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ALBANY AND THE POETS

John Stuart, Duke of Albany, and the transfer of ideas between Scotland and the continent, 1509–1536

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Abstract: John Stuart, Duke of Albany was born in France, but acted as Regent of Scotland from 1514 until 1524. From 1518, he also cultivated his ties of kinship to the Italian Medici family. Albany was, furthermore, noteworthy for his love of visual splendour and magnificence. In France, he was an astute patron of the visual arts, commissioning manuscripts, and grand architectural projects, such as the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte in the Auvergne. Albany's main architectural achievement in Scotland was the fortification of his principal residence, Dunbar Castle, in the form of a great artillery blockhouse: perhaps the first such structure to have been built in the British Isles. This paper outlines Albany's patronage of the literary arts in relation to his career and his cultural endeavours, both artistic and architectural. It is argued that Albany used his contacts with literary figures in France to bolster his career and to influence opinion; in so doing, he acted as an important conduit for the transfer of knowledge and ideas between Scotland, France, and Italy in the early sixteenth century.

Pierre Gringore's *Abus du Monde* for James IV, c.1509

In an inventory of the library at Château Mirefleur, taken in 1560 for Catherine de Medici, is the following entry: '*Plus ung livre nomme Les abus du monde couvert de velours noir*' ('Also a book named the abuses of the world covered in black velvet').¹ In a later inventory of Catherine's books, this time taken in Paris, the book is listed again as '*Ung autre livre couvert de velours noir escrit à la main sur vélin, intitulé les Abus du monde*' ('Another book covered in black velvet written by hand on vellum, entitled the Abuses of the world').² In the Pierpont Morgan Library, catalogued as MS M. 42, is a lavishly-illuminated copy of Pierre Gringore's c.1509 text *Les abus du monde*.³ This is the only version of this text to survive in manuscript form, and thus a tentative connection may be drawn between this manuscript and the inventory entries noted above. The Pierpont Morgan manuscript contains a finely-illuminated title page bearing the royal arms of Scotland and was evidently commissioned as a gift for James IV.⁴ The manuscript in Catherine de Medici's

library at Mirefleur was likely directly inherited from her uncle and tutor, John Stuart, Duke of Albany, the previous resident at this château, and thus it appears likely that the manuscript was commissioned by Albany as a gift for James IV *c.* 1509. But rather than travelling to Scotland, the work remained in his collection inherited in 1536 by Catherine.⁵ This manuscript and its connection to Albany is interesting for the information it provides regarding Albany's ties to Scotland in the period prior to his regency. It suggests, moreover, that Albany was actively involved during this early phase of his career in commissioning literary material with a political purpose, relating to Franco–Scottish diplomacy.

John Stuart, Duke of Albany, was born in the Auvergne in 1482. He was the only son of Alexander Stuart, the younger brother of King James III of Scotland and entered the court of Charles VIII at a young age, likely in 1494.⁶ During Albany's early career, he played a distinguished role in Louis XII's Italian campaigns, which resulted in the conquest of Milan and the recapture of Naples. The 17-year-old duke was among the French nobles who then accompanied their king when he triumphantly entered Milan. In 1501, Albany took part in a crusade to the eastern Mediterranean and distinguished himself in an attack on the Aegean island of Mytilene.⁷ In the following year, Albany was appointed captain of 100 lances *des ordonnances du roi* garrisoned at Bordeaux, and in 1503, he returned to campaigning in Italy. When Louis invaded Italy again in 1507, Albany was present in the army, preceding the king when the latter entered Genoa on 28 April.⁸ These activities show him to be a figure of Scottish descent, who spent the majority of his life in Continental Europe and who cultivated a strong network of contacts spanning Scotland, France, and Italy.

Albany was thus closely involved in Louis XII's military exploits in Italy and also had an interest in crusades, having participated in one himself. He undertook, furthermore, during this early stage in his career, various diplomatic tasks on behalf of Scotland. In 1511, for example, James IV was so troubled by the state of Europe and the dissension between the Pope and the French king that he asked Albany to do all he could to help bring about a reconciliation.⁹ Albany was, therefore, personally involved in continental military and diplomatic activity that was of great interest to James IV and which was dealt with in the propagandic text *Les Abus du monde*. Although, in the end, Albany and James IV never actually met, Albany appears to have been so eager to meet his royal Scottish cousin during this period that he briefly entertained the idea of going to Scotland in disguise.¹⁰

A principal concern for Louis XII in the early sixteenth century was the defence of his interests in Lombardy. Numerous territorial skirmishes erupted during this period, the most severe culminating in a full-scale conflict with Louis and his allies confronting the republic of Venice. Running closely alongside Louis' military activities was a forceful literary propaganda machine involving poets and writers both directly employed by the court and working outside of the courtly milieu.¹¹ Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, acting for Louis XII, and Margaret of Austria, representing her father, Maximilian, met for negotiations in Cambrai in November and December 1508. With the traditional pretext of a crusade against the Turks as the desired final outcome, an alliance was sealed known as the Treaty or League of

Cambrai: binding together Louis XII and Emperor Maximilian. The real aim of the treaty was to tackle the issue of Venice. Other rulers were encouraged to join the venture with Ferdinand of Aragon, Pope Julius II, and Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, seizing upon the opportunity to regain territories lost to Venice.

It is within this political context that MS M. 42 must be examined. On folio 49r is an illumination, which elucidates in visual terms the political complexities involved in the Treaty of Cambrai (Figure 8.1). On an island sits a lion, representing Venice, being pierced by black and white quills, which are being shot



FIGURE 8.1 Jean Coene IV, A visual satire on the League of Cambrai, Pierre Gringore, *Abus du Monde*. Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 42, fol. 49r. (© The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, USA).

from a porcupine, who represents Louis XII. To the left hovers the two-headed imperial eagle, while at the bottom is an oak tree, representing Julius II, and two barking dogs, representing Ferdinand of Aragon. The encroachment of the league on Venice is suggested by two ships approaching the lion's island. The text, furthermore, emphasises the active role taken by Louis XII in this affair and the notion that he was acting under God's protection. On folio 44v, furthermore, God is shown appearing to the three estates holding a crowned heart encircled by the collar of St Michael. The image refers to *Proverbs* 21:1, 'The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord'.¹² In the context of Franco-Scottish relations, it appears likely that the manuscript was intended to be understood as an incitement to join Louis' cause, or at the very least, to lend distant support to his aims. In this respect, the manuscript was likely a propagandic instrument commissioned to encourage James IV to side with the French king in his expansionist ambitions in Italy.¹³

Although this text appears to have never reached the Scottish king, Albany's intention is clear; to present Gringore's work as a finely-produced and lavishly-illuminated manuscript, with the intention of persuading James IV to lend support to Louis XII's territorial ambitions in Italy. This is the first of a number of instances throughout Albany's career where he used his contacts with literary and artistic figures to further personal and political objectives.¹⁴

Macé de Villebresme's *Epistres du Turc* and the fortifications at Dunbar, 1515–1523

An important turning point in Albany's career took place on 9 September 1513, when James IV was killed at Flodden, leaving an infant James V as his successor. On 3 July 1515, the lords of the council recorded 'that an excellent and mychti prince Johnne duke of Albany, governour and protectour of Scotland and tutour to the kingis grace to his perfitte age, arivit in the said realme the XVIII day of May'.¹⁵ At this time, literary figures in Scotland were employed in composing flattering poems to welcome the new regent, intended perhaps to reassure an apprehensive populace of Albany's good intentions and fine credentials.¹⁶ Albany visited Scotland three times over the course of his regency: May 1515 to June 1517; November 1521 to October 1522; and September 1523 to May 1524. His first visit is generally considered the most successful, during which time he brought a degree of stability back to Scottish governance.¹⁷

Antoine d'Acres, seigneur de la Bastie, travelled to Scotland in late 1513, receiving in Albany's name the strategically important fortress of Dunbar, part of the Albany property which belonged to the family through the Earldom of March and which had been confiscated when Albany's father had been banished by James III.¹⁸ During Albany's time in Scotland, he made Dunbar Castle his principal base where he was allowed, under the terms of his regency, to keep a French garrison. In terms of Albany's patronage of architectural projects in Scotland, Dunbar Castle was an important focus for his building activities.

Today, the fragmentary remains of the castle are scattered on a rock standing approximately 80 feet above the sea. To the south-west of the structure built, or repaired, for James IV, a great blockhouse dating to Albany's regency stands on a neighbouring island-like promontory.¹⁹ The blockhouse was originally joined to the castle by a substantial traverse wall built across a tidal chasm.²⁰ The blockhouse was apparently unroofed, consisting of four large ground-level casemates which are deeply recessed into the rampart and open to the rear. Seven gunholes survive. The gunhole throats are large enough to hold substantial pieces of artillery, and it has been noted that this blockhouse provides the earliest datable examples of this type of gunhole in Scotland.²¹ Above the casemates is evidence of a large parapet, perhaps originally about two metres thick. It has been suggested that the parapet may have had a curvilinear profile.²² The general shape of the blockhouse echoes that of a contemporary Italian angle bastion in the shape of its faces.²³ The surviving physical evidence of the castle and blockhouse may, furthermore, be reconciled with contemporary literary accounts.

The most significant contemporary record of the castle and its appearance survives in the form of reconnaissance conducted by Lord Dacre, a field commander for Cardinal Wolsey. In response to a request for information on the state of the castle, Dacre reported back to Wolsey on the 26 June 1523 that:

and finally touching the state and strength of the castell of Dunbar whereof your grace is desirous to be advised, I assure your grace it is a thing in manner unprenable for I have bene in it. It standith upon a crag and there is no waye to go to it but one which is strongly and substantially made with a new bulwerk and sett with ordinance as can be devised by the duke of Albany for in the said castell is all the said duke's trust. And if the said Bulwerk could be won I think there is no doubt but the castell might be won semblably be reason that the said castell stands low upon a crag and the erth without it is high about it, and so there could nothing stirr within it but the ordinance that were without the castell shulde bete it.²⁴

This communiqué provides crucial evidence that Albany was responsible for the new bulwark and that this was complete by 1523.²⁵

In examining possible sources for Albany's military architecture at Dunbar, it is instructive to consider evidence of his literary interests during this period. A fascinating document, held at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is important in this respect. The manuscript begins with the epistles of Mehmet II, translated from Latin (by Landin, knight of Jerusalem) into French, by Macé de Villebresme in 1515 and dedicated to 'Jehan, Duke of Albanye, regent and governor of Scotland'.²⁶ Macé de Villbresme was a courtier and *valet de chambre* to Louis XII.²⁷ He also acted as French ambassador to Scotland in 1515. He is recorded as having brought letters, which told of the ratification by Francis I of the treaty made by his predecessor with England, with the inclusion of Scotland on the condition of hostilities ceasing on the English borders.²⁸ His exhortations were supported by

Balthasar Stewart, who was an envoy of Pope Leo X, and had been in Scotland for a year using all his efforts to persuade the Scots to abstain from war with England, and join in the crusade against the Turks.²⁹ Villebresme died in August 1517. It is, therefore, likely that this work was translated for presentation to Albany on Villebresme's visit to Scotland in 1515. Villebresme notes in the prologue to the work that he had pondered long and hard who to present the work to and had decided that there was no one better than Albany given his 'curiosity' in such affairs. It appears, therefore, to provide evidence of Albany's interest in, and preoccupation with, the military matters he engaged with on his crusade some years earlier.³⁰ The date of the presentation of this document precisely coincides with the beginning of Albany's campaign to fortify Dunbar, and it is feasible, therefore, to assume that these events are connected.

The presentation of this unusual literary work by Villebresme attests to Albany's preoccupation with military affairs relating to the crusades. Other works in the manuscript, moreover, indicate a broader interest in the works of Greek and Roman authors and testify to Albany's keen interest in military matters relating to classical antiquity.³¹ The architectural work that Albany undertook in relation to the fortification of Dunbar appears to reflect, what he had experienced whilst employed in a military capacity in Italy, or developments he had encountered on his crusade to the Eastern Mediterranean. In either case, the work he commissioned in Scotland appears to have been the first of its kind in the British Isles and attests to his importance as a conduit for architectural and military ideas to Scotland from the Continent.³²

Bremond Domat, genealogy, and military ambition in the Hague Manuscript, 1518

Albany was back in France from June 1517 to November 1521. A key event that took place during this period was the marriage of his sister-in-law, Madeleine de la Tour, to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, on the 2 May 1518. The marriage was extremely important for Albany, substantially elevating his standing in France by allying him with the powerful Florentine Medici family, and by providing him with a direct connection to Lorenzo's uncle, Pope Leo X, a connection Albany was quick to exploit, both for his own ends and on behalf of Scotland. This can be seen in Albany's correspondence with the papacy soon after this time, in which the ancient privileges of the kings and kingdom of Scotland were confirmed.³³ Within several months of the birth of Madeleine and Lorenzo's only child, Catherine, at Urbino on 19 April 1519, both parents died.³⁴ This left the young child's closest relatives as Pope Leo X and Albany. Following the death of Pope Leo X on 1 December 1521, Albany was appointed Catherine's tutor and guardian, as her closest male relative.

At the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in the Hague, is a manuscript catalogued under the title *Genealogy of Anne de la Tour, Princess of Scotland*, KB 74 G 11 (hereafter, the Hague Manuscript).³⁵ The unusual address, referring to Albany's wife as '*Princess of Scotland*' and inclusion of material relating to Albany and his military objectives, suggest that this was a work commissioned by Albany as a gift to his wife. The

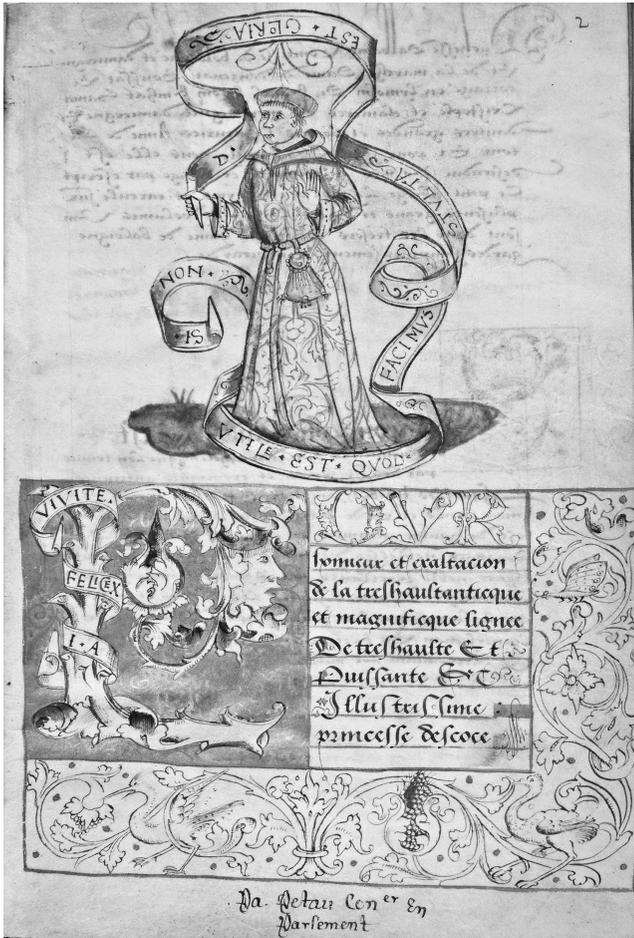


FIGURE 8.2 Bremond Domat, Self-portrait, *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. KB 74 G 11, fol. 2r. 1518 (© Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag, Netherlands).

principal content of the work concerns the illustrious genealogy of the counts of Boulogne and d'Auvergne, from which both Albany and his wife, Anne de la Tour, could claim descent.³⁶ There is sufficient evidence within the manuscript to attribute it to an interesting literary figure, Bremond Domat.³⁷ Furthermore, Domat possessed the self-awareness and self-confidence to include his self-portrait within the manuscript; a detail that tells us much about the patron/creator relationship between Albany and Domat (Figure 8.2).³⁸

Following a story of the brothers Pharaon and Archemolu, two genealogies of the counts of Boulogne and d'Auvergne, and a collection of illuminated poems and epitaphs, the manuscript concludes with poems and drawings of the principal properties that came into Albany's possession after his marriage.³⁹ The work is

dated to 1518, and it is likely that one of the primary aims of the manuscript was to detail the split of properties inherited by Albany and his wife, following the marriage of Anne's sister, Madeleine.

On fol. 52v, a poem included underneath a representation of Albany's arms, impaled by those of Anne de la Tour, sets out his military objectives. It boldly proclaims:

The year one thousand, four hundred, eighty and two in July,
 The eighth was born on earth,
 Albany, bonnie child,
 who will by sea conquer,
 Scotland also England,
 and put them into subjection,
 by strength of arms and of war,
 he will take possession of them.⁴⁰

Below this is written: 'The prognostication of the nativity of prince John, duke of Albany, as speculated by the planets'. This is followed by three verses of eight lines on the influence of the planetary deities on the life of Albany. It starts by noting that Venus, the principal planet that governs his birth, promises him papal power. Here, he is described as 'double crowned two times king'.⁴¹ His intent was, therefore, to suggest that he was not only the ruler of Scotland, but the potential ruler of England. So beyond the practical aspect of detailing their properties, the manuscript also functioned as a medium through which Albany could display his military credentials and his potential political power. It was an astute and carefully considered piece of self-fashioning designed to bolster his social status.

Several copies were made of the Hague Manuscript. BnF fr. 5227 is a copy of the genealogical sections and was produced as a gift for Pope Clement VII, c.1530. It contains the arms and emblem of Albany, and a portrait and the emblem of the Pope. This copy was executed by Jean Couteau and was evidently intended as a diplomatic gift to strengthen Albany's ties with the papacy and enhance the reputation of Catherine's French lineage in Italy.⁴² BnF fr. 20209 is another copy of the genealogies. It was also made as a gift, this time for the la Guesle family, seigneurs de Busséol.⁴³ Again, the reasons behind the copy appear to have been to bolster the reputation of the counts of Boulogne and d'Auvergne, the lineage from which Albany, Anne de la Tour, and Catherine de Medici could all claim descent.⁴⁴

The Hague manuscript in particular, is a finely produced work with carefully-executed figurative, heraldic, and architectural illuminations. It was a fine gift for Albany to present to Anne de la Tour, but was also used as an astute piece of self-promotion. Albany had, by this time, completed one period of his regency in Scotland, and he thus sought to demonstrate his military prowess and political potential back on the Continent. His newly forged ties to the Medici family appear to have given him cause to consider several points; how best to promote himself in Europe, and how to bolster his political power by emphasising the importance of his pan-European status.

Domat, the *Liber Pluscardensis*, and the Sainte Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte, 1519–1529

In the following year, 1519, Albany engaged Bremond Domat in another task, this time the translation of a copy of the *Liber Pluscardensis* into French. The *Liber Pluscardensis* is a Scottish history based on Fordun and Bower's earlier works, updated and abridged in the early 1460s.⁴⁵ This manuscript is now held in the Bibliothèque St-Geneviève, MS 936 (hereafter the Paris Manuscript) and is the only known example of this Latin chronicle translated into French. Domat also appended to this translation an original work apparently of his own devising: a finely-illuminated genealogy of the kings of Scotland. This work is interesting for multiple reasons. It tells us a great deal about Albany and his interest in his Scottish lineage during this time. Furthermore, it indicates that Domat was engaged in a dual commission; to research the French Boulogne and d'Auvergne lineage in 1518, and a year later, to work on Albany's Scottish heritage. Viewed in the broader context of Albany's cultural activities in France, his preoccupation with lineage fitted into a larger scheme of grand cultural endeavours, principally his foundation of a Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte. A papal bull was granted in June 1520 by Pope Leo X authorising the foundation of this chapel and much of the Sainte-Chapelle's interior decoration emphasises the concepts of illustrious lineage and noble descent.

The opening page of the Paris Manuscript is illuminated with a pen and ink drawing of the crowned arms of Albany, encircled by the collar of the Order of St Michael and situated in a bouquet of Renaissance foliage. At the base is a banner bearing the inscription 'veritas de terra orta est' ('truth shall spring from the ground'); a reference to one of the central themes of the manuscript, the genealogical tree, a phrase also employed by Gringore in 1514.⁴⁶ Domat prefaced the Paris Manuscript with a fourteen-line poem extolling the virtues of the very magnificent kingdom of Scotland:

Powerful Princes, this present chronicle,
 Demonstrates by very clear evidence,
 Of Scotland has [Bruict] sovereign and antique,
 And is still why by excellence,
 I write this here solemn work,
 To demonstrate how the Catholic faith,
 Was kept and judicial power,
 Peace and love, equity, temperance,
 And against Turks often took a lance,
 Nobles and lay, I beg you, without replica,
 See this fact, full of prudence.
 Domat,
 the author translator.⁴⁷

In the introduction to the illuminated genealogy, Domat makes his intention clear. He stresses that it was written to 'clarify and resolve the very illustrious and ancient lineage of Scots to that end that every noble prince descended from this line may apprehend the true source and origin of their lineage', emphasising that few kingdoms can claim such an ancient line of descent as that of Scotland, which was traced back 330 years before the advent of Christ.⁴⁸ The iconography employed in the Sainte-Chapelle, viewed in relation to the genealogical manuscripts, suggests that Albany was concerned with illustrating the importance of a union between a descendant of the kings of Scotland and of the Capetian kings of France. This was a joining of bloodlines which had occurred previously, and which is highlighted in the Hague Manuscript by the earlier marriage of Mary, the youngest daughter of Malcolm Canmore and St Margaret of Scotland, to Eustace III, Count of Boulogne.⁴⁹

The principal iconographic focus of the programme of decoration in the Sainte-Chapelle is the Tree of Jesse, adorning the axial window, below which kneel the donor figures, Albany and Anne de la Tour.⁵⁰ The inclusion of Albany and his wife kneeling below this scene integrated the founders' earthly lineage into this sacred genealogy. The aims and ambitions set out in Albany's manuscripts paved the way for his grand architectural foundation: the Sainte-Chapelle. The chapel represents an earthly treasury of prestige and self-accomplishment, while simultaneously acting as a conduit for spiritual redemption. At the time that Albany was planning the foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle, his position as governor of Scotland must have been at the forefront of his thoughts. The foundation and its decorative programme stressed lineage, kingship, and the joining of illustrious bloodlines. Thus, the foundation gave visual form to Albany's concerns regarding his status in France, advertising his illustrious royal lineage, and demonstrating his magnificence and political power.

The Paris manuscript is an important example of an international transfer of political ideas. In the Mitchell Library in Glasgow is a copy of the *Liber Pluscardensis* in Latin, MS 308876.⁵¹ Skene pointed out in 1877 that some of the notes on the flyleaf of this manuscript suggest that it had been in France in the early sixteenth century and that it may have been the manuscript Domat used for his translation.⁵² An examination of this manuscript confirms that this was likely the case. It contains the preface and prologue now found in only two other manuscripts. It also appears to have been in the possession of the French Roi d'Armes, Montjoie, and contains lines of verse related to those that were added by Domat to the Paris Manuscript. The inscription '[J(?) [...] albinie' on fol. 1r of MS 308876 perhaps also relates to this episode. The French Roi d'Armes, Montjoie, Gilbert Chauveau, certainly visited Scotland in 1506, and, as a figure involved in Venetian politics and crusading diplomacy, was likely well known to Albany.⁵³

The example of the Paris Manuscript and MS 308876, therefore, provides evidence for the transfer of literary material from Scotland to France. The translation of that material into French and its reworking into an illuminated genealogy is crucial for understanding Albany's motivations during this period. Albany's patronage of literary and visual material evidently influenced the program of

decoration employed in his grand ecclesiastical foundation, the Sainte-Chapelle, and his interest in the *Liber Pluscardensis* was both in promoting the prestige of Scotland on the Continent and in enhancing his own illustrious reputation.

A sketch by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and a eulogy by Desmontiers, c.1525–1538

As noted above, Albany was concerned with updating the fortifications at his principal residence in Scotland, Dunbar Castle. Evidence also survives detailing Albany's continued interest in such matters later in his career. In the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, are a large collection of architectural drawings attributable to the Sangallos, an influential family of Florentine architects and military engineers. Among these is a rough sketch in brown ink on paper that shows proposals for the modernisation for a typical late-fifteenth-century fortress, by the addition of a ravelin and caponier (U1051A).⁵⁴ A line of text on the sketch notes: 'Fortezza e opinione del Duca dalbania' ('fortress and opinion of the Duke of Albany'). A note on the verso states: 'Forteze; openione delducha dalbania'. That Albany's opinion regarding a matter of military science should have been sought by such an eminent Renaissance architect and engineer is important. The drawing appears to show a description provided by Albany of the fortress at Salses, or a similar example of transitional military architecture from this period, and in this respect it shows that Albany was perhaps used by those close to the Medici family as a source of military intelligence.⁵⁵ The drawing also indicates that Albany's opinion was highly regarded by Sangallo. Albany's ties of kinship to the Medici family go some way to explain this, but there is more to be said here. Key to this is Albany's broader reputation in matters of military science. Again, a literary work, this time by Jean Desmontiers, is enlightening.

Desmontiers wrote his text on the origin, topography, and marvels of Scotland around 1538, initially for presentation to Madeleine of Valois. After Madeleine's death, however, the work was redirected to Catherine de Medici. Although the work takes much of its detail from Hector Boece, via Bellenden's translation, it also contains original topographical information, which suggests that Desmontiers may have visited Scotland himself earlier in his career. In the centre of the text is a eulogy to Albany:

Also in this province is the strong castle of Dunbar: well known by the memory of the late very virtuous and very magnanimous prince M. Dalbanie father of Scotland: of whom the virtues have already been put [written about] in so high & eminent place, that it is impossible for me to reach that level. Because I am compelled to withdraw from the place where I had wished to go: and yet I shall dare to say, according to my little power, that neither Aristides, Themistocles, Pericles, nor Brasidas in all the virtues, in which each of them particularly excelled, do no work that was beyond the high and noble deeds of this prince: for, besides the prowess and military science which he was as renowned for as Alexander, or Caesar: and the love

of his country which exceeded that of Deces and Horace Cocles, he has deserved to be immortalised: like Ceres or Dionisius for the extreme work he had to render most of all of Scotland fertile, and workable/cultivable: which was previously barren and fallow.⁵⁶

The declaration of Albany's prowess in matters of military science, mentioned in relation to his stronghold at Dunbar, is interesting. Desmontiers' text allows us to see that Albany cultivated a reputation in matters of military science, and part of this was based on his fortifications at Dunbar.

The regard with which Albany's opinions were held by Sangallo the Younger, therefore, reflects both his reputation in matters of military science and his elevated social standing in Rome. In 1530, Albany was appointed French ambassador to the Holy See, acting as the chief negotiator for the marriage of his niece, Catherine, and the duc d'Orléans. Albany's status at this time appears to have caused some difficulties in papal ceremony, given that dukes outranked ambassadors.⁵⁷ His family ties to the Pope evidently afforded him special privileges, as illustrated in November 1530, when he was responsible for carrying the papal train, and in Christmas 1531, when the ambassadors were ranked, in reverse precedence, Venice, England, Imperial, Duke of Albany.⁵⁸

The note hastily scribbled on Sangallo's sketch indicates that Albany was employed as a conduit for military information from elsewhere in Europe to Italy. He was evidently considered an important figure by his Medici kinsmen for his contacts and for the information that he was, therefore, party to. Albany's reputation in military science was likely based, at least in part, on word of his military enterprises in Scotland. Whether the reality of his developments at Dunbar lived up to this reputation was of little concern, as few would actually travel to Scotland to see them: what mattered was his reputation and that of his fortress, as documented in the work of Desmontiers.

Blood and vellum: Albany's promotion of the Boulogne and d'Auvergne lineage

As noted above, twelve years after Albany commissioned the Hague Manuscript in 1518, he appears to have ordered several copies of this work with the intention of gifting them to illustrious figures.⁵⁹ In 1530, Albany was appointed French ambassador in Rome. He was, as we have seen, highly regarded in papal circles at this time. The gift of a finely-illuminated genealogical manuscript to the Pope, demonstrating the prestige of both Catherine's and his own, illustrious lineage, no doubt played its part in this.

There is, furthermore, a second group of manuscripts, which must be considered in relation to these negotiations. Gustave Cohen wrote a text in 1944 on a manuscript in New York entitled *La genealogie des contes de Boulogne*. Cohen attributed the work to Geoffrey Tory principally on the evidence of a colophon in the manuscript which reads: 'NE PLUS NE MOINS 1531'; the motto being close

to Tory's motto of 'Non Plus'. He argued that the manuscript was commissioned by the French king, Francis I, of Tory, for presentation to Catherine in this year.⁶⁰ Knowing what we do about Albany acting as chief negotiator for the king, and of Albany's commission of genealogical material relating to the House of Boulogne previously, we can propose that the patron of this work was in fact Albany. There are two further examples of this text that survive, both apparently copies after the New York version; these are found in BnF fr 4653, fols 19r–25r, and at the back of BnF fr 20209, fols 77r–84v.⁶¹ This last example is the same manuscript that includes a copy of the Hague manuscript, which we have determined Albany intended for the la Guesle family. This strongly supports the hypothesis that this group of genealogies were also commissioned by Albany in relation to his diplomatic duties in Italy at this time. The purpose of the work being propagandistic material designed to heighten the fame and prestige of both his lineage and that of Catherine de Medici. The fine copy described by Cohen was in all likelihood a gift from Albany to Catherine in 1531, designed to heighten her awareness of her illustrious French heritage. Indeed, in the inventory of Catherine's library in Paris of 1589, we find listed with the aforementioned *Abus du monde* manuscript, '*Ung autre livre couvert de cuir rouge ou est descrite la généalogie des comtes de Boulogne*' – likely the same manuscript consulted by Cohen in New York. We also find another text next to it listed as '*Ung autre livre couvert de cuir de Levant vert escrit à la main intitulé l'Origine et succession des comtes de Boulogne*'.⁶²

The attribution of the work, moreover, to Geoffrey Tory on the strength of a similarity between the motto 'NE PLUS NE MOINS' and his motto 'Non plus' must be questioned. The great benefit in drawing together Albany's literary patronage in this paper is that previously unseen connections become clear. If we return to 1515 and Macé de Villbresme's work addressed to Albany, we can recall that he added an anagram of his name and his poetic device 'PLUS QUE MOINS' to the end of his work. Cohen noted in relation to the colophon in the New York manuscript that 'there is no parallel [...] in contemporary scribal colophons'.⁶³ Yet, here is a direct parallel in a work also addressed to Albany who was likely involved in the production of both works. It must be considered, therefore, whether this motto relates more to the patron, Albany, than to the author.⁶⁴

The transfer of ideas in this instance was from France to Italy and performed an important diplomatic and political role, enhancing the prestige of Catherine de Medici's French bloodline in her own eyes, that of the papacy, and other Italian nobles. In this example, Albany used literary material as luxurious gifts, in order that they might function as propaganda designed to serve his diplomatic and political aims and, furthermore, to bolster his own reputation.

Conclusion

John Stuart, Duke of Albany, was a figure who acted throughout his life as a highly influential conduit for the transfer of ideas between elite, royal, and papal circles in Scotland, France, and Italy. He was unusual for the powerful positions he held in

all three countries. He is also noteworthy for his evident understanding of the power and agency of visual and literary material in the service of his diplomatic, military, and political endeavours. Commissions of such material were not peripheral to what was occurring, but integral: such works acted as active agents in shaping his career. We can, therefore, trace the development of his career through the cultural connections and enterprises he was involved in.

While this present discussion is not exhaustive, it does, however, offer the opportunity to explore Albany's impressive engagement with visual and literary material throughout his life, and to draw parallels between historiographic details with his literary, artistic, and architectural commissions. This allows us to see how Albany manipulated such material to bolster his position, influence opinions, and facilitate the transfer of knowledge and ideas between countries. It also allows us to speculate on how he was perceived as an important source of intelligence for various parties.

Albany acted as a conduit for the transfer of ideas and knowledge not only from France to Scotland, but also from Scotland to France, France to Italy, Italy to Scotland, and indeed from Scotland to Italy. The importance of studying individual figures in this way is that it allows us to see, in a very specific manner, how ideas spread. Through such work, we can replace sweeping generalisations regarding ideas emerging from France and Italy and eventually reaching Scotland, with specific examples of how such a cultural transfer occurred and how, most importantly, it also flowed in the opposite direction.

Notes

- 1 *Inventaire du bibliothèque du château de Mirefleur, 1560*. Paris, BnF Latin 18610, fol. 210v. Unpublished.
- 2 *II Inventaire du mobilier de Catherine de Médicis à Paris, en 1589*. Paris, BnF Latin 14359, fol. 231v. Published by Édmond Bonnaffé. *Inventaire des meubles de Catherine de Médicis en 1589: Mobilier, tableaux, objets d'art, manuscrits*. Paris: Aubry, 1874, 84–5.
- 3 There is no modern edition of this text, although it is being worked on by Cynthia J. Brown: Brown, Cynthia J. 'Les Abus du Monde de Pierre Gringore: de l'imprimé au manuscrit?' In *La Génération Marot, Poètes français et néo-latins (1515–1550)*, edited by G. Defaux. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997, 35–58. For a fuller account of the connection between Albany and this manuscript, see Coombs, Bryony. 'Les Abus du Monde: A French Manuscript Produced for James IV of Scotland ca. 1509, Pierpont Morgan, MS M. 42'. *Scottish Historical Review* (forthcoming).
- 4 New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Pierre Gringore, *Les Abus du Monde*, MS M 42, fol. 1r.
- 5 For Château Mirefleur, Albany's favourite residence, see Fouilhoux, J.-B. *Fiefs et châteaux forts relevant de la Comté d'Auvergne (Capitale Vic-le-Comte)*. Clermont-Ferrand: G. de Bussac, 1926; Coombs, Bryony. 'The Artistic Patronage of John Stuart, Duke of Albany 1518–19: The "Discovery" of the Artist and Author, Bremond Domat'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 144 (2014): 277–309; Coombs, Bryony. 'The Artistic Patronage of John Stuart, Duke of Albany, 1520–30: Vic-le-Comte, the last Sainte-Chapelle'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 147 (2017): 175–217.
- 6 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Vols 1–4, 1509–1530*, edited by J. S. Brewer. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1864–1920, IV: no. 52.

- 7 Molinet, Jean. *Collection des Chroniques Nationales Francaises, Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, edited by J. A. Buchon. Paris: Verdrière, 1828, XLVII: 183–91; D'Auton, Jean. *Chroniques de Jean d'Auton*, edited by P. L. Jacob, 4 vols. Paris: Silvestre, Libraire-Éditeur, 1834, II: 12, 17, 19, 49–50, 57–8.
- 8 D'Auton, *Chroniques*, III: 309–37.
- 9 *Letters and Papers*, I, 684, 686, 688, 690–1, 694, 720. Unfortunately, the Pope refused to receive Albany because he was a Frenchman, although Ambassador Donato advised him to since Albany was also a Scot.
- 10 *Flodden Papers*, edited by M. Wood. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1933, I, li, 56–7.
- 11 These included Jean d'Auton, Guillaume Cretin, Andre de La Vigne, Jean Marot, Jean de Saint-Gelais, and Pierre Gringore, all writing in support of the French king. Others writing with the imperial viewpoint in mind included Jean Lemaire de Belges and Ulrich von Hutten.
- 12 This maxim had been used in Jean Gerson's *Oratio ad regem franciae*. Gerson, Jean. *Opera omnia*. Antwerp: P. de Hondt, 1728, IV: 662; Scheller, R. W. 'L'union des princes: Louis XII, his allies and the Venetian campaign'. *Simiolus* 27 (1999): 195–242, at 199.
- 13 The visual satire on fol. 49r is thus a call for the heraldic beasts of Scotland, the lion and the unicorn, to assist those already engaged in this struggle.
- 14 This text was placed under copyright privilege for one year. Gringore's authorial control suggests that he had contact with the patron of the manuscript. Brown, 'Les Abus du Monde', 44, n. 2; Coombs, 'Les Abus du Monde'.
- 15 *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501–1554*, edited by R. K. Hannay. Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1932, 40.
- 16 Two poems were composed for Albany's arrival: *We lordis hes chosin a chifiane mervellus*, Edinburgh, NLS, Bannatyne Manuscript, Adv. MS 1.1.6. fols 78v–79r and (translated into French), *Ballade faite pour la venue du duc d'Albanie en Escosse translátée en francoys selon la lettre*, Paris, BnF, MS fr 20055, fol. 73v. Janet Hadley Williams is currently working on both for an edition of poems from the minority and reign of James V for *The Scottish Text Society*.
- 17 Stuart, M. W. *The Scot who was a Frenchman*. Edinburgh: William Hodge and Company, 1940; Bonner, E. 'Stewart, John, Second Duke of Albany (c.1482–1536)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004; Coombs, 'The Artistic Patronage, 1518–19'; Blakeway, A. *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland*, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2015; Coombs, 'The Artistic Patronage, 1520–30'; Coombs, Bryony. 'John Stuart, Duke of Albany and his contribution to military science in Scotland and Italy, 1514–36: from Dunbar to Rome'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 148 (2018): 231–66; Emond, K. *The Minority of James V, Scotland in Europe, 1513–1528*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2019.
- 18 *Acts of the Lords*, 27. On 5 December 1512, Louis XII dispatched a request to James IV that Alexander Stuart's confiscated estates be restored upon Albany, thus enabling the French king to make a marriage settlement befitting the rich dowry of Anne de la Tour. *Flodden Papers*, 62–5.
- 19 For Dunbar Castle, see Grose, F. *The Antiquities of Scotland*, 2 vols. London: Hooper & Wigstead, 1797, I, 85–90; Miller, J. *The History of Dunbar: from the Earliest Records to the Present Time*. Dunbar: James Downie, 1830; MacIvor, I. 'Artillery and Major Places of Strength in the Lothians and the East Border, 1513–1543'. In *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications 1100–1800*, edited by D. H. Caldwell. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1981, 94–152; Merriman, M. 'Intelligens to asseg, Migliorino Ubaldini and the Fortification of Scotland in 1548'. In *Architetti e ingegneri militari italiani all'estero dal XV al XVII secolo*, edited by M. Viganò, ii. Rome: dell'Istituto Italiano dei Castelli, 1999, 233–55; MacIvor, I. *A Fortified Frontier, Defences of the Anglo-Scottish Border*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2001; Coombs, 'From Dunbar to Rome'.
- 20 The wall collapsed in 1993. Miller, *The History*, 4.
- 21 MacIvor, 'Artillery', 94–152; Fawcett, R. *The Architectural History of Scotland, Scottish Architecture from the Accession of the Stewarts to the Reformation 1371–1560*. Edinburgh:

- Edinburgh University Press, 1994, 290; Tabraham, C. *Scotland's Castles*. London: Batsford, 2005, 86.
- 22 MacIvor, 'Artillery', 116.
- 23 This may have been due to the constraints of the site. MacIvor, 'Artillery', 112; MacIvor, *A Fortified*, 69; Coombs, 'From Dunbar to Rome', 8.
- 24 *Letters and Papers*, III: 3134.
- 25 Over 10 years earlier than Henry VIII's campaign of coastal defence, which began in 1539.
- 26 Paris, BnF, fr 12406 contains the 'Epistres du Turc' (1–23v), 'Epistre de Cleriande la Romayne à Reginus, son concitoien' (23v–30v), 'Complainte de madame la douairiere de Nevers' (30v–33v), 'Translation historique de latin en françois par le dessus nommé Macé de Villebresme' (33v–53), and 'Plainte sur le trespas de feu maistre Jehan Braconnier, dit Lourdault, chantere, composée par maistre Guillaume Cretin, tresorier du boys de Vincennes' (53r–56v). Villebresme signed the end of the 'Epistres du Turc' with an anagram of his name '*DECLERES IMMVABLE*' and the device '*PLUS QUE MOINS*'. The 'Epistres du Turc' is a propagandic composition, relating 90 fictional letters between Mehmet II and other great powers, evidently intended to incite crusading fervour.
- 27 Tournoy-Thoen, G. 'Fausto Andrelini et la cour de France'. In *L'humanisme français au début de la Renaissance*. Paris: Vrin, 1973, 65–79, at 70–1; Chesney, K. *Guillaume Cretin: Œuvres Poétiques*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1932, xxi, 11.
- 28 *Rymer's Foedera*, edited by Thomas Rymer, London, 1739–1745, *British History Online*, URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rymer-foedera/vol-8> (accessed 18 June 2019), XIII: 508; *Letters and Papers*, II: 464; *Flodden Papers*, xc; *Letters of James V, 1513–1542*, edited by R. K. Hannay. Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954, 22. An account in the Exchequer Rolls for Scotland notes that on 20 September 1515 a payment of £90 was made to 'Willebrand, Ambassador of the most Christian King, bearing the comprehension of peace between us and the English, paid on precept of the Lords of the Council'. This was likely a corruption of Villebresme. *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, edited by G. Burnett & J. Stuart. Edinburgh: General Register House, 1878–1908, XIV: xxxix, 105–6.
- 29 *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, II, 1509–19, edited by R. Brown. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1867, n. 638; *Letters of James V*, 12, 18, 22, 24, 27, 39.
- 30 Albany's crusading enthusiasms have not previously received scholarly attention. Macquarrie's key text on Scotland and the Crusades, for instance, barely mentions Albany. Macquarrie, A. *Scotland and the Crusades 1095–1560*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1997, 116.
- 31 Paris, BnF, fr 12406 fols 33v–53.
- 32 Fawcett, *The Architectural*, 289; MacIvor, *A Fortified*, 69; Tabraham, *Scotland's Castles*, 86.
- 33 *Papiers d'état, pièces et documents inédits ou peu connus relatifs à l'histoire de l'Ecosse, au XVI Siècle I*, edited by A. Teulet. Paris: Typographie Plon Frères, 1851, I: 15–6. *The Letters of James V*: 68–9. During Albany's visit to Rome in 1520, he not only secured a papal bull confirming his position as governor, but also took the time to obtain permission to construct the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte. Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, *Bull of Pope Leo X, taking James V and his Kingdom under his Protection and Affirming the Authority of John, Duke of Albany as Tutor of the King and Governor of the Kingdom, 13 July, 1520*, CH7/46; Paris, Archives Nationales, *Bulle papale de Léon X, 21 June, 1520*. J/1130, no. 25.
- 34 Baluze, E. *Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Auvergne*, 2 vols. Paris: Antoine Dezallier, 1708, I: 352.
- 35 For a more detailed discussion of this manuscript, see Coombs, 'The Artistic Patronage, 1518–19'.

- 36 Albany's mother was another Anne de la Tour. His wife, Anne de la Tour, was his first cousin.
- 37 Previously, this work has been attributed to Jean Lemaire de Belges, see Beaune, C. & É. Lequain, 'Histoire et mythe familiaux chez les Boulogne Auvergne'. In *Colloque Ecritures de l'histoire (XIV^e-XVI^e s.), Actes du congrès de Bordeaux, Université Michel de Montaigne*, edited by D. Bohler and C. Magnien Simonin. Paris-Genève: Droz, 2005, 386; Schoysman, A. 'Jean Lemaire de Belges et la généalogie d'Anne de la Tour d'Auvergne dans le MS. 74 G 11 de La Haye (1518)'. *Moyen Français* 57-8 (2006): 57-8, 315-6. For its re-attribution, see Coombs, 'The Artistic Patronage, 1518-19'.
- 38 Coombs, 'The Artistic Patronage, 1518-19', 289-99. The banner reads: '*Si non vtile est quod facimus stulta est gloria*' ('Unless what we do is useful, our glory is in vain'), with the initial 'D' for Domat. This was a motto Lemaire had previously used on the closing page of his work *Legend of the Venetians* of 1509.
- 39 A treatise was drawn up in 1518 detailing the split of properties between Anne de la Tour and her sister, Madeleine, agreed and signed by their husbands at Amboise. Baluze, *Histoire généalogique*, II: 684-9.
- 40 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, fol. 52v.
- 41 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, fols 52v-53r.
- 42 Paris, BnF, Couteau, Jean. *Histoire généalogique des comtes d'Auvergne et de Boulogne*. MS fr 5227. Albany was, at this time, engaged as a diplomat negotiating Catherine's betrothal to the duc d'Orléans.
- 43 Paris, BnF. *Généalogie fabuleuse d'Anne de la Tour, comtesse de Boulogne, femme de Jean Stuart, duc d'Albany*, MS. fr. 20209. The arms of the la Guesle family appear on fol. 36.
- 44 Other copies include: Paris, BnF, *Revenus du comté d'Auvergne, avec les revenus particuliers et les portraits des châteaux*, Ars MS 4264 of 1552 containing the arms of Marie de Medici. It contains copies of the château portraits found in the Hague Manuscript showing the deterioration of the properties between 1518 and 1552. A sixteenth-century manuscript sold at Sotheby's, 3 May 2012, also includes copies of the château portraits. It contains the arms of Catherine de Medici and was bound for presentation to Margaret de Valois. *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue* 'From the Collection of Prince and Princess Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne Lauraguais, 3 May, 2012', 155.
- 45 The *Liber Pluscardensis*, while based on Bower's *Scotichronicon*, includes a number of passages written in the first person by the chronicler as eye-witness accounts. The first five books follow Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* and the work up to James II is indebted to Bower. The remainder of the work is due, it is noted, to one whose name will appear at the end of the sixth book. This promise is unfulfilled in the surviving manuscripts. Skene proposed an identification with Maurice Buchanan. Mapstone proposed Gilbert Hay as a possible candidate. Skene, W. F. *The Historians of Scotland VII: Liber Pluscardensis*. Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1877, xix-xxiii; Drexler, M. 'The Extant Abridgements of Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*'. *Scottish Historical Review* 61 (1982): 62-74; Mapstone, S. 'The *Scotichronicon*'s First Readers'. In *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, edited by B. Crawford. Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1999, 4.
- 46 Taken from *Psalms* 84:12, Gringore used the phrase in his entry ceremony in honour of Mary Tudor in 1514. Brown, Cynthia J. 'From Stage to Page: Royal Entry Performances in Honour of Mary Tudor (1514)'. In *Book and Text in France, 1400-1600*, edited by A. Armstrong and M. Quainton. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, 65.
- 47 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936, fol. 256r.
- 48 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936, fol. 256r.
- 49 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, fol. 40v. The marriage of his father, Alexander Stuart, also provides a precedent for this union. See Coombs, 'The Artistic Patronage, 1520-30', 193.
- 50 Coombs, 'The Artistic Patronage, 1520-30'. For an engraving of the founders' portraits copied before the destruction of the axial window, see Baluze, *Histoire généalogique*, I, 358, reproduced in Coombs, 'The Artistic Patronage, 1520-30', 185.

- 51 Glasgow, The Mitchell Library *Liber Pluscardensis*, MS 308876. Skene lists six surviving manuscripts of the *Liber Pluscardensis* in Latin: Skene, *The Historians of Scotland*, x–xxiv.
- 52 Skene, *The Historians of Scotland*, xv–xvi.
- 53 For Gilbert Chauveau in Scotland, see Brittain, J. and J. Brown. “‘And uther placis’”: two French ambassadorial missions in Ayrshire’. *Scottish Local History Journal* 94 (2016): 1–14. The record of him visiting Crossraguel in Scotland is found in *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, III: 1506–7, edited by J. B. Paul. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1901, III, 350.
- 54 Frommel, C. L. and N. Adams, eds. *The Architectural Drawings of Antonio Sangallo the Younger and his Circle*, 2 vols. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994, I: 193, reproduced in Coombs, ‘From Dunbar to Rome’, 16.
- 55 Coombs, ‘From Dunbar to Rome’, 16–9.
- 56 London, British Library, Jean Desmontiers, *Le sommaire des antiquitez & merueilles Descosse*, 1538, G.5441, fol. xv. Numerous copies of the *Sommaire* are known. See Pettegree, A., M. Walsby, and A. Wilkinson, eds. *French Vernacular Books published in the French language before 1601, A–G*. Leiden: Brill, 2007, 466, who list at least 18.
- 57 Fletcher, C. *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 75; Vatican City, The Vatican Library, BAV MS Vat Lat 12276, fol. 151v (297).
- 58 Fletcher, *Diplomacy*, 75; BAV MS Vat Lat 12276, fols 151v–152v (298 and 300).
- 59 See notes 42 and 43.
- 60 Cohen, G. *Geoffroy Tory and Catherine de Medici, an unpublished manuscript of Geoffroy Tory of the genealogy of the Counts of Boulogne concerning the French ancestry of Catherine de Medici, Queen of France*. New York: H. P. Kraus, 1944, 27–8.
- 61 Paris, BnF, *Recueil de documents pour servir à l’histoire des maisons de Poitiers, Boulogne et Blois*, MS fr 4653, fols 19r–25r; Paris, BnF MS fr 20209, fols 77r–84v.
- 62 Bonnaffé, *Inventaire des meubles*, 85.
- 63 Cohen, *Geoffroy Tory*, 11.
- 64 Villebresme died in 1517, so it is unlikely that he was responsible for this later work. Perhaps the motto was a borrowing of this earlier example in the manner that we have seen, for instance, Domat borrowed mottos and phrases from the work of both Lemaire and Gringore.