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ROLAND DENISE OBERSON

PETRI ABAELARDI OPERA 1615

Written about 1132, the story of Peter Abelard's adversities – which is also a surreptitious account of Heloise's tragedy – was suspected, without delay and without any more ado, to be a masked fire-brand against the Church. Too curious, too simple, too mysterious for being correct. Emanating from such an adroit dialectician as Abelard, this writing was immediately considered as distrustful and queer. There was something fishy about it. It was soon condemned. Not for his immoral words about carnal love – it would have been as incongruous as ridiculous, – but for the hidden tragedy having affected the sentimental relationship with his pupil – lover – mate or companion – sister and mother – protective saint Heloise. The exchange of eight so called letters – maybe, at least partly, written not so much for recounting facts, but for coating »the things« as he wrote us at the very first in the »Historia calamitatum«: *Quod si ego tacerem, res ipsa clamat* – between him and that former pupil and *eternelle fiancée*, Heloise, knew a strange destiny. It could not be otherwise in such a still obscure affair. Till now it is still mostly considered as the chronicle – such a fibbing is not acceptable and cannot be tolerated from a philosopher, still less from a pretentious theologian – of the hazards of an illegal and illegitimated love between a girl and a pretentious mature teacher. But, actually – the title itself »Correspondence« is provocative – it is anything less than erotic. The word calls for special attention. The text corresponds to something not being said.

Hence the origin of the text itself participates in some kind to the myth of the true love joining son and daughter of man. This old but timid myth flourished at a time where a breath of spiritual »renaissance« was perceptible afresh. A time indeed where the mental fusion of both sexes intended to dominating and surviving the difficulties of sensual love. Love was better considered and recommended from far away. Think of Jaufré Rudel's *amor de lonh*. But, see, strange to consider now, that without the participation of the extraordinary romance developed around their sentimental and disastrous adventures, this monument of medieval Latin literature would have not survived. Not only Jean de Meung¹ was responsible for the erotic appearance of the work, but his imitators. The writer of the »Roman de la Rose« did the things as if he were also the author not only of the translation but of the original Latin version of the »Correspondence« between two paragons of »mad« love, Peter and Heloise. No one could have written such a »pornographic« story than the author of the other suspenseful and very successful love story »Le Roman de la Rose«. During the following centuries, imitations of

1 Jean de Meun or Jean de Meung from Meung-sur-Loire in France translated the letters of Abelard to Heloise into French. The poet lived around 1250 till around 1305. He wrote the most part of the »Roman de la Rose«. The same authorship in both works plays an important part in making the Abelard's letters an erotic production *in se et per se*, which of course they are not. He was also sometimes credited to have himself composed the letters and translated them primarily into Latin not only or not so much for escaping condemnation but for emphasizing its scabrous utterance. Why in Latin, if not for educated people, i. e. above all for the clergy (or for the whole world)?

Heloise's story flourish as foolish weed. The genuine spirit of the work – not the *Urtext* which, as another element of the myth, probably does not exist – appears almost lost. »[...] In the vast sea of philosophical and theological speculation which fills up the Latin Patrology of Migne (1800–1875), this tale of Abelard constitutes a most welcome island and port of call that no one would care to miss«².

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Baron François d'Amboise, *maître des requêtes* and state counsellor under King Charles IX felt passionate about the calamitous life of his compatriot, the Breton philosopher Abelard. He wandered through monasteries in search of Abelard's manuscripts. He found a few and was very sorry finding them in such a piteous state. He trusted them in the hands of a young promising scholar, André Du Chesne or Duchesne (Andreas Quercetanus, 1584–1640) called now the »father« of French history. Actually they were two editors. Both may be called the savors of a prestigious western cultural heritage.

They had the good idea of collecting not only the »Correspondence«, but all other writings they could find. But the »Correspondence« was – and still is – the main pretext for editing these authors or actors, Abelard and Heloise. D'Amboise's at first, then Duchesne's keen passion for the unfortunate lovers saved this written treasure, for our enchantment and edification.

They entrusted the result of their precious collection of manuscripts to the famous Parisian printer Nicolas Buon. We are now presenting the first specimen of this monument. It was the main source of further publications still referred to like Victor Cousin's³ or Abbé Jacques-Paul Migne's »Patrology«⁴ and – unfortunately not even mentioned but still excellent – dom Gerlaise's⁵.

1. Various presentations of the same book

Checking once again the differences existing between two already known presentations of the first printed book in Latin of Abelard's and Heloise's Opera by Nicolas Buon, we found, autumn 2007, on the Internet site www.lectura.fr in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque municipale de Grenoble (France) a sample dated 1615. We were fortunate enough to visit the library. We could see the specimen and confirm its existence and the accuracy of the printed date.

For comparison we present here the characteristics of two already known exemplars of this work. One could be called Duchesne's sample and the other d'Amboise's one. Both published in Latin for the first time in the commonly accepted year 1616. But chance helped us in discovering an older sample dated 1615 (see illustrations). The characteristics of the sample recently found show that it belongs unquestionably to Duchesne's series. As we will show the presentation and contents are the same as in the others of its family. The only substantial difference lies in the date of publication, which is not 1616, but 1615. Till now, this volume seems to be unique of its kind. We hope to demonstrate that this finding helps to understand the particularities of the first Latin edition of Abelard's and Heloise's Opera, which are everywhere stated to be of the same year 1616.

2 Étienne GILSON, Preface, in: John Thomas MUCKLE, *The Story of Abelard's Adversities. A Translation with Notes of the Historia Calamitatum*, Toronto 1964, p. 7.

3 VICTOR COUSIN (ed.), *Petri Abaelardi Opera*, 2 vol. Paris 1849–1859.

4 Jacques-Paul MIGNE, *Petri Abaelardi abbatiss Ruyensis opera omnia juxta ed. parisiensem anni 1616*, Paris 1855. (*Patrologia latina*, 178).

5 Dom Armand-François GERVAISE, *Les Véritables Lettres d'Abailard et d'Heloïse, tirées d'un ancien Manuscrit Latin trouvé dans la Bibliothèque de François d'Amboise Conseiller d'État. Traduites par l' Auteur de leur Vie, avec des Notes historiques et critiques très curieuses*, 2 vol., Paris 1723.

For our study three copies are presented. They may be representative of common models existing in other institutions.

The first one, quoted D.5810, was printed in 1615. Because of the title-page and composition of the texts it belongs to the Duchesne's series. It is stored in the Bibliothèque municipale d'étude et d'information in Grenoble (France).

The second one, quoted TG 341, was printed in 1616. It can be consulted in the Bibliothèque des Cèdres under the care of the Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire in Lausanne (Switzerland). The title-page holds the name of Andreas Duchesne.

A third one, also printed in 1616, is now in our personal Library.

The title-page indicates that the texts are borrowed from manuscripts belonging to François d'Amboise. The text of the first six »Epistles« exchanged between Abelard and Heloise is reproduced word by word in our publication⁶.

Why we are resorting to that book for reference and not to another is sometimes not easily understood. It belongs to the psychologically interesting aspects of a work, as many other interrogations⁷. The first edition may be sought after, like in our case, for explaining more or less eccentric editorial curiosities.

2. D'Amboise and Abelard

In the beginning of the seventeenth century in France, a cultivated man involved in public affairs, François d'Amboise (or Franciscus Ambœsius, 1550–1619) started collecting manuscripts of one of his ancient compatriot, Peter Abelard (Petrus Abaelardus, 1079–1142). Condemned by Rome to the »eternal silence« about 1140, Abelard was almost forgotten in d'Amboise's days. His works were discarded and his ideas not honourably disputable. Only jongleurs, minstrels, entertainers repeated the punishment a pretentious philosopher called Abelard got from being reputed adulterous by loving a just nubile schoolgirl. He was castrated and this was a continuous subject to derision. François Villon's (1431 –1463?) »Ballade des Dames du Temps Jadis« remains one of the most cited and best minded mockery on this subject. D'Amboise was convinced of the importance of the personage. He realized how necessary it was, not only to restore the reputation of the *Magister*, but to save his writings. He planned to collect and to publish them.

The mysterious aspects of the love story attracted d'Amboise's open mind as well as Duchesne's, his young collaborator, as it is still the case today. One cannot but be stricken by the importance accorded to the exchange of letters between Abelard and his formerly pupil Heloise, the famous »Correspondence«, in what may have been considered, at the outset of the seventeenth century, as Abelard's »Opera omnia«.

The text of the royal privilege underlines the fact that the book will first contain Abelard's and Heloise's epistles: *Petri Abaelardi S. Gildasii Ruyensis Abbatis, & Heloise conjugis eius, Epistolas*, and then other works which could be found: *& Opera alia quæ reperiri potuerunt* [...]. The same purpose is also clearly indicated in the titles of the books which announce Heloise's works. It seems then logical that the Letters, being the most provocative part, come first in the corpus of the manuscripts. Moreover Duchesne's notes, placed at the end of the volumes we are

6 Roland Denise OBERSON (ed.), *Héloïse – Abélard. Correspondance. Édition bilingue. Traduction, introduction et notes*, Paris 2008. (A bilingual opposite Latin – French translation. The Latin text is numbered in 4562 items).

7 We intended to consider this fertile point of view in our publications about Heloise. See Roland Denise OBERSON, *Abélard, mon frère*, Lausanne 2001; *Id.*, *La Héloïse forcée*, Lausanne 2004; *Id.*, *Héloïse vierge et mère. Un cas de pédophilie incestueuse au douzième siècle*, Lausanne 2007; *Id.*, *Héloïse revisitée*, Paris 2008.

examining, are consecrated only to the first letter, the »Historia calamitatum«. They are considered very important for both »editors«. Indeed they figure in the two types of complete volumes, either in so called Duchesne's or d'Amboise's series. We may infer from this that d'Amboise's questioning enthusiasm influenced the young Duchesne whose commentaries were approved by his protector, Baron d'Amboise.

Actually the »Epistolæ« form one of the most thrilling and interpellating lectures, as it was during centuries and still more it is nowadays. Librarians have boosted the mysterious love affair as the core of the book. Historians have attributed the calamities to Abelard alone and entitled the first letter »The Story of Abelard's Adversities«,⁸ what is not quite correct, because the actual title is »Historia calamitatum« like Jacques Monfrin reproduced. Abelard reported not only his own miseries, but also Heloise's misfortune, although carefully disguised. The scandal – the scandal's wrong side, a shameless love – functioned as a motor for promoting booksales. But, finally, sad to say, they are no love letters. They try instead, probably or quasi in vain, to expose a most unfortunate lovers' affair, possibly criminal in nature⁹.

In addition, a separate edition of the Correspondence was already printed in 1616 as one can see in Grenoble. One of the three volumes of Abelard's Opera present there contains only the letters. It also proves the special interest for the tragic story of the two philosophers' friendship. The editors could not emphasize more its importance.

3. 1616. Two editors, one corpus, two books

D'Amboise obtained from monasteries or religious residences a few manuscript copies of the »Correspondence« and other Abelard's books in a not too bad condition. But he found some other bundles spoiled or since long eaten by cockroaches and worms¹⁰. Many were almost reduced to powder¹¹. The little care taken of the old manuscripts reflects the fear masters (*magistri*) of monastic life had towards ideas capable of corrupting minds. Despising reading – Bernard of Clairvaux says that handwork is far better for liberating monks' mind, – they condemned *volens nolens* a lot of manuscripts to destruction. Look at the state Abelard's manuscript copies were found by d'Amboise and Duchesne. With time and before the application of printing procedures things had been worsening dramatically¹².

D'Amboise probably called for help from André Duchesne. He also found some manuscripts regarding Abelard. He then only mentioned where they came from, whereas he carefully indicated the name of d'Amboise for those originating from that provider's collection.

We may now start structuring the course of events. Duchesne put all the manuscripts together for comparison and checking. He ensured the proof-reading. A common corpus came out from the compilation of the manuscripts of all provenances. Taking special interest in Abelard's case, he added some »Notæ ad Historiam Calamitatum *Abaelardi*« to the corpus¹³. The composition of the volume started probably in the beginning of 1615. It was then presented to the counsellor of the royal privilege¹⁴.

8 MUCKLE, Story (as in n. 2); Jacques MONFRIN, *Abélard. Historia Calamitatum. Texte et Commentaires*, Paris 1962. Of course this letter has another title: *Abaelardi ad Amicum suum Consolatoria* where »Abelard« is right.

9 We are preparing commentaries and notes about that aspect of the »Correspondence« under the title: »Commentaires et Notes sur les Idées recues«.

10 *Qui diu cum blattis & tineis erant luctati*. See d'Amboise's »Præfatio apologetica, in: [GERVAISE], *Véritables Lettres* (as in n.5).

11 *Multo plures in illo pulvere & situ delituerunt*; *ibid.*

12 *Priusquam singulari Dei beneficio ars Typografica inventa est ante sæculi decimi quinti initia*; *ibid.*

13 For details, see MONFRIN, *Abélard* (as in n. 8); Jacques DALARUN, *Nouveaux aperçus sur Abélard, Héloïse et le Paraclét*, in: *Francia* 32/1 (2005), p. 19–66.

The approbation issued in June. It was ready for press in the workshop of Nicolas Buon in Paris at the latest during the second semester of 1615. Samples may have issued the same year.

Till now only one is indexed. Letterpress printing continued in 1616. Without the royal Privilege, issued June 1615, it could hardly be possible to print the corpus before 1615.

New printings may have occurred later on¹⁵. There is only one and the same corpus we can see in the volumes dated 1615 and 1616, be they attributed to Duchesne or to d'Amboise. To date, no edition has been found in two separate tomes or volumes¹⁶.

- 14 The royal privilege gives that special permission simul, aut separatim. The Bibliothèque Municipale of Grenoble shows for example a much smaller volume (quotation F.8502) with d'Amboise's title page, containing only 1. the »Praefatio apogetica; 2. the »Apologia eiusdem Petri Abaelardi Epistola et Fidei confessio ad Heloissam«, 3. the »Censvra Doctorvm Parisiensium«, 4. the 5 pages of the »Petri Abaelardi Apologia sev Confessio Fidei«, 5. the »Elenchus«, 6. the »Epistolae Magistri Petri Abaelardi Nannentesis, Theologi acvtissimi, et Heloissæ eius conivgis, primæ Paracleti Abbatissæ, EPISTOLÆ«. It is clear that the volume is intended to reproduce both the eight letters of the »Correspondence« and d'Amboise's preface. Duchesne's »Notæ ad Historiam Calamitatum Petri Ablaelardi« are lacking. The volume is dated 1616. It holds a handwritten mark on the top left *ex Bibliotheca Camusianâ* and, not well readable, on the top right *Oratorii Gratianoss* [...]. It looks more like an off-print or *separandum* than like a secondarily detached part of another volume. It comes from the *Bibliothèque* of Nicolas Camusat (1575–1665), a canon at Troyes who also greatly cared for old books and manuscripts. Was it the first intention of d'Amboise to print the »Correspondence« separately from the beginning? A condition Duchesne did not accept or respect in including the masterpiece in the corpus of Abelard's Complete Works?
- 15 Maybe it is the case of the volume presented by I. Pagani in the publication she made of the »Epistolario«: Iliana PAGANI, *Epistolario di Abelardo ed Eloisa*, Turin 2004. We found Internet mention of a reprint (not examined) by Red Star Books EUUK of »Petri Abaelardi, Filosofi et Theologi, Abbatis Ruyensis et Heloisae Coniugis Eius, Primæ Paracletensis Abbatissæ, Opera. Parisiis (Paris), Nicolai Buon, 1616, Reprint. 4to. [56], 1197pp, [13]. Full-calf, raised bands, gilt title to spine with gilt to compartments and edges, marbled endpapers. Heavily worn, with loss to spine ends and corners, outer joints split and exposed, leather lifting around outer joints, holding on cords which are also exposed. Internally slight loss to front endpaper, first few leaves have been damp at some point, mainly towards fore-edge, browned and lightly stained throughout. Michael Wodhull's copy, characteristically with his name, date and price paid to ffeop, together with some bibliographical information, later owners name beneath. »Wodhull, Michael (1740–1816), book collector and poet... Among the most knowledgeable of English bibliophiles, Wodhull began collecting in the late 1750s and continued until a few years before his death. A tall and striking man, he was noted in the auction rooms for his elegant military bearing, courteous demeanor, and decisive bidding. Particularly well informed on the subject of French printing of the sixteenth century... Wodhull was in the habit of recording bibliographical information on the flyleaves of his books. A volume containing transcriptions of these annotations, made at Thenford in 1817, is now in the British Library (Egerton MS 3785), along with a shelf list of the library (Egerton MS 3786)« (Oxford DNB). See also De Ricci »English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts 1530–1930« pages 81–83. Brunet 1:3. Appears to be a scarce edition of Abelards Works, with WorldCat showing only 5 locations. Fair.« [http://www.marelibri.com/topic/1656main/HeloiseEtAbelard/books/AUTHOR_AZ/0.,5/5/2009].
- 16 We have not found where this probably wrong indication of two separate volumes comes from. But it persists. For example in »Bibliographie, Historische Werkausgaben« on the very careful Internet site of Werner Robl [www.abaelard.de, 5/5/2009] we find »Petri Abaelardi Opera omnia – Editio princeps. Duchesne et Amboise F., 2 Bände, Paris 1616«. About the same occurs in the catalogue of the Libraries LECTURA which is »Le portail des bibliothèques des villes-centres de Rhône-Alpes«. [<http://www.lectura.fr/fr/catalogues/resultats.cfm?tou=conjugis,5.5.2009>]:
 auteur Abélard, Pierre
 co-auteur Heloise Amboise, François d' Du Chesne, André

Having discovered a volume dated 1615, or one of the first of this year 1615, with the name of Duchesne alone, with his notes and without the display of other literary foreign contributions, we could draw a somewhat easy conclusion.

D'Amboise has found several manuscripts. He entrusted them to Duchesne, who studied and took care in collating and editing them. The result came out as an impressive unique »corpus manuscritorum cum notis et indice in-4to« of 1208 pages. Preceding the corpus, other contributions are placed depending of the editorial management. They help to distinguish Duchesne's composition from d'Amboise's one.

As the royal privilege expressly states, permission was given for partial printing. We may suggest that the question of a separate printing of d'Amboise's manuscripts of the famous Letters under his personal auspices could have already been discussed, but Duchesne had been quicker in editing the corpus. He proved to be proud of the publication as he did with other collections, in a d'Amboise's different way.

The printing of all pages of the whole corpus is absolutely the same in all three specimens examined separately further, either the one of 1615 or the others of 1616. They show the general arrangement of the texts, the same notes in the margins, the same type variations. They present the same paging mistakes, the same sudden changes of the case in the page numbers¹⁷. The

titre	Petri Abaelardi... et Heloisae coniugis eius... opera... nunc primum... in lucem edita... diligentia Andreae Quercetani Sermones ed. a Francisco Amboesio. Argumenta epistolarum a Fr. S. H. Guil.
éditeur-date	Parisiis: sumptibus. Nicolai Buon, 1616
description	2 vol., [1-1bl-22-] 1197 [-11] p. 4 307 182 – Reliure veau marbré XVIII.Ex-libris ms titre: Thomae barcibba [?] alluina [?] 1616. Ex libris ms titre: Thomae barcilla [?] alluina [?] 1616 Fonds avant 1801 (307 182)
Exemplaire(s)	Lyon.

The citation is given for exemplifying the difficulties for librarians and their customs to distinguish between a work in two volumes (or tomes) and the singularity of a same work with two different title pages (d'Amboise's and Duchesne's). An edition (1616 or else) in two separate volumes probably does not exist.

- 17 In the corpus there are several typographic mistakes. We have specially checked the paging where they are easy to find out. Being the same in all three samples, they help proving the same printing of the different samples. We find only one exception page 345, which will be discussed further. Other little errors are also very similar. The continuity of the text is never disturbed by the wrong page number. Here are some paging fantasies we have seen: Page number 129 is a little smaller than the previous one 128; the three numbers of page 143 do not fall into line, 43 being smaller and in italics; page 306, under the words *sic casus* of the last line there is a special bluish pale sign, something like P9, printed in all volumes; there are also variations of the case of the numbers, like in page 499 or 539, or various examples of bad alignment of the numbers. We always see the same occurrence and importance in all samples, be they Duchesne's or d'Amboise's. Page 450 is followed by page 447, instead of 451 which is the recto of the last folio of the »Heloissæ Problemata«. The verso is the normally numbered 452 with the title and beginning of the text »MAGISTRI PETRI ABAELARDI NANNETENSIS, ADVERSUS HÆRESES LIBER, EX VETERI MS. VIRI ILLVSTRISSIMI Francisci Ambosii Equitis, &c«; page 596 is followed by page number 567 recto; verso is normally designed 598, but 599 is replaced by 592 and then comes correctly 601 but only less well printed in A; next page to 758 is numbered 769 instead of 759; page 780 is followed by the normal text page but numbered 881 recto, the verso being correct with number 782. Page 826 is followed by the number 278 on the next page. Page 94^l (with the 1 being the capital letter i as exponent) is seen in all volumes. Page 942 (verso) is paginated 943 with 43 in italics and the following page is normally numbered as a recto page 943. After a normal 954 comes 939 whose number is in a smaller case. The same smaller case is seen for page 956. Page 964

tail-pieces or *cul-de-lampes* and the drawing of the capitular letters at the beginning of the texts also are all the same at the same place.

We must admit then that there was only one printing composition for the main part of the book – call it the corpus of manuscripts, to which Duchesne's »Notes« must be added – and maybe various run offs. The result we see is that the corpus of all three samples is

absolutely identical as far as misprints are concerned.

The presence of the same contents for what we consider the substantial part of the publication, the corpus, makes us speak of a previous issue or more ancient, say a first edition in 1615 and a »true gemellar« one the next year 1616. We are only confronted with different secondary additions. All parts of the body (*corpus*) are present and the same in all samples 1616 as in the 1615 one, but the »head« (being constituted by different little pieces) is different.

It may have been some misunderstanding – or some agreement – between the two suppliers of the manuscripts. D'Amboise probably wanted to be named as co-editor or whatsoever, and the manager of the edition. After all it is not but a mere bibliographical curiosity. The title-page is different enough to give credit to two different editors. The attachments put in the first part of the books being not the same, it is not surprising that by consulting catalogues and visiting libraries we are exposed to meet with variable titles, but substantially not different volumes, once admitted that what counts is the corpus, i.e. the text of the manuscripts.

Jacques Monfrin has described very accurately the two types of specimen dated 1616. Recently Mr. Jacques Dalarun confirmed the almost perfect similarity between the codex of reference (manuscript Bibliothèque municipale Troyes 802) and the text of the d'Amboise's manuscript printed by Buon in 1616, and gave us the results of his collation¹⁸. We know now that the first sample dates back to 1615.

The question remains whether it was really, as it is often pretended, d'Amboise's preface which ruined the project commercially speaking? Considering the scarcity of the volumes still present, the fiasco affected both editions. So we are at a loss if we do not suspect the clerical interposition not too much against the editors, but against the heretic philosopher who was still the direful dialectician able to constitute the nexus of the »aristotelician link«¹⁹.

is not numbered. Page 965 is numbered 964. P. 966 not numbered is followed by p. 965 which had to be 967 and so forth. A page numbered 996 (following p. 968) – the number less readable on the 1615 sample denotes a simple variation of ink content – is followed by p. 970. Since page 964 the paging is miscalculated. The paging should normally be started again from page 981 but, in all samples, this one is marked 973 (folio GGgggg ij), 8 page numbers are then lost (4 folios) without loss of text. Further on, next to page 1064 comes page 1045, but the next p. 1066 is right anew. After the right page 1067 comes p. 1060, then the right page 1069. After p. 1095 comes p. 1099, then the right number 1097. But the text itself always shows continuity in the right place, without any disarrangement. There is only one exception. Page 344 (in »Epistola XXV«) is followed by the wrong number page 336 in both Duchesne's volumes, but by page 345, which is right, in our d'Amboise's sample. However the contents of the pages are following correctly. There is no loss of text. Had the printers intended to correct the paging before delivering d'Amboise's volumes? Due to the hand composition of the characters, it would have been somewhat easy to do so. This point seems to confirm the anteriority of Duchesne's printing. Maybe the Grenoble's volume we have found is unique. It is a proof. Why they have not corrected the other mistakes is a new question, as others may subsist for the felicity of future amateurs.

18 DALARUN, Nouveaux aperçus (as in n. 13).

19 Ernst BLOCH, *Avicenna und die aristotelische Linke*,²1963, p. 11 »Es gibt eine Linie, die von Aristoteles nicht zu Thomas führt und zum Geist des Jenseits, sondern zu Giordano Bruno und der blühenden Allmaterie [...]« and *ibid.*, p. 65: »Und auch von hier aus hat der morgenländische Naturalismus nach Europa gewirkt; so auf Abälard, so auf Roger Bacon, so zuletzt auf die europäische Aufklärung des siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts«.

4. Two different title-pages

Let us present the two titles giving rise to the confusion.

A. Here is the title-page of the Duchesne's volumes, be that of the volume found in Grenoble dated 1615 or the other one 1616 consulted in Lausanne (see also ill. 1). Both hold the same subscription to Duchesne.

PETRI
 ABAELARDI,
 SANCTI GILDASII
 IN BRITANNIA ABBATIS,
 ET
 HELOISAE CONIVGIS EIVS,
 QUÆ POSTMODVM PRIMA COENOBII
 Paraclitensis Abbatissa fuit,

OPERA.

*Nunc primum ex MMS. Codd. eruta, & in lucem edita, studio et diligentia ANDREÆ
 QVERCETANI, Turonensis.*

what means: »brought to light (revealed to the public) through the study and the care of André Duchesne from the Touraine.« The inscription does not pretend that the manuscripts are Duchesne's own.

No credit is given here to d'Amboise's collaboration. As for the manuscripts, it is given later on, when suited, following their title.

B. On the title-page of d'Amboise's volumes (see also ill. 2) we read:

PETRI
 ABAELARDI,
 FILOSOFI ET THEOLOGI,
 ABBATIS RUYENSIS,
 ET
 HELOISÆ CONIVGIS EIVS,
 Primæ Paracletensis Abbatissæ

OPERA.

The title-page does not even mention Duchesne's contribution. On the contrary, it precises in following that the »Opera« are edited for the first time from the manuscripts and collections of d'Amboise:

*Nunc primum edita ex MMS. Codd. V. Illus. Francesci Amboesii, Equitis, Regis in sanc-
 tiore Consistorio Consilarij, Baronis Chartræ, &c.*

Thus, putting forward his most impressive titles, d'Amboise did not so much underline his powerful prerogatives, but stressed the importance of finding the manuscripts and attributed less or no importance to the editorial work of Duchesne. Moreover, the declaration sounds as if all manuscripts were his properties and none other existed. He simply forgot the others. Forgetting also what is due to his co-worker as editor, he reinforces our (faulse) impression of his unique contribution to the work, his own one. In the rest of the book, there is no other mention to Duchesne's participation except for the end Notes.

Moreover, the title page of B volumes pays attention to two other texts, which were important enough to be mentioned in the title. Being not present in A, they also help distinguishing d'Amboise's production from Duchesne's. One is d'Amboise's apologetic preface (*cum eiusdem Præfatione Apologetica*). Here d'Amboise's support in Abelard's cause is stressed. The second one is the judgment of the Paris' doctors (*& Censura, Doctorum, Parisiensium*) which makes it clear that d'Amboise had looked for and finally gained the authorization of the Theologians²⁰. The *Censura* does not concern the *Præfatio* but only the Manuscripts. It was an important security measure. Well done, but probably a miscalculation. It did not protect him against a condemnation by the *Index Romanum*. On the contrary, Parisian doctors surely did not appreciate the vicinity of Abelard's apology with the submitted corpus. It was like if putting a stamp on the corpus, they had also approved the preface, a not submitted document.

Of course, both inscriptions, that of Duchesne and the other of d'Amboise indicate that various manuscripts have been used (*ex MMS. Codd. eruta*) and that the final presentation of the real texts is a collation.

The resulting text of the corpus, such as it was printed in 1615 and 1616, shows indeed that there were no significant differences between the manuscripts available at this time (but partly lost since), which were held back by Duchesne and d'Amboise for publication, and the final text presented now to us²¹. But it remains troubling to us that in the title-page neither Duchesne mentioned d'Amboise's manuscripts, nor d'Amboise Duchesne's contribution.

However the final Notes by Duchesne are continuously forming the last part of all the consulted volumes A and B, what contributes to the resemblance of the books and confirms the uniqueness of the corpus. They are already present in the 1615 volume.

What has happened between them conducting them to introduce the same book in two different titles and first pages? In consideration of all conjectures, we must keep prudent and confess that we still do not know. But now, having found a Duchesne's sample printed in 1615 already, we are better placed to admit that the first editorial work is due to Duchesne, as is the first print. He was the first who presented the work in 1615 to obtain the royal privilege. He has already drawn up his notes. Apparently he negotiated alone with the printer Nicolas Buon and the engraver about the frontispiece. So we may conclude that he has compared and checked the different texts and was ready to complete the whole make up already spring 1615.

Nobody now could defend d'Amboise for not having been better placed – as Briton like his hero and »saint« Abelard – and more ardent than his younger fellow in colligating the manuscripts, so that he could be called the first editor, at least the first saviour of our precious inheritance. No doubt that he started earlier than his protégé in collecting the material. Nobody could contest either that most of the manuscripts came from d'Amboise's harvesting, in particular the »Correspondence«. Duchesne himself makes allowance for that where it fits²². D'Amboise did the same versus his »co-author«, should it so happen. Nevertheless we cannot but consider that the first printed volume was Duchesne's realization. He did the definitive

20 The Paris' doctors »have the science to determine what is true and what is wrong, what is just and what unjust. It is the incontestable privilege of Paris University«: Jean-Baptiste-Joseph AYROLES S.J., *L'Université de Paris au temps de Jeanne d'Arc et la cause de sa haine contre la libératrice*, Paris 1901, p. 7.

21 Compare the text given by MONFRIN, Abélard (as in n. 8) and our recent transcription of d'Amboise's text. See note 6 for reference.

22 »De son côté, Duchesne reconnaît que d'Amboise avait eu de longtemps l'intention de publier la correspondance d'Héloïse et d'Abélard«: see MONFRIN, Abélard (as in n. 8), p. 35. And about Duchesne, d'Amboise wrote: *Maximam partem [...] voluminis Bibliothecæ cluniacensæ, nuper a viro docto Andrea Quercetano collectæ & editæ, a quo etiam me adjutum in conferendis, emendandis & edendis his exemplaribus non diffiteor*.

collation of the manuscripts as a true historian. As such he merits Monfrin's acknowledgement²³.

The consultation of library catalogues could put up a list of how many Duchesne's specimens and how many d'Amboise's are still present. The task would be ungrateful. Not only hazards of all kinds are threatening the conservation of human constructions, and destroying humanity goods, but errors in cataloguing old books are not so rare – the consultation of them being scarce, the opportunity for correction remains weak –. We are never sheltered from a big surprise.

Of course the status is now much better than in 1831 when Antonio Panizzi (Brussels 1797–1879 London) entered the British Museum Library. He took Abelard's »Opera« for the demonstration of what must be a useful catalogue and what is not or even worse than useful. Of course he chooses one of the worst examples he could choose. The catalogue he consulted indicated d'Amboise's specimen. He borrowed it, and see, it was Duchesne's one. He commented that it was pity; worse, it was lost time²⁴.

And it is still not perfect²⁵.

- 23 Ibid. p. 36: « Les manuscrits de plusieurs ouvrages d'Abélard ont en effet disparu depuis le XVII^e siècle, et notre source unique est aujourd'hui en ce cas l'édition de 1616. Il n'est pas indifférent que les copies aient alors été faites, ou revues, par un érudit [Duchesne] dont tous les travaux, chaque fois qu'on a pu les vérifier, sont apparus d'une extrême exactitude. Des transcriptions dues à d'Amboise, qui ne compte pas parmi les érudits du temps, seraient loin d'offrir les mêmes garanties. C'est là un point essentiel.»
- 24 »Poiché frequentavo la biblioteca che conservava il volume descritto in questo catalogo »utile« [...cum præfatione Apologetica pro PETRO ABÆLARDO per FRANCISCUM AMBÆSIUM (Andream Quercetani) et censura Doctorum Parisiensium, in lucem edita, studio ejusdem Andreae Quercetani; cum indice. 4°. Parisii, 1616], lo richiesi in lettura; ma, ahimè, con mia grande delusione scopersi che il catalogo, coi suoi bei titoli completi, era meno »utile« degli altri o, meglio, »peggio che inutile«: era stata una perdita di tempo richiedere il libro e cercarvi ciò che cercavo e che il catalogo prometteva, e non c'era.» Instead of that, he received the »Opera; Nunc primum ex MMS. Codd. eruta, et in lucem edita, studio ac diligentia Andreae Quercetani, Turonensis.« Actually it was not so incorrect (he got the same content), but the jumble of the authors' names is troubling, as it still is. He already discussed the difficulties in cataloguing Abelard's and Heloise's »Opera«, whether Duchesne's or d'Amboise's. The citation above could be found in: Antonio Panizzi's Letter to the Right Hon. Francis Leveson-Gower, first Earl of Ellesmere, London, Jan. 29, 1848. The full text of the Italian translation of this letter by Luigi Crocetti was present on Internet years ago. See now www.cultura.toscana.it [accessed 5/5/2009], *Bibliografia degli scritti di Luigi Crocetti (1958–2007)* a cura di Laura Desideri e della Biblioteca Luigi Crocetti. Year 2000 the sixth Crocetti's writing is listed as follows: »223 (6). Mr. Panizzi al Right Hon. Earl of Ellesmere / traduzione di Luigi Crocetti. – p. 33–48. – (I classici). – Nota del traduttore, p. 33. – La lettera, del 29 gennaio 1848, si rivolge al presidente della commissione reale incaricata dell'inchiesta sull'operato di Panizzi a capo del Department of Printed Books del British Museum. In: *Biblioteche oggi*. – Vol. 18, n. 6 (lug.–ago. 2000). – Pubblicato anche come estratto.«
- 25 May 2009 we find eight specimen of Abelard's »Opera« in the Bibliothèque municipale de Grenoble on the Internet site: <http://www.lectura.fr/fr/catalogues/resultats.cfm?tou=conjugis>. But look, mirabile visu, it seems to be present there a specimen issued 1614! With the title page A, i.e. holding the name of d'Amboise but under the author's name of Duchesne! Actually, one can read the following indications: Duchesne, And P. Abaelardi et heloisae conjugis ejus, opera, nunc primum edita et mss. codd. V F. Amboesiis, cum ejusdem præfatione apologetica (curante A. Duchesne) Parisiis: Buon, 1614. But it is a mistake as Mrs. Monique Samé, *assistante qualifiée de conservation* of the Bibliothèque municipale de Grenoble, wrote to us may 2009: »La date 1614 indiquée sur le catalogue informatisé est une erreur de lecture de la fiche manuelle lors de la saisie [...]«. The Bibliothèque municipale de Grenoble does not own but the three specimens we are considering here.

The consultation through Internet is not so easy because of the various systems of cataloguing. Long titles like those are almost always differently abridged, incomplete or simply wrong. It is amazing to meet bibliographic indications of d'Amboise's specimen e.g. accompanied by (*curante Andr. Duchesne*) or others mentioning Duchesne in the title of d'Amboise's, as in Sir Panizzi's times.

However, such occurrences are not completely wrong as we have seen, but must be reevaluated. It would not be a useless task, but in reality, we would not be a little surprised to see how relatively easy it was in the past for the printers to change parts of a title during the manual printing process or to exchange folios putting this one and retiring another. So the contents of the volume could differ, one from the other. But in our comparison study what is true for the annexes, – they are different – is not for the corpus. The corpus is everywhere the same.

Antoine Lancelot (1675–1740), librarian at the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, said that Duchesne's specimen were the most common. Monfrin and Robl say the same²⁶. Since the printing and the diffusion could already start in 1615 for the Duchesne's series, this is quite understandable. On the contrary Brunet writes that d'Amboise's are the more numerous²⁷.

C. The most interesting feature in the title-pages we could compare, is the date of the first print. We consider that it is not a simple detail. Till now, to our knowledge, nobody has ever mentioned 1615 or M.DCXV as the date of issue of Abelard's »Opera«. It was always given and accepted that the first printed Latin edition of Abelard's and Heloise's Letters as well as Abelard's and Abelard's related other »Opera« issued in 1616 or M.DCXVI. So now we have to correct all previous indications.

The title-page of first Duchesne's volume 1615 (or Grenoble's specimen) is quite the same as that which figures on the Duchesne's sample of 1616, save the date and the advertisement to the reader.

5. Two different frontispieces

In both the Duchesne's and d'Amboise's volumes, the engraving adorning the title-page is heavy loaded. Generally speaking, Duchesne's frontispiece appears better than d'Amboise's. The square figure is larger and more precisely outlined. It has clear cut margins; in d'Amboise's they look as though torn to shreds. See the figures.

If the motive in and outside the central medallion is the same – a wanderer in the middle front of the drawing, accompanied by two porters –, it differs a lot in the details of the drawing. D'Amboise's drawing presents itself like an imitation of the original Duchesne's prior one. It has many characteristics of an original false copy,

26 MONFRIN, Abélard (as in n. 8); ROBL, www.abaelard.de (as in n. 16).

27 See e.g. Jacques-Charles BRUNET, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres contenant 1° un nouveau Dictionnaire bibliographique*, Paris 1860: »Abailard ou Abélard. Petri Abælardi et Heloisæ opera, ex ms. Cod. Franc. Amboesii edita, cum ejusdem præfatione apologetica (curante Andr. Duchesne). Parisiis, Nicolas Buon, 1616, pet. In-4«. [...] Les exemplaires de ce livre sont de deux sortes: les uns, et ce sont les plus communs, portent sur le titre, le nom de Fr. d'Amboise, auteur de la préface apologetique pour Abailard, que ce même titre annonce; les autres, avec le nom d'André Duchesne, n'ont plus la préface apologetique, mais renferment une épître dédicatoire, une courte préface et des *testimonia* qui ne sont pas dans les premiers... Les éditions de 1606 et 1626, que citent plusieurs bibliographes d'après quelques catalogues inexacts, n'existent pas. Voyez à ce sujet le Dictionnaire de Bayle, article Amboise (Fr.), note D«. Brunet found only volumes with the commonly indicated year of edition 1616 and none with 1606 or 1626. But, what is important, in saying that Duchesne's samples no more show the preface, he seems to give priority to d'Amboise's ones. If so, he is wrong as we are trying to establish it here.

moreover rather badly executed. This feature may indicate that the misunderstanding between both men were not simple. They worked separately. One is proud of his editorial work; the other of his manuscripts.

Inside the large crown of the medallion four angels are seated with an arm stretched out. At both sides we recognize, on the left, the nude body (from the navel up) of a woman and on the right of a man, maybe the new Eve and the new Adam (Heloise and Abelard).

The drawings of the personages and the neighbourhood (essentially the buildings) are roughly speaking the same, but in the execution they differ a lot. In Duchesne's books, the central personage looks barefooted and bareheaded, his right arm touches the breast, his left one carries a paper roll not detached from the suit. In d'Amboise's volume it is not so. The two accompanying servants present themselves in a different moment of their movement compared with what we see in d'Amboise's. The fortress in the background does not present the same architecture. No doubt d'Amboise's imitation is approximate and not very successful.

The fact that d'Amboise did not resort to Duchesne's engraving may signify that he wished to deliver his own book. Had he this intention from the beginning of his relationship with Duchesne? Was he simply envious or, for Duchesne not having included his preface, deceived by the imbalance with his notes? The choice of another cut puts the seal on their dissension.

The legend of both frontispieces is written in capital letters in a large crown encircling the vignette: *Mecum porto omnia mea*. (I carry everything with me). A well chosen motto for what was considered Abelard's »Complete works«. It is the same in all three exemplars. Crown and letters are the same in both Duchesne's books, but larger than in d'Amboise's. The editor's folio stamp is the same in all three items, but better printed and visible on Duchesne's volumes.

Beneath the frontispiece, we find the same indications in all three volumes apart of the year. In Grenoble's Duchesne book one can clearly read **M. DCXV**. On d'Amboise's sample like on the other Duchesne's volume, the date commonly known and given everywhere without any other exception till now is **M. DCXVI**.

The reference to the printer is the same in both places:

PARISIIS,
Sumptibus NICOLAI BUON, via Iacobæa, sub signis
sancti Claudij, & Hominis Siluestris²⁸.

The date is also followed by

CUM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

28 Under the signs of St. Claudius and the wild man from the forest (the woodman).

6. Composition of Duchesne's book 1615

For the rest the title-page of the 1615 exemplar is absolutely the same in its different part as the one described for Duchesne's sample 1616. The 3 pages of the dedicatory epistle to Benjamin de Brichanteau (1585–1619), bishop-duke of Laon, and *pair de France*, are not present in the first exemplar of 1615.

1. The next page after the title-page shows on one single folio recto verso an address to the lector, entitled *LECTORI*. This piece does not exist in the sample of 1616 we have seen.

Andreas Qvercetanus notifies to the »candid« reader that in reading the book he will first become acquainted with *Magister Abelard*.²⁹ He will find here in particular the *Historia calamitatum sive miserarium suarum*. But not only this: *non est opus hic tibi retexere*. He gives tribute to various persons and sources like *Petrus Mauricius cognomen Venerabilis*, the bishop *Otho von Frisingen*, the monk *Gaufridus* author of a *Vita S. Bernardi*, *Robertus Antimiodorendis*, *Guillelmus Nangius*, author of a *Chronic of Touraine*³⁰, *Vincentius Bellonacensis*, *Johannes Clopinellus Magdunensis*³¹, and various other people. No word about what would be a d'Amboise's tribute, except for d'Amboise's manuscripts where credit is given to the provider under the title, should the occasion arise.

2. Immediately after this admonition to the reader, we find the table of contents of the book corpus:

ELENCHUS OPERUM HOC VOLUMINE CONTENTORUM

on two folios, without paging.

3. On the verso of the second folio of the table of contents (page 4) is printed also the summary of the King's privilege:

SUMMA PRIVILEGII Dato Parisiis 26, die Iunii, anni 1615.

Signed *ad mandatum Regis maiestatis* by *Renovard*.

We should retain that this privilege was delivered on June 26 in the year 1615 valid ten years (*intra decennium*) for a book already composed. The printers enjoying the six last months of 1615 for printing, the book could already have been sold during the second semester of 1615.

The text of the »Summa«, although short, precises many an interesting detail. It namely underlines that the privilege is given in consideration of the work done by Duchesne: *studio ac diligentia Andreae Qvercetani Turonensis*. It is exactly the same in the other Duchesne's sample dated 1616, but not in d'Amboise's volumes where this last mention to Duchesne is lacking.

It could also be distributed as a whole (*simul*) or in part (*aut separatim*). A possibility we already mentioned (see note 13).

There is no mention of d'Amboise as a managing co-editor.

The section of 12 pages called »Testimonia veterum de Petro Abælardo et Heloisa« is not present.

4. A folio (pages 1 and 2 of the corpus) comes next announcing recto Abelard's and Heloise's Letters (verso is blank)

29 *Candidus* meaning candid, frank, sincere, impartial.

30 Guillaume de Nangis (or Guillelmus de Nangiaco or Nangiaco or Nannius or Nangius Monachus Sancti Dionysii, ca.1250–1300), a Benedictine chronicler wrote various works about local history. Some, like the »Gesta Sancti Ludouici et Regis Philippi III« are inserted in André DUCHESNE, *Les Antiquités et recherches de la grandeur et majesté des roys de France*, Paris 1609. See Charles DE RÉMUSAT, *Abélard. Préface*, Paris 1845. Considered as a proof of a direct contact between them, the fact could explain his possible contribution in writing the arguments (abstracts) which are placed as epigraphs before each letter of the »Correspondence« and signed only in abbreviated form.

31 Jean de Meun or Jean de Meung, for him see note 1.

MAGISTRI
PETRI ABAELARDI
 NANNETENSIS, THEOLOGI
 ACUTISSIMI,
 ET HELOISSÆ EIVS CONIVGIS, PRIMÆ
 PARACLETI ABBATISSAE,
EPISTOLÆ.

5. Then, page 3 starts with the text of the 8 letters of the »Correspondence«. The other folios, which are present in common Duchesne's specimen 1616 are lacking. This means that they were added afterwards, probably in 1616.

It is worth drawing attention to the fact that the »Historia calamitatum« is well given as the first letter of the »Correspondence«. It is clearly written *EPISTOLA* I. The argumentum is also everywhere reproduced at the beginning of each letter. Knowing exactly who Fr. Guil., their author, is would give important clues about the origin of the manuscripts, maybe also as to their authenticity (see note 28).

6. All the other works, which compose the corpus, are designated by the anonymous title »Opera«. The corpus is exactly the same in all three volumes we have examined. We have not seen any difference in contents and printing art. The main parts are announced by a special folio. It terminates with the *Index Rerum et Verborum* without any difference.

7. Duchesne's Notes are present as in the other samples we could examine. They are as included in the corpus.

7. Composition of Duchesne's book 1616

The »discovery« of a volume stamped 1615 seems a good opportunity to recall the composition of the already known 1616 issues.

Following the title-page, in the volume presented in 1616 as the product of André Duchesne (*Andree Qvercetani*) we find:

1. what Monfrin described as a »Dédicace« (or, better said a dedicatory epistle) to the *praesul* (protector) Benjamin de Brichanteau, bishop of Laon, a man much more illustrious and powerful than d'Amboise. Writing down his prestigious and most impressive titles, Duchesne dedicated the work to him: *Illmo & Rmo Praesuli Beniamino DE BRICHANTEAU, lauduni Episcopo ac Duci, Franciæ Pari, Anisii Comiti, sanctæ Genovesæ atque Barbelli Abbati*. In it Duchesne takes the opportunity of recording that Abelard actually was »a religious abbot« and »a very excellent rector of schools«. Duchesne signs this letter of recommendation as *deditissimus Andreas Qvercetanus, Turonensis*.

2. A Preface or *Prefatio ad Lectorem* where Duchesne praises Abelard. Considering that he was already most praised by his contemporaries, he could not but observe that a few have expressed some restriction as to the quality of his life or literary contribution; actually they were all envious imitators (*æmuli*).

Duchesne reminds us of some important elements of Abelard's life and the difficulties himself encountered in gathering together the manuscripts. He also introduces us to Heloise's character, pointing out Peter the Venerable's letter to her on occasion of her spouse's death. He indicates that the volume also contains her letters and some other minor opuscles of her own. He does not forget to praise her too as a woman who preferred literary sciences to motherhood, Sacred Books to Logics, the Apostle – Paulus – to Physics (*pro Physica Apostolum*), Christ to Platon, and cloister to Academy. She totally accepted the *conversatio* (or *conversion*), i.e.

»changing mind and way of life in advantageous exchange of the ties of carnal copulation for the ties of divine love (*caritas*)«³². She was a *tota jam & verè Philosophica mulier*.

At the end of the third page, Duchesne gives credit to his patron d'Amboise (*amplissimus et ornatissimus dominus*) for the role he played in the carrying out of the work when *cum beniguitate faciens* he transmitted benevolently his manuscripts to him. The young fellow Duchesne went so far as to recognize that d'Amboise was unselfish, helping him without mention of himself. That point is important to stress. We could not conclude that Duchesne would have been ungrateful. Maybe he only was too fast. Young, he could not wait.

Whatever the case may be, it was too late to mend, then this special Duchesne's »Preface« is only present in Duchesne's series of 1616. It is lacking in Grenoble's sample of 1615.

Lastly he also gives credit to *dignissimi Petuij Senatoris in Parisiensi Curia*³³ and Papyre Masson³⁴ *Foresij in eadem Curia advocati*, to the regular Canons of S. Victory, of the holy Augustin Order, among other consulted authors.

3. In the third place comes a list of persons in the witness-book for Abelard's case, with the following title: *Testimonia veterum de Petro Abaelardo et Heloisa* in six folios (12 pages). Not without remarking that some of these witnesses were full of acrimony³⁵.

4. The *Elenchus operum hoc volumine contentorum*. This index refers only to the collected manuscripts and the »Notæ ad Historiam Calamitatum Abaelardi«. The list is exactly the same in Duchesne's volumes 1615 and 1616 as in the d'Amboise's volumes. 4 pages are necessary. Here the list extends on the two folios recto verso. The fourth page comprises the end of the *Elenchus*. The items are the same in both specimens. But here page 4 gives also place to the *Summa Privilegii*. We will see that the disposition differs from d'Amboise's, because of the slightly bigger case chosen here.

5. The *Summa Privilegii* signed by Renovard is then placed directly after the *Elenchus* on the same last page. Other details are given further. In the text the special mention to Duchesne must be underlined: *studio ac diligentia Andreae Quercetani Turonensis*. It is only present in Duchesne's volumes.

6. The rest of the work gives the corpus of Abelard's and others' writings and the final Index. The numbering of the pages starts here.

6a. The first part or chapter presents the so called »Correspondence« with the Latin title: *Magistri Petri Abaelardi Nannetensis, Theologi acutissimi, et Heloissæ eius coniugis, primæ Paracleti Abbatissæ, EPISTOLÆ*.

On the leaf of its title page, (page number 1), one could read, immediately following the title, an important acknowledgment to d'Amboise's contribution: *Recens editæ ex MSS. Codd. Illustrissimi viri FRANCISCI AMBOSII, Regis in sanctiore Consistorio Consiliarij, Equitis, Baronis Chartræ supra Ledum, Domini in Hemerio, Mal-Noa, Neuillio & Borotta*.

The tribute due to d'Amboise is stressed by the repetition of the abridged mention *Ex MS. V. Ill. Francisci Ambosij Equ. &c.* page number 3 under the repeated title *MAGISTRI PETRI ABAELARDI ET HELOISSAÆ EPISTOLÆ*.

6b. The next chapter contains added Letters addressed by or to Abelard by various people with the remark: *Nunc primum ex varijs Codd. In unum collectæ et euulgatæ*. They are presented without reference to any of the contributors.

32 Viro suo post carnalem copulam tantó validiore, quanto meliore divinae charitatis vinculo adhaerens.

33 Probably Dionysius Petavius (1583–1652), one of the most distinguished theologians of the 17th century.

34 Jean Papyre-Masson or Papyre Masson or Johannes Papii Massonis (1544–1611). He was a French historian and geographer as Duchesne was, but also a biographer, literary critic and jurist.

35 Sed quorum plerâque felle & acrimonia redundant.

6c. The next one, the *Expositiones in Orationem Dominicam, in Symbolum Apostolorum* and in *Symbolum S. Athanasij* together with the *Heloissæ Paraclitensis Diaconissæ Problemata cum eiusdem Petri Abaelardi Solutionibus* is also given from anonymous origin.

6d. The following title *Magistri PETRI ABAELARDI NANNETENSIS, Adversus Hæreses Liber* is given with the reference of the source: *Ex Veteri MS. VIRI ILLVSTRISSIMI Francisci Ambosij Equitis, &c.*

6e. Next on a special leaf comes the title of the five books of the *Commentariorum super S. Pavli Epistolam ad Romanos* with the indication *ex Bibliotheca S. Michaelis Demonte.*

6f. Page 727 come Abelard's *SERMONES PER ANNUM LEGENDI ad Virgines Paraclitenses in Oratorio eius constituta.* Duchesne recognizes that they originate from an old manuscript now in the hands of d'Amboise *Ex Veteri Cod. MS. NOBILISS. Viri FRANCISCI AMBOSII, Regis in sanctorio Consilarij, &c.*

6g. The *INTRODUCTIO AD THEOLOGIAM divisa in III. Libros* comes from *Ex Bibliotheca Canonorum Regularium S. Victoris Paris. Ordinis S. Augustini.*

6h. The last part is constituted by the *NOTÆ AD HISTORIAM CALAMITATUM PETRI ABAELARDI* by Duchesne himself. They finish on folio MMMMmmm ij.

Summarizing, they are 500 pages out of manuscripts rightly attributed to d'Amboise, i.e. 213 pages of the »Correspondence« 36 pages of the »Adversus Hæreses« and 251 pages of the »Sermones«.

From Duchesne are the 58 pages of the »Notes« (p.1139 – 1197), maybe the other manuscripts given anonymously and the global arrangement of the book with the introductory texts, the *Enlenchus* and at the end the *Index* consisting of 11 not numbered pages?

The sequence and the texts are really the same in all three samples examined. The last page of the corpus of manuscripts is page 1137 with the *PETRI ABAELARDI DE BEATA VIRGINE Prosa.*

8. Composition of d'Amboise's book 1616

An undetermined number of volumes are attributed to d'Amboise, because they do mention only *Franciscus Amboesius* in the title-page, who functions not so much as the editor but as the provider of the most important manuscripts. We describe here our own volume³⁶.

In those volumes Duchesne's name does not appear on the title-page.

The secondary texts coming after the title-page and which do not belong to the manuscripts are different from A.

D'Amboise's volume contains:

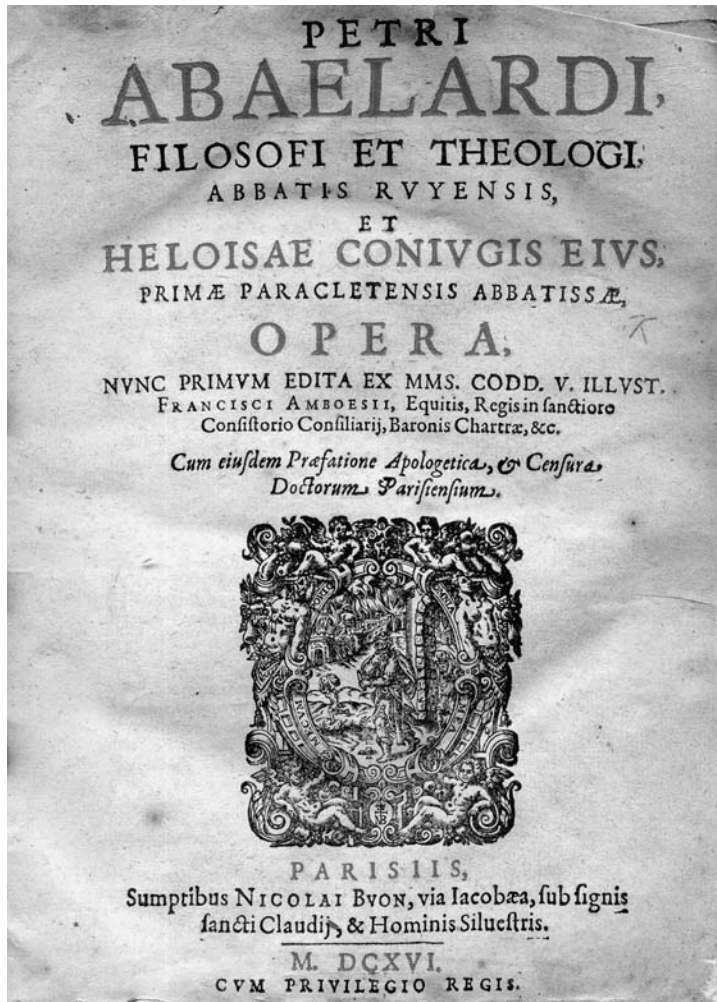
1. as an introduction, 19 folios of d'Amboise's »Præfatio Apologetica pro Abelardo«. The 38 pages are not numbered³⁷.

36 Our specimen has the same corpus as Duchesne's. 1137 numbered pages for the manuscripts. Page 1138 is blank. Plus 59 pages for Duchesne's Notes numbered 1139 to 1197. Starting at page 1198 the index ends the book but is not numbered. It gives the total of 1208 pages to which are added 54 extra pages not numbered placed in front of the book (essentially constituted by the 38 pages or 19 folios of d'Amboise's preface). It produces a total of 1262 pages without title-page and without 8 pages of the corpus which are not numbered because of misprints.

37 Below at right we find the numbering of the quires of 4 folios (8pages), a, aij, aiij and nothing, then b, bij, bijj and nothing, and so forth for c, d, and e. At the bottom of last page we find *FINIS APOLOGIÆ* and below the dictum: *Sine Tempore Tempus* (what means »there is a time without time« or »date will start at time« or »Time for printing will be respected without delay«, maybe in reference with the new »jacket«. Something like »All things come soon to those who wait.«



Ill. 1: Abelards »Opera«, title page of the edition of 1615 by André Duchesne (Cliché: Bibl. mun. de Grenoble).



Ill. 2: Abelards »Opera«, title page of the edition of 1616, bearing no reference to André Duchesne (Cliché: R. D. Oberson).

2. The table of contents or *Elenchus*. The curiosity is that three pages encompass the complete list because the typograph used a lower case than in Duchesne's samples.

3. In this way the summary of the privilege is printed alone on the verso of the second folio of the *Elenchus*, i.e. on its fourth page. As already mentioned, here the *Summa Privilegii* does not mention that it was remitted to Duchesne, whose study and diligence took care of the ordering of the documents and to whom the privilege was accorded for the corpus he presented to the authorities. In the fortress of friendship, there is no slight hit.

4. The next folio comprises recto above an admonition to the lector or *Admonitio ad Lectorem* of 7 lines, followed on the same page by

5. *Petri Abaelardi Apologia, seu Confessio Fidei*. 4 pages contain Abelard's apology or his confession of faith. The title is completed by *Universis Ecclesiae sanctae filii Petrus Abaelardus ex eis vnus, sed in eis minimus*, which records his humble membership to the Clergy. Peter Abelard says that he is just one son among the sons of the holy Universal Church, but the smallest among them. The same text of the *Confessio* is given anew in the corpus at pages 330 – 333 as Abelard's Letter 20 under the title: *Epistola XX*, which is listed in the *Elenchus*. Had d'Amboise not seen it? Or was it just to stress the benignity of »saint« Peter Abelard?

6. *Eiusdem Petri Abaelardi Epistola, et fidei confessio ad Heloissam*. An Abelard's letter to Heloisa designated by him as his *declaration of faith*, in one folio recto verso. Monfrin tells us that this letter is also reproduced at pages 308 – 309 of the corpus. Actually we find these pages in all three volumes in the middle of *Letter XVII quae est Berengarii Scholastici Apologeticus contra beatum Bernardum Clare-vallensem Abbatem & alios, qui condemnauerunt Petrum Abaelardum*. For that reason it is not listed in the *Elenchus*.

In the margin of page 308, this letter is pointed out as not complete: *Hæc Epistola Abaelardi non extat integra*. But why not to admit that Berengar of Poitiers gave us the best of it and the rest is lost. So, there is no doubt »it appears to be complete«³⁸. It could not be found elsewhere.

7. The *censura doctorum Parisiensium*. This censorship concerns the various parts of the corpus manuscript. They contain only 8 observations about the Letters of the Correspondence, but no remarks concerning the Preface, which indeed does not belong to the Corpus. It was probably added after submission to the censorship and...not censured.

8. After the 54 pages not numbered of the Preface, the corpus of the manuscripts starts with the Correspondence. The eight letters occupy 342 pages.

On the recto of the next folio (being page 1 not numbered as usually), appears the title *Magistri Petri Abaelardi Nannetensis, Theologi acutissimi, et Heloissæ eius coniugis, primæ Paracleti Abbatissæ, EPISTOLÆ*. On the same page, under the title, in little characters we find again the reference to d'Amboise's contribution:

Recens editæ ex MSS. Codd. illustrissimi viri FRANCISCI AMBOSII, Regis in sanctiore Consistorio Consiliarij, Equitis, Baronis Chartræ supra Ledum, Domini in Hemerio, Mala-Noa, Neullio & Borotta. Sir Franciscus Amboesius is boasting about all his titles. He also gives two precisions. There are »various« manuscripts »and they are recently edited«. This statement is not a surprise as the page is already printed with Duchesne's corpus without change and does not depend on d'Amboise, who has no reason to protest. In any case the corpus is already printed separately.

A bit lower we find the following announcement: *Cum argumentis Fr. S. H. Guil.* (»with the arguments of Fr. S. H. Guil.«) who is still not identified³⁹. The verso of the first folio is blank. Everything appears then exactly the same as in the volumes with the title-page A (Duchesne's).

38 Jan M. ZIOLKOWSKI, *Letters of Peter Abelard. Beyond the Personal.*, Washington 2008, p. 115.

39 We suppose it could be Guillaume de Nangis, archivist and historiographer in the second half of 13th century, author of the *Gesta S. Ludovici noni, Francorum Regis*, given as *descripta per fratrem Guillelmum de Nangiaco, Monachum Sancti-Dionysii in Francia*; for him see note 30.

9. After the »Epistolæ« we find as in all other specimen, all the manuscripts enumerated in the *Elenchus*. The corpus appears strictly compact and without any difference in all samples examined.

10. Duchenes' Notes are present without change. Andreae Qvercetani, Tvronensis, *NOTÆ ad Historiam Calamitatum Petri Abaelardi*. The document is page numbered from 1139 to 1197.

11. The *Index Rerum et Verborum notabilium, quæ in hoc opere continentur* has 11 pages. It is more onomastic than material. The first one is on the verso of the folio of the last numbered page recto 1197. This folio is quoted MMMMmmm ij. Next folio is the MMMMmmm iij. The last of the six folios dedicated to the *Elenchus* carries the inscription NNNNnnn iij, The end is on the verso in all specimen.

12. A very last folio mentioned by Monfrin and others is absent in all three exemplars under examination. It is probably found in some copies – maybe the last samples sold – with recto the *Errata quædam et obmissa* and verso the *Series cartarum*.

In the Grenoble's Bibliothèque municipale we could examine another sample of d'Amboise's series 1616 under quotation number D.5811. The volume is thicker and not in such a good condition, but complete. It is exactly the same as ours in contents and presentation. Title-page, frontispiece, number of pages, disposition, everything is to the letter identical. No *Errata* page is either present.

9. A unique specimen printed in 1615 gives priority to Duchesne

The troubling point of somewhat different titles and different secondary pieces of contents gives rise to the question: who is the first, who had done the work: Duchesne or d'Amboise? Or are we still allowed to consider there are two different books? What is now certain is the presence of an exemplar of Abelard's »Opera« in 1615. This specimen consulted in Grenoble holds Duchesne's name. The indication given by the title-page is very clear. There is no doubt about that point. There is no trace of correction neither of the Roman numerals nor of the full end stop. Nothing of the impression we could have by looking at the reproduction of the title-page of an exemplar dated 1626 as Mrs. Ileana Pagani gives us in her very accurate translation and excellent presentation of the »Correspondence«. In Mrs. Pagani's volume we could have doubts concerning the dating⁴⁰. This is absolutely not the case in examining the Grenoble's specimen.

Neither do we get the impression of a borrowing of the last number, the »I«, which could have been erased for example. No, there is no doubt at all; it is clear cut 1615 (see the figure).

Grenoble's volume 1615 is in a good state of conservation. It is kept under the quote D.5810. It comes from the famous *bibliothèque* de Monseigneur de Caulet, bishop of Grenoble, a passionate bibliophile. His library was bought in 1772 by clever inhabitants of Grenoble who would not let it be dispersed. The precious collection was the main motive for the creation of the Bibliothèque municipale.

40 PAGANI, Epistolario (as in n. 15). Plate (hors-text) between p. 258 and 259 is given as a reprint made in the year 1626 or M.DCXXVI. But the three last numbers XVI are not placed at the same horizontal level as the four first M.DCX; they also show less ink. Of course our remark is not given to contest the date, but to stress that there is no such *Kunstfehler* in the Grenoble's specimen of 1615 as we can see in the illustration we reproduce here with kind permission of the staff of Grenoble's Bibliothèque municipale. – The imperfection to which we are drawing attention in Mrs. Pagani's illustration may be due to the clumsiness of an apprentice charged to put the number of the page, as we see it rather often in the corpus. But it is nonetheless conspicuous.

The presence of a volume of the Duchesne's series marked 1615 is quite plausible with the date of the royal privilege given by Renouard (June 1615). In the seventeenth century, most of the erudites – principally based on Lancelot's opinion – agree that Duchesne's are the first genuine samples⁴¹. They did not know that at least one volume already issued the same year 1615.

But we also find precisions on that point in dom Armand-François Gervaise's remarkable first valuable translation into classical French of Heloise's and Abelard's »Correspondence«⁴². He deliberately seems to ignore Duchesne's production. In his *avertissement* he writes that he extracted the letters from Abeillard's »Opera«, »printed under the care of a learned Magistrate [François d'Amboise in the margin] in 1616, which is the only printed work we could find«⁴³. However he also pretends that he has consulted other and older manuscripts, which he could find in the most curious libraries. He mentioned variants⁴⁴.

Antoine Lancelot, the renowned librarian of the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, was at the leading edge of cataloguing. He was a reliable provider of numerous and precious data for Pierre Bayle's Dictionary. Bayle's monumental work could in turn supply other bibliographers, such as David Clément (1701–1760; a Huguenot bibliographer in Hanover) and Georg Christoph Hamberger (1726–1773; philology professor at Göttingen University).

Hamberger criticized Clément for presenting d'Amboise's sample he had not even seen⁴⁵. Hamberger probably saw some Duchesne's volumes. He gives Duchesne's right title-

41 See e.g. Pierre BAYLE, *Dictionnaire historique et critique* 2 vols., Rotterdam 1697; David CLÉMENT, *Bibliothèque curieuse historique et critique, ou Catalogue raisonné de livres difficiles à trouver*, Göttingen, Hanover and Leipzig, 1750–1760; Georg Christoph HAMBERGER, *Zuverlässige Nachrichten von den vornehmsten Schriftstellern vom Anfange der Welt bis 1500*. Tome IV, Lemgo 1764, p. 167–170; François-Henri-Stanislas de L'Aulnaye: see the next note below about dom Gervaise.

42 Dom François Armand Gervaise wrote and published anonymously at first: *La vie de Pierre Abeillard, abbé de S. Gildas de Ruis, ordre de S. Benoist; et celle d'Héloïse son épouse, première abbesse du Paraclet*, Paris 1720, and then: *Les Véritables Lettres d'Abeillard et d'Héloïse, tirées d'un ancien Manuscrit Latin trouvé dans la Bibliothèque de François d'Amboise Conseiller d'État*. Traduites par l'Auteur de leur Vie, avec des Notes historiques et critiques très curieuses, 2 vol., Paris 1723. But the first Letter, the »Historia Calamitatum« is not translated. An illustrated edition of his work issued later on is: François Armand GERVAISE *Lettres d'Héloïse et d'Abailard*. Edition ornée de huit Figures gravées par les meilleurs artistes de Paris, d'après les dessins et sous la direction de Moreau le jeune. Preceded by a *Vie d'Abailard* par M. DE L'AULNAYE, 3 vol., Paris [1796], which probably was considered replacing the first Letter, which is also lacking. Text reprinted in: *Lettres d'Héloïse et d'Abailard / version dom Gervaise. Avec Vie d'Abailard / par M. de l'Aulnaye; notes et apologue par Roland Denise OBERSON*, Lausanne 2002. The two important Gervaise's contributions were completely neglected and ignored till now by the academic world. The judgement of the librarians adopted by the scholarship expressed all reserves about this book, but it must be revisited; it seems not tenable. The presentation of the Latin text is remarkable; the translation is far from being inadequate. Psychological consideration must be taken into account by the translators for approaching the entire meaning of a probably clandestine text. Dom Gervaise (1660 – 1751) as a Carmelite received during his long life a lot of confessions, which were very instructive for an open mind like his, curious of understanding love problems, among others. He was receptive to the message delivered by the couple of lovers. Add to this that his language is delightful. In his book the details given along the first part attributed to de l'Aulnaye are resourceful. The only mistake is the absence of the first Letter.

43 [...] *imprimées par les soins d'un sçavant Magistrat en 1616, qui est la seule impression que nous en ayons*. GERVAISE, *Les Véritables Lettres* (as in n. 42), p.xiiij.

44 [...] *Mais encore de plus anciens Manuscrits que j'aye pû trouver dans les Bibliothèques les plus curieuses*«, *ibid.*

45 *Von der Seltenheit dieser Ausgabe der Werke des Abaelardus gibt Clement in seiner Biblioth.*

page⁴⁶. He cites then Bayle's note D to the article about Fr. D'Amboise in his Dictionary, reporting both title-pages and inscriptions. But Hamberger sees no argument in d'Amboise's favour. He considers that d'Amboise's book only exists in the catalogues. For him it is simply a wrong inscription⁴⁷. He is quite aware of the distinction to be made between who provided the manuscripts and who did the editing work⁴⁸. He grounds his conviction not only on the title-page and on Bayle's declaration, but on two Duchesne's assumptions in his own »Notae« starting page 1139 [which corresponds exactly to the page in all the samples we described]. The first one is on page 1156 where Duchesne declares that he edited the »Tractatus de Unitate et Trinitate divina« from head to heel⁴⁹. Hamberger precises that it can be found at page 971 of the corpus of the book, exactly where we could also find it. This way he bears witness that the Duchesne's sample he had in hands has the same corpus as the three samples we presented above. The second Hamberger's proof is found page 1161 where Duchesne gives the list of other little Abelard's pieces: letters from and to Abelard, the three »Expositions«, then the »Solutions to Heloise's problems« and various »Sermones« for the whole Year to the Paraclete Virgins & *alia quaedam Opuscula quæ nunc EDIDIMUS: Hymnos etiam Ecclesiasticos, qui reperiuntur in Breuiario Paraclitensi*⁵⁰.

In the Hamberger's declaration, although the conclusions are partly not quite justified, some points are particularly interesting. He does not believe that Duchesne had sold his work to d'Amboise. He is probably right in saying this. But he did not understand that the corpus is in all cases already printed and that it was not so easy to change a word or two. Above all, d'Amboise had no reason to exclude Duchesne's Notes, which were the pendant of his preface and stressed again the interest for Abelard's story.

Hamberger's explanation for the presence of d'Amboise's »Praefatio apologetica« is not without interest. For him, d'Amboise had simply not had enough time for the edition of his own book. He only wrote a preface. Being too busy, he probably abandoned his project to Duchesne⁵¹.

Curieuse hist. & crit. T. I. p. 2. Nachricht, da er sie aber nicht selbst gesehen, so führet er die Aufschrift falsch an; HAMBERGER, Nachrichten (as in n. 41), p. 167.

- 46 *Ich gebe sie [die richtige Aufschrift] hier von dem Exemplar des academischen Büchersaals. Einige Exemplare haben folgende Aufschrift: Petri Abaelardi... & Heloissae... ex MSS. Codd. & in lucem edita studio ac diligentia Andreae Quercetani, Turonensis. Paris. Nic. Buon, 1616. 4; ibid.*
- 47 *Ich sehe aber keinen Grund in Ansehung des erstern [d'Amboise's]. Vermuthlich komt es blos davon, dass in einigen Bücherverzeichnissen der Titel falsch angegeben worden, z. E. Aberlardi opera per Fr. Amboesium, wie es in dem Cat. De la B. du R Theol. T. I. p. 400, und aus demselben bei Clement, l.c. geschehen ist. Allein der ächte Titel, wie ich ihn vorlege, sagt nicht, dass diese Werke von Franz Amboise ediret sind, sondern ex codd. Franc. Amboesii.; ibid., p. 168.*
- 48 *Nach meiner Meinung ist Quercetanus, oder du Chesne Herausgeber; ibid.*
- 49 *Tractatus hic ille est quem edidimus ad calcem Operis, & cui varia nomina passim Abaelardus ipse tribuit, in: Notae ad Histor. Calamit. Buon 1156. The presence of notes written by André Duchesne (Andreas Quercetanus) present at the end of both Duchesne's and d'Amboise's volumes contributes to the bibliographic misleading.*
- 50 *Diese beiden Stellen machen mir es auch unwahrscheinlich, dass du Chesne die Ehre, die er von der Ausgabe dieser Werke haben konnte, dem Amboise verkauft hätte, wie beim Bayle zu verstehen gegeben wird. In diesem Falle würden sie wol geändert worden, auch allenfalls du Chesne Name vor den Anmerkungen weggeblieben seyn. Ich glaube vielmehr, dass du Chesne seinen Namen des Amboise aus Ehrerbietung nicht an die Seite seetzen wollen, wie denn auch in denjenigen Exemplaren, wo auf dem Titel des du Chesne Name stehet, die apologetica praefatio des Amboise fehlet, und hingegen in den andern Exemplaren des du Chesne Dedication und Vorrede weggeblieben ist, HAMBERGER, Nachrichten (as in n. 41), p. 168.*
- 51 *Inzwischen siehet man aus der praefatione apologetica, dass Amboise wirklich an seiner Ausgabe gearbeitet hat, und sie schon in einem andern Werke versprochen habe. Es scheint aber, er sey*

Conclusions

What is now sure is that at least one volume of the first print of Latin edition of Abelard's and Heloise's »Correspondence« carries the date 1615 i.e. **M.DCXV**. Till now we have not located another sample of this kind. Till yesterday things were still presented differently. In the introduction of our translation into French of the first six letters of the Correspondence, we recently advanced as commonly accepted the date of 1616 for the first printing in Latin of the »Correspondence«. Worse we admitted the probable anteriority of d'Amboise's. We must confess we were wrong on both items: the date and the attribution. We would like to apologize for that.

If the collection of a large part of the manuscripts represents d'Amboise's main contribution to the first printed edition of Abelard's and Heloise's Opera, the exhausting work of their checking and comparing is Duchesne's work. Now there remains little doubt that Duchesne's print out was the first. There is very little indication of manuscripts belonging to Duchesne. On the contrary an important part of the collection of manuscripts is presented by Duchesne as coming from d'Amboise's fund. Other manuscripts were borrowed from monastic institutions. In his »Præfatio« d'Amboise reports to have spent many years to gather his harvest. After all the final work has to be attributed to both Duchesne and d'Amboise.

Sébastien Rouillard reported the failure of the work. He attributed the commercial fiasco to d'Amboise's apologetic preface. Instead of warning the lector to be prudent in his lecture, d'Amboise praised and defended Abelard without restraint. His preface, according to Rouillard, generated disorders⁵². The entire work was indeed condemned and placed under Rome's »Index librorum prohibitorum«. In suppressing his preface, d'Amboise intended to save the project. He would have given up his edition, letting Duchesne a clear field. This theory supposes that d'Amboise's volumes came first. It would also explain why d'Amboise's samples are rarer. We have succumbed to these arguments⁵³. Presented by de l'Aulnaye, those arguments were not entirely accepted by him. He still considered that Duchesne's books were the first.

All these efforts to find an explanation are no longer valid. The discovering of a first Duchesne's sample dated 1615 without any preface sets the records straight.

Antoine Lancelot, the renowned librarian of the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, advanced the opinion that Duchesne transferred the rights of his work to d'Amboise for economical reasons. Lancelot was a reliable provider of numerous and precious data for Pierre Bayle's Dictionary. His view is still afloat. Bayle, careful as always, reported it, but seemed not fully convinced. As we still encounter Duchesne's books in 1616 (and they are probably more numerous) – d'Amboise's printing following Duchesne's or both being on the market at the same time –, both edition could have run ... and failed concurrently.

We are at a loss regarding the disagreement between both rescuers of manuscripts. D'Amboise may have pretended not to have been enough considered from an intellectual point of view. *Genus irritabile vatum*. Maybe he did not understand why his name did not figure in the title-page. In editing his own sample, d'Amboise simply thought to stress the value of the manuscripts he found and maybe also, having finished his Preface, he desired being published. On his side, Duchesne did not realize that there was a kind of equivalence between the impor-

durch andere Geschäfte an der Ausführung gehindert, und dieselbe dem A. du Chesne von ihm überlassen worden. Im übrigen enthält diese Sammlung die ersten acht Werke des Abaelardus, wie ich sie angeführet habe; ibid, p. 169.

52 The lawyer Sébastien Rouillard (born in Melun in XVI^e century – died in Paris in 1639) wrote a large work on Melun: Sébastien ROUILLARD, Histoire de Melun, or Antiquités de Melun. Contenant plusieurs raretez notables, et non descubertes en l'Histoire generale de France [...], Paris 1628, cited in DE L'AULNAYE, Vie d'Abailard (as in n. 42), p. 122.

53 See the »Introduction« in: OBERSON (ed.), Héloïse – Abélard (as in n. 7).

tance of his arrangement and d'Amboise's tremendous contribution in bringing the best manuscripts he had preserved. It seems to us now that Duchesne was correct in mentioning the origin of d'Amboise's manuscripts where it suited. However we may feel that Duchesne could have been more tactful in redacting his title-page.

The fact is that Abelard's and Heloise's »Opera« – either Duchesne's or d'Amboise's presentation – found little interest at the time of publication and in the following centuries. We may speculate on some reasons explaining the fiasco. The proud but candid counsellor was imprudent enough in writing an apology of the heretic theologian in an era hitherto premature. The assumption that the commercial disaster could have been the result of the pursuit of the persecution against the philosopher more than four centuries after the composition of the texts is still controversial. However we suppose that what could have initially embarrassed many people still existed before the apology went out. The process of condemnation was since long intended to hide the truth. The efforts will last to keep the clandestine message of the Letters in the background. But we look at the things as if they were rather progressing also in this respect.

That we all shall correct the date of the first Latin print of Abelard's and Heloise's writings is the main result of our visit to the outstanding Bibliothèque municipale of Grenoble⁵⁴.

54 We are very thankful to its Staff for their kindness and professionalism in helping us identifying the precious volume. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Monique Samé and also to Mrs. Mairead Brosnan, who helped me revising the English text.