

The Ages of Man and the Months of the Year

Poetry, Prose and Pictures Outlining the *Douze mois figurés* Motif
Mainly Found in Shepherds' Calendars and in Livres d'Heures (14th to 17th Century)

By ERIK DAL *in collaboration with* POVL SKÅRUP

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 9:3



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I est vray quen toutes saisons
 Se change toure for li bons
 Et out aussi que les toure moys
S e changeur en lan .xij. for
S clon leur droit cours de nature
T out ensement la creature
E change de .vi. ans en .vi. ans
P ar .xij. for; alz .xij. temps
S ont .lxxij. en nombre
A touc sai va gesir en lombre
S e viellece ou il fait veir
S u il comencet ieunes mourir
P remier doit prendre au meier
S ix ans pour le mois de remier
D un na ue force ue vertu
D uant h enfes a .vi. ans vescu
S i na il force ne puissance
N e entendement ne agnoissance
E ar autre .vi. ans le font adouste
E t adouste se prent a agnoistre
A nsi fait fenier touz les ans
D un fin se trait sur le printemps
S ans quat des ans a .xviij.
A touc se change en tel dedur
N ul cude valon; nul mairs
E t ainsi se change le uais
E t vaine reprent chaleur
S i vient auri et li bel iour
D un toute chose sechoist
V erbre avist et lebre flambist
A i oysel reprennent leur chans
E t aussi a .xviij. ans de
D unent li enfes verneux

Fig. 1. The first page of the oldest source dealt with in this study. Paris, Bibl. nationale, Ms. fr. 1728. Text p. 42–44.

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Synopsis

The length of human life and its various phases are the subject of many folkloristic, literary and artistic traditions. One such enumerates twelve periods of six years each and draws parallels between the months of the year and the ages of man. This motif is first found in a 14th century French poem. Several rewritings are known of: in one MS., in a unique incunabulum and in Books of Hours (translated in certain English Prymers) often with appropriate illustrations. The original poem plus a prose paraphrase is contained in *Le Grant Calendrier ou le Compost des Bergiers* 1491ff. Translations of this work into English (from 1503; moreover Spenser takes his title *The Shepheards Calendar* from this work), into Dutch (c. 1514ff) and into German (1519 and 1523) normally dispense with the poetic form. A German calendar impressed the Danish writer and calendariographer *Niels Heldvad*. He makes reference to his now lost *Prognosticon* for 1620 in the heading of a hymn he composed a few years later. This hymn lived throughout the 17th century in Danish hymnals. – The present publication gives an introduction to this material, some selected texts in French, English, Dutch and German, and illustrations including plates with illustrations from books of hours.

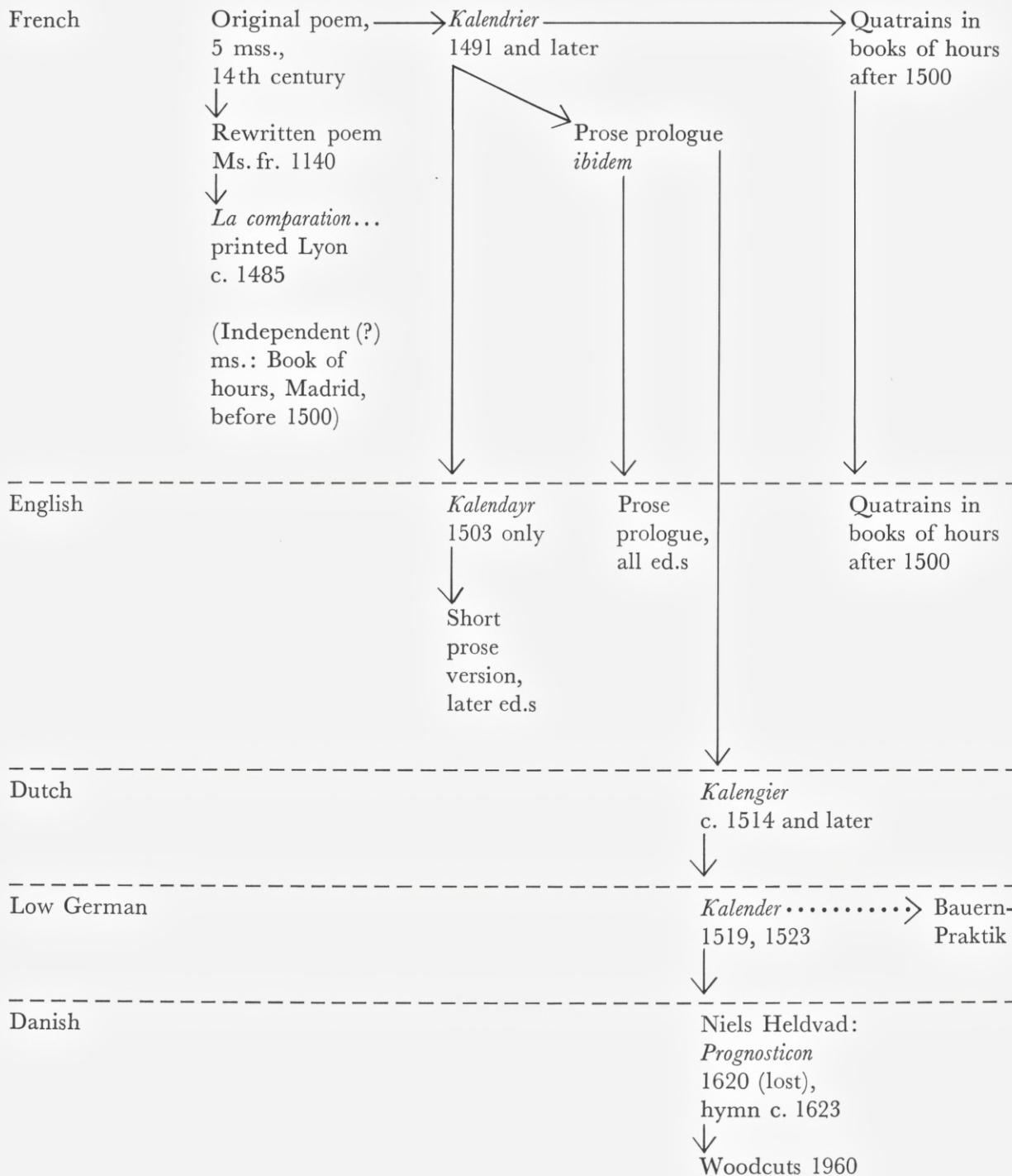
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STEMMA



The Motif *by Erik Dal*

The Ages of Life

Reflections on the natural length of human life and the ages of man are found in the folklore and poetry of many cultures.¹ The life span of

- 1: General literature about the ages of man: Wilhelm Wackernagel: *Die Lebensalter. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden sitten- und rechtsgeschichte*, Basel 1862; Leopold Löw: *Beiträge zur jüdischen Altertumskunde II: Die Lebensalter in der jüdischen Literatur*, Szegedin 1875; Franz Boll: *Die Lebensalter*, 1913 (= *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* XXXI), reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften zur Sternkunde des Altertums*, Lpz. 1950, pp. 156–224; Georg Wickram: *Werke* V, Tübingen 1903, ed. by Johannes Bolte, who comments on the play *Die zehn Alter*; Samuel C. Chew: “This strange eventful story”, in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, Washington D.C. 1948, pp. 157–82; Anton Englert: ‘Die menschlichen Altersstufen in Wort und Bild’, in: *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* XV 1905, pp. 399–412 and XVI 1907, pp. 16–42. – In the sixteenth century a book by Pedro Mexia was widely distributed in several translations; I used Petri Messiae von Sibia *Vitallige beschreibung Christenlicher und Heidenischer Keyseren, Königen, weltweiser Männeren gedächtnüss würdige Historien...* Basel 1564, of which part I chapter 35 deals with the division of human life according to the astrologers. – The fascinating conference papers in *Eranos. Yearbook* XL, Leiden 1971, *The stages of life in creative process*, are not pertinent to our theme. Wilhelm Heinrich Roscher has written several basic monographs on the importance of certain numbers for religion, folklore and science.
- 2: The overwhelming chapter 12 of Ecclesiastes is less specific, but should be mentioned because its words and metaphors deeply impressed the seventeenth century and influenced (the November verses of) the Danish poem discussed in our last paragraph.
- 3: The late Dr. Rafael Edelmann kindly called my attention to the old but current Hebrew–Danish prayer book, A. A. Wolff: *Tephilath Israel, Israelitisk Bønnebog*, 5. ed., København 1958, p. 273 (Pirke Aboth chapter 5 § 24, a chapter of Mischna).
- almost 1000 years granted to the biblical fathers lay before human experience, and after their time God set the limit at 120 years (Genesis 6,3), the length of life enjoyed by Moses. Closer to reality are the words of the Psalmist: “The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away.” (Psalms 90,10).² Thus, the majority of calculations, be they built on practical or legal customs, on astrological or numerical speculation, or on biological facts, generally result in such a term of years or round about it: 3×40, 4×15, 4×20, 7×7, 9×7, 9×9, 10×7, 10×10, 12×5, 12×6, 12×7, 12×10. A division into 4, 7 or 10 ages was very common, while a Jewish prayer still in use today even reckons with 15.³
- A division into four generally consisted of a simple comparison between the seasons of the year and the ages of childhood, youth, manhood and old age. Observations of nature and speculation crossed each other frequently and, associated with ancient learning about the elements and humoralism, a table can be set up as that that follows, taken from the Holstein governor Heinrich Rantzau’s *Diarium sive Calendarium Romanum*, 3rd ed., Hamburg 1594:⁴
- 4: The characteristics of the moon have been corrected after Rantzau’s table on p. 429. See Chew 170f with note 30 and Boll 165 and 174ff, both quoted in note 1. Similar concepts are used by Anne Bradstreet in her anonymous book *The Tenth Muse lately sprung up in America*, London 1650 and Boston 1678. The subtitle runs: *The Four Elements. Constitutions. Ages of Man. Seasons of the Year*, but her poems do not include our aspect. The Library of Congress very kindly sent me photocopies of the modern reprint by Josephine K. Piercy, Gainesville, Florida 1965.

	<i>hot, wet</i>	<i>hot, dry</i>	<i>cold, dry</i>	<i>cold, wet</i>
<i>elements</i>	air	fire	earth	water
<i>ages of life</i>	childhood	youth	early old age	feeble old age
<i>seasons</i>	spring	summer	autumn	winter
<i>week after new moon</i>	first	second	third	fourth
<i>body fluids</i>	blood	yellow bile	black bile	phlegm
<i>temperaments</i>	sanguine	choleric	melancholy	phlegmatic
<i>points of the compass</i>	south	east	north	west
<i>winds</i>	Auster	Eurus	Boreas	Zephyr

The Danish calendariographer Niels Heldvad – more about him later on – uses another division into four (based on sevens) taken from elsewhere in Rantzau’s book, in his *Practica* for 1615: new moon until 21, first quarter until 42, full moon with troubles and sorrows up until 56, and the last quarter to 63 or more.

A division into seven ages was obvious because the number seven, connected as it is with the phases of the moon, did indeed give rise to the units of time. “Year weeks” of seven years could be associated with biological facts such as teething and puberty, and the number seven recurred in the series of celestial bodies, see fig. 12. Parallels could also be sought with the seven liberal arts, the seven deadly sins, etc. The best known division into seven ages is probably that of the philosophizing Jaques when describing the world as a stage in *As you like it*, II, 7.

In Danish we find the division into seven ages in Herr Michael’s rhymed work based on a Latin model: *De vita hominis, Om alt menneskens levned*, printed in 1514: (nascens), infans, puer (7), adolescens (14), juvenis (28), vir (50), senex, decrepitus;⁵ in an *Astronomische bescriffuelse*, Copenhagen 1594; and in the *Almanak* of Levinus Battus, Copenhagen 1572:⁶

- 0– 4 The moon influences the child.
- 4–14 Mercury brings mind and reason.
- 14–22 Venus wakes the stormy first experience of love.
- 22–41 The Sun rules the zenith of life.
- 41–56 Mars implies misgiving, gravity, worry and work.

56–68 Jupiter makes way for well-considered action, council and comfort to others, balance.

68– Saturn brings increasing physical and mental enfeeblement.

A peculiar combination of the different units of time and the ages of man appears from a fifteenth century source, where an inner circle represents the wicked world, the first surrounding circle the four seasons, the next the twelve months and the signs of the zodiac, and the outermost circle the seven ages of man plus the jaws of hell. Time and life are here understood as an eternal turning of the circle, but, strangely enough, the sequence of the ages of man is counter-clockwise.⁷

5: He gives Latin disticha with Danish explanations for each age. F. J. Billeskov Jansen suggests that the disticha may be borrowed from legends to pictures showing the seven ages (*Danmarks Digtekunst* I, Kbh. 1944, p. 49). Michael was edited by C. Molbech 1836.

6: *Hundert Kalender–Inkunabeln*, ed. Paul Heitz with text by Konrad Haebler, Strassburg 1905, includes only two broadside calendars dating the changes from one age to another: 14, 30, 50 years (nos. 3–4, Augsburg: Günter Zainer 1470 and 1471).

7: The source is a manual for Greek church painters; see Karl von Spiess: *Deutsche Volkskunde als Erschliesserin deutscher Kultur*, Berlin 1934, p. 152f; the chapter deals mainly with the transition from a pre-Christian era using 3 and 9 as holy figures to the more recent lore of 7 and 12. This is one of several references kindly provided by Professor L. Kretzenbacher, Graz. Others are due to Dr. Holger Nørgaard, in 1958.



Fig. 2. An unusual rendering of the decades of life: the colourful pictures in a manuscript copying the set of paintings in Lunden church, Dithmarsia, Holstein. Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ms. GkS 1028, 2°.

Division into ten ages is nearly always connected with decades; examples in many languages bear witness to this fact.⁸ The decade is compared, often in jingle or ballad form, with a type of

8: 'Die zehn altersstufen des menschen'. Aus dem nachlass von Julius Zacher hrsg. v. E. Matthias, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* XXIII 1891, pp. 385–412.

9: Carl Fehrman: *Diktaren och Döden. Dödsbild och förgängelsestänke i litteraturen från antiken till 1700-talet*, Stockholm 1952, chapter X, about 17th century 'life steps'. Fehrman continued his studies in *Liemannen, Thanatos och Dödens ängel. Studier i 1700- och 1800-talens litterära ikonologi*, Lund 1957 (= *Skrifter utg. av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund* 53). The life age iconology can be traced through Fehrman and Chew (see note 1). A doggerel used several times by none other than Hans Christian Andersen sums up 'the whole eventful story': *Op af Bakken, ned ad Bakken, / det er hele Almanakken!* (March up the hill, then come down back/That's the whole of the almanac!).

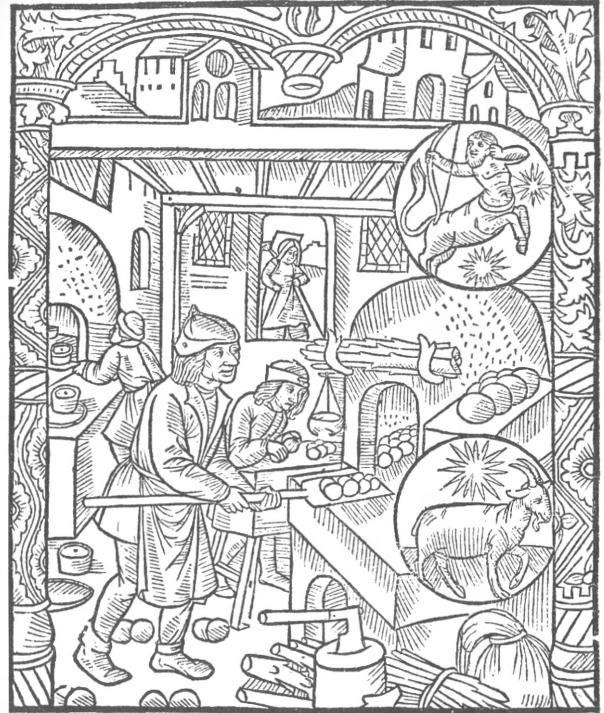
human being, an animal, a typical attribute, perhaps one that will never be attained if not now, etc. The iconographical life-stairway motif is usually associated with decades, at any rate in Germany and the Nordic area, and often with two pictures, showing men and women, respectively, up to the peak at 50 years and then down again. With this pattern in mind, Goethe may talk of our *Pyramidenleben*, and there is no great distance to the wheel of fortune, or the dance of death, because a skeleton is depicted now and again beside the human figure on each of the steps.⁹ An amusing and unusual example of decade figures is shown on fig. 2. The brightly painted individuals are from a folio paper manuscript in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, but they illustrate a number of figures originally painted on a gallery (burnt in 1834) in the



Fig. 3-4. 'The occupations of the months' may be exemplified by two of the woodcuts in *Le Calendrier des Bergers*, September and December, Troyes 1529, as reproduced in the edition quoted in note 32.

chancel of the church at Lunden, Dithmarsia province, Holstein. The figures wear the traditional costume of this district.¹⁰

In contrast, a division into twelve ages is a rarity, even though this number, because of the number of months and of the apostles, has a folklore of its own. There are a couple of ancient and one Turkish example of a division of life into twelve periods, while an Italian engraving from ca. 1570 deals with twelve ages of ten years each, and a Florentine ditty splits up human life according to the twelve hours of the day. In our century a whole novel has been built up in twelve "hours", each divided into twelve "numbers", all corresponding to the life of the chief character, which runs to a certain extent in line with the history of Germany from the revolution in 1848



to the Hitler era in the 1930's.¹¹ None of this has anything to do with the months, and a Talmudic commentary to Deut. 32,1 even compares the ages of man with the signs of the zodiac, using

10: Royal Library Ms. GkS 1028,2°. No text except the legends, 17th century (?), library binding probably from the 1780's. The text is glued to the leaves (before the painting was finished) and use is made of the well-known jingle: Zehn Jahr – Ein Kind/ Zwanzig Jahr – Ein Jüngling/ Dreissig Jahr – Ein Mann/ Viertzig Jahr – Wohl gethan/ Fünftzig Jahr – Stille-stahn/ Sechtzig Jahr – Gehts Alter an/ Siebentzig Jahr – Ein greiss/ Achtzig Jahr – Ümmer weiss/ Neuntzig Jahr – Der kinder spott/ Hundert Jahr – Begnad mir Gott. After the series, fol. 21 depicts Death as a skeleton. – See Otto Roos: *Lunden. Ein Beitrag zur Heimatkunde*, Lunden 1929, p. 23f.

11: The Turkish example: Bolte's Wickram notes p. XVI; the engraving: Englert's chapter 'Italienische Ottaven von Johann Christoph Artopeus', see note 1; the jingle: *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari* V 1886; the novel: Ehm Welk [; Thomas Trimm]: *Die Lebensalter des Gottlieb Grambauer*, 1937, use was made of a paperback edition, Hamburg 1977; the 'hours' of his life cover unequal lengths of time.

very far-fetched parallels but without involving the months.¹²

Conversely, the months have their own pictorial art and poetry without relation to the course of human life. This is manifested not least in the many ancient, oriental and Christian suites of church sculpture and other forms of art, and – what is closer to our theme – in (calendar) pictures showing the typical occupations of the months. In the late Middle Ages these developed from figures of almost symbolic simplicity to the landscape paintings that are great works of art in several famous *livres d'heures*.¹³

12: Löw p. 24 and note 42 (see note 1). Dr. R. Edlmann kindly summarized the text for me as a confirmation of Löw's evaluation.

13: The iconology of the occupations of the months is a vast subject. The calendar from AD 354 called *Fasti Philocali* is a source of paramount importance in the history of the cultural and religious transformation of the month pictures. See Joseph Strzygowski: *Die Kalenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354*, Berlin 1888; Alois Riegl: 'Die mittelalterliche Kalenderillustration' in: *Mitteilungen für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* X, Innsbruck 1889; Émile Mâle: *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, Paris 1898; see pp. 87–102 about the occupations of the months and the respect for work, of which Vincent of Beauvais says that labour and science liberate soul and body from the evils of the Fall of Man. James Fowler compiled a rich collection of examples from all types of pictorial art (painting, sculpture in several materials, glass, tiles, etc.): 'On Mediæval Representations of the Months and Seasons', in: *Archæologia* XLIV, London 1873, pp. 137–224, and his ample notes give much information on contemporary literature. A still more impressive catalogue including 63 plates forms the major part of J. Webster: *The labors of the months*, Evanston & Chicago 1938 (= *Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities* IV, repr. 1970), describing monuments outside calendars proper up to 1200. Other material is surveyed by John Granlund: 'Medeltida månadsbilder', in: *Saga och sed*, Stockholm 1964, pp. 36–56. For the 15th and 16th centuries, the most important work seems to be Julien Le Sénécal: 'Les occupations des mois dans l'iconographie du moyen âge', in: *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie* XXXV, Caen 1924, which ends with a long classified list of the works of art in question; the author lost his life in World War I before he was 22 years old. I follow him in

There is a limited choice of multiplicand if the ages of man are to be compared to the months: 12×5 years gives too short a span of time, but one that is used in a tract by Pope Innocent III, while 12×7 exceeds the biblical number.¹⁴ However, our theme for the following pages is a "family" of poems, prose texts and pictures that puts the length of human life at 72 years, and which seeks similarities between the characteristics of the months and the six-year periods of man's life. To introduce our treatment of the history of the motif, a survey follows of the common content of the texts in the form of a brief paraphrase of the oldest source, a French poem from the 14th century.

The Motif Retold

Man changes twelve times, every sixth year up to the age of 72, just as the months change according to Nature.

The first six years are comparable to *January*. Man has neither strength, capability nor knowledge. – The next six years he grows and acquires some knowledge, similar to *February* that at its end inclines towards spring. – But at eighteen man thinks very much of himself, like *March* that changes into beauty and warmth.

rejecting the term 'labours of the months', because some of them are 'occupations' unrelated to actual work, see note 15. – Several editions of single *livre d'heures* could be added.

14: *De contemptu mundi* written before he was elected pope in 1198: few reach forty and very few sixty(!); Eustache Deschamps: *Double lay de la fragilité humaine* is influenced by him (quoted from Morawski, see note 17). – Leopold Kretzenbacher demonstrates the importance of 72 as a popular expression for a large round figure: 'Die heilige Rundzahl 72', in: *Blätter für Heimatkunde*, hrsg. vom Historischen Verein für Steiermark, XXVI:1, Graz 1952. Stith Thompson: *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, 2nd ed., Copenhagen, V 1955, has examples of 12 and 72 as formulaic numbers (Z 71.8 and Z 71.14), but, astonishingly, there are only two references under Months (VI 518) and nothing relevant s.v. Age, Life, Season.

Everything is pleased in *April*: the herb, the tree, the bird. Man grows virtuous and gay, noble and loving at 24. – *May* is the strongest of all months and is called their King. Man becomes strong and well equipped to hold a sword in his fist. – *June* is very hot. Man at 36 is hot and proud, begins to ripen and to gather advice.

Nobody can call 42-year-old “*July*” a youngster. But this month begins to decline, and so does the beauty for the creature. – All is ripe in *August*. But he who has never developed wisdom has spent his time badly. For now is the time to gather one’s goods when one turns to age, fading to the colour of marble, just as the change in the corn and the trees. – *September* is a rich and pleasant season. But man gets old and the harvesting must be started. At 54, man will get nothing in the barn if he has not got it now.

October: Rich people, and rich season. But man gets old and white-haired. If he is rich, it is good; if he is poor, he will lament his ill-spent time; his soul and body weaken, and he is scorned for any outrage he has committed. – The *November* trees have lost leaves and flowers, the foliage has dried up. At 66, man has lost his nobility and realizes that his heirs wish he was dead – for if he is poor he is just a liability, and if he is rich they would like to see their share of the inheritance. – In *December* time dies, and all green things lose strength. Man has no pleasures left. He prefers warm pies, a soft bed and a deep bowl to the love of a damsel. Summer and winter have passed by – man lives but one year.

Epilogue: We have reported on the nature and reign of each month. But some calculations are necessary: Half of the time is lost through sleep at night, the first fifteen years through ignorance, five through illness or through being imprisoned. So poor life totals but sixteen years, and if man is foolish enough to marry he will never do well in life. At most, the accounts will balance. But the Scriptures tell you that if a man has done well, he will find his reward at the end.¹⁵

The Motif in France

The oldest source found for the motif is a superb small folio manuscript of mixed content, which presumably originates from the noble library of some 1000 volumes set up by Charles V of France (d. 1380). This manuscript is Ms. fr. 1728 in the Bibliothèque nationale, and it is concluded with our poem, under which are written the words *Explicit etas hominum secundum expositionem mensium*.¹⁶ The first page of the poem is reproduced here on p. 2, and on p. 42 ff. the complete text is published for the first time according to this source. One month, presented in an adapted, present-day form of language, can serve as an example:

Or vient avril et le beau jour
que toute chose se réjouit.
L’herbe croît et l’arbre fleurit,
Les oiseaux reprennent leur chant.
Et aussi à vingt-quatre ans
devient l’enfant vertueux,
joli, noble et amoureux
et se change en maint état gai.

However, the chief edition of this poem, published by J. Morawski¹⁷, brings together five

15: “Tel est ce triste petit poème que n’éclaire aucune lueur d’espérance chrétienne, et dont chaque vers a ce goût d’amertume que laisse la science de la vie,” says Émile Mâle: *L’art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris 5th ed., 1949. He summarizes the poem and mentions the quatrains and illustrations in books of hours discussed below, and he remarks that the bitterness of the original poem lessens in the quatrains and is eventually absent in their illustrations. The artists seem to find a not too uncomfortable life worthwhile, after all!

16: *Bibliothèque nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits français I*, Paris, 1868, nr. 1728; Léopold Delisle: *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, Paris 1907, I p. 260 and plate XI (reprint Amsterdam 1967).

17: J. Morawski: ‘Les douze mois figurez’, in: *Archivum Romanicum X* 1926, pp. 351-63, lists the following MSS:
A: Genève, Bibl. de la Ville, Ms. 179 bis, fol. 52-55, 15th cent.
B: Paris, Bibl. nat., latin 4641B, fol. 137v-138v, 15th cent.

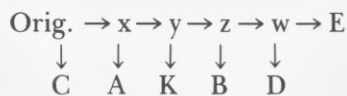
Fig. 5. The pastoral scene in *Le Calendrier des Bergers* 1493: The master shepherd explains the division of human life and of his calendar. Orig. size.



**¶ Il parle le bergier et fait vng prologue cōtenant
la diuision de son compost et calendrier**

manuscripts A–E, of which A gives the title to his treatise and the sub-title to the present book: *Les douze mois figurez*. Fr. 1728 is termed C as it does not in all details represent the oldest form of the text, while the material treated below in *Le Grant Calendrier et Compost des Bergiers* is called K. Of these texts, C is from the 14th, ABD and K from the 15th, and E from the 16th century. Never-

theless, the relationship between the six is hardly entirely correctly described by Morawski. In his work we find a complete variant apparatus, and Povl Skårup has scrutinized this very thoroughly before setting up the following hypothetical stemma:



- C: Paris, Bibl.nat., fr. 1728, fol. 271-73, 14th cent.
 D: London, Westminster Abbey, Ms. 21, 15th cent.
 E: Toulouse, Ms. 831, fol. 31v-32, only v.1-46, though space for the rest is left open, early 16th cent.
 A and D had been printed much earlier: *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français* 1877 and 1875.

Morawski uses A as the basis of his text. C, the only MS. from the 14th century, is given below on p. 42; perhaps it differs from its model more often than A does, but it has a better model than A has. Including the corrections in our notes,



Fig. 6. A woodcut opening the astrological chapter of *Le Calendrier des Bergiers*, 1493: The shepherd admiring and studying heaven. Often used as title woodcut in later editions. Orig. width: 100 mm.

the text should be just as close to the unknown original as the A text including corrections.

The poem runs naturally and easily in its comparison between seasons, nature and the ages of man. It cannot be said to be reading matter of an edifying nature for it is extremely realistic, indeed even cynical. A peculiarity is the coda of the poem, this summarizing calculation of the 72 years of life: 36 years wasted in sleep, the time up until the 15th year of no value because of immaturity, and five years wasted by illness or imprisonment – giving a remainder of 16 years. Moreover, should man be foolish enough to marry, he will get nothing whatsoever out of life! No consideration is given to the fact that half of the 15 + 5 years is already deducted in the introductory halving, unless the remaining years are estimated to be fully and intensely

spent. This remarkable calculation can be traced in several cases in the poetry of that period.

The popularity of the original poem is demonstrated by its presence in several manuscripts, by several rewritings, and by its place in the so-called Shepherds' Calendars in French and in translation. As mentioned earlier on, and as appears from our reproductions of the text, the Calendars repeat the poem in a largely unchanged form. Hence it seems natural, in spite of the chronology, to deal first with this branch of the genealogical tree of our theme.

Le Grant Kalendrier et Compost des Bergiers was first printed in Paris 1491 by the learned printer Guy Marchant. Generally, the editions from 1493 attract attention because they were enlarged and also because an attractive facsimile edition has been based upon one of them. However, the useful survey of contents given in *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* shows that our poem was found in the earliest editions too.¹⁸

18: *GW* IV 1968 (with no additions or corrections to the first edition) lists the following editions. The numbers of M. Pellechet: *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France* III, Paris 1909, are added because of the very full descriptions. The first six editions are printed by Guy Marchant.

GW 5906 (P.3904): 2.V.1491, 30 leaves.

5907 (3903): [after 2.V.] 1491, 54 ll.

5908 (3905), partly for Anthoine Vérard; 18.IV.1493, 89 ll. (and the following issues differ little from that number). Vellum copies are preserved in Angers and in Paris, the latter illuminated for Charles VIII; see the two colour plates in Claudin I ad 358 and 368, cf. I 425; he has an extremely full description of this magnificent book. For references to A. Claudin: *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France*, I–IV, Paris 1900–14, V: *Index* (used in reprint, 1971), see the index volume. His chapter about Marchant I 335–406 is dominated by the *Kalendrier* from p. 361.

5909 (3906); 18.VII.1493. The Valenciennes copy is the basis for 5912–13 and for the fine facsimile edition: *Le Grant Kalendrier et Compost des Bergiers*, ed. Pierre Champion, Paris 1926.

5910 (3907), for Jean Petit; 7.I.1496/97. Basis for the English editions, see next paragraph.

The small folio is of high technical quality, with a homogeneous typography in *lettre bâtarde* and a wealth of good woodcuts in contour style exemplified on figs. 5–7 and 11; they are ascribed by H. Monceaux to Pierre Le Rouge and were cut by Guillaume and Nicolas le Rouge (note 24).

There seems a contrast between this richness, which must surely have had limited sales, and the motley in part popular contents dealing with calendrical matters, astronomy and astrology, with virtues and vices, damnation, medicine, and with devotional subjects.¹⁹ But, says Émile Mâle, “on sait le succès du *Calendrier des Bergers*: la France entière le lut”. The book was a success

and appeared in many editions right up until 1633; one of the first of these editions has been republished in entirety and two others in part in our own times. Guy Marchant even followed up his success with a *Calendrier des Bergères*, but only one impression appeared of this! Here again, our poem was included.²⁰

The month poem underwent certain changes and abridgements during the course of time. The few scattered pairs of lines not found in the known manuscripts, but which appear in the *Calendrier des Bergers*, are given in the apparatus to the edition, p. 42ff.

The editor of the calendar must have laid much weight on the indisputably very universal human message of the poem on the months. Not only is it given its rightful placing inside the book, but a *prose paraphrase* is also provided, and this is found at the beginning of the book in association with the shepherd motif.

To start with there is the editor's prologue, put into his mouth by “a shepherd who tended his sheep in the field, who was no scholar and knew naught of the Scriptures, but just possessed his common sense and reason”. This shepherd describes life as a climax up to 36 years of age, and as an anticlimax from 36 to 72 years of

5911 (–), partly for Jean Petit, 16 IX.1497. Basis for the Paris editions up to 1633.

5912 (3902): Genève, Jean Bellot, not before 1497, and

5913 (3909): same, 1500. The basis for the Lyons and Troyes editions up to 1729. The former is also the basis for: *Le Grand Calendrier des Bergiers von Jean Belot*, Genf 1497, hrsg. v. Gustav Grunau mit einführendem Text von Hans Blösch und Adolf Fluri, Bern 1920 (selected pages only, see esp. p.LX ff).

The last edition before 1501 was again produced by Marchant for Jean Petit:

5914 (3908): 10.IX. 1500.

The third modern edition is: *Le grant calendrier et compost des bergiers ... Imprimé nouvellement a Troyes [1529] par Nicolas le Rouge*, Paris 1925; modernized spelling by Bernard Guégan; see figs. 3–4. I used this edition in the Royal Library, while the two other facsimiles were borrowed from the University Library, Scientific and Medical Department, a symptomatic detail showing that the whole subject may be approached from a humanistic or from a scientific angle.

Claudin III 528 refers to an edition from Lyons: [Guillaume Balsarin], no date. The prologue is accompanied by a wholly different illustration borrowed from another book.

19: The illustrations and legends of the infernal punishment were used as the basis for paintings in the cathedral of Albi, a fact worth mentioning as part of the function and fate of illustrated books; mentioned by Mâle, see note 15. According to Claudin II p. 444, they had been used in another Vêrard print, *L'Eguyllon de crainte divine pour bien mourir, avec les Paines d'Enfer et de Purgatoire*.

20: GW 5915, Pellechet 3910: G. Marchant partly for J. Petit, 17.VIII.1499, 68 leaves. The title is worded by a clever salesman: *Icy est le compost et kalendrier des bergeres contenant plusieurs materes recreatiues et deuotes nouvellement compose sans contredire a celluy des bergiers mais suppliant les deffaultes omises en icelluy*. It is described by Claudin in the chapter dealing with Marchant and by Monceaux I p. 294 ff. The important woodcuts of the occupations of the months in this book were taken over by the Troyes editions of the *Calendrier des Bergers*, according to Claudin who praises them as excellent art for a popular book; see also Ruth Mortimer: *Harvard College Library. Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts. I: French 16th Century Books*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964. She lists two editions at Harvard, and other additions to the GW copy lists can be taken from national or library catalogues of incunabula and post-incunabula; but this taxonomy is less relevant to our purpose.

Fig. 7. Among the woodcuts in *Le Calendrier*, 1493, several show two men in dispute. Without specific motivation, three are found together with the poem *Il est vray qu'en douze saisons*. One is reproduced here; it may show the shepherd with his son or pupil.



age. Some live for a shorter length of time and this can be the result of “violence or interference with their nature and condition”; others live longer “because of their healthy way of life and the teachings by which they have lived and deported themselves”.

Then follows the shepherd’s own prologue, the prose paraphrase of the month poem without the final summing up, and the instructions for understanding the Shepherd’s Calendar as a whole.

The reason why all this wisdom is ascribed to shepherds lies in the idea that this calling is of great virtue. Did not the patriarchs Moses and David tend sheep? Was it not to the shepherds in the fields that the angels sang their tidings? And was not Jesus himself the good shepherd?

At least 25 French editions of this book are known.²¹ No study has been made of the transformation of the poem and the two prologues throughout these editions. However, the modern edition of the Troyes edition from 1529

contains the prologue in a slightly abridged form, and for each month there is a modernized and in part abridged version of the relevant section of the poem. There is no room for its introduction and epilogue. Under January the poem is described as *les douze mois figurez ou le Calendrier de vie humaine*. For each month are given in addition the verse sequences *Je me fais Janvier appeller* and *In jano calidisque*, see note 24.²²

Of the three *rewritings* in question, at least the first is almost of the same age as the oldest finding-place of the poem, namely from the 14th century. This is printed by Morawski after the only known source, Bibl. nat. ms. fr. 1140, fol. 70. It runs to 228 verses, while Morawski’s edition of the oldest poem has 146. In addition to a prologue and epilogue, the disposition of this version is twelve lines dealing with the theme for each month plus a quatrain called *proverbe*. The rewriting is a serious debasement; the need to think of material possessions in time is the theme that is repeated *ad nauseam*, and it is of little help against this that the quatrains show a touch of piety, such as the *proverbe* for April reminding us that riches are damnation to those whose souls are in hell:

21: Monceaux I p. 289, note, even mentions a *Calendrier des Bergers* in dialogue form by Jean Tabourot, Langres: Jean Despreys 1582 and later.

22: As several authors suggest Jehan de Brie as a possible source for the *Calendrier*, it should be stated that the title of his agricultural treatise seems to be the only background for this error. It was launched by Paul Lacroix (Bibliophile Jacob): *Le Bon Berger, ou Le vrai régime et gouvernement des Bergers et Bergères composé par le rustique Jehan de Brie*. Réimprimé sur l’édition de Paris (1541), Paris 1878, harshly reviewed by Paul Meyer in *Romania* VIII 1879 pp. 450-54. Jehan’s source, Pietro dei Crescenzi, is also out of the question. However, the importance of the shepherd as a sort of human archetype is stressed by Jehan; see Heseltine’s preface to the edition quoted in note 28.

Mays qui de gaigner a grant cure
De Dieu gard toudis la droicture;
Car la richesse est bien mauldicte
Pour (l'omme) qui l'ame en enfer habite.

- 23: E. Picot: *Catalogue des livres ... [du] feu M. le Baron James Rothschild I*, Paris 1884, no. 531 with a facsimile of the Gothic L of the title-page. The physical condition of the book prohibited photocopying, and I am deeply grateful to Mme. J. Veyrin-Forrer of the Bibl. nat. who *sua sponte* undertook a complete transcription of the text (1964) used for the present edition. See Claudin III 91 and *Gesamtkatalog* no. 7261, Lyon: [Guillaume LeRoy, c. 1485].
- 24: Paul Lacombe: *Livres d'heures imprimés au XVe et au XVIe siècle, conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Paris. Catalogue*, Paris 1907 (reprint Nieuwkoop 1963), introduction p. LXII with references to other literature. The other type of quatrain is used for January: Je me faiz Janvier appeler,/ Le plus froit de toute l'année;/ Mais si me puis-je bien vanter/ Que ma saison est approuvée. Other types of verse deal with hygienic precepts: In Jano claris calidisque cibis potiaris, or they are mnemotechnical rhymes (cisiojanus): En Janvier que les rois venus sont. See Felix Soleil: *Les Heures gothiques et la littérature pieuse au XVe et au XVIe siècles*, Rouen 1882. He describes selected books of hours: Simon Vostre's of 16th Sept. 1498 with *In Jano claris* and *Les six premiers ans*; his undated Hours also including *Je me faiz Janvier appeller*; and the Hours of Thielman Kerver of 19th June 1525 with *In Jano claris*, *Les six premiers ans* and *En Janvier*. Anatole Alès: *Description des livres de liturgie .. de la Bibl. Charles-Louis de Bourbon*, Paris 1878, quotes the verses *Les six premiers ans* when describing two books of hours for Amiens (Paris 1513 and 1555), the latter of which also includes a series of relevant illustrations; but it is a great pity that his detailed synoptical table of illustrations in all the books described omits the calendar illustrations. – Claudin II 209-86 is a magnificent chapter on Thielman Kerver, but irrelevant in the present connection. Very important for the history of the woodcuts in the books of hours and the *Calendrier des Bergers* discussed below is Henri Monceaux: *Les Le Rouge de Chablis. Calligraphes et miniaturistes, graveurs et imprimeurs*, I-II, Paris 1896. He describes series of illustrations for books of hours II 149 ff. and 161 ff., see our Appendix; about the *Calendrier* see I 144 ff. – My former colleague Paul Raimund Jørgensen, Rare Book Librarian of the Royal Library, kindly facilitated my access to the books of hours and other treasures of his remarkable department.

The second and longest rewriting is known only from a unique incunabulum printed in Lyons in the 1480's.²³ The title is *La comparaison faicte des douze moys de l'an comparez aux .xij. eages de lomme*, and the introduction somewhat resembles the old one, but the poem lacks the epilogue. Each month except January comprises eight lines spoken by the month, eight by man at the age in question, as well as twelve that, from February to September, are ascribed to the following sages: Cato, Solomon, Aristotle, Doctrinal (Alexander de Villa Dei's famous grammar is thus promoted through its title to the ranks of the sages!), Maron (=Virgil), Virgil (with reference to the Georgics I), and Hippocrates. The last three months make no reference to any wise man as source. No attempt has been made to locate the scraps of medieval wisdom concerned; but the poem does not seem to be practically accessible and therefore it is presented here on p. 52–57, although – with the first-mentioned rewriting as its probable source and not the oldest poem – it is rather tedious with its unremitting materialism.

In contrast to the first and second French rewritings, the third, *Les six premiers ans que l'homme vit au monde*, is much reduced in length. It consists of twelve quatrains with the theme of the ages of man, and it is found in a number of breviaries, books of hours, etc., instead of or together with other French or Latin rhymes.²⁴ The variants are insignificant; one version is given on p. 58 and a sample follows:

Six ans prochains, vingt et quatre en somme,
sont figurés par avril gracieux,
et sous cet âge est gai et joli l'homme,
plaisant aux dames, courtois et amoureux.

No bibliography seems to analyze liturgical books sufficiently closely to allow us to establish the distribution of these rhymes. Félix Soleil takes them from a book of hours from 1498 (Paris: Simon Vostre 16. Sept. 1498), and there seems no handwritten or printed evidence that

they should be older than their probable source, the Shepherds' Calendar. Paul Lacombe, who gives examples up to 1559, states that the verses are more frequent than another widely spread sequence of quatrains characterizing the months.²⁵

The iconography of the books of hours and the verses deserves a closer study, and this may be facilitated by the many illustrations given in the appendix below. In the calendar section of the liturgical books there are several series of pictures in connection with *Les six premiers ans*, besides the occupations of the months and the purely religious pictures.

The most frequent set of pictures is not of later date than 1508 as it is found in a book of hours from which a picture has been published by V. Champier without more detailed reference (for an English book of hours see note 33 and pp. 34 ff.). This set illustrates the ages of man directly in connection with the poem. They are well reproduced, after an hour book printed by Thielman Kerver 19.2.1522 (1523 according to our reckoning), in a calendar printed in 1923 by the Linotype and Machinery Ltd, and below.

Another series of pictures is found in a rare book of hours printed for Nicolas Vivian in Paris 1515. Lacombe tells us in his *Catalogue* no. 278 that the book has illustrations in black without borders. However, the Royal Library in Copenhagen possesses a copy where the metalcuts are illuminated and where there are painted borders in addition. The relationship between the two series of pictures is unmistakable, but the books are very different from each other. The one has oval figures in heavily decorated frames with space left for the verses, the other has rectangular figures in simple frames in one corner of the page. Vivian's suite is, moreover, of interest because it introduces a woman as main character in the months of decrepitude and death. Furthermore, a comparison of the black and the illuminated examples is instructive because it demonstrates the well known circum-

stance that, in France, the printed illustrations were more or less freely illuminated using body colour, and to a great extent made to resemble the handwritten works on which they were modelled.

Vivian's suite seems to have been printed, at least in part, using the same blocks as were used for two editions described by Monceaux II 149 and 284; both were printed in Paris by Guillaume le Rouge & Jehan Barbier, à l'usage de Paris 20.X.1509 and à l'usage de Rome 22.VIII.1509. Monceaux reproduces January and October and says that this suite differs from others and reveals influence from outside France; our immediate impression is that it looks semi-German. It is fascinating to see how the realistic, "gothic" cuts in the Copenhagen copy are embellished and softened in the illuminated Paris copy (figs. 8, 9, 16 and 47).

However, Monceaux' description (II 161-164) of yet another suite in an edition *secundum usum Romanum* (Paris: G. le Rouge c. 1510) casts doubts on complete analogy between 1509 and 1515. He says that the later suite is not quite like the 1509 cuts. However, in certain cases the motif is entirely different from that we see in the 1515 edition: March: Adolescents playing blind man's buff; April: Young man seated between two women; May: Huntsman with his servant; December: Man(!) in agony, Death beside his pillow, two women kneeling. I have not seen this suite and for practical reasons shall have to leave the question open.

It remains to discuss a most interesting manuscript book of hours of very distinguished provenance, now in the Biblioteca nacional, Madrid. It was discovered in the Toledo Chap-

25: They are found with very few variants in Ch. Cahier: *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature sur le moyen âge* [I], Paris 1874, in the chapter 'Sources principales ou puisait l'art ecclésiastique du moyen âge'; in Victor Champier: *Les anciens almanachs illustrés*, Paris 1886, where the *Calendrier des Bergers* is dealt with on pp. 36-41; and in A. Alès as quoted in note 24.



ter Library in 1869, and according to an old tradition it is supposed to have belonged to the Habsburg Emperor Charles V; as it is a French

26: This manuscript is quoted by Edith Brayer in her paper about French livres d'heures in *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* XII, 1963 (Paris 1964), referring to J. Dominguez Bordona: *Manuscritos con pinturas*, Madrid 1933, I no. 1007, pp. 433-37; and it has been treated by Antonio Paz y Melia: 'Codices más notables de la Biblioteca Nacional. X: El libro de horas de Carlos V', in: *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, 3a época, IX pp. 102-109, Madrid 1903. – During a visit to Madrid, Mr. Gustav Henningsen of the Danish Folklore Archives procured the microfilm reproduced on p. 33, 38, 39, 40 and, together with the Head of the Manuscript Department Mr. Manuel Sanchez Mariana, established a better reading of the poem than that of Paz y Melia. I am greatly indebted to the two scholars for this contribution which is the basis for Dr. Skårup's edition.

Fig. 8-9. Book of Hours, Paris: Nicolas Vivian 1515. The same motif in its original form, printed as metalcut, and in a de luxe copy, painted in gold and colours. The differences are striking, especially in the sinister November and December illustrations. See October p. 33 and 37. Paris, Bibl. nationale, and Royal Library, Copenhagen.

work of art of the late fifteenth century it can, however, not have been executed for him.²⁶

The calendar of this book represents an independent type of illustrations and quatrains and is connected with our theme, but it does not strictly adhere to it because the sequence of the ages of life is not combined with a reckoning of the 12×6 years. Also the general approach is very different, very austere, because most of the months reveal a marked contrast, often two distinct illustrations showing life as it frequently is and life as it should be. The pious purpose is

clearly indicated on the title page itself which stresses the subject of salvation and damnation.

But when we reach the page following the calendar we do not see the dualistic scene of the Last Judgment but the divine majesty sitting enthroned over the fallen angels. Then follow, as often, biblical motifs in chronological order.

Consequently, the poem accompanying the illustrations is completely different from that found elsewhere. The quatrains, all in a most moral vein, are divided between remarks made by the contrasting persons depicted; only the first lines of February are difficult to ascribe to anybody. The poem cannot have been conceived as an independent work because it is hardly intelligible without the illustrations. Moreover, the verses show no influence of the other texts in our genealogy.

A similar question about the conception of the illustrations is more difficult to deal with. They are apparently older than the printed illustrations and verses in the books of hours, and one would suppose that they would cling more consistently to the basic theme of the ages of life if they did depend upon one of the older poems. However, the general concepts of 'this whole eventful story' are rather commonplace, and an independent genesis of the miniatures under discussion would be no miracle. Specialists in the imagery of the period may reach conclusions about this variant of our theme. If we consider the illustrations to be independent, then it is less important whether the verses are conceived simultaneously or written as legends to the works of art.

Isolated though it is, this imperial(?) book of hours should not be omitted from the documentation compiled. The poem is printed on p. 41 and the miniatures on pp. 38–40.

While the twelve quatrains *Les six premiers ans* were translated for similar use in devotional books in England, the other French rewritings are only known in the unique texts in question.

Thus the actual afterlife of the motif is not the outcome of the rewritings but, in contrast, a result of the circumstance that the original text, often in quite unchanged form, struck roots in the many editions of the Shepherds' Calendar.

England

Le Kalendrier et Compost des Bergiers must have met a significant need in the 16th century and in part in the 17th, as is demonstrated by the editions produced in France and outside this country. The expensive book very soon made its way to Britain, but in an unusual fashion. The first edition entitled *The kalendayr of the shyppars* is just as well produced and richly illustrated as its French model, and it is, too, printed in Paris by A. Vérard in 1503. There is nothing unusual in this circumstance for at that time there were connections between France and Scotland and, moreover, Vérard had a good English market, even including King Henry VII among the customers of his London branch.²⁷

Less fortunate is it that the translation of the French text into English for this first British edition was carried out in such an appalling manner that the like is only found in one other book – of same date and place of publication. Both seem to have been translated into a Lowland Scottish-English dialect by a Frenchman with little knowledge of English or more probably by a Scot without proficiency in either language. Of course, the French compositor does not improve matters. The book teems with loan translations, tracings, misunderstandings and untranslated words, and the strange dialect, making it difficult enough for the present-day reader, is moreover without interest from the point of view of linguistic history for "indeed

27: Claudin II 504. About the woodcuts, see Monceaux II 26: Several blocks cut for Vérard and lent to the Pynson edition never returned to France, and blocks were recut for the Marchant issues and later used in Troyes.

there never existed anything like it”, as remarked by H. Oskar Sommer in his excellent work on the subject.²⁸ An extract from the poem will suffice to demonstrate the point; the prose prologues are also found in the book:²⁹

28: The three volumes of his *The Kalender of Shepherdes* I-III, London 1903, comprise learned and detailed Prolegomena, the English edition from 1503 in excellent facsimile and Pynson's edition of 1506 reset. Four synoptic texts of the prologue are given in I p. 64. The revised *Short Title Catalogue ... 1475-1640* II, 1976, modifies and expands Sommer's details but not his basic result: that the English editions of 1503 to 1518 represent four different editorial enterprises. *STC* has the following entries up to 1518:

22407: Paris: [A. Verard] 1503.

22408: London: R. Pynson 1506.

22409: R. Copland's revision, [London:] Wynkyn de Worde 1508 with the important addition: [*really 1516*].

22409.3: Anr. ed. of 22408. R. Pynson [c. 1510].

22409.5: Anr. ed. of 22409. W. de Worde 1511.

22409.7: Anr. ed. 1516. See 22409. [In other words, the de Worde text was first published in 1511].

22410: [London, J. Notary, 1518?].

G. C. Heseltine used the Notary edition, checked against the 1493 original, for his *The Kalendar & Compost of Shepherdes ... newly edited for the Year 1931*, London 1931. The orthography is modernized.

29: The notes have been written in collaboration with Mr. Henrik Speckt of the English Institute, University of Copenhagen. ¹Northern dialect for *when* and an obvious misunderstanding of Fr. *qu'en*. – ²year; the “long z” is the letter *yogh* used several times in the poem. – ³The MS. probably showed an ampersand which the French compositor rendered in his own language. – ⁴The orthography used has often a *w* for *v* or *u*. – ⁵*stor* for *scor(e)* is an error easy to commit in late Gothic script. – ⁶shadow, Fr. *ombre*. – ⁷the *k* is a letter little used in French and rather peculiar in design. – ⁸“and he must necessarily die young”. – ⁹the French pres. part. is now and then used as an adjective in English, e.g., *knight errant*. – ¹⁰becomes. – ¹¹certain, or firmly. – ¹²fist; these words are remote from “firmly in his fist” but rather familiar to a Dane who can translate them into *sikkert i næven*; the words are borrowed from Old Norse. – ¹³June. – ¹⁴this line is corrupt. – ¹⁵“all fairness leaves his noblesse”, all that is beautiful forsakes its noble magnificence. – ¹⁶unstressed *has*, *his* and other words are spelt without an *h*. – ¹⁷goods, property, wealth, not heirs. – ¹⁸poor. – ¹⁹*not* makes the line meaningless. – ²⁰ignorant, foolish. – ²¹plenty. – ²²“so that they [the heirs] may share his wealth”.

It is faythful qwen¹ the .xii. sayssons
 Changys .xii. tymys the man
 So as the .xii. moneths
 Changys them in the zear² .xij. tymys
 Et³ ewrych⁴ oon be curs of natwr
 Al followys the creatwr
 They change of .vi. zear in .vi. zear
 By .xii. tymys in .xii. tymys
 Thy ar thre stor⁵ .xii. in nombyr
 Et goyes ly man in wmyr⁶
 Of aldnes they make⁷ hym to cum
 Or he most nedys de zong.⁸

At .xxx. zear goyes regnant⁹ in may
 The most myghtly of the .xii. monethz
 Aboue al others namyth kyng
 Et than be cummys¹⁰ man strenght
 As .xxx. zear and seykyr¹¹ of hys body
 For to hold the sword sekyr in theyr neyf¹²
 & than cumys the moneth of ioing.¹³

Than cummys nouember that drawys hym
 Vnto .lx. zear¹⁴
 That than they se al wncled
 The treys that so al about
 Thayr abydys not leyf no flowr
 Al greenes deys and cessys
 Al fayrnes lefys hys nobles¹⁵
 He that as¹⁶ thre scor of zear
 Should weel wnderstond that he goyes
 Et may weyl wnderstond yf he wyl
 That ys¹⁶ goodys¹⁷ desyrys ys deeth
 Be he in ys tym powyr¹⁸ or rych
 For yf he be not¹⁹ powyr he ys callyt nys²⁰
 Et so he may not wyn no goodys
 Bot yf he haf gret plante²¹ of goodys
 They wold se hym dy
 Thayr to that they may in ys¹⁶ good part²².

Nonetheless, just as was the case in France, many editions of this book appeared in Britain. It “was a prominent book in Spenser's England, familiar to courtier as well as housewife, and it

deserves to be better known today”.³⁰ Richard Pynson had the Paris edition revised for his edition of 1506, and consequently this was a very free version of the material. His *Kalender of Shepherdes* is introduced with these words (modern orthography): “Here before time this book was printed in Paris into corrupt English and not by no English man, wherefore these books that were brought into England no man could understand them perfectly and no ‘maruayll’ [marvel, Fr. *merveille*], for it is unlikely for a man of that country for to make it into perfect English as it should be.” (Sommer III p. 7).

So far so good – but Pynson only repeats the prose foreword of the Parisian edition. The clumsy rendering of the French poem – cited above – is reshaped into twelve short prose paragraphs with a slightly expanded introduction. July and the expanded December are the shortest and the longest (Sommer III p. 154):³¹

“*Iulii*. At Iulii. he is xlii. and he beginneth a lytell to declyne and feleth hym nat so prosperens[!] as he was.

December. Than is man lx. & xii. yeres. than had he leuer haue a warme fyre than a fayer lady/ and after this age he gothe into decrepetus to wax a chylde agayne & can nat welde hymselfe/ and than yonge folke be wery of theyr company/ and without they have moche gode/ they be full lytell take hede of god wote. and the more pyte/ for age sholde be worshyped in the honoure of the Fader of heuyn/ and for his sake chyrsshed.”

Wynkyn de Worde was responsible for the third edition (1508, but see note 28). The translator Robert Copland tells us that he had obtained a copy of the 1503 edition that was “in rude and Scottish language, which I read, and perceiving the matter to be right compendious, and remembering how the people desire to hear and see new thinges”, he showed it to de Worde, who asked him to translate it closely following the French original (Sommer I p. 32).

Also the fourth English edition, printed by Julyan Notary in London 1518(?), represents an independent endeavour. The editor used both Pynson’s and de Worde’s editions, as seen already in the prologue. This can be called a final edition in so far as a dozen later London editions 1528–1656 are derived from it, lost editions excepted. In the 1979 facsimile edition, taken from the 1585(?) edition, the two months quoted above appear as follows:

“*July*. In July he is xlii, and he begynneth a lyttle to declyne, and feeleth hym nat so prosperous as he was.

December. In December is man lxxii. yeeres, then had he leuer haue a warme fire then a fayre lady, and after this age he goeth into decrepite to waxe a childe again, and can not welde him selfe, and then young folkes be wery of his company but if they haue much good they beene full euyll taken heede of.”³²

As mentioned above, the French poem was adapted to quatrains used under pictures in devotional books, and these verses were translated into English. They are given on p. 59 according to a *Prymer of Salisbury use*, Paris: Fr. Regnault

30: The quotation is from the preface to a new edition: *The Kalender of Sheepehards* (c. 1585). A facsimile reproduction edited and with an introduction by S. K. Heninger, Jr., New York 1979. The preface surveys the contents of the book and gives edited texts with a translation of the Latin parts of the work. The reproduction is mediocre, in places illegible, but the book certainly fills a gap. It is STC² 22416.5: John Wally [c.1585], earlier supposed to be from 1560.

31: In the following quotation *welde* is ‘wield’, *wote* means ‘wit’, and *pyte* is ‘pity’.

32: A. H. Diplock published a popular book, *The Kalendar of Shepherds, being Devices for the Twelve Months*, London 1908, which had the main purpose of making known the fine French ‘occupation woodcuts’. See figs. 3-4. Various texts including the prose prologue to the calendar are given for each month; it is not indicated which edition was used. Also reproduced by Heseltine and Monceaux, see notes 28 and 24.

1529, a widely spread type of book that was the forerunner of the *Book of Common Prayer*, but which altered essentially in character after the Reformation.³³ The translation is very faithful almost throughout; with few enjambments and moderate claims on rhyme and rhythm, the task can hardly have been too onerous. The month pictures are partly reversed but also obviously altered versions of the suites mentioned above, see pp. 34–37.

Here it may be mentioned that parts of the calendar travelled onwards under a different title. One of the earliest printers of popular books in England, Robert Wyer, published a *Compost of Ptholomeus*, in London, probably in 1532 and re-issued from 1540(?) to 1632(?).³⁴ Wyer gave this volume containing pirated sec-

tions on astrological, medicinal and physiological matters an introduction put into the mouth of Ptolemy. While the other sections of the book do actually reflect a certain tradition from Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, the introduction is just a version of our usual prologue where the name of Ptolemy is used instead of "the shepherd".

Two literary works of very different, and also mutually disparate character borrowed the title of the widely known popular calendar. When Edmund Spenser's shepherd Colin Clout long had wandered in the labyrinth of love, he wished to cool his passion and warn his friends the other shepherds, for which reason "he compiled these xij. Æglogues, which for that they be proportioned to the state of the xij. monethes, he termeth the SHEPHEARDS CALENDAR, applying an olde name to a new worke" (1579).³⁵ But this pioneering work of the Elizabethan renaissance has little but title in common with the old work. The poem for February contains a characterization of age that "very well accordeth with the season of the moneth", i.e., other than the tradition, and already in March "two shepherds boyes taking occasion of the season, beginne to make purpose of loue and other pleasure", while the moving poem for December compares life not with the months but in more commonplace fashion with the seasons: fresh spring without "loues folly", then burning, impassioned summer, autumn and winter.

The title was revived 250 years later when in 1827 John Clare published his long pastoral poem *The Shepherd's Calendar*. This work, however, has borrowed only the name and not the structure of our theme poem for its vivid description of the weather and occupations of the year.³⁶

Mention should be made of yet another book that introduces two further facets of our subject, but which cannot, on the other hand, be said to belong to the "family" under discussion. In 1959 the Royal Library in Copenhagen purchased two

33: The text was copied during a short visit to the Folger Shakespeare Library in 1961; the illustrations on p. 34–37 were kindly provided by the library in 1980. Mary Parmenter: 'Spenser: Twelve Æglogues proportionable to the twelve Monethes', in: *ELH. A Journal of English Literature History*, 1936, pp. 190–217, quotes the verses and mentions illustrations in a primer from 1538 (Brit. Mus. c. 52. f. 16). Primers in the Folger Library printed in English in Paris 1508 and Rouen 1538 were compared with the text; there were no important variants. But while the January picture of 1529 shows children playing, it shows horsemen in a wood 1508 and 1538.

34: H. B. Lathrop: 'Some rogueries of Robert Wyer', in: *The Library*, 3rd series V, 1914, pp. 349–64.

35: The edition here used is *The Shepherd's Calendar*, ed. W. L. Renwick, London 1930. He expends only one sentence on the title, but see Mary Parmenter (note 33). She stresses the fact that calendar questions were a hot potato at that time, because discussions leading to the calendar change of the Catholic countries in 1582 took place at a national and an international level.

36: The harsh fate of the text in the first and following editions was described by the editors of the first reliable text. See John Clare: *The Shepherd's Calendar*, Oxford UP 1964, ed. Eric Robinson & Geoffrey Summerfield, with wood engravings by David Gentleman. A later edition (Paradine 1977) has wood engravings by John Lawrence. These books actually continue the ancient history of the occupations of the months as a subject for artistic interpretation.

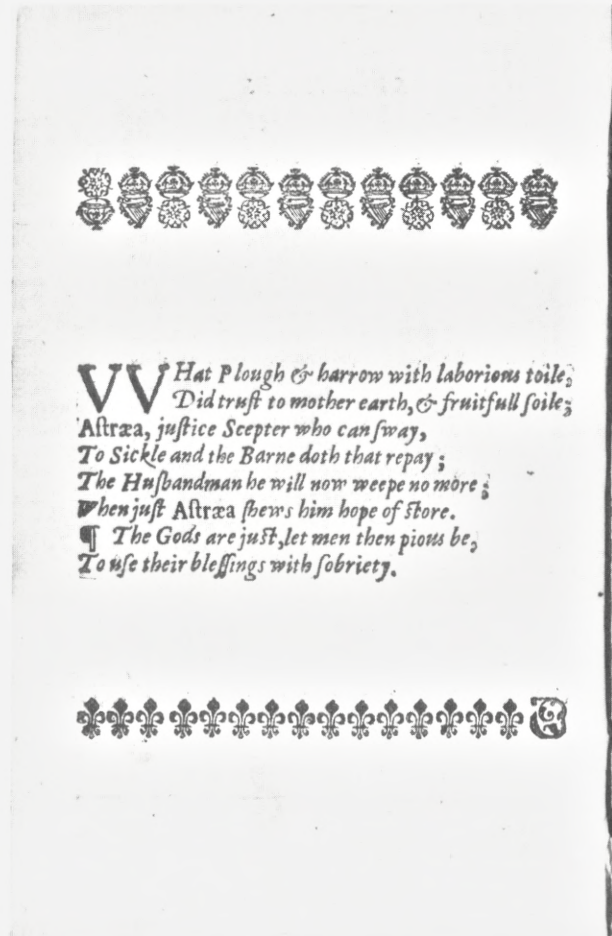


Fig. 10. Emblematic double-page introducing a section of Robertus Farlæus: *Kalendarium Humanæ Vitæ. The Kalender of Mans Life*, London 1638.

rare emblem books by Robertus Farlæus (Farley, Farlie), bound together, from 1638. One of them had the promising title *Kalendarium Humanæ Vitæ, The Kalender of Mans Life* (largely bilingual just as the title), and this presents two different, mutually disparate monthly progressions.³⁷

Each month comprises a double page of emblematic character: a short moral verse, a framed illustration, and above and below the figure a short sentence in Latin and in English;



the moral verse is omitted four times where a figure symbolizing the season takes its place. The sequence begins with spring and March³⁸,

37: The purchase was probably proposed by Professor Eric Jacobsen, to whom I am indebted for reference to the volume and for other valuable support at that time and now again. The other book by Farley is *Lychnocausia, sive Moralia Facum Emblemata, Lights Morall Emblems*, which only comprises emblems dealing with darkness and light. A much better known emblemist, Francis Quarles, published *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* in the same year, also taking light as his theme. He includes seven emblems symbolizing man's seven ages by candles burning lower and lower. See Rosemary Freeman: *English Emblem Books*, London 1948, pp. 122-25.

38: There are plenty of examples of March being consider-

and the modest little woodcuts have numerous similarities of motif with the tradition of the occupations of the months, i.e., not connected to our special theme.³⁹

ed the first month and Lady Day, March 25th, as the ecclesiastical New Year; in England the latter was maintained up until 1752. Farley may also have known the *Golden Legend*, where March, Summer, September and Winter are compared to infancy, youth, steadfast age and ancienty or old age. See *The Golden Legend, or the Lives of the Saints*, as Englished by William Caxton, ed. F. S. Ellis, London 1931, lines 63-66 (ref. taken from Mary Parmenter p. 191). Also Emile Mâle gives examples of ecclesiastical art of the 13th century where March is the first month, following the Julian calendar.

- 39: Rosemary Freeman disregards Farley's *Kalendarium*, not considering it an emblem book proper. Certainly the figures are more descriptive than symbolic, but no less than Mario Praz argues that it complies with Miss Freeman's own criterion: a collection of moral symbols, each combining illustration, sentence and interpretation. See M. Praz: *Studies in seventeenth-century imagery*, 2nd ed., Roma 1964 (= *Sussidi eruditi* 16), p. 332.
- 40: One could hardly expect our unsophisticated theme to catch the attention of the emblematisers, and actually we cannot trace any example in Arthur Henkel's & Albrecht Schöne's magnificent volume: *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts.* Ergänzte Neuausgabe, Stuttgart 1976. They do not include Quarles' *Hieroglyphikes* among their sources.
- 41: W. Nijhoff & M. E. Kronenberg: *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, of which vols. I-III 1923-42 are relevant, list the following editions from Antwerp:
 1258: Willem Vorsterman c. 1514-15. The Sunday letter shows that the translation was made in 1513, but no edition from that year is known. UL Ghent.
 1259: id. 1516. Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection.
 1260: id. 1520. UL Cologne.
 0720: Adrian van Berghen 1521 (?). Not seen by the editors.
 3296: *ibid.*: Symon Kock 1539. UL Amsterdam.
 Further:
 Antwerp: Marie Ancxt, Jacob van Linvelde's widow, 11. II. 1546. (Cock-Glorieux: *Belgica Typographica* I no. 4278). Royal Library, Brussels.
ibid.: Jan van Ghelen 1580. (Graesse: *Trésor ...* VII 1869 p. 199, see also II p. 242 f.
 Photocopies of the prefaces of NK 1258, 1259 and 3296 were kindly provided by the libraries, while the complete microfilm of the 1546 edition was sent.

Moreover, for each month, there is a poem in blank verse of several pages and this is connected with the ages of man – but the months begin with March. For spring we thus find: birth, infancy, childhood; for summer, young age, stripling's age, youth (already now is half the time spent!); for autumn, man's age, middle age and age far spent; and for December, old age. January carries the heading Death, and February comprises Epitaphs of biblical figures from Adam to Solomon. In this way the poem avoids any comparison between the first months of the year, so lifeless they are – at any rate in northern climes – and the swiftly developing first ages of man. Arguments for and against Robert Farley's possible dependence on, or knowledge of the traditional Shepherds' Calendar, or that of Spenser, should, however, be based on more detailed study.⁴⁰

The Netherlands. Germany

It is no wonder that a book with the popularity of the French *Calendrier des Bergers* gained ground not only in England but also on the continent, at least in the Netherlands and shortly after in Germany; no attempt has been made to locate adaptations and translations appearing in the Romance countries other than France. The old poem which shrunk to a prose summary in English editions, except in the peculiar first translation from 1503, left no direct trace in Dutch and German calendars, but a rearranged and abridged version of the French prologues constitutes the introduction in these works.

The title of the Dutch editions is *Der Scaepherders Kalengier*, and all of the six (or more) issues seem to be printed in Antwerp.⁴¹ With few and unimportant exceptions, the prologues differ in orthography only. Without reference to the original, the first prologue dealing with the 2×36 years is ascribed to the translator and rather heavily abbreviated; the second dealing with the 12×6 years is always the shepherd's,

Fig. 11-13. The scholar in his study is a motif too common in the prelims of late medieval books to warrant conclusions. However, these three woodcuts are worth juxtaposing: *Le Calendrier des Bergers*, Paris 1493, *Der schapherders Kalender*, Rostock 1523, and a German *Bauernpraktika* from 1512, reproduced from Per-Olof Johansson: *Bonde-Practica eller Veyr-Bog, Folkelæsning i 300 år*, Kbh. 1975, after the copy in Basel. Orig. width: 134, 117 and 55 mm. The German title runs: The Shepherd's Calendar. A very fine and useful book with many fruitful topics which are clearly shown on the verso of this leaf. Item: At the end of this book you find the Short Physiognomy, from which you may clearly understand the complexion and the affinities of man. (All text lines except *Item ... vyndeth* are in red.)

but the text refers to 'masters' and not to 'shepherds'. The comparison between the seasons and youth, strength, wisdom and age is transferred from its position just before January to one just after December. The descriptions of the months, not of human life, are abridged, although not as much as was the first prologue, but still enough to impair the general impression of the florid text. July and August are slightly expanded at least in comparison with the 1493 prologue printed below. The final summing up is omitted. The translation as such is fairly exact.

The scope of the Dutch calendar, at least of the 1546 edition which has been checked in its entirety, is more limited than that of the French model; the calendar is on its way to becoming a German *Bauernpraktik*. The contents are mainly astronomical and medical, the woodcuts are numerous but mediocre.

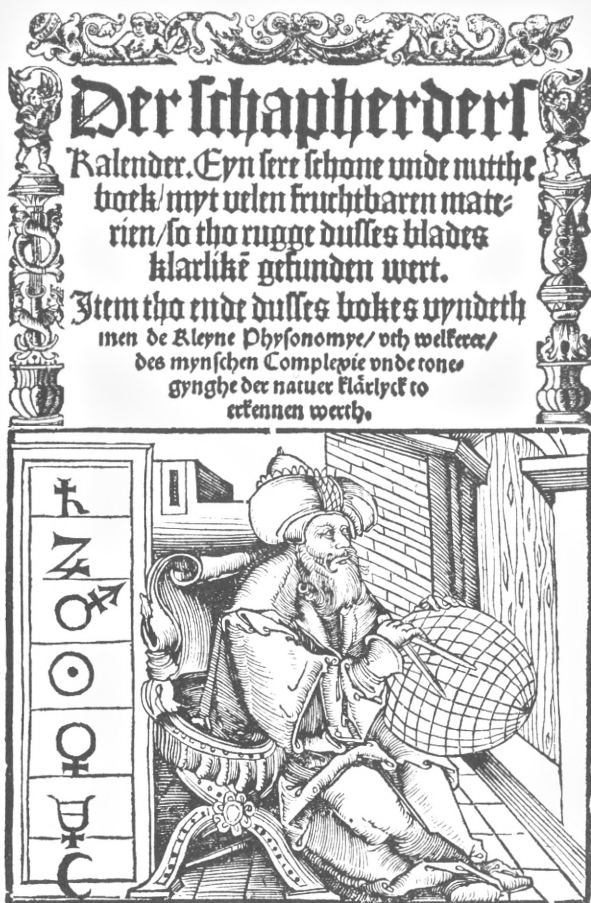
The prologue of the Dutch *Scaepherders Kalender* found its way into two German editions; however, no comparison has been made of the entire books. Admittedly the title *Eine nyge Kalender*, Lübeck 1519, reveals no connection with our subject, but a work of entirely similar contents, Rostock 1523, is called *Der schapherders Kalender*.⁴² Its title page shows a picture of the learned man (very different from a stylistic point of view from the French model), the signs of the planets, as well as a full title in a texture type



already old-fashioned for 1523. Reference is made to the list of contents on page 2 ff as well as to the supplement on physiognomy. The woodcuts for the months do not show our theme with variations but the far commoner occupations of the months.

A couple of very telling differences catch the attention: the Frenchman says that man can die before his time because of violence and interference with his nature and condition, the Dutch translator follows him, but the German says that

42: C. Borchling & B. Claussen: *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie* I, Neumünster 1931-36, nos. 626 and 627 (1519, with compatible variants in the colophon: *Dorch de kunst Hanss arndes* or *In der druckerye Steffen arndes*) and no. 762 (Ludwig Dietz 1523). Good but trimmed copies of the two books are in the University Library of Copenhagen, Scientific and Medical Department, while our illustration was taken from a magnificent copy in Wolfenbüttel. The source index of Schiller & Lübben: *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch* I 1875 seems to be the only indication of an edition from Rostock 1530. – Professor H. Bach (Univ. of Aarhus) kindly checked the Dutch and German text-transcriptions. The Dutch texts follow the first print, very slightly normalized by use of the next one.



man shortens his life by food and drink and many other things. The glorious feeling of vitality in the age of May can make man forget food and drink, according to the Frenchman, but this is altogether too much for the German who omits the corresponding Dutch passage.

The contents of the work have much in common with the contents of the type of book called *Bauernpraktik/Bonde-Practica* in Germany and the North, and which have been found since 1508 in the German language. Here this matter must rest because our theme seems never to have been used in this widely spread type of popular book.

The original separation between the two pro-



logues was maintained by the Dutch translator, though he reduced the first considerably. The German merges the two into one but follows his Dutch model almost scrupulously. The first prologue in Dutch and German and two months in all three languages are given below, cf. p. 28.

Denmark

From 1482 up to the Reformation in 1536 the art of printing was represented in Denmark by short-lived printing houses in a number of towns. From 1532 Copenhagen had one and later several permanent printing houses which, in spite of privileges and restrictions, had to compete with books printed in Danish and smuggled into Denmark from Rostock and Lübeck. Thus it is hardly remarkable that *Der schapherders Kalender* made its mark in this

Prologhe van den translaetoer.

Een scaepherder wachtende scapen inden velde, die gheen cleric en was noch niet een a voer een b en kende, maer allene doer zijn natuerlijck verstandenisse, seide: Hoe wel dat dleuen ende steruen des menschen inden handen ende wille gods zijn, nochtans behoort die mensche nader natueren te leuen .lxxij. iaer oft meer. Zijn reden was dese: So veel tijts als die mensche leeft, eer hi tot sinen stercken ende vroemsten es, na der natueren te spreken, al soe langhe behoort hi oock te leuen om tot crancheden ende ot nyeute to comen. Daer om suldi weten, dat elck mensche .xxxvi. iaer out es, eer hi volwassen es in crachten oft wijsheden; desgelijcx behoort hi oec .xxxvi. iaer te sine om tot outheden, crancheden ende tot nieute te comen. Dat zijn tsamen .lxxij. iaer na den loop der natueren te spreken. Die ghene, die beneden .lxxij. iaeren steruen, coemt diewils bi haer grote ouerdaet ende violencie, daer si haer complexie mede corrumperen. Ende die langer dan .lxxij. iaeren leuen, dat coemt bi goeden wisen regimente daer si bi leuen ende hem seluen mede regieren. Ten propoeste van leuen ende steruen, seide die scaepherder, dat hi gheen dinck ter werelt so seer en begheert als een lanck leuen, ende gheen dinc en ontsiet hi so seere als cortelijc, ionck oft gheringe steruen. Daer om practiseerde hi manieren te vinden, daer hi bi lange leuen mochte met wijsheden ende salicheden, dwelck dese practijcke oft calengier der scaepherders leeren sal.

Que vient le mois de may gratieux et plaisant, que toute nature se esiouist, oysillons chantent au boys iour et nuit, arbre se changent de fruitz, et terre aussi, le soleil est fort chault, et vers sa fin esté fait son commencement. Ainsi l'omme en autree six ans se voit ieune, beau, vertueux et entrer en chaleur, quiet esbatemens, danser, saulter et chanter nuit et iour, que souuent en oblye le boire et menger, si entre en sa grant force, et a des ans xxx.

Que vient octobre, quant tout est amassé, biens sont a l'ostel, blez, vins et fruitz; et de rechief on prent a labourer et semmer la terre pour l'an aduenir; et qui ne semmeroit, ne cuelleroit rien. Ainsi l'omme autres six ans a ce que doit auoir; conuient qu'il se contente, car plus ne gaignera. Se prent seruir a Dieu, fait penitence et euures telles qu'elles soient semence des fruitz qu'il cuellera l'an après son trespas, et a des ans lx.

Daer na coemt Mayus, genoechlijck ende playsant, dat hem alle natueren^{42a} verbliden, die voghelkens singhen int wout nacht ende dach, die boomen cleeden hem met vruchten, die sonne schijnt claer, werm ende sterck. Desghelijcx die mensche na sinen .xxiiij. iaeren gheuoelt hem seluen ionc, schon ende cloeck, comende in dye wermte zijnder iuecht, soeckende esbattemen, danssen, singhen, springhen nacht ende dach, diewils eten ende drincken vergetende.

Dan coemt october, dat al vergadert es, coren, terwe, winen ende vruchten. Ende men beghint die eerde te bereiden om dat toecoemende iaer, ende die niet en sayt, niet en mayt. Desghelijcx die mensche out zijnde .liij. iaeren moet hem liden met den ghenen dat hi heeft, want hi niet veel meer ghewinnen en can. Daer om doet penitencie, goede wercken ende sayt vruchten, die hi int toecomende iaer (te weten na sijn doot) mayen wille voer den ooghen gods.

De vorrede van dussem nygen Schapherders Kalender.

De wysen meysters vnde gelerden schriuen alsuß. Wo wol dath dat leuent vnde steruent der mynschen/ yn der walt vnde macht des alwedyghen gades ys. Nochtant hört dem mynschen na demm lope der nature tho sprekende/ to leuende .lxxij. yaer offte meer. Vnde so lange albe de mynsche leuet/ bet dat he to vorstande vnde vppe synem besten ys/ so lange hört em ock to leuende wen he krencket vnde wedder aff nympt. Hyr vmme ys to wetende. wen de mynsche olt ys .xxxvj. yar/ so ys he vp synem aller besten/ so behört em ock .xxxvj. yar wedder aff tho nemende an der sterke vnn an den krefften/ dat synt to samene .lxxij. yar. De gennen de beneden .lxxij. yaren steruen/ dat kumpt sumtydes dat se ere leuent gekörtet hebben myt ouerflodicheit ethendes vnde drynkendes/ vnde vele andere dynghe/ dar de minsche syn leuent mede körtten mach. De ock lenger leuet/ kumpt van gudem regemente/ dat syck de mynsche abstinert vnde redelycken hölt yn allen dyngen. Went neyn dynck begerliker ys/ wen lange to leuende/ vp dat he lange yn suntheyt möghe leuen. Dat denne yn düssen boeke klarliken gelert wert.

To be continued on p. 43.

Dar na kumpt Mayus/ de ys genöchlijck vnde lustich so dat syck alle creaturen vorfrouwen/ de vögele syngen/ de böme hebben schone blomen/ de sonne schinet gantz klar vnde warm. So ys ock de mynsche tho synen .xxx. yaren. He dunket syck suluest yunck/ schone/ starck/ vnnd kloeck/ he ys van yöget wegen sokende genochte myt dantzen/ syngen/ vnde spryngende.

Dar na kumpt October/ so synt alle fruchte vor gaddert/ rogge/ wete/ vnde alle korne. Denne betenget man dat ertrijke wedder to segende yegen dat tokamende yaer. De denne nicht en seygen/ de en dörnen ock nicht meygen. So ys de minsche wen he olt ys .lx. yar. He mot syck behelpen myt dem dat he hefft/ wente he denne nicht veel meer ghewynnen kan.

country. Incidentally, its printer, Lud. Dietz, did in fact achieve official connection with the Danish book world many years later when he was called in as a master printer to print the first Danish bible in 1550. However, the influence of the German calendar concerns the calendrical material and the medical advice, and where it can be noted is in the introductory calendar sections of the earliest Lutheran hymnals: not in Dietz's own of 1529/36, but in Christiern Pedersen's of 1533 and specially in *En Ny Psalmebog* of 1553, which, rightly or wrongly, is considered to be the third, augmented edition of the work of Hans Tausen, the reformer. There is no lack of Danish calendars or almanacs in this century but they do not contain the theme under present discussion, and the same applies to the category of *Bonde-Practica*, which, using a German model, were printed from 1597 to 1804, and in Swedish translations even up to 1943! These books, as

just mentioned, do have much material in common with the Shepherds' Calendar and likewise with the rather more "scientific" treatises of the Prognostica type, the Planet books, etc.⁴³

It was Niels Heldvad (1564–1634), a priest in North Schleswig and a productive writer of popular books, who showed an interest in the theme of the ages of man. From 1591 until his death Heldvad was a publisher of almanacs, often having much success. In 1616 he was appointed astrologer, astronomer and calendariographer to King Christian IV. Otherwise, he lived an eventful life, having many competitors and other enemies. Nevertheless his small almanac is said to have been printed in a six-figured number of copies, in truth becoming public property. In addition, he was the author of the larger Prognostica and Practica. As previously mentioned, in 1615 he took over the material on the ages of man from Heinrich Rantzau, with whom he had personal connections.⁴⁴

It is exceedingly unfortunate that Heldvad's *Prognostica* for 1620 has been lost. In this he must have mentioned our theme and/or printed his hymn about the ages of man. Perhaps he even gave a more or less free translation of the German introduction to the hundred-year-old Shepherds' Calendar; this seems to appear from the heading of Heldvad's hymn.

Heldvad also produced hymnals and devotional books. Between the two milestones in the older history of Danish hymns – Hans Thomis-søn's *Danske Psalmebog* 1569 and Thomas Kingo's of 1699 – there is a jumble of larger and smaller hymnals and devotional books, among them many that are wholly or partly written by one author. One such book is Niels Heldvad's *Armamentarium Davidicum, Det er: Kong Davids Tyghuss*. The first edition from 1623 or 1624 is lost, thereafter there are four further impressions from 1630 to 1656. This book contains the Danish version of our theme: a hymn in 44 eight-lined stanzas with a long heading that runs as follows in translation: "A pretty reminder of

42a: *creaturen* in the German translation and in the 1539 edition gives much better sense than the abnormal plural *natueren* not indicated by *toute nature*.

43: A full description of early Danish books is given in Lauritz Nielsen: *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1550 and 1551-1600 plus Registre*, Kbh. 1919-33. The hymn-books mentioned up to 1569 have been re-edited in facsimile. The relationship between medical prescriptions in calendars and in hymn-books is the subject of Poul Hauberg: *Lægerådene i vore ældste salmebøger*, Kbh. 1959 (= *Theriaca* fasc. 3); he quotes the 1523 Kalender and the 1553 hymn-book synoptically. Further: Merete Geert Andersen: 'Kalendarierne i vore ældste danske salmebøger', in: *Hymnologiske Meddelelser* 1976, pp. 101-28 (Copenhagen).

44: H. V. Gregersen's full biography of Heldvad, written in Danish (1957), was translated into German by Richard Todsen: *Niels Heldvad, Nicolaus Heldvaderrus, 1564-1634. Ein Bild seines Lebens und seiner Zeit*, Flensburg 1967. See also Holger Fr. Rørdam: *Historiske Samlinger og Studier* IV, Kbh. 1902, pp. 1-64 and 349-424. In later life Heldvad was criticized for his rather oraculous predictions of war, high prices, remarkable events, etc., and immediately after his death such forecasts were generally forbidden in almanacs; but weather predictions were maintained much longer.

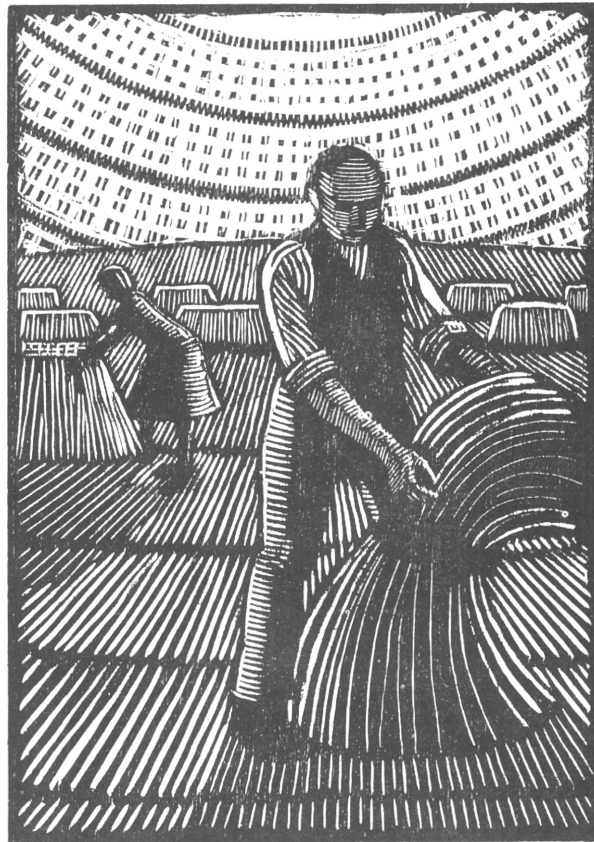


Fig. 14-15. January and August in Niels Heldvad's Danish hymn. Woodcuts by Marcel Rasmussen 1959, see reference in note 47. The work of this artist who lived 1913–64 was typical of one aspect of Danish book illustration using original graphic techniques; his illustrations were dealt with by the present writer in *Bogvennen*, 1976 pp. 209-16 (Copenhagen). Three stanzas of the Danish text summarized p. 43 are quoted (in modernized spelling).

Januarius, det første Seks.

Januarius først kommer
og ikke lader se
de dejlig' rosenblommer,
som skjult er under sne,
og haver liden grøde,
ja liden kraft og saft
til vores klæd' og føde,
min ven, tag det i agt.

Så mon det med dig gange
i din' seks første år.
Du kan ej pukk' ej prange,
men ringe da formår.
En liden gæk man kalder
og ofte tumler dig,
du tit til jorden falder
og handler barnagtig.

Augustus, det ottende seks.

Augustus sig ej glemmer
hos jordens grøde køn,
men monne den afnemme,
som stod dejlig og grøn,
sin' lader at opfylde
med kornet og med hø.
Min ven, tænk ej for silde,
at du må engang dø.

the ages of man, divided up according to the twelve months of the year, which can be read in my large *Prognostica* for the year of our Lord 1620. Thereafter arranged in rhyme to be sung

to the tune of: Wohl auf, gut G'sell von hinnen, mein Bleiben ist nicht hier, etc."⁴⁵

45: The tune was first published by Georg Forster 1589 ff with setting by Caspar Othmayr printed in R. v. Liliën-

Armamentarium Davidicum, the Armoury of King David, is of mixed content: texts set up as weapons in an armoury, set up as medicaments in King David's pharmacy, etc., as well as old hymns and new ones written by Heldvad himself. Of the latter, the ages of man hymn had the longest life. The remainder of the 17th century was marked by so-called "complete hymnals", thus called because the printer-booksellers who published them added supplement to supplement, reaching 1000 hymns. No real search has been made for our hymn, but at any rate it is found in the last edition of Cassube's hymnal from c. 1690. Here it has a placing both honourable and isolated, i.e., right at the beginning of the book after the small calendar section, but before the systematically arranged hymn section proper. Here it stands as a didactic poem – its length precluded its use as an ordinary church hymn. A paraphrase is given on p. 43 ff.

Although the natural progress of the poem and many details nicely follow the tradition, the tone of this the last offshoot of our "genealogical

cron: *Deutsches Leben im Volkslied um 1530*, Berlin u. Stuttgart 1881 p. 351. References concerning text and tune, plus a new setting by Thorkild Knudsen, may be found in the 1960 edition mentioned in the last note. Danish secular song of the period is thoroughly covered by Nils Schiørring: *Den verdslige danske visesang i det 16. og 17. århundrede*, I–II, Kbh. 1950.

46: The basic structure of the poem may be compared with twelve month-hymns by Heldvad's German contemporary Martinus Behm, who, in spite of his vigorous style, proceeds in small juxtaposed ripples, without raising the great wave of life. See Philipp Wackernagel: *Das deutsche Kirchenlied* V, 1877, nos. 285-299 after M. Behm: *Kirchen Kalender*, Wittenberg 1606 and 1617.

47: Niels Heldvad: *En smuk ihukommelse om menneskets alder efter de tolv måneder i året afdeelt*. Ed. by Erik Dal with woodcuts by Marcel Rasmussen. Odense 1959/60. The postscript of 37 pages includes a presentation of the poem, its tune, the poet and the older texts back to Ms. fr. 1728, intended for a broader public and with translated quotations. The editor found the poem in 1946 in C. J. Brandt & L. Helweg's anthology: *Den danske Psalme-Digtning* I, Kbh. 1846, in connection with his studies of the 17th century.

tree" is now very different.⁴⁶ The exhortations to think of earthly security in good time are replaced by Christian exhortations to think of death, and the description of human frailty admonishes young people to be tolerant of the old. Although no typical hymn, it seems quite appropriate in an orthodox Lutheran devotional book, however cynical and avaricious its older relatives might have been.

The hymn was left out of the strictly regulated Kingo hymn-book of 1699 and forgotten during the swiftly following pietistic wave that swept the country; calendars and peasants' practica lived on quite stably, of course. Our hymn is available with hundreds of others in a still invaluable historical anthology of hymns from the 1840's. More recently, a limited circle of people were reminded of the motif and its vitality from the 14th to the 17th century by a private edition of the poem produced in 1960.⁴⁷

Envoy

The symbiosis, from 'May' till 'October', of the present writer and Heldvad's poem with its theme is his only excuse for obviously wandering far from his customary fields of research, thus inevitably bothering many friends and colleagues with his questions. For assistance towards the private Heldvad edition of 1959/60, written *nel mezzo del cammin*, and/or towards the present compilation, he expresses his sincere gratitude to all scholars and institutions.

A non-Romanist could not fully appreciate the French texts, much less edit them responsibly. The kind and efficient co-operation of Dr. Povl Skårup (Aarhus University) was not only a necessity but also a constant encouragement. I extend my very cordial thanks to him.

The introduction was written in Danish, most of our notes in English, and translated/revised by the translator of the Academy, Mrs. Jennifer Dupuis-Paris, whom we thank sincerely.

The book is for *Lise Dal*, in 'January'.

*Figures 16–67:**Illustrations in Books of Hours*

The primary aim of my 1960 study was to reveal, in retrograde chronology, the ancestors of the Danish hymn from about 1620. From this viewpoint, the English calendars and the quatrains in books of hours were but remote relatives, and the illustrations of the latter found in the Royal Library were attractive embellishments of the meagre poetry.

For the broader aim and the straightforward chronology of the present publication, however, the illustrations are of real importance, much more so because they have been, rightly, all but disregarded in the broad-based treatments of the iconology of the occupations of the months. Admittedly a frontal attack upon this partial topic would have been valuable but at the same time beyond practical possibilities.

However, so many threads are now gathered together that it would be a pity not to put on record the material compiled, thus enabling specialists in the disciplines involved to make their observations in the following synoptic tables and draw the conclusions not offered here.

The plates below start with a page showing the general layout of the following four sources (to different scales). Then follow the synoptical reproductions of the three printed books of hours and the Madrid manuscript.

1: Paris: Nicolas Vivian 1515. Bibl. nationale, Paris. Lacombe, *Catalogue* 278. Scale ab. 66 pct. Mme Ursula Baurmeister of the Bibl. nat. has assisted me very kindly. This edition has Cisiojanus verses in addition to the quatrains.

2: Book of hours *à l'usage de Paris*. Paris: Thielman Kerver 19.II.1522 (1523), reproduced from the modern edition, see page 18. Scale ab. 66 pct. The outer frame of fig. 17 is one of four types used.

3: *Prymer of Salisbury use*. Paris: François Regnault 1529. The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C. (STC 15961.5). Scale ab. 26 pct.

4: Biblioteca nacional, Madrid. French Ms. 15th century. Scale ab. 55 pct. See note 26.

Films, photos and other material pertaining to the illustrations and texts here published will be kept in a file in the Rare Book Department of the Royal Library under the name and title of this publication.

1

g Zach
 vii A Demetri
 vii b Dronisu
 c Hieronis
 xv d Nicasu
 iiii e
 f Gerardi cō.
 g Calixti
 A
 b Luciani
 c Terbonii
 d Luce euāge.
 xvii e Dauiniani
 vi f Caprasu
 g vndeci mil.
 xiiii A Melloni
 iiii b Seuerini
 c Daglorii
 d Crespini
 e Euaristi
 f Vigilia.
 viii g Symonis
 A
 xv b Lucani
 v c Quintini

October hz dies .xxxi.
 Luna .xxx.
 xvi A Remigii
 v b Leodegarii episcopi
 xiiii c francisci confessoris
 ii d
 e
 x f fides

Au mois doctobre figurant soixante ans
 Se l'homme est riche cela est a bonne heure
 Des biens quil a nourrist femme et enfans
 Plus na besoing quil travaille ou labore.

Januarr.

3



The fyrst .vi. yeres of mannes byrth and aeg. May well be compared to Janpuere. For in this moneth is no strength no courage. More than in a chyld of the aeg of .vi. yere.

2

LES SEP DAPRES RESEMBLENT A FEVRIER
 EN FIN DU QUEL COMENCE LE VINGT TEMPS
 CAR LE SPIRIT SE OUVRE PREST EST A ENSEIGNER
 ET DOUZE DEUIET LEFANT QUAT A DOUZE ANS.

Figs. 16-17

4

MARS

Figs. 18-19

1



2



3



Figs. 20-22

Figs. 23-25

Figs. 26-28



1

2



Aprill. fo vii.



Maie.



June. fo v.



3

Figs. 29-31

Figs. 32-34

Figs. 35-37

1



2



3



Figs. 38-40

Figs. 41-43

Figs. 44-46



Figs. 47-49

Figs. 50-52

Figs. 53-55

4

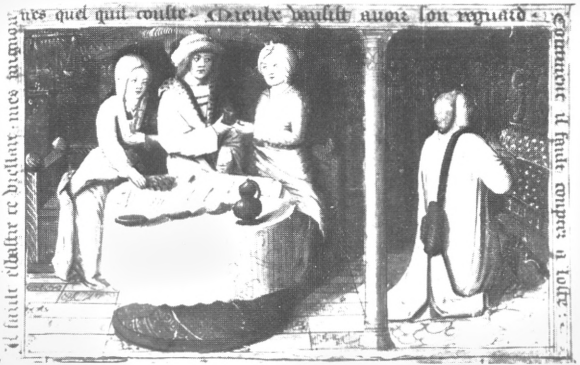


Figs. 56-58, Jan.-Feb.-Mar.

Figs. 59-61, Apr.-May-June

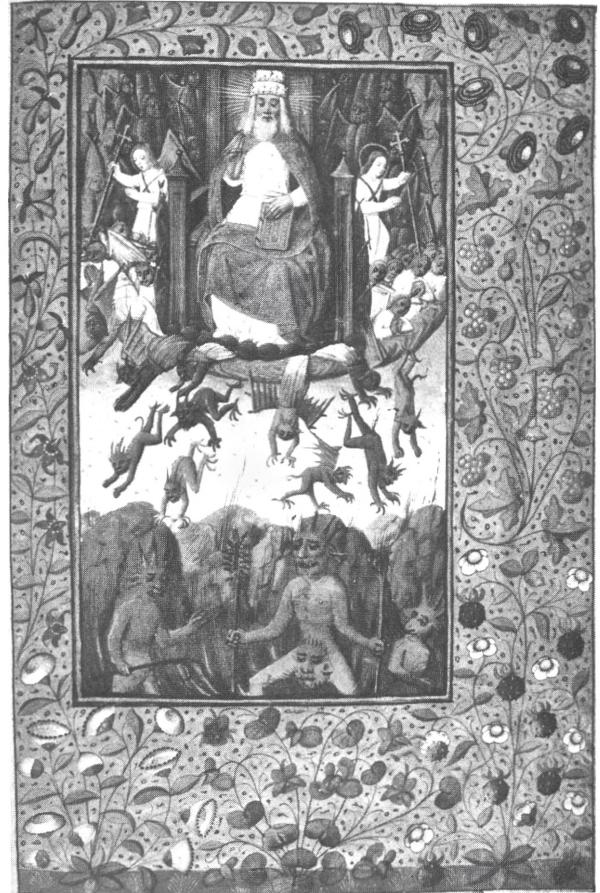
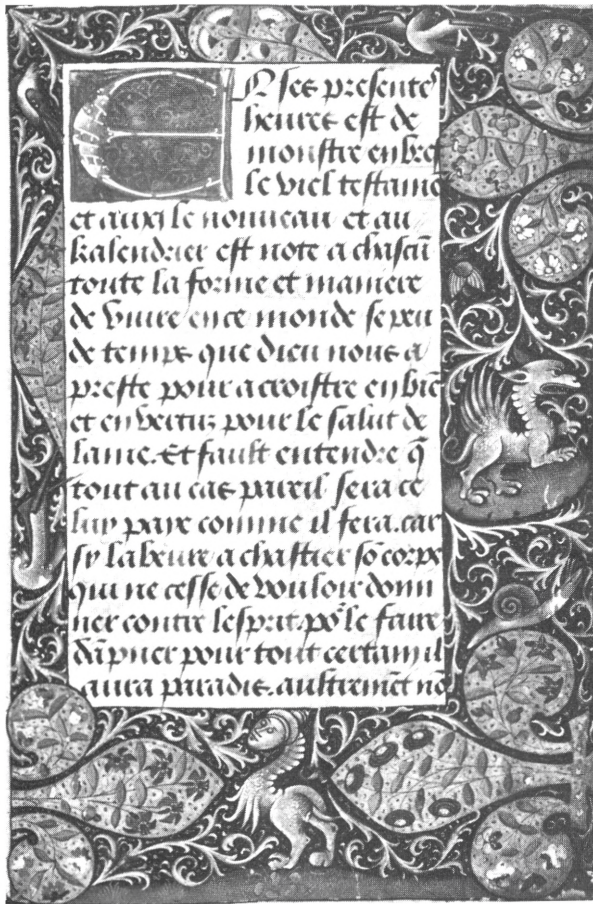


4



Figs. 62-64, July-Aug.-Sep.

Figs. 65-67, Oct.-Nov.-Dec.



Figs. 68–69. Title page (see below) and A 7^v (see p. 19).

En ses presentes Heures est demonstré en bref le Viel Testament et auxi le Nouveau, et au Kalendrier est noté a chascun toute la forme et maniere de vivre en ce monde se peu de temps que Dieu nous a presté pour acroistre en bien et en vertuz pour le salut de l'ame. Et fault entendre que tout

au cas pareil sera celuy payé comme il fera, car sy labeure a chastier son corps qui ne cesse de vouloir dominer contre l'esprit pour le faire dampner, pour tout certain il aura Paradis, autrement non.

Texts, *mainly edited by Poul Skårup*

French Book of Hours

Ms., Biblioteca nacional, Madrid

- I «Froit, nu, impotent, miserable
Cy est nostre commencement.»
«Dieu veulle qui soit agreable
4 A Dieu le pere omnipotent.»
- II Innocence ne sceit qu'elle fait,
Car elle ne veult que jouer.
«Plaise a Dieu que en estat parfait
8 Puisse tous deux estre envoyer.»
- III «On nous aprent une lesson
Qui ne me plaist point en effait.»
«Cy fault il ung mauvais guarsson
12 Chastier, ou il se deffait.»
- IV «Il nous fault esbatre nature
Puis que conmensons a congnoistre.»
«Mieulx vaulsit, et sans aventure,
16 Au disciple ensuivre son maistre.»
- V «Ung homme seroit bien couard
De perdre ce beau temps nouveau.»
«Ha, quant le corps et l'arme en art,
20 Mieulx vaulsist chatier sa peau.»
- VI «Apartient il de chatier
Celuy qui est en aage parfait?»
«C'il ce pert, il luy fault monstrier
24 Sa folië et son meffait.»
- VII «On en dira ce que on voudra,
Car il n'est vie que d'estre aise.»
«Voire, maiz maleureux sera
28 Qui pour gaudir vient a mal aise.»
- VIII «Puis que avons santé et joye,
Baulfrons sans faire de riens compte.»
«Qui de son salut ne se esmoye,
32 Est fol, car la fin fait le compte.»
- IX «Il fault esbastre ce viellart,
Mes mignonnes, quel qu'il couste.»
«Mieulx vausist avoir son regard:
36 Continent il fault compter a l'oste.»
- X «Je dois bien maudire ma vie
D'avoir ainsi perdu mon temps.»
«Certes, quant la force est fallie,
40 Ce repentir il n'est pas temps.»
- XI «Donnez moy, c'il vous plait, pour vivre!
Je suis navré jusques a la mort.»
«Faire aulmosne bien je desire.
44 Dieu te veille donner confort.»
- XII «C'est raison que soie a toy, diable,
A qui j'ay tout mon temps servi.»
«Veille moy a avoir agreable
48 Mon bon ange et mon bon amy.»

The poem is printed out of chronological order for easy comparison with pp. 38–39.

3 *qui* = *qu'il*. This verse and others which have too many syllables can easily be amended by deleting a single word: 5 *elle*, 22 *celuy*, 36 *il*, 42 *la*, 47 *a*. – 8 *envoyer* = *envoyés*. – 13, 33 *esba(s)tre* 'satisfy; amuse, divert'. – 19 *art* 'burns'. – 23 *C'il ce* = *S'il se*; *c'il* = *s'il* also in 41. – 28 *gaudir* 'make merry'. – 30 *baulfrons* = NF *bâfrons* 'let us eat'. – 31 'who does not worry about his salvation'. – 34 Read: *au quel qu'il couste* 'whoever it will afflict', or perhaps: *quel qu'il luy/nous/vous couste* 'whatever it will cost him/us/you, however much it will afflict him/us/you'. – 35 *reguard* 'attention, consideration'. – 36 *continent* = *incontinent* 'instantly'. – 40 Read: *De repentir...*

Il est vray qu'en toutes saisons
 Se change douze foiz li hons:
 Tout aussi que les douze moys
 4 Se changent en l'an .xij. foiz
 Selon leur droit cours de nature,
 Tout ensemment la creature
 Change de .vj. ans en .vj. ans
 8 Par .xij. foiz; cilz .xij. temps
 Sont .lxxij. en nombre;
 Adonc s'en va gesir en l'ombre
 De viellesce ou il faut venir,
 12 Ou il convient jeunes mourir.

Cy parle le bergier et fait vng prologue contenant la diuision de son compost et kalendrier.

On peult aussi sauoir *et* congnoistre par les xii mois de l'an et par ses quatre saisons, qui sont: printemps, esté, antom¹, yuers, que l'omme doit viure naturellement lxxii ans ou² plus. Nous bergiers disons que l'eage de l'omme, qui est lxxii ans, est comme ung an seul, comprenant tousiours six ans pour chascun moys de l'an. Et come l'an se change en xii manieres diuerses par les xii moys, ainsi l'omme en son eage se change pareillement de six ans en six ans iusques a xii foys, qui sont iustement lxxii ans, que l'omme peult viure par court³ de nature. Ou qui⁴ le veult congnoistre par les quatre saisons, doit sauoir que l'eage de l'omme tout est diuisé par quatre parties, qui sont: Ieunesse, force, saigesse, viellesse, lesquelles sont chascune de xviii ans, qui tous ensembles font lxxii et se raportent aux quatre saisons de l'an par leurs conuenances et similitudes, c'est assauoir ieunesse plaisante au printemps gratieux, force vigoreuse a esté chaleureux, saigesse proufitable a antom¹ de biens plantureux, viellesse debile a yuers froidureux. Ainsi soit [a3v] par les xii mois de l'an, ou par ses quatre saisons, appart⁵ que l'eage de l'omme de lxxii ans est semblable par comparation a vng an seul, rapportant six ans a vng moys, ou xviii ans a vne des saisons de l'an desquelles chascune a iiii moys. Printemps: a feurier, mars, autil. Esté: may, iuing, iuillet. Antem¹: aoust, septembre, octobre. Yuers: nouembre, decembre, ianuier.

Si venons a nostre propos monstrier comme selon les xii mois l'omme se change en son temps xii foys, et prenons premierement six ans pour

1 toutes: douze cett. (all other MSS). – 6 ensemment '(just) like',

1 not a misprint for *antom*, but rather the influence of *an* 'year' or *antan* 'last year' (but *antem* is a misprint for *antom*). – 2 *ou* = *en* + *le*. – 3 graphy for *cours* 'the course (of nature)'. – 4 'he who would (rather)....must know', 'if one would (rather).... one must know'. – 5 *appart* (generally *appert*);

Der schapherders Kalender. Rostock 1523.

Danish hymn (c. 1623), abridged translation.

De vorrede van dussem nygen Schapherders
Kalender.

Continued from p. 28 [A3r].

Item des mynschen oltheit van .lxxij. yaren/
gelyken de gelerden meisthers eyneme yare/
aldüß. Se nemen .vi. yaer vor yslick maente.
Wente ghelyck also dat yar syck .xij. mal voran-
dert dorch de .xij. mante/ also vorandert syck de
mynsche ock alle .vj. jaer/ to .xij. reisen. Nu .vi.
mal .xij. maket to hope .lxxij. yaer.

(1) If you wish to ask God about the span of your life, rely on Moses: After a hundred years, you must die. (2) Should anything be of value, it will be transformed to toil, task and tears. (3) Moses and Sirach teach you of the length of your life. Let God take care of your ages. (4) Oh blind world! How often do you stumble over the old man's continued life because you cannot gain possession of his goods. (5) "Were he but dead, I would find pastime in dancing and drinking and in the sound of instruments in the grove." (6) To keep you from these thoughts, I will show you how you will decay with age. (7) The year has twelve months, God's gift. Listen!

- Premier doit prendre au commencier
 Six ans pour le mois de jenvier,
 Qui n'a ne force ne vertu.
 16 Quant li enfes a .vj. ans vescu,
 Si n'a il force ne puissance
 Ne entendement ne cognoissance,
 Car autre .vj. ans le font croistre,
 20 Et adonc se prent a cognoistre.
 Ainsi fait fevrier touz les ans,
 Qu'en fin se trait sur le printemps.
 Mais quant des ans a .xviij.,
 24 Adonc se change en tel deduit
 Qu'il cuide valoir mil mars.

Et ainsi se change le mars
 Et biauté repront chaleur.

- 28 Or vient avril et li bel jour
 Que toute chose s'esjoïst:
 L'erbre croist et l'arbre fleurist,
 Li oysel reprennent leur chans.
 32 Et aussi a .xxiiij. ans
 Devient li enfes vertueux,
 Jolis, nobles et amoureux,
 Et se change en maint estat gay.

- 36 A trente ans va regnant en may,

similarly 118. – 17–18 *Tel est il sans nul bien savoir De force ne vertus avoir* K; the two verses are lacking in the other MSS. – 20 after this K adds: *Et estre doulx et amiable Plaisant gracieux serviable*. – 22 *se trait sur* 'draws near'. – 25 'that he thinks he is worth a thousand marks'. – 27 an error, it should be *En biauté et repront chaleur* A, B, D, E (with variants). – 30 *erbre*, should be *erbe*. – 36 *regnier* 'live, remain', similarly 49, 69, 130, 143. –

ianvier, lequel n'a chaleur, vertu ne vigueur, pour quoy en luy nul bien ne croist. La terre ne fait aucun proffit de grant valeur. Ainsi l'omme après qu'il est né, ses six premiers ans est comme impotent, sans force, vertu ne entendement pour soy sauoir regir ne gouverner ne faire chose a luy prouffitabile.

Mais vient feurier, que le temps commence s'eschauffer, les iours croistre, et la terre soy renuerdir, ou² quel moys vers sa fin commence le printemps doulx et plaisant. Ainsi l'omme en autres six ans commence venir^{5a} grant, vng peu soy congnoistre doulx et obeïssant et plaisant pour seruir, et lors il a des ans xii.

Si⁶ vient le mars, ou² quel on labeure, semme la terre, on plante arbres et fait edifices, car a telx choses faire est temps conuenable. Ainsi l'omme autres six ans est disposé pour recepuoir doctrine et apprendre science; en cest temps doit en soy planter vertus et edifier sa vie, qu'elle soit bonne et honneste, et adonc a des ans xviii.

Puis vient auril, que terre et arbres sont couuers de verdure et emplis de fleurs, et de toutes pars biens yssent⁷ de terre abondamment. Ainsi l'omme autres six ans est couuert de grant beaulté, en fleur de sa ieunesse commence venir^{5a} fort et estre vigoureux, si⁶ doit fleurir et prandre bon commencement, car fleurs sont monstrance des fruitz aduenir⁸; et se doit garder des ventz mauuais et des froidures, par quoy si les fleurs perissent, fruitz ne viendront point. Mauuais ventz et froidures sont les vices qui empeschent l'omme venir a honneur; lors il a des ans xxiiii.

Que vient le moys de may gratieux et plaisant, que toute nature se esiouist, oysillons chantent au boys iour et nuit, arbre se chargent de fruitz, et terre aussi, le soleil est fort chault, et vers sa fin esté fait son commencement. Ainsi l'omme en 'whether . . . or . . . , it appears that . . .'. – 5a *venir* 'become'. – 6 *si* (lat. *sic*) 'then; and'. – 7 'come up'. – 8 *aduenir* graphy for a

Der schapherders Kalender. Rostock 1523.

Dyt to bewysende/ so nemen se de ersten .vi. yaer vor den mante Januarius/ de hefft neyne wermede noch krafft offte macht. Noch neynerleye frucht wasset yn düssem mante. so ys ock de mynsche yn synen ersten .vi. yaren/ sunder vornufft [A3v] sterke offte wijßheit syck suluest to regerende/ offte yenich gud to dönde.

Dar na kumpt Februarius/ so begint de tijt warm to werden/ de dage lengen/ de erde wert fruchtbar. Des gelick wert de mynsche to synen .xij. jaren ghenochlick/ wat vorstendich vnde starker/ also dat he wes arbeiden mach.

Dar na kumpt Marcius/ dat men seghet/ böme vnde ander kruder planthet. Wente denne de tijt sodanen bequeme ys/ so ys ock de minsche to synen .xviiij. yare/ bequeme to lerende/ vnnd syk to öuende an dyngen dar he syk dencket myt to vödende/ vnde syk wol to regerende.

Dar na kumpt Aprill/ so hebben de böme schone loff graß vnde blomen wassent yn deme velde. So ys ock de minsche wen he .xxiiij. yar olt ys/ wert he getzyret myt der schonheynt syner yoget/ sterke/ vnde vorstentnisse/ de begint denne yn em to wassende. Dar vmme mot he syck denne wachten dat de blome der yöget nicht vorderue/ dar em grot schade van queme.

Dar na kumpt Mayus/ de ys genöchlick vnde lustilh[!]/ so dat syck alle creaturen vorfrouwen/ de vögele syngen/ de böme hebben schone blomen/ de sonne schinet gantz klar vnde warm.

Danish hymn (c. 1623), abridged translation.

(8) January shows no roses, neither is she fruitful or nourishing. (9) Thus when less than six years of age you have nought to boast of, you tumble often and behave childishly.

(10) In February God's fatherly mercy gives you the warmth of the sun and pleasure. (11) Thus, from six to twelve years of age you learn to read and to write, becoming clever.

(12) March demands diligence in field and garden if fine fruit is to be obtained. (13) Likewise, you should plant your garden with discipline in order to be able to feed yourself when you are grey haired.

(14) April's banner shows leaves and flowers with no assistance from man, thanks to God. (15) From 18 to 24 years of age is your time to flourish, with gaiety, beauty and less discipline, (16) like the young calves and harts leaping among the grass and bushes, though often stumbling woefully. (17) So I advise you to watch your step between bushes in order to be fearless when you wish to enjoy yourself. (18) Consider the beginning and the end, man and woman! Ill advice has surprised many a man lamentably.

(19) May wishes to join merry April with the finest songbirds. (20) The skylark flies and sings early in the day, telling us: Be pious and think of your death. (21) The goldfinch lifts its sweet voice at noon, reminding you of God's omnipotence. (22) Towards evening, the nightingale's loud voice enjoins: Thank God for his divine creation. (23) Likewise, you flower at this age,

- Le plus puissant des .xij. moys,
 Sur touz les autres nommés roys.
 Et aussi devient li homs fors:
- 40 A trente ans est fournis de corps
 Pour bien tenir l'espee au poing.
 Et puis a ou moys de juign
 Trente & six ans, ne plus ne moins.
- 44 Ce moys est de grant chaleur plains,
 Et aussi a .xxxvj. ans
 Est li hons chaus, fiers et boullans,
 Et se commence a meürer,
- 48 A cueillir sens et aviser.
 Et quant il regne en juillet,
 L'en ne l'appelle plus varlet,
 Car des ans a .xliij.
- 52 Ce moys ci a passees ses fleurs
 Et se commence a decliner;
 Et aussi commence a passer
 La biauté d'une creature.
- 56 Or vient aoust, qui tout meüre,
 Or a mal employé son temps,
 S'a quarente et .viiij. ans d'aage
 Ne se change en maire sage,
- 60 Car adonc se doit avisier
 Ou il puisse ses biens entasser,
 Car en ce temps ist de jeunesse
 Et entre adonc en viellesce,
- 64 Qui le change en couleur marbre.
 Et aussi li bles et li arbre
 Se changent ens ou moys d'aoust.
 En grant folie prent son goust,
- 68 Qui de bon son ne se remembre.
 Quant il regne ou moys de septembre,
 Il a des ans .liiiij.:
 Un tout seul n'en pourroit rabatre.
- 72 Septembre, si nous senefie
 Une saison riche et jolie,

56 after this lacks *Que li hons a .xlviij. ans*, cf. A, K, B. – 59 *maire sage* corrected in MS from *meure aage*, error for *maniere sage*, cf. cett.– 62 *ist*, lat. *exit*, similarly 101. – 66 *ens*, lat. *intus*. – 67 'he gets a taste for great foolishness'. – 68 *son*, error,

autre⁹ six ans se voit ieune, beau, vertueux et entrer en chaleur, quiert esbatemens¹⁰, danser, saulter et chanter nuit et iour, que souuent en oblye le boire et menger, si⁶ entre en sa grant force, et a des ans xxx.

Et vient le moys de iuing, que le soleil est monté en grant haulteur, chaleur, force et vertu; les iours sont longz plus que peuent estre¹¹. Ainsi est l'omme autres six ans en grant force, chaleur, vertu, et haulteur de son eage que plus ne peult, et a des ans trentesix.

Ou² iuillet vient que le soleil commence decliner, iours appetissent¹², et fruitz viennent a maturité. Ainsi est l'omme: autres six ans connoist estre en sa force et qu'il¹³ commence en aler de [a4r] ieunesse, son eage appetisser¹², si⁶ se meure¹⁴, et quiert deuenir sage, gaigner et amasser pour sa viellesse, et a des ans xlii.

Aprés vient aoust, temps de amasser, ceullir¹⁵ et serrer a l'ostel les biens de terre, faucher, fenner¹⁶, ou² quel moys commence antom¹, qu'on doit amasser les biens. Ainsi l'omme est autres six ans prudent et saige, prent diligence d'acquérir richesses pour viure le temps que ne pourra gaigner, si⁶ a des ans xlviij.

Et vient septembre, que vendenges sont; fruitz des arbres veullent estre cuellis; homme prudent garnit sa maison, fait prouision des choses necessaires pour viure en yuers qui aprouche. Ainsi l'omme autres six ans prosperant

venir 'who shall come, in the future'. – 9 misprint for *autres*. – 10 'seeks pleasures'. – 11 'so long as they (at all) can be', cf. n.23. – 12 *appetisser* 'become (or make) shorter'. – 13 *qu'il*, correction of *quil* in the original; the *que* sentence is coordinate with *estre* and subordinate to *cognoist*. – 14 'ripens'. – 15 misprint for *cuellir*. – 16 'harvest hay' (Nfr. *faner*). – 17

Der schapherders Kalender. Rostock 1523.

Danish hymn (c. 1623), abridged translation.

So ys ock de mynsche tho synen .xxx. yaren. He dunket syck suluest yunck/ schone/ starck/ vnnd kloeck/ he ys van yöget wegen sokende genochte myt dantzen/ syngen/ vnnde spryngende.

Dar na kumt Junius dat de sonne hoch steit vnnde schynt seer warm/ vnnde de dage synt denne vp dem lengesten. So ys ock de mynsche to synen .xxxvi. jaren vp dem starcksten/ warmesten/ lustigesten/ vnnde alder besten/ denne mach he nicht höger stygen.

Dar na kumt Julius/ so begynt de sonne to dalende/ de dage korten/ de fruckte werden rijpe. So ys ock de mynsche twischen synem .xxxvi. vnnde .xliij. yare begint he wedder to dalende van der yöget/ vnnde van syner starckheyt/ sökende wijsheit vnnde wynnende gud dar he syne olden dage van denket to leuende.

Denne kumt Augustus/ so sammel men de fruchten de den samer gewassen syn/ vnnde brynget se yn de schüne. So ys ock de myn[A4r]sche na .xlviiij. yaren/ klok/ vorsichtich/ golt/ suluer to vorweruede.

Dar na volget September/ denne werden de wijndruue gesneden/ vnnde ander fruchte vorgaddert/ dar men den winter mach van leuen. So ys yd ock wen de mynsche olt ys .liiiij. yaer so

hastening to many a twittering maid. (24) You make use of wine and salves, but learn that this is vain. (25) Make garlands and wreathes, but let your wreath of honour be unspotted, and let Christ be your friend.

(26) Like as the shining sun takes his highest seat in June, (27) so your best age will be the years from 30 to 36 – you will never reach the same again.

(28) For the hand of July thrusts youth away from you, and you will ask our Lord to guide your thoughts on your death. (29) Lamenting over time past is useless. Put your trust in Jesus, your bridegroom and saviour.

(30) August is for harvesting the crops and filling the barns, while not forgetting your death.

(31) September is for plucking the fruit, while you are tamed and creep into a corner. (32)

- Car l'en a fait les bles soyer,
Et commenç'on a vendengier.
76 Et s'uns hons n'a riens en sa granche,
N'a vandangier n'a riens ou prendre
Quant il a .liiij. ans,
Il n'y vendra jamais a temps.
80 S'a sexante ans est riches hons,
Aussi est riche la saison
Du mois qui vient après septembre,
C'on appelle le moys d'octobre.
84 Adonc a .lx. ans et non plus,
Or devient vielz et chanus,
Et adont li doit souvenir
Que ce temps le maine mourir.
88 S'il est riche, c'est a bonne heure;
S'il est povres, il plaint et pleure
Le temps qu'il a mal dispensé.
Est desespoirs par povreté
92 Essillie le corps et l'ame d'aage.
Et avec ce, on le diffame
Pour maint outrage qu'il a fait.
Dont vient novembre, qui le trait
96 En l'aage de .lxvi. ans.
Adont si voit on desvestis
Les arbres, qui tout entour
Ne treuve l'en feuille ne fleur,
100 Toute verdure meurt et seche.
Tout ensemment ist de noblesce
Cil qui .lxvj. ans a,
Car bien s'apperçoit qu'il s'en va,
104 Et puet bien savoir, s'il n'a tort,
Que si hoir desirent sa mort,
Soit en ce temps povres ou riches;
Car s'il est povres, il est nices,

should be *sen* 'sense'. – 74 *soyer*, lat. *secare*. – 76–77 *Qui les blez a, si les engrange*, *Car s'uns hons n'a riens en sa grange* cett. – 77 'and has no (place) where he can begin to harvest grapes'. – 86–87 omitted K. – 86–91 omitted D. – 91–92 *Lors desespoir par povreté Gaste le corps et dampne l'ame* cett. (with variants). – 96 *ans* is an addition. – 98 *qui: si que* cett. – 101 *noblesce* C, K, certainly the original; *jeunesse* A, B, D. – 104 thus C, A, K, perhaps an error for *si n'a tort*: 'he can quite well know (and see p. 51

en saigesse propose emploier le temps que luy reste a viure en faisant bonnes euures, et despendre sans excès les biens qu'il a, tant que luy doyent souffire¹⁷, car bien scet que le temps approuche qu'il debura¹⁸ reposer, et a des ans liiii.

Que vient octobre, quant tout est amassé, biens sont a l'ostel, blez, vins et fruitz; et de rechief¹⁹ on prend a labourer et semmer la terre pour l'an aduenir⁸; et qui ne semmeroit, ne cuelleroit rien. Ainsi l'omme autres six ans a ce que doit auoir; conuient qu'il se contente, car plus ne gaignera. Se prend^{19a} seruir a Dieu, fait penitence et euures telles qu'elles soient semence des fruitz qu'il cuellera l'an après son trespas, et a des ans lx.

Si⁶ vient novembre, que iours sont petis, le soleil a peu de chaleur, arbres se despouillent, terre pert verdeur, yuers commence venir. Ainsi l'omme autres six ans se congnoist ia²⁰ vieulx, a perdue sa chaleur, despouillée sa beauté, sa force, sa vigueur, ses dens louchent²¹, sa veue est

literally: 'until they (the remaining possessions) must be enough for him' (*doyent* pres. conj. of *devoir*; *souffire* = Nfr. *suffire*), i.e., 'so that he keeps what he needs'. – 18 = *devra*. – 19 'again'. – 19a 'begins'. – 20 'already' or 'truly'. – 21 'are

Der schapherders Kalender. Rostock 1523.

nympt he aff/ yn starcke/ wijsheit/ vnde settet syk vor syn leuent to verbeterende/ vnde dencket vp steruent/ vnde eerlyken to leuende/ van dem dat he yn der yoget geworuen hefft/ wenthe he völt syck dat he krenket/ vnde nicht meer vorweruen mach so to vören.

Dar na kumpt October/ so synt alle fruchte vor gaddert/ rogge/ wete/ vnde alle korne. Denne betenget man dat ertrijke wedder to segende yegen dat tokamen[d]e yaer. De denne nicht en seygen/ de en dörnen ock nicht meygen. So ys de minsche wen he olt ys .lx. yar. He mot syck behelpen myt dem dat he hefft/ wente he denne nicht veel meer ghewynnen kan.

Dar na kumpt Nouember/ de dage sint denne kort/ de sonne gift wenich wermesse/ de böme werden blot/ de erde vorlüst eere gronheit. De wynter begynt to kamende. So ys de minsche to synen. .lxvi. yaren/ vorlust syne naturlyke hytte vnde schonheyte. De tenen vallen em vth/ de

Danish hymn (c. 1623), abridged translation.

Even if you hear the drum inviting you to sword play, you must stay at home and behave with moderation. (33) Therefore, remember the daily penitence for your sins, if you wish to enter the hall of Christ.

(34) In October all is reaped, and the good farmer sows the new seed. (35) Likewise, sow the spiritual seed in your heart in order to bear fruit when God grants you the ultimate reward.

(36) The days are short, the warmth is gone, the trees are bare, November chills. (37) Your years of flowering are brief and soon they vanish, and at 66 you walk and behave miserably. (38) The teeth decay, blossom falls from the almond tree:¹ God calls you from the sea of life. (39) The roses on your cheeks have faded, your golden locks are gone, you have had your fill of this world and sing “Ade, du schnöde Welt”.² (40) You forget the merry folksongs you used to sing in your youth. Let them be, think of death.

1: A biblical metaphor for ‘ageing’.

2: The German incipit does not allow an identification of the hymn or song Heldvad has in mind.

- 108 Si n'en puet l'en honneur avoir;
Et s'il a grant plenté d'avoir,
On le voudroit veoir mourir,
Si que on puist au sien partir
- 112 Ainçois qu'il entrast en decembre.
Adonc amendrissent si membre,
Car sil a .lxxij. ans.
En ce mois ci se meurt le temps,
- 116 Toute verdure pert sa puissance,
Si qu'il n'i a nul plaisance.
Et ensemment – c'est la somme –
N'i a nulle plaisance en l'omme
- 120 Puis qu'il a .lxxij. ans.
Il aimeroit mieux deux chaus flans
Que l'amour d'une damoiselle;
Mol lit et parfonde escuëlle
- 124 Prendroit adonques volentiers.
Passés est estés et yvers,
Et vaut pis a ouen qu'entan.
Ainsi ne vit li hons que un an
- 128 Par les .xij. mois figurés,
En leur nature rapportés
Selon ce que chascun mois regne
Et que de moy la fin s'aprouche,
- 132 Seul et en pou de deduit,
Car la moitié en va par la nuit,
Que li hons dort et pert son temps;
Jusqu'a .xv. ans est ignorans;
- 136 Autres .v. ans pert de saison
Par maladie ou par prison.
Trente et six que li dormirs en monte,
Quinze que ignorance forsconte,
- 140 Et .v. par prison ou maladie:
Vous trouvez que la povre vie
N'a que .xvj. ans de remenant,
Ne plus ne va li homs regnant.
- 144 Et se folement se marie,
Il n'a jamais bien en sa vie,
Et quant il a touz ses souhais,
En la fin il gaigne ses frais.
- 148 S'il a bien fait, il le treuve,
Par escripture le vous preuve.

debilitée, plus n'a espoir au monde, son desir art²² viure après la mort, perseuere pensant de son salut, et a des ans lxvi.

Puis vient decembre, plain de froidure, de neiges et ventz, si que on tremble de froideur, et ne peult on labourer, le soleil est plus bas que peult descendre²³, arbres sont couuers de brume²⁴ blanche, n'est quelque chaleur²⁵, force est²⁶ soy tenir pres des tisons et despendre les biens amassez en antom¹. Ainsi est l'omme autres six ans enfroidis²⁷, que membres luy tremblent, ses cheueulx blans et chenus, ne peult eschauffer, quiert le feu ou le soleil s'il fait chault, veult tost coucher, tart leuer, congnoist que le temps de son eage est passé, car il a des ans lxxii; et s'il vit plus longuement, tousiours deuiendra feible et decrepité, et sera par²⁸ le bon gouvernement de luy en son ieune eage.

A quoy ie dis, moy bergier et parlant plus outre²⁹ de longuement viure ou tost morir, que les corps celestielx peuent faire auancement auec³⁰ le gouvernement bon ou mauuais des hommes, par ce que enclinent³¹ a faire bien ou mal, combien que³² l'omme n'y soit contrainct, mais y peult resister par sa volenté franche de faire ce qu'il veult et laisser ce qu'il ne veult. Sus³³ lesquelles inclinations des cielx et volentés des hommes est le vouloir de Dieu, alongissant la vie par sa bonté a qui veult³⁴, ou l'apetissant¹² pour sa iustice. Pour quoy donques [a4v] en nostre compost et kalendrier monstrerons comme nous bergiers auons congnoissance d'iceulx corps celestielx, de leurs mouemens et vertus.

loose'. – 22 'burning (to)'. – 23 'as low as it (at all) can come down', cf n. 11. – 24 generally 'fog', here 'hoar frost'. – 25 'there is no heat'. – 26 'it is necessary'. – 27 misprint for *enfroidi*, sing. – 28 i.e.: 'and his long life is only the result of'. – 29 'further'. – 30 'act together with'. – 31 'they influence (the man to)'. – 32 'although'. – 33 'above'. – 34 'for him whom He will'. –

ogen werden düster/ he denket nycht lange
meer to leuende.

Dar na kumpt December/ vol külde/ sne/ yses/
vnde wynters/ so dat men van kulde beuet/ vnde
nicht vele arbeyden kan. De sonne ys vp dem
aller sydesten/ de telgen vp den bömen synt
graw/ men blyfft gherne ynt huß by dem
vüre/vnde vorteert dat men den samer geworuen
hefft. So ys de mynsche van .lxxij. yaren/ stijff/
kolt van older/ de lede beuen em/ dat höuet ys
graw vnnd kael/ so dat yn em lüttick wermede
js. He mot dat vür soken/ vnde mot fro to bedde
gan/ spade vpstan. He vornympt wol dat syn
leuent eyn ende drade nemen wyl/ wenthe he by
.lxxij. yaren olt ys. Leuet he lenger dat kumpt
van synem guden regemente/ vnde van guder
complexien/ wo vor ock gesecht ys.

Item des mynschen older/ mach men ock
bekennen by den [A4v] veer tyden des yaers.
Vnde denne mot men wethen dat dat older des
mynschen van .lxxij. jar weert in .iiij. delen
gedelt. Also junckheyt/ starckheyt/ wyßheit/
vnde oltheit. Itlyck deel hefft .xviiij. yaer/ maket
to hope .lxxij. jar/ euen kamen myt den .iiij.
delen des yars/ na gelyckheit to rekende. Junck-
heit vnde ghenöchte/ ys dat vor yar/ also de Mey.
Starck vnde schonheyt ys de Samer. Wyßheit
vnde vorsycticheit/ ys de Haruest/ full fruthte
[!]. Oltheyt vnde kranckheit ys de Wynther. Süß
behört dem mynschen by naturlyken reden
.lxxij. yaer tho leuende. Dar vmme segghen de
meysters/ langhe to leuende effte froe to steru-
ende/ dat de ynfluencie edder tonegynghe der
hemmele vnde der planeten/ den mynschen
vorderen to sodanem. Men de mynsche kan dar
suluest mede vor wesen/ wen he syck dar myt
gudem reghemente na schicken wyl. Vnde god
alweldich de alles dynges mechtich ys/ vnde de
dar eyn here js ouer alle planeten/ teken/ vnde
elementen/ kan na synem gotlyken wyllen alle
dynck schycken vnde vögen so yd em behaghet.

(41) The young people despise you: “Get away, I
dislike your manners.” So now you creep to poke
the ashes.

(42) At this stage December puts an end to
your sad song. No defence, no foothold helps
against almighty Death. (43) Poor creature, ask
God for mercy, he is your protector and your
commander. (44) Let me end my poor song.
God show us mercy, so we may forget our
sadness and win the crown of honour.

NB: NOTES TO PAGE 50

he makes no mistake) that his heirs’. – 107 *nices* ‘stupid’. – 111 read: *Si qu'on peüst au sien partir* ‘so that one could get a share of his property’. – 113 *amendrisent si membre* ‘his limbs are reduced’. – 114 *sil* either = *cil* or = *si*. – 117 error for *nulle*. – 120 *puis que* ‘after that’. – 121 *flans* tarts. – 126 ‘and is worse off this year than last’. – 131–2 *Et quant il a regné son regne, Si a il eu pou de deduit* A,B, D (with variants), *Tout homme n’a pas fort grant regne Au monde et bien peu de deduit* K. – 137 after this K adds: *Demy le temps s’en va par nuit Que l’omme dort n’est dit qu’il vit*. – 139–142: *xv. et .v. rabatez du compte: .xvi. ans y a de remenant* cett. (with variants); the reading of C is presumably the original. – 146–147 ‘should he have all his wishes fulfilled, then finally he will only win his expenses’, i.e., ‘at best, the accounts will balance, a profit is out of the question’; these verses do not appear in A and are replaced in D by two verses that appear after 149 in A (cf. below). – 148–9 are lacking in K. – 149 hereafter A adds the following verses, which in D replace 146–147: *Le cuveilier (cimetier D) qui souvent sert (qui se hert D) De trouver ce que nul ne pert*.

a1r LA *comparation faicte des douze moys de l'an comparez aux .xij. eages de l'omme*

a1v [blank]

a2r S'en suyt la *comparation*
5 faicte des .xii. moys de l'an
aux .xii. eages de l'ome

Tout ainsy comme les douze moys,
8 Selon le droit cours de nature,
En l'an se changent douze fois,
Et tout ainsy la creature
De six en six ans par droiture
12 Se change, se doit envellir:
Vieillard ne peult ieusne mourir.

Et pour tant, en douze saisons,
Trestout ainsy comme i'entens,
16 Se change douze fois ly homs,
Par douze moys les douze temps,
Car il a soixante *et* douze ans,
A bien conter douze fois six.
20 Homme viel doit estre rassis.

Le moys de ianuiet dist:

a2v Veez cy le moys de ianuiet,
A deux visaiges le premier,
24 Car il va tousiours regardant
Du temps passez et du venant.
Et pour tant qu'il a peult vertu,
Aussy l'enfant, quant a vescu
28 Six ans, ne peult guere auoir,
Car il n'a guere de sçauoir.
Mais on doit mettre bonne cure
Qu'il preigne bonne nourriture,
32 Car qui n'a bon commencement,
A tard aura bon finement.

Le moys de feurier:

Feurier le court, c'est mon droit nom,
36 Car ma saison moult petit dure.

Tousiours me tiens en ma maison
(Et d'aulture bien ie n'en ay cure)
Bien pres du feu par la froidure.

a3r Et maintes fois par droit vsaige,
41 Ie fois flourir contre nature,
Dont c'est maintes fois dommaige.

L'enfant de .xij. ans dist:

44 A escuyer suis comparez,
Car i'ay douze ans acomplis.
Si ne fais plus que vous veez,
Fors que moy iouer tousdis.
48 Mais bien cognois – ce m'est aduis –
Qui me fait mal me fait ou bien.
Soit amys ou ennemys,
Plus ne moing que fait vng chien.

52 Cathon le saige dist:

Gardés vous du moys de feurier,
Plain de froidure comme ianuiet,
Combien qu'a la fin tous les ans
56 Feurier se tient vers le printemps.
a3v Aussy l'enfant, quant est creüz
D'aulture six ans, a plus vertus.
Quant au douziesme an est venuz,
60 Il doit estre bien retenuz
Pour ceulx qui l'ont a gouuerner,
Qu'i ne puisse a mal aller.
Qui en tel temps ne se prent garde,
64 De le chastier trop se tarde.

Le moys de mars dist:

Ie fois le prin temps reuenir,
Dont la terre repret verdeur.

2 *comparez* 'compared'. – 10 *Et* introduces the apodosis. – 12 'if it (the creature) shall get old'. – 14 *pour tant* 'therefore', also in vv. 79, 138, 150, 201, 267, 276, 298. – 20 *rassis* 'sedate'. – 26 *pour tant que* 'because'. – 26 *peult* = *peu* 'little'. – 28 *ne peult guere auoir*, scil. *de vertu*. – 36 *moult* 'très'. – 42 *dont* 'wherefore', also in vv. 67, 170, 299, 321, 330. – 47 *tousdis* 'always'. – 49 misprint, perhaps for »Qui me fait mal *ou* me fait bien«. – 51 *moing* (inf. *mener*) 'I pursue'. – 55 *combien que* 'although'. – 57 *creüz* (inf. *croistre*) 'grown'. – 62 *qui* = *qu'il*, also in vv. 188, 193, 216, 228, 279, 280, 342. – 68 *vers*

68 Le fois plusieurs vers saillir
 Dessus la terre par chaleur.
 Auser doit chascun le tour
 Que trop aise ne le blesse,
 72 Et qu'il aye vng bon pastour
 Pour luy gouuerner en ieusnesse.

L'enfant de .xviij. ans dist:

a4r Le ressemble le moys de mars,
 76 Car i'ay .xviiij. ans complis.
 Si cuide valoir mille mars,
 Sur tous les aultres plus iolis.
 Pour tant me semble a mon aduis
 80 Que trop ie demeure en pose.
 Aux champs ie veulx aller tousdis
 Chasser ou faire quelque chose.

Salomon le saige dist:

84 Le moys de mars est bien notable:
 Aux premiers quasi ressemble
 De froideur au commencement,
 Mais a la fin la va laissant.
 88 Et en ce moys conuient trancher
 Les fermens pour mieulx vendenger.
 Aussy conuient il des enfans
 Quant il sont a .xxviiij. ans:
 92 Pour aulcune chaleur qu'il ont
 Se changent comme herbes font,
 a4v Et qui de leur trancher les vices
 Ne se prent garde, il est nyce.

'worms'. – 77 'and I think I am worth a thousand marks'. – 78 *iolis* 'pretty' or 'gay'. – 80 *pose* 'repose'. – 84 and 85 do not rhyme. – 89 *fermens*, misprint for *sermens* = N. Fr. *sarments*. – 91 misprint for *Quant* and *xviiij*; this subordinate clause may also belong to the following verses. – 92 *aulcune chaleur* 'some ardour'. – 95 *nyce* 'ignorant, silly', or 'negligent', cf. v. 313. – 97 *resiouir* = N. Fr. *réjouir*. – 104 *plaisant*, misprint for *plaisans* (fem. = masc., cf. v. 109). – 107 misprint for '24'. – 109 *vis* = *vif*. – 110 misprint for *Tout*. – 111 *sa mye* 'his sweetheart'. – 120 *iouuent* 'youth', also in vv. 170 and 330. – 125 *at*, sic; *attrempance* (= *attemprance*) 'moderation'. – 131 *Francrentier* seems to be a hapax, perhaps 'free man who is entitled to a rent', cf. W. v. Wartburg, *Franz. etym. Wb.*, X.174 and XV.2.163+166. – 144 *Ce* = *Se* 'if', also in vv. 227, 269, 329; *Ce n'est* = N. Fr. *si ce n'est*, also in v. 329. – 148 'and then

96 Le moys d'auril dist:
 Ie fois les ayman resiouir
 Et maintenir en amourettes.
 Ie fois la terre reuerdir

100 Et flourir maintes violettes,
 Asfin que iolyes fillettes
 Fassent souuent chapeaulx iolis:
 C'est pour estre plus ioliettes
 104 Et plus plaisant a leurs amys.

L'omme de .xxiiiij. ans dist:

En auril suis ie maintenant,
 Car i'ay trentequatre ans complis.
 108 Ie veulz aymer parfaitement
 La douce plaisant au cuer vis.
 Tont vray ayment – ce m'est aduis –
 a5r Se doit tenir pres de sa mye,
 112 Car il n'est aultre paradis
 Que de mener ioyeuse vie.

Aristote dist:

Le moys d'auril plain de douceur
 116 Vient après gettant ses flours,
 Desquelles le fruyt vient après.
 Ainsy fait l'omme qui est pres
 De l'eage de ving et quatre ans:
 120 Or est en la flour de iouuent,
 car amours prenent lors leurs peages.
 De luy s'il ne scet estre saige,
 Se trop se charge de foulye,
 124 Iamays n'aura bien en sa vie.
 Se en ieusnesse n'at attrempance,
 De mal finer est en balance.

Le moys de may dist:

a5v Ie suis le gentil moys de may,
 129 Car ie n'ay au cuer que liesse.
 Sur tous les aultres nommé roy,
 Francrentier plain de noblesse,
 132 Par moy se fait mainte prouesse
 Par mains bons cheualiers hardis.
 Et sy fois prendre forteresses,
 Et fois lances briser aussy.

- 136 L'omme de .xxx. ans dist:
 A trante ans suis homme complis.
 Pour tant, par naturelle raison,
 Je dois auoir le cuer hardis
 140 Pour combatre contre vng lyon
 Et de tous les puissans renom,
 Car ie n'ay cure de conquerre
 (Tant ay le cuer vain et felon)
 144 Ce n'est en armes ou en guerre.

Doctrinal le saige dist:

- a6r* Du moys de may ne fault parler,
 Car des aultres est le roy sans per,
 148 Et lors apert trestout le fruyt,
 Et si est tant de grant desduit:
 Pour tant se doit chascun penel
 De belle flour bon fruit porter.
 152 Quant a .xxx. ans est arriuer,
 Entre les bons soit renommé,
 Fort et hardy se doit monstrier
 Et moult saigement gouverner.
 156 Se lors ne scet bien acquerir,
 A tard il pourra aduenir.

Le moys de iuing dist:

- Je suys iuing qui par grand chaleur
 160 Tout le fruit du monde se meüre.
 Aussy fois grayne toutes flours
 Et fois secher toute verdure.
 A ce point doit la creature
 164 Aulcungs biens mondains amasser,
a6v De quoy fasse sa nourriture
 Quant plus ne pourra labourer.

L'omme de .xxxvj. ans dist:

- 168 En iuing suis ie maintenant,
 car i'ay trante six ans d'eage,
 Dont i'ay perdu tout mon iouuent.
 Prendre conuient maniere saige.
 172 De traueillier i'ay bon couraige.
 Qui ne labore quant il pourra
 Ne mest son temps en bon usaige,
 Ne pourra quant il vouldra.

- 176 Thobie le saige dist:
 Ou moys de iuing – bien le sçaués –
 Sont meürs le fruit *et* les pres.
 En ce mois est de grant chaleur plain.
 180 Et l'omme a .xxxvj. ans plain,
 Meür doit bien estre en saigesse.
b1r Ou iamais il n'aura richesse
 Que longnement puisse durer.
 184 S'il n'a appris a conquerre,
 Iamais adrecier n'y pourra,
 Mais tousiours souffreteux sera.
 Et gart chascung en celluy temps
 188 Qu'i soit saige *et* diligent.

Le moys de Iullet dist:

- Je suis iullet qni après iung
 Vous dis par bon enseignement:
 192 Pour ce doit on garder chascung
 Qu'i aye bon gouuernement
 D'amasser ble *et* du froment
 En son hoste pour son mesnage.
 196 C'est pour viure plus lyement
 En yuer qui est moult saulvaige.

L'omme de .xxxij. ans dist:

- b1v* Je ne dois plus estre varlet,
 200 Passer ay ma ieusne saison.
 Pour tant le moys de iuillet
 Le dit par naturelle rayson.
 Quarente deux ans ay enuiron,
 204 Temps est que doye recueillir,
 Quar i'ay ouÿ mainttes saison
 Que trop tard vient le repentir.

appears all the fruit'. – 150 *penel* = *pener*. N.Fr. *peiner*. – 152 *arriuer* = *arrivé*. – 159 misprint, perhaps for « *par qui grand chaleur* », 'by whose great heat'. – 160 *se meüre* 'ripens'. – 161 *grayne* = *grayner*, N. Fr. *grener*, 'I (June) make all flowers produce seed'. – 164 *Aulcungs* 'some'. – 174 'and does not use his time well'. – 179 misprint, perhaps for « Ce mois est... ». – 183 sic. – 185 *adrecier* 'come up to'. – 187 *gart*, subjunctive (inf. *garder*). – 190 sic. – 192–4 'In order to keep a good house, everybody must take care to pile up...'. – 195 misprint for *hostel*. – 196 *lyement* 'cheerfully'. – 197 *yuer* = N. Fr. *hiver*. – 198 *xxxij*, misprint for '42'. – 199 *varlet* (= N. Fr. *vale*) 'boy'. – 200 *Passer* = *Passé*. – 211 *testous*, misprint for

Maron le saige dist:

- 208 Ou moys de iuyillet – bien sçaués –
 Aux champs conuient cuyllir les bles
 Et les mettre en lieu bien seürs,
 Car testous les fruis sont lors meürs.
 212 Tout ainsy comme les saisons
 Declinent, aussy fait ly homs
 Qui a .xliij. ans d'eage.
 Raison est que il soit bien saige,
 216 Puis qu'i commence a decliner.
 Ce qu'a acquis saiche garder,
 A nully ne face oultraige.
b2r Si ce veult garde r de dō imais.

220 Le moys d'aoust dist:

- Le moys d'aoust, c'est mon droit *nom*,
 Car du ble batre fort m'auance,
 C'est pour porter en ma maison.
 224 Chascung doit mettre diligence
 D'amasser bonne cheuance
 Sans faire a nul desplaisir.
 Ou ce non, ie vous fois fiance
 228 Qu'i n'aura bien au deffinir.

L'omme de .xlviij. ans dist:

- De bon vouloir ie me trauaille,
 Et tout pour amasser richesse.
 232 Quarente huit ans ay sans faille.
 Le moys d'aoust, si nous enseigne
 Que nul ne doit auoir paresse
 De tous biens mondains recuyllir
b2v Affin quant viendra en viellesse,
 237 Qu'on le puisse du sien seruir.

Virgille dist au premier
 liure de Georgiques:

trestous 'all'. – 216 Puis qu'i 'since he'. – 219 sic, read: « Si se veult garder de dommaige ». – 222 m'auance 'I am in a hurry'. – 225 cheuance 'supply'. – 227 Ou ce (= se) non 'if not, or else', also in v. 269; ie vous fois fiance 'I assure you'. – 228 au deffinir 'in the end'. – 241 plus... d'assés 'much more'. – 245 employer = employé. – 249 ay = ayt. – 277 arriuer = arrivé, or perhaps: « doye arriuer ». – 279 and 280 Qui = Qu'i = Qu'il, il

- 240 Ou moys d'aoust, qui est après,
 Sont plus meürs les fruis d'assés
 Qui ne sont encour recuillis.
 Bien doit estre – ce m'est aduis –
 244 Meür ly homs a .xlviij. ans.
 Or a mal employer son temps
 S'il n'a acquis en sa ieunesse
 Pour quoy ait repos en viellesse.
 248 Bien doit ieusne homs auiser
 Qu'en tel temps ay de quoy donner.
 Toutefois garde soy du mal vice
 Qui est en l' homme d'auarice.

252 Le moys de
 Septembre:

- b3r* Septembre suis ie vrayement,
 Le dernier moys qui fructifie.
 256 Chascun doit auiser maintenant
 Qu'il aye sa maison garnie.
 Ou aultrement – ie vous affye –:
 S'il n'a de quoy fasse pasture,
 260 A grant dangier aura sa vie
 En yuer, quant fera froidure.

L'omme de .liiiij. ans dist:

- Briefment s'approuchera le temps
 264 Que ie me doie repouser,
 Quar i'ay passez .liiiij. ans.
 En viellesse me fault aller,
 Et pour tant me fault amasser
 268 Pour moy et pour mon grant proffit,
 Ou ce non, nous faudra ieusner,
 Ainsy que septembre le dist.

Ypocras dist:

- b3v* Que vous puis dire de septembre?
 273 En luy doit on exemple prendre.
 Sans faulte, riche est la saison,
 Quar le plus des fruis cuillis sont.
 276 Pour tant se doit on auiser,
 Auant qu'on soye arriuer
 En l'eage de .liiiij. ans,
 Qu'i n'ait mal employé son temps,

280 Mais qu'i amasse tant de bien
 que l'on die qu'il est moult bien.
 Le vous promest que aultremen
 Il n'y viendra iamais a temps.

284 Le moys d'octobre dist:
 Octobre suis ie tout pour vray.
 Mes porceaux me fault engressier,
 De quoy ma garnison feray

288 Pour viure la saison d'yuer.
 Ainsy se doit on gouuerner
 Qui bien vult tenir son mesnaige.
b4r Aux champs il ne fault plus aller;
 292 qui a cuyllir, a fait que saige.

L'omme de .lx. ans dist:

Temps est que doye repouser,
 Car i'ay .lx. ans *et* non plus.

296 Plus ne pourroye labourer.
 De mon temps i'ay passé le plus.
 Pour tant suis ie viel deuenue,
 Dont durement le cuer me blesse

300 quant ie me vois ainsy chenu,
 Et me souuient de ma ieunesse.

En octobre après venant
 Doit on semer les bons fromens,

304 De quoy prent vie tout le monde.
 Ainsyn doit faire le preudomme
 qui arriué est a soixante ans:
 Il doit semer aux ieunes gens

308 Bonnes parolles par exemple
b4v Et par euure comme me samble.
 Se est riche, faire le peult;
 S'il est pouure, tousiours se deult.

312 Toutefois, soit pouure ou riche,
 De prier dieu ne soit pas nice.

Le moys de nouembre dit:

Qui a ma maison se veult attendre,
 316 Ia n'aura ioye ne liesse.
 L'on m'apelle moys de nou embre.
 De moi ne vient fors que tri stesse
 Par la froideur qui trestou t blesse.

320 Chascun veulx mettre a pou ureté,
 Dont vous qui estes en ieunssse:
 Trauailés vous ce temps d'estéa.

L'omme de .lxvj. ans:

324 Entre viellesse *et* pouureté
 Emprisonner suis durement,
b5r Quar i'ay le temps mal despencé.
 Ie vis trop engoisseusement;

328 Sy ne puis plus aller auant
 Ce n'est trestout le petit pas,
 Dont vous qui estes en iouuent,
 Prenés vous garde en ce cas.

332 En nouembre toute verdure
 meurt, et aussy vient grant froidure.
 Aussy ne peult on trauiyllier,
 Mais granges *et* greniers vuydier.

336 Ainsy fait l'homme en ce monde,
 Qui de .lxvj. ans tient le conte:
 Trauailier ne peult a deliure;
 Sur ce qu'a gaignier luy fault viure.

340 Sa mort desirent ses parens.
 Soit pouure ou riche en celluy temps,
 Bien est besoing qu'i ayt bien fait
 Et qu'a dieu n'ayt gueres meffait.

344 Le moys de decembre:

b5v De tous les moys ie suis la fin,
 Et si n'ay que leur remenant.
 Ils ont assés *et* pain *et* vin,

348 De quoy ie vist plust lyement.
 Passer conuient tout bellement
 Le temps *et* prendre en paciënce

referring to *on*. – 290 *Qui* 'if somebody'. – 292 *cuyllir* = *cuylli*.
 – 311 *se deult* (inf. *doloir*) 'suffers; complains'. – 313 *nice* 'lazy,
 negligent', cf. v. 95. – 315 *maison*, perhaps a misprint for
saison. – 317–322 sic, apparently a technical defect, read:
nouembre, tristesse, trestout 'everything', *pouureté, ieunesse, esté*. –
 320 *veulx* 'I will'. – 325 *Emprisonner* = *Emprisonné*. – 329 see
 note to v. 144; 'if not with very small steps'. – 335 *vuydier* =
 N. Fr. *vider*. – 338 *a deliure* 'freely, as much as he wants'. –
 339 *gaignier* = *gaignié*. – 346 *leur remenant* 'what they have

Et dieu seruir diligemment,
352 Viure tousiours en esperance.

L'omme de.lxxij. ans dist:
Mol lit *et* parfonde escuëlle,
Repos prens aussy voulentiers,
356 Plus n'ay cure de damoiselle,
Ie vous quitte vous menestriers,
Ie m'en voiz en aultres quartiers.
Il fault mourir, c'est chose dure.
360 Priés pour moy, ie vous requiers,
Car ie m'en voiz en pourriture.

Decembre, qui est a la fin,
Est du tout venu a declin.
b6r Aussy est l'omme derrompu
365 Et a toutes vertus perdu.
Qui des ans a soixante *et* douze,
Bien est rayson qu'il se repouse,
368 Garde qu'ayés fait en ce monde,
Qu'a dieu puisse rendre bon conte.
De mal faire si nous gardons,
Quar, sans faulte, nous ne sçauons
372 Se vne fois pourons venir
Au regne qui ne peult finir.

Cy finit vne bresue *et* vtile compara-
cion faicte des .xij. moys de l'an aux .xij.
376 ages de l'omme.
b6v [*blank*]

left'. – 348 *vist plust* = *vis plus*. – 357 'I leave you your (*vous* = *vos*) minstrels'. – 368 *quayes* must be a mistake, 'that he consider what he has done in this world'.

French Book of Hours: *Heures a l'usage de Romme*. Paris: Simon Vostre 16.IX.1498. After Félix Soleil: *Les Heures gothiques et la littérature pieuse au XVe et XVIe siècles*. Rouen 1882.

Les six premiers ans que vit l'homme au monde
Nous comparons à Janvier droicement,
Car, en ce moys, vertu ne force habonde,
Nemplus que quant six ans ha ung enfant.

Les six d'après ressemblent à Février,
En fin duquel commence le printemps,
Car l'esperit se ouvre, prest est à enseigner,
Et doulx devient l'enfant quant ha douze ans.

Mars signifie les six ans ensuivans
Que le temps change en produissant verdure;
En celluy aage s'adonnent les enfans
A maint esbat, sans soucy ne sans cure.

Six ans prochains, vingt et quatre en somme,
Sont figurez par Avril gracieux,
Et soubz cet aage est gay et joly l'homme,
Plaisant aux dames, courtois et amoureux.

Au moys de May, où tout est en vigueur,
Autres six ans comparons par droicture
Qui trente sont: lors est l'homme en valeur,
En sa fleur, forse, et beauté de nature.

En Juing, les biens commencent à meurir;
Aussi fait l'homme quant a trente-six ans;
Pour ce en tel temps doit-il femme quérir
Se luy vivant veult pourveoir ses enfans.

Saige doit estre, ou ne sera jamais
L'homme, quand il ha quarante-deux ans;
Lors la beaulté décline désormais,
Comme, en Juillet, toutes fleurs sont passans.

Les biens de terre commence l'en cueillir
En Aoust. Aussi quant l'an quarante-huit
L'homme s'approche, il doit biens acquérir,
Pour soustenir vieillesse qui le suit.

Avoir grans biens ne faut point que
l'homme cuide,
S'il ne les a à cinquante-quatre ans,
Nemplus que s'il a sa granche vuide
En Septembre; plus de l'an n'aura riens.

Au moys d'Octobre figurant soixante ans,
Se l'homme est riche, cela est à bonne heure;
Des biens qu'il a nourrit femme et enfans;
Plus n'a besoing qu'il travaille ou labeure.

Quant [l'homme] à soixante-six ans vient,
Représentez par le moys de Novembre,
Vieux et caduc, et maladif devient;
Lors de bien faire est temps qu'il se remembre.

L'an par Décembre prent fin et se termine;
Aussi fait l'homme aux ans soixante-douze
Le plus souvent, car vieillesse le myne;
L'heure est venue que pour partir se house.*

* *se house*: 'puts on his boots'. In the same or a related form this verse seems to have been quite well known as a quotation; for example, in a will written in verse of c. 1510 and in dictionaries 1611ff (Godefroy: *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* IV 513). The picture of a man making ready for a journey contrasts with the picture expressed by *y laisser ses houseaux* = to pack up and give up = "to kick the bucket".

English Book of Hours: *This prymer of Salisbury use...newly empynted at Parys.* (Fr. Regnault) 30.IV. 1529.

The fyrst .vj. yeres of mannes byrth and aege
May well be compared to Janyuere.
For in this monthe is no strength no courage
More than in a chylde of the aege of .vj. yere.

The other .vj. yeres is lyke February
In the ende ther of begynneth the sprynge
That tyme chylde is moost apt and redy
To receyue chastyement, nurture, and
lernynge.

Marche betokeneth the .vj. yeres folowynge
Arayeng the erthe wt pleasaunt verdure.
That season youth careth for nothyng
And without thought dooth his sporte and
pleasure.

The next .vj. yere maketh foure and twenty
And fygured is to ioly Apryll
That tyme of pleasures man hath moost plenty
Fresshe and louyng his lustes to fulfill.

As in the month of Maye all thyng is in myght
So at .xxx.yeres man is *in* chyef lykyng
Pleasaunt and lusty, to euery mannes syght.
In beaute and strength, to women pleasyng.

In June all thyng falleth to rypenesse
And so dooth man at .xxxvj. yere olde
And studyeth for to acqyre rychesse
And taketh awyfe to kepe his housholde.

At .xl[ii]. yere of aege or elles neuer
Is ony man endowed with wysdome
For than forthon his mygth[!] fayleth euer
As in July dooht[!] euery blossome.

The goodes of the erthe is gadred euermore
In August, so at .xlvij. yere
Man ought to gather some goodes in store
To susteyne aege that than draweth nere.

Lete no man thynke for to gather plenty
yf at .liij. yere he haue none
No more than if his barne were empty
In Septembre, whan all the corne is gone.

By October betokeneth .lx. yere
That aege hastely dooth man assayle
Yf he haue ought, than it dooth appere
To lyue quyety after his trauayle.

Whan man is at .lxvj. yere olde
Whiche lykened is to bareyne Nouembre
He wereth unweldy/ sekely/ and colde
Than [h]is soule helth is tyme to remembre.

The yere by Decembre taketh his ende
And so dooth man/ at thre score and twelue
Nature with aege wyll him on message sende
The tyme is come/ that he must go hym selue.

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