

MARGARET OF YORK'S *VISIONS OF TONDAL*

RELATIONSHIP OF THE MINIATURES TO A TEXT

TRANSFORMED BY TRANSLATOR AND ILLUMINATOR¹

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Although *The Visions of Tondal* was the most widely read story in Northern Europe of a journey to the next world, Margaret of York's copy of the *Visions* is the only known manuscript with a cycle of illustrations.² No other illustrated manuscripts have survived and none are known to have existed.³ Thus the first and fundamental step in understanding the twenty miniatures is to read the text itself. Indeed, this is what Simon Marmion, Margaret's artist, had to do when faced with a commission to illustrate a text that had no pictorial tradition. The resulting relationship between text and picture in Margaret's book is thus a very close one, and it is possible to experience this relationship, as Margaret did, by viewing the reproduced miniatures and reading the excerpts from the text provided in the Getty Museum's 1990 publication of the *Tondal*.

The excerpted texts in this recent publication are, it must be stressed, from the version of *The Visions of Tondal* to be found in the Getty manuscript. The original treatise was composed in Latin at Regensburg around 1149 by a monk named Marcus for Gisila, abbess of the Benedictine convent of Saint Paul in that city.⁴ The Getty translation into old French was done in the fifteenth century by a person whom I suspect, but yet cannot prove, was David Aubert himself, the scribe who signed the *Tondal* and its sister manuscript, *The Vision of the Soul of Guy de Thurno*, also in the Getty Museum.⁵ Whether or not the Getty translator was Aubert does not matter to this article; what does matter is that a comparison of the Getty French text with the Latin original reveals a number of differences. And it is an awareness of these differences between the original twelfth-century Latin and its fifteenth-century French translation that enables one to understand more fully the iconography of Marmion's cycle, more fully than if one read either the original Latin or the French translation alone. These differences, of course, are not self-evident in the Getty's 1990 publication, but can be gleaned from a comparison of the Getty version with the original Latin.⁶ Thus the first theme I will discuss is the transformation of *The Visions of Tondal* by the translator. The second theme, which will also increase our understanding of the Getty miniatures, is a by-product of the first: the transformation of the *Visions* by the illuminator.

Transformation of *The Visions of Tondal* by the Translator

The differences between the twelfth-century Latin text of the *Visions* and the fifteenth-century French translation can be categorized into three types: additions, omissions, and errors.

Certain sections of text in the Getty version do not exist in the Latin. The translator composed, for example, a new prologue (fols. 7–7v). The themes of the original Latin prologue, with its specific references to Abbess G., to whom the text was dedicated, were deemed unsuitable for Margaret of York.⁷ At the end of the

Latin *Tondal* there is also a prayer, addressed in the name of Abbess G., that Margaret's translator omitted, adding one of his own composition.⁸ There are also, as might be expected, numerous small additions peppered throughout the body of the text. In the dramatic opening scene, where Tondal suffers his seizure, the Latin merely says that the knight was unable to retract his extended hand. In the Getty version, the translator specified that Tondal had extended his *right* hand.⁹ And this is what took pictorial form in Marmion's picture; but this detail is insignificant, for Marmion might just as easily have made Tondal right-handed without any textual specificity. On the whole, in other words, the additions to be found in the Getty translation of the *Visions* are of little importance to the pictures.

The passages in the twelfth-century Latin that the fifteenth-century French omitted are more noteworthy. In Margaret's manuscript, Tondal's final vision concerns the realm of Virgins and the Nine Orders of Angels. After this experience, the Latin original describes, in two short chapters, how Tondal encounters Saint Ruadhan and then meets with Saint Patrick and four Irish bishops.¹⁰ The Getty translator deleted these two sections. The fact that these episodes are more concerned with twelfth-century Irish religious politics than matters of faith relevant to the fifteenth century may have encouraged the translator to omit them.¹¹ Not included by Margaret's translator, they were, of course, not illustrated by Marmion. But their absence has another, more subtle, but quite profound influence on the cycle of pictures, which I will return to in the second part of this paper in the discussion of the transformation of the *Visions* by the illuminator.

It is in the category of translation errors, however, that we hit pay dirt. Margaret's translator had a good grasp of Latin, but his hold was not perfect. The errors he made are relatively small and few, and they would not even be worthy of discussion were it not for the fact that, ironically enough, some of these very errors seem to have caught Marmion's eye during his reading of the text. A few of them end up having a pivotal influence on the *Tondal* pictures.

There are a few mistakes in hell. There is the large, birdlike creature who consumes the unchaste monks, nuns, and priests and, a little later, according to the Latin original, gives birth to these unfortunate souls into a freezing lake. Margaret's translator changed the verb to "defecate," and this very means of conveyance from the beast's stomach into the glacial surface of the lake is the one Marmion illustrates.¹² The valley wherein are punished the Perversely Proud and Presumptuous in the Latin original had, as its main feature, a river that was the source of the sulphurous stench; the translator missed this and the resulting illustration evokes the foul odor but not, subsequently, its source.¹³

More significant is the translator's misreading of the description of Lucifer. In the Latin original, the Prince of Darkness, chained to a burning gridiron, is equipped with *one* thousand hands with which to grab and crush the damned souls. Margaret's translator increases the hands to *ten* thousand, and says that Satan has *as many* feet.¹⁴ With just *one* thousand hands, an artist might easily utilize a more or less standard image of Lucifer when illustrating the *Tondal* text. This is what the Limbourg brothers did in their *Tondal*-inspired miniature in the *Très Riches Heures*. Satan is depicted, following details mentioned in the *Tondal* text, on a burning gridiron while exhaling a huge breath in which swirl numerous souls. The Limbourgs, however, ignored the textual detail of the thousand hands.¹⁵ The designer of the woodcuts accompanying the printed edition of the *Tondal*, *De raptu anime Tondali*, circa 1483, also was able to consolidate a traditional Satan with the bizarre one described by Marcus by grafting to both sides of a common hellmouth an extra series of hands, although the result looks more like a pair of wings than a multitude of hands (fig. 72).¹⁶ Marmion, however, not reading the Latin original but the translator's adaptation, did not really have Satan with ten thousand hands and, in addition, ten thousand feet, described a little choice but to depict a Satan bristling with an array of limbs similar to that of a caterpillar (fig. 73).



Figure 72.
Hellmouth, in *De raptu anime Tondali* (Speyer, Johann and Konrad Hist, circa 1483). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 189, leaf 17.



Figure 73.
Simon Marmion. *Lucifer, Prince of Darkness* in *The Visions of Tondal*. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 30, fol. 30v (detail).

The errors of greatest significance in Margaret's *Visions of Tondal*, however, occur after the knight and his guide have emerged from hell, and it is on these mistakes that I wish to concentrate because their effect on the pictures is not just in specific details but on this part of the cycle as a whole.

After Tondal and his guide leave Lucifer, the French text tells us that "they passed through much darkness until they found themselves out of it and in a clear place, for light appeared to them, followed by a great radiance. . . . They walked a long way until they came upon a wall, very high. *Ensconced in the wall*, on the side they were approaching, was a great multitude of men and women who, night and day, were exposed to the wind and rain and felt great pain, especially from hunger and thirst" (italics mine).¹⁷ "Ensconced in the wall" is how Dr. McDermott and I translated the phrase in old French, "dedens le mur," for it was clear to us, as it was to Marmion, that "dedens" was meant literally as "within." The original Latin phrase is "infra murum ex illa parte, qua ipsi venerant."¹⁸ Marcus used "infra" to mean "below," which in his text means "at the bottom of" the wall. Jean-Michel Picard, capturing the genuine sense of the original, translated this section as "they [Tondal and his guide] saw an extremely high wall, and on the near side of the wall, in the direction they were coming from, there was a very large multitude of men and women enduring wind and rain."¹⁹ Medieval Latin, however, stretched the definition of "infra" to also mean "within," and this is the sense, mistakenly, that Margaret's translator found in the word.²⁰ He is guilty, in this case, of translating words and not meaning.²¹ Marmion innocently took the phrase "dedens le mur" literally and ensconced the Bad But Not Very Bad within the substance of the wall (fig. 74). The result was probably not as peculiar looking to fifteenth-century eyes as it may be to our own. The Bad But Not Very Bad are positioned like sculpture on a Romanesque facade or, as my colleague William Voelke has observed, like the ten painted statues of personified Vices that the lover encounters on the exterior of the Garden of Mirth in the opening passages of the *Roman de la rose*.²² Verification that this interpretation on the part of Margaret's translator was indeed erroneous can be found in a contemporaneous source. This is the circa 1483 printed edition, *De raptu anime Tundali*. The Bad But Not Very Bad in the printed book are shown "infra murum" according to Marcus's original meaning: a mass of rather bedraggled-looking souls, piled up in a heap, is shown "at the bottom of" and not "within" the wall (fig. 75).

Tondal and his guide continue along this wall and, entering it through doors that open of their own accord, come to the fields inhabited by the Good But Not Very Good.²³ There, as described in the subsequent chapter, they see also Kings Conchober and Donatus.²⁴ Margaret's translator committed no major errors here and the Latin original, French translation, and Marmion's pictures are in accord. Tondal and the angel then witness King Donatus's temporary torment: for three hours each



Figure 74.
Simon Marmion. *The Bad But Not Very Bad*,
in *The Visions of Tondal*. Malibu, J. Paul Getty
Museum, Ms. 30, fol. 33v.

Figure 75.
The Bad But Not Very Bad, in *De raptu anime
Tundali* (Speyer, Johann and Konrad Hist,
circa 1483). New York, Pierpont Morgan
Library, PML 189, leaf 19v.



day he must wear a hair shirt and burn in fire up to his navel.²⁵ This episode, however, Marmion did *not* illustrate; the reason for this omission will be explained below.

Tondal and his guide then come to another wall, this time wrought of silver and, although there is no door, they pass through to the other side, according to the Latin text, and visit the Faithfully Married. Here, however, Margaret's translator commits another error.²⁶ The original Latin, from Picard's translation, reads, "When they had progressed a while further, they saw an extremely high and very bright wall. This wall was of silver, very dazzling and beautiful. *Although the soul could not see any door in it, without knowing by which divine power he entered, he found himself inside* and, looking around, he saw choirs of saints singing in exultation . . ." (italics mine).²⁷ Margaret's version, in translation, reads, "When they had proceeded a little they came upon a wall, very tall and shining. The wall was all of solid silver, well wrought and very handsome. But the soul could see no door. *And (I know not how) he then looked around and saw* a beautiful and large assembly of saints . . ." (italics mine).²⁸ The sense of the Latin original is interpreted correctly in the circa 1483 woodcut for this chapter. The Faithfully Married are clearly inside their wall, and, with the fourth wall imagined although not depicted, the space suggested is a completely enclosed one (fig. 76).²⁹ Margaret's translator completely misunderstood the mysterious passage of Tondal and his angel *through* the silver wall. In the Getty manuscript, the pair approach the wall and then "mysteriously" see the assembly. They do not pass through the wall. This is reflected, albeit subtly, in Marmion's illustration (fig. 77). The Faithfully Married are definitely on the *outside* of their wall. The sky, here painted gold, is alongside the silver wall, and, in the viewer's imagination, descends to the horizon. The assembly clearly stands on the outside of whatever the silver wall is enclosing and not inside as the twelfth-century text describes.

Tondal and his guide next visit the Glory of Martyrs and the Pure.³⁰ The original Latin, in Picard's translation, reads, ". . . they beheld another wall as high as the first one and made of the purest and brightest gold. . . . *They passed through it in the same way as for the first wall.* They could see before them many seats of gold and gems . . . on which elders were seated . . ." (italics mine).³¹ Margaret's inaccurate French translation reads, "they chanced to see from afar another great wall, very high and long, rather similar to the first one already spoken of. But this wall was entirely made of fine gold. . . . *When they had passed this very noble wall,* they came upon several very sumptuous thrones. . . . Upon these thrones were sitting men and women . . ." (italics mine).³² As before, Tondal and his angel, in the fifteenth century, are not permitted to pass through the wall as they did in the twelfth; they simply come to it and walk along its exterior. Marmion, of course, follows the translator's error and seats the Martyrs and the Pure on the outside of the gold wall (fig. 78). This is clearly



Figure 76.
The Faithfully Married, in *De raptu anime Tondali* (Speyer, Johann and Konrad Hist, circa 1483). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 189, leaf 22.

Figure 77.
Simon Marmion. *The Faithfully Married*, in *The Visions of Tondal*. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 30, fol. 37.



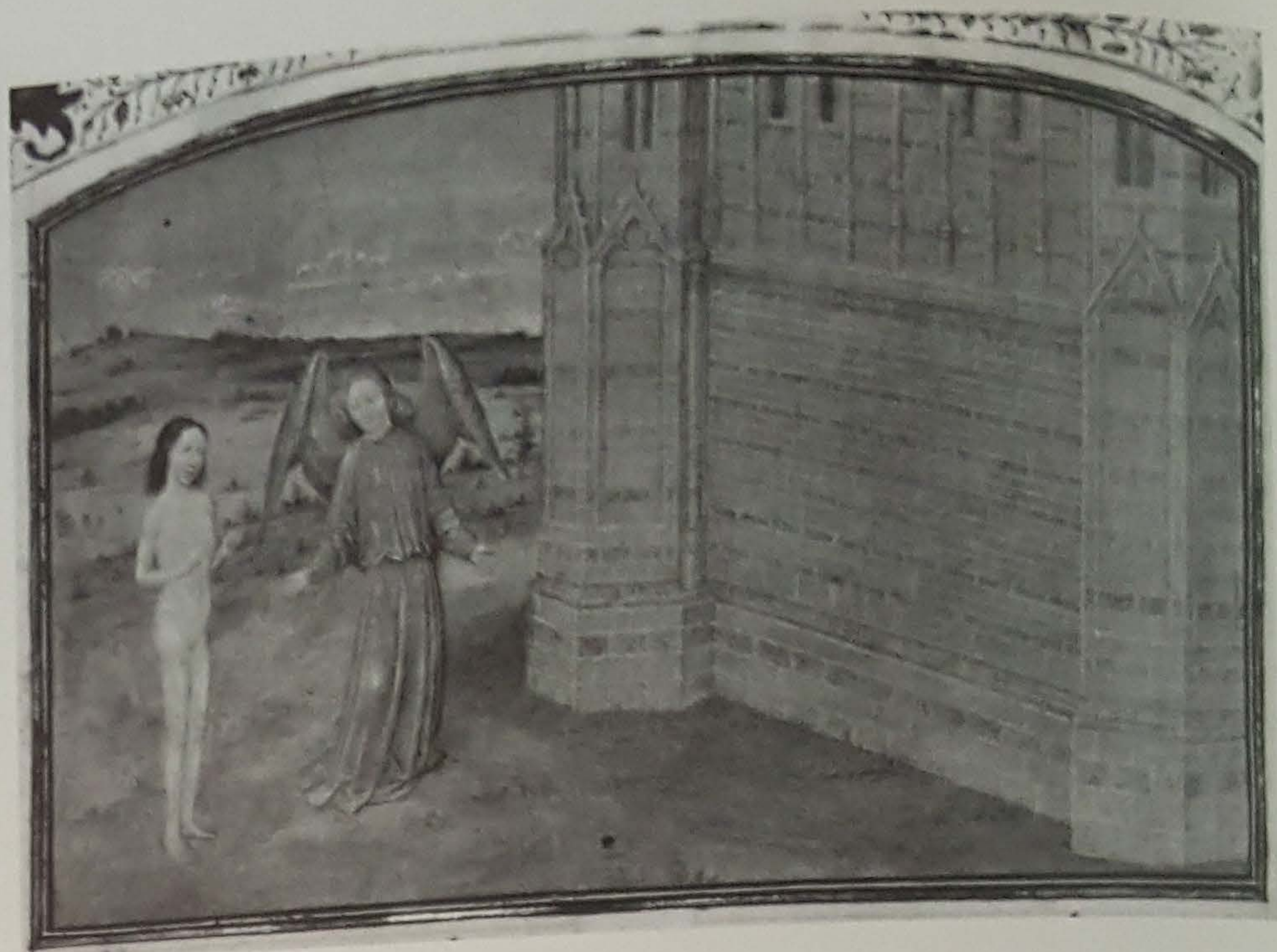
not the case in the circa 1483 woodcut, where, again, the wall forms an enclosure within which the blessed reside (fig. 79). There is another difference between this woodcut and Marmion's miniature. Neither the Latin original nor the French translation specify the location of the thrones occupied by the Martyrs and the Pure. The woodcut correctly reflects the sense of the Latin original, that is, thrones simply set here and there within the walled enclosure. Marmion, however, introduces an imaginative innovation and ensconces the Martyrs and the Pure *within* their gold wall, a positioning obviously paralleling that of the Bad But Not Very Bad (fig. 74). While the latter must glumly stand in Romanesque niches, the Martyrs and the Pure get to relax on golden Gothic thrones.

Tondal and the angel proceed to the Glory of Good Monks and Nuns, where twelfth-century and fifteenth-century texts are in general harmony.³³ The next chapter describes their visit to the Tree of the Confessors, the second episode Marmion chose not to illustrate, again for reasons I will relate below.³⁴

Tondal and his guide then come to the Glory of Virgins and the Nine Orders of Angels.³⁵ Did fatigue plague Margaret's translator, or haste to complete the commission hound him? Curiously, he left out one of the Nine Orders of Angels.³⁶ He also made a more serious error. The Knight Tondal and his angel arrive at the final wall of their journey, this one made of precious stones and mortar that was like gold. The original Latin, from Picard's translation, tells us, ". . . they saw a wall whose height, beauty and brightness were unlike the others. . . . This wall . . . aroused great love for it in the minds of those who saw it. As they climbed the wall, *they saw* without a doubt that the eye has not seen nor ear heard nor has it entered into the heart of man what things God has prepared for those who love Him. For, there *they saw* the nine orders of blessed spirits. . . . *They also heard* words that cannot be told" (italics mine).³⁷ Margaret's translator, however, provides this version: "This wall was so bright and shiny that it would ward off any displeasure or trouble, and it would inspire with consolation and joy the hearts of those who would look upon it. O how great are the things prepared by Our Lord God for those who love Him, because they *will see* the orders of the blessed angels. . . . They *will hear* the secret words that cannot nor must not be told" (italics mine).³⁸ The beatific vision, to which Tondal is treated in the Latin original of the twelfth century, is mistakenly withheld from him by the fifteenth-century French translator who changed the verb tense from the past to the future. This difference between the original text and its translation can be instantaneously grasped by comparing the circa 1483 woodcut with the Getty miniature. As the cut shows, Tondal, lifted up by his angel, receives his glimpse of Virgins and the Nine Orders of Angels over the wall of gems (fig. 80). Marmion's picture reflects the text from which he was working and shows Tondal's frustrating confrontation with the wall; indeed, it is this concealing wall that is the real subject of the miniature (fig. 81).

Figure 78.
Simon Marmion. *The Martyrs and the Pure*,
in *The Visions of Tondal*. Malibu, J. Paul Getty
Museum, Ms. 30, fol. 38v.

Figure 79.
The Martyrs and the Pure, in *De raptu anime
Tondali* (Speyer, Johann and Konrad Hist,
circa 1483). New York, Pierpont Morgan
Library, PML 189, leaf 23.



Transformation of *The Visions of Tondal* by the Illuminator

The next world described by the twelfth-century *Visions of Tondal* was a very different place from the hereafter believed to exist in the fifteenth century. A greater understanding of Marmion's cycle emerges from an awareness of how the illuminator carefully managed to wed the twelfth-century eschatology with that of his own time.

The next world described in *The Visions of Tondal* is divided into five unequal parts: Upper Hell, where torments are temporary; Lower Hell, the seat of Lucifer, where torment is unending; the exterior wall of Terrestrial Paradise, where the Bad But Not Very Bad endure temporary pain; Terrestrial Paradise, inhabited by the Good But Not Very Good and a place of both temporary pleasure and punishments; and, finally, Celestial Paradise, a series of places of eternal reward. The fifteenth-century hereafter, on the other hand, had a much simpler topography: hell, purgatory, and heaven. Purgatory, as the fifteenth century was to know it, was not born until about 1170, that is, about twenty years after the monk Marcus wrote his *Visions of Tondal*.³⁹ Thus Marmion was commissioned to illustrate a vision of the next world that was very much out-of-date and seriously at odds with codified eschatology. Had he followed the text precisely, his pictures might have looked quaint, more likely a little odd, and even more likely heretical. He was, however, able to camouflage the twelfth-century vision, cleverly reshaping it in his miniatures to make it fit a fifteenth-century mold.

The first thing Marmion did was to unite Upper and Lower Hell. Although the text tells us that Upper Hell's torments are temporary (and hence somewhat purgatorial in nature), the pictures reveal no difference, in essence, between the tortures suffered there or in Lower Hell, where torment is unending. The pains of Upper Hell appear as malodorous, take place in environments as dark, and thus seem as unending as those meted out by Lucifer himself. The Cistern of Sorrows, Lower Hell's release valve through which Lucifer's soul-filled breath escapes, is positioned in the miniature on an incline, where Tondal and his guide begin their descent, and marks the division between the two Hells; but there is no indication that the travelers have crossed any boundary separating temporary from permanent punishment, a point specifically mentioned in the text.⁴⁰

In a parallel manner, Marmion unites Terrestrial and Celestial Paradise, fusing them into a single heaven. He does this by judiciously *not* illustrating two episodes. The first is that describing King Donatus's enduring fire up to his navel while dressed in a hair shirt.⁴¹ This torturous episode takes place within the pleasantly verdant fields inhabited by the Good But Not Very Good. Had Marmion illustrated this episode, however—a fiery torment in a green field—this part of Terrestrial Paradise purgatory, in the fifteenth century, was a site only of torment; there is no

Figure 80.

The Glory of Virgins and the Nine Orders of Angels, in *De raptu anime Tondali* (Speyer, Johann and Konrad Hist, circa 1483). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 189, leaf 26.

Figure 81.

Simon Marmion. *The Glory of Virgins and the Nine Orders of Angels*, in *The Visions of Tondal*. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 30, fol. 42.

place in late medieval eschatology that is both part pain and part pleasure. By not illustrating Donatus's torment, Marmion made Terrestrial Paradise look entirely a part of heaven, its front lawn, so to speak, hiding, at least visually, its purgatorial conditions (fig. 82).

The second episode Marmion also purposefully omitted was the entire chapter describing the Tree of the Confessors, a huge tree filled with flowers, fruit, and birds, beneath which sit the Confessors.⁴² Tondal and his guide visit this arboreal marvel immediately before their final stop, the wall of Virgins and the Nine Orders of Angels. Heaven, by the fifteenth century, had become a very urbanized place; it was typical for artists, especially in the North, to depict heaven as a man-made city.⁴³ With this tradition behind him, Marmion decided to use the text's emphasis on walls to unify his heaven by rendering it (except for the tents inhabited by the Good Monks and Nuns) as a series of increasingly fine walls: that enclosing the Good But Not Very Good, that of the Faithfully Married; that of the Martyrs and the Pure; and, finally, that of Virgins and the Nine Orders of Angels. Illustrating the chapter describing the Tree of the Confessors would have destroyed this unifying theme of walls and reintroduced a dominant green element into the cycle of miniatures, a greenness that Marmion has Tondal leave way back with the Good But Not Very Good. Marmion's picture for this chapter, had he painted one, might have looked something like the miniature of the *Tree of Life* in Margaret of York's *Apocalypse*, Morgan 484, a book also written by David Aubert (though illustrated by an artist related to the Master of Mary of Burgundy) around the same time as the *Tondal* (fig. 83).⁴⁴ Trees might have their place in heaven, even in the fifteenth century, but not as the second highest place of celestial reward.

This emphasis on heavenly "murality," as it may be called, in Margaret's *Tondal* illustrations derives not only from predominant fifteenth-century conceptions of heaven, but also from the translator's errors, which reinforced the late medieval predisposition to celestial walls by giving them a more significant role than they had in the Latin original: the errors that ensconced the Bad But Not Very Bad *into* their wall; that positioned the Faithfully Married *before* their wall, not behind it; that, having ensconced the Not Very Bad into their wall led to the ensconcement of the Martyrs and the Pure into theirs; and, finally, that robbed Tondal of his view of the beatific vision. The translated *Tondal* emphasizes the walls of heaven in a way the original text does not.

Marmion had one serious problem in fashioning, out of *The Visions of Tondal*, a pictorial cycle of the hereafter that would be acceptable to his fifteenth-century reader. This was the peculiar situation of the Bad But Not Very Bad. These souls, to Marmion as to any contemporaneous reader, were obviously in a purgatorial state; but purgatory's purifying flames, the torment traditional by the late Middle Ages for that place, are not to be found in the twelfth-century text for these Not Very Bad. (They are exposed to wind and rain and must endure hunger and thirst.) Marmion

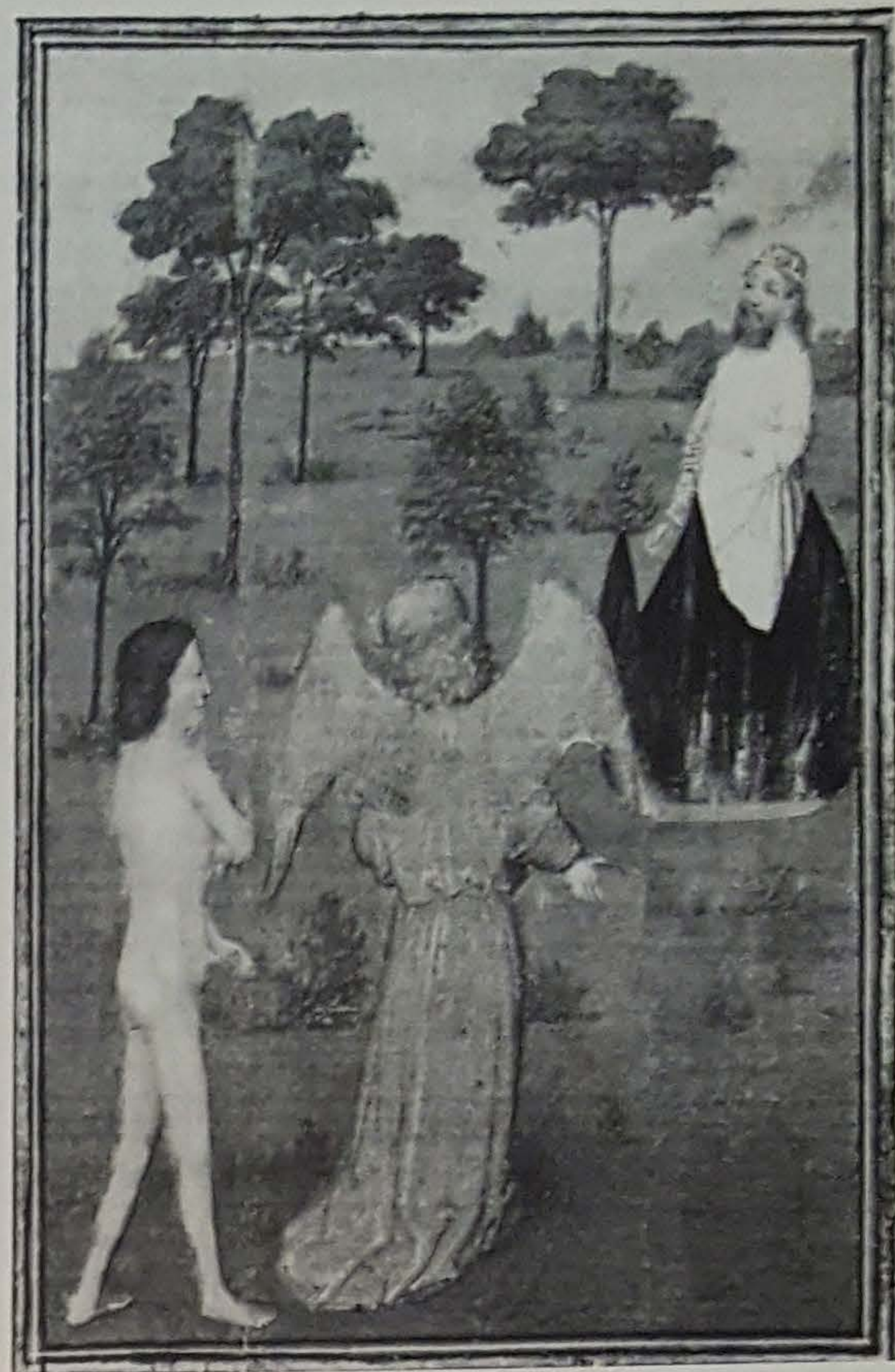


Figure 82.
Torment of King Donatus, author's construction of the miniature Simon Marmion might have painted for this unillustrated episode in *The Visions of Tondal*.



Figure 83.
Circle of the Master of Mary of Burgundy.
The Tree of Life, in the *Apocalypse* of Margaret of York. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 484, fol. 114v.

illustrated what he read; he could not obfuscate the torments described in this important chapter. The illuminator, as well as his patron, Margaret of York, might have been troubled by the paucity of discussion of purgatorial states in *The Visions of Tondal* had this manuscript stood alone on the shelf. But it did not. The sister manuscript to the *Tondal* is *The Vision of the Soul of Guy de Thurno*, the story of a citizen of Verona who, after his death in 1324, returns from purgatory to haunt his widow. Written by David Aubert a month before the *Tondal* and also illustrated by Simon Marmion, *The Vision of the Soul of Guy de Thurno*, is identical in dimensions and number of lines, and contains a nearly identical colophon. At one time, if not always, the manuscripts were also bound together.⁴⁵ *The Visions of Tondal* and *The Vision of the Soul of Guy de Thurno* were meant as a pair, containing texts that complement each other. The *Tondal* text, concentrating on hell and heaven, hardly deals with purgatory; the *Guy* text nothing but.⁴⁶

The subject of this paper could be summarized under the heading, "text-picture relationship." But with a masterpiece like Margaret's *Visions of Tondal*, this relationship is not a simple two-way affair. Thus we can understand the Getty text better by reading it in conjunction with Marcus's original work. We also begin to understand Marmion's interpretation of the story not only by examining the very text he read, but also by recognizing the different theological mind-sets represented by an author and an illuminator separated by three hundred medieval years. Finally, we also begin to understand more about a book when we stop to consider where its patron might have put it on the shelf.

Notes

1 This article is dedicated to the memory of Philip Hofer who, as owner of *The Visions of Tondal* in the early 1980s, introduced me to the manuscript and let me begin my study of it. My thanks also to the private collector who acquired the *Tondal* after Hofer's death and who also gave me continued access; to Harvard College Library for a Douglas W. Bryant Fellowship in 1982 that enabled me to study Simon Marmion manuscripts in European collections; to Madeleine McDermott, my collaborator on the *Tondal* translation; and to Jean-François Vilain.

2 See Malibu 1990. This publication contains color reproductions of all twenty miniatures from Getty Ms. 30 and, pp. 37–59, excerpts from a translation of the text by M. McDermott and R. Wieck. The pertinent bibliography on the *Tondal*, as well as its sister manuscript, *The Vision of the Soul of Guy de Thurno* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 31), can be found in "Acquisitions/1987," *GettyMusJ* 16 (1988), pp. 152, 154.

3 Palmer 1982 gives the most recent and complete list of all known, as well as lost, *Tondal* manuscripts. Palmer has, more recently, discovered an incunabular edition of the text embellished with three illuminations; see his essay, p. 157, below.

4 The critical edition of the Latin text can be found in Wagner 1882.

5 R. Verdeyen, "La date de la *Vision de Tondale*

et les manuscrits français de ce texte," *Revue celtique* 28 (1907), pp. 411–12, believed that the translation in Getty Ms. 30 was indeed the work of David Aubert. For Aubert's career, see P. Cockshaw, "Aubert (David)," *Biographie nationale* 37 (1971), p. 11. The single miniature from *The Vision of the Soul of Guy de Thurno* is reproduced in Malibu 1990, fig. 19. Professor Joseph Donatelli of the University of Manitoba is presently preparing a critical edition, accompanied by a translation into modern English, of the Latin text, *De spiritu Guidonis*.

6 In comparing the twelfth-century Latin text with the fifteenth-century French translation, I have used, as a control, the recent translation into modern English by Jean-Michel Picard, in Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989. The only other version of *Tondal* in modern English, Gardiner 1989, should be used with caution.

7 The Getty prologue is not published; see Wagner 1882, pp. 3–5, and Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, pp. 109–10. The Getty prologue does utilize one theme from the Latin original, namely, that the text offered is a translation that makes the story more easily available to the reader. The Getty version contains the phrase, "Pour ce vous voulons racompter et mettre de latin en franchois . . ." ("For this reason we want to recount and translate from Latin into French for you . . ."), which is based on the Latin " . . . noster stilus licet ineruditus de barbarico in

latinum transferret eloquium vestreque diligentie mitteremus transscribendum."

8 Fol. 43v. The translation of this prayer is not published; see Wagner 1882, p. 56, and Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, pp. 156–57.

9 Fol. 9v: "... car tout incontinent il fut feru en son bras destre le quel il avoit estendu au plat pour prendre a mengier tellement que a luy retraire ne le pouoit." See Malibu 1990, p. 38 and pl. 1: "All of a sudden, Tondal was struck in his right arm, which he had extended toward a platter of food to help himself, and he could not withdraw it." Wagner 1882, p. 8: "Nescio namque cita qua occasione percussus manum, quam extenderat, replicare non poterat ad os suum." Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, p. 112: "For, struck by I know not what sudden occurrence, he was not able to lift to his mouth the hand he had stretched in front of him."

10 Wagner 1882, pp. 53–54, and Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, pp. 154–55.

11 See de Pontfarcy's chapter, "The Political Dimension," in Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, pp. 29–47, and J.S. Emerson, "The Vision of Tondal and the Politics of Purgatory," Ph.D. diss., Brown University, Providence, 1990.

12 Fol. 25: "Et quant elle avoit aucunes ames devorees & mengies, et quen son ventre elles estoient a neant devenues, elle les reiettoit par derriere sur la glace, et estoient illec leurs tourmens renouvellez." Malibu 1990, p. 49 (where the text is slightly abridged) and pl. 10: "When it had devoured and eaten some souls, and they had been reduced to nothing in its belly, the beast would defecate them onto the ice where their torments were renewed." Wagner 1882, pp. 27–28: "... et dum in ventre ejus per supplicia redigerentur ad nihilum, pariebat eas in stagnum glacie coagulatum, ibique renovabantur iterum ad tormentum." Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, p. 130: "... when they had been tortured and reduced to nothing in its belly, it gave birth to them in the lake congealed with ice and there they were again subjected to the same torment."

13 Fols. 15–15v: "Si vindrent assez tost apres a une grande vallee a merveilles, terriblement infecte et puante et moult horrible et hideuse. Celle vallee estoit si tres parfonde que lame du chevalier Tondal ne pouoit regarder jusques aufons. Mais elle ouoit tresbien en bas ung grant bruit et ung espoventable ton, ansi comme dune bien grant flambe et dun grant vent estruans lun contre lautre. Et venoit de cel abisme en hault une telle puanteur de souffre et dautres corruptions comme de charroignes. ..." Malibu 1990, p. 43 (where the text is somewhat abridged) and pl. 6: "Soon after they arrived at a great valley, awesomely and terribly noxious and stinking, very horrible and hideous. This valley was so very deep that the soul of the Knight Tondal could not even see the bottom. But he was hearing quite well, from below, a great noise and an awe-inspiring thunder, as if coming from a great conflagration

and a great wind, the one struggling against the other. Out of this abyss arose such a stench of sulphur and other corruption, as if from carrion. ..." Wagner 1882, pp. 14–15: "... venerunt ad vallem valde profundam, putridam nimis ac tenebrosam, cujus profunditatem ipsa quidem anima videre non poterat, sonitum autem sulphurei fluminis et ululatus multitudinis in imis patientis audire valebat. Fumus vero de sulphure et de cadaveribus sursum insurgebat fetidus. ..." Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, p. 119: "... they arrived at a very deep valley, most stinking and dark, the depth of which the soul could not see at all, but he could hear the sound of a sulphurous river and the howling of the multitude suffering below. A fetid smoke reeking of sulphur and corpses rose to the heights. ..."

14 Fol. 31: "Et avoit fourme dhomme depuis les pies jusques a la teste, mais elle avoit plusieurs mains et pies. Car elle avoit dix mille mains. ... Et avoit autant de dois et de ongles es pies. ..." Malibu 1990, p. 52 and pl. 13: "He had the shape of a man from the feet to the head, but he had many hands and feet. In fact, he had ten thousand hands. ... And he had as many toes and toenails." Wagner 1882, p. 36: "... habens formam humani corporis a pedibus usque ad caput, excepto, quod illa plurimas habebat manus et caudam. Habet quoque illud horrible monstrum non minus mille manibus ... et in pedibus totidem ungulas. ..." Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, p. 138: "... and had the shape of a human body from head to toe, except that it had many hands and a tail. This horrible monster had no less than a thousand hands ... the nails on his feet were likewise."

15 Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 65, fol. 108, reprod. in Meiss 1974, fig. 581. The miniature marks the end of the Office of the Dead.

16 *De raptu anime Tondali* (Speyer, Johann and Konrad Hist, circa 1483); F.R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Third Census* (New York, 1964), T-498. The copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library (PML 189) is described in *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books from the Libraries of William Morris, Richard Bennett, Bertram, Fourth Earl of Ashburnham, and Other Sources, Now Forming Portion of the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan: Early Printed Books. Volume I: Xylographica, Germany and Switzerland* (London, 1907), no. 189. Although Palmer 1982, p. 284, says that only the Speyer editions of circa 1488 and circa 1495 are complete, the Morgan copy of the circa 1483 edition does have the complete set of twenty-one woodcuts, and in their proper order. The cuts are: 1) *Tondal in Amour* (entitled *Tondolus der Ritter*); 2) *Tondal Suffers a Seizure at Dinner*; 3) *Tondal's Guardian Angel Comes to His Aid*; 4) *The Valley of Homicides*; 5) *The Valley of the Perversely Proud and Presumptuous*; 6) *The Beast Acheron, Devourer of the Avaricious*; 7) *The Nail-Studded Bridge for Thieves and Robbers*; 8) *The House of Phristinus: Punishment for Gluttons and Fornicators*; 9) *The Beast That Eats Unchaste Priests and Nuns*; 10) *The Valley of Fires, for Those Who Commit Evil upon Evil*; 11) *The Cistern of Hell*; 12) *Lucifer, Prince of Hell*; 13) *The Bad But Not*

Very Bad; 14) *King Cormac in Torment*; 15) *The Joy of the Faithfully Married* (incorrectly entitled *De Visione glorie Sanctorum*); 16) *The Glory of the Martyrs and the Pure*; 17) *The Glory of Good Monks and Nuns*; 18) *The Tree of the Confessors*; 19) *The Glory of Virgins and the Nine Orders of Angels*; 20) *Tondal Visits the Four Irish Bishops and the Empty Throne*; 21) *Tondal's Soul Is Returned to His Body*.

17 Malibu 1990, p. 53 (where the text is abridged). Fols. 33–34: "Si passerent tant de tenebres quilz sen retrouverent dehors et en lieu cler, car la clarte leur apparu et puis leur revint moult grant lumiere. ... Ilz cheminerent si longuement quilz vindrent a ung mur moult hault. Et dedens le mur de la part dont ilz venoient avoit grant multitude de hommes et de femmes quy nuyt et iour estoient au vent et a la pluye et avoient grant douleur et par especial de fain & soif."

18 Wagner 1882, p. 40: "Euntes autem viderunt murum nimis altum et infra murum ex illa parte, qua ipsi venerant, erat plurima multitudo virorum ac mulierum pluviam ac ventum sustinentium. Et illi erant valde tristes, famem et sitim sustinentes. ..."

19 Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, p. 141.

20 J.H. Baxter and C. Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word-List* (London, 1943), p. 223.

21 It may also be possible that Margaret's translator encountered a poorly written text where, instead of "infra," he saw, or thought he saw, "intra," which means "in" or "within."

22 For Romanesque statues ensconced within niches in a wall, see, from many possible examples, those dating to circa 1150 at Santa Maria at Ripoll, in northeastern Spain, reprod. in R. Salvini, *Medieval Sculpture* (New York and Greenwich, 1969), fig. 119. For the ensconced statues in the *Roman de la rose*, see, for instance, those depicted in a mid-fourteenth-century French manuscript in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 324, fol. 1, reprod. in G. de Lorris and J. de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, H. W. Robbins, trans., C. W. Dunn, ed. (New York, 1962), frontispiece. Interesting examples of the painted statues of the *Roman de la rose* dating after Margaret's *Tondal* include London, British Library, Harley Ms. 4425, a Flemish example of about 1490 probably made for Engelbert of Nassau, reprod. in Malibu 1983, fig. 6b, and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 948, a French example of about 1525 made for King Francis I of France, reprod. in W.M. Voelkle, *The Pierpont Morgan Library. Masterpieces of Medieval Painting: The Art of Illumination* (Chicago, 1980), microfiche 14G9.

23 Fols. 34–35; Malibu 1990, p. 55 and pl. 15; Wagner 1882, p. 41; Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, p. 142.

24 Fols. 35–35v; Malibu 1990, p. 55 and pl. 16; Wagner 1882, p. 42; Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, p. 143.

- 25 Fols. 35v-37; Malibu 1990, p. 55; Wagner 1882, pp. 42-45; Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, pp. 144-45. In the Latin original, it is a third king, named Cormac, who endures the temporary torment. The Getty translation, conflating Kings Donatus and Cormac, identifies the ruler who suffers the hair shirt and fire as Donatus.
- 26 Fols. 37-38; Malibu 1990, p. 56 and pl. 17; Wagner 1882, pp. 45-47; Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, pp. 146-47.
- 27 Wagner 1882, p. 45: "Erat enim murus argenteus, splendidus multum atque decorus. Et anime quidem nulla in eo apparebat porta, nesciens tamen, quomodo eam divina introduxit potentia, intravit et circumspiciens vidit choros sanctorum exultantium deo et dicentium. . . ."
- 28 Fol. 37: "Et quant ilz eurent ung petit ale avant, ilz choisirent ung mur moult hault et tres reluisant. Ledit mur estoit tout massif d'argent bien ouvre et tres plaisant. Mais l'ame n'y perchevoit nulle porte. Si ne scay pas comment elle regarda entour d'elle, adont vey une belle et grosse compaignie de sains et de saintes. . . ."
- 29 Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, p. 146, reproduce the woodcut of the Martyrs and the Pure instead of the cut of the Faithfully Married.
- 30 Fols. 38v-39; Malibu 1990, p. 57 and pl. 18; Wagner 1882, pp. 47-48; Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, p. 148.
- 31 Wagner 1882, p. 47: ". . . apparuit alius murus tam altus, ut primus, de auro purissimo et preclarissimo. . . . Set cum simili modo pertransissent illum ut primum, apparuerunt illis plurima sedilia de auro et gemmis . . . in quibus sedebant seniores viri et femine. . . ."
- 32 Fols. 38v-39; ". . . ilz choisirent de loing ung aultre grant mur moult hault et long et assez semblable au premier dont ia est touchie. Et estoit cel mur tout de fin or. . . . Et quant ilz eurent passe ce tant noble mur, ilz choisirent plusieurs tres riches sieges . . . En iceulx sieges estoient seans hommes et femes. . . ."
- 33 Fols. 39v-40v; Malibu 1990, p. 58 and pl. 19; Wagner 1882, pp. 48-50; Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, pp. 149-50.
- 34 Fols. 40v-41v; Malibu 1990, p. 58; Wagner 1882, pp. 50-51; Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, p. 151.
- 35 Fols. 41v-42v; Malibu 1990, p. 59 and pl. 20; Wagner 1882, pp. 51-53; Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, pp. 152-53.
- 36 Fol. 42: ". . . car ilz verront les ordes des bencoits angeles et des archangeles, les vertus, les poestez, les seigneuries, les throsnes, les cherubins, les seraphins." Malibu 1990, p. 59: ". . . because they will see the orders of the blessed angels, the archangels, the virtues, the powers, the dominations, the thrones, the cherubim, and the seraphim." Wagner 1882, p. 52: "Viderunt namque ibidem novem ordines beatorum spirituum, videlicet angelos, archangelos, virtutes, principatus, potestates, dominationes, thronos, Cherubin, Seraphin." Picard/de Pontfarcy 1989, p. 152: "For, there they saw the nine orders of the blessed spirits, that is, angels, archangels, virtues, principalities, powers, dominations, thrones, cherubim and seraphim."
- 37 Wagner 1882, pp. 51-52: ". . . viderunt murum altitudine, pulchritudine et splendore ceteris dissimilem. . . murus. . . multum in sui amorem videntium mentes provocabat. Ascendentes ergo murum videre procul dubio, quod oculus non vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit, que preparavit deus diligentibus se. Viderunt namque ibidem novem ordines . . . [rest of sentence quoted in note 36]. Audierunt autem inenarrabilia verba, que nec potest homo nec licet homini loqui."
- 38 Fol. 42: "Celluy mur tant cler et reluisant estoit que toute desplaissance et ennuy il bestournoit et a consolation et leesce esmouvoit les courages de ceulx quy le regardoient. O comme grant chose a nostreseigneur dieu appareillie pour ceulz quy layment, car ilz verront les ordes des bencoits angeles . . . [rest of sentence quoted in note 36]. Et orront paroles secretes que lon ne poeult ne doit racompter."
- 39 Le Goff 1984, pp. 154-76. The word "purgatory" does not occur in the original Latin text of *The Visions of Tondal*. Margaret's translator, however, added it three times to her manuscript: in the table of contents on fol. 4 in the rubricated summation of the prologue; on fol. 7 in the repetition of this summation preceding the prologue itself; and on fol. 10v in the chapter describing Tondal's repentance, in a sentence where the translator quotes his earlier expression. These three insertions of the word represent the translator's attempt, if rather feeble, to structure the twelfth-century hereafter along fifteenth-century lines.
- 40 Malibu 1990, pl. 12.
- 41 See note 25, above.
- 42 See note 34, above.
- 43 See C. McDannell and B. Lang, *Heaven: A History* (New Haven and London, 1988), pp. 70-80, where the conception of heaven as a city, a Gothic cathedral, or a castle, is discussed. Marcus's twelfth-century text of *The Visions of Tondal* is itself an early expression of the notion of heaven as an urbanized place. Pictorially, too, in the high and late Middle Ages, heaven is visualized as a building or city, a conception reaching a climax in the fifteenth century. For manuscripts, see, for example, heaven as an elaborate city in the *Last Judgment* by the Master of Evert Zoudenbalch in the Hours of Jan van Amerongen in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. II 7619, fol. 139v, reprod. in L.M.J. Delaissé, "Le livre d'heures de Mary van Vroenensteyn," *Scriptorium* 3 (1949), pl. 24c; heaven as a Gothic cathedral in the miniature of *Jean de Berry Received into Heaven* by the Bedford Master in that duke's *Grandes Heures* in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 919, fol. 96, reprod. in M. Thomas, *The "Grandes Heures" of Jean, Duke of Berry* (New York, 1971), pl. 93; and heaven as a castle in the miniature of *David Praying Before the Lord* by the Boucicaut Master in the Hours of Joseph Bonaparte in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 10538, fol. 116, reprod. in C. Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris 1300-1500* (Paris, 1987), vol. 1, fig. 278. Heaven depicted as an elaborate Gothic structure can also be seen in many fifteenth-century Flemish panels.
- 44 For Margaret of York's *Apocalypse*, see Suzanne Lewis's essay in the present volume.
- 45 The two manuscripts were together in a nineteenth-century Parisian Trautz-Bauzonnet binding when Philip Hofer owned them. Hofer (as he related to this author) gave the codex for rebinding to a man who, instead of pulling the text block of the *Tondal*, sliced its leaves from the binding. Today the *Tondal* exists as a group of forty-five single sheets tabbed into a modern calf binding commissioned by the Getty Museum. (This binding replaces a similar one commissioned by Sotheby's of London, through whom the Museum bought the manuscript by private treaty; see R.S. Wieck, "Tondal's Vision," *Sotheby's Art at Auction 1987-88* [London, 1988], pp. 228-31). *The Vision of the Soul of Guy de Thurno* is still bound in the Trautz-Bauzonnet covers.
- 46 The Getty manuscript of *The Vision of the Soul of Guy de Thurno* offers, in twenty-six chapters plus a prologue, an exhaustive discourse on purgatory. There are chapters, for example, discussing the location of "common" purgatory (the center of the earth); whether or not it is possible for anyone to avoid purgatory (it is not); what is the most efficacious means to offer relief to souls in purgatory (the celebration of masses); what are the most efficacious prayers to be offered for souls in purgatory (the psalter, especially the Seven Penitential Psalms with the Litany); and how efficacious is the Office of the Dead in helping souls in purgatory (very much so).