

The *Eructavit* is generally linked with Marie of Champagne. I should like to demonstrate, however, that this Old French metrical paraphrase of Psalm XLIV (in the Vulgate edition) is inextricably linked with Marie of Brabant as well. In pursuing this link, I believe I can explain both the occasion and the content of (Paris, BN) Arsenal 3142, the manuscript generally thought to have been composed for Marie of Brabant. Furthermore, in so doing, I should like to establish a possible dating, as well as an occasion, for the *Eructavit* and for the Arsenal Manuscript 3142. In order to do this, I should like to introduce the setting in which the *Eructavit* was written, the people surrounding its production, and the familial ties connecting the existing manuscripts of the *Eructavit* to the Arsenal Manuscript 3142. I should then like to deal with the form of the Arsenal Manuscript in terms of the *Eructavit* and the 44th Psalm.

Marie of France, the eldest daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and of Louis VII of France, was given in marriage in 1154 to Henry I, called the Liberal, of Champagne.<sup>(1)</sup> Henry of Champagne was a learned man, a recipient of sermons, commentaries on the Psalms, and liturgical pieces, including ten sequences (Benton, 1961, p. 556). John of Salisbury (who at the time of the Becket case was exiled from England and staying with his friend Pierre de Celle, then abbot of Saint-Remi-de Reims and friend as well of Henry) tells us of the “great pleasure which the Count Henry took in discussing literary subjects with learned men.”<sup>(2)</sup> Furthermore, Chretien de Troyes, Evrat, Gace Brule, Gautier d’ Arras, and Simon Chevre d’ Or, all known poets, acknowledge the personal intervention of Henry or Marie in their work.<sup>(3)</sup> The court of Champagne was well established as a center of learning and patronage.

Biblical glosses and translations were not unknown at the court of Champagne. Among the Biblical works composed for the Count or Countess of Champagne is the *Evrat*, so called for its author. It is a verse translation of Genesis, begun in 1192 at Marie’s request. It was not completed until after her death in 1198. In this work, the announced goal of the author was “to lead his audience, both clergy and laity, to understand the significance of his Biblical material. Following the usual medieval practice, the text is presented with a gloss which explains the difficult words and concepts, explicates the symbolic levels of the text, and points out both hidden and obvious morals. In so doing, *Evrat* draws on previous commentators, and frequently cites by name

Eusebius, Josephus, Bede, Augustine, and above all, Jerome” (Benton, p. 563).<sup>(4)</sup> Evrat’s comments are rather commonplace as one can see from his remarks on Eve after the Fall. In fact, they are much like those in the *Bisclavret* of the *Lais* of Marie de France; that is, women in general “are unable to hold back from doing something a man has forbidden; they extract secrets from a man and then quickly pass them on; if a man says anything to displease a woman, never will he have any peace.”<sup>(5)</sup>

The *Eructavit*, like the *Evrat*, is concerned with Biblical interpretation. It is a poetical paraphrase of the forty-fourth Psalm which begins, *Eructavit cor meum*. The dating of the poem has been only probable. It was written after Philip Augustus became king, since it is dedicated to Marie as sister of the king (which of course she was, after 1180, with regard to Philip Augustus of France, since they shared the same father, Louis VII). However, it is thought to have been written before the catastrophe of 1187, that is, the fall of Jerusalem to the Turks, since nothing is said of this, though the Turks are mentioned in the text (Benton’s thinking, p. 566). Thus, according to Benton, “this would place the probable time of its composition in the years of Marie’s early widowhood and regency” (p. 566), that is, somewhere between 1181-1187.

The *Eructavit* is more than a paraphrase of the 44th Psalm. It contains an address to the patroness as well as a presentation of the vision of the minstrel, the prophet, king, and minstrel, David. David, in the *Eructavit*, is at heaven’s gate wishing to enter in to celebrate the Incarnation. The Incarnation is celebrated in the ceremonial prayer or liturgy of Christmas Day, at which time the 44th Psalm is traditionally sung. Consequently, David is waiting before the gate of heaven like a minstrel waiting to sing for the marriage of the king’s son. Though he is not admitted inside the gate, an angel lets him peek inside so he may gaze at the marriage and, being inspired by what he sees, he begins to sing of the King and Queen. He praises the King’s beauty and his sword and his covenant with Israel. He sings of the fragrance of the king’s garments and of the beauty of the Queen. In the poem, David speaks to the Queen (the Church) as to his daughter, giving her instructions on how she must conduct herself. He anticipates the honoring of Mary as mother of God and puts in personal advice to Marie of Champagne. He speaks of the Queen’s offspring as martyrs of the Church. And he sings of her sons,

who have given their lives in battle for the Church, comforting her, telling her they are now lords of paradise. He speaks of the joy of heaven and gives a final address to Marie.

According to McKibben's study of the *Eructavit*, the most important expositions of Psalm XLIV, written before our poet's time, are those of Augustine, Jerome, Cassidorus, the Venerable Bede, Haymo of Halberstadt, Radbertus Paschasius, Bruno of Wurzburg, Bruno of Koln or perhaps of Monte Cassino and Peter Lombard (1907, p. 27). Yet, McKibben insists, there is no systematic translation or paraphrase in the *Eructavit* from any of them. The only influence to be noted is that of Gregory the Great's *Moralia* in Job, XIX and XXXIV, wherein he refers to the arrows sent by the King, as in lines 663-868 of the poem. Gregory's own comments on Psalm XLIV do not seem to be relevant. (This may be remotely interesting, since the Arsenal Manuscript contains an insertion from Job, which has not been explained). Consequently, the poet of the *Eructavit* is not merely translating, he is rather adjusting his interpretation and gloss to his audience, calling heavily only upon the Bible. Other copies of the *Eructavit* eliminate the references to Marie and so adjust its personalization to subsequent recipients.

There is in the *Eructavit*, for example, much that is personal. There is an address to Marie, advice to her on not overspending, and the consoling section dealing with the death of sons of the church, martyrs, such as were called the Crusaders and all who had died defending Jerusalem, the heavenly city, allegorically speaking. Marie's husband, Henry I of Champagne, died returning from the Crusades in 1181. Marie's father, Louis VII, had died the year before. Consequently, the consolatory passage is considered to be placed there for Marie, though it is as well a statement concerning all who have given their lives for the Queen, that is, allegorically, for the Church or Jerusalem. Henry's reputation for generosity, along with the expenses that had been necessary to outfit him for the Crusades, and, then, his subsequent death, would have prompted a gentle reminder to his widow to greater frugality. Thus a date after the death of her husband is not inappropriate. Still, this Psalm celebrates a wedding, a Christmastide wedding, not just an end of the world Apocalyptic wedding feast, though, of course, one did traditionally suggest the other.

The forty-fourth Psalm was considered by the Church to indicate and to celebrate the marriage of Christ and his Church, both typologically and allegorically. It was attributed

to David as the writer of the Psalms. The *Eructavit* is, therefore, linked to Christmas morning and the Christmas season, in celebration of the coming marriage of Christ and his Church, which is initiated by Christ's coming to earth for his bride Israel, seen as the Church as well. McKibben thought the *Eructavit* to have been given to Marie of Champagne at Sens in the Advent season of 1185. If one considers only the Apocalyptic aspects of the wedding feast, and celebrates only the union in heaven of those who have suffered for the Church on earth, then perhaps a presentation at that time might be a thought. But such a presentation would ignore the living as well as the liturgy for which it was composed. It would mean that Marie, a widow for five years already, would be receiving a poem with an apocalyptic wedding reference. She would also be receiving this gloss on a psalm which belongs to the liturgy of Christmastide a month early. Consequently, it would seem that McKibben's proposal leaves a few problems still to be resolved.

Marie herself was married in 1154 and widowed in 1181. Since the accepted time span for the possible composition of the poem is between 1181 and 1187, given all the factors contained therein, the poem was surely not given to her or intended for her, personally, as a wedding present. Yet the poem is ostensibly dealing with a wedding, and a wedding that is taking place at Christmastide. Perhaps there are other factors to consider.

Marie and Henry I of Champagne had four children. Their first son, Henry II, became count of Champagne from 1187-1198. The second son was born in 1179. And there were two daughters, Marie and Scholastique. In 1179, before he went on crusade a second time, Henry I betrothed two of his children, Henry and Marie, to the house of Hainaut. However, while Henry II was still underage, his would be bride, Isabel of Hainaut or Flanders (1170-90), was given in 1180, after Easter, to his mother's half brother, his father's sister's son, Philip Augustus of France. She became the mother of Louis VIII. Her brother, Baudouin or Baldwin, IX Count of Flanders and VI Count of Hainaut (1171-1206), however, did, indeed, marry his betrothed. Marie was only twelve when she was married in 1185 at Chateau-Thierry. The wedding took place at Valenciennes, the capital of Hainaut, on the Feast of the Three Kings the following year.

She was later to follow her husband to the East where he was to become Emperor of Constantinople in 1204.

The marriage of Marie, daughter of Marie and Henry I of Champagne, to Baldwin of Hainaut and Flanders fits perfectly the occasion for which the *Eructavit* would have been appropriate. The liturgy for the Feast of the three Kings, also called the Epiphany, replicates that of Christmas Day. It celebrates the coming of Christ to the Gentiles or the non-Jewish people. The 1186 date would be suitable, given the content and non-content of the poem. Since the poem as well as the Psalm contains a direct address to the bride, it would be appropriate to give to a daughter on her wedding day. The eulogies to Mary would make it particularly appealing to one called Marie. And the giving of a poem addressed to a mother to a namesake daughter is hardly unheard of.

Moreover, most critics of the work, from the time of Marie of Champagne, mention its being presented to a woman, possibly because of the introduction in which Marie is mentioned. But the psalm itself is addressed to a female leaving her home to be married. That the fathers of the church had presented the psalm as symbolic of Christ and his Church (see Bede, Augustine, and Gregory), made it no less real as a wedding prayer, for the consummation of a literal wedding.<sup>(6)</sup> It is well known that several verses from the first part of the Psalm are incorporated into the coronation ceremony of the Kings of France and England. Prosper Tarbe has further indicated that the 44th Psalm was chanted at the marriage ceremonies for the Kings of France.<sup>(7)</sup> Thus a Christmastide wedding of 1186 of Marie of Champagne, daughter of Henry I and Marie of France, and Baudouin of Hainaut is a most acceptable moment for the presentation of the *Eructavit*, a versified elaboration of Psalm 44.

However, the influence of the *Eructavit* would not have ceased with its dedication to Marie of France, or with Marie's gift of the poem to her daughter, Marie of Champagne, on the feast of the Three Kings (also called the Epiphany) in 1186. There are more than fourteen copies of the *Eructavit* still in existence and none of these seems to have been written in Champagne or is contemporary in place or time. "One is a well known Burgundian manuscript written at Semur (Cote-d' Or), another comes from Provencal territory, another from England. The poem was included in the compilation found in a celebrated manuscript of the Arsenal Library, written in Artois, about 1265, (the date of

Marie of Brabant's birth), and several other copies were made in the north of France during the thirteenth century" (Jenkins, 1909, p. vii). Jenkins enumerates these manuscripts by letter from A through O (pp. xxxi). "A" he places in Burgundian territory, probably in the Maconnais of the 13th century. "B" is written in France, about 1250. "C" is of the 13th century, with Picard traits; "D" is 14th century; "E" is early 14th century, probably written at Semur, Cote-d' Or; "F" is 14th century in French of the Centre; "G" is the end of 13th century, closely allied to "F." "H" is 13th century with Picard traits; "I" is 13th century in French of the Centre; "J" is written in 1265 in Artois. "K" is 13th century written in the extreme north; "L" is 14th century, written probably in England; "M" is written in 1338 in French of the Centre; "N" is written at the end of the 13th century in the south of France. "O" is of the 13th century. Jenkins (1909, p. xxxiv), on basis of variants and similarities suggests the following filiations: AHK form a group, with BC corrected upon a manuscript of the group AHK. HK derives from a common source. Only A and E can claim to have been written in territory contiguous to Champagne. The manuscripts appear to have been composed or copied either in France or in the north of France or Burgundy—all areas inhabited by relatives and direct descendants of Marie de Champagne.<sup>(8)</sup>

Artois, for example, the established home for manuscript "J", was given to Marie of Hainaut by her uncle, Philip of Flanders, upon her wedding to Philip Augustus of France. Her brother, Baudouin of Hainaut and Flanders, however, upon coming of age and marrying Marie of Champagne (daughter of Henry I the Liberal of Champagne and Marie of France) did battle with Philip Augustus and in 1199 brought back Artois and all the related area into his control.

However, when Baudouin of Hainaut went on Crusade and his children were in the care of Philip Augustus, Artois was given to Baudouin's nephew, his sister Marie of Hainaut's son, Louis VIII (1187-1226). Louis VIII was king of France for only three years, from 1223-1226, leaving his wife, Blanche of Castille, regent for their son, Saint Louis.<sup>(9)</sup> It was this Louis IX who, following his father's will, made his brother Robert (1216-1249) the first count of Artois (which was to comprise the towns of Arras, S. Omer, and Aire, along with Heidin and Lens). Robert I of Artois married Mahaud of Brabant,

oldest daughter of Henry II, duke of Brabant and of Marie of Suabe in 1237. (She was buried at Artois along with Guy of Chatillon II, count of S. Paul, her second husband).

Robert I of Artois and Mahaud of Brabant had two children: Robert II of Artois (to whom the poet, Adenet le Roi gave the *Cleomades*, the first work of the Arsenal manuscript) and Blanche of Artois, who was married in 1269 to Henry I, King of Navarre, count of Champagne (1274+). (Blanche of Artois (1302+) was later married to Edmond of England, count of Lancaster).

From Blanche of Artois' marriage to Henry I, king of Navarre and count of Champagne and Brie, was born Jeanne I, queen of Navarre, countess Palatine of Champagne and of Brie, who was married in 1284 to Philippe IV, called the Fair, king of France. The title of count of Artois stayed with her uncle, Robert II (1250-1302). Robert II married in 1261 Amicie de Courtenay by whom he had Philip of Artois, lord of Conches, and Mahaud of Artois. Mahaud was married in 1291 to Othon IV, count of Bourgogne (1302+). Mahaud's daughter Jeanne, countess of Artois and of Bourgogne, became the wife of Philippe V, called the Long, king of France. The marriages alone of these descendants would allow for the presence and variations of the copies of the *Eructavit* in France, Burgundy, and England.

The two daughters of Marie of Champagne and Baudouin of Hainaut and Flanders (the 1186 recipients of the *Eructavit*) were Jeanne (1188-1244) and Marguerite (1202-1279), both of whom were left by their father in the care of their paternal uncle, Philip of Namur, in 1200. The uncle put them into the hands of Philip Augustus, much to the anger of the Flemish. Philip Augustus' first wife, Isabel of Hainaut, Baudouin's sister, had died in childbirth in 1190. Philip Augustus then married Agnes of Meranie, the daughter of Berthold IV, duke of Meranie, and, of Agnes of Rotlechs. Their daughter was to marry in 1206 Philip of Hainaut, Marquis of Namur and, upon his death, Henry I, duke of Brabant, in 1213.

In 1211, Philip Augustus married his niece, Jeanne, to Ferdinand, Prince of Portugal, obliging Ferdinand to restore to Louis, oldest son of Philip Augustus and Marie of Hainaut, the land acquired by Baudouin in 1199, namely Artois. The only child of this union, Marie, was to be given to Robert, brother of the king Saint Louis in 1235; but she died a little after the alliance was put forward.

Jeanne, daughter of Baudouin of Hainaut and Marie of Champagne, then married Thomas of Savoy II, count of Maurienne, maternal uncle of Marguerite of Provence, wife of Saint Louis of France. They had no children and the lands of Baudouin of Hainaut and Marie of Champagne fell to her sister, Marguerite of Flanders, who took Flanders into the house of Dampierre in Champagne.

Marguerite stayed with her paternal uncle until his death in 1212 when she was placed in the care of Bouchard d' Avesnes, then archdeacon of Laon and provost of Lille, who seduced her. The pope forced him to leave her and, in 1223, she was married to Guillaume II of Dampierre in Champagne. He was the second son of Guy II, lord of Dampierre, S. Just, and S. Dizier and, of Mahaud, heir of Bourbon. In 1245, Marguerite did homage for Flanders with her oldest son of her second marriage, Guillaume de Dampierre. Her son Guillaume died in 1251, without children to his wife, Beatix of Brabant, whom he had married in 1247. Beatrix was sister to Henry III of Brabant, who became the father of Marie of Brabant, wife to Philip III, the Fair of France.

Upon Guillaume's death in 1251, his brother Guy became the count of Flanders. We know Guy as the patron of Adenet le Roi, author of the *Cleomades*, *Berthe au grans pies*, *Beuvon de Conmarchis* and *Ogier le Danois*, all of which are contained in the Arsenal Manuscript. One of Guy's seventeen children by two wives was Marguerite of Flanders, who became the second wife of Jean I, duke of Brabant, brother to Marie of Brabant, Queen of France. Marguerite died in 1285. Jean's first wife was Marguerite of France, sister to Philip III, king of France.

Looking both at the existing copies of the *Eructavit* and at the marriages of the descendants of Marie of France and Henry I the Liberal of Champagne, there is no logical reason to suppose that copies of the *Eructavit* would not have traveled with the daughters of Marie of France back to the court of Philip Augustus, much in the same way that the title to Artois moved between the courts of Flanders and France. Furthermore, the *Eructavit* is a religious work, found among other religious poems in existing manuscripts. It would seem quite normal to have had the poem copied for family members. In fact, that the psalm was recited at royal weddings and coronations would indicate the continuing importance of the gloss as well, since the Psalm is contained therein. The

association of the 44th Psalm with weddings and coronations, as well as with Christmas, was a strong one.

I have mentioned the evolution of the family of the daughters of Marie of Champagne, daughter herself of Henry I the Liberal and Marie of France, so that the familiarity of the Dukes of Dampierre and Flanders with Dukes of Hainaut and Brabant and their roots in the Champagne of 1187 may become apparent. Furthermore, the succession of Marie of Hainaut in France as it joins again that of Brabant is relevant both to the story of the *Eructavit* and to that of the Arsenal Manuscript.

The succession of Artois, the territory that Marie of Hainaut was to have brought to her marriage with Philip Augustus, also involves both manuscripts. Artois, as we have seen, moves from sister (Marie of Hainaut) to brother (Baudouin of Hainaut) to Baudouin's daughter, Jeanne of Hainaut, back to Marie's son, Louis VIII of France, who leaves it to his second son, Robert I of Artois, who in turn gives it to his son, Robert II, the recipient, as well, of the *Cleomades*. His niece is married to Henry I of Navarre and Champagne and Brie, thus bringing the circle back to Henry I the Liberal of Champagne and Marie of France. It is this niece of Robert II, grand-daughter of Robert I of Artois and Mahaud of Brabant, who is, I believe, the recipient of Arsenal Manuscript 3142. This niece and grand-daughter is Jeanne I, queen of Navarre, countess Palatine of Champagne and of Brie, who married Philip IV, called the Fair, king of France.

It might be helpful to examine the lineage of this Jeanne I, in terms of Marie of France and Henry I of Champagne. Thibaud IV called the Grand, count palatin of Champagne, of Brie, of Blois and of Chartres, was the father of Henry I the Liberal.<sup>(10)</sup> Henry's father's brothers were Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, and Stephen, king of England (1135-1154). Stephen had married Matilda of Boulogne, daughter of Mary, daughter of Margaret, niece of Edgar Atheling who had married Malcolm Canmore, king of Scots. David I, king of Scots, was Mary's brother and Matilda was a sister who married Henry I, king of England (1100-35). Theobald IV of Blois, father of Henry I the Liberal, was the son of Adela and Stephen of Blois. Adela's mother was Matilda of Flanders, wife of William of Normandy, the Conqueror (1066-87).

Thibaud IV the Grand married Mahaud of Carinthia in 1123. They had many well-known children. Henry I of Champagne, the Liberal, married Marie of France, mentioned

in the *Eructavit*. Thibaud of Champagne called the Good, who carried the branch of Blois, married Alix of France, Marie's sister. Guillaume of Champagne was bishop of Chartres, archbishop of Sens and of Reims, and, finally, Cardinal. Agnes married Renaud II count of Bar and of Mousson. Marie, married Eudes II duke of Burgundy; Mahaud of Champagne married Rotrou III count of Perche and, Elizabeth married Roger duke of Pouille, son of Guillaume, king of Sicily, and of Marguerite of Navarre. Among their youngest was Alix of Champagne, third and last wife of king Louis VII of France, and mother to Philip Augustus. Marguerite was religious at Fontevrault in Meaux.

In this extraordinary family, all were in communication. Some even had the same priests and confessors (Jenkins, p. xv). The two French sister-in-laws certainly kept in contact (Marie and Alix). Henry I was in communication with his brother Guillaume and with his sister Adele or Alix of France. When she was regent for Philip Augustus the brothers were her advisors.

Now, of these children, Henry I, count palatine of Champagne and Brie (the same title as Jeanne of Navarre) married Marie de France. Their son, Henry II, married as his second wife, Isabel, queen of Jerusalem and Cyprus, daughter of Amaury of Anjou and of Marie Comnene and later had two daughters. However, he yielded his rights to his brother before his second marriage. The brother was Thibaut V, who became by succession count palatine of Champagne and of Brie at the death of his brother. Thibaut V married Blanche of Navarre, second daughter of Sanches VI, called the Wise, king of Navarre, and, of Sancie of Castille, and sister of Berengere, queen of England, and of Sanches VII, called the Strong, king of Navarre, who died without heirs in 1234. Thibaut V and Blanche of Navarre had Thibaud VI, count of Champagne and of Brie, who became king of Navarre as Thibaut I of Navarre. This Thibaut was called the Great and the Maker of songs. By his second wife, Agnes of Beaujeu, oldest daughter of Guichard IV of Beaujeu and Sibille of Flanders, was born Blanche of Champagne who was married in 1225 to Othon II, duke of Meranie and count palatine of Burgundy (she was later married in 1235 to Jean I duke of Bretagne). By his third wife, Marguerite of Bourbon, Thibaud I had Thibaud II, called le Jeune, king of Navarre, count palatine of Champagne and of Brie, who married Isabelle of France, second daughter of the king St. Louis and of Marguerite of Provence. This Thibaud II ratified in 1259 a sale made by Dreux, lord of

Trainel, and Beatrix, his wife, to the abbey and convent of St. Pierre le vif, at Sens, of 270 arpents of wood. St. Pierre le vif at Sens is considered the area of origin for the *Eructavit*.<sup>(11)</sup>

Upon the death of Thibaut II, his brother, Henry I of Navarre, count palatine of Champagne and of Brie was crowned at Pamplona in 1271. He died in 1274. His wife was Blanche of Artois (1302+), daughter of Robert I of France, count of Artois and of Mahaud of Brabant. They were married by dispensation of the pope in 1269.<sup>(12)</sup> Henry I of Navarre and Blanche of Artois had Jeanne, who was placed under the protection of the king, Philippe le Hardy, who married her by dispensation of the pope to Philip, his oldest son and successor to the crown. She died at Vincennes (capitol of Artois) in 1304. From this alliance were born Louis X the Hutin, king of France and of Navarre, who married Marguerite of Bourgogne of whom Jeanne II, queen of Navarre was born, who took in marriage this realm of Navarre to Philip, count of Evreux, her cousin, son of Marie of Brabant, queen of France. By the marriage of Jeanne I, queen of Navarre with Phillip the Fair, the counties of Champagne and of Brie entered into the house of France and were united to the crown afterwards, in 1361, by the king John (Anselme, 1726, p. 845). Jeanne I is thus the great-great-grand-daughter of Henry I the Liberal of Champagne and Brie and Marie of France.

Jeanne I was also the great grand daughter of Henry II of Brabant, just as Marie of Brabant was his granddaughter. Consequently, Marie and Jeanne are second cousins, in addition to Jeanne's being her step-daughter-in-law, by virtue of Jeanne's marriage to Philip IV. Marie of Brabant's great grand-father, Henry I of Brabant and Lothier (1235+) married in 1179 Mahaud of Flanders, second daughter of Mathieu of Alsace and Flanders, count of Bologne, and of Marie of Blois (Champagne), his first wife (Anselme, pp. 790 and 720-21). Marie of Blois was previously Abbess of Romesy in England and daughter of Stephen of Blois, king of England (paternal uncle to Henry I of Champagne). Mathieu of Alsace, son of Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders, son of Thierry I, duke of Lorraine, had a half sister, Marguerite of Alsace, said of Flanders who married Baudoin V count of Hainaut, VIII count of Flanders, and father to Baudouin, VI count of Hainaut and IX count of Flanders, he who married Marie of Champagne, second daughter of Henry I the Liberal of Champagne and Marie of France in 1186.

Henry I of Brabant and Mahaud of Flanders, said of Boulogne, had Henry II of Brabant, duke of Lothier and Brabant, count of Louvain, who married Marie, daughter of Philip, duke of Suabe, king of the Romans and, of Irene-Ange, daughter of Isaac Ange, emperor of Constantinople, by whom he had Henry III, duke of Lothier; Brabant and Louvain; Mahaud of Brabant, who married first Robert I of Artois and then Guy de Chatillon II, count of St. Pol (Anselme, p. 844); and Beatrice of Brabant, who married Henry of Thuringe and Hesse and, in second marriage, Guillaume of Dampierre, count of Flanders in 1247. Guillaume's brother was Guy de Dampierre, patron of Adenet le Roi, the poet. Henry III of Brabant, himself a poet and initial patron of Adenet le Roi, among others, had Marie of Brabant, who married Philip III of France, and Jean of Brabant, who married Marguerite of France, (1271+) and, in second marriage, Marguerite of Flanders,(1285+) daughter of Guy, count of Flanders, and of Mahaud of Bethune. (Guy is the brother of Guillaume, who was married to Beatrice of Brabant, second daughter of Henry II and Beatrix of Suabe. The son of Jean I and Marguerite of Flanders married Marguerite of England, second daughter of Edward I, King of England, and of Eleanor of Castille, countess of Ponthieu, the 11 January, 1294.<sup>(13)</sup>

From the genealogy of the patrons of the *Eructavit*, whose descendents are, in turn, patrons of the *Cleomades*, the first work of the Arsenal Manuscript, it should be obvious that a continuing knowledge of the *Eructavit*, its contents and its appropriate use over generations in the connecting households of Champagne, Flanders and France was more than possible. The link of the 44th Psalm to weddings, coronations and the Christmas season was long established in royal pageantry and in Christian liturgy. I should like, therefore, to show a link not only between the patrons of the *Eructavit* and the *Cleomades*, as has been amply demonstrated, but also between the *Eructavit*, the personalized gloss of the 44th Psalm, and the *Cleomades*, the first work of the Arsenal manuscript.

Obviously, both works deal with a wedding. The *Cleomades* begins with the cloud of a potential wedding when a devilish creature called Crompart brings a magical horse as a gift and requests the sister of the potential hero as his wife. While testing this horse, Cleomades finds the heroine, Clarmondine, whom he brings back to marry. Unfortunately, however, she is left outside the city in a garden from which she is abducted by the disdained Crompart. Cleomades' efforts at bringing her back and the

final wedding feast of the romance are not unlike the story of the *Eructavit*, wherein Christ comes for his beloved, the Church. Furthermore, the first miniature of the *Cleomades* shows a queen with a princess, much like that described in the Psalm, which shows the “daughters of kings among your loved ones.”<sup>(14)</sup> This first miniature shows Marie of Brabant, Blanche Anne of France, and Jean of Brabant as the loved ones. These relatives, along with Robert II of Artois, Henry III of Brabant, and Guy of Dampierre will be mentioned in the text of the *Cleomades* itself. Also depicted in the first miniature with the “loved ones” is Adenet le roi, the composer of the *Cleomades*, and three other works contained within the Arsenal manuscript. Adenet le Roi was brought up in the court and household of Henry III of Brabant, himself a poet. Adenet learned the art of music and poetry in this household, a household that would have been heir to the *Eructavit*.

I find this significant since the initial work of Arsenal Ms 3142 shares many similarities with the form and content of the 44th Psalm. This 44th Psalm, which the *Eructavit* includes and glosses, was traditionally divided into 3 parts. Likewise, the *Cleomades* which begins the Arsenal manuscript has a three part division; it being divided, page by page, into three columns of 44 lines each. Given that both the *Eructavit* and the *Cleomades* are ultimately concerned with marriage and redemption, and that the families connected to both manuscripts are intimately connected, it does not seem too far fetched to connect the 44 line columns of the *Cleomades* with the three-fold division of the Gallican version of the 44th Psalm, especially since the poet responsible for the *Cleomades* was brought up and patronized by families connected to these two works. I would like to suggest that because of the families involved, and because of the content of the *Cleomades*--the lead work of the Arsenal manuscript--that the 44 lines in 3 columns on each page, have significance and that this significance is connected to the 44th psalm and the *Eructavit*.<sup>(15)</sup>

Albert Henry, when writing about the Manuscript describes the whole as being written in folia of three columns. This is not so. Of the works by Adenet, only the *Cleomades* is composed in folia of three columns of 44 lines each. His other works: *Ogier the Danois*, *Berthe aus grans pies*, and *Beuves de Comarchis* follow a two column format with 44 lines per column. While there may be some reason within the four works of Adenet for the one to three ratio in column structure, it is in terms of the ratio of the

columns contained in the folia of the whole manuscript that the golden mean ratio of the three column folia to the two column folia exists. That is to say, it appears that the ratio of the two column folia to the three column folia in the manuscript is that associated with the golden mean, but not for the works of Adenet in column/folia relation to each other, but rather for the two to three ratio of columns/folia in the manuscript treated or taken as a whole. The existence of this ratio would indicate that the whole of the manuscript was intended to function as a single harmonious unit.<sup>(16)</sup>

This makes sense on many levels. The *Cleomades* is the lead work of the manuscript. It deals with a wedding that ends in a marriage feast which includes all the characters of the romance. It contains much the same story as that of the *Eructavit*. Thus the use of 44 lines in three column folia would be seemly. The other three works by Adenet, given their single author, would bring their two column works to join with the three column work of the *Cleomades*. It is often stated that the works of Adenet were first placed in the sequence described at the beginning of the *Cleomades*. In terms of the value placed on “two” and “three,” we would be dealing with a male and female number, which would equal “five,” traditionally the marriage number, again appropriate in terms of the content.<sup>(17)</sup>

If one accepts that the Arsenal manuscript is intended to be a unit presented to Jeanne I of Navarre and Champagne and Brie on the occasion of her coronation, the 2-3 column grouping of Adenet’s works and their content could have further significance in terms of the politics of the day. The *Cleomades* with its references to Marie of Brabant and Robert II of Artois, as well as to his sister, Madame Blanche Anne, and to Guy of Dampierre and Henry III of Brabant would of itself bring together Flanders and France. But, that the manuscript would include the old legends *Berthe aus grans pies*, *Enfances Ogier*, and *Beuve de Commarchis* would allow Marie of Brabant to illustrate graphically her descent from Charlemagne, a not unimportant factor in her marriage with Philip III. This descent is of primary importance as well in the marriage of Marie’s cousin, Jeanne I, to Philip IV.<sup>(18)</sup> Berthe (the actual name of Charlemagne’s mother) is a princess of Hungary who is betrothed to Pepin of France (Holmes, 262). *Enfances Ogier* is based on the first part of the *Chevalerie Ogier le Danois* (12th century), which would have Ogier as a child in the court of Charlemagne. Ogier is frequently mentioned in the *Roland* and

elsewhere as a companion of Charlemagne. The *Bueve de Commarhis* is a new version of the twelfth-century *Siege de Barbastre*, in which Beuves and his sons are captured and led prisoners to Barbastre in Spain where they are rescued by William of Toulouse and Louis, son of Charlemagne (Holmes, 1962, p. 111). In addition to Adenet, there are many other authors represented in the manuscript who have connections with the towns of Flanders and Champagne controlled by the families of Marie and Jeanne.

Represented in the manuscript are Alars of Cambrai's *Moralites des philosophes* and a rhymed paraphrase of the book of Job. Both appear before the *Bueves de Comarchis*. Following *Bueves de Comarchis* are *Le Miserere du Reclus de Moliens*, *Le Roman de Charite*<sup>(19)</sup>, *Li Congie Jehan Bodel*, Bodel's *La Chanson de Geste de Guiteclin de Sassoigne* [this is another epic in the cycle of the king, Charlemagne], *the Fables of Marie de France*, *Proverbes au villain*<sup>(20)</sup>, *Ci commence pourquoi Diex fist le monde et toutes les creatures qui dedens sont, C'est des .iiij. sereurs*, *Moralites seur ces .vj. vers, Ave, maris stella, Ci commence d'avarice, Prieres de Nostre Dame, Salus de Nostre Dame, La paternostre en francois* (par Silvestre), *C'est l'ABC plantefolie, Li mariages des filles au diable*<sup>(21)</sup>, *Li dis de la vingne que Jehans de Douai fist*<sup>(22)</sup>, *Les IX joies Nostre Dame*<sup>(23)</sup>, *Une priere de Nostre Dame, La bible Nostre Dame, Uns salus de Nostre Dame, La priere Theophilus, Li dit Baudouin de Conde, Les proverbes Seneke le philosophe*. The authors and works represent both the heritage of Marie and Jeanne and instruction in the form of prayers, advice and good counsel. These authors and works are not unconnected to Flanders and Champagne.<sup>(24)</sup>

Furthermore, each column of each page of each folio is composed in 44 lines, as if to call attention to the 44 of the 44th psalm, the wedding psalm of the kings and queens of France. Thus we have the *Cleomades* dealing not only in content with a wedding, but in form as well. We have its composition in 44 lines per column with three columns per page throughout, culminating in a golden mean ratio of the works of two columns of 44 lines per folio to those of three columns of 44 lines per folio. As Otto Pacht (1994) has insisted in his studies of manuscript illumination, the initials, the framing devices and the page lay-out are equally vital and creative parts of the illuminator's work.<sup>(25)</sup> "The relationship between physical and non-physical, or form and content, is not something purely rational, like the correlation of text and illustration. It is irrational and magical. In

an age when the most important book, the Book of Books, was the Holy Scripture, the believer, even if illiterate, instinctively felt this deeper meaning in the relationship between the book and its outward form its artistic embellishment. . . .The book had its own special meaning as witness to the promise of salvation. . . .Christianity, however, drew no distinction between the book as an instrument of communication and the message it conveyed. The book was the source of faith made palpable: it not only contained the Gospel it was the Gospel” (Preface by Alexander, p. 10).

Marie of Brabant is thought to have received the Arsenal Manuscript around 1285. It is a manuscript whose first literary work deals with the wedding of Cleomades and Clarmondine, which includes, allegorically, the final wedding feast of the Apocalypse, along with the actual wedding of the protagonists (Boland, 1974, p. 97-104). Again, a Marie, who is the alleged recipient of the work, is not celebrating her own marriage at this time. Marie of Brabant was married in 1275 and was a widow by 1285. However, in 1285, her cousin, Jeanne I of Navarre, was to marry Marie’s step-son, Philip IV. This cousin had been raised in the court of France--during Marie of Brabant’s tenure as queen--having been promised to Philip since she was four. This child, Jeanne, was the great grand-daughter of Henry II of Brabant, second cousin to Marie of Brabant. She was, of course, even more closely related to Madame Blanche Anne, daughter of St. Louis and princess of Castille, through her grand father, Robert of I of Artois, brother to St. Louis. Robert married Mahaud of Brabant, daughter of Henry II of Brabant (sister to Henry III, Marie of Brabant’s father). Madame Blanche Anne, she who is telling the story of the *Cleomades* in the miniature which graces the first folio of the manuscript, was the daughter of St. Louis, fraternal niece of Robert I of Artois. That Marie of Brabant and Jeanne I of Navarre and Champagne were good friends, as well as relatives, is evident in their agreement in preparing the wedding agreement for the marriage of Marie of Brabant’s daughter to the king of England, which put them at variance with Jeanne’s husband, Philip IV, in spite of his fondness for Jeanne with whom he had been raised.<sup>(26)</sup>

Marie of Brabant, though wife of Philip III, was the grand-daughter of Henry II of Brabant, just as Jeanne was the great grand daughter. It would have been in no way odd for Marie to have given her cousin and step daughter-in-law a beautiful manuscript upon her succession and coronation as Queen of France. Jeanne’s coronation took place on the

6th of January, the Epiphany, the day that the liturgy replicates that of Christmas and Psalm 44.

The first miniature of the Arsenal manuscript shows Marie of Brabant, Jean of Brabant, Blanche, daughter of St. Louis and widow of the Infant of Castille. Below it is a miniature showing Adenet composing the romance. At folio I, verso, is a miniature showing the marriage of Marcadigas and Ynabele. This is an interesting miniature since it is not of Cleomades and Clarmondine, the young couple, but rather of the couple that had been married and then widowed and through the efforts of the young couple, brought together. They are respectively the father and mother of Cleomades (Lord of Heaven) and Clarmondine (Light of the World). Marie of Brabant did not remarry, to my knowledge. Allegorically, in the *Cleomades*, this is the final wedding feast, bringing together all the characters in subsequent marriages, as well as the two original branches--not unlike the marriage feast that occurs in the *Eructavit*. The last miniature of the *Cleomades* shows Adenet offering his work to the count of Artois, maternal uncle to Jeanne I of Navarre (Henry, 97).

I would like to suggest that the content and form of the Arsenal manuscript's *Cleomades* follows that of the 44th Psalm, of which the *Eructavit* is the family form, for the simple reason that the manuscript was well known to the families involved and because its content was appropriate as a wedding gift for Jeanne I of Navarre and Champagne and Brie. Her title is much the same as that of Marie of Champagne. And her lineage makes the contents of the Arsenal manuscript relevant. I would like to add, however, that the *Eructavit* in the manuscripts I have found is not itself composed in 44 lines. As the Christ coming to earth on Christmas Day was connected with the cross, the manuscript which celebrates this is composed in 32-33 lines per folio. However, a work, wishing to recall the 44th Psalm would put itself into 44 lines of three columns to suggest by its form what is being discussed, namely a wedding of God and his people or, on the national level, the union of a King and his noble spouse or, more accurately still, the union of two very considerable families and their lands. The marriage of Jeanne I of Navarre brings Champagne finally under the French crown. From the time of her marriage, Champagne will cease to exist as a political entity a part from France.

In conclusion, therefore, I would like to say that the *Eructavit* and the Arsenal manuscript were both given as wedding gifts, not for Marie of France, wife of Henry I the Liberal of Champagne, nor for Marie of Brabant, as has been thought, but rather for their daughter and daughter-in-law, respectively. This assumption would allow the liturgical use of the 44th Psalm in the *Eructavit* to correspond to the date of the wedding and coronation. It would fix more exactly the approximate dates suggested by previous scholars, that is, between 1181 and 1187, for the *Eructavit*, to the Epiphany wedding of 1186 of Marie of Champagne and Baudouin (Baldwin) of Hainaut. It will, furthermore, cause the supposed 1285 date for the Arsenal Manuscript to be fixed at the Epiphany coronation in 1284 of Jeanne I of Navarre and Champagne and Brie. It will furthermore explain the form of the *Cleomades* and the subsequent works of the Arsenal manuscript in terms of the wedding and coronation Psalm glossed in the *Eructavit*.

**Notes:**

- (1) Benton says that Marie de Champagne through her marriage to Henry I the Liberal of Champagne joined a very powerful and illustrious household and that Guido de Bazoches, one of the foremost Latin authors of Champagne, traced Henry's ancestry along different lines to Clovis, Charlemagne, Henry I of Germany, Robert of France, and William the Conqueror. Benton adds, "One wonders if Guido had been commissioned to produce this genealogy or if the idea was his own. The genealogy of the house of Champagne had its political importance, for by the marriage of Henry's sister Adele to Louis VII, the bloodline of the Carolingians was united with that of Hugh Capet"(p. 573). According to Brown, Philip IV of France was concerned about his lineage. In a tradition incorporated into the writings of Vincent of Beauvais, who was close to Louis IX, Hughes Capet and his line had, by divine command because of his service to the Church, been permitted to replace, for seven generations, the line of the Carolingians (to whom Pope Stephen II had promised perpetual rule over France); only the return of the Carolingian line through the marriage of Philip Augustus to Charlemagne's descendant Isabelle of Hainaut made possible the continued rule of the Capetians (p. 312).
- (2) Benton, p. 574, citing as reference P.L., CIC, 124. The full letter is on cols. 123-31.
- (3) Marie was the patroness of Chretien de Troyes, who, according to his statement, began the *Lancelot* at her request. The correlation between the glossing of religious texts and the meaning behind seemingly secular works such as the romances is clearly pointed out by Benton. It is necessary to remember that because the Arsenal Manuscript will contain some seemingly secular work in the form of Romances and Epics.
- (4) For an analysis of the *Evrat*, see Bonnard, p. 105-119.
- (5) Benton, 564, quoting Bonnard, 114. The commentary on the fall is on fols. 9 v-10 r.
- (6) McKibben notes that the term, *epithalamium*, is applied to Psalm XLIV by Augustine, Cassidorus, Bede, Haymo, Radbertus Paschasius and Peter Lombard in their comments. The expression, *Chancon de chambre*, used in line 2075 seems

intended as a translation (p. 29). McKibben says he has found it nowhere else. It comes at the very close, lines 2071-76, just before the final address to the patroness: “Ci androit faut Eructavit, /Li biaux saumes le roi David,/ Ou Damedes nos mostre au doi/ Le fondemant de nostre foi. /Chancon de chambre l’ apela, /Einsi come Deus li revela”(p. 30).

- (7) See Jenkins. His reference to Prosper Tarbe’s *Poetes de Champagne anterieurs au xvie siecle*, p. xxxvii, occurs on p. xix.
- (8) The manuscripts cited are as follows: A. Paris, Bib. Nat. fr. 2094, fo. 172a-194d; B. Madrid, Bib. nac. E. e. 150; C. Paris, Bib. Ste.-Genevieve L. f. 13, fo. 96ff.; D. Vienna, Bib. Palat. Vindob. 3430, fo. 1-39; E. London, Brit. Mus. Addit 15606; F. Rome, Vat. Reg. 1682, fo. 109c-124a; G. Paris, Bib. Nat. fr. 24429, fo. 117-130; H. Paris, Arsenal 3518, fo. 77ff.; I. Paris, Bib. Nat. fr. 25532, fo. 268b-281c; J. Paris, Arsenal 3516, fo. 53h-57b; K. Paris, Bib. Nat. fr. 1536, fo. 248d-256d; L. Paris, Bib. nat. fr. 902, 159b-162b; M. Paris, Bib. nat. fr. 20046, fo. 36b-40d; N. Paris, Bib. nat. fr. 1747, fo. 85ff. O. Le Mans 173, fo. 111b.
- (9) Robert’s mother was Blanche of Castille, second daughter of Alphonse IX, called the Noble, king of Castille and, of Alienor of England, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II of England.
- (10) See Chibnall’s , *Genealogical Tables*, pp. ix-xi.
- (11) See le P. Anselme, p. 843. All genealogical references unless otherwise stated have their source in his work. However, I have supplemented Anselme from time to time with *The complete peerage* (1926) and Cappelli (1930).
- (12) She later married Edmund of England, count of Lancaster, who took the quality of count palatine of Champagne and of Brie during the guardianship he had of Jeanne queen of Navarre.
- (13) The 11 January would also be an appropriate day to receive the *Eructavit* since it would be using the liturgy of Christmas, which would be in use again for the Epiphany and its Octave.
- (14) See Henry (1951, pp. 96-97). According to Henry, “ Une des plus belles miniatures du recueil lui sert de frontispice: elle a ete longuement decrite par Paulin Paris et etudiee par Vitzthum and par H. Martin. Elle represente la reine Marie de France,

un adolescent, qui est probablement Jean de Brabant, et Adenet, portant la couronne de roi des menestrels: ils ecoutent Blanche, fille de saint Louis et veuve de l' enfant de Castille, qui raconte les aventures de Cleomades. Immédiatement sous cette miniature, un grand E orne contient un Adenet assis, prenant des notes ou, plutot, composant son roman. Au fo I, verso, petite miniature a fond d' or—67 mm. De large sur 50 de haut—mariage de Marcadigas et d' Ynabek. Au fo 72 r, petite miniature a fond d' or—68 mm. de large sur 57 de haut—Adenet offre son livre au comte d' Artois.”

- (15) Jenkins (p. xxiv) in his presentation of the *Eructavit* states, “As we should expect, the Latin text, the number of verses, etc. are those of the Gallican Psalter. The division of the psalm into three parts is also traditional. *Eructavit cor meum* is the beginning of v. 1, *Lingua mea* of v. 2. Here, according to Jerome, ends the *prologus* or *proemium*, the development of which occupies vv. 1-352 of the poem.”
- (16) According to Martin, Arsenal Ms 3142 is described as follows: “Parchemin. 321 feuillets, plus le feuillet A. 333 sur 248 millim. Ecriture de la fin du XIIIe siecle, sur 3 col. aux fol. 1-72, 141-178, 203-229, 256-296, 301-321; sur 2 col., aux fol. 73-140, 179-201, 229-253, 297-300 v. . . .” According to this description, there would be 199 folia with three columns per page and 120 folia with two columns per page. Three hundred and twenty-one, the number of the total folia in the manuscript, divided by 199 (the number of 3 column folia) would give 1.613, a number well in the range of the golden mean (1.618 or .618 plus 1 ). But to be quite correct, the 120 folia of two columns per page what should also be considered. Three hundred and twenty-one divided by 120 would yield 2.675, almost 2.7, not quite in the game, as it were. However, if the blank folia surrounding the two-column folia are thrown in, so to speak, then the ratio would be 2.631, much more in line with the ratio of the whole to the largest part. If, however, one takes that extra folia mentioned in the catalogue description and counts the work as having 322 folia and then places the blanks with the two column folia or simply with the non-three-column folia, then the ratio of the whole to the smaller part is exactly 2. 618. That is, the total folia, 322 folia, divided by

the non three-column folia, that is 123 folia, yield a ratio of 2.618. Given the ratio of the 3 column folia to the whole, it would seem that the blanks were intended as part of the two column works, which would allow the numbering to duplicate the ratio of the larger section to the whole. Furthermore, it is rare to find a closed ratio in a medieval work. Usually a work is left open-ended in Platonic fashion. See Boland's *Cleomades* for a study of the role of Platonic thinking in the composition of the Romance.

- (17) Kramer (1951, pp. 82-83), says of Pythagoras that "he saw in the cardinal integers images of creativeness and invested them with various properties. *One* stood apart as the source of all numbers and represented reason; *two* stood for man, *three* for woman. *Five* represented marriage since it is formed of the union of two and three. All the even numbers were regarded as soluble therefore ephemeral, feminine, pertaining to the earth; odd numbers were indissoluble, masculine, partaking of celestial nature." See also Heath (1960, pp. 65-169) on Pythagorean Arithmetic. In this regard it is well to recall that musical harmonies depended on numerical ratios as well, the octave representing the ratio 2:1 in length of string, the fifth 3:2 and the fourth 4:3 (ref. Heath, p. 69). Adenet's use of 3 to 2 in column structure may have meaning on several planes. See, too, Nicomachus of Gerasa on odds and evens and harmony of numbers.
- (18) See Brown (1991), "The Prince is Father of the King," pp. 320-21. Brown says "in August 1274 . . . Philip III married Marie of Brabant. . . . For Philip III the marriage was a good one, since Marie's lineage was impeccable. A twentieth-generation descendant of Charlemagne, she was the sister of Duke Jean of Brabant, to whom Louis IX had married his daughter Marguerite. Thus the marriage gave Philip a prized link with the Carolingians which any Capetian who, like Louis IX, accepted the tradition of the Capetians' seven-generation dispensation to rule would have found particularly desirable. This tradition aside, the prominence accorded Charlemagne's sword at his coronation, like his imperial ambitions, suggests that Philip III was moved by legends of Charlemagne and the imperial past." Brown continues, "The importance which Philip III accorded to his marriage to Marie is suggested by the lavishness of her coronation at the Sainte-

Chapelle on 24 June 1275, for which expenses were almost twice as great as those for Philip III's own coronation ceremonies," (p. 322). His son, Philip IV, was also to link himself to the house of Charlemagne through his marriage to Jeanne I of Navarre and Champagne and Brie, a link evident from the time of Henry I of Champagne.

- (19) According to Holmes (1962), *Le Roman de Carite* (240 stanzas of twelve lines each) and the *Miserere* (273 stanzas) were the work of a recluse of Molliens-Vidame who was probably Bartholomew of the Abbey of Saint-Fuscien-au-bois (so called before he walled himself up in an isolated cell). The recluse doubtless wrote these poems toward the end of his life, in the first third of the century. Innocent III wrote a work in Latin called *De miseria humanae condicionis*, (pp. 232-33).
- (20) At the court of Philip of Flanders, in the last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, an independent, original compilation of popular sayings was made and called the *Proverbe au vilain*. Here each adage is commentaried in a strophe of six six-syllable lines with the refrain "Ce dit li vilains." The proverbs reflect the philosophy of the author: resignation to poverty, thrift, suffering, and disillusionment. There are some twenty-nine collections of proverbs in French prior to 1400. Nearly all of them are based upon the *Proverbe au vilain*, a good gauge of its popularity (Holmes, 1962, p. 62).
- (21) According to Holmes (1962, p. 232), "Of similar inspiration is the *Marriage of the Devil's Nine Daughters* in 666 verses. The nine are Symonye, Ypocrisyse, Ravyne, Usure, Tricherie, Sacrilege, Fauce Servyse, Orguelle, Lecherye ( See Paul Meyer in *Rom XXIX*, 61-72)."
- (22) According to Holmes (1962, p.227), the moral dits were brief poems, often narrative, with a precept. Poems of this sort were written in Latin in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, but the thirteenth century preferred them in the vernacular.
- (23) Holmes (1962, p. 230) notes that the cult of the Virgin was particularly prominent after the early years of the thirteenth century. Thus there are many *Priere a la Vierge* poems, various *Saluts a la Vierge*, and the *Joies de Notre Dame*. According to Holmes, the Albigensian Crusade and the founding of the mendicant and

preaching orders emphasize this. There are also numerous prayers, Paternosters, and *Miserere's*. Many of the *prieres* were obvious accessories of worship.

- (24) In terms of literature with its troubadours or poets, it is well known that Chretien de Troyes wrote for both Marie de Champagne and Philip of Flanders--The *Lancelot* for the Countess of Champagne and the *Perceval* for Count Philip of Flanders. Both romances are known to be full of irony, symbolism and allegory. In addition, Gautier d' Arras, who wrote the romances, *Eracle*, and *Ille et Galeron*, began the *Eracle* with praise of Count Henry's brother, Thibaut of Blois, and then stated that he had put his work into rhyme for Thibaut and also for Countess Marie, and then praised Baudouin of Hainaut, who had led him to complete the work. (See Benton, p. 568). Baldwin of Hainaut was the husband of Marie's daughter, Marie. Some date this composition at 1165, but, according to Benton, there is not enough evidence to justify such precision (p. 568). Frederick Cowper, who devoted much of his scholarly life to the study of Gautier d' Arras, has pointed out the likelihood that the poet was a trusted member of the higher nobility of Flanders (Benton, p. 568-9). Benton discusses authors connected with court of Champagne-Flanders-France (p.576). This Champagne-Hainaut-Flanders-France link continues from the time of Marie de Champagne into the period of Marie of Brabant. It is both genealogical and literary and, thus, important to our study.
- (25) See Pacht, Preface by J. J. G. Alexander, (1994, p. 9).
- (26) Brown (p. 305) states that "After Jeanne died, Philip never remarried. He demonstrated his dedication to her memory through numerous donations in her honor [and in his favor] for Bernard Delicieux, the rebellious Franciscan who led a revolt of Southerners against the king in 1304." Brown continues to say that despite his generosity to Jeanne immediately before her death, he had not always accepted her advice or approved her actions. In 1294, she, as well as Marie of Brabant, had helped negotiate a peace settlement with England which Philip abruptly rejected. A note (Brown, p. 303) indicates that the draft treaty provided for the marriage of Marie's daughter and Philip the Fair's half-sister Marguerite to Edward I, on terms exceedingly favorable to the princess. Philip was so fond of Jeanne I that he never even chose another wife at her death. I find it especially of

interest that Jeanne I refused to be buried with the kings of France at Saint-Denis and left instructions that she should be buried at the church of the Franciscans in Paris (ref. to Brown, p. 306). Both Marie of Brabant and Madame Blanche Anne chose to be buried with the Franciscans. To me, it would seem but one more example of the solidarity and friendship of these three women and, consequently, one more link in a chain that would have the *Cleomades* given to Jeanne as a coronation gift.

## References

- Adenet, le R. (1951-71). *Les oeuvres* (5 Vols.). Brugge: De Tempel.
- Adenet, le R. (1946). Berte aus grans pies. In U. T. Holmes, Jr. (Ed.), *Studies in romance languages and literatures* 6. Chapel Hill: UNC.
- Adenet, le R. (1874). *Beuves de Conmarchis*. Brussels: Matthieu Closson.
- Adenet, le R. (1874). *Les Enfances Ogier*. Brussels: Matthieu Closson.
- Adenet, le R. (1865-66). *Li roumans de Cleomades* (2 Vols.). Bruxelles: Victor Devaux.
- Alexander, J. J. G. (1992). *Medieval illuminators and their methods of work*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Anselme, le P. (Ed.) (1726). *Histoire genealogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France* (Vol. I, II, III, IV, V), (3ieme Ed.). Paris: Par la Compagnie des Libraires.
- Benton, J. F. (1961). The court of Champagne as a literary center. *Speculum*, 36, 551-591.
- Boland, M. M. (1974). *Cleomades: A study in architectonic patterns*. University of Mississippi: Romance Monographs.
- Bonnard, J. (1884). *Les traductions de la Bible en vers francais au moyen age*. Paris: Imprimerie Natioable.
- Brown, E. (1991). *The monarchy of Capetian France and royal ceremonial*. Hampshire, England: Variorium.
- Cappelli, A. (1930). *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo dal principio dell'era cristiana al giorni nostri*. Milano: Ulrico Hoeplik.

- Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. (1883).  
*Ms. Addit.* 15606. London.
- Chibnall, M. (1991). *The empress Matilda: Queen consort, queen mother and lady of the English*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Doubleday, H. A. (Ed.) (1926). *The complete peerage. Vol. VI, VII, XII*. London: St. Catherine.
- Heath, T. (1960). *A history of Greek mathematics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Henry, A. (1948). *L'oeuvre lyrique d'Henri III Duc de Brabant*. Bruges: De Tempel.
- Henry, A. (1951). *Les oeuvres d'Adenet Le Roi. Bibliographie d'Adenet. La tradition manuscrite* (Vol. 1). Brugge: De Tempel.
- Holmes, U. T. (1962). *A history of Old French literature: From the origins to 1300*. New York: Russell & Russell.
- Jenkins, T. A. (1909). *Eructavit: An Old French metrical paraphrase of Psalm XLIV*.  
Gedruckt fur die Gesellschaft fur Romanische Literatur. Band 20, Dresden.
- Kramer, E. E. (1951). *Main stream of mathematics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Martin, H. (1887). *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliotheque de l'Arsenal*, Vol. 3, (pp. 256-264). Paris: Librairie Plon.
- McKibben, G. F. (1907). *The Eructavit, an Old French poem: The author's environment, his argument and materials*. Baltimore: J. H. Furst.
- Meyer, P. (1877). Notice sur un Ms. Bourguignon (Musée Britannique Addit. 15606) suivie de pièces inédites. *Romania*, 6, 1-46.  
Ms. Arsenal. BN, Ms. Arsenal 3142. Paris.
- Nicomachus of Gerasa. (1938). *Introduction to arithmetic* (M. Luther, Trans.). D' Ooge.  
Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Pacht, O. (1994). *Book illumination in the middle ages: An introduction*. Preface by J. J.G. Alexander. London: Harvey Miller.