

Richard III's Books:
VII. Guido delle Colonne's
Historia Destructionis Troiae
VIII. Geoffrey of Monmouth's
Historia Regum Britanniae*, with *The Prophecy
***of the Eagle* and Commentary**

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THE DISCOVERY OF TWO of Richard III's books, still safely together after 500 years, is a matter of surprise, satisfaction and importance.¹ English speaking scholars have known since 1955 that he owned a text of the story of Troy, as it was re-written by Guido delle Colonne at the end of the thirteenth century,² but not that it had a companion volume: Geoffrey of Monmouth's famous history of the British kings. An article in *Kniga o Knige*, a Russian journal, had described the double manuscript fully in 1929, and was in fact available in the British Library, but the language it was written in proved a barrier against further dissemination of the fact.³

The addition of these two books greatly increases the 'library' of Richard III. They are also of particular interest because they are in Latin and both contain his *signature as king*. The Geoffrey of Monmouth manuscript, moreover, has as an addition the so-called *Prophecy of the Eagle*, with a further unusual addition of a commentary upon the *Prophecy*.⁴

It is proposed to deal first with the two books as manuscripts, their owners and their travels. Their contents and value for Richard III and some of their later owners will be discussed in later issues of this journal.

The Manuscripts: their Physical Appearance.

The books are now Mss.Lat.F IV 74 and 76 of the State Public Library in Leningrad.⁵ Their general appearance confirms the idea that Richard III's library contained much unostentatious reading matter. They are simple texts without any illumination.

The volumes are identical in every way: size (29 by 21 cms.), quire marking and catchwords⁶ and script. The latter has been dated to the first half of the fifteenth century and identified as not English, showing a strong French influence, but not necessarily French.⁷ Both manuscripts are written in a single column, 30 to 35 lines to a page, on paper. The watermarks are unfortunately common ones, used all over the continent from the late fourteenth century to the mid-fifteenth, but pointing to an Italian origin for the paper.⁸ The Troy manuscript has 117 folios⁹ and a 17-line opening initial E; the few two-line chapter initials and the paragraph marks are in red and blue. The *Historia Regum* contains 83 folios¹⁰ and has a mere 4 to 5-line initial C. Many of its chapters have descriptive headings in red added into the text and all have simple two-line initials in red or blue. Paragraph marks are in red. On the first folio of the Troy manuscript a seventeenth-century owner (?) added a title, *Historia Troiana Guidonis Colomnae* in an attempt at italic capitals. Geoffrey's work is headed *Incipit distinctio britannie liber primus*, also in a later hand. Both this title and the small opening initial suggest to the ignorant reader that this second text is merely a 'division' of the book as a whole, and as such it was apparently regarded by non-English owners until at least the end of the eighteenth century.

Neither manuscript has any original pagination, and the pagination that has been added separately to each book could be as late as the eighteenth century. In both manuscripts, but particularly in the History of Troy, the scribe and various owners or users have added marginal notes, doodles, quotations and *nota bene*'s with or without drawings of little hands pointing to a particular passage. Green velvet now covers both books and hides whatever is left of the medieval binding, and so far no attempt appears to have been made to study what is hidden.

The Manuscripts: their History and Ownership.

Richard III is the earliest known owner of the books. His *Ricardus Rex* — identical in every way to other instances of his royal signature¹¹ — stands in bold letters in a prominent position on the first page of each manuscript. He must have acquired the two parts as separate items (else why put his name in both?), but probably at the same time, after 6 July 1483. He was sufficiently pleased with his acquisition to write his name clearly at the beginning of both texts.

Later royal owners followed his example. James I's *James R* and Charles I's *Carolus R* were written at the end of both texts (f.114b and f.83b respectively), the first on the left and the second on the right. Oliver Cromwell then added his signature *O Cromwell* and the date 1656 to Richard III's on each first page. Whether these later owners were inspired by Richard's signature to assert their ownership or did so because they, too, found the books of special interest is not certain.

The books may be assumed to have remained in the royal library until Cromwell took possession of them. After the death of Charles I, on 30 January 1649, there was confusion and reason to fear for the safety of the royal books. The office of keeper of the library lapsed and a party led by Hugh Peters which

wished to sell all the King's possessions, secured control of the royal collections with the support of Cromwell (February 1649). Medals were sold and books given to a Dutch ambassador.¹² The party in favour of preserving the collections for the nation, apparently led by Bulstrode Whitelocke and encouraged by John Selden, secured an order from the House of Commons on 30 July that the collections be neither embezzled or sold, that the previous keeper prepare an inventory and that accommodation be found. The library was in disorder, however, and known treasures had already disappeared. Although appointments of keepers followed, order was not restored before the return of Charles II.¹³ At some date Richard III's books passed into Oliver Cromwell's hands and in 1656 he signed his name in each. They were apparently never returned to the royal library for they next turn up in Brittany.

On folio 1 of the first manuscript is written: *Ex libris domini Ludovici Turquesti domini Lasolaye castri de Piru usufructuarii*, and, in another hand, on folio 115b *Louis Turquest Sire de Lasolaye advocat au parlement de Bretagne residant au chateau de Perier pres Guingamp Evesché de Treguier*. Yet another earlier and neater hand wrote *Roland Riwallon Richard Sire du Pontglas Lez Guyngamp en Bretagne* in the middle of this same folio 115b.

Bakhtin, the author of the 1929 Russian article on the manuscripts, suggested that it was the Protector's son, Richard Cromwell, who took the books across the sea. He fled to France in the early summer of 1660 in a ship owned by a merchant of Lewes and may have landed in Brittany. In gratitude or as payment for hospitality received he could have given the books to a Breton family. The royal signatures, particularly the one of the executed Charles I, would by themselves have given the book great value.

It is possible that the Roland Richard who is known to have died in the neighbourhood of Pont-Glaz in 1662 aged 75, was the first French owner. He handed the book on to a neighbour of his whose interest in history was well known, Louis Turquest or Turquet, member of a family in the service of the Dukes and Princes of Rohan. Turquet was chaplain of Perrier in Kermoroc'h and had received lands there from the Rohans, where he built a house called 'la Solaye'. The Rohans came originally from Brittany and Louis' grandfather had settled in the region in 1546 as their agent. Louis himself was born about 1585 and had, as he himself wrote: 'a special affection for the honour and glory of the princes'. He devoted himself to the history of Brittany in so far as it concerned the house of Rohan, which optimistically traced its ancestry back to the days of Arthur. In pursuit of his own researches and of others in the service of the Rohan family, Turquet travelled round Brittany and wrote letters reporting his progress and meetings with informants, some of which survive. He died in 1676 in the arms of his nephew and namesake, the next Turquet to own and sign the English manuscripts.¹⁴

1. The first page of Guido delle Colonna's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, showing the royal signature of Richard III and that of Oliver Cromwell with the date 1656. Leningrad, Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library Ms.Lat.F IV 74, f.1.

The book probably remained in the Turquet family until it became part of the library of a Rohan in 1774. A note stuck to the pasted down front fly-leaf of the first volume explains how the Princess of Rohan presented it — the manuscripts are referred to in the singular — to the library of the Prince of Soubise.¹⁵

Charles de Rohan, Prince of Soubise, peer and marshal of France, who was more successful as a courtier than as a soldier (in spite of his high military rank), had a veritable passion for books. He had inherited thousands and each year spent a certain sum of money, set apart for the purpose, on enriching his library. When he died in July 1787 it not only meant the end of his branch of the Rohan family, but also of his great library. The 1788 catalogue of his books, printed by the Paris auctioneer Auguste Leclerc,¹⁶ contains 8,302 items. The books from the English royal library were included under the heading *Histoire Grecque*, item 6415 *Guidonis Columnae, Historia Trojana, in fol. Mss.* In May 1789 they went for a mere six *livres* to the Russian diplomat, Peter Dubrovsky. The Russian was probably more aware of the books' value than the inexpert Leclerc, and the fact that he bought them at that moment, on the very eve of the French Revolution, almost certainly saved them from destruction. Dubrovsky was at the Russian embassy at Paris from 1780 to 1796. He was a cultured man and a great book-lover, who took advantage of the disorganised state of revolutionary France, quite legitimately and cheaply, to acquire manuscripts and documents, many from dissolved religious houses. He has been accused of theft, but in most cases his intervention was probably fortunate.¹⁷

On folios 1 and 114b of the *Historia Troiae* and on folios 1 and 83b, at the foot of the page, the new owner wrote his usual *ex libris*: *Ex Musaeo Petri Dubrowsky*. His interest in the text is also evident from the long note he wrote on the pasted down first fly-leaf. It is an almost verbatim copy of an entry in the 1574 edition of the famous *Bibliotheca Universalis* by the Swiss naturalist Conrad Gesner, a catalogue of all known authors.¹⁸ Dubrovsky's note explains that Guido delle Colonne was a Sicilian who re-wrote the history of Troy and composed a 'large chronicle containing 36 books on the Trojan War and one on the kings and history of the English'.¹⁹ The ascription of both works to delle Colonne by the *Bibliotheca Universalis* must be based on a composite manuscript very similar to the one discussed here, one that also contained the *Historia Troiae* and the *Historia Regum Britanniae* and in which the separate authorship of the two works was equally unclear.²⁰ Geoffrey of Monmouth's work was not as well known on the continent as in England and neither Gesner's editor nor Dubrovsky recognised it.

The Russian collector was in the habit of having his books bound according to a strict hierarchy: the least valuable were covered with cardboard, the oldest and most important with velvet. The manuscripts that Richard III owned are in green velvet. In 1805 Dubrovsky's books passed into the Imperial Public Library.

The Manuscripts: Text and Marginalia.

The text itself of the *Historia Troiae* (or *Historia Destructionis Troiae*²¹) in the Leningrad manuscript has no remarkable features. It begins on folio 1:

Et si cotidie vetera recentibus obviant [sic] nonnulla tamen jamdudum vetera processerunt [sic] que sic sui natura magnitudine vivaci sunt digna memoria ut nec ea cecis morsibus vetustas abolere prevaleat . . .

and ends (f.114b):

Et specialiter ille summus poetarum Virgilius quem nichil statuit [sic; last word underlined by a commentator], latuit ne eius veritas incognita remaneret ad presentis operis perfectionem efficaciter laboravi. Explicit liber de casu Troie. Deo gracias.
[capitals and punctuation modernised].

Bakhtin noted in 1929 that the text does not contribute anything to solving the problem of the textual relationship of the various manuscripts of either the *Historia Troiae* or the *Historia Regum* and that the text of the first is very similar to that of the printed edition made at Strassburg in 1486. Griffin, for his modern edition of Guido's work, used a copy of the Strassburg edition and comparison of the present manuscript with his critical apparatus shows that the Leningrad text is no closer to the Strassburg edition than to any of the other texts used by Griffin. Minor divergences from all these texts are legion and occur in almost every sentence.²² Names in particular presented a problem to the scribe of the Leningrad manuscripts (as they did to other copyists of the story of Troy).

More interesting than the text itself are the many marginalia in the Troy manuscript, showing how intensively the book was used. It is unfortunate that it is impossible to name any of the commentators especially since it can be assumed that the books remained in the royal library during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. It would be interesting to attribute some of the additions to the Tudor and Stuart kings and queens, but comparison to samples of their handwriting has not led to any trustworthy conclusion. Most of the notes are fifteenth- and sixteenth-century.

The scribe or a very early user drew doodles in the margin: an ironic smiling profile, playing the flute, is found opposite the passage in which Guido bewails the pernicious effect of dancing and curses its inventor (f.28b, p.70 in Griffin's edition). At the foot of folio 43 the scribe (?) copied some notes of Gregorian music. There is no obvious connection with the contents of the story and the motive in adding them here is intriguing but obscure. It has been impossible to date or identify the notes with any certainty.²³ A passage on the fickleness of women inspired one reader to draw a female face in the right margin, perhaps to illustrate Guido's assertion that they 'weep with one eye and laugh with the other' (f.68, p.164 in Griffin). A male face, probably meant to represent Hector, in profile, was drawn opposite the five or six lines describing his death (f.73b, p.175 in Griffin). Other human faces are on folios 69 and 103.

One early commentator who did no more than note relevant names in the margin, may also have been the one who drew attention to the fact that the name *Britannia* derived from Brutus (but did not note that *Francia* was founded by Franco) and had a tendency to insert quotations from Ovid, especially the *Heroides*, wherever he thought them relevant.²⁴

A fifteenth-century reader with an interest in legal matters²⁵ made neat, heavily abbreviated notes on the competence of heralds (f.5), on the number of Greek ships (f.37), on the false story spread by Palamedes' father about the

death of his son (f.104b) and several times marks the (frequent) passages on the faults and foibles of women. He remarked with pleasure ('note the fair words') on the lines that stress the advantages of fighting with friends and relatives in defence of one's own country, compared by Guido to the crow bravely protecting its nest (f.43).

Moral passages attracted other readers. Apart from the conventional derogatory comments on women (for which Guido provides ample material), some underlined the advice that a wise man should not show his grief openly since it makes his friends grieve more and gives joy to his enemies ('Note, how one is constant in adversity', f.33). Lines concerned with the sin of pride are noted, in one case by a hand pointing a long and particularly vicious finger.

On folio 43b, in the upper margin, a long general remark on the conduct of war was added;²⁶ and a similar interest is reflected in comments and calculations on the number of ships brought by the Greeks (especially on folio 37 where three successive hands entered the result of their calculations), the number of soldiers that came to Troy's aid (f.48b) and the list of Greek kings and their troops (ff.54b-55).

At the end of the text the Ovid-quoting reader added the well-worn adage: *Sero sapiunt Phryges* ('the Trojans were wise too late'²⁷) and what may be a motto: *Aide (?) moy*. On the opposite page (f.115) are quoted four lines of verse which not unexpectedly blame a woman, *femina fatalis*, for the fall of Troy.²⁸

The marginalia do not make it clear whether readers regarded Guido's work as a literary, fictional work, or as a true chronicle; they certainly seem to have thought that the story held much of interest on legal, military and moral matters.

The text of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History* offers no new information either, apart from adding one more to the long list of surviving manuscripts.²⁹ Bakhtin noted that there was no difference between this text and the edition made by San Marte.³⁰ Comparison with the more recent editions of Griscom and Wright has brought to light no essential divergences from what at the moment is called the vulgate text,³¹ merely innumerable scribal errors. There is no division into books by the scribe, but later readers have added Roman numerals to mark them. Chapters have descriptive headings but they vary in length and the amount of information they give.

The manuscript has the single dedication to Robert of Gloucester and begins (f.1):

Cum mecum multa et de multis sepius animo revolvens in ystoria regum Britanie
inciderem . . .
(the scribe wrote *te volvens* but corrected himself)

2. The first page of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, showing Richard III's signature and Oliver Cromwell's with the date 1656. Leningrad, Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, Ms.Lat.F IV 76, f.1.

The very first page abounds in serious scribal errors (for instance the *liber vetustissimus* 'in the British tongue' became *isorum vetustissimus*) and long omissions. An early hand, perhaps the scribe himself, corrected a few mistakes but his grasp of the Latin language cannot have been strong or he had a very poor text to work from and failed to correct as he copied. To some readers the text he produced must at times have been barely comprehensible.

The *Historia Regum* itself ends on folio 79b:

... reges vero Saxonum Willelmo Malbusberiensi [sic] Henrico Contendonensi [sic] quos de regibus Britonum tacere iubeo cum non habeant librum illum Britannici sermonis, quem Walterus Oxenefordensis archidiaconus ex Britannia advexit quem de [ise] hestoria istorum veraciter editum in honore principum hoc modo in latinum sermonem transferre curavi.

This is followed in the middle of the next line by the heading, *Hic incipit prophetia aquile*, probably in red. The rest of the page and folios 80 and 80b contain the *Prophecy of the Eagle*, beginning:

Arbor fertilis a primo trunco decisa . . .

and ending:

Tunc generalis [sic] probitas non patietur illi erogare iniuriam qui pacifico regno accidit.

The wording of the prophecy is generally identical with its known copies, but at its end the text is repeated, this time interspersed with a commentary on each sentence or passage. In the left margin the scribe added *Hic incipit arbor aquile cheston* and wrote the first ten words in letters twice the size of his usual hand, opened by a two-line initial. After a paragraph mark follows the commentary: *Arbor fertilis, sanguis Bruti interpretatur* . . . It deals with little more than half the prophecy but appears to be finished as the scribe concluded: *Explicit. Deo gracias*.

The marginalia of the *Historia Regum* are fewer than in the Troy text and in part barely legible; some of them have been cut when the pages were cropped. There are many small comments, *nota*'s, markings of events, and corrections to the text (all to the point!). The neat marginal hand of the *Historia Troiae* is the most active in this manuscript and identifies itself as English by remarking on the fact that Rome at some stage paid tribute to Britain (f.15), that the Romans had given hostages (f.15b), that Rome was taken by the Britons (*ibidem*), etc. He wrote 'note the nobility of the Britons' opposite the quotation from Lucan referring to Caesar's cowardice in showing his back to the Britons (f.22), but also marked the places where there is mention of Christ's birth (f.22b),³² and Saints Peter and Paul (f.23b).³³ One annotator, who also wrote in the *History of Troy*, drew attention to Arthur's shield with the image of the Virgin (f.55b), another wrote 'note how the Scots and Picts were first put into bondage by Arthur' (f.65b).³⁴

There are only a couple of very simple notes in the margin of the *Prophecy of the Eagle*: 'London', 'Wales' and some kings' names are repeated opposite the relevant place. The commentary on the *Prophecy* may be unusual to modern eyes, but it does not seem to have caused undue excitement among the early owners and readers of this manuscript.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. We are most grateful to Ms. I. F. Grigorieva, Chief of the Foreign Acquisitions and International Exchange Department of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, and the staff of the library. With great kindness they answered our questions, supplied us with microfilms, photocopies, photographs and drawings of the watermarks and gave us permission to publish the photographs.
It was Donald Rumbelow who first brought to our notice the reference to Richard's ownership of the Troy ms. in M. E. Meek, ed., *Guido delle Colonne 'Historia Destructionis Troiae'*, Bloomington 1974, p.xi. We would also like to thank Mireille Koens, without whose knowledge of Russian we would not have got far.
2. Olga Golubeva, The Saltykov-Shchedrin Library, Leningrad, *The Book Collector*, vol. 4 (1955), pp.99-109, drew attention to some interesting volumes in that library and published a photograph of the first page of the *Historia Troiae*, including Richard's signature. She did not mention the *Historia Regum*.
Both books had been noticed by Dr von Muralt, *Handschriften der Kaiserlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg, Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, vol. 11 (1858), pp.791-804: he referred to ms.76 as '*Distinctio Britannie* s. xiv' and mentioned the Stuart Kings' signatures.
This copy of Geoffrey's *Historia* had also escaped the notice of Arthurian scholars but will now appear in the catalogue of all 214 known manuscripts edited by Julia Crick and due out in 1989. We are most grateful for her advice about the manuscript.
3. V. S. Bakhtin, Manuscripts from the Collection of Oliver Cromwell, *Kniga o Knige*, vol. 2 (1929), pp.207-18.
4. We hope to discuss the prophecy and the commentary in some detail in a subsequent issue.
5. The following description is based on the article by Bakhtin (see n.3) and on our own study of microfilms of both mss. As a consequence we are not perfectly sure about some details of the physical appearance of the books.
6. There are catchwords on every sixteenth page, similar in both mss. The quire markings are incomplete, difficult to see and partly cropped; they are also similar in both mss., but not continuous. The books were not produced as one ms., but probably always were, and remained, together. Up to c.1650 owners put their names in both; in the eighteenth century the books are referred to in the singular.
7. We would like to thank Dr M. B. Parkes for giving us his opinion on the handwriting.
8. Both mss. have a bow and arrow similar to many in G. Piccard, ed., *Wasserzeichen. Werkzeug und Waffen*, Stuttgart 1980, nos. 1071-1771. Ms. Lat. F IV 76 also has a three-topped hill in a circle (according to Bakhtin (see n.3) with a cross over it) similar to C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 4 vols., Leipzig 1923, nos. 11847-50 (no cross) or 11868-81 (with cross).
9. The *Historia Troiae* ms. has one flyleaf at the beginning, 116 folios numbered 1 to 115 (there are two folios numbered 26 and two folios numbered 106, the second has 106 bis).
10. The *Historia Regum* ms. has no flyleaves at the beginning, 83 numbered folios and one flyleaf at the end. On f.115b of the Troy ms. and on ff.83b and 84 of Geoffrey of Monmouth there are modern notes by various assistant keepers of the mss. concerning the number of pages the books had at the time of their writing.
11. For Richard's royal signature see: John Fenn (ed.), *Original Letters written during the Reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV and Richard III*, 2 vols., London 1787, vol. 2, pl.7, nr.2 ('original in the possession of Thomas Astle, esq.'). J. G. Nichols, *Autographs of Royal . . . Personages*, London 1829, [pl.4] example 2 of 'The Latter Plantagenets' ('document in the collection of Mr. Upcott'); and Public Record Office C81/1531/68, illustrated in C. A. Halsted, *Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and King of England*, 2 vols., London 1844, vol. 2, p.346.
12. G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum*, 4 vols., London 1921, vol. 1, pp.xxi-xxii, p.xxxvi, n.2.
13. *Ibid.* pp.xxii-xxv.
14. Richard Cromwell fled to France under the name of John Clarke and lived there, mainly in Paris, for 20 years. He travelled to other places in France and to Italy and spent his time drawing landscapes, reading books and 'being instructed in the sciences'. Pepys reports that he had been 'in some straits in the beginning', *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol.13, p.191.
There are many families of the name Richard in the Guingamp region. In the municipality of Grâces there is still a place called 'Pont-Glaz', and on 30 August 1662 the death of the *honorable homme Rolland Richard* was recorded in the same neighbourhood.

On his travels in Brittany in 1647 Turquet had visited Morlaix, where a refugee from England lived: *seigneur anglais de la maison des comtes de Charley* (sic), who knew much about the antiquities of England. It could be argued that this person gave Turquet the mss., but there is no doubt they were still part of the Royal Library at the time and remained in England until at least 1656, when Cromwell signed them. The 'English lord' may, of course, have been the first to make Turquet aware of the potential of English sources. For Louis Turquet see: René Couffon, Contribution à l'étude des verrières anciennes du département des Côtes-du-Nord, *Société d'Emulation des Côtes-du-Nord, Mémoires de l'année 1935*, vol. 67, p.213, and his, Louis Turquet, Sectateur de du Paz et Chapelain du Ferrier, *ibid.*, vol. 69, 1937, pp.109-23. On Turquet's nephew and other members of his family see: le Vicomte Henri Frotier de la Messelière, *Filiations Bretonnes*, Saint-Brieuc 1924, vol. 5, pp.328-9 (Turquet de Beauregard).

We owe all the Breton information and references to M. Alain Drognet, Archivist of the Département des Côtes-du-Nord, who at the request of Dr Michael Jones of Nottingham University, went to great trouble to find these elusive Breton gentlemen. We are most grateful to both of them.

15. The note reads: 'I.C.I.G.10 1774 14 Fevr. L'an mil s[e]pt Cent soixante-quator[ze] le quatorzième Fevrier, Madame la Princesse de Rohan a donné, pour la Bibliothèque de M. le Prince de Soubise, Ce manuscrit intitulé *historia Trojana Guidonis Columnae*, lequel a été présenté par M. Marchand son homme d'affaires de sa part'. The numbers and letters at the beginning are probably a shelf-mark of the Soubise library and it is likely that the note was written by the Prince's librarian or secretary.
16. See *Catalogue des Livres, imprimés et manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de feu Monseigneur le Prince de Soubise, Maréchal de France*, A Paris, Chez Leclerc, Libraire, quai des Augustins, 1788, p.462. A note in pencil on a flyleaf has: *A commencée le 12 Janvier 1789 A suivi le 20 Mai suivant* (referring to the dates the auction was held. The Bastille was captured 14 July of the same year). — Other books on the same page of the catalogue, according to marginal additions in ink, went for 16, 18 or even 73 livres. On Leclerc's lack of expertise see G. Bogen, *Die grosse Bibliotheken*, 3 vols., Leipzig, vol. 3, p.40.
17. A. de Laborde, *Les Principaux Manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de Saint-Petersbourg*, 2 parts, Paris 1936, part 1, pp.ix-x. — The mss. are also mentioned in *Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung, Intelligenzblatt* 80 (1804), columns 644-5, as part of a list of 'a very remarkable collection of the oldest rarest mss., in some private libraries in Petersburg': nr.277 'Guidonis Columnae historia trojana. Folio. Auf Papier, aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrh. Bey diesem Mas., welches ehemals dem Prinzen von Soubise gehörte, befindet sich noch ein anderes unter dem Titel: nr.178 (sic) *Distinctio Britanniae*.' This was apparently written when the books were still in Dubrovsky's library.
18. The enlarged edition of Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca Universalis*, (the first edition was published in 1545) by Josias Simler, Tegersee 1574, has this text. Gesner's own edition did not include Guido delle Colonne.
19. 'Guido de Columna, Natione Siculus [last two words crossed out and altered to: ordinis fratrum predicatorum] Patria Romanus archiepiscopus [last two words inserted later] Messanensis, restauravit ac scholiis ornavit tam Dycitis Cretensi [sic], quam Daretem Phrygium in historiis de Bello troiano, ut habet Bosconius Buriensis in suo cathalogo; et scripsit plenissime quidquid in tota historia universaliter ac particulariter fuerit gestum, editique Chronicon Magnum lib.36 De Bello troiano Lib.1. De Regibus ac Rebus Anglorum et alia [last two words inserted later] plura tradit [last word deleted]. Hic Guido de Columnae claruit anno Dom. 1287. P. Dubrovsky.'

All the alterations and additions appear to be in Dubrovsky's hand and they suggest that he himself confused Guido delle Colonne with Giles of Rome (Egidio Colonna or Aegidius Romanus) who was born in Rome, became an archbishop and was a member of the *Augustinian* order. (See *The Ricardian*, vol. 8 (1988), p.61); Guido delle Colonne and his work will be discussed in a future issue.

'Bosconus Buriensis' is 'Boston of Bury', the alleged author of the *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiae*, a catalogue of authors and their books in British libraries probably compiled about 1410 (See R. H. Rouse, Bostonus Buriensis and the author of the *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiae, Speculum*, vol. 41 (1966), pp.471-99). The *Catalogus Scriptorum* got its data from the text itself (the entry on Guido is printed in Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica sive de Scriptoribus*, ed. David Wilkins, London 1748, p.xxii); The *Bibliotheca Universalis* based its entry on the *Catalogus* and on facts derived from a ms. containing both the 36 books of the *Historia Troiae* and an undivided text of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*; Dubrovsky added his own bits of erroneous knowledge.

20. We are grateful to Julia Crick of the Geoffrey of Monmouth Research Project for supplying us with a complete list of the manuscripts containing a Guido and a Geoffrey: Cambridge University Library Dd.1.17; BL. Add. 35295; BL. Harleian 4123; BL. Royal 15 C xvi and Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 5697. The only other ms. to contain these two texts and the Eagle Prophecy is Royal 15 C xvi, a manuscript of the fifteenth century and owned by the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon London to which it was given by Henry Spycer, Canon of Windsor.
21. Guido delle Colonne's story covers the legends of Jason and Medea, the building and first destruction of Troy as well as the actual Trojan War. For a modern translation see Meek (n.1).
22. N. E. Griffin, ed., *Guido de Columnis, Historia Destructionis Troiae*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936.
23. We are indebted to Prof. C. J. Maas for studying the notes.
24. Folio 3: *Heroides* 6, lines 65-6; f.4: *Her.* 1, line 33; f.6: *Her.* 6, lines 91-2; f.13b: *Her.* 5, lines 127-9; f.105: *Remedia Amoris*, line 161.
25. His most remarkable note is on f.103b, opposite the story of the Lesser Ajax's shipwreck (Ajax, son of Oileus, had taken Cassandra from Minerva's temple by force, but all his companions were shipwrecked with him). Guido here comments on the fact that, though the guilty alone should be punished, the innocent are often punished with the guilty. The annotator gives references to the *Decretum Gratiani*, the *Decretals* and the *Codex Iustiniani*.

These marginalia drew the present authors' attention to the fact that the Leningrad ms. here appears to diverge from other copies of the *Historia Troiae*. The printed edition of Griffin (see n.22) p.245, and some mss., checked for comparison, all read, with minor variations: 'Quamvis enim [Leningrad: et] dictum sit quod pena suos debet [Leningrad: debeat] tenere actores, non est [Leningrad: om.] novum ut [Leningrad: ymo] ob unius culpam dumtaxat mille non culpantes sepius [Leningrad: om.] arceantur [Leningrad: arcetur]'. The Leningrad ms. continues: '... alibi enim dicitur sepe penas luit homo quas non meruit', which sentence is not found in other copies. If found elsewhere it may help to establish the relationship of this ms. to others. It is unlikely that the scribe added it himself.

26. Translated from the Latin it reads: 'War must not be undertaken except in a rightful cause and started against no one unless reparation has been asked, unless it has been solemnly declared so that it can be fought correctly, the defeated will not be treated with immoderate cruelty [and] those who surrender can be received more mercifully. Wars are only to be undertaken so that people may live in peace, without injury [being done to them]'.
27. This is a Roman proverb from a lost play *The Trojan Horse*, see A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer*, Hildesheim 1964, p.278.
28. *Vae tibi Troia peris non iam michi Troia videris*
Iamiam bobus eris pascua lustra feris
Causa rei talis meretrix fuit exitialis
Femina fatalis femina feta malis.
 These lines occur in an anonymous poem on the fall of Troy composed in the twelfth century and beginning *Pergama flere volo*. It was one of the more successful of many similar poems written in the same period. Why the sixteenth-century annotator of the present ms. chose these lines and wrote *Polixena* next to them eludes the present authors. See H. Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinarum*, Göttingen 1959, nr.13985; J. Hammer, Some Leonine summaries of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* and other poems, *Speculum*, vol. 6 (1931), pp.114-23; A. Boutemy, Le poème *Pergama flere volo* . . . et ses imitateurs du XIIe siècle, *Latomus*, vol. 5 (1946), pp.233-44, esp.p.236.
 We are indebted to Julia Crick for these references and for pointing out the origin of the lines.
29. For the mss. of Geoffrey of Monmouth's work see Griscom (see n.31), pp.350-84; W. Levison, A Combined Manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Henry of Huntingdon, *English Historical Review*, vol. 58 (1943), pp.41-51; J. Hammer, Some Additional Manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, *Modern Language Quarterly*, vol. 3 (1942), pp.235-42; W. G. East, Manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Notes and Queries*, vol. 220 [N.S.22], pp.483-4; The 'Updates' published in *Arthurian Literature*, vols. 3, 4, 6, 7 (1983-7) and various articles referred to in these on the two variant versions of the text.
30. *Gottfried von Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae* . . . ed. San Marte [A. Schulz], Halle 1854.

31. A. Griscom and R. E. Jones, eds., *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth with Contributions to the Study of its Place in Early British History*, New York 1929; N. Wright, ed., *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth I. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS.368*, Woodbridge 1984. For a modern translation see Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. and introd. Lewis Thorpe, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth 1966.
32. These passages may be found in Thorpe's translation (see n.31) as follows: f.15-p.97; f.15b-p.98; f.22-p.117; f.22b-p.119.
33. Copies of the text vary: Peter is mentioned (or Paul?) or apparently both, as here. *Peter and Paul* may be a misreading of *Petrus apostolus*. Folio 23b-p.122 of Thorpe trans.
34. Folio 55b-p.217; f.65b-pp.219-20.

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