de Guillaume de Nangis;" Brix "Une réécriture méconnue des *Grandes Chroniques de France.*"

of Gilles's work predating 1525 were made in 1719 by Jacques Le Long.[44] Le Long considers Gilles as a simple abbreviator of the *Grandes Chroniques de France,* for the early part of his work, and of Guillaume de Nangis for the later section of the work. Given these assumptions, Le Long may have been more likely to confuse the three works. There is no doubt that Gilles's chronicle is textually very close to the continuations of Nangis. However, the directionality of the relationship might be challenged given that the correspondence is particularly strong in those sections dealing with events that had occurred during Gilles's lifetime and after the death of Guillaume de Nangis in 1300.[45] It is known that Gilles owned a manuscript containing extracts from the Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis, which he bequeathed in his will to one of his associates, Jean de Fontenay, who was possibly also the scribe who had produced the manuscript in the first place.[46] Fontenay, as we shall see below, had a number of personal and professional connections with Gilles, as well as with Gilles's business associate, the publisher and bookseller Antoine Vérard. Vérard in turn had access to manuscripts containing other texts that ressemble or overlap with Gilles's chronicle and that of Guillaume de Nangis. As the publisher of the first printed editions of the chronicles of Jean Froissart (1495) and Enguerrand de Monstrelet (1499), Antoine Vérard had a demonstrated interest in French vernacular historical writing. A manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 32144, which was owned by Vérard, contains two texts in the corpus considered by this article, texts 19 and 23.

Moreover, as a royal secretary, Gilles had connections to a world that was heavily implicated in chronicle reading and writing. Kathleen Daly has pointed out that chronicle writing was a popular genre at the time, and was particularly composed of men who were royal secretaries: Noël de Fribois, Jacques le Picart, and Louis Le Blanc.[47] Daly shows how Fribois, who was a generation older than Gilles, le Picard and Le Blanc, took an approach to historiography which appears to have influenced that of his colleagues who succeeded him.

Noël de Fribois's chronicle survives in two separate recensions, listed as items 24 and 25 above. Another work, listed at item 26, is also often attributed to him. Once again, the reuse of material found in Guillaume de Nangis, especially in item 24, points to the fact that many of the texts in this corpus are very similar. Moreover, there are also overlaps between the subject matter or even the text contained in individual chronicles and that of the *Grandes Chroniques de France,*

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44   Le Long, *Bibliothèque historique de la France,* 378, item no. 7433.
45   For an examination of such a passage in Gilles and continuations of Nangis, as well as in the work of Philippe de Commynes, see Emerson, "Nicole Gilles's Presentation of the Death of Louis XI."
46   This manuscript is now Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 70. This manuscript is discussed in Riche, "L'Historien Nicole Gilles," 36–37; 86–87.
47   Daly, "Mixing Business with Leisure."

which circulated widely in manuscripts produced during the fifteenth century. As this example reveals, the connections between the texts are often as complex as those between the men who produced and owned the manuscripts containing them. A sufficient amount of data exists to construct visualizations of a series of networks. Some visualizations demonstrate connections between actors associated with texts, while a parallel analysis sheds light on the connections between the texts themselves. Comparing the two allows us to see how different sorts of texts had different sorts of diffusion. The complexity of those connections means that visualization is the best way to make sense of the network.

2.2   Examining Nicole Gilles's Ego Network

Figure 2 shows a presentation of a section of the data shown in figure 1, relating only to those individuals connected to Nicole Gilles (i.e., his ego network). Every person in this graph has a primary relationship with Gilles, but their secondary relationships with each other have also been included. Thus, for instance, Jean and Pierre Turquam were both connected to Gilles, since they were his brothers-in-law, but also to each other, as brothers. These family connections were supplemented by legal relationships. Jean was nominated as guardian to Gilles's minor children and represented Pierre in legal cases. These groups have been coloured to distinguish them, using the modularity filter in Gephi. By applying the software's 'community detection' algorithm, 13 different groups were identified with a modularity resolution of 0.38. The community detection algorithm groups the network into distinct subgroups, setting the resolution at a level that produces a workable number of distinct groups. These can be mapped onto different areas of Gilles's life, but of course the partition does not reveal the full complexity, because each node is assigned to just one cluster – that with which it has the closest relations – and because some individuals encountered Gilles in more than one area of his activity.

One example of this is Jean de Fontenay, who appears in the top right-hand corner of the figure, coloured in dark blue. Fontenay was, like Gilles, a member of the royal court, described in the legal records in which he appears as a clerk, '[c]lerc ordinaire en la chambre des comptes'. However, he does not appear in the cluster of Gilles's colleagues, coloured green in the top left of the figure. Like Gilles, he was also a churchwarden in the parish of St Paul, but these men are distributed throughout the graph, some belonging to the cluster of light green colleagues, some coloured dark green, placed below them, and some coloured black at the bottom of the graph. This tripartite separation reflects three groups of men who had exercised this office in different years. Jean de Fontenay's node appears in a different part of the graph, reflecting his familial and financial ties to Gilles and his links to Gilles's publishing activity. He was married to Gilles's daughter, Jeanne, whose node appears next to that of her husband. As Jeanne's husband and Gilles's son-in-law, he was the recipient of a gift from Gilles of a house and garden in Pierrelaye. The couple sold this house to Gilles's business associ-

Fig. 2 Nicole Gilles at the centre of his ego network. Colours distinguish clusters of individuals linked to each other as well as to Gilles. Clustering has been performed automatically by graph modularity.

ate, Antoine Vérard, for two hundred *livres*.[48] Subsequent documents reveal that Vérard paid by transferring debts to Fontenay.[49] As we saw above, Gilles also bequeathed a manuscript of Guillaume de Nangis's chronicle to Fontenay, who may have been the manuscript's scribe. The common ownership of this manuscript is just one of a set of complex commercial, professional, personal and spiritual bonds that linked Fontenay and Gilles, and both men with Vérard.

As the example of Fontenay reveals, modularity analysis is best at situating an actor who only had one area of interaction with another actor. That is, it works well for identifying groups of friends or associates, but it is not as good at locating actors with ties to more than one of these groups.

If we were to overlay the data from figure 1 onto figure 2, we would see four nodes in Gilles's ego network highlighted in blue to indicate that they were associated with a manuscript in the years 1440–1540. These are Gilles, Vérard, and Fontenay, all of whom appear in the cluster of family and professional contacts that we have just noted, and the Abbey of Saint-Denis, coloured purple at the bottom left of the graph, linked to Gilles through a legal case in 1489, in which Gilles gave evidence on behalf of his nephew Jacques Turquam.[50] This appears in a different section from the other members of Gilles's family, because Jacques Turquam is not explicitly linked in any notarial document to any other inlaws of Gilles. However, his surname suggests a family connection, confirmed by his explicit designation as Gilles's nephew, suggesting that, at least for Gilles, his connections to the people and institutions who owned and produced books were limited to the relatively small portion of his associates who all interacted with his family.

2.3   Beyond Gilles's Immediate contacts

This conclusion is revealed as incomplete, however, if we bear in mind Daly's scholarship on chronicles written by royal secretaries. Even though Gilles, Le Picart, and Le Blanc were more or less contemporaries in the court of Charles VIII and Louis XII, Le Picart and Le Blanc do not appear in figure 2, because they are not mentioned in the same documents in the French National Archives that mention Nicole Gilles. Daly has made a convincing case for an institutional interest in historiography among the secretaries of the court, and this is true, even though it is unclear how much interaction individual postholders had with each other.

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48   Paris, Archives nationales de France, *Minutes de Pierre I Pichon,* MC/ET/XIX/12, 10 January 1498.
49   Paris, Archives nationales de France, *Minutes de Pierre I Pichon,* MC/ET/XIX/12, 10 January 1498; MC/ET/XIX/13, 28 December 1498.
50   Paris, Archives nationales de France, *Minutes de Pierre I Pichon,* MC/ET/XIX/4, 4 September 1489.

The position of royal secretary was a limited, but broad category. Theoretically restricted to fifty-nine men, incumbents could resign their office in favour of a relative, which meant that two people could hold the same post simultaneously.[51] The fact that two men were both secretaries at the same time, therefore, might indicate a shared professional culture without implying direct personal contact. Moreover, the royal court has not produced the same detailed records of personal contact as those that appear in the notaries' records, meaning links between Gilles, Le Picart, and Le Blanc may have been lost, may not have been documented at the time, or may not have in fact existed. What is certain, though, is that these men who shared a professional background also produced very similar historical work, both in its content and in its physical form. As far as content is concerned, this can be explained by the fact that writers in this position all had access to the same sources available in the court, which they exploited in their chronicles. Alongside this, the writers shared a common education, training, and cultural background. They also shared a professional attitude to history which all of them seem to have seen as a private interest, given that they did not claim to be writing for a patron.

This similarity in professional attitude is reflected in a material similarity between manuscript witnessess of these authors' texts. Nicole Gilles's autograph manuscript is very similar to that of Jacques le Picard: both are laid out according to the conventions of formal manuscripts or printed books, with features such as pilcrows and running heads, and both contain a large number of additions and deletions, both in the text and in the margins. They are both manuscripts on paper of a similar size and length.[52] In terms of the material ecosystem of these *chroniques abrégées,* they belong to a class of texts – together with the *Manuel* of Pierre Amer (text 10 above) – which survive in very few manuscript witnesses (at most two), of which one is the author's autograph copy. Manuscripts of the *Miroir historial abrégé de France* (text 26) also share similar material properties in terms of the size of the average manuscript, and that all manuscript witnesses contain only this text, which is comparatively long, (over 200 pages), meaning that the four works can be grouped together in terms of the physical similarity of the surviving material witnesses. Gilles, Le Picard, and Fribois (the author to whom the *Miroir historial* was long attributed) share a professional background. This common background could explain the similarity in the presentation of their text. An examination of Gilles's ego network reveals associations with manuscripts in our corpus in particular parts of his social circle. This might suggest where we could look in the wider network for other people associated with manuscripts of ver-

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51   Riche, "L'Historien Nicole Gilles," 47.
52   Jacques le Picart's text is preserved in Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 812, which is a manuscript on paper of 235 pages measuring 300 mm × 210 mm. Nicole Gilles's manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1417, is also a manuscript on paper. It measures 288 mm × 210 mm and has 242 pages.

nacular chronicles. If we were looking specifically for manuscripts more similar to Gilles's autograph copy, we might concentrate on nodes that might not share edges with Gilles's node but rather have a similar professional background. Comparing data of both sorts allows us to build a more complete picture of the connections which allowed texts to circulate.

3.   Material, Textual, and Social Circulation

The 26 texts in our corpus can be grouped on the basis of the material similarities between the surviving manuscript witnesses. A distance matrix was established based on their features, including: the presence or absence of illustrations and of rubrication; the material support used (paper or velum or, in a few cases, both); the number of columns; the dimensions of the manuscript; the length of the manuscript; and the inclusion of other texts alongside the chronicle in our corpus. For each text, data was collected for each of the surviving manuscript witnesses containing the text, and the average of each of these metrics was compared to the average of the same metrics for manuscript witnesses of the other texts. One further metric has been used, which is the surviving number of manuscript witnesses to a particular text. This is, of course, related to the number of manuscripts originally produced, though not straightforwardly, as is well recognized.[53] It is also related to the care that has been devoted to a manuscript's preservation. A text that is preserved in a large number of witnesses was either more popular or has been better conserved than one that is not (or both). Although we do not know which of these alternatives is true of any given text, either one reflects significant data about the way in which the text circulated, and so I have considered it as one factor among many in composing the distance matrix. It should also be noted that some textual traditions are more uniform than others. 78% of the 64 manuscripts which contain text 20 are illustrated, but this means that nearly a quarter are not. In manuscripts of the same text, the average number of columns used is 2.5, but this number varies between 1 in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 4990, and 5 in Manchester, Rylands Library, FR99; within a single manuscript, even the number of columns varies at different points. The use of averages to construct the distance matrix identifies overall trends in the material witnesses to a text, with larger numbers of manuscripts producing a more representative insight into the typical way in which a text is presented, because an anomalous manuscript has less of an impact on the averages.

Taking all these reservations into account, a number of groups can be established, based on the extent to which any textual tradition differs from the average

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53   For a new attempt to resolve this problem, see Kestemont et al., "Forgotten Books."

Goup	Texts	Material characteristics	Colour in figure 3
A	1, 15, 19, 23	Relatively large manuscripts, half of which are presented in two columns and most of which contain another text or texts alongside one of the texts in this group.	Red
B	2, 3, 10, 26	Texts survive in a small number of copies, most witnesses contain only this text.	Pink
C	4	Long texts (over 320 pages), high proportion of manuscripts are illustrated and two thirds are on vellum.	Blue
D	8, 9, 18, 21	Short texts (less than 100 pages), generally circulating (though not in the case of text 8) in manuscripts containing other texts.	Light Blue
E	5, 6, 22, 25	Low number of surviving copies, mainly on paper. High proportion of illustrated manuscripts.	Yellow
F	12, 13	Similar in profile to group B but smaller format.	Not associated with nodes in this graph
G	7, 11, 14	Even shorter texts typically making up a smaller proportion of the manuscript it circulates in.	Magenta
H	16, 17	Ratio of height of book to width suggests thin manuscript.	Light green
I	20	A large number of rolls in this text (and this text alone in this corpus).	Turquoise
J	24	A paper manuscript but with colour decorations on the page and illustrations.	Gold

Tab. 1 French vernacular chronicles grouped by their material characteristics.

observed in the manuscripts considered as a whole. The clearest representation appears when the textual traditions listed in 1.1 above are separated into ten groups of manuscripts, as listed in this table.

The similarities in column three represent trends that can be observed across the surviving witnesses to a particular text, which have led to the texts being grouped together. Within these groups, individual manuscripts can diverge quite substantially from this norm. The colours referenced in column four refer to the colours used in figure 3 below. These colours have been added to reveal the pattern of ownership of manuscripts belonging to a particular group. Where an individual is associated with manuscripts containing texts from more than one group, the colours have been blended. F is not given a colour since no early owner of a surviving manuscript can be identified for this group.
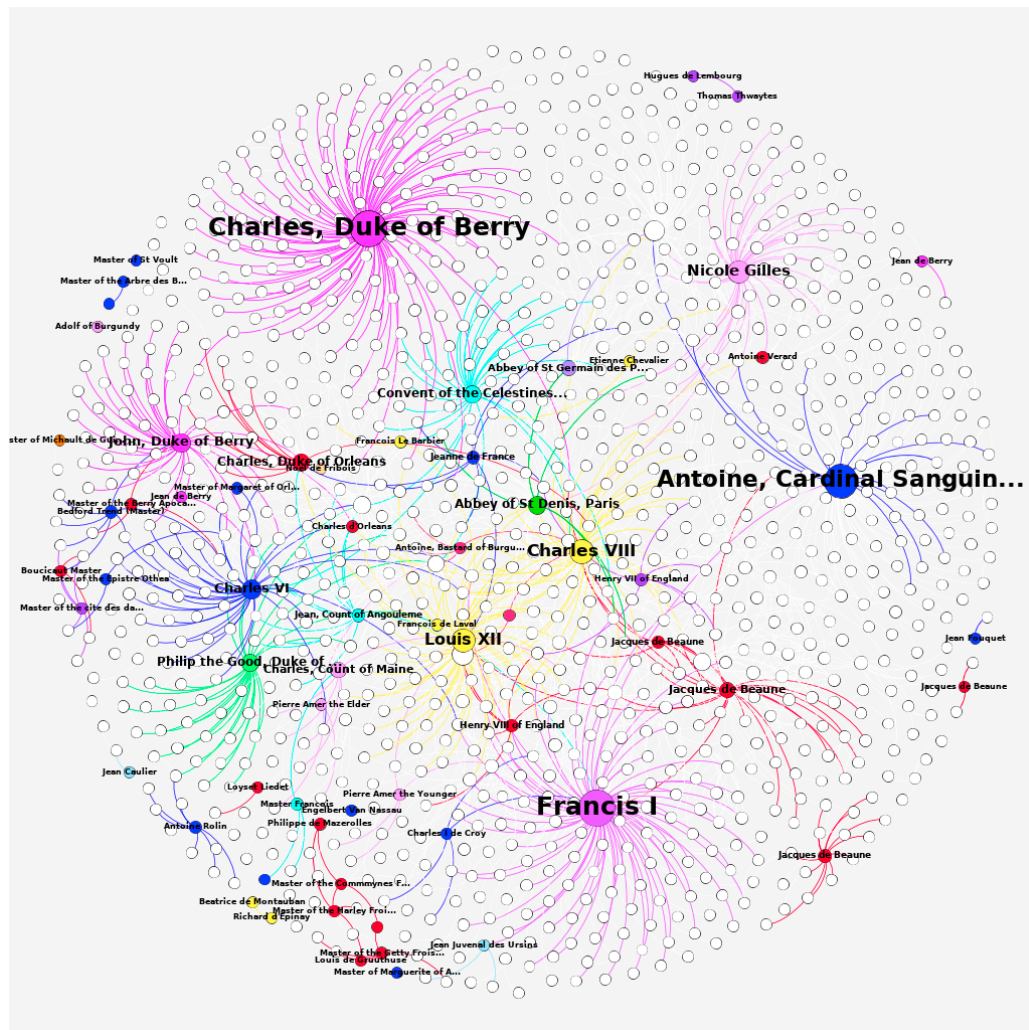
Fig. 3 Alternative visualization of the network shown in figure 1 with individuals associated with manuscripts coloured in accordance with the colours assigned in table 1.

Group C is the group which presents an aggregate of features that diverge least from the typical features of manuscripts in this corpus. This group consists only of manuscripts of text 4, the *Grandes Chroniques de France.* Although this group only contains one text, it is closely linked to all the other groups but one, reflecting material similarity to other manuscripts that parallels the fact that the text of the *Grandes Chroniques* is often reused or adapted in other chronicles, and also reuses and adapts their texts. The one tradition that is very different from the others and stands apart is group I, which contains only text 20, the *Généalogie des rois de France.* This text survives in 64 manuscripts, many of them extensive rolls comprising several columns of parallel text histories of different

regions.[54] Although this history displays a considerable amount of textual over-lap with other texts in the corpus, the manuscripts in which it is transmitted are consistently physically dissimilar from the other manuscripts considered here. It also has a distinctly different pattern of early ownership. The catalogues of the li-braries holding the 64 manuscript witnesses to this text identify only 6 individ-uals associated with these manuscripts in the period 1440–1540. This represents just 9% of the total number of manuscript witnesses to this text. By contrast, Nicole Gilles's chronicle belonging to group B comprises 9 manuscripts, which can be associated, through information provided in equivalent catalogues, with 4 individuals before 1540, meaning that their early provenance can be identified in 45% of instances. This different pattern of ownership relates to the material differences between the manuscripts in the two groups and to the different social uses of the documents concerned. The texts in group B tend to be recorded in pri-vate ownership, often that of their author, while the large size and consdierable amount of decoration of the manuscripts within group I lend to public display, suggesting institutional ownership of the sort that leaves few material traces.[55]

Putting Social and Material Networks together

To investigate this further, a refinement of the graph shown in figure 1 has been produced, showing the same network but with different colours representing the different material groups into which the corpus has been divided (figure 3). Here, only nodes associated directly with manuscripts are labelled. Around the perim-eter of the graph there are a number of nodes with a low degree: these are mainly craftsmen whose names are not known who worked on illustrated manuscripts in groups A, C, and J. Group A is the largest group, with 100 surviving witnesses from the period, and we see nodes reflecting an association with a manuscript or manuscripts in this group across the network. Many of these nodes represent scribes and illustrators. Some, for example that of Charles duke of Orléans, are relatively well connected, and one, that of Francis I, is very well connected (with the highest degree of any node in the graph), by virtue of the length of his life and his position at the head the French government. His node is blue/pink, however, reflecting the fact that he is associated both with manuscripts containing texts in group A and texts in group I. Unusually in this graph, this represents two separate manuscripts. Very few individuals are associated with more than a single manu-script, and those who are are often craftsmen with low-degree nodes, for the rea-sons discussed in section 1.2. Even nodes associated with more than one text are

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54   For a discussion of the manuscript tradition of an associated text, the *Chronique Ano-nyme Universelle,* which appears 28 manuscripts, mostly alongside the *Généalogie des rois de France,* see Fagin Davis, *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle.*

55   Indeed, as Pearson points out, entry into an institutional library can often result in the loss of information about early provenance, see Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History,* 4–5.

most frequently people associated with one manuscript containing two texts in the corpus. Hence, Antoine Vérard's manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 23144 contains both text 19 and text 23 (from group A), while Henry VII's manuscript London, British Library Royal 20.E.I–VI contains text 4 (group C) and text 19 (group A). Aside from Francis I, only the Burgundian bibliophiles Philip the Good and Charles of Croy and the institutional libraries of the Abbeys of Saint-Denis and Saint-Germain-des-Prés are associated with more than one manuscript containing a text in our corpus. In such a small population, conclusions can only be tentative, but it is worth noting that Antoine Vérard's mansuscript contained the text of Bouvier's and Chartier's chronicle, while Henry VII's contained Chartier's chronicle alongside the text of the *Grandes chroniques* and Charles of Croy owned separate manuscripts, containing the *Grandes chroniques* and Bouvier's chronicle. It seems, then, that texts 19 and 23 were frequently circulated with other material, and particularly as a supplement to the *Grandes chroniques.* Further, we can see Philip the Good (associated with the most texts in this corpus – 5 instances in groups A, C, and H) has a pattern of engagement with texts in this corpus that most closely resembles the institutional libraries of Saint-Denis (associated with copies of texts in groups C and E) and Saint-Germain-des-Prés (associated with copies of texts in groups A, D, and I). If we expanded examination of the network beyond the records in the French National Archives, it is likely that Philip the Good's node would gain prominence, as his transnational territory means that many of his legal relationships were outside the influence of Paris. It is interesting that this preliminary study shows a pattern of association with vernacular chronicles that mirrors that of the large institutional libraries of the time, particularly given the way that modern scholarship has treated Philip's collection as the origin of public research libraries.[56]

4.   Conclusion

Looking at the ego network of Nicole Gilles, one early owner of a manuscript of a vernacular chronicle, shows us the personal connections that linked such owners. The use of the documents in the French National Archives, together with information from Denis Sauvage and Gilles's autograph manuscript, allows us to obtain a particularly detailed picture of the network of this one individual. Zooming out to look at other people associated with manuscripts enables us to supplement this picture, revealing connections through people like Francis I and Charles, duke of Berry. Texts 19 and 23, for example, or those in group A, to which those texts belong, are likely to have circulated through such well-connected individuals. Texts like those in group B are, conversely, most likely to be found in con-

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56   See, for instance, the way that the library is described by the project *Libraire des ducs de Bourgogne,* https://www.kbr.be/fr/projets/la-librairie-des-ducs-de-bourgogne/ [accessed April 2022].

nection with people with similar backgrounds to Gilles, though not necessarily those represented by a node sharing an edge with Gilles's. Inevitably, this picture is only partial, since I have investigated connections in only one archive. Even if many archives were to be consulted, the picture would remain partial, since the preservation of records is not uniform, even within individual archives. There will also be gaps if only manuscripts are considered, since at the end of the period printed books are clearly part of the textual tradition.[57] However, attempts to redress this by considering printed books are likely to meet with limited success, given the scarcity of provenance information regarding printed books in the period. As a result, we should recognize that the approach taken here can be expanded to give a more detailed picture of the textual transmission of vernacular chronicles in French, but it will never achieve completeness. Nevertheless, this dual approach – considering both the material transmisison of the text and the personal connections between the people associated with physical copies containing the texts – is fruitful, both because it gives confirmation of things that we perhaps intuited but now see in a different perspective, and because it opens up fresh insights and avenues for exploration.

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57   On the failure of book catalogues to distinguish between manuscripts and printed texts, see Doucet, "Les Bibliothèques parisiennes;" Emerson "Nicole Gilles and Literate Society."

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