

# The French Translation of the *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria*

## THE DIFFUSION, TRANSLATION, AND ADAPTATION OF RAMON LLULL'S TEXT

► This essay considers the literary influence of the Ramon Llull's *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* at the end of the Middle Ages, both in its relatively few surviving Catalan manuscripts, and in its much more frequently found middle French translation, as the *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*. After an introductory survey of the known manuscripts, the essay examines in detail the work's diffusion and its translations, as well as its later adaptations. Finally, there is a detailed consideration of tradition, influence, and imitations. In each of these cases, the middle French translation is shown to be particularly important and influential.

Written between 1274 and 1276, the *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* (*Book of the Order of Chivalry*), henceforth *BOC*.<sup>1</sup> is among the first pieces written by Ramon Llull following his 1265 conversion. Although admittedly not his most ambitious work—this brief treaty is composed in a syllogistic style, often pushed to *reductio ad absurdum*, which can seem artificial<sup>2</sup>—it is certainly one of his best known: it is quite widespread and widely translated throughout the Middle Ages since it deals with an essential topic of medieval civilization. It is a true handbook for the Christian knight:<sup>3</sup> the prologue stages the encounter between a squire ready to be knighted and a former knight turned hermit. The latter entrusts the squire with a book to introduce him to the art of being a perfect knight—resulting in an “embedding” effect: the book is none other than Llull's treatise. Seven chapters then follow which are “like the seven planets, celestial bodies that govern and order the terrestrial bodies”: 1) On the beginning of chivalry; 2) On the office of knighthood; 3) On the examination that the squire must

be given if he wishes to join the Order of Chivalry; 4) On how the squire should be made a knight; 5) On the meaning of the knight's arms; 6) On the knight's morals; 7) On the honor that must be paid to the knight.

Some critics consider the *BOC* to be unfinished because the squire does not respond to the hermit's invitation in the prologue to return after having been knighted in order to articulate "the names of those who have been made new knights and who have not been obedient to the doctrine of Chivalry." Indeed, this second meeting would have constituted the formal ending of the text, since it would have been fully symmetrical with its beginning. This symmetry is, however, not at all essential as far as the text's doctrine is concerned. Vincenzo Minervini<sup>4</sup> asserts that these two characters function as a reflection of the two sides of Llull's life: the first corresponds to the sophisticated life Llull led as a squire born of a noble family in Majorca, while the second would correspond to his life after his conversion, when he lived first as a Franciscan hermit on Mount Randa, focusing on contemplation and meditation before embarking on numerous journeys to preach. Llull's conversion was the starting point of his vast mystic and literary enterprise.

My intention in this essay is to examine the literary influence of the *BOC* at the end of the Middle Ages. After going over the known manuscripts of the "Doctor Illuminatus," I will consider both its diffusion and its later adaptation. In both cases, the middle French translation of the *BOC* (i.e., the *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*) will prove particularly influential.

## 1. Manuscripts

### 1.1 Manuscripts of the *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria*

- Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fons Gran Priorat de Jerusalem, MS 692 (beginning 15th c., fragments).
- Barcelona, Biblioteca de l'Ateneu Barcelonès, MS 3 (15th c., incomplete). Includes several of Llull's works : *Llibre d'intencio*, *BOC* (ff. 39–65), *Llibre dels articles de la fe catolica*, *Proverbis*; and Bernat Metge's *Lo somni* [1399].
- Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 12 (15th c.) *BOC* ff. 1–29, followed by Bernat Metge's *Valter e Griselda* and Francesc Eiximeinis's *Doctrina compendiosa*.
- Palma, Biblioteca de Sant Francesc, MS 9. *BOC* alone (16th c.)
- Vic, Museu Episcopal, MS 267, folia detached from a manuscript (15<sup>th</sup> c, fragment).

## 1.2. Manuscripts of the *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*

- Edinburgh, National Library, Advocates MS 31.1.9, ff. 1–21. 16th cent. (ca 1532). Title on front page : «L'ordre de Chevalerie par Champiere.» Name of the owner on f. 1: George Rochefort.
- London, British Library, MS Additional 22768, ff. 97–115. Parchment, 15th cent. BOC preceded by Honoré Bovet's *L'Arbre des batailles*.
- London, British Library, MS Royal 14 E II, ff. 338–354v. Parchment, between 1473 and 1483, illuminated. BOC preceded by : Jean de Courcy's *Chemin de vaillance*; Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* (295–331v) ; Alain Chartier's *Breviaire des nobles* (332–335v) ; *Complaintes des IX malheureux et des IX malheureuses* (335v–337). Owner: Edward IV of England (1442–1483). William Caxton's English translation<sup>5</sup> (*Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry*, between 1483 and 1485) was based on this manuscript.
- New York, Columbia University, Plimpton Collection, MS 282, ff. 79–104. Vellum, beginning of 15th cent. BOC preceded by *Jeu des échecs moralisés* (1–78), Jean de Vignay's French translation of Jacques de Cessoles's *Liber super ludo scaccorum*.
- Oxford, St John's College, MS 102, ff. 107–138v. Parchment, end of 14th cent. Diverse texts.
- Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1130, ff. 182–182v (fragment). Paper, 15th cent. BOC at the end, after various works by Alain Chartier and other authors: 1, *Quadrilogue invectif* ; 2, «Les Lectres parenvoyés par le souldain au maistre de Roudes ou mois de janvier l'an de grace mil. CCCC. quarante»; 3, «Le Dyalogue appologetique excusatoire et defençoire du sex devot feminin contre bouche mesdisant»; 4, Paraphrasis of Job's IX lessons, by Pierre de Nesson (*Vigiles des morts*); 5, *Bréviaire des nobles* ; 6, *Le Lai de paix*; 7, *Le Lai de plaisance*; 8, *Complainte contre la mort*; 9, «Aucunes Demandes en amours»; 10, Thirty Ballads; 11, *Livre des quatre dames*.
- Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1971, ff. 1–60. Parchment, end of 15th cent. – early 16th cent. BOC alone, preceded by a miniature.
- Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1972, ff. 1–42. Parchment, 15th cent. BOC followed by *Mélibée et Prudence*, translated into French by Renaud de Louhans (1337) from Albertano da Brescia's *Liber consolationis et consilii* (1246).
- Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1973, ff. 1–64v. Paper, 15th cent. Drawing at the beginning of the BOC (preceded by the name of the 16th cent. owner: Loys of Carmers). BOC followed by : 1, *Epître à Alexandre* (66–72v) ; and 2, *Epître de saint Bernard a Raimont, seigneur du chastel de Saint Ambroise* (73–77v).

- Paris, BnF, MS fr. 19809, ff. 1–60 [base MS for Minervini’s edition]. Parchment, 15th cent., *BOC* alone. Foreword at the top of f. 1: “*Hoc quicumque cupis furto violare volumen, cave ruas altos ad tartareosque lacus.*” On f. 2, a blank space marks the spot for a frontispiece (+ initials not completed *passim*). Name of the owner at the end of the MS: “Monseigneur le Bailly des Montaignes” (f. 60).
- Paris, BnF, MS fr. 19810, ff. 1–61v. Parchment, 14th cent. *BOC* followed by *Mirouer de l’Eglise* (Jean de Vignay’s translation of Hugues de Saint-Cher’s *Speculum Ecclesiae*). Pen drawings at the beginning of each treatise (added folia). Owner : Duke Jacques of Nemours, count of La Marche.
- Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 830, ff. 1–20. Laid paper, between 1469 and 1483. *BOC* alone, incomplete text.
- Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS L.III.14, ff. 76–91v. Parchment, end of 14th cent., extensive damage caused by the 1904 fire.
- Turin, Archivio di Stato, MS JB II 19. 15th cent.

## 2. Diffusion and Translations

At the end of the *BOC*’s prologue, the reader is told that the squire brought to the king’s court the book that the hermit had entrusted to him, allowing “any knight aspiring to the Order of Chivalry to make a copy of it so that he could read and remember the Order of Chivalry.” The multiplication of the copies of the text, meant to assure its diffusion, is thus programed into the work itself. This literary proselytizing fits into the didactic and hortatory ambition of Lull the author, who seeks to spread his ideas in order to persuade his contemporaries to observe respect for faith and ethics.

The consideration of all of the known manuscripts of the *BOC* reveals the striking scarcity of those in Catalan: only five exist, two of which have been itemized in Soler’s edition. These manuscripts date from the fifteenth century, which leads us to believe that there might have been older ones, unfortunately lost at present. In any case, there are clearly many more manuscripts of the French translation<sup>6</sup> of the *BOC*, and several of these are older: fourteen manuscripts, ranging from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Although the Catalan or the French version sometimes circulated independently, more often than not each is found in collections and associated with other texts.

The manuscripts of the original version were certainly intended for limited circulation within the Catalan-speaking territories; in fact, the *BOC* is connected to two other eminent Catalan writers of the

fourteenth century: Francesc Eiximenis (†1409, a Franciscan like Llull), and Bernat Metge (†1413, occasionally inspired by Llull). On the other hand, the manuscripts of the French version (of which some of the owners are known) attest to a much wider geographic diffusion. Among the most famous readers of the *BOC* in French, we find Duke Jacques of Nemours<sup>8</sup> (BnF fr. 19810), and especially the King of England, Edward IV (British Library, Royal 14 E II, the manuscript on which William Caxton based his English translation of the *Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry*, ca. 1484). Other less illustrious names are also important: the “Bailly des Montaignes” (“Bailiff of the Mountains”), named as the owner of the BnF fr. 19809, perhaps corresponds to one of the bailiffs tasked with enforcing royal rule in Auvergne, which was explicitly referred to from the thirteenth century onwards as the “bailiwick of the high Mountains,” or the “bailiwick of the Mountains of Auvergne.” These bailiffs were almost all knights. In addition, the coat of arms painted on the frontispiece of manuscript 830 in Toulouse (in a frame probably first reserved for a miniature), “de gueules, semé de fleurs de lys d’or”, belongs to a noble Breton family, the Châteaubriant (See Fig. 1). The Order of Saint Micheal’s collar that surrounds the shield allows us to specify a date (since Louis XI created this order in 1469) and to identify the member of the family: it would be René de Châteaubriant, who lived in 1489 according to the La Chesnaye des Bois’ *Dictionnaire de la noblesse* (289). The link between the *BOC* and this particular order of knighthood is obvious: the high honor conferred by chivalric status.<sup>9</sup> The French translation of the *BOC* thus consistently follows a north-west movement: from Majorca to England by way of Auvergne and Brittany.

Another geographically coherent milestone is found in the city of Tours: among the list of books “en François escriptz a la main a Tours devant l’ostel Mons. de Dunois” (“written by hand in French in Tours in front of the Lord of Dunois’ hotel”), which make up a the catalogue of a Tourain librarian at the end of the fifteenth century, is the title “L’ordre de chevalerie,” which could easily correspond to the French translation of the *BOC*.<sup>10</sup>

Catalan manuscripts associate the *BOC* with texts that have a moral or prescriptive dimension, in tune with the spirit of Llull’s work. In the manuscripts of its French translation, this spirit is also respected but with a broader sensitivity to the variety of the other related texts, thus addressing a readership that is more diverse, as well as more diversely endowed (with manuscripts on parchment or paper, containing illustrations or not). Aside from BnF fr. 19810 (with a religious orientation),



Fig. 1. *Le Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 830, f. 1. © F. Bouchet / Ville de Toulouse.

the other manuscripts involve a form of secularization, insofar as the *BOC* adjoins texts related to the chivalric ethic and to the military art. The presence of works by the celebrated author Alain Chartier in two manuscripts (BnF fr. 1130, British Library, Royal 14 E II) could also have served to expand the dissemination of the *BOC* in the fifteenth century. Furthermore, it is important to note in the Additional 22768 manuscript of the British Library the pairing of the *BOC* with another famous and widely circulated text, *L'arbre des batailles*, for which we have 91 complete manuscripts, mostly from the fifteenth century, and which also was translated into several European languages, including Catalan, as is attested to by two manuscripts (Duval 260–61).

Ramon Llull conceives his global prologue to the text by carefully establishing a key vagueness with regard both to place and to characters:

En *una* terra s'esdevench que *hun* savi cavayler...elegí vida ermitana.... En aquell temps, en la entrada del gran ivern, s'esdevench que *hun* gran rey molt noble, e de bones custumes bé habundós, hac menades corts. E per la gran fama qui fon per la terra de sa cort, *hun* assaut scuder, tot sol, en son palafre cavalcant, enava a la cort per ésser adobat a noveyl cavayler.... (Soler, *Llibre* 161–62, par. 2 and 4)

In *a certain* land it came to pass that *a* wise knight ... chose the hermit's life .... At that time, at the beginning of full winter, it came to pass that *a* great and very noble king with an abundance of good habits ordered his court to assemble. And because of the great fame that spread throughout the land about this court, *a* valorous squire, riding all alone on his palfrey, was going there to be dubbed a new knight. (Fallows 35–36, par. 2 and 4)

The *BOC* thus becomes a parable, the exemplary value of which may suit any man. In fact, according to the testimony of certain manuscripts (which only contain the French translation), even unknown readers become very attached to this text, going so far as to identify with it. In BnF fr. 19809, a different hand than that of the scribe, one that I consider to be the owner's / reader's, wrote at the top of folio 1 a warning in Latin that can be translated as “you, whoever you may be, who wish to steal<sup>11</sup> this book, take care not to be thrown into the depths of the lakes of Tartarus!” It is certainly an intimidating mark of ownership—in place of an *ex libris*—that dooms to hell whomever violates the work. Another striking mark of ownership of the book occurs in Toulouse 830: at the bottom of folio 5v, the signature “Jacques Lougarre” (see Fig. 2) linked to the transcribed chapter title “De l'office qui appartient

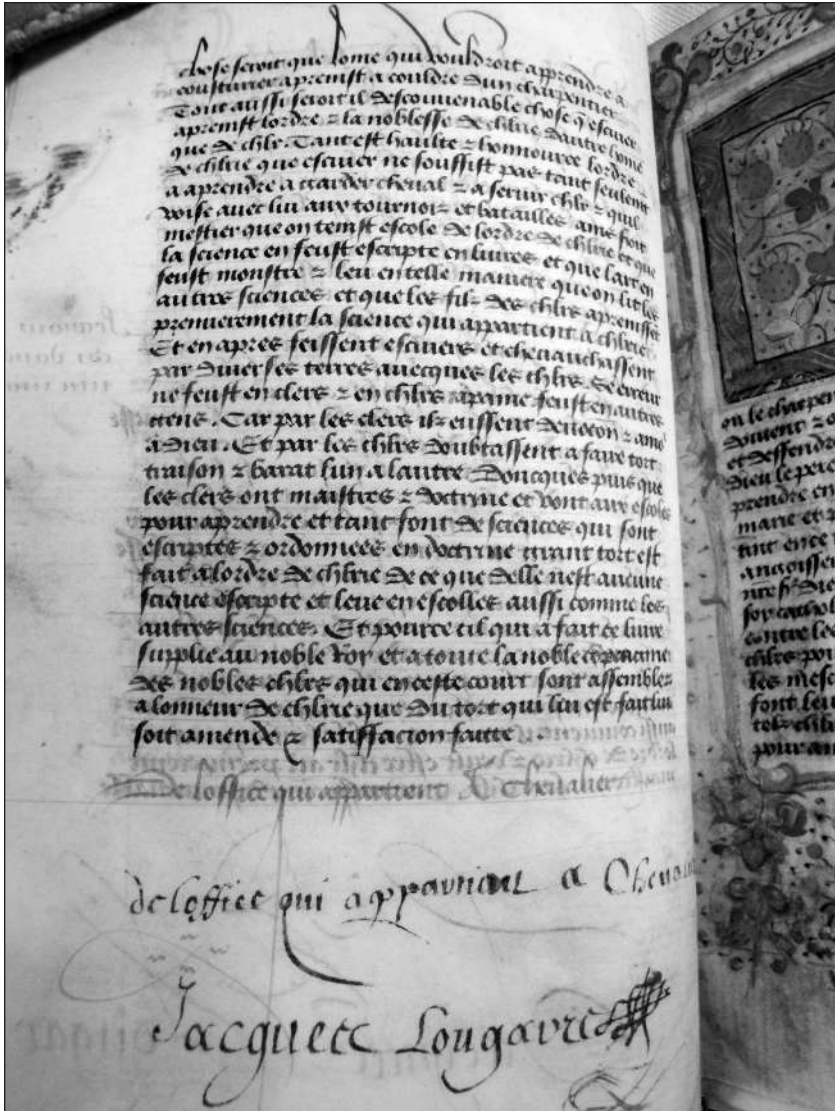


Fig. 2. *Le Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 830, f. 5v. © F. Bouchet / Ville de Toulouse.

à chevalier” (“Of the Office of Knighthood”), demonstrates the identification between this reader and the *BOC*’s anonymous knight. At the bottom of folio 17v (see Fig. 3), the reader—the same according to the monogram that doubles as signature—wrote a prayer in Latin asking God to forgive his sins, as if applying to himself the guideline mentioned



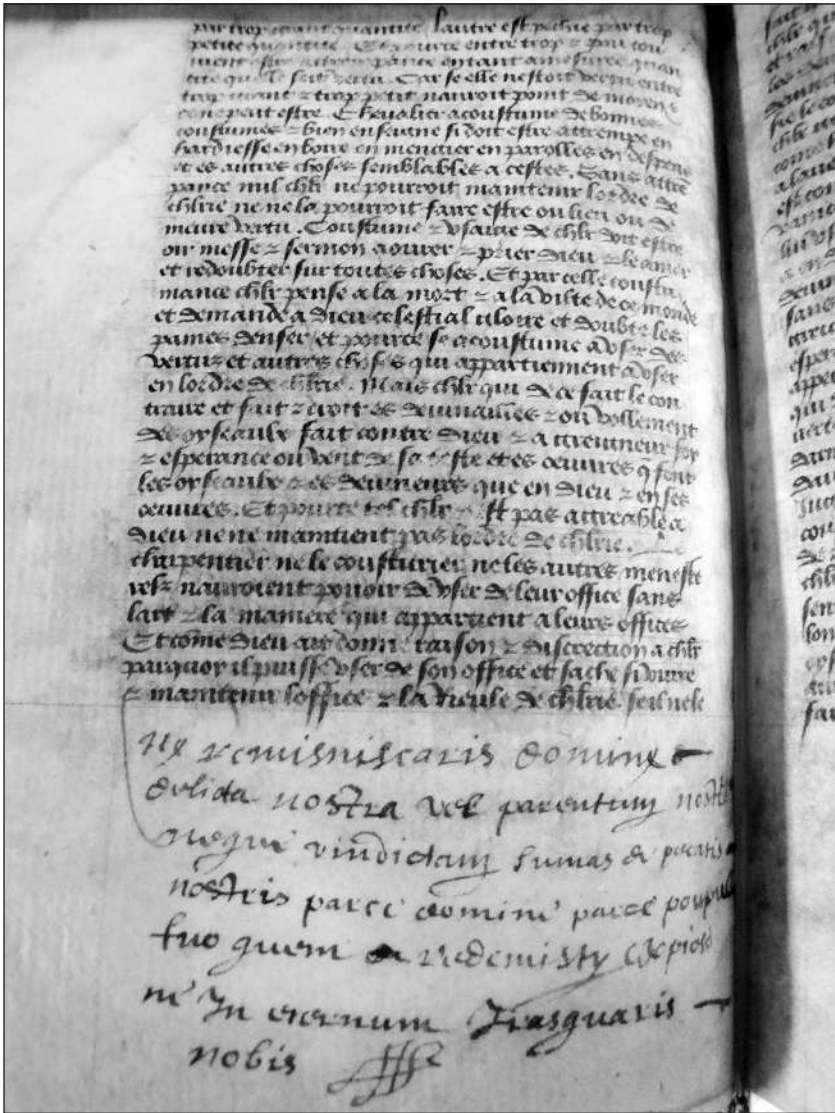


Fig. 3. *Le Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 830, f. 17v. © F. Bouchet / Ville de Toulouse.

in the middle of the folio: “Coustume et usaige de chevalier doit estre de oyr messe et sermon [et] aouer et prier Dieu et le amer et redoubter sur toutes choses” (Minervini 169). (“The knight must get into the habit of hearing mass and sermon (and) worshipping and praying to God, and to love Him and fear Him above all other things,” Fallows 77).

The fact that the codex is worn—the text is partly erased on several folios—seems to indicate that the book was frequently consulted, read again and again. Its fairly modest dimensions (20 x 13.6 cm) are those of a manageable and transportable object, like a prayer book or a book of hours. This analogy is explicit in the case of Alain Chartier's *Bréviaire des nobles*, which calls for a daily reading.<sup>12</sup> Jacques Lougarre, however, does not take as good care of the book as does the owner of BnF fr. 19809, where folios 4v and 5 are covered with signatures and monograms (See Fig. 4). As to the pen sketches and formulas visible on the bottom margins of folios 7v, 15v, and 16, they perhaps come from a subsequent owner—although the ink seems to be the same (See Fig. 5).

If the French translation of the *BOC* thus played a decisive role in the circulation of Lull's treatise, this is nonetheless quite an extraordinary destiny for a vernacular text: this phenomenon places the Catalan Doctor in good company, with Petrarch and Boccaccio. Indeed, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, texts translated into French (either ancient or medieval) were primarily written in Latin. François Bérrier thus explains: “Quant aux œuvres écrites en des langues romanes autres que le français, il semble que l'effort de traduction ne se soit porté que sur les œuvres contemporaines ou presque: Pétrarque, Boccace ou Raymond Lulle” (Bérrier 224) (“As for works written in romance languages other

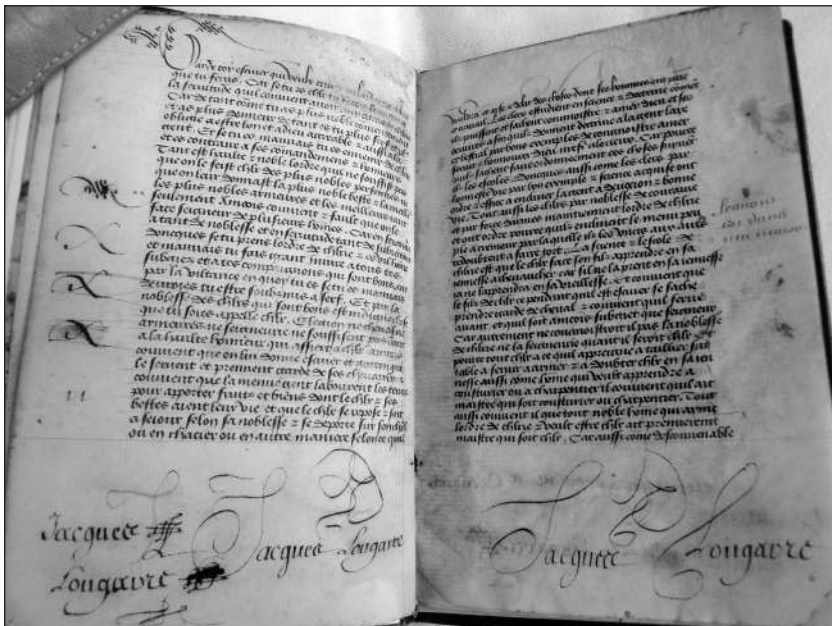


Fig. 4. *Le Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 830, ff. 4v-5. © F. Bouchet / Ville de Toulouse.

than French, it seems that translation took place solely on more or less contemporary works: Petrarch, Boccaccio, or Ramon Llull.”)

Let us note in passing that the French BOC is found amidst other translations in several manuscripts: BnF fr. 19810, BnF fr. 1972, Plimpton

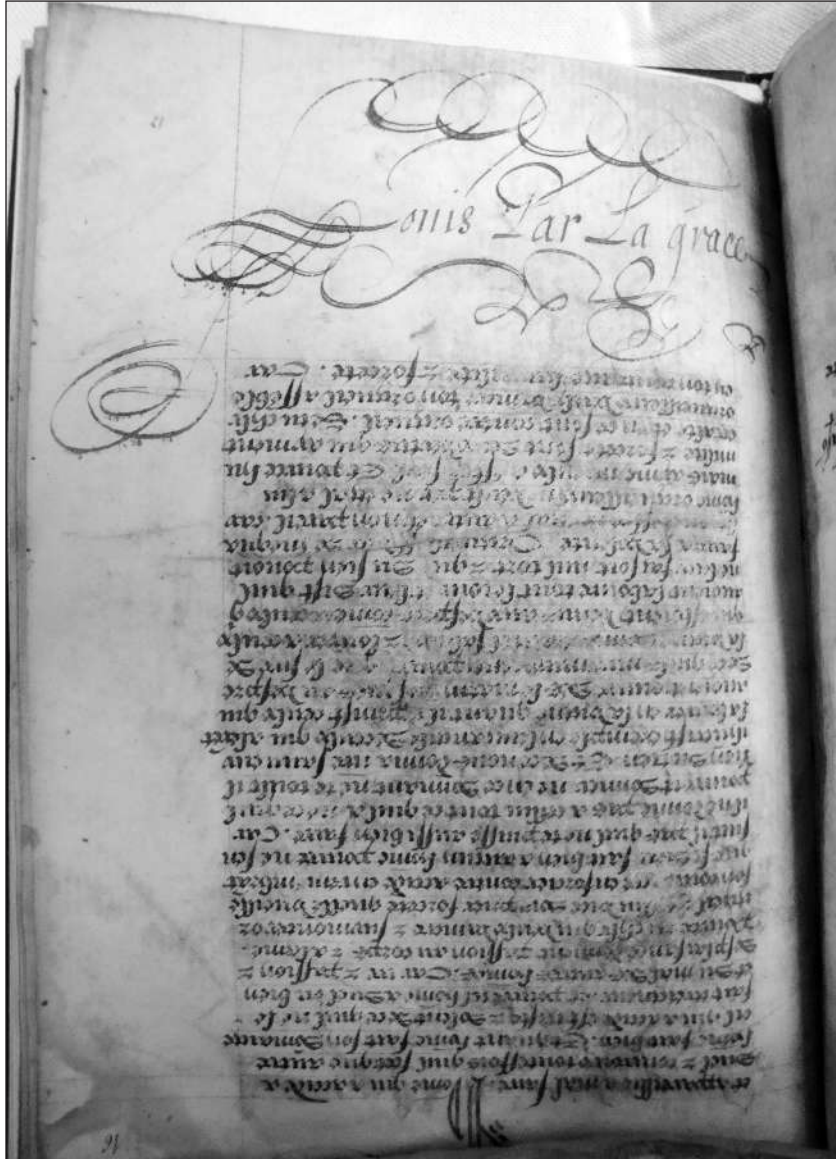


Fig. 5. *Le Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 830, f. 16. © F. Bouchet / Ville de Toulouse.

Collection 282 (in all three of these manuscripts we have French translations of medieval Latin texts). Jean de Vignay in particular was a rather productive translator in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The identity of the author of the Middle French translation of the *BOC*, however, remains unknown.

We must now ask the question of whether this translation stemmed directly from the Catalan text or not. In fact, Llull's works generally had two compositions, one in Catalan and another in Latin (using the vernacular language allows for a broader audience, the *illitterati*). As far as the *BOC* is concerned, no Latin version has been preserved but, as Minervini reminds us (36), catalogs of Llullian works as well as sixteenth-century editions mention titles such as *Liber militia saecularis* or—more explicitly—*Liber de ordine equestri*, which could correspond to one. Several critics have thus argued that the French translation of the *BOC* was based on a (now lost) Latin version. A textual argument seems to confirm this idea: whereas the 4<sup>th</sup> paragraph of Chapter III reads, in Catalan: “Noblesa de coratge no la demans a la boca, cor tota *hora* no diu veritat” (Soler, *Llibre* 190) (“Do not seek nobility in the mouth, for it does not *always* tell the truth,” Fallows 57), the Middle French translation reads “Ne quier pas noblesse de courage en la bouche, car toute *bouche* ne dit pas voir” (Minervini 127) (“Do not seek nobility in the mouth, for *all mouths* do not tell the truth”). The translated segment “toute bouche” seems to result from the confusion between two Latin words: *hora* (“hour”) and *os, oris* (“mouth”), whose plural is *ora*. This confusion is impossible in Catalan, since we can tell by the previous quotation (*boca / hora*).<sup>13</sup> We could however consider that, by repeating “bouche,” the French translator simply wanted to render explicit the subject of the Catalan “no diu veritat.”

Furthermore, Minervini observes that additions characteristic of the French translation<sup>14</sup> can all be found in the preserved manuscripts,<sup>15</sup> which leads him to believe in the existence of an antigraph, an earlier manuscript containing these additions that would have served as the intermediary between the Catalan text of the *BOC* and the known French manuscripts (Minervini 36). To my mind, however, this antigraph manuscript could not possibly be the aforementioned Latin version since the different French manuscripts would not necessarily have led to the same translation. We must therefore postulate the existence of two intermediary links in the chain of manuscripts: first, a translation into Latin of the Catalan *BOC*, with or without additions; then, a French translation of it, which—depending on the state of the Latin text—would have invented or translated the additions: the surviving French manuscripts

would derive from this hypothetical French version. Alternatively, as Minervini's last hypothesis states (37),<sup>16</sup> the French translation as we know it could have relied on a lost Catalan manuscript that would have contained the additions in question. As we can see, the trail of transmission and transformation of the *BOC* is, in the end, rather complex, as it involves several intermediate stages that are now lost. In any case, the translation of the original text into various languages enables its dissemination to an ever more diverse audience.

### 3. Tradition, Influence, Imitations

From its earliest version, the *BOC* was part of an already very rich didactic tradition called *ensenhamen* in Occitan or *chastoïement* in the *langue d'oïl*. In effect, chivalry must be taught, hence the need for this book:

Enaxí com los juristes e ls clergues an sciència e libres, e oen la lissó e aprenen lur offici per doctrina de letres, tant és honrat e alt l'orde de cavayler, que no tant solament abasta que a l'escuder sia mostrat l'orde de cavaylaria per pensar de cavyl ni per servir senyor ni per enar ab eyl en fet d'armes ni per altres coses semblants a aquestas ; que enans séria covinent cosa que hom de l'orde de cavaylaria feés scola, e que fos sciència escrita en libres e que fos art mostrada, axí con són mostrades les altres sciències. (Soler, *Llibre* 170, ch. 1, par. 14)

Just as jurists, doctors and clerics each have their own special knowledge and books, following their lessons and learning their trade through written doctrine, the Order of Chivalry is so honorable and elevated that it is not enough for the squire merely to observe in order to know how to care for horses, how to serve a lord, and to accompany him in feats of arms or other things similar to these. There must also be created a School of the Order of Chivalry, the writing of its rules in books, and the teaching of its art the way the other scholarly topics are taught. (Fallows 43)

Concerning this passage, Martin Aurell reminds the reader of the historical context behind this approach:

Depuis la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, [la noblesse] est devenue un ordre : de "classe de fait" qu'elle était, elle s'est transformée en "classe de droit." À l'époque où Ramon Llull écrit, les pouvoirs publics ont les moyens de la contrôler, d'en déterminer les familles qui en feront partie, d'en limiter les privilèges. Enfermée dans ce carcan

juridique, elle apparaît désormais comme une caste pour laquelle des intellectuels travaillent à donner une éthique, un ensemble de règles, qui la figent sur le plan des modes de vie autant qu'elle s'est immobilisée sur le plan social (Aurell 144–45).

From the end of the 12th century, [the nobility] became an order: from a “functional” class, it became a class defined by law. By the time Ramon Llull was writing, the public authorities had the means to control it, to determine which families would compose it, and to limit its privileges. Confined in these juridical shackles, the nobility henceforth appears as a caste for which intellectuals strive to provide an ethics, a set of rules, that permanently solidifies its mores, just as it had been socially frozen in place.

Even if—to the great displeasure of the hermit who wrote his book to fill a pedagogic void—schools of chivalry did not exist, several medieval texts theorized the nature and role of chivalry by using different literary means. For example, the *BOC* was compared to Saint Bernard of Clairvaux’s *Éloge de la nouvelle milice* (ca. 1132), which opposes perverted, worldly chivalry to the spiritual ideal of a virtuous chivalry, devoted to the *imitatio Christi*.<sup>17</sup> Other monastic or clerical authors used the trope of allegory—greatly popular in the thirteenth century—to present the virtues of chivalry with the help of mnemonic imagery: the *Armure du chevalier* of Guiot de Provins, and the *Roman des ailes* of Raoul de Houdenc. The *Ordene de chevalerie* shows the grandeur of the “sainte ordre de chevalerie” (v. 83) through the ritualistic elements of the dubbing ceremony, as they are explained to Saladin. From the last decades of the twelfth century, the codes of chivalry were also indirectly taught through romances, in which knights are the heroes. Inevitably, we think of Chrétien de Troyes’ *Conte du Graal*, which constitutes a chivalric coming-of-age romance. The successive *chastoiements* of Percival’s mother, of Gornemant de Goort, and of the hermit progressively steer the novice knight towards an understanding of his role. Thus, Gornemant dubs Perceval and, as he hands him the sword,

... dit que donee li a  
 La plus haute ordre aviau l’espee  
 Que Dex ot faite et commandee,  
 C’est l’ordre do chevalerie  
 Qui doit estre senz vilenie.<sup>18</sup>

The *BOC* is in some sense an expansion of those few lines. Often quoted is also the famous lesson that the Lady of the Lake gives to the young

Lancelot as he is about to join King Arthur's court to be knighted in the *Lancelot en prose* (Chapter XXIa): the review here of the different pieces of knightly equipment, each endowed with a double value, both symbolic and mnemonic, allows for a reiteration of all the knight's duties. And the *BOC*, as has also been noted, presents similarities with chapter XXI of the second part of Alfonso X of Castile's *Partidas* (between 1256 and 1265), although the latter's legal perspective differs from Llull's (Martin).

Even if Llull's exact sources remain uncertain, many symbolic and normative elements pre-exist his treatise. According to Aurell, the *BOC*'s merit is indeed its systematic nature: "le *Llibre de l'Orde* était le premier manuel à faire le tour complet de la question chevaleresque et connu, à ce titre, un succès ultérieur remarquable." (145) ("The *Llibre de l'Orde* was the first manual to thoroughly examine the question of chivalry and as such, had a remarkable success.")

Critics have of course identified the influence of the *BOC* on other Catalan writers of the end of the Middle Ages. Not being a specialist in this area, I will settle here for a brief reminder of these Catalan authors. First, there is Don Juan Manuel, Prince of Villena (1282–1348): his *Libro del Caballero et del escudero* (ca 1326) picks up the *BOC*'s initial scenario.<sup>19</sup> The meeting between a young squire and an old knight who has retired to a hermitage, results in a dialogue between the two men. In the midst of its encyclopedic presentation of human knowledge, we have an account of the principles of chivalry. Among Juan Manuel's lost works of which we only know the title, let us point out the *Libro de la caballeria* (1326), which was perhaps also based on the *BOC*. Second, there is Joanot Martorell (1413–1468). His *Guillem de Varoic* in part inspired by *Gui de Warevic*, a thirteenth-century romance, picks up a fair amount of the *BOC*'s prologue and first chapter: Ramon Llull's hermit knight becomes Guillem, retired to a hermitage after a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The model of the *BOC* is even more visible in Martorell's most famous romance, *Tirant le Blanc*, which also utilizes the character of Guillem and which Cervantes later called "the best book in the world."<sup>20</sup> At the beginning of the book, it seems to me that two details discreetly echo hints of the northern circulation of the *BOC* previously mentioned concerning Toulouse 830: *Tirant*—the equivalent of the squire in the *BOC*—is a nobleman of Breton origin; and it is on Saint Michel's day—a reference to the order of the same name?—that he finds himself at the court of France and plans to receive the order of chivalry.

The final question I ask is the following: given the wide dissemination of the *BOC*'s French translation, to what degree did it trigger imitations in French literature? At the end of the Middle Ages, in the critical context of the Hundred Years' War, many texts carry on the tradition of chivalric education that we have previously discussed: the multiple and extensively circulated French translations of Vegetius (among which is *L'art de chevalerie*; see Contamine 349–52);<sup>21</sup> Christine de Pizan's *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie* (1410) that draws on Vegetius, among other works; the *Bréviaire des nobles* (ca 1425), Alain Chartier's most circulated work (Duval 183–87) found in two of the *BOC*'s French manuscripts. There is also the continuing treatment of the role of knighthood in chivalric biographies (Gaucher), as well as in certain romances. Michelle Szkilnik (26–27) believes that Antoine de La Sale may have known the French version of the *BOC*, and that it might have inspired his writing of *Jehan de Saintré* (1456). Especially relevant here is the combat between the seven sins and chivalric *fortitudo*, detailed in chapter 6 of the *BOC* (chapter 7 in the French version), which is the subject of a lengthy presentation in Mme de Belle Cousine's teaching to the young Jehan. If the two texts are linked, this recontextualization is fairly ironic: Llull's serious address is placed in Belle Cousine's eminently suspicious mouth. Olivier de la Marche, for his part, seems to have employed the narrative framework found in Llull in the *Chevalier délibéré* (1483): Olivier's narrator encounters an old hermit, an aged knight retired from the world, who goes on to instruct him:

Je traveillay moult longuement,  
Chevalier errant par le monde,  
Et suis nommé Entendement.  
Mon nom est congneu plainement  
Des meilleurs de la Table Ronde.  
Mais vëant que ce n'est q'une onde  
De mer de la vie incertaine,  
J'ay fait de ce lieu mon demaine. (78)

I labored a long, long time,  
About the world as a knight errant,  
And I am called Understanding.  
My name is well known  
By the best of the Round table.  
Yet, seeing that that was but one billow  
In the sea of inconstant life,  
I have made this place my domain. (79)



After his own adventures, the narrator passes again by the hermit's lodging (in accord with the promise made in *huitain* 76). The hermit's advice thus takes place in two different times: first, he explains to the narrator the disasters caused by Accident, who has effected the violent death of many men (*huitains* 38–76); then he prepares him to face Atropos by giving him an allegorical armor of virtues (*huitains* 286–327). The hermit's speech accentuates the *memento mori*, and it does not undertake (as does that of Llull in the *BOC*) to elaborate the moral portrait of the knight in all his splendor. Let us not forget, however, that in the beginning of the *BOC* the wise knight had already become a hermit in order to prepare for his own death. These intertextual investigation need to be pursued well beyond the two suggestions that are here explored. The odds are that there are other works influenced by the French translation of the *BOC*, and I plan on continuing this investigation.

Ramon Llull was a prolific polygraph (around 280 works in Catalan, Latin, and Arabic are attributed to him), which gives him a prominent position in Catalan literature. Almost as remarkable is the fact that the *BOC*, in itself, could have had such a great influence through its French translation. A short time before writing the *BOC*, (*ca.* 1272), in chapter 112 of the *Llibre de contemplació* (120–25), the Catalan Doctor had expressed a particularly critical outlook on chivalry, fiercely condemning its abuses and sins (Aurell 145). Thus, through the promotion of the chivalric ideal, the *BOC* appears as a response, or even as a positive reform. This positive written work did not prevent, however, the failure of Western knights in the Holy Land shortly thereafter, with the Fall of Acre to the Mamluks in 1291, and thus the end of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem. We can understand how Llull's text went on to respond to the special expectations of the end of the Middle Ages, while the military reality of the Hundred Years' War was disqualifying traditional knighthood. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the French translation of the *BOC* was still being read, but its attribution to Ramon Llull has disappeared. In 1510 the text was "adjusté" ("added") to the end of a collection of works by Symphorien Champier, a doctor, philosopher, and chronicler from Lyon (1472–1539).<sup>22</sup> It was not explicitly stated that Champier was the author of the *BOC*, but the editorial procedure employed was ambiguous enough for this to be assumed (as can be seen in the Edinburgh manuscript, which was probably copied from that edition). We have here the final consequence of the invitation to copy the text, presented at the end of the *BOC*'s prologue.<sup>23</sup>

## Notes

1. The reference edition is by Albert Soler. The modern French translation is by Patrick Gifreu. The modern English translation is by Noel Fallows.

2. This demonstrative approach, meant as a logical system aiming to convincing its audience, is the basis for Llull's *Ars magna*. On Llull's style, see Ruffini.

3. See Sanchis Guarner; and Soler, "Mas cavaller qui d'açò fa."

4. See Minervini, 14–15. His text is a middle French translation of the BOC. See Clare.

5. See Clavería. Albert Soler highlights that the middle French translation of the BOC was also the basis for a Scottish version established by Gilbert Hay (see his contribution in Galderisi, 2: 1184).

6. The translation includes eight chapters, the prologue being the first chapter.

7. In his 1972 edition, Minervini reported eleven manuscripts: three new manuscripts have since been identified (Toulouse, New York, Turin's state archives). See Cornagliotti; and Glenn.

8. Since the MS dates from the fourteenth century, this could be Jacques I of Bourbon-La Marche (1342–1362), Jacques II being born at the end of the century (1393–1438). The problem here is that Jacques I is not duke of Nemours—it was established as Duchy and Peerage in 1404 under Charles VI—only Count of La Marche. Otherwise, in the fifteenth century, Jacques d'Armagnac (1433–1477) was indeed Duke of Nemours and Count of La Marche.

9. Let us not forget that Saint Michael is the patron saint of knights. "Archange, Michel est aussi chef de la milice céleste et défenseur de l'Église.... More than an archangel, Michael is also the head of the celestial militia and defender of the Church," Duchet-Suchaux and Pastoureau 229.

10. See Contamine 365. This catalogue is established in MS fr. 2912, f. 78–82. In that same list appears "L'ordre Saint Michel" ("The Order of Saint Michael"), most likely the statutes of the order. But we should remain cautious because book titles remain unstable in the Middle Ages and the BOC may be mistaken with a similar title. This explains how "li ordres de chevalerie" mentioned in MS fr. 837 (f. 152) is not the BOC but *L'ordene de chevalerie* (oddly inserted into a collection of fabliaux).

11. Literally: "to damage by stealing".

12. The end of chapter 2 (Catalan version) or 3 (French version) of the BOC suggests this analogy if we consider the etymology of the word *breviary*, derived from *brevis*: the narrator underlines his desire for concision, for delivering a synoptic hand-book to the future knight. The Catalan text uses the term *abreujadament* (Soler, *Llibre* 188, par. 36). The French text (Minervini 124) gives us: "nous en passons au plus *brief* et au plus legierement que nous povons. ... avons propos de parler *briefment* en cest livre pour ce que briefment doit estre adoubé et fait nouvel chevalier" (cf. Fallows, 55: "since we must speak of

other things we are explaining them with as much brevity as we can, primarily because we have composed this book in brief ... for in a brief amount of time he is to be dubbed a new knight.”)

13. See Minervini, n. 21, 127 and Clare 412–13. In support of this reasoning, Clare adds the Castilian translation: “La nobleza de espíritu no se la pidas a la boca, porque no a todas horas dice la verdad.” and the fact that “les traductions médiévales étaient souvent élaborées oralement avant d’être transcrites.” (“medieval translations were often orally elaborated before being written out”).

14. In his edition, Minervini assesses the most significant variations between the French version and the Catalan text of the *BOC* (27–37). Other than a few omissions of little importance, he notes that the majority of additions (more numerous, around 60) function as gloss or reinforcement for the Catalan text; more ample additions indicate the erudition of the translator (biblical or classical examples).

15. At least in the eleven that were taken into account in the 1972 edition; I was not able to tell what the case is for the other three manuscripts mentioned above.

16. A hypothesis shared by Soler in his edition of the *BOC* (*Llibre* 64).

17. Saint Bernard is thinking of the Order of the Temple, created in 1120 to defend pilgrims in the Holy Land. See Olivier.

18. Troyes vv. 1592–1596 : “Il lui dit qu’il lui a conféré / avec l’épée l’ordre le plus élevé / que Dieu a créé et commandé, / c’est à savoir l’ordre de chevalerie, / qui ne souffre aucune bassesse.” (“He said that with the sword he had given the highest order that God had created, namely the Order of Chivalry, that tolerates no low conduct”).

19. Aurell calls this sort of imitation “plagiat” (“plagiarism”).

20. Hence a very indirect possible influence of the *BOC* on *Don Quixote*; see Morey.

21. One of those translations was due to Jean de Meung in 1284.

22. See <<http://bmn-renaissance.nancy.fr/viewer/show/1232#page/n11/modelthumb>>

23. My grateful thanks to Nathalie Lacarrière at the University of Pennsylvania for her translation of this article.

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