

Books of Hours Livres d'Heures

by Peter Kidd

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INTRODUCTION

The Collecting of Old Books and the Study of Provenance

Fashions change slowly for those who study and collect medieval illuminated manuscripts and early printed books. Before the 19th century a word that was often used approvingly to describe medieval miniatures was “curious”: emphasis was placed upon the fact that miniatures depicted the costumes and manners of the “Dark” or Middle Ages, a distant era that was poorly understood. As the 18th and 19th century progressed, however, despite the fact that “high” art was based on Classical ideals and the works of the Italian Renaissance, more and more people learned to appreciate fine medieval manuscripts for their own artistic beauty. These changing tastes are masterfully traced by A.N.L. Munby in his *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures: 1750-1850* (1972). At the same time collectors of printed books, who had perhaps previously been interested mainly in acquiring the best editions of texts, became more concerned with elegant typography and books from particular presses.

One feature of refined bibliophily that has always been present, however, but which has come with the passage of time to be appreciated by an ever larger number of collectors, is a fascination for provenance. As with a painting, sculpture, or other artwork, collectors have always taken some pleasure in knowing that their possession’s previous owners included a pope, king, or some other illustrious worthy. This was particularly true if that previous owner had a reputation for good taste, as it both added cachet to the item itself (e.g. the object was fine enough to be appreciated and acquired by, for example, the Medici) and also reflected glory onto its new owner: the unspoken implication was that the present owner has taste as refined as that of the Medici.

During the 20th century, encouraged by people like Sydney Cockerell (Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, from 1908 to 1937, and a collector of fine manuscripts himself), the tracing of provenance became an engaging pursuit in itself: if one could trace and unbroken lineage for a manuscript back from the present day to the medieval period, it was equivalent to tracing one’s own human ancestors back through many generations. Another comparison might be made with thoroughbred race-horses or hunting-dogs, whose “pedigree” allowed their aristocratic owners to be assured of a pure bloodline. It is no accident that provenance research was described in a previous sentence as a “pursuit”: the tracing of provenance is a modern form of hunting, equivalent in some ways to the medieval *chasse*, a decidedly aristocratic sport, requiring some skill, cunning, and knowledge of one’s prey.

The biggest change in the tracing of the provenances of medieval manuscripts in recent decades is an appreciation of the interest afforded by non-illustrious, and even humble, owners. Where once collectors were only interested in identifying famous (usually male) previous owners of a manuscript, now they are likely to value the fact that it was owned by a humble person, even a humble woman. In fact, most would agree that it is perhaps more interesting to know that a book was owned by, say, a baker’s wife, than that it was owned by a middle-ranking (male) church official. Similarly, where once collectors might have preferred the margins and flyleaves of their books to be clean and empty, now they are likely to appreciate the added interest afforded by the notes and annotations

of previous owners. A book that is completely free of the traces of its various owners can seem to lack character and individuality.

The present catalogue includes a variety of manuscripts, with decoration diverse in its extent and quality. They range from modest books with no gold or figurative decoration (e.g. no.1) to lavish ones with as many as seventeen large and twenty-five small miniatures (no.4). Their provenances have a similarly varied range: a few keep their secrets well hidden and have so far revealed very little information about their previous owners (e.g. nos.3,8,9), while others proudly proclaim a very distinguished history (e.g. nos.6,7,12,14). Most, however, fall somewhere between these two extremes: usually there are clues, but they cannot all be fully elucidated, such as inscriptions that have been erased, or heraldry that cannot be confidently identified. Happily, research for this catalogue has allowed several old secrets to be revealed, and an example is the Book of Hours owned by the Laigue family in Lyons c.1500 (no. 4), as their heraldry occupies a full page, but it had not previously been deciphered. Many of the general descriptions in the first part of this catalogue refer to previous owners; a more detailed provenance is provided in the full technical descriptions at the back of the volume.

Collectionneurs de livres anciens et recherche de la provenance

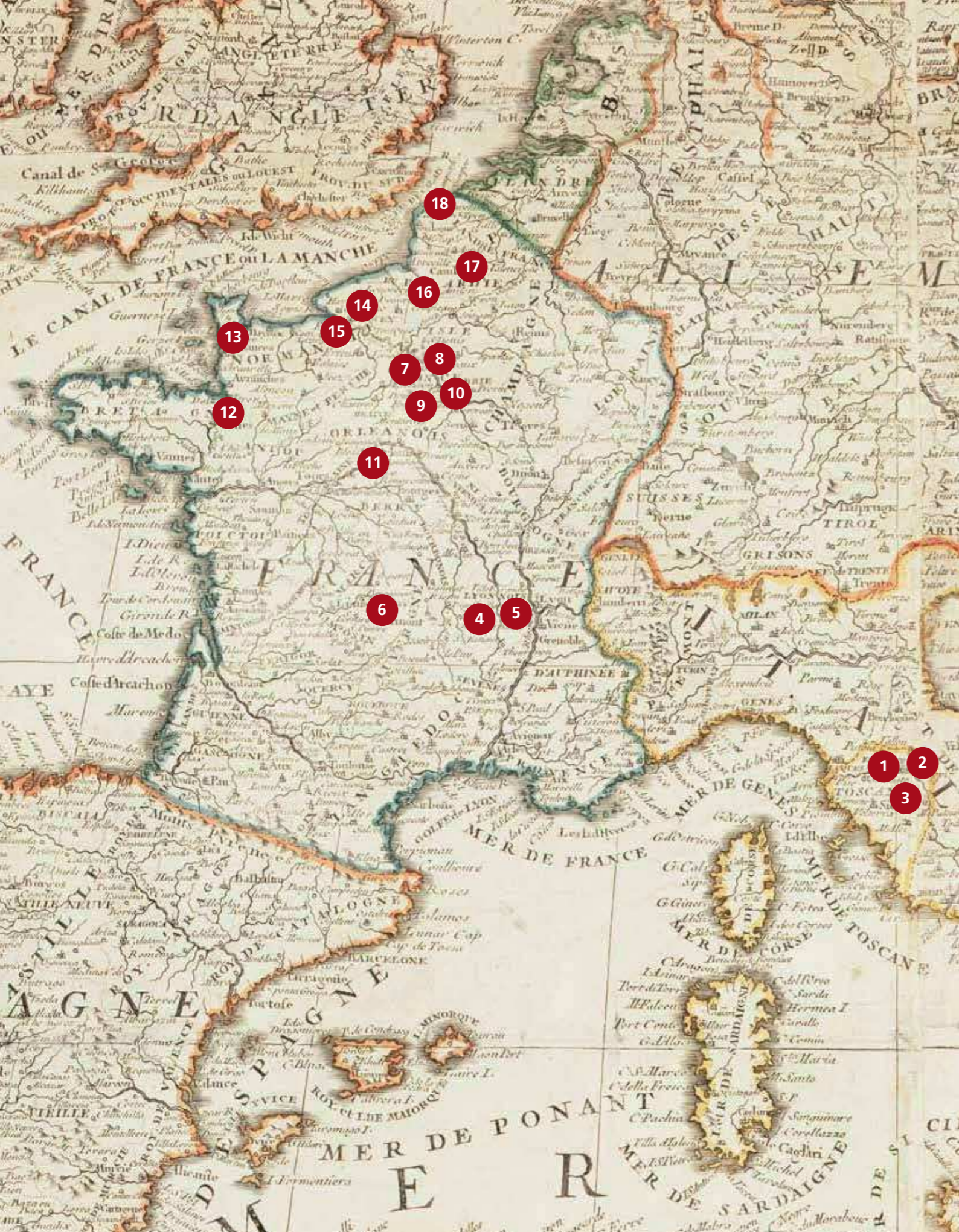
Les modes changent lentement chez ceux qui étudient et collectionnent les manuscrits enluminés médiévaux et les incunables. Avant le 19^{ème} siècle, le mot « curieux » était souvent le qualificatif choisi pour désigner des miniatures médiévales dignes d'intérêt : on mettait l'accent sur le fait que les miniatures témoignaient des modes vestimentaires et des coutumes du Moyen Âge, un « Âge sombre » et lointain qui était mal compris. Néanmoins, au cours du 18^{ème} et du 19^{ème} siècle, bien que le grand art fût issu des idéaux classiques et des œuvres de la Renaissance italienne, de plus en plus d'amateurs apprirent à apprécier les beaux manuscrits médiévaux pour leur propre valeur artistique. Cette évolution des goûts est très bien décrite par A.N.L. Munby dans son *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures : 1750-1850* (1972). À la même époque, les collectionneurs de livres imprimés anciens, qui avaient auparavant recherché avant tout l'acquisition des meilleures éditions de certains textes, commencèrent à s'intéresser davantage à une typographie élégante et aux ouvrages issus de certaines presses spécifiques.

En revanche, si la fascination pour la provenance a toujours fait partie des attributs du bibliophile raffiné, elle s'étend peu à peu à un nombre de plus en plus grand de collectionneurs. Comme avec la peinture, la sculpture ou toute autre œuvre d'art, les collectionneurs ont toujours pris plaisir à savoir que leur possession avait été auparavant le bien d'un pape, d'un roi ou de quelque autre illustre figure. Ceci était d'autant plus vrai si ce propriétaire précédent était réputé pour son discernement : l'objet en question n'en avait que plus de cachet (par exemple, si cet objet était d'une telle beauté qu'il avait séduit les Médicis qui en avaient fait l'acquisition), et réfléchissait sur son nouveau

propriétaire une partie de cette gloire passée. L'implication était alors que le présent propriétaire avait un goût aussi raffiné que les Médicis.

Au 20^{ème} siècle, sous l'influence d'experts tels que Sydney Cockerell (directeur du Fitzwilliam Museum à Cambridge de 1908 à 1937 et lui-même collectionneur de beaux manuscrits), la reconstitution de la provenance devint l'objet d'une poursuite passionnante. Retrouver le lignage ininterrompu d'un manuscrit de l'époque médiévale à aujourd'hui revenait à remonter la longue lignée de ses propres ancêtres à travers de nombreuses générations. La comparaison est également particulièrement pertinente avec les chevaux de course pur-sang ou les chiens de chasse dont le pédigrée démontrait la pureté de leur lignée à leurs propriétaires aristocrates. Il n'est pas anodin que la recherche de la provenance ait été décrite ci-dessus comme une « poursuite » : il s'agit d'une forme moderne de chasse, faisant écho par certains aspects à la chasse médiévale, un sport résolument aristocratique, exigeant du talent, de l'astuce, et la connaissance de sa proie. Ces dernières décennies, le plus grand changement dans la recherche de la provenance des manuscrits médiévaux réside dans une prise de conscience et une appréciation de l'intérêt que présentent des propriétaires antérieurs obscurs, voire humbles. Si les collectionneurs n'étaient autrefois intéressés que par l'identification de célèbres propriétaires antérieurs d'un manuscrit (souvent des hommes), ils sont aujourd'hui susceptibles d'attacher de la valeur au fait qu'il ait appartenu à quelqu'un, parfois une femme, issu d'un milieu modeste. Beaucoup s'accorderaient même à trouver un livre plus intéressant s'il a appartenu, par exemple, à la femme d'un boulanger, qu'à un membre peu éminent du clergé. De même, tandis qu'autrefois les collectionneurs préféraient que les marges et les pages de garde de leurs ouvrages soient vides et immaculés, la plupart considèrent à présent que les annotations et commentaires de propriétaires antérieurs leur donnent un intérêt supplémentaire. Un livre sans aucune trace de ses différents propriétaires peut paraître manquer de caractère et de personnalité.

Le présent catalogue comprend une sélection de manuscrits différents, dont la décoration varie en qualité et en quantité. Ils vont du livre modeste sans or ni décoration figurée (e.g. no.1) aux ouvrages de luxe, avec jusqu'à dix-sept grandes et vingt-cinq petites miniatures (no.4). Leur provenance varie elle aussi : certains ont gardé leur secret et ont livré jusqu'ici peu d'information sur leurs propriétaires antérieurs (e.g. nos.3,8,9), tandis que d'autres proclament fièrement leur éminent lignage (e.g. nos.6,7,12,14). La plupart, cependant, sont à mi-chemin entre ces deux extrêmes. Bien souvent, des indices subsistent, mais ils ne peuvent tous être entièrement élucidés, comme lorsque des inscriptions ont été effacées ou lorsque l'héraldique ne peut être identifiée avec certitude. Heureusement, la recherche menée pour ce catalogue a révélé quelques secrets : le meilleur exemple en est le livre d'heures ayant appartenu à la famille Laigue de Lyon vers 1500 (no.4) et dont les armoiries, couvrant une page entière, n'avaient pas été identifiées jusqu'ici. Un grand nombre des descriptions figurant dans la première partie de ce catalogue font référence à des propriétaires antérieurs ; une provenance plus détaillée est fournie dans les notices complètes se trouvant à la fin du volume.



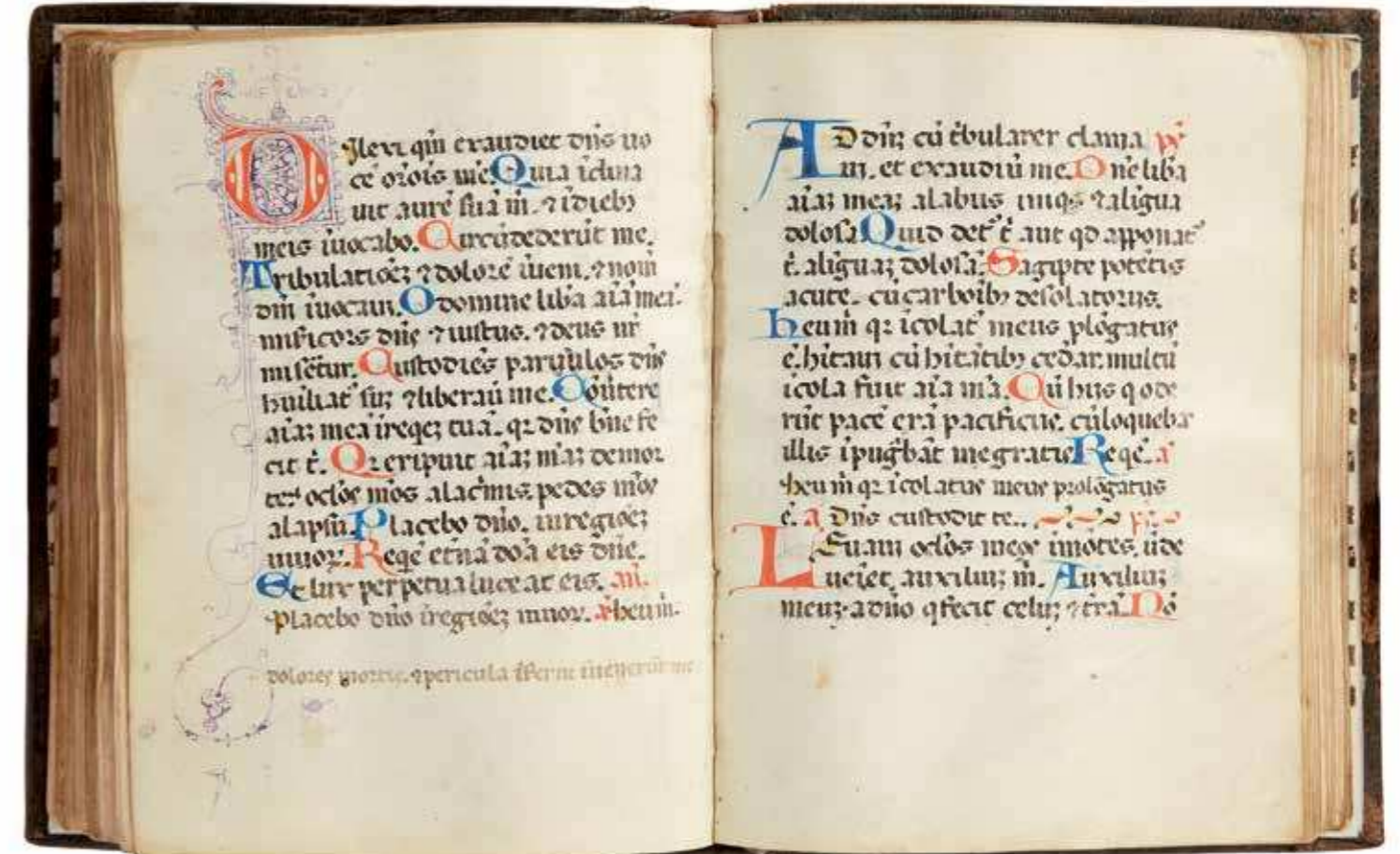
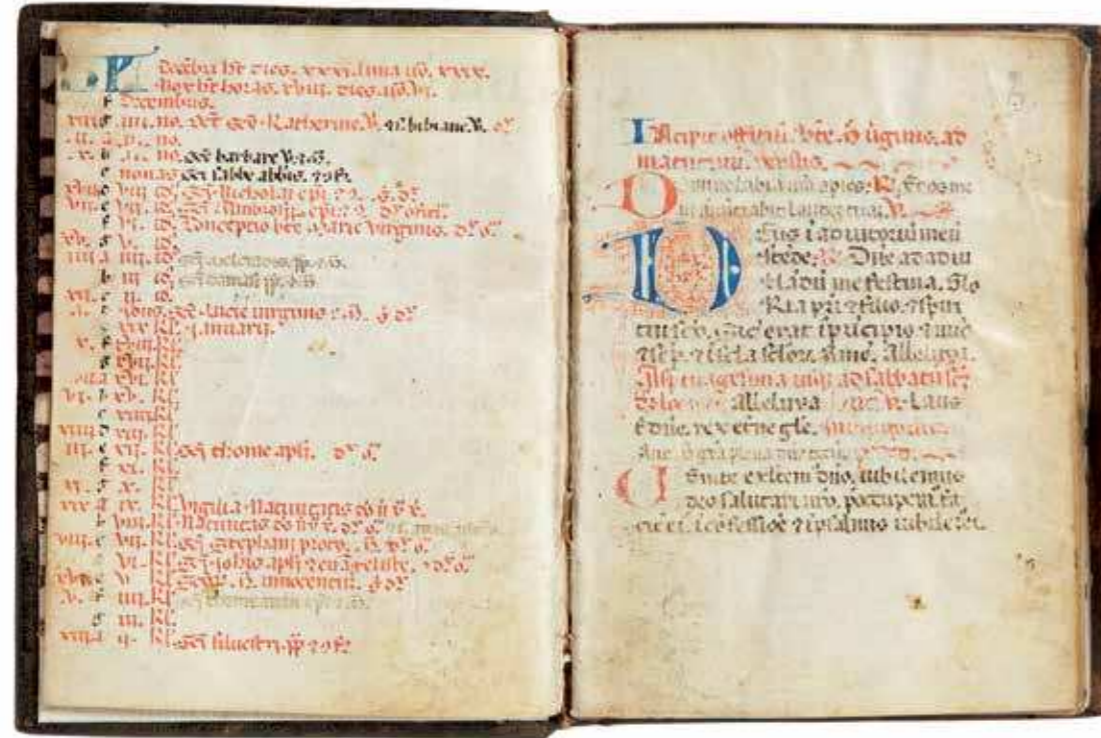
LOCATION MAP

1. Augustinian Hours, Florence 1467
2. Cremona – Florence Hours
3. Prayerbook with miniatures by Attavante
4. Pierre Laigue Hours, Lyon
5. Printed Hours, Lyon 1558
6. Marie de Monsoy Hours, Auvergne c. 1500
7. Jean Martin Hours, Paris c. 1500
8. Printed Hours, G. Eustace, Paris 1516
9. Printed Hours, G. Hardouin Paris c. 1515
10. Printed Greek Hours of the Virgin, Paris 1538
11. De Valbelle Hours, Use of Orleans, c. 1500
12. Medici-Marcoussis Hours, Paris c. 1500
13. Foyle Hours, Use of Coutances, c. 1460
14. Challon Psalter-Hours, Rouen c. 1260
15. Rouen Hours, c. 1510
16. Amiens Hours, c. 1480
17. Chalons Family Hours, Cambrai c. 1460
18. Marie de Hanequart Hours, Flanders c. 1460

1

A DATED AUGUSTINIAN HOURS, PERHAPS FROM SANTO SPIRITO, FLORENCE

Book of Hours, Use of Rome, in Latin. - Decorated manuscript on parchment
Italy, Florence, 1467-8



AN APPEALING MONASTIC BOOK OF HOURS FOR AUGUSTINIAN USE, PRECISELY DATED IN ITS COLOPHON TO 1468

The scribe records that he completed writing this book on 1 January 1467. He finished by writing "Amen", first in black, then in red; on the next line he then wrote "Explicit liber iste". On the next three lines he wrote a colophon, each with an internal rhyme, and finally the date:

"Finito libro isto referamus gratia Christo,
Qui scripsit scribat semper cum domino vivat,
Vivat in celis in suo nomine felix.
Anno dni. M^o.ccc.lxvij. die I in mensis Ianuarii".

The date seems clear, but it was normal in the Middle Ages for the start of each year to be measured, not from 1 January as we do today, but from 25 March (the feast of the Annunciation): thus the medieval period from 1 January to 24 March 1467 would be in 1468 according to "new style" dates. If the scribe finished the work on the first day of 1468, we can safely assume that he wrote the majority of it in the preceding year.

The calendar, with some feasts graded as doubles ("duplex"), is monastic; the high gradings of Sts Augustine and Monica (Augustine's mother) in the calendar, and the presence of "Sancte pater Augustine" and Monica in the litany, prove that the monastic house was Augustinian. The high grading in the calendar of San Miniato (to whom the famous church of San Miniato al Monte is dedicated, on the hill overlooking Florence), and the presence of Santa Reparata in both the calendar and litany, shows that this house was in or near Florence (the present Duomo of Florence, begun in the late 13th century, is on a site of an earlier church dedicated to Reparata).

Based on the calendar evidence we may propose that the book was written for the Augustinian house of Santo Spirito, Florence, which was built c.1300 just a few minutes' walk from the Ponte Vecchio, and to which Boccaccio bequeathed his library in 1375. The litany has just two saints written in capital letters, Raphael and Catherine, suggesting that the owner may perhaps have been a monk named Raffaele, with a special veneration for St Catherine.

The decoration of the volume is not elaborate – appropriate for an owner such as a monk – but it is also not as minimal as it might be: red and blue initials alternate, and the main sections are marked by enlarged pleasing initials in red, blue, and purple, with pen-flourishing that sometimes extends the full height of the page.



Le scribe nota qu'il finit d'écrire ce livre le 1^{er} janvier 1467. Il termina par le mot « Amen », tout d'abord en noir, puis en rouge ; à la ligne suivante, il traça les mots : « Explicit liber iste. » Les trois lignes suivantes, suivies de la date et comportant chacune une rime interne, constituent le colophon :

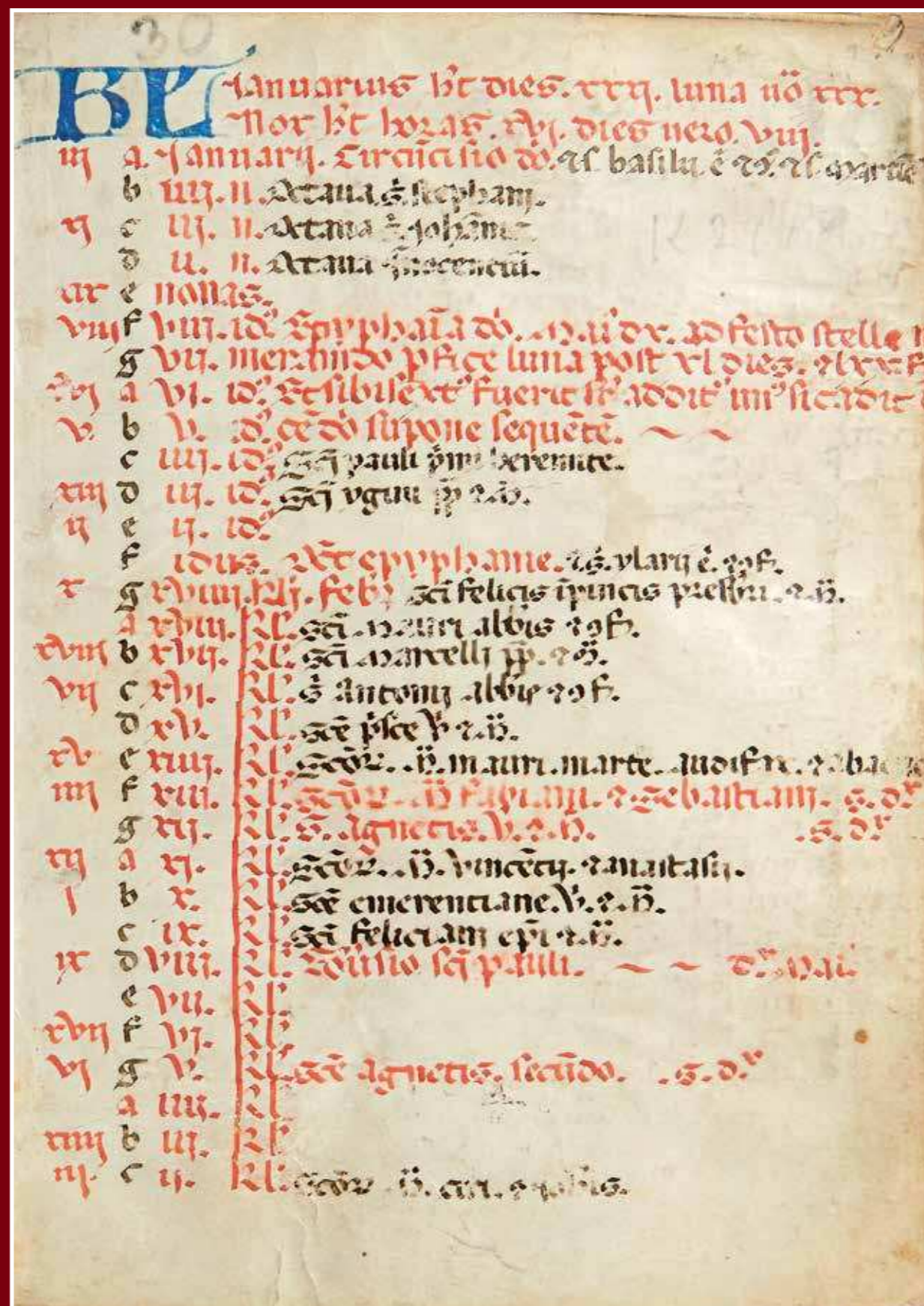
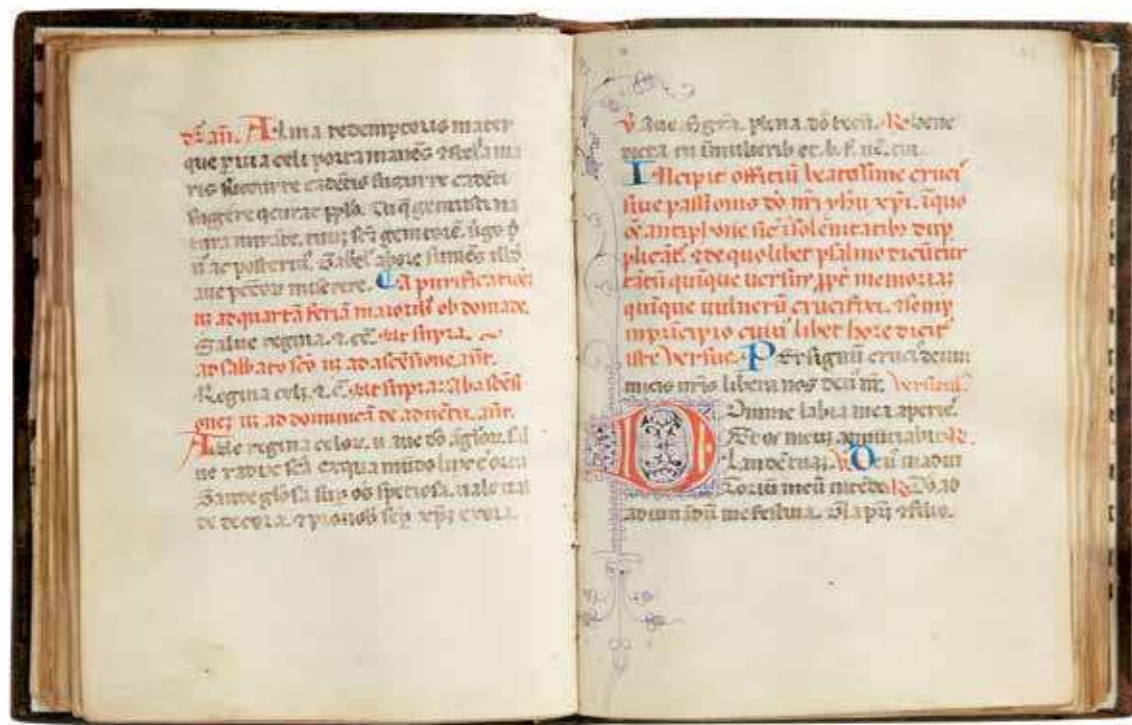
« Finito libro isto referamus gratia Christo,
Qui scripsit scribat semper cum domino vivat,
Vivat in celis in suo nomine felix.
Anno dni. M^o.ccc.lxvij. die I in mensis Ianuarii. »

La datation semble donc assurée, mais il est important de noter qu'il était d'usage au Moyen Âge de faire débiter l'année, non pas au 1^{er} janvier comme aujourd'hui, mais au 25 mars (jour de la fête de l'Annonciation). Par conséquent, la période allant du 1^{er} janvier au 24 mars 1467 se trouve déjà, selon la datation « nouveau style », en 1468. Si le scribe acheva son ouvrage le 1^{er} jour de 1468, nous pouvons par conséquent être certains qu'il accomplit la majeure partie de son travail au cours de l'année qui précéda.

Le calendrier, qui comporte quelques fêtes marquées comme doubles (« duplex »), est monastique ; il accorde une importance particulière à saint Augustin et à sainte Monique (la mère d'Augustin). Cette dernière figure d'autre part également dans la litanie. Ces indices, alliés à la présence du « Sancte pater Augustine », indiquent que l'ouvrage était à l'usage d'un monastère de l'ordre de saint Augustin. La prééminence de San Miniato dans le calendrier (saint auquel est dédiée la célèbre église de San Miniato al Monte, érigée sur la colline surplombant Florence), ainsi que la présence de Santa Reparata dans le calendrier et la litanie, situent cette communauté à Florence ou dans ses environs (le Duomo actuel de Florence, commencé à la fin du 13^e siècle, fut construit sur le site d'une église antérieure dédiée à Reparata).

Sur la base de ces indices fournis par le calendrier, nous aimerions avancer l'hypothèse selon laquelle ce livre aurait été écrit pour le couvent augustin de Santo Spirito à Florence, érigé vers 1300 à deux pas du Ponte Vecchio, et auquel Boccace légua sa bibliothèque en 1375. En outre, la litanie ne comportant que deux saints inscrits en lettres majuscules, Raphaël et Catherine, il se peut que le commanditaire de l'ouvrage ait été un moine du nom de Raffaele nourrissant une dévotion particulière pour sainte Catherine.

La décoration du manuscrit est sans excès – comme il sied à un moine – mais elle n'est pas non plus aussi simple que l'on aurait pu s'y attendre : des initiales rouges et bleues alternent pour ponctuer le texte, et les sections principales sont introduites par de belles initiales rouges, bleues ou mauves ornées de filigranes s'étendant parfois sur toute la hauteur de la page.



2

A BOOK OF HOURS WRITTEN IN CREMONA AND ILLUMINATED IN FLORENCE

Book of Hours, in Latin and Italian, Use of Rome - Illuminated manuscript on parchment
Italy, Cremona and Florence, c.1480



A VERY RARE EXAMPLE OF A BOOK OF HOURS FROM CREMONA, WITH SIX FULL-PAGE MINIATURES ADDED IN RENAISSANCE FLORENCE

The origin of this book and its original owner present a mystery: the heraldry on the first page of the main text has only been associated with Florentine families, notably the Attavanti; the style of illumination is also Florentine. The calendar, by contrast, is not Florentine and instead has a number of saints very specific to Cremona, including the rare saints Eusebius, Hymerius, and Homobonus.

How can we resolve the conundrum? The disparity between the calendar on the one hand, and the decoration and heraldry on the other, suggests that the book was *written* in Cremona, but taken to Florence for decoration, and used there by a member of a Florentine family. Perhaps it was made as a wedding-gift for a woman who moved from Cremona to Florence to marry into the Attavanti family and, having no arms of her own, had it decorated with the arms of her new husband. It would not be surprising if she wished to commemorate the main saints of her childhood devotions in her married life. The alternative is that the book was made in Florence and then taken to Cremona, where the owner had the Florentine calendar replaced with a Cremonese one, but this seems unlikely as there is no apparent difference between the penwork decoration of each part.

Manuscripts demonstrably produced for use at Cremona are very rare, which suggests that it was not a significant centre of commercial production of illuminated manuscripts; doubtless most citizens looked to other larger cities, such as Milan to the north, when they wanted such a book. Even the famous illuminator Girolamo da Cremona seems to have spent his entire career working in other cities.



Most of the historiated initials have half-length figures set against pale blue skies (the only exception is a skeleton wearing a crown and with hands joined in prayer); and most are accompanied by full borders consisting of fine renaissance foliage enclosing putti or directly relevant motifs: the Hours of the Cross has a large gold cross, and the Office of the Dead has a skull.



UN EXEMPLE TRÈS RARE DE LIVRE D'HEURES DE CRÉMONE, AVEC SIX MINIATURES EN PLEINE PAGE AJOUTÉES À FLORENCE

L'origine de cet ouvrage ainsi que son commanditaire restent un mystère : les armoiries sur la première page des Heures de la Vierge sont associées à des familles florentines, notamment les Attavanti ; le style de l'enluminure est lui aussi florentin. Le calendrier, pourtant, ne l'est pas, mais contient un certain nombre de saints spécifiques à Crémone, dont les saints Eusebius, Hymerius, et Homobonus, très rares.

Comment résoudre cette énigme? La contradiction entre le calendrier d'un côté, et la décoration et l'héraldique de l'autre, suggère que le livre fut *écrit* à Crémone, mais apporté à Florence pour y recevoir sa décoration et être utilisé par un membre d'une famille florentine. Peut-être fut-il conçu comme cadeau de

mariage pour une femme ayant dû déménager de Crémone à Florence pour épouser un membre de la famille Attavanti et qui, n'ayant pas d'armoiries à elle, y fit apposer celles de son mari. Selon cette hypothèse, il ne serait pas surprenant qu'une fois mariée, elle ait voulu conserver sa dévotion envers les saints de son enfance. Une autre explication serait que l'ouvrage ait été fait à Florence, puis apporté à Crémone, où son propriétaire aurait fait remplacer le calendrier florentin par un calendrier crémonais, mais cette hypothèse est contredite par le fait qu'on ne décèle aucune différence dans le traitement des filigranes entre le calendrier et le reste du livre.

Les manuscrits entretenant un lien manifeste avec Crémone sont très rares, ce qui semble suggérer que ce n'était pas un centre important de production de manuscrits enluminés ; ceci est certainement dû au fait que la plupart des Crémonais se rendaient dans de plus grandes villes, comme Milan au nord, quand ils avaient besoin de passer commande. Même le célèbre enlumineur Girolamo da Cremona semble avoir toute sa vie exercé son métier dans d'autres villes.

La plupart des initiales historiées contiennent des figures en buste se détachant sur un ciel bleu pâle (à l'exception du squelette portant couronne qui, les mains jointes en prières, se découpe sur un fond gris). Ces pages sont encadrées de bordures sur quatre côtés au fin feuillage Renaissance peuplé de putti ou de motifs en rapport avec le sujet du texte : aux Heures de la Croix figure une grande croix d'or, à l'Office des Morts, un crâne.



Detail



3 PRAYERBOOK, IN LATIN

Illuminated manuscript on parchment
Italy, Florence, 1490s



WITH FOUR DOUBLE-PAGE OPENINGS ILLUMINATED BY ATTAVANTE DEGLI ATTAVANTI

The presence in red in the calendar of San Zenobio, the first bishop of Florence (whose relics are in the duomo, in a shrine made by Ghiberti in the 1440s), suggests that the volume was made in Florence. This is confirmed by the illumination which is in the style of one of the leading illuminators of Renaissance Florence, Attavante degli Attavanti (1452–c.1520/25). Attavante was praised by contemporaries, worked for major patrons, and collaborated with some of the most important Florentine Renaissance artists. He signed and dated many of his works, making attributions more secure, and a considerable number of archival sources have been discovered which reveal more about his life. For example, documentary sources record that Leonardo da Vinci lent him money in 1503, so they presumably knew each other well, and in the following year Attavante was among the committee convened to decide the best location for Michelangelo's statue of David. Among Attavante's most famous works are the Urbino Bible now in the Vatican Library; a Missal now in Lyon; and a large number of works commissioned by Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, many of which were later acquired by the Medici family.

The iconography in the present manuscript is unusual in two of the four miniatures. In the scene of the Three Living and Three Dead (which is itself uncommon), the Three Dead are represented as skeletons lying in their graves, rather than as standing figures – this iconography appears occasionally, in the wall-paintings of the Campo Santo, Pisa, and the church of San Luca, Cremona, for example – but in addition, the encounter here is observed by kneeling saint, apparently St Jerome. In the Pentecost scene, usually depicted as an interior view of the “upper room” in which the disciples met (mentioned in the Gospel of Luke 22:12-13, and Acts 1:13-14)

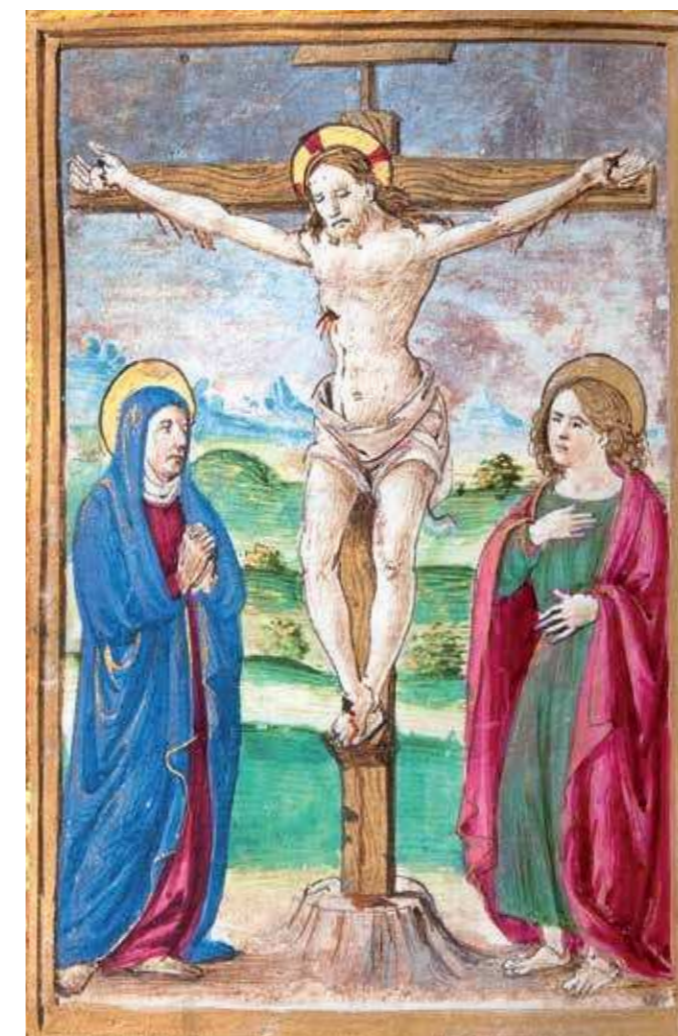
and in which the tongues of fire descended upon them (described at Acts 2:1-3), the depiction here combines an exterior view of the building, with a large closed door, as well as the upper room itself.

Although the volume includes four of the standard texts of a Book of Hours, including the Hours of the Spirit and Hours of the Cross, it does not have the Hours of the Virgin or the Seven Penitential Psalms and litany, and is thus more accurately described as a prayerbook. A comparable volume illuminated by Attavante, with similar texts, dimensions, number of leaves, and lines per page but with only two miniatures, was one of two volumes of a Book of Hours made for Ippolita Maria Sforza (Sotheby's, 16 June 1997, lot 30), and the present manuscript may have been one of a series of companion volumes produced for the private devotions of another member of the upper echelons of the Florentine elite.



COMPORTANT QUATRE DOUBLES PAGES ENLUMINEES PAR ATTAVANTE DEGLI ATTAVANTI

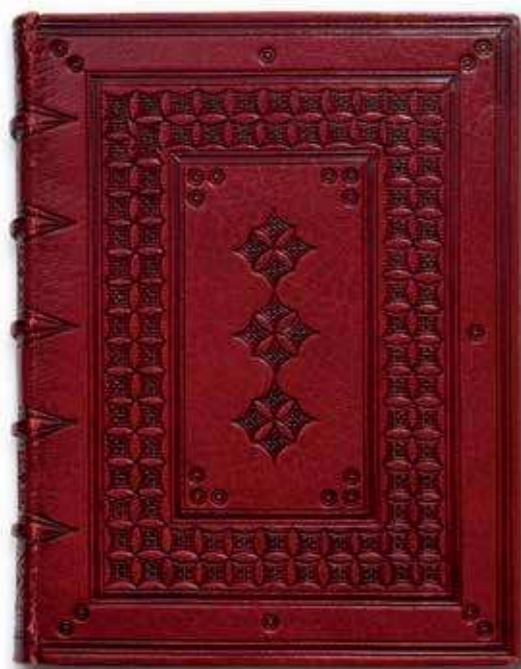
La présence de San Zenobio, premier évêque de Florence (dont les reliques sont conservées dans le Duomo dans un reliquaire exécuté par Ghiberti dans les années 1440), en rouge dans le calendrier, suggère que le volume fut fait à Florence. Ceci est confirmé par l'examen de l'enluminure dont le style correspond à celui d'un des principaux enlumineurs florentins de la Renaissance : Attavante degli Attavanti (1452–vers 1520/25). Attavante fut célébré par ses contemporains, il travailla pour nombre de commanditaires prestigieux et collabora avec



quelques-uns des artistes florentins les plus importants de la Renaissance. Il signa et data beaucoup de ses œuvres, ce qui a permis des attributions solides. De plus, la découverte de nombreux documents d'archives a fourni des détails biographiques précieux. Une source documentaire nous apprend par exemple que Léonard de Vinci lui prêta de l'argent en 1503, les deux artistes devaient donc bien se connaître. En outre, l'année suivante, on sait qu'Attavante fit partie du comité rassemblé pour décider du meilleur emplacement pour la statue de David sculptée par Michel-Ange. Parmi les œuvres les plus célèbres d'Attavante, on citera la Bible d'Urbino maintenant conservée à la Bibliothèque du Vatican, un missel désormais à Lyon et un grand nombre de livres commandités par Matthias Corvin, roi de Hongrie, dont la plupart appartinrent plus tard à la famille des Médicis.

Deux des quatre miniatures illustrant ce manuscrit ont une iconographie hors du commun. En effet, dans la scène des Trois Morts et des Trois Vifs (elle-même inhabituelle), les trois vifs sont représentés comme des squelettes gisant dans leurs tombes, et non debout – cette iconographie apparaît parfois sur les peintures murales du Campo Santo à Pise, et dans l'église de San Luca à Cremona, par exemple. De plus, un saint agenouillé, apparemment saint Jérôme, est témoin de la scène. D'autre part, l'épisode de la Pentecôte, se déroulant habituellement dans un intérieur évoquant la « chambre haute » où les disciples se retrouvèrent (mentionnée dans l'évangile selon saint Luc 22 : 12 -13 et Actes 1 : 13-14) et où les langues de feu descendirent sur eux (décrites dans Actes 2 : 1-3), allie ici la scène dans la « chambre haute » à une vue extérieure de la bâtisse, avec une grande porte close.

Bien que cet ouvrage comprenne quatre des textes standard pour un livre d'heures, dont les heures du Saint-Esprit et les heures de la Croix, il ne contient ni les heures de la Vierge, ni les psaumes de pénitence, ni la litanie, et doit par conséquent être identifié comme un livre de prières. On signalera pour comparaison un autre volume enluminé par Attavante et très proche de celui-ci, tant par le texte que par les dimensions, le nombre de feuillets et le nombre de lignes par page, mais ne comportant que deux miniatures : il s'agit d'une partie d'un livre d'heures exécuté pour Ippolita Maria Sforza (Sotheby's, 16 juin 1997, lot 30), et le présent manuscrit a pu être un d'une série de volumes similaires produit pour les dévotions privées d'un autre membre de l'échelons supérieur de l'élite florentine.



THE HOURS OF PIERRE LAIGUE

Book of Hours, Use of Rome, in Latin. - Illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Lyon, c.1500



WITH SEVENTEEN LARGE AND TWENTY-FIVE SMALL MINIATURES, AND THE FULL-PAGE ARMS OF THE LAIGUE FAMILY OF LYON

Despite the liturgical Use of Rome, used across much of Europe, the calendar and litany reveal that this manuscript was made for use in Lyon. The artist is currently unrecognised, but Elizabeth Burin has shown that there were only a few illuminators active in Lyon at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries, so it may be possible to identify him with further research. Several features typical of Lyon illumination of the period can be traced back to the influence of Jean Colombe and Jean Bourdichon in the 1470s and 1480s (Colombe apparently spent time in Lyon, where he added miniatures to the *Très riches heures* of the Duke de Berry): these include the "dramatic close-up" seen here in many of the miniatures; the gold *trompe-l'oeil* giltwood picture-frames around many of them; and the use of densely massed figures to create atmospheric crowd-scenes. The artist shares some stylistic features with the so-called "Entry Master" (Burin, pp.31-33) such as the swarthy faces of many of the male figures; he also has a sophisticated understanding of lighting effects, with the Annunciation to the Shepherds taking place before a sunset sky; and the images of St Catherine, and the Betrayal of Christ, taking place at night.

The Lyon origin is confirmed by the full-page heraldry added on the front flyleaf, perhaps in the early 16th century, of the Laigue or de l'Aigue family, one branch one of which lived in the Lyonnais from the 15th century. Considerable biographical detail of the Laigue family has been published, including details of the position of the house and garden shared by Pierre and his brother Guillaume in Lyon. Among the other family members were Claude, who in 1548 was a monk of l'île Barbe (an island in the River Soane, within the present-day limits of Lyon), and Catherine, who was a nun of St-André-le-Haut at Vienne (a short distance

from Lyon along the Rhône): the calendar, litany, and suffrages of the present manuscript suggest a particular devotion to St Claude and St Catherine (only two other Lyon Books of Hours are recorded to contain the Hours of St Catherine).



AVEC DIX-SEPT GRANDES ET VINGT-CINQ PETITES MINIATURES, ET LES ARMOIRIES EN PLEINE PAGE DE LA FAMILLE LAIGUE DE LYON

Si l'usage de Rome était, à cette époque, répandu à travers toute l'Europe, le calendrier et la litanie révèlent que ce manuscrit était destiné à être utilisé à Lyon. L'artiste n'a jusqu'ici pas été identifié, mais Elizabeth Burin a montré que seulement quelques enlumineurs étaient actifs à Lyon à la fin du 15ème siècle et au début du 16ème siècle : des recherches plus poussées permettront donc certainement de l'identifier.

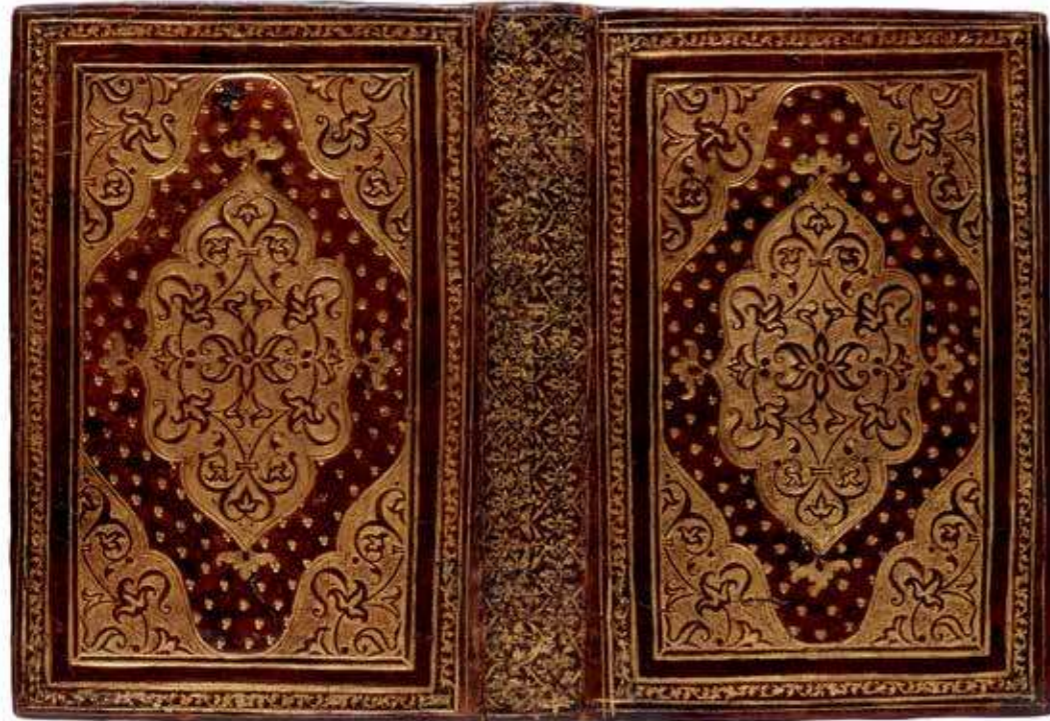
Certaines caractéristiques de l'enluminure lyonnaise trahissent l'influence de l'art de Jean Colombe et de Jean Bourdichon dans les années 1470 et 1480 (Colombe séjourna sans doute à Lyon, où il compléta les *Très Riches Heures* du Duc de Berry) : cette influence se traduit ici par l'emploi du « gros-plan dramatique » dans plusieurs miniatures, de cadres peints en trompe-l'œil imitant le bois doré, et par un effet de foule créé par de nombreux personnages massés dans un petit espace. L'artiste partage certains traits stylistiques avec le « Maître de l'Entrée » (Burin, pp.31-33), comme le teint basané de nombreuses figures masculines. Il fait également preuve d'une compréhension subtile des effets de lumière, comme dans l'Annonce aux Bergers se déroulant sur un fond de coucher de soleil, ou dans les miniatures de Ste Catherine et du Baiser de Judas, toutes deux des scènes nocturnes.

L'origine lyonnaise est confirmée par les armoiries peintes en pleine page ajoutées, peut-être au début du 16ème siècle, sur la première page de garde : elles appartiennent à la famille Laigue ou de l'Aigue, dont une branche résidait dès le 15ème siècle dans le Lyonnais. De nombreuses informations biographiques sur la famille Laigue ont été publiées, y compris des détails quant à l'emplacement de la maison et du jardin que partageaient Pierre et son frère Guillaume à Lyon. Parmi les autres membres de la famille, on mentionnera Claude qui, en 1548, était moine sur l'île Barbe (une île de la Saône faisant aujourd'hui partie de la ville de Lyon), et Catherine, qui était religieuse de l'abbaye de St-André-le-Haut à Vienne (non loin de Lyon, le long du Rhône). Le calendrier, comme la litanie et les suffrages de ce manuscrit reflètent une dévotion particulière à St Claude et à Ste Catherine (à notre connaissance, seuls deux autres livres d'heures lyonnais contiennent les Heures de Sainte Catherine).



BOOK OF HOURS, USE OF ROME, IN LATIN AND FRENCH

Illustrated printed book on paper
France, Lyon, Macé Bonhomme, c.1557



A RARE EXAMPLE OF A BILINGUAL BOOK OF HOURS, IN AN EXCEPTIONAL CONTEMPORARY LYONNAISE BINDING

Macé Bonhomme was a prolific printer of Lyon whose dated works span from 1536 to 1569. For part of his career he was in partnership with the merchant-publisher Guillaume Rouillé (alias Roville). This Book of Hours is datable by its almanac: such almanacs provide the date of Easter and other moveable feasts in forthcoming years, in this case from 1558 to 1574, which means that it was doubtless printed between Easter 1557 and Easter 1558. It is notable that it only covers a fifteen-year span: a relatively short period for a book that one might expect to be used for at least a generation. Perhaps publishers hoped that this early example of “built-in obsolescence” would encourage owners to buy another book from them, rather than using it beyond the limit of its almanac.

Perhaps this copy was indeed not used for very long: it is in a fine – and very well-preserved – example of a so-called Lyonnaise binding. The term can be a misnomer, though, as bindings in this general style were executed in other cities, and even in other countries. In the present case, however, it seems probable that the binding was executed in the same city where the text was printed, and is thus not only contemporary with the rest of the book, but is a closely datable and localizable example. The use of gold leaf on bindings derives from Muslim practice, and apparently reached Western Europe through the port cities of Naples and Venice.

The present edition is very similar to, though not identical with, an edition produced c.1551 by the same printer (of which only one copy is known to survive), which in turn was based on editions datable to c.1549 and c.1548 (each known in two copies), printed by Macé Bonhomme and published in association with



Guillaume Rouillé. They are composed of three distinct parts, each with its own series of quire signatures, consisting of 152 leaves (signatures AB-V⁸), 16 leaves (AA-BB⁸), and 32 leaves (aa-dd⁸). In the c.1549 edition Rouillé's name is on the title-page of the long Hours section and Bonhomme's name is in the colophons of the short second and third parts, while in the c.1548 and the present edition Bonhomme's name is on all three parts. The present edition appears to be extremely rare: Worldcat records only two copies: one imperfect, in the Library of Congress, the other in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; Lacombe also cites a copy in Paris.

A particularly notable feature of these editions is that they present the main text in larger type in French, with the Latin text – the standard language of Books of Hours in preceding centuries – in smaller, subordinate, type. Clearly they were aimed at a readership who were literate in the vernacular, but also knew some Latin; or wanted to learn some. It was a central tenet of the Protestant Reformation that the Bible and other Church texts should be available to ordinary people in the vernacular, with Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples publishing his French translations of biblical books in the 1520s.



UN RARE EXEMPLE DE LIVRE D'HEURES BILINGUE, DANS UNE RELIURE LYONNAISE CONTEMPORAINE EXCEPTIONNELLE

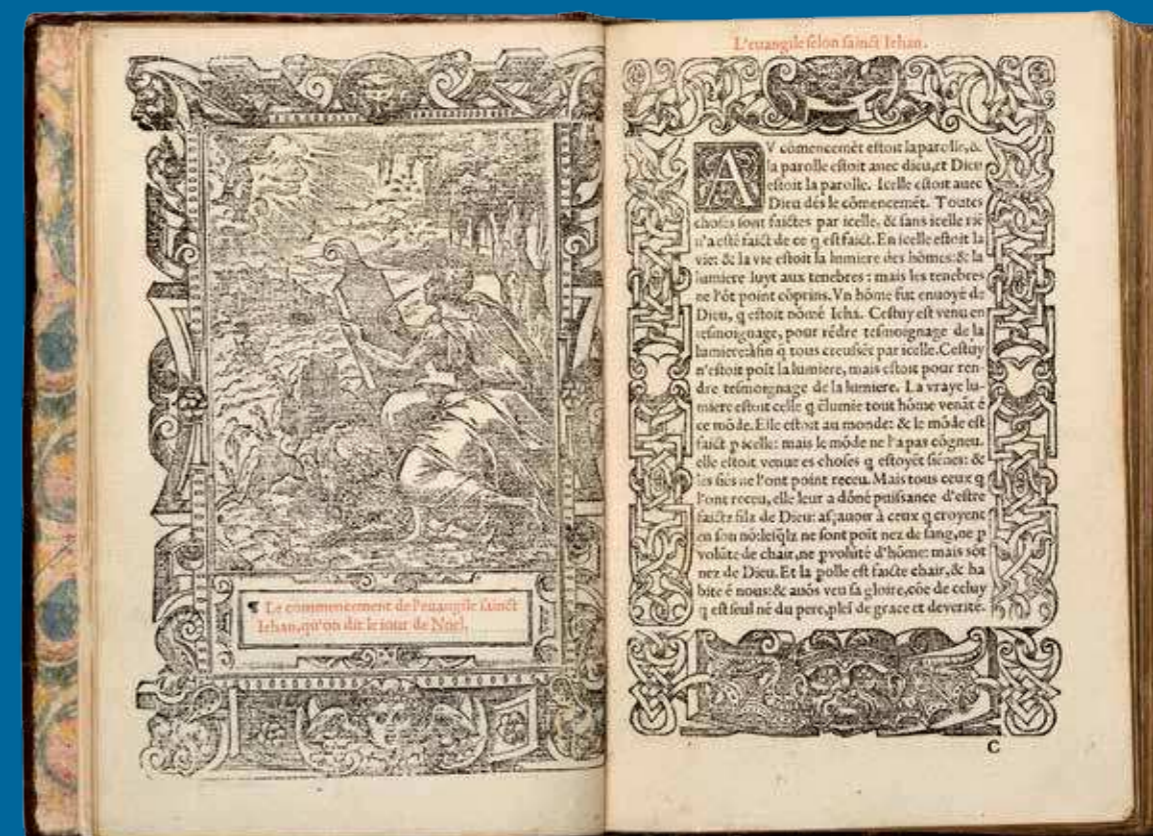
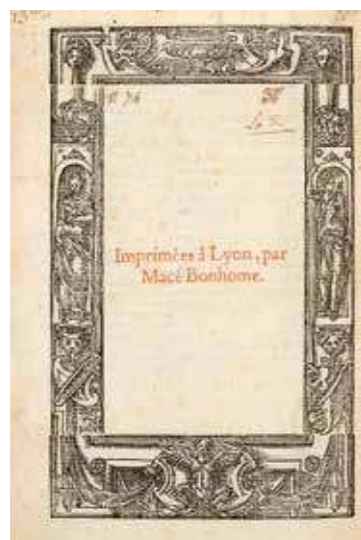
Macé Bonhomme fut un imprimeur prolifique actif à Lyon et dont les œuvres datées s'échelonnent de 1536 à 1569. Il s'associa un temps avec l'éditeur Guillaume Rouillé (ou Roville). Ce livre d'heures peut être daté

grâce à son almanach : en effet, de tels almanachs fournissent la date pour Pâques et autres fêtes mobiles pour les années à venir. Dans le cas présent, les dates sont données pour la période allant de 1558 à 1574, ce qui signifie que l'ouvrage fut certainement imprimé entre Pâques 1557 et Pâques 1558. Il est intéressant que la période ainsi couverte ne soit que de quinze ans, ce qui est relativement court pour un ouvrage dont on s'attendrait à ce qu'il soit utilisé au moins le temps d'une génération. Les éditeurs espéraient peut-être que cet exemple précoce d'« obsolescence intégrée » encouragerait les clients à revenir vers eux pour acheter un exemplaire à jour plutôt que de continuer à utiliser l'ancien au-delà de la période couverte par son almanach.

Il se peut que le présent exemplaire n'ait pas été utilisé très longtemps : sa reliure dite lyonnaise est en effet très bien conservée. Ce terme est toutefois trompeur, puisque des reliures étaient exécutées dans ce style dans d'autres villes, et même dans d'autres pays. Dans le cas présent, cependant, il est probable que la reliure fut exécutée à Lyon, étant donné que l'ouvrage fut imprimé dans cette ville : la reliure étant contemporaine du reste du livre, elle peut être datée et localisée précisément. L'emploi de la feuille d'or dans les reliures reflète l'influence de la reliure arabe qui semble être arrivée en Europe occidentale par les villes portuaires de Naples et de Venise.

L'édition qui nous occupe est très semblable, mais non identique, à une édition d'environ 1551 issue des presses du même imprimeur (dont seul un exemplaire est connu). Cette dernière était elle-même basée sur deux éditions datant respectivement d'environ 1549 et 1548 (chacune nous étant parvenue en deux exemplaires), imprimées par Macé Bonhomme et publiées par le marchand-éditeur Guillaume Rouillé (ou Roville). Toutes sont composées de trois parties distinctes, chacune régie par sa série propre de signatures, respectivement de 152 feuillets (signatures AB-V⁸), 16 feuillets (AA-BB⁸), et 32 feuillets (aa-dd⁸). Dans l'édition datant d'environ 1549, le nom de Rouillé apparaît sur la page de titre au début de la longue section comprenant les heures et le nom de Bonhomme figure au colophon des deux autres sections plus courtes, tandis que dans l'édition de 1548 et l'édition présente, le nom de Bonhomme est associé aux trois parties. Cette édition est très rare puisque Worldcat n'en recense que deux exemplaires : l'une, imparfaite, à la Library of Congress de Washington, l'autre à la National Library of Scotland à Édimbourg ; Lacombe mentionne également une copie à Paris.

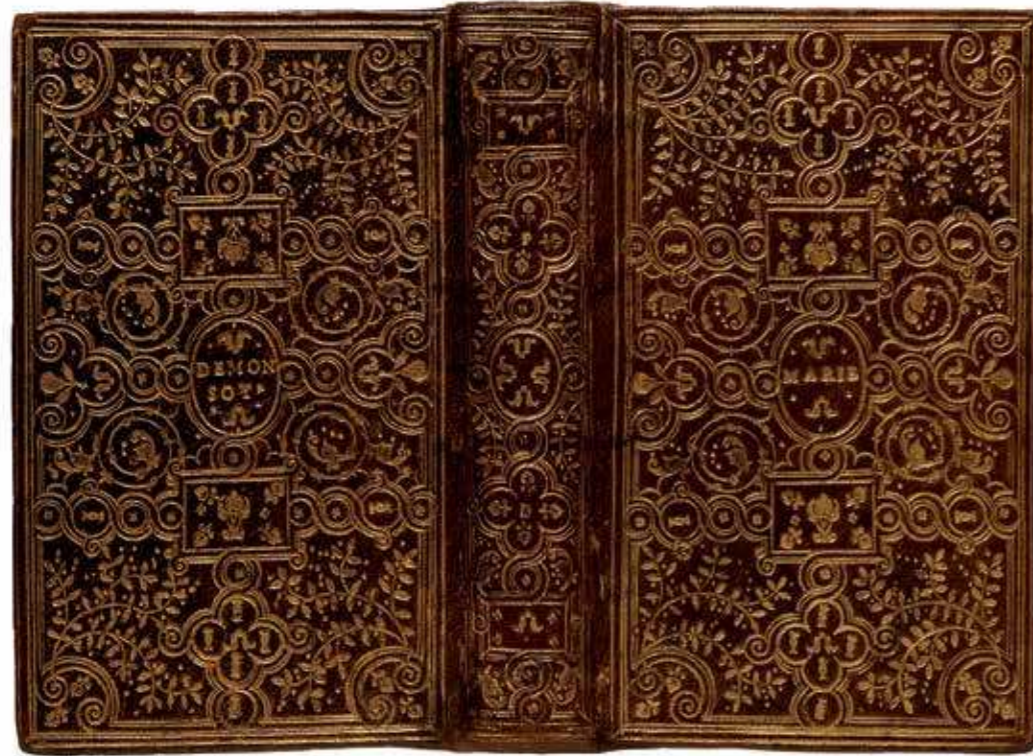
Ces éditions bilingues se distinguent par le fait que le texte en français occupe la majeure partie de la page et est imprimé dans des caractères plus grands que le texte latin, qui était le langage par excellence du livre d'heures au cours des siècles précédents. Ces ouvrages étaient clairement destinés à un public sachant lire en langue vernaculaire mais connaissant également le latin, ou souhaitant l'apprendre. Un des principes fondamentaux de la Réforme était que la Bible ainsi que les autres textes de l'Église devaient être accessibles à tous en langue vernaculaire, et Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, dès les années 1520, avait fait publier ses traductions françaises des livres bibliques.



6

THE HOURS OF MARIE DE MONSOY

Book of Hours, Use of Rome, in Latin - Illuminated manuscript on parchment
Central-southern France, perhaps the Auvergne (perhaps either La Chaise-Dieu, Le Puy or Brioude), c.1500



A RARE EXAMPLE OF A SOUTHERN FRENCH BOOK OF HOURS, WITH SEVENTEEN LARGE AND THIRTEEN SMALL MINIATURES, IN A VERY FINE FANFARE BINDING

The vast majority of surviving French Books of Hours were made in the northern half of the country; those from the south are therefore comparatively very rare, making this a finely preserved and unusual example. The evidence for an origin in the Auvergne region is provided by the calendar which includes a number of unusual entries, including Robert of La Chaise-Dieu (about 20 miles north of Le Puy) as a major feast; three saints of Clermont (Bonitus, Illidius, and Marius); two indicating Albi (Clarus and Eugenius); plus Genesisius of Auvergne and Gerald of Aurillac. The most comprehensive survey of French manuscript illumination (Avril & Reynaud, 1993) discusses southern schools in detail only for Toulouse, Provence, and the Languedoc, and the definitive study remains to be written. The Auvergne was a wealthy region with a near-constant history of royal overlordship and patronage, which felt little if any impact from the Hundred Years' War, and any future study of its medieval art, which aims to be comprehensive, will surely have to take account of the present manuscript.

The style of illumination is full of character. Older men often have very prominent noses, slightly droopy eyelids, and finely-painted wisps of white in their hair and beards; faces of women and angels, by contrast, are flatteringly pale and smooth; lips are pink and shows in eye-sockets are grey; hands are often oversized, especially when gesticulating; and draperies use gold hatching for highlights.

By the late 16th century the volume was owned by Marie Demonsoy/de Monsoy, as shown by her name in



gilt on the binding; she was perhaps the same Marie de Monsoy (of a Parisian family) who married Jean-Baptiste de Machault (1553-1635) on 27 August 1583 and died on 11 September 1632. The covers are a very fine Parisian "fanfare" binding of the last quarter of the 16th century, but no examples of identical tools are reproduced in the standard reference work (G.D. Hobson, *Les Reliures à la fanfare*, 1935), and the corners are an exceptional feature: we know of no other binding with the same design, but these corners may be compared to one in Hobson's *Supplement* (1970, p.55). Fanfare bindings were usually reserved for special books, even by those who could afford to bind their whole library expensively; Paul Needham has observed that contemporary bibliophiles did not commission fanfare bindings in large numbers: "It is much more common for fanfare bindings to be found on special presentation copies and gifts. Many are on older Books of Hours and other liturgical works, which might be considered as heirlooms" (*Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings 400-1600* (New York, 1979), p.258).



UN RARE EXEMPLE D'UN LIVRE D'HEURES DU SUD DE LA FRANCE, AVEC DIX-SEPT GRANDES ET TREIZE PETITES MINIATURES DANS UNE TRÈS BELLE RELIURE « À LA FANFARE »

La vaste majorité des livres d'heures français qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous ont été exécutés dans le nord de la France ; ceux venant du sud sont, par conséquent, comparativement très rares, ce qui rend cet exemplaire en excellente condition d'autant plus intéressant. La présence de certains saints inhabituels dans le calendrier

révèle un lien avec l'Auvergne : y figurent par exemple Robert de La Chaise-Dieu (ville située à environ 30 km au nord du Puy) comme fête majeure, trois saints de Clermont-Ferrand (Bonitus, Illidius et Marius), deux ayant des liens avec Albi (Clarus et Eugenius), mais aussi Genesius d'Auvergne et Géraud d'Aurillac. Il est intéressant de noter que, dans l'étude la plus complète à ce jour de l'enluminure en France (Avril & Reynaud, 1993), les seuls centres situés au sud faisant l'objet d'une discussion approfondie sont Toulouse, la Provence et le Languedoc. Les autres livres d'heures datant de la même période et ayant un calendrier et une litanie semblables à celui-ci (par exemple, Sotheby's, *Fifty Magnificent Illuminated Manuscripts*, 3 décembre 2002, lot 36 où il est précisé que « l'enluminure du sud de la France mériterait d'être étudiée dans son ensemble ») sont très différents stylistiquement du présent manuscrit. Ceci semble impliquer que les ouvrages faits pour un usage auvergnat ne partagent pas un style régional reconnaissable et qu'ils furent effectués dans des villes différentes, comme Clermont-Ferrand, Le Puy ou Limoges.

Le style de l'enluminure ne manque pas de caractère. Les hommes âgés ont souvent un long nez, des yeux aux paupières tombantes et de fins rehauts blancs dans les cheveux et la barbe. Les visages des femmes et des anges ont, quant à eux, un joli teint de porcelaine. Les lèvres sont rosées, les yeux ombrés de gris et les mains sont souvent disproportionnées, surtout quand les personnages font des gestes emphatiques. Les drapés sont rehaussés d'or.

À la fin du 16ème siècle, cet ouvrage appartenait à Marie Demonsoy/de Monsoy, comme l'indique son nom inscrit en lettres dorées sur la reliure. Il s'agit peut-être de cette même Marie de Monsoy (issue d'une famille parisienne) qui épousa Jean-Baptiste de Machault (1553-1635) le 27 août 1583 et décéda le 11 septembre 1632. Les plats de cette reliure sont ornés d'un très beau décor de fanfare parisien du dernier quart du 16ème siècle. Toutefois aucun exemple de motifs identiques n'a été reproduit dans l'ouvrage de référence à ce sujet (G.D. Hobson, *Les Reliures à la fanfare*, 1935), et la présence de motifs de coins est exceptionnelle. Nous n'avons rencontré aucune autre reliure portant la même décoration, mais des coins comparables ornent une reliure dans le *Supplément* de Hobson (1970, p.55). Les reliures à décor de fanfare étaient habituellement réservées à un petit nombre d'ouvrages, même par ceux qui auraient eu les moyens de relier leur bibliothèque entière à grands frais. Paul Needham a en effet fait remarquer que les bibliophiles ne commandaient jamais de reliures à la fanfare en grand nombre : « Les reliures à la fanfare se rencontrent habituellement sur des ouvrages de présentation et/ou destinés à être offerts. Il est très fréquent de les trouver sur des livres d'heures anciens ou autres ouvrages liturgiques pouvant être considérés comme faisant partie du patrimoine familial » (*Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings 400-1600* (New York, 1979), p.258).



7

THE HOURS OF JEAN MARTIN

Book of Hours, Use of Rome, in Latin and French - Illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Paris, c.1500



WITH THIRTEEN LARGE AND TWENTY-THREE SMALL MINIATURES, AND A PERSONALIZED MEDIEVAL BINDING

The miniatures of this manuscript are in the style of a prolific Parisian artist formerly known as “the Master of the Paris Entries”, but now more commonly as Jean Coene IV, whose name has been revealed thanks to a recently-discovered Crucifixion miniature from a missal, signed “De Jos Coene”. The Coene family of illuminators was originally from Bruges, but moved to Paris by 1400. Three members of the family, all called Jean, are documented between 1420 and 1492. The present manuscript appears to be by the fourth, active c.1490-1520, or his workshop. He was perhaps particularly known to contemporary patrons for his ability to create new compositions: in addition to Books of Hours with fairly standard iconography, he was employed to illustrate texts as diverse as Petrarch’s *Triumphs*, c.1500 (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 12423), Poems by the Italian Humanist Filippo Alberici, c.1507 (BL, Arundel MS 317), the *Entrée royale à Paris de Marie d’Angleterre*, which took place in 1514, Appian’s *Histoire des guerres des romains* between 1515 and 1517 (BL, Harley MS 4939), and *Le sacre de Claude de France*, which took place in 1517 (BL, Stowe MS 582).

In this manuscript his figures’ faces are almost invariably shown in three-quarter view, and the figures themselves are three-quarter length in the small miniatures; women, young men, and angels have pale skin, while others have a variety of skin-tones; crisp outlines are drawn in black, often overlapped by other colours, creating an impression similar to illuminated woodcuts; gold is used judiciously to model highlights in draperies. Each large miniature is surrounded by a fictive carved giltwood frame of various designs, once with polished marble columns, and often with a gold tassel hanging down into the outer margin. This last feature also appears in Books of Hours illuminated or designed by Jean Pichore, in whose orbit Jean Coene IV worked.

Perhaps only one in a hundred, or fewer, medieval manuscripts preserve their original binding. The present binding is not only in extremely good condition, but was also apparently tailor-made for the manuscript’s patron. Family records written on the final page record the birth of Jean Martin in 1472, the birth of Katherine Treteau in 1503, their marriage in 1518, and the birth of their daughter Marguerite in 1520, which strongly suggests that the book’s first owner was Jean Martin himself (Katherine being too young to have been its recipient). Each of the binding’s openwork metal anchor-plates and catch-plates are in the shape of the letters “A” and “M” in monogram, doubtless for “Ave Maria”, and each clasp in the shape of the letters “I” and “M” in monogram, doubtless for “Ihesus” and “Maria” but also for “Iehan Martin”.



AVEC TREIZE GRANDES ET VINGT-TROIS PETITES MINIATURES, DANS UNE RELIURE MÉDIÉVALE PERSONNALISÉE

Les miniatures de ce manuscrit sont peintes dans le style d’un artiste parisien prolifique connu autrefois sous le nom de « Maître des entrées parisiennes », mais désormais désigné comme « Jean Coene IV ». Son nom a été récemment découvert grâce à une miniature de la Crucifixion se trouvant dans un missel signé « De Jos Coene ». Les Coene, une famille d’enlumineurs originaire de Bruges, vinrent s’installer à Paris au plus tard en 1400. Trois membres de la famille, répondant tous au nom de Jean, y sont documentés entre 1420 et 1492. Le présent manuscrit fut sans doute peint par le quatrième, actif d’environ 1490 à 1520, ou dans son atelier. Il était particulièrement réputé pour sa capacité à créer des compositions novatrices : s’il illustra des

livres d'heures à l'iconographie peu originale, on lui confia aussi l'illustration de textes très divers, comme les *Triumphes* de Pétrarque, vers 1500 (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 12423), les *Poèmes* de l'humaniste italien Filippo Alberici, vers 1507 (BL, Arundel MS 317), une *Entrée royale à Paris de Marie d'Angleterre*, qui eut lieu en 1514, une *Histoire des guerres des romains d'Appien* entre 1515 et 1517 (BL, Harley MS 4939), et *Le sacre de Claude de France*, qui eut lieu en 1517 (BL, Stowe MS 582).

Dans ce manuscrit, les personnages sont représentés aux trois-quarts dans les petites miniatures et les visages sont presque invariablement dépeints de trois-quarts ; les femmes, les jeunes gens et les anges se distinguent des autres par leur teint pâle ; les contours sont tracés à l'encre noire, à laquelle se superpose souvent la couleur, comme s'il s'agissait de bois gravés enluminés ; l'or est employé judicieusement pour modeler les rehauts des drapés. Chaque grande miniature est entourée d'un cadre de bois doré aux formes diverses peint en trompe-l'œil. Il est, dans un cas, accompagné de colonnes de marbre poli ; une pampille d'or pend souvent de ce cadre dans la marge externe. Ce dernier détail se retrouve également dans les livres d'heures enluminés ou conçus par Jean Pichore, dans le cercle duquel Jean Coene IV travaillait.

La proportion de manuscrits encore dans leur reliure d'origine est infime : au plus, un manuscrit sur cent. La présente reliure est non seulement en excellente condition, mais fut également apparemment faite sur mesure pour le premier propriétaire du manuscrit. Un livre de raison se trouvant sur la dernière page rapporte la naissance de Jean Martin en 1472 et de Katherine Treteau en 1503, leur mariage en 1518, ainsi que la naissance de leur fille Marguerite en 1520, ce qui suggère fortement que Jean Martin lui-même fut ce premier propriétaire (Katherine étant trop jeune pour avoir pu l'être). Venant confirmer cette hypothèse, les fermoirs de métal ouvragé de la reliure prennent la forme des lettres « A » et « M », indubitablement le monogramme pour « Ave Maria », mais aussi des lettres « I » et « M » entrelacées, monogramme se référant sans aucun doute à « Jehan Martin ».



BOOK OF HOURS, USE OF ROME, IN LATIN WITH SOME FRENCH

Illustrated printed book on parchment

Paris, printed by Nicolas Higman for Guillaume Eustace, 1516



WITH FOURTEEN LARGE AND ONE SMALL FINELY ILLUMINATED METAL-CUTS, IN A SIXTEENTH CENTURY VELLUM BINDING

Guillaume Eustace was a prolific Parisian bookseller, recorded from 1497 to 1535. He was one of only two publishers to have been granted by the king, Louis XII, a personal privilege to issue new titles; the other one was the famous Parisian printer and bookseller Antoine Vérard. The present edition was published in 1516, as is stated in two colophons; it is the product of a collaboration with Nicolas Higman (or Hygman), with whom Eustace worked regularly in the second decade of the 16th century. Bohatta was not aware of the existence of this particular edition; the present edition is rare and we have been able to trace only one other copy (Christie's, New York, 7 October 1994, lot 104).

Eustace's Books of Hours usually stand out by the quality of their illumination: he clearly attached much importance to hiring skilled artists to add value to his productions. As Brunet noted: "Quoique sans bordures, les Heures de ce libraire sont encore justement recherchées; le vélin en est fort beau, et les figures et les lettres initiales qui les décorent nous paraissent avoir été peintes avec beaucoup plus de soin que dans la plupart des autres livres de ce genre publiés à la même époque" (J.C. Brunet, *Nouvelles recherches bibliographiques: pour servir de supplément au Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, Paris, 1834, Volume 3, p. 485). This can be observed in the present edition where the finely illuminated metal-cuts in their painted architectural frames could easily be mistaken for miniatures. Interestingly, the artist-colourist took liberties with the underlying engravings, sometimes boldly choosing to paint over important elements of the composition, such as God the Father appearing at a high window, in the Italianate Annunciation and the Trinity surrounded by two angels, barely visible in the sky of Pentecost.

A few iconographic peculiarities add further character to this small volume: St Mark was inappropriately chosen to introduce the Passion according to St Matthew, presumably to avoid having to reuse the more fitting St John on Patmos or Crucifixion, respectively featuring at the beginning of the Pericopes and of the Hours of the Cross. The illustration introducing the Penitential Psalms is unusual in that it depicts David with corpses at his feet, two victims of the plague his sinful ways had brought onto his people. Finally, the three skeletons in a cemetery at the beginning of the Office of the Dead were certainly designed to be part of a composition spreading over two facing pages and featuring the three Living and the Three Dead, a well-known moralising tale which recounted the frightful encounter of three princes with their dead counterparts. The depiction of the Three Dead on their own is no less effective and would certainly have been sufficient to evoke the tale for a contemporary user.



AVEC QUATORZE GRANDES GRAVURES ET UNE PETITE, TOUTES FINEMENT ENLUMINÉES, DANS UNE RELIURE EN VÉLIN DU SEIZIÈME SIÈCLE

Guillaume Eustace est un libraire parisien prolifique documenté entre 1497 et 1535. C'est un des deux seuls libraires à avoir reçu du roi Louis XII un privilège personnel lui réservant le droit de publier certains nouveaux titres; l'autre est le célèbre imprimeur et libraire Antoine Vérard. La présente édition date de 1516, comme le spécifient deux colophons; elle est le fruit d'une collaboration avec l'imprimeur Nicolas Higman (ou Hygman), avec qui Eustace travailla régulièrement dans la deuxième décennie du seizième siècle. Bohatta ne connaissait pas cette édition; celle-ci semble assez rare puisque nous n'avons jusqu'ici pu en identifier qu'un seul autre exemplaire (Christie's, New York, 7 October 1994, lot 104).

Les livres d'heures de Guillaume Eustace se distinguent habituellement par la qualité de leur enluminure: il était manifestement important pour lui de travailler avec des enlumineurs talentueux capables d'ajouter de la valeur à sa production. Brunet, au dix-neuvième siècle, l'avait déjà remarqué: « Quoique sans bordures, les Heures de ce libraire sont encore justement recherchées; le vélin en est fort beau, et les figures et les lettres initiales qui les décorent nous paraissent avoir été peintes avec beaucoup plus de soin que dans la plupart des autres livres de ce genre publiés à la même époque » (Brunet V, p. 1643). Cette remarque s'applique au présent exemplaire dont les gravures délicatement enluminées et entourées d'une bordure peinte pourraient aisément être confondues avec des miniatures. Il est intéressant de noter que l'artiste a pris quelques libertés avec les gravures sous-jacentes, choisissant parfois d'oblitérer des éléments importants de la composition, tels que Dieu le Père apparaissant à une fenêtre haute dans l'Annonciation italianisante ou encore la Trinité accompagnée de deux anges, à peine visibles désormais dans le ciel de la Pentecôte.

Quelques originalités iconographiques ajoutent du caractère à ce petit volume: St Marc, au début de la Passion selon St Matthieu, ne semble pas à sa place mais fut certainement choisi pour éviter de répéter la gravure de St Jean à Patmos ou celle de la Crucifixion, certes plus appropriées, mais respectivement réservées pour le début des Péricopes et des Heures de la Croix. Si David en prière est un choix habituel pour introduire les Psaumes de Pénitence, les deux corps étendus à ses pieds, évoquant la peste envoyée par Dieu sur son peuple pour punir David de ses péchés, sont un détail peu commun. Enfin, les trois squelettes dans un cimetière au début de l'Office des Morts faisaient certainement partie initialement d'une composition occupant une double page et représentant les Trois Morts et les Trois Vifs, les protagonistes d'un célèbre Dit racontant l'effrayante rencontre entre trois princes et trois morts préfigurant leur destinée. La représentation des Trois Morts seuls n'en est pas moins efficace et suffisait certainement à évoquer l'histoire bien connue dans l'esprit du propriétaire de l'ouvrage.

BOOK OF HOURS, USE OF ROME, IN LATIN WITH SOME FRENCH

Illustrated printed book on parchment
Paris, Gillet Hardouyn c.1515



WITH SIXTEEN LARGE OR FULL-PAGE METAL-CUTS, TWENTY-TWO SMALL ONES IN THE TEXT, AND FULL BORDERS ON EVERY PAGE, IN A CONTEMPORARY(?) GILT BINDING

This edition was printed in Paris by Gillet Hardouyn (b.1455) in 1515 or early 1516, with an almanac covering from Easter (22 March) 1516 to 1527. He lived on the Pont Notre Dame in Paris until its collapse in 1499; he later established a printing press at the end of the destroyed bridge, next to the church of St-Denis de la Chartre (demolished in 1806; now the site of a flower market), and after the bridge was rebuilt, he re-established himself on it in 1517, but leaving the press where it was.

The border decoration used for this edition has different motifs for rectos and versos. The wide outer margin on each verso is filled by a single decorative panel or scene, including a beautiful nude young woman stalked by a personification of death; putti frolicking; renaissance ornament; huntsmen chasing a stag with dogs; birds among foliage; a man on horseback, with foliage and male heads; or Judith with the head of Holofernes held aloft on the end of a sword. The wide outer margins on rectos, in contrast, depict biblical events and saints in three or four separate scenes, including Sts Michael, James, Sebastian, Catherine, John the Baptist, Anthony Abbot, John the Baptist, Anne teaching the Virgin to read, John the Evangelist, Peter & Paul, a female saint being beheaded, Mary Magdalene, Apollonia, Margaret, and others.

The biblical scenes also include numerous scenes from Revelation (the Apocalypse), often with John the Evangelist in the lowest scene dreaming or witnessing the events above. This was doubtless a feature that Hardouyn thought would appeal to customers, as he remarks the fact on the title-page: "Avec les figures

de l'apocalypse et plusieurs aultres figures". At the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin the first border also includes some text: "Sequitur Apocalipsis beati Johannis apostoli" below a scene of John being put on a boat to go to Patmos, and "Propter insuperabilem evangelizandi constantiam exilio relegatus est beatus Johannes &c. per ordinem" below an image of the Seven Candlesticks (Revelation 1:12).

The lower margins contain one or two scenes each, depicting a wide variety of secular and religious subjects, often including laymen and women ensnared by devils.



AVEC SEIZE GRANDES GRAVURES, PARFOIS EN PLEINE PAGE, VINGT-DEUX PETITES GRAVURES DANS LE TEXTE ET DES BORDURES COMPLÈTES À CHAQUE PAGE, DANS UNE RELIURE DORÉE PROBABLEMENT CONTEMPORAINE

Cet ouvrage comprenant un almanach allant de Pâques (22 mars) 1516 à 1527 fut imprimé à Paris par Gillet Hardouyn (né en 1455) en 1515 ou au début de 1516. Ce dernier vivait sur le Pont-Notre-Dame à Paris, mais lorsque celui-ci s'écroula en 1499, il établit son atelier au bout du pont détruit, près de l'église de St-Denis de la Chartres (démolie en 1806 ; un marché aux fleurs se trouve maintenant à cet emplacement). Une fois le pont reconstruit, il revint y habiter en 1517, mais ne déménagea pas ses presses.

La décoration des bordures dans cette édition emploie des motifs différents selon qu'il s'agit de rectos ou

de versos. Les larges bordures extérieures de chaque verso sont formées d'un seul panneau décoratif ou d'une seule scène : une belle jeune femme nue menacée par la Mort, des putti batifolant, des ornements Renaissance, des chasseurs et des chiens poursuivant un cerf, un homme à cheval entouré de feuillage et de têtes d'hommes, ou encore Judith brandissant la tête d'Holopherne au bout d'une épée. Les larges marges externes au recto, par contre, dépeignent des épisodes bibliques et des saints, organisés en trois ou quatre scènes distinctes : on y reconnaît les saints Michel, Jacques, Sébastien, Catherine, Jean-Baptiste, Antoine, Anne apprenant à lire à la Vierge, Jean l'Évangéliste, Pierre et Paul, la décollation d'une sainte, Marie Madeleine, Apolline, Marguerite, et bien d'autres.

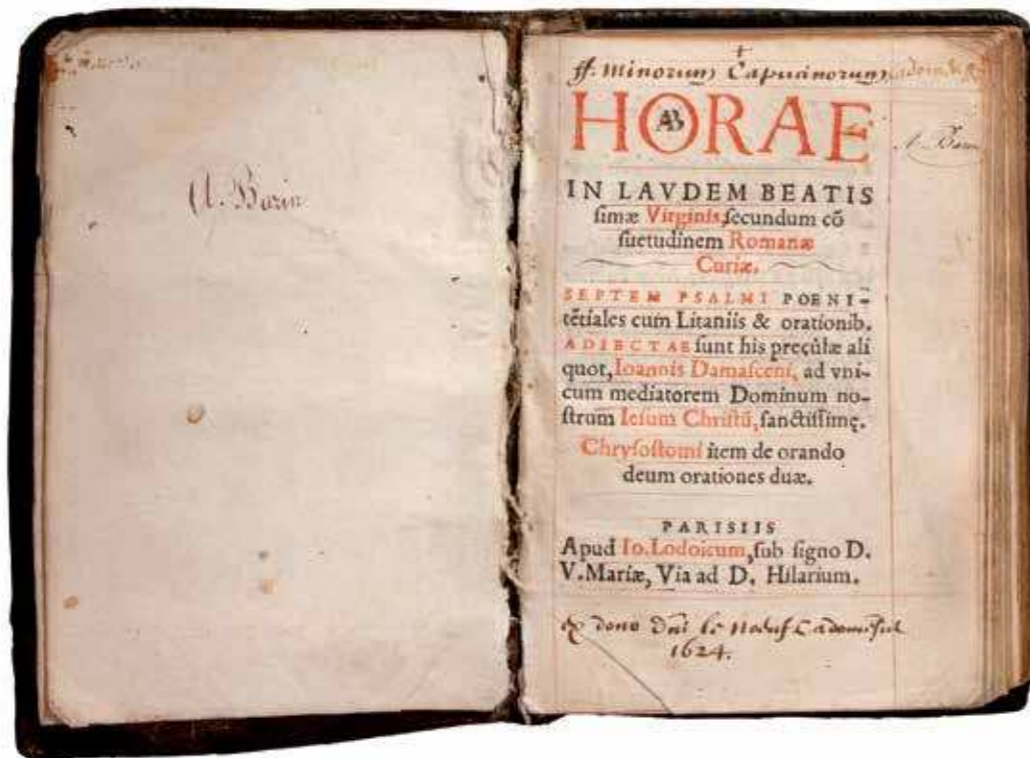
Les scènes bibliques comprennent également de nombreux épisodes issus du Livre de la Révélation (l'Apocalypse) avec, dans la plupart, saint Jean l'Évangéliste dans la scène du bas, rêvant ou assistant aux événements dépeints plus haut. L'inclusion de ce cycle constituait à n'en pas douter un argument de vente pour Hardouyn, puisqu'il en fait l'article sur la page de titre : « Avec les figures de l'apocalipse et plusieurs autres figures ». Au début des Heures de la Vierge, la première bordure inclut également les lignes : « Sequitur Apocalipsis beati Johannis apostoli » sous la scène montrant Jean montant dans le bateau qui l'emène vers Patmos, et « Propter insuperabilem evangelizandi constantiam exilio relegatus est beatus Johannes &c. per ordinem » sous la vision des sept chandeliers (Révélation 1:12).

Les bordures inférieures contiennent chacune une ou plusieurs scènes représentant un grand choix de sujets religieux et profanes ; elles montrent souvent des hommes et des femmes laïcs aux prises avec des démons.



HOURS OF THE VIRGIN, USE OF ROME, WITH THE PENITENTIAL PSALMS, A LITANY, PRAYERS BY JOHN OF DAMASCENE AND JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Printed book on paper
Paris, Joannes Lodoicus 1538



A FINE EXAMPLE OF ONE OF THE STRANGEST FORMS OF BOOKS OF HOURS TO BE PRODUCED BY RENAISSANCE EUROPE – THE PRINTED HOURS IN GREEK; HERE IN ITS CONTEMPORARY BINDING

This edition of the Hours of the Virgin was printed in Paris in 1538 by Joannes Lodoicus (often with the surname *Tiletanus*, ie. from Tielt, south of Bruges; fl. 1530s until his death c. 1549), an erudite humanist scholar (who wrote commentaries on Quintilian and printed the *Xenophontis Oeconomicus* in Greek in 1535) and printer. His scholarly work and printing technique both display notable skill, and despite the shortness of his career his books were avidly sought after. After the fall of the Roman Empire, Greek never regained its foothold in Western Europe as one of the primary languages spoken there, and it beggars belief to suppose that such books were used in the Renaissance to recite prayers from at the canonical hours of the day. In fact, the production of such books has a lengthy history in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, beginning in Venice (often the conduit between the cultures of Western Europe and Byzantium) with the printing of a Greek Book of Hours by Aldus Manutius on 5 December 1497 (see A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellenisme a Venise*, Paris, 1875, p. 92).

The function of these books does not seem to have been as practical devotional tools, but instead as demonstrations of their owner's Renaissance learning, harking back to the Roman model of a Latin and Greek syllabus. It is also clear that they were commonly used as school-books for students learning Greek, offering them a text which they could compare with their Latin copies. The text appears prominently in a list of simple Greek texts to be read after the elementary study of Greek grammar, composed and published by Aldus.

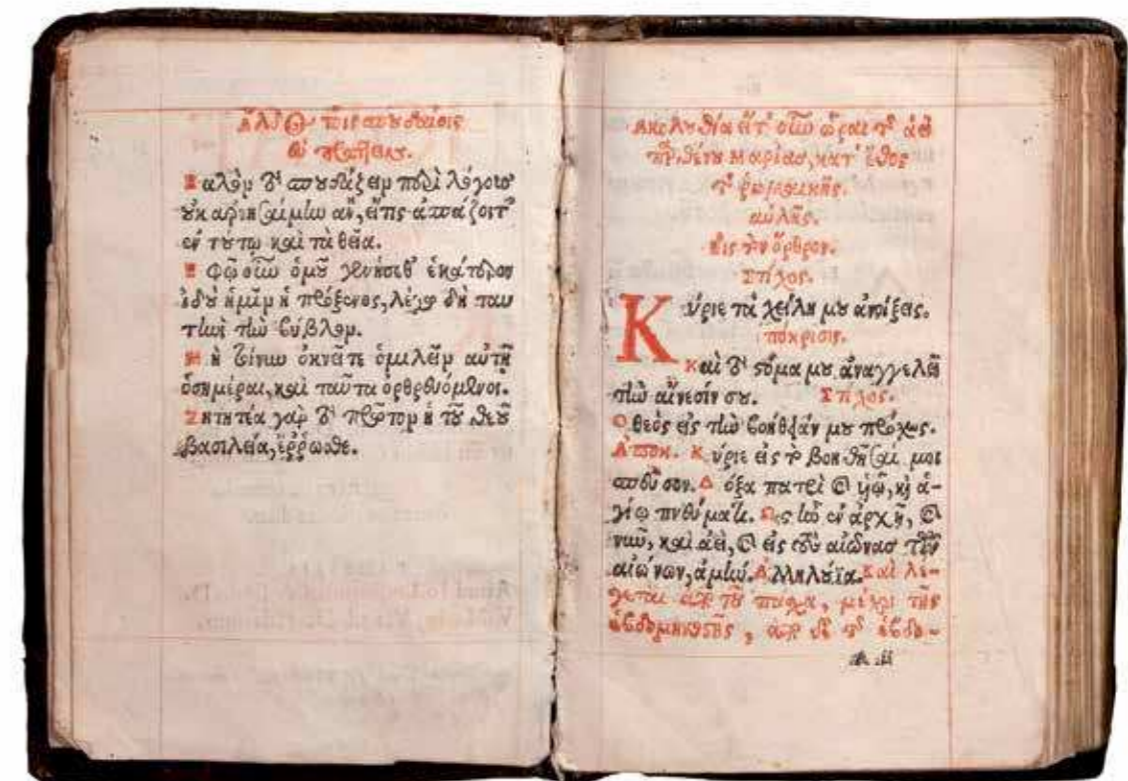
All copies of printed Books of Hours in Greek are rare to the market, and the present volume is not in Bohatta, nor in BMC STC French.



Cette édition des Heures de la Vierge a été imprimée à Paris en 1538 par Joannes Lodoicus (Jean Loys), souvent appelé *Tiletanus*, c'est-à-dire de Tielt, une ville au sud de Bruges. Cet imprimeur et humaniste érudit fut actif des années 1530 jusqu'à sa mort vers 1549 ; il est l'auteur de commentaires de Quintilien et imprima le *Xenophontis Oeconomicus* en grec en 1535. Ses écrits ainsi que ses techniques d'imprimerie témoignent d'un talent incontestable et, bien que sa carrière ait été de courte durée, ses ouvrages étaient très recherchés. Après la chute de l'Empire romain, le grec ne retrouva jamais la place qu'il avait occupée auparavant, lorsqu'il figurait parmi les langues les plus parlées en Europe occidentale, et il est extraordinaire de penser que ces livres étaient utilisés à la Renaissance pour réciter les heures. En fait, la production de ce type d'ouvrages a une longue histoire aux quinzième et seizième siècles ; elle commence à Venise, ville qui fut souvent le trait d'union entre l'Occident et Byzance, avec l'impression d'un livre d'heures en grec par Aldus Manutius le 5 décembre 1497 (voir A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venise*, Paris, 1875, p. 92).

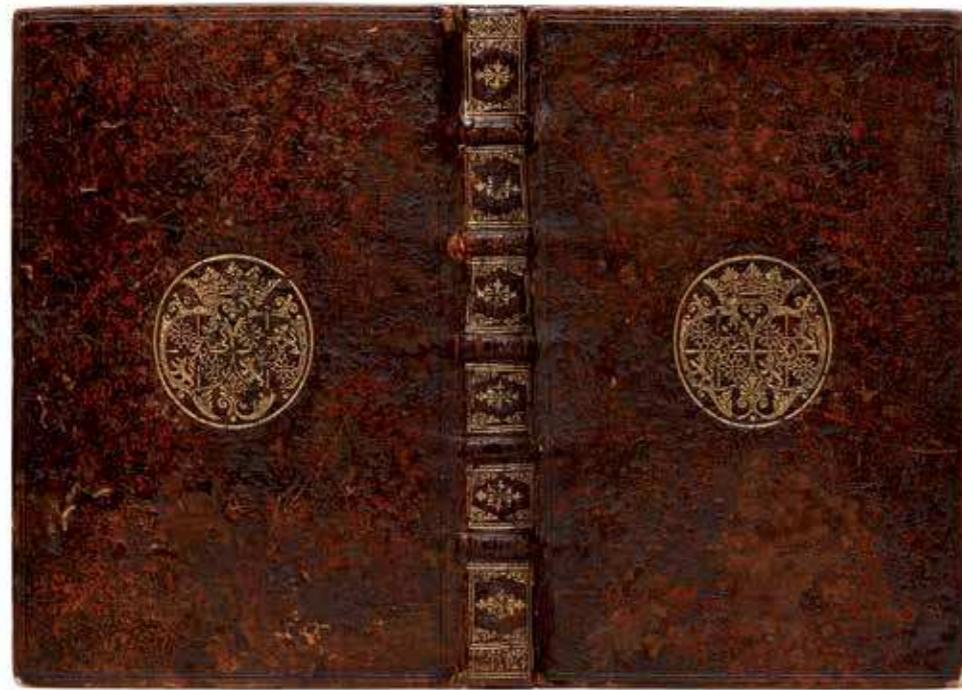
Ces livres ne semblent pas avoir eu la fonction d'aide pratique à la dévotion, mais plutôt de démonstration de l'érudition de leur propriétaire, évoquant le modèle romain d'un programme d'études en grec et en latin. Il est clair également qu'ils servaient souvent de manuels scolaires pour des étudiants apprenant le grec, leur offrant un texte qu'ils pouvaient aisément comparer avec leurs exemplaires en latin. Ce texte figure en bonne place dans une liste de textes grecs simples à lire après l'étude élémentaire de la grammaire grecque, composée et publiée par Aldus.

Les exemplaires de livres d'heures en grec sont rares sur le marché et le présent volume ne se trouve ni dans Bohatta ni dans le BMC STC français.



THE DE VALBELLE HOURS

Book of Hours, Use of Orléans, in Latin and French - Illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Orléans(?), c.1500



A BOOK OF HOURS OF A VERY RARE LITURGICAL USE, WITH EIGHT LARGE MINIATURES BY TWO ILLUMINATORS

Four of the miniatures (Annunciation, Nativity, David, and Death) are in the style of the well-documented Rouen illuminator Robert (also called Robinet) Boyvin, who was active c.1485-c.1515. His oeuvre has been studied in detail (Delaunay, 1995) and more than forty manuscripts attributed to his hand. The style is characterised by rather formal, stiff, or even rigid, figures wearing draperies hatched in gold; shadows in their eye-sockets are modelled in pale grey; there is a preponderance of crisp, bright, blue and red pigments; and often gold-patterned drapery wall-hangings in the background.

The other four miniatures (John on Patmos, Adoration, Crucifixion, and Pentecost) are by a very different and more characterful artist, previously unknown. His men have broad, expressive faces, often with furrowed brows, while his women have pale, comparatively expressionless features; hair and beards are built up by means of lots of short brush-strokes; draperies are modelled by means of dark areas of shadow as well as restrained gold highlights; the palette includes a salmon pink as well as darker red.

It would be easy to assume that this book was made in Rouen for a patron from Orléans, especially as the calendar does not include the usual Orléans feasts, but the matter is not so simple. In many ways the manuscript does not correspond to normal Rouen book-production. It is extremely unusual that some, but not all, of the Hours of the Virgin are marked by a miniature (matins, prime, and sext have miniatures, while lauds, terce, none, vespers, and compline do not), but this is not due to losses: the manuscript is complete, so this is therefore a deliberate feature of the book's original design. Another very unusual feature is that the

calendar feasts are written entirely in red, except for the major feasts, which are in blue, and its layout is also strange, being ruled for 22 lines but of which no more than 17 lines are used. This combination of features suggests production in a highly idiosyncratic workshop, presumably in Orléans itself, ignoring (or ignorant of) many of the conventions of mainstream Books of Hours, despite its proximity to the metropolis and other major centres such as Tours and Bourges. The situation becomes even more interesting when the style of illumination is considered.

The original design of the book therefore makes it very unlikely that the book was neither written in Rouen, nor sent there half-finished for its illumination to be completed; it seems more likely that it was both started and completed in Orléans, with contributions by an artist who was trained in Rouen. At least one other Book of Hours of the Use of Orléans of c.1480 (sold at Sotheby's, 5 July 2005, lot 101) has miniatures in a Rouennaise style, which raises the possibility that an artist who had trained in Rouen was working in Orléans, where he would have faced far less competition from other illuminators.

Books of Hours of the Use of Orléans are very rare: Leroquis records only two examples in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and only four others are recorded in provincial French libraries.

Quatre miniatures (Annonciation, Nativité, David, et La Mort) sont peintes dans le style de Robert (aussi appelé Robinet) Boyvin, un enlumineur bien documenté actif à Rouen d'environ 1485 à 1515. Son œuvre a été bien étudiée en détail (Delaunay, 1995) et plus de quarante manuscrits lui ont été attribués. Son style se caractérise par des personnages aux poses assez raides, voire rigides, portant des vêtements rehaussés d'or, et aux yeux cernés d'une ombre gris pâle. On note dans la palette une prédilection pour le bleu et le rouge vifs, et des draps ornés de motifs dorés sont souvent tendus à l'arrière-plan.

L'artiste à l'œuvre dans les quatre autres miniatures (Jean à Patmos, l'Adoration des Mages, la Crucifixion et la Pentecôte), très différent et jusqu'ici inconnu, a néanmoins plus de caractère. Les hommes ont des visages larges et expressifs, souvent aux sourcils froncés, alors que les femmes au teint pâle semblent, par comparaison, sans expression. Les cheveux et les barbes sont rendus par une multitude de petits coups de pinceau ; les drapés sont modelés en contrastant les zones d'ombre et de légers rehauts à l'encre d'or ; la palette de l'enlumineur est caractérisée par l'emploi d'un rose saumoné et d'un rouge foncé.

Il serait tentant de conclure que cet ouvrage fut fait à Rouen pour un commanditaire orléanais, d'autant plus que le calendrier ne comprend pas les fêtes orléanaises habituelles, mais plusieurs éléments semblent aller à l'encontre de cette hypothèse. En effet, ce manuscrit se distingue à plus d'un égard de la production libraire rouennaise de l'époque. Tout d'abord, l'absence de miniature au début de certaines heures de la Vierge est surprenante (matines, prime et sexte sont introduites par une miniature, contrairement à laudes, tierce, none, aux vêpres et à complies). Ceci ne peut s'expliquer par des manques, puisque le manuscrit est complet : cette anomalie est donc le fruit d'un souhait délibéré au moment de la conception de l'ouvrage. D'autre part, on note que, exceptionnellement, le calendrier est entièrement écrit en rouge, à l'exception des fêtes majeures inscrites à l'encre bleue, et que la mise en page en est étrange, avec une réglure de 22 lignes, mais n'en utilisant jamais plus de 17 pour le texte. Ces éléments inattendus suggèrent que ce manuscrit fut produit sans doute à Orléans même, dans un atelier aux pratiques très singulières, ignorant (ou choisissant d'ignorer) nombre des conventions d'usage dans la production de livres d'heures, malgré la proximité de Paris et d'autres grands centres comme Tours ou Bourges. Cet exemple est d'autant plus intéressant lorsque l'on prend en compte les différents styles d'enluminure.

Les anomalies dans la conception de l'ouvrage suggèrent qu'il ne fut ni écrit à Rouen, ni envoyé dans cette ville à demi terminé pour que son enluminure soit achevée. Il semble plus probable qu'il ait été entièrement exécuté à Orléans, avec des contributions d'un artiste formé à Rouen. On connaît au moins un autre livre d'heures à l'usage d'Orléans datant d'environ 1480 (Sotheby's, 5 Juillet 2005, lot 101) aux miniatures peintes dans un style rouennais, ce qui confirmerait l'hypothèse d'un artiste de formation rouennaise venu exercer à Orléans où la concurrence entre enlumineurs était certainement moindre.

Les livres d'heures à l'usage d'Orléans sont très rares: Leroquis n'en relève que deux exemplaires à la Bibliothèque nationale de France, et seulement quatre autres sont signalées dans les bibliothèques publiques du reste de la France.



THE CATHERINE DE' MEDICI-MARCOUSSIS HOURS

Book of Hours, Use of Dol, in Latin and French - Illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Paris(?), c.1500



AN ATTRACTIVE BOOK OF HOURS OF AN EXTREMELY RARE LITURGICAL USE, WITH TEN LARGE MINIATURES, MADE FOR A NAMED PATRON, IN A FINE BINDING, WITH A VERY DISTINGUISHED PROVENANCE

Although made at a time when Books of Hours were often quite standardised, and many owners were content to have a mass-produced manuscript or printed book of the Use of Rome or Use of Paris, this manuscript is exceptionally personalised: the Use of the Hours of the Virgin, a prayer mentioning the patron (Guillaume) by name, the heraldry, and the long series of suffrages – including some unusual ones – all point to a bespoke commission made according to the specific wishes of a discerning patron. The crisp black outlining in some of the miniatures produces a visual effect reminiscent of painted engravings in printed Books of Hours (such books doubtless influenced popular taste), and indeed the text of the calendar, and the iconography of the Bathsheba miniature, both demonstrate the influence of printed editions. Yet clearly a printed book would not have provided Guillaume, the high-society patron, with the textual contents that he required for his Hours, nor would it have had the visual appeal of the present manuscript's charming miniatures and elegant script.

The style of illumination, by an unidentified artist, is best exemplified by the scenes of the Adoration of the Magi and the Coronation of the Virgin: they are characterised by rosy-cheeked figures with a variety of skin-tones, extensive use of gold hatching on draperies and hair, crisp black outlines to parts of figures and draperies, often overlapped by hair and beards, and simple but pleasing landscapes with aerial perspective.

Manuscripts made for the Use of Dol are extremely rare: Leroquais records no Books of Hours of the Use of



Dol in the Bibliothèque nationale de France; there are none recorded on the official website of illuminated manuscripts in French provincial libraries (initiale.ihrt.cnrs.fr); none are recorded in the British Library or in the Bodleian Library (MS. Rawl. liturg. f. 26 has previously been described as Use of Dol, but is in fact Use of Rennes); and de Ricci's *Census* and its *Supplement* record only one in North America. The Center for Håndskriftstudier website (www.chd.dk) records no manuscript of the Use, but its owner Erik Drigsdahl kindly informs us that the present manuscript corresponds liturgically to a Breviary of the Use of Dol printed in 1519, confirming its localisation. A few Books of Hours that may have been owned in Dol in the 15th century were discussed by Duine in 1905, but none of them are certainly of Dol Use. An extremely unusual feature, never encountered by us before, are the prayers interspersed within the litany.



UN BEAU LIVRE D'HEURES D'UN USAGE LITURGIQUE TRÈS RARE, AVEC DIX GRANDES MINIATURES, FAIT POUR UN COMMANDITAIRE NOMMÉ DANS LE TEXTE, ET RECOUVERT D'UNE RELIURE À LA PROVENANCE PRESTIGIEUSE

Bien qu'exécuté à une période où la production de livres d'heures était souvent assez standardisée, et où de nombreux acquéreurs se contentaient d'heures manuscrites ou imprimées à l'usage de Rome ou de Paris produites en grandes quantités, ce manuscrit est remarquablement personnalisé. L'usage des heures de la Vierge, une prière mentionnant le commanditaire par son nom (Guillaume), l'héraldique ainsi que la longue série de suffrages – comprenant des saints peu communs – indiquent que cet ouvrage fut le fruit d'une

commande spécifique répondant aux souhaits précis d'un commanditaire averti. Les contours soulignés à l'encre noire dans certaines miniatures rappellent l'esthétique des gravures peintes dans les livres d'heures imprimés (dont l'influence se faisait indubitablement ressentir dans de nombreux domaines), et le texte du calendrier, tout comme l'iconographie de la scène dédiée à Bethsabée, trahissent effectivement l'influence des éditions imprimées. Mais un livre imprimé n'aurait certainement pas satisfait, du point de vue de son texte, les exigences de Guillaume, son distingué commanditaire. Il n'aurait pas non plus eu l'attrait du présent ouvrage, avec ses charmantes miniatures et son élégante écriture.

Le style de l'enlumineur, un artiste dont on ignore encore l'identité, se caractérise par des personnages au teint nuancé et aux joues rosées, l'emploi généreux de rehauts dorés dans les drapés et les chevelures, le trait noir cernant le contour de certaines parties des personnages et des drapés, parfois recouvert par les cheveux et les barbes, et enfin des paysages simples mais plaisants où est rendue la perspective aérienne. Les scènes de l'Adoration des mages et du Couronnement de la Vierge sont caractéristiques à cet égard.

Les manuscrits à l'usage de Dol sont extrêmement rares. Leroquais ne répertoria aucun livre d'heures à cet usage dans les collections de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, et aucun ne figure sur le site des manuscrits enluminés se trouvant dans les bibliothèques publiques de France (<http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/>). Aucun n'est répertorié à la British Library, ni à la Bodleian Library (le MS. Rawl. liturg. f.26, autrefois décrit comme étant à l'usage de Dol, est en fait à l'usage de Rennes), et le *Census* de Ricci et son supplément ne signalent qu'un seul exemplaire pour toute l'Amérique du Nord. Le site web du Center for Håndskriftstudier (www.chd.dk) ne donne aucun exemple de manuscrit à cet usage, mais son créateur Erik Drigsdahl a eu la gentillesse de nous informer que le texte du présent manuscrit correspondait du point de vue liturgique à celui d'un Bréviaire à l'usage de Dol imprimé en 1519, ce qui confirme sa localisation. Duine mentionna en 1905 quelques livres d'heures ayant un lien avec Dol au 15^e siècle, mais l'usage de Dol n'est confirmé pour aucun d'entre eux.



THE COUTANCES HOURS OF WILLIAM FOYLE

Book of Hours, Use of Coutances, in Latin - Illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Coutances, mid 15th century



AN ATTRACTIVE MANUSCRIPT FROM AN EXCEPTIONALLY RARE PRODUCTION CENTRE, WITH TEN LARGE MINIATURES AND UNUSUAL ICONOGRAPHY

Coutances was never a major centre of illuminated manuscript production, probably because the town's needs could be satisfied by Rennes and Angers to the south, and especially by Rouen to the east. Indeed the illumination of most Books of Hours of the Use of Coutances is attributed to artists working in Rouen, such as the Fastolf Master and the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen (cf. no.11 above). There are, however, enough surviving Coutances manuscripts that cannot be attributed to neighbouring towns – including the present example – to suggest that for most of the 15th century there was at least one resident artist capable of illuminating manuscripts; the skill presumably being passed from master to apprentice, perhaps from parent to child.

Books of Hours of the Use of Coutances are very rare: the website of French provincial libraries (initiale.irht.cnrs.fr) lists only four in France, of which one has no illumination and another has only a single miniature. There is apparently no example in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The Jesse Tree border in particular is very remarkable, but as a page-design it can be paralleled in a Paris Book of Hours in the Vatican (Chigi C.IV.115) and in the *Très Petites Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (Paris, BnF, ms. n.a.l. 3120), in each of which it also surrounds the Annunciation miniature. In a few other Books of Hours the Annunciation faces a full-page Jesse Tree miniature (e.g. in Philadelphia, Free Library, MS Lewis E.96, and BL, Sloane MS 2419), and this arrangement was later to become popular in printed Books of Hours: the juxtaposition is appropriate, because the Jesse Tree is a visual representation of the biblical passage "And

there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root" (Isaiah 11:1-3), which was seen as a prophecy of the genealogy and birth of Christ, in which the Latin for the "rod" *virga* was equated by medieval theologians with the Latin for "virgin", *virgo*.

The genealogy itself is very interesting. At the bottom of the border in the middle is the sleeping Jesse. Directly above him is David. To the right of David are figures wearing crowns (Solomon, Roboam, Abia, Asa, Josaphath, Joram, Oziam, Joatham, Acham, Ezekias, Manasses, Amon, and Josias, in accordance with part of the genealogy of Christ in the Gospel of Matthew 1:6-11); and in the upper right corner is a Crucifixion flanked by Mary and John. To the left of David is a continuation of this genealogy (Achim, Eleazar, Matham, Azor, Eliachim, Zorobabel, Salathiel, Abiud, and Jeconias, from Matthew 1:12).

While the present manuscript lacks the refinement of the best books made in the major book-producing centres, its provincial nature is what gives it its charm and interest. While "mainstream" books can seem mass-produced, perfunctory, and repetitive, the present example is unconstrained by convention. The style is apparently unpublished, but Erik Drigsdahl kindly informs us that there are other manuscripts of the Use of Coutances apparently painted by the same illuminator, and using extremely similar iconography (e.g. Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS. Thott 545 4^o).



UN CHARMANT MANUSCRIT PROVENANT D'UN EXCEPTIONNELLEMENT RARE CENTRE DE PRODUCTION AVEC DIX GRANDES MINIATURES ET UNE ICONOGRAPHIE ORIGINALE

Coutances ne fut jamais un grand centre de production de manuscrits enluminés, sans doute car Rennes et Angers au sud, et surtout Rouen à l'est pouvaient satisfaire aux besoins de ses habitants. En effet, l'enluminure de la plupart des livres d'heures à l'usage de Coutances est attribuée à des artistes actifs à Rouen, comme le Maître de Fastolf et le Maître de l'Échevinage de Rouen (voir no. 11). Il existe toutefois suffisamment de manuscrits à l'usage de Coutances ne pouvant être attribués à ces villes voisines – c'est le cas du présent manuscrit – pour suggérer que, durant la majeure partie du 15^{ème} siècle, il y eut toujours au moins un enlumineur actif dans cette ville ; le métier était sans doute transmis de maître à apprenti, peut-être de parent à enfant.

Les livres d'heures à l'usage de Coutances sont très rares : une recherche menée sur le site des bibliothèques publiques de France (initiale.irht.cnrs.fr) ne donne que quatre résultats en France dont un exemplaire sans enluminure et un autre avec seulement une miniature. La Bibliothèque nationale de France n'en renferme apparemment aucun.

La bordure à l'Arbre de Jessé est particulièrement remarquable : elle se retrouve notamment dans un livre d'heures à l'usage de Paris de la Biblioteca Vaticana (Chigi C.IV.115) et dans les *Très Petites Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (Paris, BnF, ms. n.a.l. 3120), où elle accompagne également la miniature de l'Annonciation. Dans quelques autres livres d'heures, l'Annonciation fait face à une miniature pleine page de l'Arbre de Jessé (par exemple dans Philadelphie, Free Library, MS Lewis E.96, et BL, Sloane MS 2419) et cette mise en page connut une fortune ultérieure dans les livres d'heures imprimés. Cette juxtaposition est appropriée puisque l'Arbre de Jessé est une mise en image du passage biblique « Il sortira un rejeton de la tige de Jessé, et une fleur naîtra de sa racine. » (Isaïe 11 : 1-3). Ce texte était interprété comme une prophétie de la généalogie et de la naissance du Christ, dans laquelle *virga*, le mot latin pour « tige », faisait référence, pour les théologiens du Moyen Âge, à *virgo*, le mot latin pour « vierge ».

La généalogie en elle-même mérite que l'on s'y attarde. Jessé endormi se trouve au centre de la bordure inférieure, et David directement au-dessus de lui. À la droite de David figurent des personnages couronnés (Salomon, Roboam, Abias, Asa, Josaphat, Joram, Ozias, Joatham, Achaz, Ézéchiass, Manassé, Amon et Josias, en accord avec une partie de la généalogie du Christ dans l'évangile selon Matthieu 1 : 6-11), et dans l'angle supérieur droit se trouve la Crucifixion avec Marie et Jean. À la gauche de David, la généalogie se poursuit (Achim, Éléazar, Mathan, Azor, Eliacim, Zorobabel, Salathiel, Abiud, et Jéchonias, de Matthieu 1 : 12-15).

Si ce manuscrit n'a pas le raffinement des ouvrages exécutés dans les centres de production plus importants, sa nature provinciale lui donne son charme et fait tout son intérêt. Tandis que les manuscrits produits en masse dans les grands centres peuvent souvent paraître répétitifs et d'exécution sommaire, cet ouvrage semble libéré des conventions en vigueur. Le style de ses miniatures, bien que singulier, n'a pas à notre connaissance fait l'objet d'études, mais Erik Drigsdahl a eu la gentillesse de nous faire savoir qu'il existe d'autres manuscrits à l'usage de Coutance illustrés par le même enlumineur et employant une iconographie extrêmement proche (par exemple, Copenhague, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 545 4°).



PSALTER-HOURS, USE OF ROUEN, IN LATIN

Illuminated manuscript on parchment

France, probably Paris, between 1247 and 1280, probably 1260s



AN EARLY EXAMPLE OF A PSALTER-HOURS, MADE FOR A WOMAN, ILLUMINATED BY ARTISTS WHO WORKED FOR THE COURT OF KING LOUIS IX, WITH TEN LARGE HISTORIATED INITIALS, INCLUDING CRUSADER IMAGERY

In the 13th century northern French illumination was dominated by Paris, and books made for use in Rouen can often be attributed to Parisian artists. The closest stylistic parallel for the present manuscript is the so-called "Royal Psalter" style used by a group of artists in the making of two of the finest 13th century French manuscripts, the Psalter of King Louis IX and the psalter of his sister Isabelle of France (Paris, BnF, ms. Lat. 10525, and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 300), both of which can be dated between the mid-1250s and 1270.

In Paris it was normal to mark eight divisions of the psalms (at Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, and 109), while in England it was common to mark these, plus Psalms 51 and 101 in addition. The present manuscript is a hybrid of these two systems: it marks nine of these ten divisions, ignoring Psalm 101, as also found in a small number of psalters of the second half of the 13th century from Paris and northern France (see Günther Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich und den Niederlanden* (1938), Tabelle 12 on pp.114-5).

The iconography of the historiated initials also present a hybrid, with some very uncommon features; for example, the only psalter recorded by Haseloff which has Christ crowning David at Psalm 26 was apparently made for Hamage-les-Marchiennes, in the diocese of Arras, 15km north-west of Valenciennes.

The calendar makes it absolutely clear that the manuscript was intended for use in Rouen or the neighbourhood, but the Use of the Office of the Dead is previously unrecorded: this therefore apparently represents either a previously unknown version of Rouen liturgy, or the unique liturgy of a specific church in the diocese.

The illuminator seems to have made a small reference to the Seventh Crusade (1249-54) in which King Louis IX of France was captured: Goliath, represented as an enemy soldier facing a King (David) carries a shield bearing black crescents (fol.64r), probably a reference to the Saracens.



UN EXEMPLE PRÉCOCE D'UN PSAUTIER-LIVRE D'HEURES, DESTINÉ À UNE FEMME, ENLUMINÉ PAR DES ARTISTES ACTIFS À LA COUR DU ROI LOUIS IX, AVEC DIX GRANDES INITIALES HISTORIÉES

Au 13ème siècle, l'enluminure en France était dominée par Paris, et les ouvrages à l'usage de Rouen peuvent souvent être attribués à des artistes parisiens. Le présent manuscrit ne fait pas exception et son style est proche du « style du Psautier Royal ». On désigne ainsi le travail du groupe d'enlumineurs à l'œuvre dans deux des plus beaux manuscrits français du 13ème siècle, à savoir le Psautier de Saint Louis et le Psautier d'Isabelle de France, sa sœur (Paris, BnF, ms. Lat. 10525 et Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 300), datant tous deux d'environ 1255 à 1270.



À Paris, la norme était d'accorder, par le biais de la décoration, une importance particulière à huit psaumes (les psaumes 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97 et 109), tandis qu'en Angleterre, deux autres se rajoutaient à ceux-ci, à savoir les psaumes 51 et 101. Le présent manuscrit est à mi-chemin entre les deux systèmes : il signale en effet d'une initiale historiée neuf de ces psaumes sur dix, ignorant le psaume 101. Or il se trouve que cette particularité se retrouve dans un petit nombre de psautiers exécutés à Paris et dans le Nord de la France dans la seconde moitié du 13ème siècle (voir Günther Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich und den Niederlanden* (1938), tableau 12, pp.114-5).

L'iconographie des initiales historiées est elle aussi hybride, avec quelques étrangetés. Ainsi, on notera par exemple que le seul psautier répertorié par Haseloff où le psaume 26 débute par le Christ couronnant David fut sans doute fait pour l'abbaye de Hamage-lez-Marchiennes, dans le diocèse d'Arras, à 15km au nord-ouest de Valenciennes.



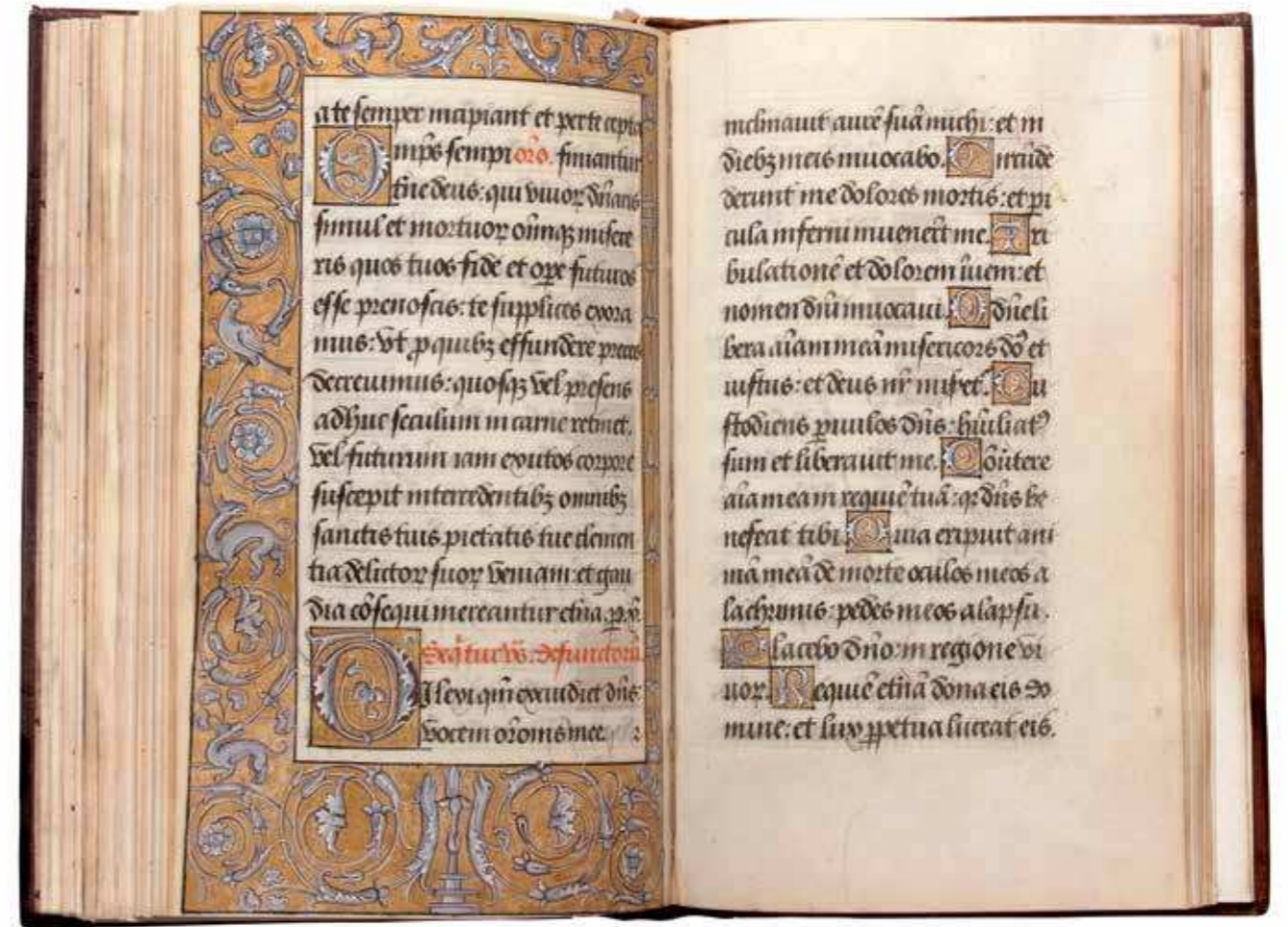
Illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Rouen, early 16th century



WITH ELEGANT RENAISSANCE BORDERS AND A UNIQUE MINIATURE OF A NAIL OF CHRIST'S CRUCIFIXION

The major decoration of this book itself consists of twelve fine full grisaille borders at the start of the major textual divisions, which include motifs typical of Rouen illumination. The motifs that fill these borders are evidence of the influence of late 15th century Italian illumination in France, and one of the main ways in which this aesthetic reached Rouen was through the patronage of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, archbishop of the city. Thanks to the survival of financial accounts for 1502-1503, we know that he employed the Norman illuminators Jean Boyvin (whose career in Rouen can be traced from 1487 until 1536; see no.11 above) to paint the miniature in his copy of the *Epistles* of Seneca, and Jean Serpin to execute the borders; the same artists appear in other manuscripts he commissioned. In 1501 the cardinal acquired 138 Italian manuscripts from the collection of Frederic III of Aragon, the deposed King of Naples, who died in exile in France in 1504: Italian Renaissance decoration was therefore certainly available for close examination in Amboise's household in the early 16th century. It has not been possible to definitely attribute the present manuscript to Boyvin or Serpin (but they are known to have worked in grisaille, e.g. in Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 1581), and three other artists are mentioned in Georges d'Amboise's accounts, any of whom may have worked in a similar style: Étienne du Monstier, Nicolas Hiesse, and Étienne de Vault. The fact that the patron of the present Hours commissioned an illuminated manuscript – instead of buying a much less expensive, and easily available *printed* copy – demonstrates that he was of considerable wealth and bibliophilic sensibilities.

Infinitely rarer than the illuminated borders, however, is the 15th century paper leaf stuck inside the upper cover, depicting one of the nails used in the Crucifixion, dripping with numerous drops of bright red blood,



flanked by the spear used to pierce Jesus's side and the sponge on a reed used to offer him vinegar to drink, with smaller representations of the hammer used to apply the nails, and the pincers used to remove them. THE PRESENT IMAGE AND ITS ACCOMPANYING TEXT APPEAR TO BE UNIQUE. There is a considerable literature on images and texts concerning the size of the *Wound* of Christ (see detailed description at end), but it is exceptionally rare to find images and texts that concentrate on the size of the *Nails* of Christ, and we have found none that are closely comparable.

The most famous relics of the Nails of Christ are all in Italy (at Rome, Milan, and Monza), with only one in France (Carpentras, Provence), which suggests that the owner of the present manuscript may, like Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, have himself spent time in Italy.



AVEC D'ÉLÉGANTES BORDURES RENAISSANCE ET UNE MINIATURE À CE JOUR UNIQUE DU CLOU DE LA CRUCIFIXION

La décoration de cet ouvrage est principalement constituée, au début de chacune des sections majeures du texte, de douze belles bordures en grisaille dont le vocabulaire comprend des motifs caractéristiques de l'enluminure rouennaise. Ces motifs trahissent l'influence de l'enluminure italienne de la fin du 15^{ème} siècle en France, et l'une des voies principales par lesquelles cette esthétique arriva à Rouen fut le mécénat du cardinal Georges d'Amboise, archevêque de cette ville. Ses livres de comptes nous étant parvenus pour

les années 1502-1503, nous savons qu'il employa les enlumineurs normands Jean Boyvin (dont la carrière à Rouen est documentée de 1487 à 1536) et Jean Serpin pour, respectivement, peindre la miniature ornant son exemplaire des *Epîtres* de Sénèque et en exécuter les bordures. Ces mêmes artistes contribuèrent à d'autres manuscrits commandités par le cardinal. En 1501, il fit l'acquisition de 138 manuscrits italiens provenant de la collection de Frédéric III d'Aragon, le roi de Naples récemment déposé, qui mourut en exil en France en 1504: il était donc aisé d'étudier en détail le vocabulaire décoratif de la Renaissance italienne dans la demeure d'Amboise au début du 16ème siècle. Il n'est pas possible d'attribuer avec certitude l'enluminure du présent manuscrit à Boyvin ou Serpin (mais on sait qu'il leur arriva de travailler en grisaille, comme dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 1581), d'autant plus que trois autres artistes sont mentionnés dans les comptes de Georges d'Amboise, susceptibles d'avoir travaillé dans un style semblable : Étienne du Monstier, Nicolas Hiesse, et Étienne de Vault. Le fait que le commanditaire de ces heures ait choisi de commander un manuscrit – plutôt que d'acheter un exemplaire imprimé, bien moins cher et plus facile d'accès – indique une richesse considérable ainsi qu'une sensibilité de bibliophile.

Toutefois, on notera la présence, infiniment plus rare que les bordures enluminées, d'un feuillet de papier du 15ème siècle collé à l'intérieur du plat supérieur, sur lequel est représenté l'un des clous de la Crucifixion. Ruiselant de gouttes de sang d'un rouge vif, il est flanqué de la lance qui perça le flanc de Jésus et de l'éponge au bout d'un roseau qui fut utilisée pour lui offrir du vinaigre et éteindre sa soif. De part et d'autre, sont représentés, à une échelle plus petite, le marteau qui servit à enfoncer les clous et les tenailles employées pour les retirer. CETTE IMAGE, AINSI QUE LE TEXTE QUI L'ACCOMPAGNE SONT, À CE JOUR, UNIQUES. De nombreux ouvrages ont été consacrés aux images et textes sur la taille de la *Blessure* du Christ, mais il est extrêmement rare de trouver des images ou des textes portant sur la taille des *Clous* du Christ, et nous n'en avons trouvé aucun comparable à ce feuillet.

Les reliques les plus célèbres des Clous du Christ se trouvent toutes en Italie (à Rome, Milan et Monza), à l'exception d'une en France (Carpentras, en Provence), ce qui semble indiquer que le commanditaire de ce manuscrit, comme le cardinal Georges d'Amboise, séjourna peut-être lui aussi en Italie.



BOOK OF HOURS, USE OF AMIENS, IN LATIN AND FRENCH

Illuminated manuscript on parchment
North France, Amiens, 15th century, last quarter



WITH A LARGE AND FINE MINIATURE IN THE DISTINCTIVE FRANCO-FLEMISH STYLE OF LATE MEDIEVAL AMIENS

This is stylistically an interesting manuscript, witness to the strong influence of Flemish illumination in northern France. All the liturgical evidence (the calendar, Use of the Hours of the Virgin, litanies, and prayers to saints) points to Amiens as the place of origin. The city has a well-understood history of continuous book-production from the early 15th century onwards; writing about the preceding generations of Amiens illuminators, it has been observed that "What was unique about Amiens illumination was its combination of the technical skill of Parisian manuscripts with the style of Flemish panel painting" (Susie Nash, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Illumination in Amiens*, 1999, p.251). Nash ends her study c.1470, presumably because from that date onwards Amiens books lost their purely French character, and they became a sort of Franco-Flemish hybrid.

One of the Flemish influences can be seen in the iconography: where the French tradition typically has the Presentation in the Temple at None here we have the Circumcision; and where in France we would expect the Coronation of the Virgin at Compline, here we have the Massacre of the Innocents. Being on a small scale, each of the historiated initials compresses each scene to its vital components: the Massacre of the Innocents, for example, is reduced to a single soldier attempting to seize a single infant from a single mother.

The very lush acanthus foliage in the borders is especially typical of Flemish manuscripts, of the so-called Ghent-Bruges school, as is the *trompe-l'œil* fly within the first large initial, and the naturalistic flowers, seed-pod, and bird. The large, lush, irises used in Flemish manuscripts and emulated here, seem to have made a

particular impact: transformed into a more French idiom they were used, for example, by Jean Bourdichon in his *Grandes Heures* of Anne of Brittany.

The landscape of the large miniature, painted in soft atmospheric pastel colours, is also reminiscent of landscapes in the backgrounds of Northern Renaissance Flemish panel paintings. Also significant is the salmon-pink background of the first borders: this is similar to one of the most distinctive colours in the palette of Simon Marmion, who was born in Amiens c.1425 and is recorded as working there in the 1450s before moving about 70 miles north-east to Valenciennes, also on the Franco-Flemish borders.

The book was made for a female patron, as shown by feminine Latin word-forms in at least one of the prayers.



Ce manuscrit présente un grand intérêt stylistique puisqu'il témoigne de la forte influence qu'exerça l'enluminure flamande sur la production du nord de la France. Tous les indices d'ordre liturgique (le calendrier, l'usage des Heures de la Vierge, la litanie et les prières aux saints) convergent vers Amiens. La production livresque dans cette ville, continue à partir du début du 15^{ème} siècle, a été bien étudiée. Écrivant à propos des générations antérieures d'enlumineurs amiénois, Susie Nash a observé que « Ce qui faisait la spécificité de l'enluminure amiénoise était qu'elle combinait l'habileté technique des enlumineurs parisiens et le style de la peinture sur panneau flamande » (Susie Nash, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Illumination in*

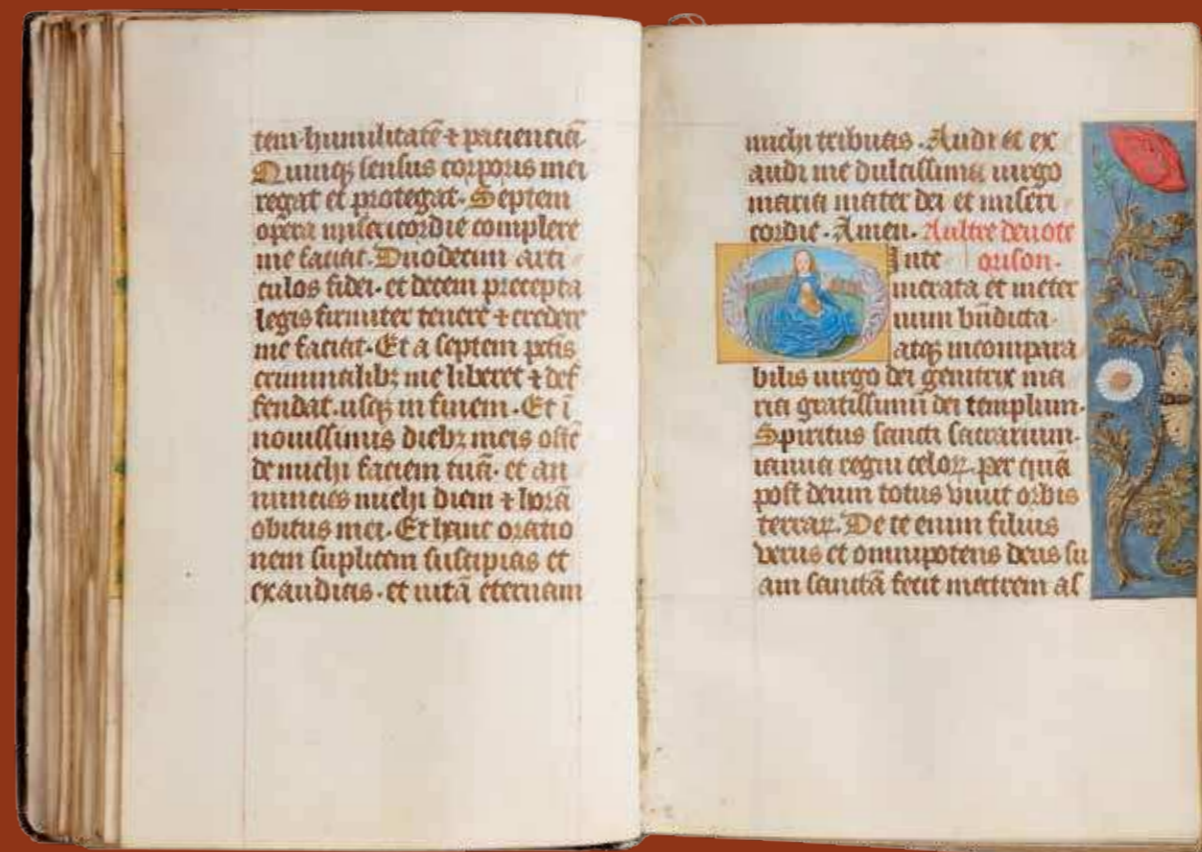
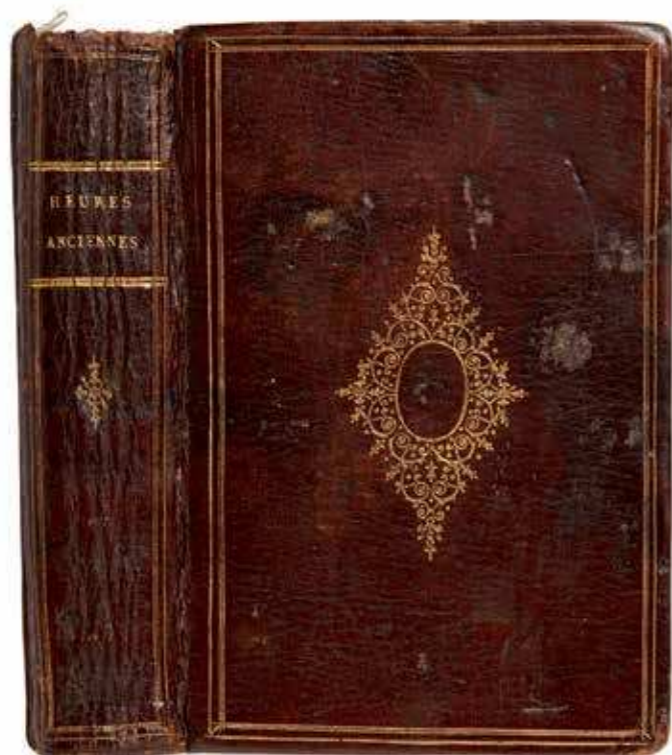
Amiens, 1999, p.251). Nash termine son étude vers 1470, sans doute car, vers cette date, les ouvrages produits à Amiens perdirent une grande partie de leur caractère français et devinrent des sortes d'hybrides franco-flamands.

L'influence flamande se dénote dans certains choix iconographiques : ainsi la Circoncision est choisie pour None alors que, dans les manuscrits français, on trouve habituellement la Présentation au temple à cet endroit. De même, là où on se serait attendu à un Couronnement de la Vierge pour Complies, c'est le Massacre des innocents qui est dépeint, là encore suivant une tradition plus flamande que française. Le petit format de l'initiale historiée a forcé l'enlumineur à extraire l'essence de chaque scène avec une économie de personnages : ainsi le massacre des innocents met en scène une seule mère tentant de sauver son seul enfant du soldat qui les poursuit.

Les épaisses acanthes des bordures sont typiques des manuscrits flamands de l'« école ganto-brugeoise », tout comme la mouche peinte en trompe-l'œil dans la première grande initiale, ou encore les fleurs au naturel, la gousse de pois et l'oiseau. De même, les grands iris charnus fréquents dans les bordures flamandes se retrouvent ici. Ce type de bordures eut un impact durable sur la production manuscrite en France, et ces iris figurent, par exemple, au côté d'une multitude de plantes et fleurs au naturel, dans les Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne, peintes par Jean Bourdichon.

Le paysage de la miniature, exécuté dans de douces teintes pastel rappelle également les paysages à l'arrière-plan des tableaux flamands de la Renaissance. On notera de plus le fond de la première bordure, d'un rose saumoné très proche d'une des couleurs les plus caractéristiques de la palette de Simon Marmion. Cet artiste, né à Amiens vers 1425, y est documenté jusque dans les années 1450. Il fut ensuite actif à Valenciennes, également à la frontière franco-flamande, à une centaine de kilomètres au nord-est d'Amiens et.

Le livre était destiné à une femme, comme l'indiquent certains mots adoptant la forme latine féminine dans une des prières. Malheureusement, nous ne savons aujourd'hui plus rien d'elle.



THE CHALONS FAMILY HOURS

Book of Hours, Use of Rome, in Latin - Illuminated manuscript on parchment
Southern Netherlands, probably Cambrai, mid 15th century



A CHARMING AND UNUSUAL BOOK OF HOURS, WITH FIFTEEN FULL-PAGE MINIATURES, ONE INCLUDING AN EXTREMELY RARE IMAGE OF A CRIPPLED BEGGAR ASKING FOR ALMS

Because the liturgical use of this manuscript is the universal Use of Rome, it was made to be used anywhere in Europe. The Calendar has no unusual saints in red, and of the remainder there is only a very general Flemish character; only Julian (17 April) seems unusual. Likewise, the litany does not offer any unusual saints. The style of illumination finds its closest parallels with books made in the area of Cambrai: we are grateful to Dominique Vanwijnsberghe who has made telling comparisons between the borders of the present manuscript and those of an Hours of Cambrai Use now in Namur, whose miniatures are by the so-called Master of Peter Danielson (not the illuminator of the present manuscript), who seems to have moved from the northern Netherlands to settle in Besançon, perhaps working in Cambrai for a while.

The only clue to the personality of the original patron is the presence of two very unusual suffrages: to the Three Magi and to St Lazarus (St Lazare / Ladre). The devotion to Lazarus has apparently conflated two different men with the same name: the antiphon comes from the Gospel of Luke (16:19), which refers to Lazarus the poor man who went begging at the door of the rich man, Dives, and the full-page miniature depicts him with the clapper-boards of a leper; the prayers, however, refer to Lazarus of Bethany, who was raised from the dead by Jesus (John 11:1-43), and who appears in the calendar on 17 December. In view of the possible Cambrai localisation, it is probably relevant that there was a convent (originally a leper-house) of St Ladre just outside the walls of the town; a possible connection to lepers is the extremely unusual figure of a crippled beggar holding out his hat for alms in the miniature of the Office of the Dead.



The original patron is unknown, but a tantalisingly incomplete inscription at the front of the volume shows that it was owned by the wife of a notary in the 15th century. Later owners of Chalons-sur-Marne and nearby towns are extremely well documented, with a long series of family records added to the final fourteen flyleaves, ranging in date from the late 16th century to the early 20th century.

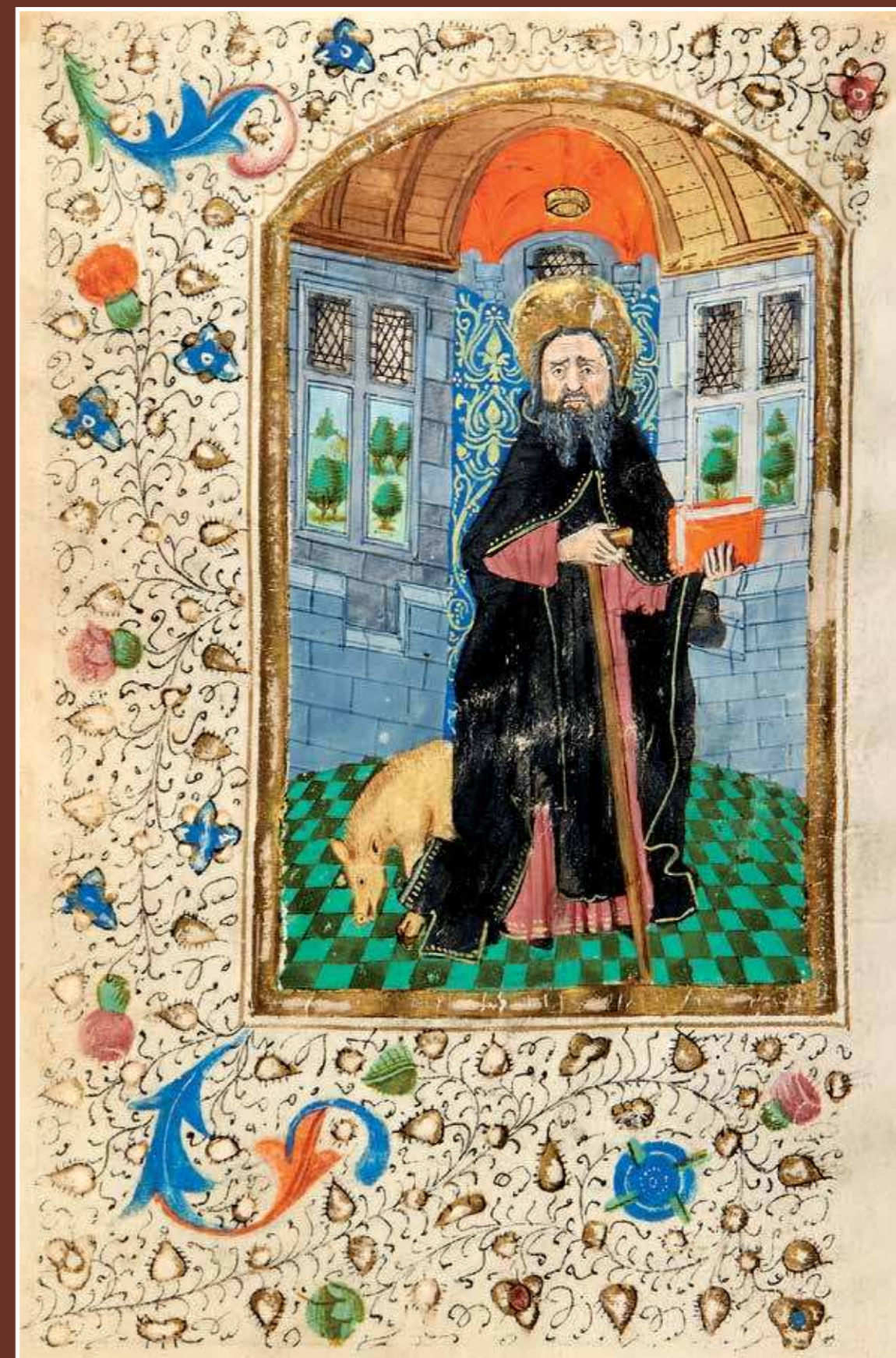
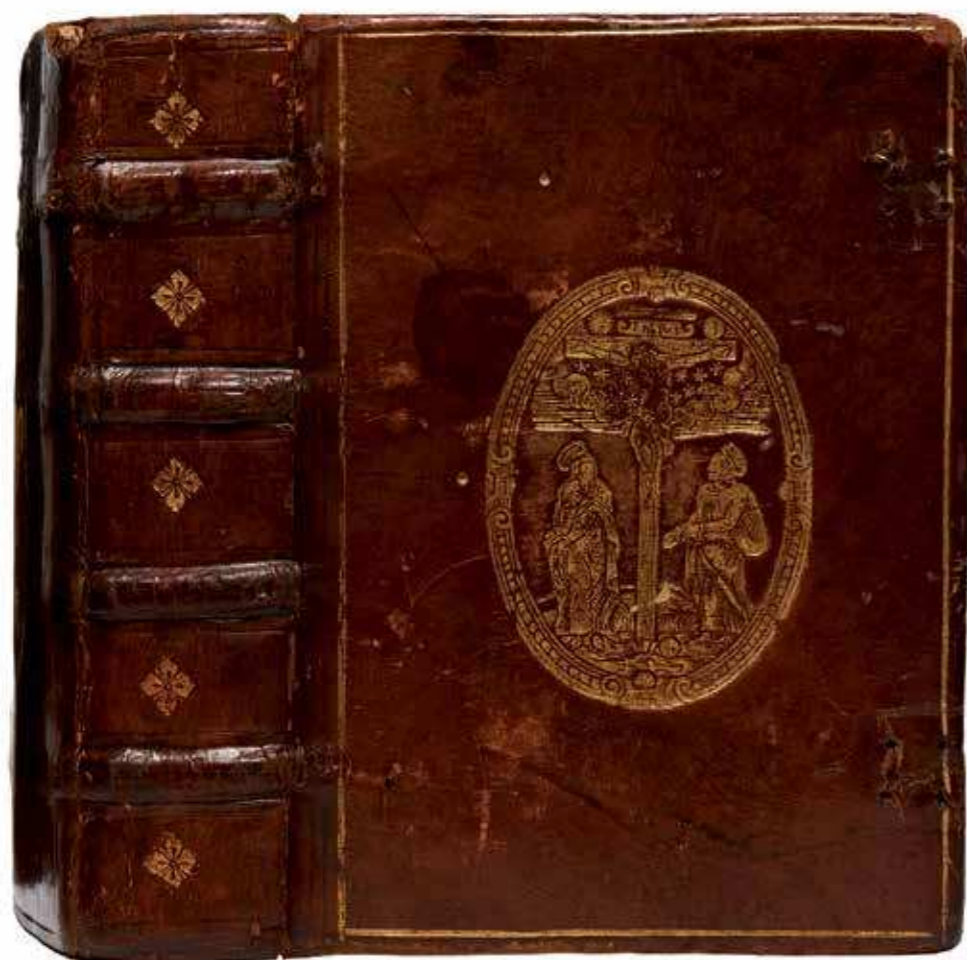


UN LIVRE D'HEURES CHARMANT ET ORIGINAL, AVEC QUINZE MINIATURES EN PLEINE PAGE,
UNE AVEC UN TRES RARE IMAGE D'UN MENDIANT ESTROPIE

L'usage de Rome était employé dans toute l'Europe et ne permet pas, par conséquent, de localiser ce manuscrit. Aucun des saints signalés à l'encre rouge dans le calendrier n'est inhabituel et des autres ne se dégage qu'un caractère flamand très général, à l'exception de Julien (17 avril) qui semble inattendu dans ce contexte. De même, la litanie ne présente pas de saints hors du commun. Le style de l'enluminure, par contre, renvoie à la région de Cambrai : nous remercions Dominique Vanwijnsberghe pour avoir fait des parallèles intéressants entre les bordures du présent manuscrit et celles d'un livre d'heures à l'usage de Cambrai désormais à Namur dont les miniatures sont attribuées au Maître de Peter Danielsson (qui n'est toutefois pas responsable des miniatures dans le présent manuscrit). Cet enlumineur semble être venu du nord des Pays-Bas pour s'installer à Besançon, et exerça peut-être quelque temps à Cambrai.

Le seul indice quant à la personnalité du commanditaire d'origine est la présence de deux suffrages très inhabituels, l'un aux Rois Mages et l'autre à St Lazare (ou Ladre). Le culte à Lazare a, semble-t-il, fusionné deux personnages bibliques différents mais du même nom : l'antiphone vient de l'évangile de saint Luc (16:19) et fait référence à Lazare, l'homme pauvre qui vint mendier à la porte du riche Dives. La miniature en pleine page le montre avec les claquettes en bois du lépreux, mais les prières font référence à Lazare de Béthanie, que Jésus a ressuscité des morts (Jean 11:1-43) et qui figure dans le calendrier à la date du 17 décembre. Dans le contexte d'une possible localisation à Cambrai, il n'est pas anodin de noter qu'un couvent (à l'origine une léproserie) placé sous le patronage de St Ladre existait juste à l'extérieur de l'enceinte de la ville. Au vu de ce lien possible avec les lépreux, on remarquera la présence inattendue d'un mendiant boiteux dans la miniature de l'Office des Morts.

Le commanditaire d'origine reste inconnu, mais une intrigante inscription incomplète au début du volume montre qu'il appartient à la femme d'un notaire au 15ème siècle. Des propriétaires ultérieurs résidant à Châlons-sur-Marne et d'autres villes des environs sont par contre excessivement bien documentés, avec une longue série d'informations familiales ajoutées de la fin du 16ème siècle jusqu'au début du 20ème siècle sur les quatorze derniers feuillets de l'ouvrage.



THE HOURS OF MARIE HANEQUART

Book of Hours, Use of Rome, in Latin - Illuminated manuscript on parchment
Flanders, probably Bruges, c.1460s



WITH FOURTEEN FULL-PAGE AND TEN SMALLER MINIATURES IN SEMI-GRISAILLE BY THE MILD MAY MASTER, IN A BINDING DATED 1586

Manuscripts painted in tones of grey (*grisaille*) have a long and distinguished history. In the early 14th century Giotto painted figures of Virtues and Vices in grey in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua, so that they had the appearance of stone sculptures; and slightly later in the 14th century *grisaille* appeared in French manuscript illumination in the spectacular Hours of Jean d'Evreux, painted by Jean Pucelle. But it was in the southern Netherlands from about 1425 that *grisaille* painting became a fully developed fashion; one of the most influential examples being the figures painted to imitate stone sculptures on the outer panels of the Ghent Altarpiece, by Hubert and Jan van Eyck. It has been suggested that they used the technique to demonstrate that the art of painting was superior to that of sculpture. The more immediate context for the present manuscript is the patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, who commissioned two *grisaille* books of hours from the illuminator Jean le Tavernier in the 1450s, and had several other works illuminated in *grisaille* by Tavernier and Willem Vrelant in the 1450s and 1460s.

Manuscripts are rarely painted in pure *grisaille*, however, and indeed it is often more accurate to describe them as being "semi-*grisaille*": some parts of the images are in tones of grey, but colour is almost always used as well, either for individual details, such as haloes and crowns, or for large areas such as landscapes and buildings. The present manuscript is interesting in that the miniatures are normally painted in full colour, with the exception of draperies, which are *grisaille*. Many of the miniatures have a band of deep blue sky at the top, and the Massacre of the Innocents has a striking use of bright red for the sword.

The full-page miniatures can be confidently attributed to the Mildmay Master, who was perhaps trained by Willem Vrelant, one of the most successful and prolific Flemish illuminators of the mid-15th century. Their styles are characterised by clearly delineated architectural spaces and landscapes, inhabited by crisply-drawn figures, with crisp border foliage, and the Mildmay Master's figures usually have downcast eyes formed of black dots and straight or curved lines for eyelids. He (or she? – Vrelant is documented with female apprentices) seems to have specialised in illuminating books for the English market.

The manuscript was owned by Marie Hanequart by 1586, when the present binding was made with her name on it; she was possibly the Marie Hannecart of Ath (about 45km due south of Ghent) who married Pierre van Rode on 4 January 1587.



ILLUSTRÉ DE QUATORZE MINIATURES EN PLEINE PAGE ET DIX PETITES MINIATURES EN DEMI-GRISAILLE PAR LE MAÎTRE MILD MAY, DANS UNE RELIURE DATÉE DE 1856

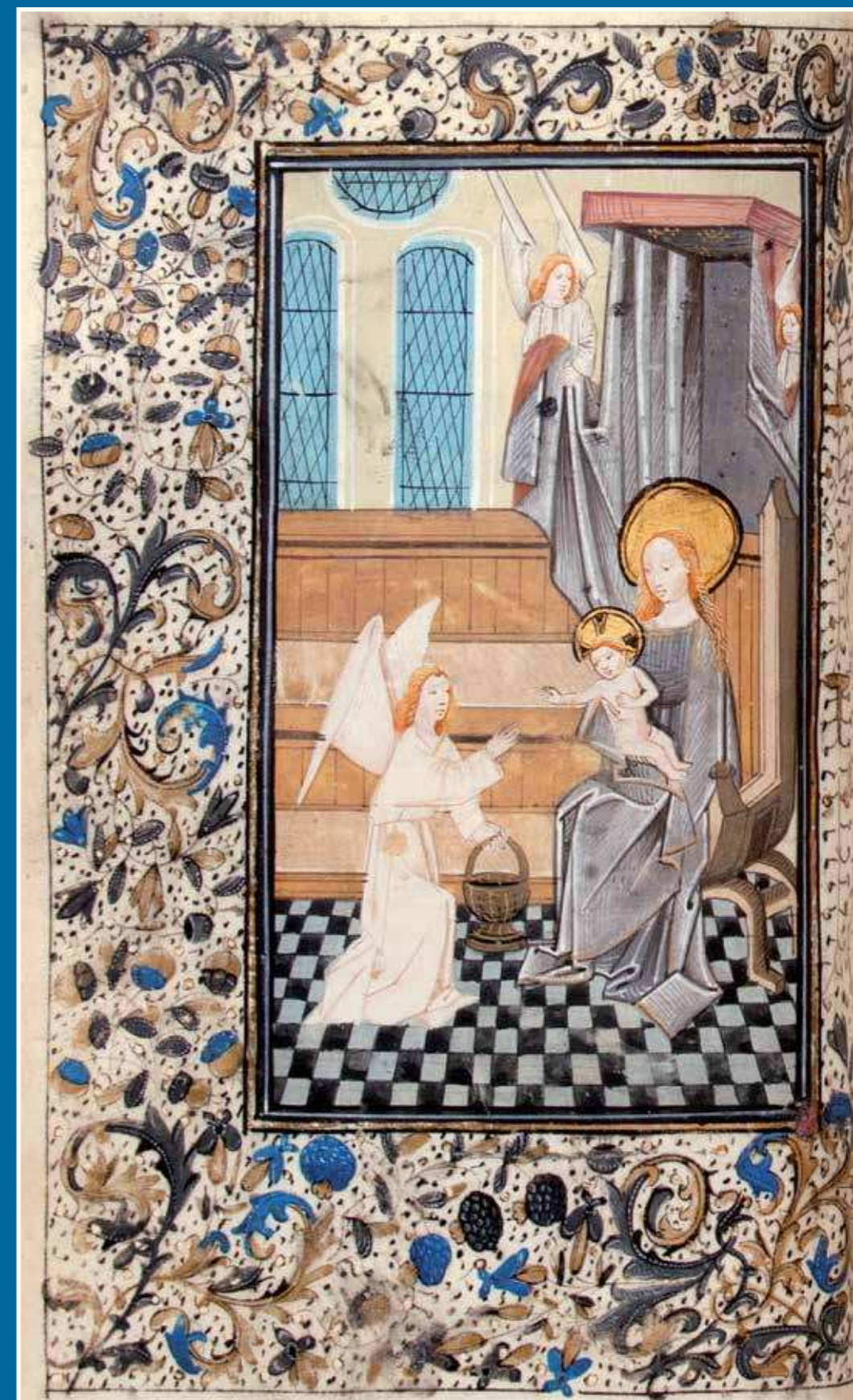
L'usage d'illustrer un manuscrit de peintures employant différentes nuances de gris (*grisaille*) se place dans une longue et prestigieuse tradition. Au début du 14ème siècle, Giotto représenta de cette façon les allégories des vertus et des vices de la chapelle Scrovegni à Padoue pour leur donner l'apparence de sculptures de pierre. Quelques décennies plus tard, la *grisaille* fit son apparition dans l'enluminure en France dans les

spectaculaires Heures de Jeanne d'Évreux, peintes par Jean Pucelle. Mais c'est dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux que la peinture en grisaille fut véritablement en vogue à partir du deuxième quart du 15ème siècle, l'un des exemples les plus célèbres étant les personnages peints à l'extérieur du Retable de Gand par Hubert et Jan van Eyck. On a même avancé que les frères van Eyck avaient utilisé cette technique pour démontrer la supériorité de l'art de la peinture sur l'art de la sculpture. Plus proche du contexte de production du présent manuscrit, on signalera également le patronage de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne, qui commanda deux livres d'heures en grisaille à l'enlumineur Jean le Tavernier, dans les années 1450, et fit enluminer d'autres ouvrages selon la même technique par Tavernier et Willem Vrelant dans les décennies 1450 et 1460.

Les manuscrits sont toutefois rarement peints en pure grisaille, il est en effet plus juste de les décrire comme des ouvrages en « demi-grisaille » : si certaines parties de l'image sont dans des nuances de gris, la couleur est presque toujours également employée, soit pour des détails précis, comme les auréoles ou les couronnes, soit pour des surfaces plus grandes, comme les paysages ou les architectures. Le présent manuscrit se distingue par le fait que les miniatures sont peintes en couleur à l'exception des drapés, qui sont rendus en grisaille. La plupart des miniatures ont une bande de ciel d'un bleu profond dans la partie supérieure et on notera l'emploi étonnant d'un rouge vif pour l'épée dans la scène du Massacre des Innocents.

Les miniatures en pleine page peuvent être attribuées au Maître Mildmay, qui fut peut-être formé auprès de Willem Vrelant, l'un des enlumineurs flamands les plus prolifiques et les plus prisés du milieu du 15ème siècle. Son style se caractérise par des espaces architecturaux et des paysages clairement délimités, où évoluent des personnages dessinés avec précision, le tout accompagné de bordures au feuillage découpé. Les figures peintes par le Maître Mildmay ont habituellement les yeux baissés, formés par un point noir sous un trait droit ou arrondi pour les paupières. Il (ou elle ? des sources documentaires nous apprennent que Vrelant avait également des apprenties) semble s'être spécialisé dans l'enluminure d'ouvrages destinés au marché anglais.

Ce manuscrit appartenait à Marie Hanequart en 1586, comme en témoigne la reliure portant son nom et la date. Il s'agit peut-être de Marie Hannecart d'Ath (à environ 45km au sud de Gand) qui épousa Pierre van Rode le 4 janvier 1587.



DETAILED CATALOGUING

1. Augustinian Hours, Florence 1467

Physical description

Parchment; i + 136 + i leaves, c. 132 × 98mm; foliated in modern pencil i, 1-137; COMPLETE, collation: 1⁶ (fols.1-6) | 2-14¹⁰ (fols.7-136), leaf signature "e2" in purple ink in quire 6, catchwords throughout except the first (calendar) and last quire, 19th or early 20th century pencil quire numbers on the first recto of each quire; blind-ruled for 16 or 17 lines of text per page (33 in the calendar), the ruled-space c.80 × 65mm (c.115 × 80mm in the calendar); written in two sizes of gothic script in brown ink, rubrics in red, with capitals stroked in yellow wash.

Binding: Bound in Italian(?) 19th century dark brown leather with blind-tooled covers and spine; medieval manuscript endleaves conjoint with pastedowns.

Text

Fols.1r-6v: Calendar, about three-quarters full, each month headed by a note on the length of the month and moon, and of the day and night; major feasts in red, some graded "Maius duplex" or "semi duplex" (usually abbreviated to "s. d." etc.); major feasts include Augustine, his octave, and his Translation (28 August, 4 September, 28 February respectively), Monica (mother of Augustine) and her Translation (4 May, 9 April respectively), Reparata (8 October), Miniato (25 October), Catherine of Alexandria, and her octave (25 November, 2 December). Fols.7r-43r: Hours of the Virgin, Use of Rome, with Lauds (fol.12r), Prime (fol.18r), Terce, Sext, None, Vespers (fol.25v), and Compline, followed by variants for days of the week (fols.31v-36r) and liturgical seasons (fols.36v-43r). Fols.43r-55v: Hours of the Passion. Fols.55v-56v: Hours of the Cross. Fols.57r-64r: The Seven Penitential Psalms. Fols.64v-71r: Litany, petitions and the usual ten collects (cf. Kidd, 2001, p.40), the fifth mentioning " ... famulo tuo episcopo nostro ...". Fols.71r-78r: The Gradual Psalms. Fols.78v-108v: The Office of the Dead, Use of Rome. Fols.109r-131r: Psalter of the Virgin with prefatory (fol.108v) and concluding prayers. Fols.131r-136r: A hymn attributed to St Bernard: "Salve mundi salutare, salve, salve, lesu care ...". Fols.i and 137) The flyleaves and pastedowns are from a 15th century Italian noted choirbook, preserving parts of the hymn "Gloria patri geniteque proli ..." (fol.137v).

Decoration

Three four-line initials in blue with reserved designs and red penwork flourishing, or in red with reserved designs and purple flourishing, at the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin and of the Passion, and the Psalter of the Virgin; similar three-line initials, alternately red with purple penwork, or blue at Lauds, Prime, and Vespers, and other major textual divisions e.g. in the Office of the Dead; two-line initials alternately red or blue, to psalms, hymns, prayers, etc; one-line initials alternately red or blue, to verses.

Provenance

– 1. Written for an Augustinian monastery probably in Florence, perhaps Santo Spirito, and finished on 1 January 1468 (new style), with a scribal colophon: "Finito libro isto. Referamus gratia Christo. Qui scripsit scribat semper cum domino vivat. Vivat in celis in suo nomine felix Anno dni. M^o.cccc.lxvij. die I in mensis Ianuarii" (fol.136r-v) (cf. *Colophons*, no.23,163, dated 1460). – 2. A semi-legible note on the last page includes the date 1655 (fol.136v, bottom edge).

References

The manuscript appears to be unpublished, and has not been identified in the Schoenberg database.

2. Cremona – Florence Hours

Physical description

Parchment, ii + 232 + ii leaves, c.130 × 90mm; the final leaf a supply leaf of uncertain date, and probably a single text leaf missing after fol.115; collation: 1¹² (fols.1-12) | 2-8¹⁰, (fols.13-82) 9² (fols.83-84), 10¹⁰ (fols.85-94), 11⁶⁺¹ (last leaf inserted, fols.95-101), 12¹² (fols.102-113), 13² (fols.114-115) | 14¹⁰ (fols.116-125), 15⁸ (fols.126-133), 16⁴⁺¹ (fols.134-136, last blank leaf cancelled) | 17-18¹⁰ (fols.137-156), 19¹² (fols.157-168), 20² (fols.169-170) | 21-25¹⁰ (fols.171-220), 26-27⁶ (fols.221-232, the final leaf a supply leaf), catchwords in most quires, leaf signatures often visible; ruled in pale brown ink for 12 lines of text per page (16 in the calendar), the ruled space c.70 × 40mm (c.80 × 55mm in the calendar); written in a fine rounded gothic script in black ink, most rubrics in red, those at the beginning of the major sections in blue, the calendar with major feasts in red, and in blue on the first page of January.

Binding: Sewn on three bands and bound in wood boards covered with old dark blue velvet (somewhat worn),

perhaps medieval, the pastedowns made from fragments of a 13th century noted antiphony(?) with square notation on four-line red staves, apparently containing part of the feast of St John the Baptist: “[lum]ine parare domino plebem per[fectam]. Erat Johan[nes] in deserto predicans baptismum pe[nitentie]”, modern parchment flyleaves, the edges of the leaves gauffered and gilt (some staining of inner margins of first and last leaves).

Text

Fols.1r-12v: Calendar, about half full, each month headed by a note of the length of the month and of the moon, the central bifolium bound back-to-front so that July precedes June. Fols.13r-115v: Hours of the Virgin, Use of Rome: “*Incipit offitium beate Marie virginis secundum consuetudinem Romane Curie*”, with matins (fol.13r), lauds (fol.29r), prime (fol.63v), terce (fol.71v), sext (fol.76v), none (fol.81r), vespers (fol.85r), and compline (fol.97r), followed by seasonal variants (fol.102r). Fols.116r-120r: Mass of the Virgin. Fols.120r-125r: Hours of the Cross. Fols.125r-129v: Hours of the Holy Spirit. Fols.130r-134v: Three prayers: (fols.130r-131v) Prayer in Italian, preceded by a long rubric in Italian stating that it is inscribed on a stone in S. Giovanni Laterano, and carries an indulgence of 8,000 years: “*Questa oratione e scolpita in una pietra in Sancto Giovanni Laterano in Roma. Et concedesi in aquegliche confessi & contriti faranno et diranno la predicta oratione con una volta el Pater Noster et una Ave Maria Ottanta migliaia d’anni d’indulgentia ...* Signor mio Yhesu Christo padre dulcissimo, Io ti priegho ...”; (fols.131v-133r) Prayer preceded by a rubric stating that it was composed by Pope Boniface and carries an indulgence of 100 years: “*Oratio facta per dominum papam Bonifatium quicumque eam dixerit pro qualibet uice habeat centum annorum indulgentiam ...* Deus qui voluisti pro redemptione mundi a Iudeis reprobari ...”; and (fols.133v-134v) Prayer to the Virgin Mary: “*Sancta Maria mater domini nostri Yhesu Christi in manus filii tui et in tuas commendo hodie ...*”; fols.135r-136v are ruled, otherwise blank. Fols.137r-170v: The Seven Penitential Psalms, litany (fol.156r), petitions, and the usual ten collects (fol.166r) (cf. Kidd, 2001, p.40), the fifth mentioning “*famulo tuo ministro nostro*” (fol.167v). Fols.171r-232v: Office of the Dead, Use of Rome.

Illustration

Six historiated initials, each four to eight lines in height: 1. (fol.13r) The Madonna and Child; the Child standing on an open book held by his mother. 2. (fol.116r) The Virgin in prayer. 3. (fol.120r) Christ, half-length. 4. (fol.125v) The Dove of the Holy Spirit. 5. (fol.137r) King David playing the psaltery, with halo but no crown, half-length. 6. (fol.171r) A skeleton wearing a crown, half-length; the lower border incorporating a skull. Three four-line illuminated initials to lauds and vespers of the Hours of the Virgin, and the rubric of the Hours of the Spirit (fols.29r, 85r, 125r); two-line initials alternately gold with purple flourishing, or blue with red flourishing, to psalms, hymns, etc.; two-line KL monograms in the calendar are all blue with red flourishing; one-line initials alternately plain red or blue, to verses. We are grateful to Dr Anna Melograni for very helpful suggestions about the origin of this manuscript and its style of illumination.

Provenance

– 1. The manuscript was certainly made for use in, and probably at, Cremona: the calendar includes as major feasts in red ink Sts Eusebius of Cremona (5 March), Hymerius (18 June) and Archaleus (23 August), both of whose relics were at Cremona cathedral and to whom the main altar is dedicated, and the “*Dedicatio ecclesie*” (18 November), presumably of the cathedral or perhaps of another church in the city; saints in ordinary ink include Liberata, whose relics were at Pavia, west of Cremona along the Po valley (16 January) and Homobonus, principal patron of Cremona (13 November). The litany is short and uninformative, except that there are some unusual spellings: “*lochannes*” (twice) for Iohannes, “*Gosma*” for Cosma, “*Lutia*” for Lucia, and “*Cicilia*” for Cecilia, perhaps reflecting the regional dialect of the scribe. The original arms on the first page of the main text are *azure*, a saltire *or* (in Italian: *d’azzurro alla croce di sant’Andrea d’oro*): these arms are recorded as belonging to the Attavanti, Aldobrandini-Bellincioni, and perhaps also the Beccafumi families, all of Florence. – 2. Henry Dundas (1801-1876), 3rd Viscount Melville, or another Viscount Melville: with his armorial bookplate with the motto “*Quod potui perfecti*”; part of the Melville library was dispersed in the 1920s. – 3. Quaritch, *A Catalogue of Illuminated and Other Manuscripts* (London, 1931), p.57 no.76 and plate facing p.53 (“*A very pretty manuscript with borders of light arabesques and scroll work very different from the usual type of the heavy borders found in late Renaissance Italian manuscripts*”).

3. Prayerbook with miniatures by Attavante

Physical description

Parchment; ii + 107 + iii leaves, c. 126 × 90 mm; foliated in modern pencil i-ii, 1-12, 12a, 13-107; COMPLETE in itself (see below), collation: 1¹² (fols.1-12) | 2¹⁰⁺¹ (1st leaf an inserted miniature; fols.12a-22), 3-7¹⁰ (fols.23-72) | 8⁶⁺¹ (1st leaf an inserted miniature; fols.73-79) | 9¹⁰⁺¹ (1st leaf an inserted miniature; fols.80-90), 10⁶ (fols.91-96) | 11¹⁰⁺¹ (1st leaf an inserted miniature; fols.97-107), catchwords, each surrounded by clusters of dots, throughout except the last quire of each codicological unit; ruled in pale brown ink for 13 lines of text per page (16 in the

calendar), the ruled space c. 70×45 mm. (in the Calendar the scribe exceeds the ruled space); written in a fine gothic script in dark brown ink, rubrics in red, capitals often with fine calligraphic flourishing.

Binding: Sewn on five bands and bound by J. & J. Leighton of 40 Brewer St, London (binders of the William Morris Kelmscott Press books) in deep red blind-tooled calf, with parchment endleaves, gilt edges, the spine lettered in gilt “*OFFICIUM / B.M.V. // MS.*”, ink-stamped “*LEIGHTON BREWER ST W.*” on the front pastedown. Slight cropping of entries in the calendar at the fore-edge, occasional flaking of the ink of the script, white and/or silver pigments often oxidised to grey, but perhaps reversible.

Text

Fols.1r-12v: Calendar, about one-third full, each month headed by a note on the length of the month and the moon, and the day and night; major feasts include Zenobius, bishop of Florence (25 May), other feasts include Herculanius, bishop of Perugia (1 March), Anthony of Padua (13 June), John Gualbert (12 July), Francis and his Stigmatisation (4 October, 17 Sept.), Reparata, co-titular of the Duomo, Florence (8 October), Cerbonius of Verona (10 October), and Ansanius, patron of Siena (1 December). Fols.13r-72r: Office of the Dead, Use of Rome. Fol. 73r-79v: Hours of the Cross. Fol. 80r-95v: Gradual Psalms. Fol. 97r-104v: Hours of the Spirit.

Illustration

Four full-page miniatures, each with a full historiated border incorporating putti and other Renaissance foliate ornament, in gold on a coloured ground or vice versa, among which are compartments containing half-length figures of saints and prophets, and usually a lozenge in the upper border containing the Greek letters “*ΙΣ*” (or the Latin letters “*IHS*” for Ihesus); each miniature facing a page with an historiated initial seven lines high and matching full historiated border, with compartments containing further half-length saints and prophets, and usually a lozenge containing the Greek letters “*ΧΣ*” (for “*ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ*”, Christos): 1. (fols.12^av-13r) Miniature: The Three Living and the Three Dead: an extremely unusual composition, in which the three young princes encounter the Three Dead in their graves, watched by St Jerome. Historiated initial: St Jerome holding a skull; the borders also incorporating skulls. 2. (fols.73v-74r) Miniature: The Crucifixion with the Virgin and St John. 3. Historiated initial: Christ tied to the pillar for the Flagellation. The borders each of these two incorporating a dove and an octagon with a third saint blessing. 3. (fols.80v-81r) Miniature: The Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple. Historiated initial: The Virgin Reading. The borders incorporating two human-headed *groteschi* and half-length saints in quatrefoils. 4. (fols.97v-98r) Miniature: Pentecost: an unusual composition, in which the exterior of the building occupies the lower part, while the Virgin and Apostles receive the Tongues of Fire in the upper part. Historiated initial: The Dove of the Holy Spirit flying over a landscape. The borders incorporating a piece of Renaissance jewellery of pearls and precious stones, with a beneficent God in each upper border. Two-line initials in gold on a grey-blue, red, or green ground, with gold ornament, to psalms, prayers, hymns, lessons, etc. and the KL monograms in the calendar; one-line initials in gold on a ground alternately blue, red, or green, to verses throughout.

Provenance

– 1. 18th century shelfmark or price-code in ink “*E. e –*” (fol.iir). – 2. Bound, and perhaps sold, by Messrs. J. & J. Leighton in the late 19th or early 20th century. – 3. Charles N. Milner, Esq.; sold at Sotheby’s, 10 June 1963, lot 150, to “*Roman*” for £300.

References

The manuscript appears to be unpublished. For discussions of the illuminator Attavante see:

Mirella Levi d’Ancona, *Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secolo: documenti per la storia della miniatura* (Florence, 1962), pp.254-9, pls.37-38.

J.J.G. Alexander (ed.), *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination 1450-1550* (London, 1994), nos.1, 2, and 4.

Milvia Bollati (ed.), *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani, secoli IX–XVI* (Milan, 2004), pp.975-79.

4. Pierre Laigne Hours, Lyon

Physical description

Parchment, ii + 198 + i leaves, c.130 × 85mm; COMPLETE, collation: i² | 1-2⁶ (fols.1-12) | 3⁸ (fols.13-20) | 4-11⁸ (fols.21-84), 12¹⁰⁺¹ (last blank leaf cancelled; fols.85-93) | 13-20⁸ (fols.94-157), 21⁴ (fols.158-161), 22⁸ (fols.162-169) | 23-24⁸ (fols.170-185) | 25⁸ (fols.186-193), 26⁸⁺² (last two blank leaves cancelled; fols.194-198 and flyleaf), vertical catchwords throughout, except at the end of codicological units; leaf signatures throughout except in the calendar, written to the left of the lowest line of writing in the first half of each quire, from “*a*” to “*z*” followed by the tironian “*et*” symbol; the calendar with cropped remains of cues at the lower edge of some leaves (e.g. “*Novemb*”, fol.11r); ruled in pale red ink with single vertical and horizontal bounding lines; 15 lines of text per page written in an elegant bâtarde script with occasional calligraphic flourishes, in pale brown and brown inks, rubrics in red; the calendar in red and blue inks.

Binding: Sewn on four bands and bound in old deep blue velvet, with red watered silk end-leaves, the fore-edge of the first two leaves with marks caused by two clasps of a former binding, the leaves with gilt edges. Some wear to the binding, especially the lower joint; a few leaves with flaws in the margins (e.g. fol.35) not affecting the text or decoration; some leaves cockled; fol.196 apparently removed and re-inserted.

Text

Fols.1r-12v: Calendar, major feasts (in blue) include Claude of Besançon (6 June), ordinary feasts (in red) include at least six Lyon feasts: Nicetius (Nizier) (2 April), Photinus (7 June), Vivenciolus (12 July), Annemundus (28 September and 15 November), and Antiochus (15 October); and two of nearby Vienne: Clarus (2 January), and Bernard (23 January). Fols.13r-20v: The Four Gospel extracts. Fols.21r-85v: Hours of the Virgin, Use of Rome. Fols.86r-89v: Hours of the Cross. Fols.90r-93r: Hours of the Holy Spirit; fol.93v is blank. Fols.94r-114v: The Seven Penitential Psalms and litany; the litany including Nicetius (Nizier) of Lyon. Fols.115r-154r: Office of the Dead, Use of Rome. Fols.154v-164v: Prayers "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata", using masculine forms. Fols.165r-169v: Hours of St Catherine. Fols.170r-185r: The Passion narrative; fol.185v is blank. Fols.186r-198v: Suffrages to Saints: John the Baptist, Stephen, Sebastian, Christopher, Denis, Anthony, Nicholas, Claude, Michael, Anne, Mary Magdalene, Barbara, Margaret, and Catherine.

Illumination

One full-page miniature:

(fol.i verso) coat of arms with helm, crest, and mantling, added in the 16th century (see below). Seventeen large miniatures, each twelve lines high, approximately square, above three lines of text and a three-line initial on a trompe-l'œil scroll, usually within a semi-architectural border, similar in appearance to a carved gilt picture-frame; four with full borders of semi-naturalistic and stylised flowers, foliage, birds, and a putto, on either a geometric background of plain vellum and gold, or plain gold: 1. (fol.13r) John the Evangelist on Patmos. 2. (fol.21r) Annunciation. 3. (fol.44r) Visitation. 4. (fol.58r) Nativity. 5. (fol.63r) Annunciation to the Shepherds. 6. (fol.67v) Adoration of the Magi. 7. (fol.71v) Presentation in the Temple. 8. (fol.75v) Flight into Egypt. 9. (fol.82v) The Virgin carried to Heaven by red seraphim. 10. (fol.86r) Christ carrying the Cross; the Virgin and St John are both visibly shedding tears, possibly a reference to the heraldry (see below). 11. (fol.90r) Pentecost. 12. (fol.94r) King David in Penance. 13. (fol.115r) Job on the Dungheap. 14. (fol.154v) Holy Family. 15. (fol.160v) Pietà. 16. (fol.165r) St Catherine, with the wheel being destroyed by fire from heaven. 17. (fol.170r) Betrayal of Christ.

Twenty-five small miniatures, each six lines high: 1. (fol.15r) St Luke painting the Virgin Mary. 2. (fol.16v) St Matthew copying from a book held by his symbol, the angel. 3. (fol.19r) St Mark holding an open book and a pen, accompanied by his symbol, the lion. 4. (fol.170v) Christ led to Annas(?). 5. (fol.172r) Christ led to Caiphas(?). 6. (fol.174r) Mocking of Christ. 7. (fol.177v) Flagellation. 8. (fol.180r) Carrying the Cross. 9. (fol.180v) Crucifixion. 10. (fol.184r) Deposition. 11. (fol.184v) Entombment. 12. (fol.186r) St John the Baptist. 13. (fol.187r) St Stephen. 14. (fol.187v) St Sebastian. 15. (fol.189r) St Christopher. 16. (fol.190r) St Denis. 17. (fol.191r) St Anthony. 18. (fol.191v) St Nicholas. 19. (fol.192v) St Claudius. 20. (fol.193r) St Michael. 21. (fol.194r) St Anne. 22. (fol.195r) St Mary Magdalene. 23. (fol.196r) St Barbara. 24. (fol.197r) St Margaret. 25. (fol.198r) St Catherine.

Three-line initials in liquid gold, on alternate blue or red backgrounds, at the beginning of major texts (e.g. below large miniatures); similar but simpler two-line initials to psalms, prayers, etc.; similar but simpler one-line initials to verses.

Provenance

– 1. The style of illumination and the preponderance of saints of Lyon (and of Vienne, about 30 km south of Lyon) in the calendar suggest that the manuscript was made in this city. – 2. THE LAIGUE (OR L'AIGUE) FAMILY OF LYON, with their full-page heraldry. The family can be traced back to the 1270s in the Dauphiné; the descendants divided into two branches, one of which moved to the Lyonnais in the 15th century; one member of this branch, Pierre Laigue, married Anne/Agnès de Revel in 1481 and died by 1505, having had at least three children: Pierre, Guillaume, and Louise. The eldest son, Pierre, died in 1557 (and must have been born at least a few years before his father's death in 1505); he was seigneur of Laigue, Mantonne, La Chapelle, and Le Cros; he served in the army of Henri II; and in 1526 he married Marguerite de Lattier. They had eight children, including Claude, who was a monk of l'Île Barbe in 1548, and Catherine, who was a nun of St-André-le-Haut at Vienne: the calendar, litany, and suffrages of the present manuscript suggest a particular devotion to St Claude and St Catherine (only two other Lyon books of hours are recorded to contain the Hours of St Catherine: see Amiet, nos.113 and 129). For considerable biographical detail of the family, including precise details of the position of the house and garden shared by Pierre and his brother Guillaume in Lyon (between the Puits, the Hôpital du Pont du Rhône, a street known as "Grolée", and the garden of the seigneurs de St-Nizier), see de Rivoire de la Batie, pp.328-29, where the arms are blazoned as: "De gueules, semé de gouttes d'eau ou larmes d'argent; une chef en nuée ou à 3 trangles ondées de même". – 3. Apparently owned by a member of the Lorient family in the 16th/17th century: inscribed "Lorient" (front flyleaf). – 4. Still in France in the 19th century, when the front

flyleaf was inscribed in French with a record of the number of large and small miniatures. – 5. Unidentified German(?) owner: inscribed "N^o. 7000 / Ganz" (back flyleaf). – 6. Unidentified late 19th or early 20th century English(?) owner: inscribed "W.W. 566" (first flyleaf).

References

R. Amiet, *Les manuscrits liturgiques du diocèse de Lyon: description et analyse* (Paris, 1998).

L.E.G. de Rivoire de la Batie, *Armorial de Dauphiné, contenant les armoiries figurées de toutes les familles nobles ... accompagnées de notices généalogiques ...* (Lyon, 1867).

Elizabeth Burin, *Manuscript Illumination in Lyons, 1473-1530* (Turnhout, 2001).

5. Printed Hours, Lyon 1558

Physical description

Paper, 8^{vo}, i + 200 + i leaves c.182 × 122mm, COMPLETE in 20 quires of 8 leaves: AB-V⁸, AA-BB⁸, aa-dd⁸, each quire with leaf signatures in the form "E", "Eij", "Eiij", "Eiiij", with these exceptions: AB, Ciiij, D, liiij, N, and aa are unsigned, usually because a miniature occurs on the same page, Nij and Niiij are signed with arabic numerals N2 and N4, and BBij is signed BB; printed in roman type with numerous ligatures and marks of abbreviation; rubrics, major feasts in the calendar, running headers, and other features printed in red; text-pages have a justification of c.105 × 65mm, within borders c.154 × 97mm (a few pages with small parts of the lower corners missing).

Binding: CONTEMPORARY LYONNAISE BINDING, LAVISHLY GILT: sewn on four cords and bound in contemporary brown leather, each cover with a narrow outer foliate gilt roll between fillets, and a large panel with a central panel and corners filled with elegant arabesques against a hatched gold ground, separated by a semée of gilt dots on a plain ground, the flat spine very densely gilt with fine foliate designs, traces of two ties at the fore-edges, gilt edges, 17th(?)-century marbled pastedowns, the joints skilfully repaired at top and bottom.

Text

All texts in Latin and French parallel columns, except where indicated to the contrary. The volume contains: 1. (AB^v) Title-page: "HEVRES / En François & Latin / à l'usage de Rome, / Corrigées & augmentées de plusieurs suffrages & oraisons. / Avec figures nouvelles, appro-riées chascune en son lieu. // [vignette] // À Lyon chez Macé / Bonhomme, 1558". 2. (AB^v) "Almanach pour xv. ans", 1558-1574, in French. 3. (ABij^v-vij^v) Calendar in French, with an entry for every day, each month headed by a note of the length of the month and of the moon, each page also headed by a note in red: "le boy", "le brules des bois", "le coppe les boys superflus des vignes", etc. (printed by Baudrier, series IX, pp.189-90). 4. (ABvij^v) Note "Pour sçavoir quand nous auons la septuagesime ... Pasques, Rogations, la Pentecouste, & la Trinité". 5. (ABvij^v-Ciiij^v) Extracts from the Four Gospels, in French, followed by a "Memoracion des quatre Euangelistes". 6. (Ciiij^v-Dvij^v) "La passion de nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ, selon les quatre Euangelistes.", followed by a prayer "Seigneur Dieu qui as mis tes mains, tes piedz, & tout ton corps en l'arbre ...". 7. (Dvij^v-Mij^v) "L'Office de la benoiste vierge Marie, selon l'usage de Rome.", and "Officium beatæ Mariæ virginis, secundum vsum Romanum". 8. (Mij^v-Mv^v) "Heures de la croix", "Horç de sancta cruce". 9. (Mvj^v-Mvij^v) "Heures du saint Esprit", "Horç de sancto spiritu". 10. (N^v-O^v) "Les sept psalmes penitentialux", "Septem psalmi pœnitentiales". 11. (O^v-Ov^v) "La letanie", "Litaniæ", followed by petitions and two collects. 12. (Ovj^v-S^v) "Les Vigils des mortz", "Officium mortuorum". 13. (S^v-T^v) "Plusieurs suffrages", in French, with Latin incipits: Trinité, Dieu le pere, Dieu le filz, Saint esprit, Michel et tous les anges, lean Baptiste, lean l'Euangeliste, Pierre & Paul, Estienne, Laurens, Sebastian, Denys, Nicolas, Antoine, Roch, Martin, Augustin, Hierome, Gregoire, Ambroise, Anne, Marie Magdaleine, Catherine, Marguerite, Barbe. 14. (T^v-Tiiij^v) "Aucunes deuotes oraisons à dire tous les matins", in French, with some Latin incipits: Quand on sort de la maison, Quand on entre en l'église, En prenent de l'eau beneicte, Deuant le crucifix, Deuant le saint sacrement de l'autel, Chascun fois que le prestre se retourne à la messe, Quand on commence l'Euangile, Quand on leue le saint sacrement de l'autel, Quand on leue le calice, Apres l'elevation du saint sacrement, Quand on dit Agnus Dei, Du nom de Iesus, Les sept oraisons sanct Gregoire, À Dieu tenant son iugement, Que fait Manasses luy estant en captivité en Babylon, À Dieu, à dire au matin deuant que commencer aucun ouurage, Salutation à la vierge Marie, Quand on veult receuoir le saint sacrement de l'autel, De la passion nostre seigneur Iesus Christ. 15. (Vij^v-Viiij^v) "Vne epistre faicte (comme dit Eutrope) par P. Lentule, senateur de Romme, sçauant homme lors qu'il presidoit en Hierusalem: en laquelle il décrit merueilleusement bien la forme & stature de nostre seigneur Iesus Christ.", "Depuis peu de temps, & encore est entre nous vn homme de grande vertu nommé Iesus Christ ...". 16. (Vij^v-Vvij^v) Further prayers in French: À Dieu pour confesser tous ses pechez; À Dieu le pere, le filz & le beneict saint esprit; Au saint sacrement (in verse); De Iesus Christ pour toutes personnes fideles; Pater noster; Ave Maria gratia; Credo in Deum patrem; Credo in spiritum; La benediction de la table; Pour soy confesser à Dieu quand on se leue, ou quand on se couche en pensant à ses pechez; Pource qu'il fault que l'homme mange pour labourer, deuant qu'il prenne son repas (in verse); Les graces aprez le repas; Apres qu'il aura fait son labeur pour la iournée, & qu'il voudra aller reposer; Quand on se trouue à l'église. 17. (Vvij^v-v^v) "Les dix commandemens de la Loy, baillez à Moysse", in French. 18. (AA^v) "La doctrine des

Chrestiens, extraicte du vieil & nouveau testament”, in French. 18. (AA^v-AAvj^r) “Icy est brievement comprins ce que la sainte escriture enseigne”; (AAvj^v-BBijj^v) “Les dix paroles ou commandemens de Dieu baillez par Moïse”. 19. (BBijj^v-BBv^v) “Les commandemens de nostre mere sainte Eglise”. 20. (Bbvj^v-BBvijj^v) “Exposition du Psalme trentesepiesme”. 21. (BBvijj^v) Colophon: “FIN. / Imprimé A LYON, / par Macé Bonhomme”. 22. (aa^v-ddvijj^v) “Les vespres de la sepmaine, auec complie”, in French and Latin. 23. (ddvijj^v) Colophon: “Imprimées à Lyon, par / Macé Bonhomme.”

Decoration

Fifteen full-page (and three small) woodcuts, usually with titles or small amounts of text, usually signed with the initials “PV” of Pierre Vase, alias Eskrich, above or below the text-panel: 1. (AB^v) Title-page with architectural framing (the same as in the Rouillé-Bonhomme 1549 edition of Andrea Alciato’s *Emblemes*, but with the Virgin and Child on a crescent moon in the oval vignette). 2. (Abvijj^v) St John on Patmos. 3. (C^v) St Luke (small). 4. (Cij^v) St Matthew (small). 5. (Cijj^v) St Mark (small). 6. (Dvijj^v) À Matines. Annunciation. 7. (Fvijj^v) À laudés. Visitation. 8. (Gvijj^v) À prime. Nativity. 9. (Hijj^v) À tierce. Annunciation to the Shepherds. 10. (Hvijj^v) À sexte. Adoration of the Magi. 11. (Iijj^v) À nonne. Presentation in the Temple. 12. (Ivijj^v) À vespres. Flight into Egypt. 13. (Kvj^v) À complie. Coronation of the Virgin. 14. (Mij^v) Crucifixion. 15. (Mv^v) Pentecost. 16. (N^v) King David in Penitence. 17. (Ovj^v) The Raising of Lazarus. 18. (aa) Flight into Egypt (cf. Ivijj^v: same woodcut, but with different borders).

The miniatures are c.100 × 78mm, above a text-panel c.22 × 78mm, all within a border c.155-65 × 98-110 mm, except for the Crucifixion, which is c.132 × 96mm, has a decorative border c.25 × 98mm in place of the text-panel, and no borders. The Crucifixion is not signed, and appears to have been made from a less worn woodcut: there is greater contrast between black lines and the white page.

Full borders on every page (except around the Crucifixion miniature) composed of four parts, the recto and verso of each leaf matching, composed of a variety of Renaissance motifs and designs, many also signed “PV”.

References

On Bonhomme and the books he printed see:

Henri Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise* (12 vols, Lyon & Paris, 1845-1921) X, pp.185-270. The present edition is described on pp.257-8, from the copy at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Dept. des Épreuves, Res. 30), and the title-page is reproduced (in the entry for Guillaume Rouillé) in Series IX at p.156, and the miniature of the Betrayal and Arrest of Christ on p.189. The year 1558 was also the year of his masterpiece: Rondelet’s *Histoire du poissons*.

On Rouillé and the books he published see:

Henri Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise* (12 vols, Lyon & Paris, 1845-1921) IX, pp.13-467.

Natalie Z. Davis, ‘Publisher Guillaume Rouillé: Businessman and Humanist’, in R.J. Schoeck, ed., *Editing Sixteenth century Texts* (Toronto, 1966), pp.72-112

On Eskrich see:

Natalis Rondot, *Pierre Eskrich, peintre et tailleur d’histoires à Lyon au XVI siècle* (Lyon, 1901) [available online: <http://tinyurl.com/Eskrich>]

Paul Lacombe, *Livres d’heures imprimés au XVe et au XVIe siècle conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Paris* (Paris, 1907)

Hanns Bohatta, *Bibliographie der Livres d’Heures (Horae B.M.V.), Officia, Hortuli Animae, Coronae B.M.V., Rosaria und Cursus B.M.V. des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd edn. (Vienna, 1924), no.1256.

6. Marie de Monsoy Hours, Auvergne c. 1500

Physical description

Parchment, ii + 124 + iii leaves, c.155 × 95mm; foliated in modern pencil i-ii, 1-127; COMPLETE, collation: 1-2⁶ | 3⁸, 4⁴ | 5-10⁸, 11⁶ | 12-13⁸ | 14-16⁸, 17⁸⁻² (last two blanks cancelled), fols.24r-v, and 77v-78v are blank, ruled in pale red ink, the ruled space c.80 × 55mm, written with 20 lines per page (including the calendar) in a fine formal bâtarde script in brown ink, with especially calligraphic flourishes in the calendar, rubrics and major feasts in the calendar in purplish red, capitals touched in yellow; generally in excellent condition; small areas of pigment loss in a few miniatures and name(?) scratched in the sky of fol.95r; the base of the spine very expertly repaired, slight cracking to the upper joint.

Binding: LATE 16TH CENTURY BROWN MOROCCO BINDING, LAVISHLY GILT À LA FANFARE, each cover with a central oval containing the names “MARIE” and “DEMONSOY”, each with a rectangular compartment and a quatrefoil above and below,

the compartments linked to one another and to the outer frame by interlocking circles, the interstices filled with scrolling foliage and laurel branches, enclosed spaces containing small flower tools, the spine similarly gilt, incorporating the letters “P” and “D”, perhaps the initials of another member of the Demonsoy family, or possibly an indication of contents (“Prières Diverses”?), gilt edges, in a fitted brown card box with leather spine and gilt title-piece. This binding has previously been dated to the 1580s, and such a date would coincide perfectly with ownership by the Marie de Monsoy who was married in 1583 (see Provenance); very similar bindings at the British Library occur on works printed as late as 1609 (see <http://tinyurl.com/1609Binding>), however, so it is clear that the style remained fashionable for some decades.

Text

Fols.1r-12v: Calendar, about one-third full, each month preceded by a note on the length of the month and of the moon. Fols.13r-18r: Extracts from the Gospels. Fols.18v-23v: Prayers “Obsecro te ... famulo tuo .N. ...” and “O intemerata ... orbis terrarum. De te enim ...”. Fol.24r-v is ruled, otherwise blank. Fols.25r-71v: Hours of the Virgin, Use of Rome, followed by variants for days of the week (fol.58r) and for liturgical seasons (fol.64r). Fols.72r-74r: Hours of the Spirit. Fols.74v-77r: Hours of the Holy Ghost. Fols.77v-78v ruled, otherwise blank. Fols.79r-87v: The Seven Penitential Psalms. Fols.87v-94v: Litany, petitions, and the usual ten collects (cf. Kidd, 2001, p.40, the fifth mentioning “... famulo pontifice nostro ...”). Fols.95r-116v: Office of the Dead, Use of Rome. Fols.117r-123v: Suffrages to the Trinity and saints Michael, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Peter & Paul, Sebastian, Christopher, Roche, Anne, Mary Magdalene, Catherine, Margaret, and Barbara. Fols.123v-124v: Two contemporary added prayers: “[D]omine Ihesu Christe rogo te amore illius ...” and the prayer on Christ’s Seven Last Words, often attributed to Bede: “[D]omine Ihesu Christe qui septem verba ...”.

Illustration

Seventeen large miniatures, each above three lines of text and surrounded by a full border: 1. (fol.13r) St John writing on Patmos, with his Eagle. 2. (fol.14v) St Luke writing, with his Ox. 3. (fol.16r) St Matthew writing a book held by his Winged Man. 4. (fol.17v) St Mark writing, with his Lion. 5. (fol.18v) The Virgin and Child, enthroned. 6. (fol.25r) The Annunciation. 7. (fol.33r) The Visitation. 8. (fol.41r) The Nativity. 9. (fol.44r) The Annunciation to the Shepherds. 10. (fol.47r) The Adoration of the Magi. 11. (fol.49v) The Presentation in the Temple. 12. (fol.52r) The Flight into Egypt. 13. (fol.56r) The Coronation of the Virgin. 14. (fol.72r) The Crucifixion. 15. (fol.75v) Pentecost. 16. (fol.79r) King David kneeling before an altar. 17. (fol.95r) Job on the Dung-Heap, visited by his three friends

Thirteen small miniatures, eight lines high: 1. (fol.117r) The Trinity. 2. (fol.117v) St Michael. 3. (fol.117v) St John the Baptist. 4. (fol.118r) St John the Evangelist. 5. (fol.118v) Sts Peter & Paul. 6. (fol.119r) St Sebastian. 7. (fol.120r) St Christopher. 8. (fol.120v) St Roche, with the angel and dog. 9. (fol.121r) St Anne teaching the Virgin to read. 10. (fol.121v) St Mary Magdalene. 11. (fol.122r) St Catherine. 12. (fol.122v) St Margaret. 13. (fol.123r) St Barbara.

The large miniatures are accompanied by full borders composed of geometric panels, alternately of semi-naturalistic foliage, flowers, and fruit, on a liquid gold, or stylised acanthus on a plain parchment or a coloured background; the Annunciation miniature’s border entire on a gold ground; the Office of the Dead’s border is predominantly black; a similar one-sided border accompanies each of the small miniatures.

One four-line initial at the “O intemerata” (fol.21r); two- and one-line initials in gold on grounds alternately brown, red, or blue, or in colour modelled with gold; line-fillers throughout, often in the form of branches with the twigs cut off.

Provenance

– 1. The saints in the sparse calendar point strongly to a localisation in the area between Toulouse, Montpellier, Limoges, and Lyon, in southern-central France: the only unusual feast in red in the calendar is Robert (24 April), founder and abbot of La Chaise-Dieu in the diocese of Clermont, about 20 miles north of Le Puy; his feast is found on this date (the date of his burial, as opposed to 17 April, the date of his death; see J. van der Straeten, ‘S. Robert de la Chaise-Dieu, sa canonisation, sa date de fête’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 82 (1964), pp.37-56) mainly in manuscripts from Albi, Rodez, Fréjus, etc.; feasts in ordinary ink include Bonitus, bishop of Clermont (15 January), Quiteria of Gascony (22 May), Clarus, bishop of Albi (1 June), Genesius, bishop of Auvergne (3 June), Illidius, bishop of Clermont (5 June), Marius, of Clermont (8 June), Eugenius, of Albi (6 September), Gerald, of Aurillac (13 October) and, extremely rare, King David (30 December). The only unusual saint in the litany is, again, Robert; Louis of Toulouse is also present. Combined with the calendar evidence, this suggests that the manuscript was made for a patron in the area of La Chaise-Dieu, perhaps at Le Puy or Brioude. – 2. Marie Demonsoy/de Monsoy, with her name on the binding; the name is rare, so this is perhaps the same Marie de Monsoy who married Jean-Baptiste de Machault (1553-1635) on 27 August 1583 and died on 11 September 1632 (see B. de la Chenaye-Desbois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 2nd edn (1775), IX, pp.283-4). – 3. Bernard Quaritch Ltd, *A Catalogue of English and Foreign Bookbindings* (December 1921), p.32 no.112 (“a fine

specimen of an Eve binding”), and *A Catalogue of Illuminated and Other Manuscripts* (1931), no.44 (a clipping of which is inside the back cover), with plate. – 4. Albert Natural (d.1959), of Geneva, with his bookplate, lent by him to the exhibition *Dix siècles de livres français* at the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lucerne, 1949 (catalogue p.25, no. 49: “très belle reliure ... exécutée dans l’atelier des Eve”); by descent in his family until sold at Sotheby’s, 23 June 1987, lot 114, to Tenschert, subsequently Tenschert, *Illumination und Illustration vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, cat.20 (1987), pp.110–13, no.23 with two full-page colour plates (“Eines der seltenen südfranzösischen Manuskripte, mit reicher Illustration, und in einem künstlerisch vollendeten Einband des 16. Jahrhunderts, dazu in exzellenter Erhaltung”). – 5. J.R. Ritman (b.1941), Dutch businessman and founder of the Ritman Library, Amsterdam; bought in 1987 from Tenschert as recorded in pencil on the back pastedown; the box with a gilt spine-label in Dutch and the front cover with the initials of the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam; his sale at Sotheby’s 6 July 2000, lot 47, with two colour plates.

References

A.S. Korteweg, ed., *Illuminated Manuscripts in Dutch Collections*, 2nd ed. (The Hague, 1991), pp.14–15.

7. Jean Martin Hours, Paris c. 1500

Physical description

Parchment, i + 90 + i leaves, c.215 × 130mm; foliated i, 1-91; collation: 1⁶ (fols.1-6) | 2-3⁸ (fols.7-22), 4⁸⁻¹ (last leaf missing; fols.23-29), 5-6⁸ (fols.30-45), 7⁸⁺¹ (last leaf inserted; fols.46-54) | 8-11⁸ (fols.55-86), 12² (fols.87-88) | 13² (fols.89-90), most quires with vertical catchwords; ruled in red ink for 30 lines of text per page (the calendar for 33), the ruled space c.130 × 67mm; written in a fine bâtarde script in dark brown ink, rubrics and major feasts in the calendar in pale red ink.

Binding: IN THE ORIGINAL MEDIEVAL BLIND-TOOLED BINDING, sewn on five bands laced into wood boards covered with brown leather, both covers densely decorated with roll-tooled designs in blind, the spine blank, originally covered with a layer of purple velvet, of which traces remain under the two clasps at the fore-edge, each anchor-plate and catch-plate of openwork metal in the shape of the letters “A” and “M” (probably for “Ave Maria”) in monogram and each clasp in the shape of the letters “I” and “M” (probably for “Ihesus” and “Maris” and “Jehan Martin”) in monogram; the endleaves of medieval parchment, conjoint with the pastedowns; the edges of the leaves gilt; preserved in a modern cloth-covered fitted box with gilt leather title-piece of the spine.

Text

Fols.1r-6v: Calendar in French, with an entry for every day, each month headed by a note on the length of the month and of the moon. Fols.7r-9v: Extracts from the gospels; John followed by a versicle, response, and the usual prayer “Protector in te sperantium ...”. Fols.10r-14v: Passion narrative based on John’s gospel, followed by the prayer “Deus qui manus tuas et pedes tuos ...”. Fols.14v-16v: Prayers “Obsecro te ...” and “O intemerata ... orbis terrarum. Inclina mater misericordie aures tuas ...”, using masculine forms. Fols.17r-54v) Hours of the Virgin, Use of Rome, with variant psalms for different days of the week and three lessons at Matins; the Hours of the Cross and Hours of the Spirit intermixed; followed by variants for the liturgical seasons (fols.50v-54v); the end of Lauds and the beginning of the Hours of the Cross imperfect due to the loss of one leaf after fol.29. Fols.55r-60r: The Seven Penitential Psalms. Fols.60r-63v: Litany (with Marcialis among the apostles), petitions, and the usual ten collects (cf. Kidd, 2001, p.40, but here with (iv) before (iii) and (viii) after (x); the fifth mentioning the pope). Fols.64r-82v: Office of the Dead, Use of Rome. Fols.82v-88r: Suffrages to the Trinity and Sts Michael, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Peter & Paul, James, Stephen, Laurence, Christopher, Sebastian, Nicholas, Claude, Anthony, Anne, Mary Magdalene, Catherine, Margaret, Apollonia, and Barbara. Fols.88v-89r: The Seven Prayers of St Gregory: “O domine Iesu Criste adoro te in cruce pendentem ... in cruce vulneratum ... propter illam amaritudinem ... in sepulchro positum ... descendentem ad inferos ... resurgentem a mortuis ... pastor bone ...” (cf. Kidd, 2001, p.148). Fol.89r-v: Two added devotions with headings in French, to St Martin and for his translation: (a) “[O]raison de saint Martin. [O] Martine o pie ... [D]eus qui conspicis quia ex nulla nostra virtute subsistimus ...”; (b) “De la translacion sanct Martin. [O] beatum pontificem qui totis visceribus dilligebat [sic] Christum regem ... [D]eus qui populo tuo eterne salutis beatum Martinum ministrum concecisti [sic] ...”. Fol.90r-v: Five added prayers in French: (a) “[J]esuschrist qui estes salut de nous et deliberacion ...”; (b) “[J]e vous supplie que les ames des bons et des vrays chrestiens lesquelles sont detennies en flammes ...”; (c) “[S]ire dieu vostre grant pitie soit ayde & convencion aux ames qui sont par peche detenniz en nostre prison ...”; (d) “[L]es merites de vostre mere qui ne scauroys racompter ...”; (e) “[A]ffin que par pleurs oraisons a vous faictes incessamment prieres ...”.

Illumination

Fourteen large miniatures, rectangular or gently arched, above a three- or four-line initial and ten lines of text (twelve lines on fol.25r), within a gold Renaissance architectural border, usually with a gold tassel hanging from the apex to one side, the lines of text often on a *trompe-l’œil* scroll which may curl at the ends, or reveal part of the miniature’s landscape at the bottom: 1. (fol.7r) St John writing the Book of Revelation on Patmos, accompanied by the Eagle. 2. (fol.10r) The Agony in the Garden: Christ kneeling before the Chalice and a Host; Apostles sleeping in the background. 3. (fol.17r) The Annunciation: The Virgin kneeling at a *prie-dieu*, Gabriel

pointing up at the Dove. 4. (fol.25r) The Visitation: The Virgin and Elizabeth greet each other in a landscape. 5. (fol.30v) Pentecost: The Virgin kneeling under a canopy, the Dove descending upon the Apostles. 6. (fol.31v) The Nativity: The Virgin and Joseph kneeling in praise of the infant; Joseph holding a candle; set in a ruined stable, with the Ox and Ass. 7. (fol.34v) The Annunciation to the Shepherds: A golden angel bears the glad tidings to two shepherds, one of whom sits next to his bagpipes. 8. (fol.37v) The Presentation in the Temple: the infant on the Altar. 9. (fol.40r) The Adoration of the Magi: the eldest magus kneels before the Virgin and Child, offering a casket of gold coins, the other two stand behind. 10. (fol.43r) The Flight into Egypt: the Virgin rides the donkey with the Christ Child on her lap, Joseph walking behind, while the donkey tries to eat grass from the roadside. 11. (fol.47r) The Coronation of the Virgin: an angel places the crown on her head as she kneels before God enthroned. 12. (fol.55r) King David in Penitence: he kneels, with his head on the ground, before God in heaven. 13. (fol.64r) Job on the Dung-heap: he sits wrapped in a white sheet, and is visited by his three friends. 14. (fol.88v) The Mass of St Gregory: the Elevation of the Host, Christ appears above the altar.

Twenty-three small rectangular miniatures, each nine lines high in a three-sided gold frame: 1. (fol.8r) St Luke writing his gospel, accompanied by the Ox. 2. (fol.8v) St Matthew writing his gospel, copying an exemplar held open by the Angel. 3. (fol.9r) St Mark writing his gospel, accompanied by the Lion. 4. (fol.14v) The Virgin Mary praising the infant Christ. 5. (fol.16r) The Virgin Mary enthroned, with the Christ Child on her lap. 6. (fol.82v) Throne of Mercy: God enthroned, holding the Crucified Christ. 7. (fol.83r) St Michael: battling with a demon. 8. (fol.83r) St John the Baptist: holding the *Agnus Dei*. 9. (fol.83v) St John the Evangelist: blessing the chalice of poison. 10. (fol.83v) Sts Peter and Paul: holding keys and sword, respectively. 11. (fol.84r) St James: dressed as a pilgrim, carrying a book. 12. (fol.84v) St Stephen: a stone on his head; holding an open book. 13. (fol.84v) St Laurence: holding a grid-iron and an open book. 14. (fol.85r) St Christopher: carrying the Christ Child. 15. (fol.85r) St Sebastian: tied to a tree, shot with arrows. 16. (fol.85v) St Nicholas: dressed as a bishop, blessing the three boys in the tub. 17. (fol.85v) St Claude: dressed as a bishop, with cross-staff and open book. 18. (fol.86v) St Anne teaching the Virgin Mary to read. 19. (fol.87r) St Mary Magdalene: holding the ointment jar. 20. (fol.87r) St Catherine crowned, holding a sword and an open book. 21. (fol.87v) St Margaret emerging from the dragon’s belly. 22. (fol.87v) St Apollonia, holding a large pair of tooth-pliers and an open book. 23. (fol.88r) St Barbara: holding a model of the tower in which she was imprisoned.

Three-line initials in liquid gold usually on a particoloured red and blue ground divided diagonally, with liquid gold ornament, beneath each miniature except the last; two-line initials in liquid gold on a red or blue ground with liquid gold ornament to psalms, prayers, etc., and the KL monograms in the calendar; one-line initials and paraphs in liquid gold on grounds alternately red or blue, to verses etc.; similar line-fillers, especially in the litany.

Provenance

– 1. Probably made for Jean Martin: the hasps of the binding have a monogram of the letters “I M”, and the family records on the final page record the birth of Jean Martin in 1472, the birth of Katherine Treteau in 1503, their marriage in 1518, and the birth of their daughter Marguerite in 1520 (fol.91v). – 2. Claude Martin, signed and dated 3 January 1579: “Ces heures appartiennent a moy Claude Martin vulz(?) signé. / Le iij jour de Jainvier lan mil v^c soixante dix neuf / [signed:] C Martin” (fol.90v). – 3. Pierre-Guillaume-Louis de Dollon de la Goupillière (1741-1781), lieutenant in the King’s infantry regiment, with his engraved armorial bookplate, his arms (*argent*, three foxes passant *gules* in pale), flanked by lion supporters and surmounted by a coronet, over the legend “A MONSIEVR LE MARQUIS DE DOLLON” (cf. A.R. Le Paige, *Dictionnaire topographique, historique, généalogique ... du Maine*, I (1777), p.273). – 4. A 19th century owner has pencilled an attribution on the front pastedown: “Miniatures de [Jean] Peréal, peintre du roi Charles VIII”.

References

The manuscript appears to be unpublished; on the artist, see:

H. Tenschert, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter, Neue Folge I: Boccaccio und Petrarca in Paris* (Passau, 1997), pp.306-09, 320.

I. Delauney, “Le Maître des entrées parisiennes”, in Le Graduel de Saint-Dié’, *Art de l’enluminure*, 26 (sept.-nov. 2008), pp.52-70.

France 1500: Entre Moyen Age et Renaissance (exhibition catalogue, Paris, 2010), pp.281-2 no.138.

British Library site: <http://tinyurl.com/CoeneIV>

8. Printed Hours, G. Eustace, Paris 1516

Physical description

Parchment, 8vo (trimmed to a 16mo), ii + 152 + v (3 vellum + 2 paper) leaves, c.140 × 86mm, COMPLETE in 19 quires of 8 leaves: [a]⁸ b-p⁸ 2a-d⁸ (no quire j), only the first leaf of each quire has a signature in the form “b.i.”, “c.i.”, and then “Ro. D.i.”, then “a”, “b”, with modern ink pagination (1-304), printed with 22 lines per page (29 for

the Almanach page) in bâtarde type with some marks of abbreviation, justification: c.105 x 60mm; ruled by hand in pale red ink; minor thumbing, stains, and cockling, the leaves trimmed, cropping the frame painted around the metal-cuts.

Binding: 16th CENTURY BINDING sewn on three bands over pasteboards and bound in vellum, later inscription on the spine "Horae B. mariae Virginis"; 18th century marbled flyleaves; somewhat battered and worn and the joints; traces of two vellum ties.

Text

(ai'; p.1) Title-page: "Hore beate virginis marie secundum usum Romanum." Printer's mark comprising the name "Guillaume Eustace" (in the present case, he acted as libraire, rather than printer). (ai'; p.2) "Almanach pour.xv. ans. bon et facile a toutes gens" from 1516 to 1530, followed by a caption: "Qui vault scauoir les brandons pasques le nombre dor laduent la lettre dominicale. depuis lan.v.c.&.xvi. iusques a lan.v.cens et.xxx. inclusiuement regarde en ceste figure la ligne dicelle date: et il trouuera les choses dessusdictes par ordre." (aii'-aiiii'; p.3-5) Table of contents. (aiiii'-biv'; pp.6-23) Calendar, about three-quarters full, each month headed by a note on the length of the month and of the moon. (biv'-cii'; pp. 24-35) Extracts from the Gospels. (cii'-cviii'; pp.36-48) The Passion of Christ based on St John's Gospel. (cviii'-eii'; pp.48-65) Prayers: (cviii'; p.48) "Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui genus humanum..." ; (cviii'-diii')(pp.48-53) Obsecro te; (diii'-diu')(pp.53-56) *O intemerata*; (diu'; p.56) "Iesu pie iesu bone iesu dulcissime iesu amantissime..." ; (diu'-dv'); pp.56-58) "Memorare mater christi ..."; (dv'-dvi'; pp.58-59) "Recolendorum domine Jesu Christi dulcissime genetricis ..." ; (dvi'-ei'; pp.59-65) Prayer attributed to St Augustine "O Dulcissime deus iesu christe verus dues..." , to recite while making "xxxiii.duobus genibus flexis ad obtinendam omnem gratiam."; (ei'; p.65) "Christus factus est pro nobis ..."; (ei'-ei'; pp.65-66) "Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui unigenitum ..."; (eii'; p.67) Suffrage to St Mathurin "O Glorioso confessor domini mathurine ..."; (eii'; p.67) "Ante thronum trinitatis imperata pia mater ..."; (eii'-kii'; pp.68-148) Hours of the Virgin, Use of Rome, with the Hours of the Cross (fiv'; p.95), the Hours of the Spirit (gi'; p.98) and the Hours of the Conception (gii'; p.99) intermixed. (kiii'; p.149) "Salue regina misericordie vita dulcedo ...". (kiii'; pp.149-150) "Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui glorioso virginis marie ...". (kiii'-kviii'; pp.150-158) Psalms to be said on Tuesdays and Fridays. (kviii'-lv'; pp.158-169) Variations to the Hours for Advent. (lv'; p.170) The Seven Penitential Psalms, with litany (miv'; pp.183), petitions, and 10 collects: 1. Deus cui proprium est misereri ...; 2. Exaudi quesumus domine ...; 3. Ineffabilem nobis domine misericordiam tuam ...; 4. Deus qui culpa offenderis ...; 5. Omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere famulo tuo .N. pape nostro ...; 6. Deus a quo sancta desideria ...; 7. Ure igne sancti spiritus ...; 8. Actiones nostras quesumus domine ...; 9. Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum ...; 10. Fidelium deus omnium conditor ...; (nii'-pviii'; pp.196-240) The Office of the Dead, use of Rome, followed by prayers "Deus qui inter apostolicos ..."; "Deus venie largitor et humane salutis ..."; and "Fidelium deus omnium conditor et redemptor ...". Colophon on pviii' (p.240): "hore beate marie virginis as usum Romanum ad longum sine require. Impresse sunt Parisius. Anno domini Mil. quingentesimo. xvi. expensis prouidi viri Guillermi eustache librarii Regii necnon uniuersitatis parisiensis. Commorantis in vico novo beata Marie a lagnus dei. Et ibi venduntur et in palatio tertio pilarii. (a1'-a3'; pp.241-246) Suffrages and prayers to: the Trinity, Father, Son, Holy Spirit, Holy Face, Holy Cross. (a3'-a4'; pp.246-247) Prayer inscribed on a stone in St John Lateran: "O Domine Jhesu Christe rogo te amore illius ..." and "est donne a tous ceulx qui la diront par deuotion une fois le iour huit mille ans de pardon et de indulgence". (a5'- a5'; pp.247-249) The Seven Verses of St Gregory. (a5'; p.249) Indulged prayer of Pope Sixtus IV, "Ave sanctissima maria mater dei et regina celi ...," granting "undecimilia annorum de vera indulgentia pro qualibet vice". (a5'-a5'; pp.249-250) Salutation to the Virgin "Ave ancilla trinitatis. Ave filia sempiterni patris ...". (a5'- a6'; pp.250-251) "Ave cuius conceptio solenni plena gaudio...". (a6'; p.251) Deus qui nos conceptionis natiuitatis ... (a6'- b7'; pp.251-269) Suffrages to Sts Michael, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Peter & Paul, James, All Apostles, Stephen, Laurence, Christopher, Sebastian, Martyrs, Nicholas, Claude, Anthony, Roch, Anne, Mary Jacobi and Mary Salome, Mary Magdalene, Catherine. (b7'-c3'; pp.269-278) Prayers to the Virgin and Christ: "Missus est Gabriel ...", "Te deprecor ergo mitissimam piissimam ...", "Stabat mater ...", "Interueniat pro nobis quesumus domine iesu christe...". (c4'-c8'; pp.279-287) Suffrages to Sts Maurus, Sulpicius, Praeiectus (Projet), Exuperius, Fiacre, Anthony of Padua, Francis, Bonaventure, Lupus, Giles, Cosmas and Damian, Leodegarius. (c8'-d1'; pp.287-288) Prayer attributed to St Augustine "Puto corde et ore confiteor ...". (d1'-d2'; pp.289-291) Prayer of St Bernard "O Bone Jesu ...". (d2'- d6'; pp. 291-300) Further prayers including some to be said at mass, before and after communion. (d6'; p.300) Indulged prayer attributed to Julius II, granting "quatre vins mil ans de pardon a ceulx qui diront tous les iours a leure quon sonne les pardons a nonne et au soir ...". (d6'-d8'; pp.301-304) Further prayers including one against violent death: "Quiconques dira deuotement loraision ensuyante une fois le iour a genoux ne mourra de mauuaise mort ne sera pris ne occis de larrons ne ennemys". (d8'; p. 304) Colophon: "Ces presentes heures ont este imprimees a paris pour Guillaume Eustache/libraire du roy iure en luniuersite de paris. Demourant a la rue neuve nostre dame a lagnus dei. ou au palais au troisiemes pillier. Et ont este imprimees par Nycolas hygman Imprimeur de liures".

Decoration

Fifteen large metal-cuts illuminated in gold and colours, with a few lines of text: 1. (ai'; p.1): Printer's mark: Guillaume Eustace's large printer's mark, with two centaurs holding bow and arrow, on either side of a tree

where a shield hangs with Eustace's mark and initials. 2. (biv'; p.24): St John on Patmos, with the eagle, the Virgin and Child appearing to him. 3. (cii'; p.36): St Mark with the lion. 4. (eii'; p. 68) Annunciation. 5. (fi'; p. 81) Caesar Augustus and the Tiburtine Sybil. 6. (fiv'; p.95) Crucifixion. 7. (gi'; p.98) Pentecost. 8. (giii'; p.102) Nativity. 9. (gvii'; p.109) Annunciation to the Shepherds. 10. (hii'; p.115) Adoration of the Magi. 11. (hv'; p.121) Presentation in the Temple. 12. (hviii'; p.127) Massacre of the Innocents. 13. (lv'; p.170) David in Penance with avenging angel and corpses at his feet. 14 (nii'; p.196) Three Dead in a cemetery.

One small metal-cut in gold and colours, within and illustrating the text: (ai'; p.241) Trinity

Provenance

– 1. Three vellum end-leaves with prayers in a sixteenth century hand. – 2. Belonged to Ludovicus Lambertus (Louis Lambert) in the 17th century: "Ludovicus Lambertus 1642" on second vellum end-leaf. – 3. 20th century inscription on fly-leaf at the beginning: "Ce livre appartient à M. Henri Bouix [?], bibliophile à Lille".

9. Printed Hours, G. Hardouin Paris c. 1515

Physical description

Parchment, 8^{vo}, i + 104 + i leaves, c.173 x 65mm, COMPLETE in 14 quires of 8 leaves: A-N⁸, each quire with leaf signatures in the form "Ro. A.i.", "A.ii.", "A.iii", "A.iiii.", printed with 26 lines per page in bâtarde type with numerous marks of abbreviation, justification: c.120 x 60mm; ruled by hand in pale red ink; minor thumbing, stains, and cockling, the leaves trimmed close to the border decoration and cropping it slightly in a few places. **Binding:** CONTEMPORARY(?) BINDING sewn on four bands over pasteboards and bound in brown leather with gilt oval centrepieces and triangular corner-pieces within a pair of framing fillets, the spine blank except for small gilt rosette motifs; parchment pastedowns conjoint with the flyleaves; somewhat battered and worn and the joints.

Text

(Ai') Title-page: "Heures a l'usaige de Romme tout au long sans riens requerir. Avec les figures de l'apocalypse & plusieurs aultres figures". (Ai') "Almanach pour .xii. ans." from 1516 to 1527, followed by a caption: "Tabula precedens seruit ad inueniendum pascha ... ab anno natiuitatis dni mil. cccccxii. [sic] ... ad annum mil .cccccxvii. inclusiu". (Aii') Planetary Man, depicted as a skeleton: captions, images, and texts concerning the sun, moon, and four planets, Four Humours, and the Four Elements, surrounding an image of a skeleton. (Aii'-Avii') Calendar, about three-quarters full, each month headed by a verse ("Pocula ianus amat", "Et februuus algeo clamat", etc.), a note on the length of the month and of the moon, and followed by a note of the length of the day and night; each month also followed by four-line mnemonic cisiojanus verses in French concerning the main feasts: "En ian uier quant les roys ve nus sont / Glau me dit fre min mor sont. / An thoin boit le iour vin cent fois. / Pol lus en sont tous ses dois", etc. (Aviii'-Biii') Extracts from the Four Gospels. (Biii'-Bviii') The Passion of Christ based on St John's Gospel, followed by the usual prayer "Deus qui manus tuas & pedes tuos ...". (Bviii'-Cvi') Prayers: (Bviii'-Ci') *Obsecro te*; (Ci'-Cii') *O intemerata*; (Cii'-Ciii') *Stabat mater*, with ".vii. annos et .xl. quarantenas indulgentie a. sancti bonifacio". (Ciii') "Interueniat pro nobis quesumus domine iesu christe nunc et in hora mortis ..."; (Ciii'-Cvi') "Oratio dei sabbati ... Missus est gabriel angelus ad mariam virginem desponsatam ioseph ..."; (Cvi') "Deprecor ergo mitissimam piissimam misericordissimam castissimam speciosissimam dei genetricem mariam ...". (Cvi'-Hvi') Hours of the Virgin, Use of Rome, with matins (Cvi'), lauds (Dvii'), prime (Evii'), terce (Fii'), sext (Fv'), none (Fviii'), vespers (Giii'), and compline (Gvii'), with the Hours of the Cross (Eiii') and the Hours of the Spirit (Ev') intermixed. (Hvi'-Hvii') Three prayers to the Virgin: "Ave regina celorum. Aue domine angelorum ..."; "Inviolata integra et casta es maria ..."; "Bonifacius papa dedit omnibus sequentem orationem deuote dicentibus centum dies indulgentiarum. Oratio. Ave maria asta stirps filii castitatis ...". (Hviii'-lviii') The Seven Penitential Psalms, with litany (liiii'), petitions, and 11 collects: *Deus qui proprium est misereri ...; Exaudi quesumus domine ...; Ineffabilem nobis domine misericordiam tuam ...; Deus qui culpa offenderis ...; Omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere famulo tuo .N. pape nostro ...; Deus a quo sancta desideria ...; Defende quesumus domine ...; Ure igne sancti spiritus ...; Actiones nostras quesumus domine ...; Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum ...; Fidelium deus omnium conditor ...* (Ki'-Lviii') The Office of the Dead, Use of Rome, followed by a devotion for those buried in the cemetery: "Ave omnes anime fideles ...", with versicle, response, and prayer "Domine iesu christe salus et liberatio fidelium animarum ...". (Lviii'-Mviii') Suffrages and prayers to: the Trinity, Father, Son, Holy Spirit, Holy Face, Five Feasts of the Virgin, the Seven Joys of the Virgin, and Sts Michael, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Peter & Paul, James, All Apostles, Stephen, Laurence, Christopher, Sebastian, Martyrs, Nicholas, Claude, Anthony, Roche, Fiacre, Anne, Mary Magdalene, Catherine, Margaret, Barbara, and Geneviève. (Mviii'-Niii') Prayers to be said on various occasions: Premierement tu diras au matin; Quant tu ystras hors de ta maison; Quant tu prendras de leaue benoiste; Quant tu seras deuant le crucifix; Quant le prestre se retourne; Quant on lieue le corps de nostre seigneur; Quant on lieue le calice; Entre l'elevation du corpus domini et le dernier Agnus dei, with an indulgence of Pope Boniface of 2,000 years (Nii'). (Nii'-Niii') The Seven Verses of St Gregory. (Niii'-Niiii') Further prayers: Quant on prent la paix; Quant on veult recevoir le corps de nostre seigneur iesucrist; Quant on le receu; Contre le tempeste; Pour le roy; Pour impetret grace des pechez; Contre les

mauuaies pensees; Pour quelque tribulation; Pour l'amy uiuant en tribulation; Pour ceulx qui vont en voyage; Pour noz bienfaicteurs; Pour les amys qui sont en necessite; Pour le pere & la mere. (Niiii^v-Nvii^v) The Hours of the Conception, followed by an "Oraison pour les fieures: Inte [recte Ante] portam hierusalem sedebat sanctus petrus ...". (Nvii^v-Nviii^v) Table of contents: "Sensuyt la table pour scauoir ce qui est contenu en ces presentes heures. Et premierement. Almanach pour trouuer pasques, le nombre d'or, ... Oraison pour les fieures. Tout pour le mieulx". (Nviii^v) Colophon: "Ces presentes heures a lusaige / de Rōme, au long sans riens req[ue]rir / auec loffice de la cōception n[ost]re dame / et plusieurs aultres suffrages nou=uellement adioustees: ont este impri=mees a Paris par Gillet hardouyn ll demourant au bout du pont Nostre / dame: a lenseigne de la Rose dor: de=uant saint Denis de la chartre".

Decoration

Nine full-page metal-cut miniatures, without text: 1. (Dvii^v) Caesar Augustus and the Tiburtine Sybil. 2. (Evi^v) Nativity. 3. (Fi^v) Annunciation to the Shepherds. 4. (Fiii^v) Adoration of the Magi. 5. (Fvii^v) Presentation in the Temple. 6. (Gii^v) Flight into Egypt. 7. (Gvi^v) Dormition of the Virgin. 8. (Hvii^v) Uriaiah Killed in Battle at the Siege of Rabbah. 9. (Ki^v) Raising of Lazarus.

Seven large metal-cut miniatures, above a few lines of text: 1. (Ai^v): Heracles as an archer shooting an arrow poisoned with the blood of the Hydra, at Nessus the centaur, as he abducts his wife (with a blank shield). 2. (Aii^v) A skeleton with surrounding captions, images, and texts concerning the Four Humours, the Four Elements, sun, moon, and four planets. 3. (Aviii^v) St John the Evangelist standing unharmed by the chalice of poison, while other men lie dead at his feet. 4. (Biii^v) Betrayal and Arrest of Christ. 5. (Cvi^v) Annunciation. 6. (Eiiii^v) Crucifixion. 7. (Ev^v) Pentecost.

Twenty-two small metal-cuts within and illustrating the text: 1. (Bi^v) St Luke. 2. (Bii^v) St Matthew. 3. (Biii^v) St Mark. 4. (Ciii^v) The Annunciation. 5. (Lvii^v) The Virgin kneeling before God enthroned. 6. (Lvii^v) Crucifixion. 7. (Lviii^v) Pentecost. 8. (Mii^v) St John the Baptist. 9. (Mii^v) Sts Peter & Paul. 10. (Miii^v) St James. 11. (Miii^v) St Stephen. 12. (Miii^v) St Laurence. 13. (Miiii^v) St Christopher. 14. (Miiii^v) St Sebastian. 15. (Mv^v) St Nicholas. 16. (Mv^v) St Claude. 17. (Mvi^v) St Anthony Abbot. 18. (Mvi^v) St Anne teaching the Virgin to read. 19. (Mvii^v) St Mary Magdalene. 20. (Mvii^v) St Margaret. 21. (Mviii^v) St Barbara. 22. (Niiii^v) The Annunciation.

Provenance

An unidentified Italian 16th century owner, with their added blessing for animals on St Anthony's day, in Latin but with a heading in Italian: "Benedictione dei Cavalli, Bovi, ed altri Animal da farsi nel giorno di S. Antonio Abate", followed by five pairs of versicles and responses and prayers "Intercessio nos quesumus Domine Beati Antonij Abatis commendet ...", "Domine sancte pater omnipotens Eterne Deus ...".

10. Printed Greek Hours of the Virgin, Paris 1538

Physical description

On Paper, 16mo, i + 120 + i leaves, 111 x 74 mm, COMPLETE in 15 quires of 8 leaves: A-P⁸; title, headlines, initials and beginning of chapters printed in red, text fully printed in Greek, but title and colophon.

Binding

Contemporary brown calf with 5 'rosette' golden tools on both covers, raised bands, a reglè copy.

Provenance

Three unidentified ownership entries: 1) "Ex dono domini Nadal Cadomi ... 1624"; FF. Minorum Capucinatorum (17th cent.); "A. Barin" (19th cent.).

11. De Valbelle Hours, Use of Orleans, c. 1500

Physical description

Parchment, iii + 96 + iii leaves, c.205 x 135mm; foliated in pencil i-iii, 1-99, COMPLETE, collation: 1-2⁶ (fols.1-12) | 3⁸⁺¹ (last leaf inserted; fols.13-21) | 4-7⁸ (fols.22-53) | 8⁶ (fols.54-59) | 9-12⁸ (fols.60-91), 13⁶⁻¹ (last blank cancelled; fols.92-96); ruled in pale red ink for 22 lines of text, the ruled space c.125 x 75mm; written in a fine bâtarde script in brown ink, rubrics in burgundy red, calendar in pale burgundy and blue inks.

Binding: Sewn on five bands and bound in pasteboards covered with mottled dark brown leather, the spine compartments each with foliate gilt stamps, each cover each with the gilt arms of a member of the de Valbelle family (see Provenance), the edges of the leaves speckled red; paper endleaves; in a fitted cloth-covered box with leather spine and gilt title-piece.

Text

Fols.1r-12v: Calendar in French, with an entry for every day. Fols.13r-17r: Extracts from the Gospels; John followed by the prayer "Protector in te sperantium ...". Fols.17r-21v) Prayers to the Virgin: "Obsecto te ...", "O intemerata ... orbis terrarum inclina aures tue pietatis ...", "Ave regina celorum ...", and "Salve regina ...". Fols.22r-53v: Hours of the Virgin, Use of Orléans. Fols.54r-56v) Hours of the Cross. Fols.57r-59v: Hours of the holy Ghost. Fols.60r-67v: The Seven Penitential Psalms. Fols.67v-72r: Litany, petitions, and four collects.

Fols.72v-91v: Office of the Dead, use of Orléans. Fols.92r-96v: Suffrages to the Trinity, Cross, and saints, beginning with three of Orléans: Evurtius ("Antiphona. O virum ineffabilem Evurtium ... *Oratio*. Gloriosus confessor tuus Evurtius ..."); Anianus ("O presul egregie laus et decus presumum ... Deus qui populo tuo eterne salutis beatum Anianum ministrum tribuisti ..."); Veranus ("O domini pietas qui sanctos mirificando ... Deus qui beatum Veranum confessorem tuum atque pontificem ..."); as well as Anne, Mary Magdalene, Barbara, Margaret, Nicholas, and Catherine.

Illumination

Two large arch-topped miniatures above three lines of text, surrounded by a full border of stylized and semi-naturalistic acanthus, flowers, and fruit, on a liquid gold background, at the two major textual sections of the volume: 1. (fol.22r) The Annunciation: the Virgin and Gabriel both kneeling; the Dove descending on golden rays; and 2. (fol.60r) King David in Penitence: kneeling before an altar on which his harp rests, looking up at God.

Six miniatures above four lines of text, with similar borders, at the other major textual divisions of the volume: 1. (fol.13r) St John on Patmos; his eagle holding his pen-case and ink-pot. 2. (fol.35v) The Nativity: Mary and Joseph kneeling in praise of the infant. 3. (fol.41r) The Adoration of the Magi: one king kneeling before the Virgin and child, one conversing with Joseph, the third depicted as a Moor. 4. (fol.54r) The Crucifixion: Mary and Joseph to either side of the Cross, Mary Magdalene kneeling and clasping its base. 5. (fol.57r) Pentecost: the Virgin surrounded by the Apostles, the Dove and tongues of fire above. 6. (fol.72v) Death, represented as a corpse, casting a spear at one of a group of men.

The largest two miniatures, plus the Nativity and Crucifixion, are painted in the Rouennaise style of Robert Boyvin; the other four doubtless represent a local Orléans style.

Every written page except the final verso with a border of stylized and semi-naturalistic acanthus, flowers, and fruit (bunches of grapes, strawberries, etc.), on a background divided into geometric panels, alternately of plain parchment or liquid gold; three- or four-line initials in blue, on a red ground, with liquid gold ornament (with a small partial border when they occur on a recto, fols.17r, 29r, 39r, etc.), to major prayers and each hour of the Virgin; two-line initials in liquid gold on a red or blue ground with liquid gold ornament, or in blue, on a red ground, with liquid gold ornament, to prayers, psalms, hymns, lessons, the KL monograms in the calendar; one-line initials in liquid gold on backgrounds alternately red or blue, to verses.

Provenance

– 1. The original owner clearly lived in the diocese of Orléans, as indicated by the Use of the Hours of the Virgin; by the Office of the Dead; by the litany, which includes Clarus last among the martyrs, Veranus (whose relics were formerly at Orléans) last among the confessors; and by the suffrages, which include Sts Evurtius and Anianus (bishops of Orléans), and Veranus. – 2. An 18th century member of the de Valbelle family: the heraldic gilt stamp on each cover of the binding (quarterly, 1 and 4 [gules], a cross of Toulouse [or] [= Forcalquier], 2 and 3 [gules], a rampant lion [or], armed, langued, and crowned of the same) [= anciens comtes de Marseille], over all [azur], a greyhound [argent] collared [gules] [= Valbelle], these arms appearing twice in adjacent ovals, surmounted by a coronet) have been attributed to Marguerite Delphine de Valbelle de Tourves (d.1735) (by E. Olivier, *Manuel de l'amateur des reliures armoriées françaises*, XVII (1929), no.1740.2), and yet this heraldic stamp is recorded from the binding of a book published in 1775, forty years after her death. – 3. Three unidentified 19th/20th century owners' marks on the front pastedown: (i) a small collector's blue ink stamp: an "HL" monogram in an oval (not in Lugt, *Marques*); (ii) a square label printed with initials "A.W." surmounted by a crest of a demi-rampant lion, above printed "N°__" and handwritten "9517", perhaps American; (iii) an accession/inventory number written in red ink "33-1923-1", presumably recording its accession in 1923.

References

For Boyvin's style and oeuvre, see:

Isabelle Delauney, "Le manuscrit enluminé à Rouen au temps du cardinal Georges d'Amboise: l'oeuvre de Robert Boyvin et de Jean Serpin", *Annales de Normandie*, 3 (1995), pp.211-44.

For illuminated manuscripts in French provincial libraries, with only four that are of the Use of Orléans, see: <http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr>

12. Medici-Marcoussis Hours, Paris c. 1500

Physical description

Parchment, ii + 217 + ii leaves, c.118 x 90mm; apparently lacking 3 leaves with miniatures, and others with text and borders; foliated in modern pencil in the lower right corner of many rectos, and with an older incorrect foliation sporadically in the upper right corners showing that from fol. 142 onwards was previously bound at the beginning of the volume; collation: 1-2⁶ (fols.1-12) | 3⁸⁺¹ (last leaf blank, cancelled; fols.13-19) | 4⁸⁻¹ (first leaf missing; fols.20-26), 5-12⁸ (fols.27-90), 13⁶ (fols.91-96) | 14-17⁸ (fols.97-128), 18⁸⁻² (3rd and 6th leaves missing; fols.129-134) | 19⁸⁻¹ (last leaf missing; fols.135-141), [one or more quires missing] | 20-28⁸ (fols.142-213), 29⁴

(fols.214-217); ruled in red ink for 15 lines of text per page (17 in the calendar), the ruled space c.56 × 38mm; written in a highly calligraphic *bâtarde* script with frequent elegant ascenders and descenders extending into the margins, in brown ink, rubrics in red, the calendar in alternating lines of red or blue, with major feasts in gold.

Binding: Sewn on four bands and BOUND IN 16TH CENTURY BROWN LEATHER PROFUSELY GILT ON BOTH COVERS AND THE SPINE WITH FLEURS-DE-LIS, AND IN THE CENTRE OF EACH COVER THE MONOGRAM OF CATHERINE DE' MEDICI (consisting of a "C" linked with a reversed "C" and an "H" for Henri II, her husband), re-sewn to correct the previously-incorrect sequence of leaves, gilt-printed paper pastedowns; the endleaves of modern parchment. In a fitted blue cloth box and slip-case, with blue morocco spine and red gilt title-piece.

Text

Fols.1r-12v: Calendar, in French, with an entry for every day. Fols.13r-19v: The four Gospel extracts; John followed by an antiphon, verse, response, and prayer. Fols.20r-96r: Hours of the Virgin, Use of Dol, beginning imperfectly, with nine lessons at Matins. Fols.97r-125r: Penitential Psalms, Litany, Petitions, and eleven collects; each group of saints in the litany followed by a prayer, an exceptionally rare – or even unique – feature. Fols.125v-134v: Hours of the Cross, ending imperfectly. Fols.133r-134v: Hours of the Holy Spirit, beginning and ending imperfectly. Fols.135r-141v: Office of the Dead, beginning and ending imperfectly. Fols.142r-181r: Prayers, including: a. (fols.142r-146v) *Obsecro te*; b. (fols.147r-151v, 151v-154v) two versions of the *O intemerata*; c. (fols.162v-165r) the prayer to the Seven Last Words, attributed to Bede; d. (fols.166r-169v) a confession; e. (fols.174r-176v) a prayer attributed to St Augustine "*de dignit[at]e sacerdotum*"; f. (fols.177r-179v) a prayer in French "*de la benoite glorieuse vierge Marie*"; g. (fols.179v-181r) the Eight Verses of St Bernard, with an unusual rubric in French: "*Ci commencent les viii vers du psautier que disoit chacun jour monsieur saint Bernart contre la temptacion de l'enemi*". Fols.181v-217r: An unusually long list of suffrages, to the Trinity, Cross, Holy Spirit, Virgin Mary, the archangels Michael, Gabriel, and saints John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Peter & Paul, Andrew, James, Bartholomew, Thomas, Stephen, Lawrence, Vincent, Eutropius, Denis, George, Thomas Becket, Sebastian, Cosmas & Damian, Christopher, Hilary, Martin, Nicholas, William count of Poitou, Eligius, Anthony, Leonard, Martial, Francis, Louis of Toulouse, King Louis, Fiacre, Maurus, Eustache, Honoratus, Lazarus (the prayer asking for good eyesight), Mary Magdalene, Mary of Egypt, Anne, Katherine, Radegund, Christina, Margaret, Geneviève, Agnes, Martha, Apollonia, Opportuna, the 11,000 Virgins, for Peace, and All Saints.

Illustration

Ten large miniatures each accompanied by a three-line foliate initial and a full border; the borders consisting of a large variety of stylised and semi-naturalistic plants and flowers on a liquid gold ground, often with birds, animals including a frog, insects, drolleries, and an elaborate hunting-scene. The miniatures for Matins of the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Holy Spirit and Office of the Dead are missing, but note offset on fols.19v and 133r. The remaining miniatures are: 1. (fol.47v) Visitation; the border with a hunting scene. 2. (fol.60v) Nativity (somewhat smudged); the border with an over-painted coat of arms. 3. (fol.68r) Annunciation to the Shepherds. 4. (fol.73r) Adoration of the Magi. 5. (fol.78r) Presentation in the Temple (perhaps by a different artist or partly repainted). 6. (fol.83r) Flight into Egypt. 7. (fol.91r) Coronation of the Virgin. 8. (fol.97r) David Spying on Bathsheba bathing (somewhat smudged and with ink offsets from the facing page). 9. (fol.125v) Crucifixion. Fol.142r: Virgin and Child enthroned with music-making angels.

One miniature in a margin: (fol.13r) St. John the Evangelist being boiled in oil.

The outer margins of every written page with a similar border the height of the text column, sometimes with birds, drolleries, flowers in a pot, etc.; three-line foliate initials in gold against a coloured ground or vice versa, two- and one-line initials in gold against alternate blue or red grounds; line-fillers in gold on alternate grounds of red or blue.

Provenance

– 1. There are three strong clues concerning the identity of the original patron for whom the book was made. His name, Guillaume, appears in one of the prayers: "... michi guillermo famulo tuo ..." (fol.145r). The Use of the Hours of the Virgin suggests he lived in Dol, on the north coast of Brittany, although nothing else in the manuscript suggests a Breton origin; the calendar, for example, is of a Paris type, perhaps following a printed edition of 1490, which became popular across France. It is therefore probable that Guillaume took his old Dol Book of Hours to a workshop in a major centre such as Rouen or Paris, and asked for the Hours of the Virgin to be copied into his new book. Guillaume's coat-of-arms is painted in the border below the Nativity miniature (fol.60v), but it was over-painted by a later owner. From the other side of the leaf (f.60r), however, one can discern several details. The arms consist of two halves, impaled, of husband and wife: the sinister side (of the wife) is the clearest. It is *d'or* (or perhaps *argent*) *trois jumelles de gueules*: if she was Breton, she was presumably a member of one of the following families: Bodister, Coëteven, Gouarlot, Harbert (or Hubert) de la Hairie, Hubert de la Messue, du Parc, Rosmadec, or Virel. The placement of St Hilary of Poitiers first among the confessors in the litany (fol.114v), the suffrage to the same saint with a rubric specifying "*episcopo*

Pictavensis" (fol.196v), and the presence of suffrages to St William of Poitou (the patron's name-saint) "... natus in Pictavia ..." (fol.198v), Eutropius of Saintes (south-west of Poitiers), and Radegund of Poitiers (fol.209v), strongly suggests that Guillaume came from Poitiers or elsewhere in Poitou. – 2. An unidentified 16th century owner was responsible for over-painting Guillaume's arms and writing "septem psalmi penitentiales" (fol.96v). – 3. CATHERINE DE' MEDICI (1519-1589), WIFE OF KING OF FRANCE HENRY II: with fleurs-de-lis and her monogram on the binding. On her important library see le Roux de Lincey (1859), Delisle (1868), pp.207-12, and Quentin-Bauchart (1886), pp.89-104. After her death, much of her library was absorbed into the royal library, now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, where they were rebound, "ce qui explique l'extrême rareté de ceux qui ont conservé les armes et la devise de Catherine de Medicis" (Quentin-Bauchart, p.94). Catherine owned two much later Renaissance Books of Hours: one now in the Louvre, the other in the Royal Library, The Hague. – 4. The Celestine monastery of the Holy Trinity, Marcoussis, founded c.1405 a few km south of Paris: inscribed "Cœlestinorum de Marcoussiaco" (fols.142v, 217r), and perhaps a gift to the community from Catherine de' Medici. For a discussion of foundation of the monastery, see Lemaitre (1999), pp.19-22; on the Celestine libraries in France, see Vernet (1989), pp.272-4 and Delisle (1874), pp.248-51, listing twelve manuscripts from Marcoussis now in Paris; others are in London (British Library, Burney MS. 247), Oxford (Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. th. e. 26), Lincoln (Cathedral Library, MS. 193), Copenhagen (Royal Library, Thott 67 fol.), and elsewhere, including a Book of Hours in New York (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. G.59). – 5. Unidentified 20th century English or American owner: the fitted box has a red leather title-piece lettered in gilt in English: "HOURS / OF THE VIRGIN / * / ILLUMINATED / MS / * / FRANCE / C. 1490".

Literature

Ernest Quentin-Bauchart, *Les femmes bibliophiles de France (XVI^e, XVII^e, & XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1886).

Leopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, I (Paris, 1868) and II (Paris, 1874).

F. Duine, 'Histoire du livre à Dol du XVe au XVIIIe siècle', *Annales de Bretagne*, 21 (1905), pp.411-35.

Jean-Loup Lemaitre, *Le livre du chapitre des Célestins de Marcoussis* (Paris, 1999).

Antoine Jean le Roux de Lincey, *Notice sur la bibliothèque de Catherine de Medicis, avec des extraits de l'inventaire de cette bibliothèque* (Paris, 1859).

André Vernet (ed.), *Les bibliothèques médiévales du VI^e siècle à 1530*, Histoire des bibliothèques françaises, I (Promodis, 1989).

13. Foyle Hours, Use of Coutances, c. 1460

Physical description

Parchment, iii + 138 + iii leaves, c. 220 × 160 mm; collation: 1-3⁸ (fols.1-24), 4⁸⁻¹ (7th leaf missing after fol.30; fols.25-31), 5-6⁸ (fols.32-47), 7⁸⁻¹ (the last leaf missing after fol.54; fols.48-54), 8-10⁸ (fols.55-78) | 11-16⁸ (fols.79-126), 17⁴ (fols.127-130) 18⁸ (fols.131-138), the two missing leaves contain (i) the end of terce and beginning of sext in the Hours of the Virgin, and (ii) the end of the Hours of the Cross and beginning of the Hours of the Spirit, a calendar is presumably also missing; catchwords in most quires, ruled in pale red ink, the ruled space c. 100 × 70 mm, leaving VERY WIDE MARGINS on pages without borders, written in a fine gothic script in black and brown inks in two sizes, rubrics in bright red, with a change of script and presumably scribe at the beginning of the second quire (fol.9r), written with 15 lines per page.

Binding: Bound in 19th(?)-century undecorated vellum over pasteboards, with paper endleaves, the front cover and spine lettered in gilt "MISSALE ANTIQUE", rather dirty, and the joints repaired.

Text

Fols. 1r-51v: Hours of the Virgin, Use of Coutances. Fols.52r-54r: Hours of the Cross. Fols.55r-57v: Hours of the Spirit. Fols.57v-63r: The extracts from the Four Gospels; John followed by two prayers: "Protector in te sperantium ..." and "Ecclesiam tuam quesumus domine ...". Fols.63r-65r: The Passion narrative, based on the Gospel of John, followed by the prayer "Deus qui manus tuas ...". Fols.65r-75v: Prayers, for a female reader: "Obsecro te ... michi famule tue ..." (fols.65r-68v); "O intemerata ... orbis terrarum. De te enim ... michi miserrimo peccatrici ..." (fols.68v-72r); "Deus propitius esto michi peccatori ..." (fols.72v-74v); "Digneris michi domine donare intellectum qui te diligit ..." (apparently very rare); (fol.75r-v). Fols.75v-77r) Suffrages to saints Laurence, Vincent, Cosmas & Damian, Sebastian; (fol.77v) the "Salve regina"; fol.78r-v ruled, otherwise blank. Fols.79r-91v: The Seven Penitential Psalms. Fols.91v-96v: Litany, petitions, and four collects. Fols.97r-138v: Office of the Dead, Use of Coutances.

Illustration

Ten large miniatures, with gently arched tops, typically surrounded by borders on three sides (the upper margin often without a border): 1. (fol.1r) The Annunciation, surrounded by a full border in the form of a Tree

of Jesse, with Jesse asleep at the bottom, with twenty-two descendants, each holding a scroll with their name, and a Crucifixion with the Virgin and St John. 2. (fol.11r) The Visitation; the border with a naturalistic bird and a monkey pulling the tail of a dog(?). 3. (fol.22r) The Nativity. 4. (fol. 27r) The Annunciation to the Shepherds, with the unusually large number of five shepherds. 5. (fol.35r) The Presentation in the Temple. 6. (fol.39v) The Flight into Egypt. 7. (fol.46v) The Coronation of the Virgin. 8. (fol.52r) The Crucifixion. 9. (fol.79r) King David in Penitence. 10. (fol.97r) A Funeral Service in a church, with black-clad mourners.

Full- or three-sided borders (open at the top) and four-line foliate initials in colours in a gold ground accompanying each miniature (a three-line initial under the somewhat larger Annunciation miniature); four-line foliate initials accompanied by three-sided borders (open at one side) to the "Obsecro te", "O intemerata", and matins and first lesson of the Office of the Dead; two- and one-line initials in gold on a blue and red ground with white ornament; line-fillers in blue, red, gold, and white.

Pages with a two-line initial each have with an unusual style of one-sided border the height of the text, bounded on the inner side with a branch, from which stylised acanthus or semi-naturalistic foliage and flowers grow into the body of the border.

Provenance

– 1. Written for a woman, as shown by the use of feminine Latin forms (fols.67r, 70r); the Use of the Hours of the Virgin and Office of the Dead show that she lived in the diocese of Coutances, Normandy. – 2. Sold anonymously at Sotheby's, 2 July 1951, lot 17, bought by Foyle for £150. – 3. William Alfred Westrupp Foyle (1885-1963), of Foyle's Bookshop, London, and Beeleigh Abbey, Essex, with his gilt red leather bookplate; inherited by his daughter, Christina (1911-1999); Foyle sale at Christie's, Part I, 11 July 2000, lot 42, with full-page colour plate.

References

The Vatican Chigi manuscript:

Giovanni Morello, *Libri d'ore della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Catalogo della mostra Salone Sistino* (Zurich, 1988), no.102 p.76, and especially ill.40.

The related *Très Petites Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* miniature:

France 1500: Entre moyen âge et renaissance (exhibition catalogue, Paris, 2010), p.221

14. Challon Psalter-Hours, Rouen c. 1260

Physical Description

Parchment, i + 200 + i leaves, c.140 × 95mm; apparently COMPLETE except for one(?) leaf at the end, foliated in 16th or 17th century ink in the psalms and canticles, repeating "113" and re-foliated correctly but sporadically in modern pencil: i, 1-201; collation: 1⁶ (fols.1-6) | 2⁴ (fols.7-10) | 3¹⁴ (fols.11-24), 4-9¹⁶ (fols.25-120), 10¹⁴ (fols.121-134), 11-12¹⁶ (fols.135-166), 13¹⁸ (structure uncertain, fols.167-184), 14¹² (structure uncertain, fols.185-196), 14⁴ (fols.197-200); ruled in plummet (usually not visible) with double vertical bounding lines, the ruled space c.100 × 70mm, written in black ink in a formal gothic bookhand, with 20 lines per page (the Hours of the Virgin variable, with 19-21 lines per page), 'below top line'; rubrics in red, psalm titles usually in gold, canticle titles usually in red, the calendar in black, red, and blue; the edges of the leaves cropped, affecting marginal decoration and some text in the calendar; the text frequently strengthened, with some passages erased and re-written in the Middle Ages. Sewn on three bands and bound in 17th(?) -century plain red-brown leather, incorporating a fragment of 15th century manuscript, medieval parchment flyleaves, the edges of the leaves red, with added 19th century gilt title "Psalms // Officia"; some scuffing, and with one hole at the upper joint.

Text

Fols.1r-6v: Calendar, for the Use of Rouen; the most important triple ("triplex") feasts (in blue) include: the Dedication of Rouen cathedral (1 Oct.), Romanus of Rouen (23 Oct., with octave), and the Translation of the relics of Rouen cathedral (3 Dec.); important double ("duplex") feasts (in red) include: Severus, whose relics were at Rouen (1 Feb.), "In crastino de sancto Audoenno" (24 Aug., with octave), and Ursinus, venerated at Bayeux and Rouen (30 Dec.); minor feasts characteristic of Rouen include Ansbart (9 Feb.), the Translation of Audoenus i.e. Ouen of Rouen (5 May), Victricius (7 Aug.), the Deposition of Sinerius (18 Sep.), Nichasius, Quirinus, and Scviculus (11 Oct.), and Mellonius (22 Oct.). Fols.7r-10r: Added table of the Psalms consisting on each line of the Psalm number, incipit, and number of verses; divided into the 8-part divisions (i.e. from Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, etc.), each section ending with the total number of Psalms and verses in each section; ending with a grand total of 2,085 verses; fol. 10v is blank. Fols.11r-164v) Psalms 1-150, with the usual 8-part divisions plus a division at Ps.51. Fols.164v-178v) Canticles: the six ferial canticles followed by *Benedicite*, *Benedictus*, *Te Deum*, *Quicumque*, *Nunc dimittis*, *Magnificat*, and *Gloria in excelsis*. Fols.178v-181r: Litany (with St Ouen placed third among the confessors), petitions, and two collects. Fols.181v-187v) Office of the Dead, Use of Rouen. Fols.188r-200v) Hours of the Virgin, A PREVIOUSLY UNRECORDED USE (presumably either an early Use of Rouen, or the Use of a

local church); Lauds followed by suffrages to The Trinity, The Cross, The Holy Spirit, St Nicholas, St Katherine, and All saints; ending slightly imperfect due to the loss of one(?) leaf.

Illumination

Ten large historiated initials, six- to eleven lines high, each accompanied by a partial or full border of foliage and animals: 1. (fol.11r) Psalm 1. King David, enthroned and with crossed legs, harping; the border with dragons and a peacock. 2. (fol.35r) Psalm 26. King David seated, being crowned and blessed by Christ, attended by Samuel; the border with a huntsman blowing a horn, a dog chasing a rabbit, and various drolleries. 3. (fol.50r) Psalm 38. King David seated, pointing to his mouth, addressed by a devil; the border with dragons and birds. 4. (fol.64r) Psalm 51. King David addressing a soldier (Goliath?), who holds a shield: party per fess *gules* and *argent*, three crescents *sable*, two and one; the border with battling hybrid creatures and a seated dog. The heraldry is probably not real, but the crescents may be intended to suggest Saracens as the enemy of Crusaders. 5. (fol.65r) Psalm 52. King David enthroned, addressing the Fool, who holds a club and loaf; the border with two men fighting, squirrels, and hybrid creatures. 6. (fol.79v) Psalm 68. King David, crowned but otherwise naked, in water and appealing to God above; the marginal extensions with a bird and a hybrid creature. 7. (fol.97v) Psalm 80. King David seated, playing a carillon of six bells with two hammers. 8. (fol.114r) Psalm 97. Three clerics singing from a choir-book on a lectern. 9. (fol.129v) Psalm 109. The Trinity: God the Father and Son enthroned, the Dove of the Holy Spirit descending between them. 10. (fol.188r) Hours. The Virgin and Child enthroned, with a kneeling female patron.

Two-line initials indented into the text area, in gold on grounds of red and blue, with scrolling white ornament with red dots, to psalms, canticles, etc.; Psalm 2 emphasised by a similar three-line initial and partial border; one-line initials placed between the left bounding-lines, alternately blue with red penwork, or gold with blue penwork; line-fillers typically in blue and red with gold balls, consisting of an animal head with a long worm-like body

Provenance

– 1. Written and illuminated probably in Paris, presumably for the woman depicted in the initial on fol.188r, who doubtless lived in Rouen, perhaps in the parish of St Nicolas (to whom one of the suffrages is dedicated, fol.196r). The writing of the calendar must post-date 1247, when the feast of St Eligius (1 December) was raised to a "triplex", and it must presumably also pre-date 1280, when the feast of St Ansbart (9 February) was similarly raised; stylistically the illumination can be dated to the 1260s. – 2. Unidentified 14th and 15th century owners, responsible for numerous additions to the calendar, foliation, and psalm numbers; the added table (fols. 7r-10r) is on parchment prepared in the southern manner, and some of the additions to the calendar show that the manuscript was owned in the Bouches-du-Rhône region of southern France: e.g. Marius, abbot of Bodon (27 January), Pontius of Cimiez (11 May), Baudelius of Nîmes (20 May), Maximinus of Aix (7 June), Lazarus of Marseille, (31 August) and Castor of Apt (24 September); these owners also had an interest in mendicant saints: e.g. Thomas Aquinas (7 March), Vincent Ferrer (5 April), Dominic (5 August), Albertus (7 August), Clare (12 August), Nicholas of Tolentino (10 September), and Francis (4 October). – 3. Inscribed "Appartient a moy Barthelemy Challon procuré[?]", 16th century (fol. ir). – 4. Anatole Claudin (1833-1906), bookseller and historian of printing in France, catalogue 206, (August 1884), no.85150, with a clipping from this catalogue stuck to the upper pastedown; sold to the London bookseller J. Mozley Stark. – 5. Oliver R. Barrett (1873-1850) and his son Roger W. Barrett (1915-2010), both of Kenilworth, Illinois (de Ricci, *Census*, I, 1935, p.674 no.3); his(?) sale at Parke Bernet, New York, 4 November 1946, lot 285. – 6. Sotheby's 16 May, 1955, lot 85 (with a clipping from this catalogue loosely inserted); bought by Maggs Bros., London, with their pencil notes on the back pastedown. – 7. Harry Walton (d. 2007), of Covington, Virginia, stamped by him "A544" in purple ink on the upper pastedown (*Supplement* to de Ricci, pp.518-9 no.A-544).

References

For a discussion of the style of the "Royal Psalter Group" see

Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles* (Berkeley, 1977), especially pp.132-7.

For a discussion of the St Louis Psalter see:

Harvey Stahl, *Picturing Kingship: History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis* (Philadelphia, 2008)

For a discussion of the Psalter of Isabelle of France see:

The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West, edited by Stella Panayotova & Paul Binski (Cambridge, 2005), pp.178-80.

15. Rouen Hours, c. 1510

Physical description

Parchment, iv + 110 + v leaves, c.188 × 115mm; two leaves missing, otherwise apparently complete; collation: 1⁶ | 2-3⁸, 4⁸⁻⁷ (fols.23-29; 7th leaf missing), 5⁸⁻¹ (fols.30-36; 2nd leaf cancelled), 6⁸⁻¹ (fols.37-43; 7th leaf cancelled),

7-13⁸, 14⁴⁻¹ (fols.108-110; last leaf missing); catchwords throughout; modern leaf-signatures in lower right-hand corners; modern foliation and leaf signatures in pencil in a modern French(?) hand, 1-110; ruled in pale brown ink for 17 lines of text per page, the ruled space c.135 × 73mm; written in a very fine *bâtarde* script in dark brown ink, with rubrics in red, by a single professional scribe throughout.

Binding: Sewn on six double or slit thongs and bound in 19th(?)-century polished calf over pasteboards emulating a late medieval style, with a large blind-tooled lozenge formed from a foliate roll on each cover, the spine compartments with simple blind saltires.

Text

Front pastedown: Two inscriptions, one in French written to either side of the image of the nail, the other in Latin running around the outer edge of the page: (a) "C'est la langue[r] et largeur / des clous / qui fure[n]t / t[ran]sper[ces] aux / p[re]cieuses mains / et pie[d]s / de n[ost]re / benoist rede[m]pte[ur] / en la croix"; (b) "Transeant clavi tui per cordis mei medietatem / et salutari vulnere me crucient, ut ex vehementi contricione totus [lacrimis fluam] et p[rae] amoris / affectu a me ipso deficiam. Incute dolore[m] auge / devotionem, nil sapiat m[ichi] suavius, nil insit cordi firmiter, nisi Iesus Christus, et hic crucifixus." (Thomas à Kempis, *Orationes et meditationes de vita Christi*, l.2 cap.18; see *Opera Omnia*, ed. by M. J. Pohl (Freiburg, 1902), vol.V, p.120, lines 18-25. Fols.iii-iv: Added 16th century inscriptions, in French, concerning two protective prayers: the first is attributed to Joseph of Arimathea ("C'est brief trouva Ioseph Dabarmathe ..."), and it is said that anyone who carries it will not die by fire, water, in battle, will not be devoured by wild animals, and that if she is a woman she will not die in childbirth, etc.; the prayer itself consists mainly of names for Christ in Latin (Alpha, Omega, Salvator mundi, Messias, Sother, Emmanuel, etc.); the second prayer consists mainly of names for the Virgin Mary (*Ornement des vierges, Porte de paradis, Estoile de misericorde*, etc.) and is said to have been found on her tomb, and that anyone who says it daily, or carries it with them, will be offered various protections from death (similar to those of the first prayer). An 18th(?)-century transcription of these texts is on fols.113r-114v. Fols.1r-6v: Calendar, written with one month per page, in two columns, major feasts (in red) include the Rouen translation of St Clarus (18 July). Fols.7r-65r Hours of the Virgin, Use of Rome, with variant psalms for different days of the week for matins; intermixed with the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Spirit, and the Hours of the Conception; and followed (fols.58v-65r) by variants for liturgical seasons, from the Saturday before Advent until Ascension. Fols.65r-79v: The Seven Penitential Psalms, with Litany of saints (fols.73v-75v), petitions (fols.75v-76v), and the usual ten collects (fols.78r-79v) the fifth mentioning "... famulo tuo papa nostro .N. ..." (cf. Kidd, 2001, p.40). Fols.79v-110v: Office of the Dead, Use of Rome, ending slightly imperfectly with the loss of probably a single leaf.

Illustration

One full-page miniature depicting one of the Nails of the Crucifixion, on paper, inserted inside the front cover.

Three-line foliate initials at the beginning of the major section of text in shades of blue, grey, black and brown on a gold background, similar two-line initials at the beginning of psalms, prayers, etc., similar one-line initial at the beginning of verses; TWELVE FULL GRISAILLE BORDERS predominantly in shades of the same colours on a gold ground, but with details in other colours, sometimes depicting humans, birds, a dog, a lamb, snails, seraphim, imaginary creatures, jewels and other Renaissance motifs (fols.7r, 19v, 27v, 28r, 28v, 33r, 37v, 42r, 46v, 53r, 65r, 79v).

Provenance

– 1. Doubtless produced in Rouen: in addition to the stylistic evidence of the illumination, the most notable feature of the calendar is the Rouen translation of St Clarus in red, and the most notable feature of the litany is the high placement of Sts Gervaise and Prothaise: there was a church dedicated to them in Rouen. – 2. Pen-trails in French were written in 1649: "1663 1649 1650 1689 100 200 300 / Honneur a dieu seul ap[ar]t[ie]n[t] / Dieu vivant et regant fait en l'an 1649".

Literature

The present manuscript is apparently unpublished. On early 16th century Rouen illumination and the patronage of Georges d'Amboise, see especially:

France 1500: entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance, Grand Palais, Galeries nationales, à Paris du 6 octobre 2010 au 10 janvier 2011 (Paris, 2010), pp.314-16.

Catherine Yvard, 'Un livre d'heures à l'usage de Rouen à la Chester Beatty Library de Dublin', *L'Art de l'enluminure*, 19 (2006), pp.2-64.

François Avril & Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520* (Paris, 1993; revised ed. 1995), pp.412-14.

Isabelle Delaunay, 'Le manuscrit enluminé à Rouen au temps du cardinal Georges d'Amboise: l'oeuvre de

Robert Boyvin et de Jean Serpin', *Annales de Normandie*, 45 (1995), pp.211-44.

Françoise Lehoux, 'Sur un manuscrit de l'école de Rouen: décoré par Jean Serpin et Robert Boyvin pour le cardinal Georges 1er d'Ambroise', *Mélange dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat* (Paris, 1949), II, pp.323-28.

On the Wound of Christ, see:

David S. Areford, "The Passion Measured: A Late-Medieval Diagram of the Body of Christ," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, eds. A.A. MacDonald, H.N.B. Ridderbos, and R.M. Schlusemann (Groningen, 1998), pp.211-38.

Images of Bibliothèque de la Mazarine, ms. 1581 are available through the 'Liber Floridus' website: http://liberfloridus.cines.fr/cgi-bin/affich_image?14369 etc.

16. Amiens Hours, c. 1480

Physical description

Parchment, c.175 × 115mm, ii + 150 + ii leaves, foliated in modern pencil, present collation with some leaves out of correct order: 1-2⁶ (fols.1-12) | 3² (fols.13-14), 4⁶ (fols.15-20) | 5⁸ (fols.21-28), 6⁸⁻¹ (7th leaf missing; fols.29-35), 7^{five} (structure uncertain; fols.36-40), 8⁸ (fols.41-48) | 9⁸⁺¹ (fols.49-57), 10-12⁸ (fols.58-81), 13⁸⁻² (middle bifolium missing; fols.82-87), 14-16 (structure uncertain; fols.88-103), 17-18⁸ (fols.104-119) | 19-21⁸ (fols.120-143) | 22⁸⁻¹ (last leaf missing; fols.144-150), traces of catchwords, ruled in pale red ink for 16 lines of text per page (17 in the calendar), written in gothic bookhand in two sizes in brown ink, rubrics and major feasts in the calendar in red, Nones, Ides, and Kalends monograms in the calendar alternately red or blue, capitals stroked in yellow wash.

Binding: French 17th century red-brown morocco over pasteboards, each cover framed by a double and a single fillet, and with a fine filigree gilt centrepiece with a blank central oval, the flat spine lettered in gilt "HEURES / ANCIENNES", marbled paper endpapers, gilt edges, the upper endband loose (some scuffing and staining).

Text

The leaves are mis-bound in a few places; the texts are presented here in what was their original sequence: Fols.1r-12v: Calendar in French, with an entry for almost every day, each month headed by a note on the length of the month and of the moon. Fols.21r-26r: Extracts of the Gospels, John's followed by an antiphon, versicle, response, and the usual prayer "Protector in te sperantium ...". Fols.26v-34v: Three prayers to the Virgin Mary, the second using feminine forms: "*Devote orison de nostre dame*. Obsecro te ..."; "*Aultre devote orison*. O intemerata ... orbis terrarum. De te enim ... michi miserrime peccatrici ..."; and "*Devote orison a la vierge Marie*. Saluto te sancta Maria domina celorum ...". Fols.35r-38v: Hours of the Cross, beginning and ending imperfectly due to the loss of two leaves. Fols.39r-43v: Hours of the Holy Spirit, beginning imperfectly due to the loss of one leaf. Fols.16r-v, 20r-v, 17r-18v, 15r-v, 19r-v, 44r-84v, 14r-v: Hours of the Virgin, Use of Amiens. Fols.13r-v, 85r-95v, 144r-v: The Seven Penitential Psalms. Fols.144v-150v: Litany, petitions and four collects. Fols.96-119v, rubric on 150v: Office of the Dead, with three lessons. Fols.120r-125r: Suffrages to Sts Michael, Anthony, Sebastian, Adrian, Christopher, Fiacre, Quentin, Laurence, All Martyrs, Nicholas, and Richarius ("*De S. Riquier*: Gaude sancte Richari merentium consolator peregrinorum ... V. Ora pro nobis beate pater Richari ... Oremus. Deus qui beatum Richarium confessorum tuum in terris laudabilis decorasti ..."). Fols.125r-126r: "*Les vii vers S. Bernard*" (actually eight verses; cf. Kidd, 2001, p.63). Fols.126r-133v: *Memoriae* to All Confessors, Sts John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, John the Evangelist, Andrew, Stephen, All Apostles, Anne, Catherine, Barbara, Margaret, Apollonia, Mary Magdalene, and All Virgins. Fols.133v-140r: Prayers: (i) "*Du sacrement de lostel*. Ave verum corpus natum ex Maria virgine ..."; (ii) "*Devote orison de nostre dame*. Stabat mater dolorosa ...", written as ten six-line verses; (iii) "*Les vii paroles que nostre seigneur dist pendant en la croix*. Domine ihesu christe qui septem verba ...", his words written in red within the prayer; (iv) "*Devote orison pour les trespases en passent parmi la cymentiere*. Pater noster. Ave Maria. Avete omnes anime fideles ..."; (v) "*Devote orison*. Deprecor piissime domine ihesu christe ...". Fols.140r-141r: *Memoriae* for Sts Valeric ("*De saint Valeri memoire*. Ant. O pater et dux preclare virtutis egregie ... Or. Da nobis eterne consolacionis pater per beati Walerici confessoris tui ..."), and Agatha. Fols.141r-142v: Prayers: (a) "*Oratio ad ihesum christum*. O bone ihesu duo a [sic] me agnosco ..."; (b) "*Quant on veult recevoir le corps de ihesus christ*. Domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum ..."; (c) "*Quant on le a receipt*. Vera perceptio corporis et sanguinis tui deus omnipotens ...". Fols.142v-143v: *Memoria* to St Marculph: "*De saint Marcoul*. Beatus Marculphus confessor domini ... Or. Da nobis eterne consolator deus per beati Marculphi confessoris tui atque abbatis ...". Fol.143v: A very short prayer: "*En adorant le corps de Ihesus Christ*. Ave caro Christi cara ... Amen"

Illustration

One large arch-topped miniature, probably of an original five, outlined in purple-red, surrounded by a full border of stylised and semi-naturalistic acanthus and other flowers and fruit growing from the lower right corner of the page, inhabited by a naturalistic bird, blue caterpillar, and an imaginary quadruped creature,

against a solid red-pink ground, accompanied by a 4-line initial enclosing a *trompe-l'œil* house-fly:

(fol.13r) David in Penitence: he kneels in the courtyard of a gothic palace, his harp and headdress nearby, looking up at the avenging angel in the sky, with a fine Netherlandish landscape with several buildings, a river, and a traveller on a road.

Nine four-line historiated initials, each set against a yellow field edged in dark red and accompanied by a one-sided border in the outer margin, consisting of naturalistic plants, butterflies, snails, flies, etc., on a solid background of pink, yellow, blue, or green, no two the same colour: 1. (fol.26v) *Obsecro te*: The Entombment. 2. (fol.30r) *O intemerata*: The Virgin sitting on the grass, the Christ-child on her lap. 3. (fol.25r) Lauds: The Visitation. 4. (fol.57v) Prime: The Nativity. 5. (fol.63r) Terce: The Annunciation to the Shepherds. 6. (fol.67r) Sext: The Adoration of the Magi. 7. (fol.70v) None: The Circumcision. 8. (fol.74v) Vespers: The Flight into Egypt. 9. (fol.81r) Compline: The Massacre of the Innocents.

Two-line initial in shell gold, on a red and blue background with white (now oxidised to a silvery-gray) embellishment, to KL monograms in the calendar, psalms, prayers, gospel readings, etc.; similar 1-line initials to verses (the grounds and fields in alternating colours), similar line-fillers.

Provenance

– 1. Written for a woman, as indicated by the feminine forms in one of the prayers (fol.31v). The calendar, litany, and suffrages all point to Amiens as the diocese in which she lived: major feasts in the calendar include the Invention, death, and Translation of Firminus, first bishop of Amiens (13 January, 1 September, and 25 September, respectively), Honoratus, bishop of Amiens (16 May), Firminus, third bishop of Amiens (1 September) Richarius of Centula (St-Riquier), near Amiens (9 October), and Fuscianus, martyred at St-Fuscien, also close to Amiens (11 December); feasts in plain brown ink include Ulphia, whose relics were in Amiens cathedral (31 January), the death and translation of Wulfram (20 March, 15 October), Valeric, founder of the Abbey of St-Valery-sur-Somme in the diocese of Amiens (1 April, 12 December), Richarius (26 April), Fuscianus (27 June), and the very rare Dometius, deacon and canon of Amiens cathedral (23 October); the litany includes Silas last among the apostles; Fuscianus, Gentianus (whose relics were at Amiens), and Firminus among the martyrs; Firminus, Honoratus, Salvius, Valeric, and Richarius among the confessors; and Ulphia among the virgins; the *memoriae* include Richarius and Valeric. – 2. Unidentified 17th century owner, France: rebound for them. – 3. Sold Sotheby's, 5 December 1978, lot 52, with full-page plate.

17. Chalons Family Hours, Cambrai c. 1460

Physical description

Parchment, ii + 136 + xiii leaves, c.145 × 110mm; foliated in modern pencil in lower right corners of rectos, collation: 1⁸ (fols.1-8) | 2⁵⁺² (fols.9-16; fols.9 and 14 inserted), 3⁶⁺¹ (fols.17-23; fol.19 inserted), 4⁶, 5⁶⁺¹ (fols.30-36; fol.31 inserted), 6-10⁸ (fols.37-78), 11⁸⁺¹ (fols.79-85; fol.79 inserted), 12⁸, 13⁸⁺¹ (fols.94-102; fol.95 inserted), 14⁸ (fols.103-110) | 15⁴⁺⁴ (fols.111-118; fols.111, 113, 115, and 117 inserted), 16⁸⁺⁴ (fols.119-126; fols.119, 121, 123, and 125 inserted) | 17⁴⁺¹ (fols.127-131; fol.127 inserted; fols.128-129 are misplaced), 18⁴ (fols.132-135), the final quire of fourteen flyleaves and the pastedown consist of three bifolia and nine singletons; fols.1r-2r and 8v are ruled, otherwise originally blank; fore-edge prickings survive sporadically, ruled in pale red ink for 16 lines of text per page (two columns of 17 lines in the calendar), c.85 × 60mm (c.85 × 90mm in the calendar); written in a fine formal gothic bookhand in black ink, rubrics and major calendar feasts in red, capitals stroked with pale yellow wash.

Binding: Sewn on four bands and bound in 16th century polished brown calf over pasteboards, each cover with a gilt oval centrepiece depicting the Crucifixion, with Mary and John, sun, moon, and stars, the spine with a single four-petalled flower-stamp in each compartment, but no title, gilt edges, formerly with two clasps at the fore-edge, the flyleaves apparently of various 16th–19th century dates.

Text

Fols.1r-8r: Calendar, about half full, each month headed by a note on the length of the month and the moon, and with saints suggesting the southern Netherlands: Aldegundis (30 January), Gertrude (17 March; also in the litany), Servatius (13 May), Anna (26 August, consistent with Cambrai, instead of 28 August as in Tournai). Fols.10r-13r: Hours of the Holy Spirit. Fols.15r-18r: Hours of the Cross. Fols.20r-30v: Mass of the Virgin, followed by the extracts from the Gospels. Fols.32r-76r: Hours of the Virgin, Use of Rome. Fols.78r-89r: The Seven Penitential Psalms. Fols.89r-94v: Litany, petitions, and three collects. Fols.96-110v: Office of the Dead, Use of Rome, short version. Fols.112r-126v, 130r-v: Suffrages to (fol.112r-v) The Three Magi ("*Antiphona*. Ab oriente venerunt magi in Bethleem adorare dominum ... [cf. Matthew 2:1] Vs. Reges Tharsis et insule ... [cf. Psalm 71:10] *Oracio*. Deus illuminator omnium gentium ..."); (fol.114r-v) John the Baptist; (fol.116r-v) Sebastian; (fol.118r-v) Christopher; (fol.120r-v) Nicholas; (fol.122r-v) Anthony Abbot; (fol.124r-v) Lazarus: "*De sancto Lazaro*. *Antiphona*. Homo quidam erat dives et inuebatur purpura ... *Versus*. Iustum deduxit dominum per vias rectas ... *Oracio*. Deus qui beatum Lazarum a monumento fetidum ... [cf. John 11:11] [with an added

alternate beginning:] Lazarus amicus noster dormit ..."; (fol.126r-v) Catherine; (fol.130r-v) Mary Magdalene; (fols.128r-129v, 131r-132r) "*Oracio ad beatam virginem Mariam*. O intemerata ... orbis terrarum. Inclina ..."; (fols.133r-136v) "*Item alia oracio de domina noster*. Obsecro te ...".

Illumination

Fifteen full-page miniatures, with arched tops, framed in gold and with a three-sided border of stylised and semi-naturalistic acanthus and others fruit and flowers and gold leaves, on inserted leaves, originally blank on the rectos, at the start of the major texts and suffrages (see list below). Several have either a landscape background, often with a river and/or fine cityscape, or a fine interior, sometimes depicting carved stonework.

The subjects of the miniatures are: 1. (fol.9v) Pentecost: the Virgin enthroned, surrounded by the apostles, the Dove over her head. 2. (fol.14v) The Crucifixion: the Virgin, John, and another woman to Christ's right; three soldiers and the centurion converted to Christianity to his left. 3. (fol.19v) The Virgin and Child: the Virgin enthroned with the infant on her lap, an angel to each side. 4. (fol.31v) The Annunciation: Gabriel kneeling, with a scroll inscribed "Ave gratia plena dominus tecum", the Virgin reading from a book on a lectern, in a fine interior with carved stonework depicting saints and a prophet. 5. (fol.77v) The Last Judgement: Christ displaying his wounds, his feet on a gold orb, a trumpeting angel to each side, above the Virgin and St John and souls rising from graves. 6. (fol.95v) Funeral service in a church: black-clad mourners sitting before a blue-draped bier, tonsured clerics singing at a lectern, a crippled beggar approaching with a begging-bowl. 7. (fol.111v) The Adoration of the Magi: the three kings presenting their gifts to the Christ-child on his mother's knee. 8. (fol.113v) The John the Baptist: wearing a pink cloak over his camel-skin clothes, holding a book, accompanied by a lamb. 9. (fol.115v) St Sebastian: tied to a tree, shot with arrows by two archers, directed by the Emperor Diocletian. 10. (fol.117v) St Christopher carrying the Christ-child across the river, watched by the black-clad hermit. 11. (fol.119v) St Nicholas, dressed in full bishops' vestments and holding an elaborate crozier, blessing the three tonsured boys who climb out from the pickling-tub. 12. (fol.121v) St Anthony Abbot, with book, bell, tau-staff, and pig. 13. (fol.123v) St Lazarus, wearing a pilgrim's hat, holding a book in one hand and a leper's wooden clapper in the other. 14. (fol.125v) St Catherine, holding a sword, the wheel at her side, standing on her persecutor Emperor Maxentius, a black bird in the background (presumably the bird that brought food to her when she was in prison). 15. (fol.127v) St Mary Magdalene, holding her ointment-jar.

Seven-line foliate initials on gold backgrounds, from which springs a three-sided bar text-frame, surrounded by a three-sided border similar to those around the miniatures, but with semi-naturalistic exotic birds, at the start of the two major "halves" of the volume (fols.10r and 96r); similar six-line initials and borders facing the remaining miniatures (fols.15r, with a hart?, 20r, 32r, with a gold-maned lion, and 78r); similar five-line initials with two-sided borders, not facing miniatures, at the remaining Hours of the Virgin and final prayers to the Virgin (fols.42r (6-line), 53r, 56v, 59v, 62v, 65v, 72r, 128r, 133r); similar four-line initials and three-sided borders at the suffrages (fols.111r, 114r, 116r, 118r, 120r, 122r, 124r, 126r, 128r, 130r). Three-line initials in gold on blue backgrounds within a red field with white ornament, to the KL monograms in the calendar and the Salve regina; similar two-line initials to Psalms, prayers, etc.; one-line initials alternately gold with blue flourishing or blue with red flourishing, to verses and saints in the litany; simple line-fillers in gold and/or blue, especially in the litany.

Provenance

– 1. A 15th century ownership inscription reads "Les presentes heures appartiennent / a moy Johanne ... femme / de Richard(?) B...t(?) notaire / ..." (front pastedown). – 2. Owned by the 16th century in Chalons-sur-Marne and neighbouring towns: a series of dated inscriptions on the front flyleaves recording births, marriages, and deaths begins in 1598: "Le vingtdeuxiesme jour de Mars mil v^e / iij^{xx} et dixhuit fue né Jacquier Fucia(?) / filz de ... Thierry Fucia(?) de / Huguelle(?) ...". Added inscriptions dated from 1602 to 1907 (fols.137r-149v), begin with the birth of "Magdalein, ma premiere fille"; she was baptised at the church of Notre Dame "de ma ville de Victry" (presumably Vitry, south-east of Chalons) by Jehan Choisan, priest; "Nicolas, mon premiere fil" was born in 1604, and he was baptised at the same church by the same priest (fol.137r); the following inscriptions are dated at intervals of a few years each. Later inscriptions include: "Ce livre vient de la famille des Chalons / et se donnoit de temps immemorial a l'ainé / de ladite famille et est passé entre les mains / de Gerard Richelet, prêtre et curé de / Matougue [about 5 miles north-west of Chalons] l'an 1712 comme a l'ainé de / Catherine Chalons sœur de Joachim Chalons / qui la eu le dernier, et qui est mort sans / enfans en foy de quoy jay signe la / presente attestation le XI de Septembre 1712."

References

Apparently unpublished. On the Namur manuscript (Musée des Arts anciens du Namurois, Bibliothèque de la Société archéologique de Namur, fonds de la SAN, ms. 3) with comparable borders see: Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, in *Art en Namurois: La sculpture 1400-1550* (Namur, 2001), pp.339-43. *Miniatures flamandes 1404-1482* (Paris and Brussels, 2011), p.31.

Similar borders appear in:

Paris, BnF, ms. lat 14289 (Use close to Théroutane, similar to other hours associated with Cambrai)
Chicago, Art Institute, MS. 15.534 (Use close to Besançon)
Vatican Library, MS. Ross. 61 (Use close to Besançon)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. Lit. e. 10 (Use of Sarum)

On the Master of Pieter Danielssoen see:

James Marrow, in *Mirror of the Life of our Lord* (Doornspijk, 1979), pp. 69-97 and illustrations.

18. Marie de Hanequart Hours, Flanders c. 1460

Physical Description

Parchment, i + 174 + ii leaves, c.162 × 110mm, foliated in modern pencil (usually only on every fifth leaf) i, 1-176; fols.i and 176 are blank; fols.12, 20, 26, 45, 62, 73, 78, 83, 88, 93, 100, 106, and 125 are blank on the recto with a miniature on the verso; fols.44v, 61v, 72v, 82v, 87v, 92v, 105v, 174r-175v are ruled, otherwise blank; apparently COMPLETE except for a one leaf with only few words on it, consisting almost entirely of quires of 8 leaves, with miniatures inserted on single leaves of thicker parchment: 1⁸ (pastedown, fols.i, 1-6), 2⁴ (fols.7-12) | 3⁸⁺² (fols.13-22; 13 and 20 inserted), 4⁸⁺¹ (fols.23-31; 26 inserted), 5⁴ (fols.32-35) | 6⁸⁺¹ (fols.36-44; 36 inserted) | 7⁸⁺¹ (fols.45-53; 45 inserted), 8⁸ (fols.54-61), 9⁸ (fols.62-70), 10⁸⁺¹ (fols.71-80; 73 and 78 inserted), 11⁸⁺² (fols.81-90; 83 and 88 inserted), 12⁸⁺¹ (fols.91-99; 93 inserted), 13⁴⁺² (fols.100-105; 105 inserted) | 14⁸ (fols.106-114; 106 inserted), 15⁸ (fols.115-122), 16⁸⁺¹ (fols.123-131; 125 inserted), 17-19⁸ (fols.132-155), 20⁶ (fols.156-161), 21⁴⁺¹ (fols.162-166; last inserted), 22⁸ (fols.167-174), 23⁴⁺¹ (fols.175-176 and pastedown; blank 2nd cancelled); about twelve words are missing at the end of a prayer on fol.99v, so it is likely that there was once another inserted leaf here, now missing; ruled in pale pink ink for 18 lines of text per page (17 in the calendar), the ruled space c.100 × 60mm (93 × 60mm in the calendar); written in a fine formal gothic script in dark brown ink, rubrics and major calendar feasts in red, occasionally with very fine calligraphic flourishes and cadels (especially in the calendar, e.g. fols.1r, 2v, 4r); written from near the bottom of fol. 166r onwards apparently by a second scribe who also made additions to the calendar.

Binding: Sewn on four slit things, with medieval(?) parchment flyleaves, bound in 16th century polished brown calf over pasteboards, the centre of the front cover with a gilt oval depicting the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St John, and the name "MARIE / HANEQVART", the centre of the back cover with a gilt oval depicting the Madonna standing in a landscape holding the Christ Child and a flowering stem ("virga"), and the date "ANNO / [1]586", the spine with a 19th(?) century paper label inscribed "MISSALE / ROMANUM / M. S."; preserved in an old silk handkerchief in a fitted buckram box with a gilt spine-title "BOOK OF HOURS".

Text

Fols.1r-12v: Calendar, about one third full, major feasts (in red) include: Basil, to whom is dedicated the church below the Basilica of the Holy Blood in Bruges (14 June), and Donatian, to whom Bruges cathedral was dedicated (14 October); a considerable number of feasts are contemporary additions in a different script, including Dymphna (15 May), and Fredegand (17 July, 10 October). Fols.13r-19v: Hours of the Cross. Fols.21r-25v: Hours of the Holy Spirit. Fols.27r-35v: Mass of the Virgin, followed by the extracts from the Four Gospels. Fols.37r-44r: Seasonal variants for Hours of the Virgin from Advent to the Ascension. Fols.46r-105r: Hours of the Virgin, "secundum usum Romanum". Fols.107r-116v: The Seven Penitential Psalms, followed by (fols.116v-124v) Litany, petitions, and collects. Fols.126r-162v: Office of the Dead, Use of Rome. Fols.162v-166r: The prayer "Obsecro te". Fols.166r-168r: The prayer "O intemerata". Fols.168v-173v: Suffrages to Saints: John the Baptist, Peter & Paul, Andrew, Anthony, Nicholas, Anne, Mary Magdalene, Catherine, Barbara and Margaret.

Illumination

Fourteen full-page grisaille miniatures with full borders, facing fourteen five-line grisaille foliate initials on gold grounds accompanied by matching full borders: 1. (fol.13v) Crucifixion. 2. (fol.20v) Pentecost. 3. (fol.26v) The Virgin and Child. 4. (fol.36v) The Coronation of the Virgin. 5. (fol.45v) The Annunciation. 6. (fol.62v) The Visitation. 7. (fol.73v) The Nativity. 8. (fol.78v) The Shepherds. 9. (fol.83v) The Magi. 10. (fol.88v) The Presentation. 11. (fol.93v) The Massacre of the Innocents. 12. (fol.100v) The Flight into Egypt. 13. (fol.106v) David in Penitence. 14. (fol.125v) The Raising of Lazarus.

Ten smaller miniatures: 1. (fol.168v) St John the Baptist. 2. (fol.169r) Sts Peter and Paul. 3. (fol.169v) St Andrew. 4. (fol.170r) St Anthony Abbot. 5. (fol.171v) St Nicholas. 6. (fol.172r) St Anne (with the Virgin and child). 7. (fol.172v) St Mary Magdalene. 8. (fol.173r) St Katherine. 9. (fol.173v) St Barbara. 10. (fol.174v) St Margaret emerging from the belly of the dragon.

One historiated initial: (fol.166r) Pietà.

One-line initials alternately blue with red penwork, or gold with blue penwork, blue and red line-fillers in the litany; two-line initials in gold on a ground of red and blue with white ornament, occasional three-line initials

at the beginning of some prayers (e.g. the Salve regina, fol. 104v), one four-line initial at the beginning of the prayer "Obsecro te".

Provenance

– 1. The manuscript was apparently originally written to be as generic as possible, with the universal Use of Rome and a very empty calendar. When a customer wanted to buy it, a number of modifications were made: numerous entries were added to the calendar, prayers were added at the end, and it was perhaps also at this stage that the full-page miniatures were inserted. – 2. On balance, it seems that in the later 15th and 16th centuries the manuscript was owned in Antwerp. By far the most unusual entry added to the calendar is the feast of St Fredegand on 10 October (his other feast is rare, but not as rare), who was venerated at Deurne (a short distance east of Antwerp), and at Mechelen (about 15km south of Antwerp); the second rarest feast is that of Dymphna, who was venerated at Gheel (about 25km east of Antwerp) and Mechelen. The Feast of the Name of Jesus, here added to the calendar as "Jhesus dach" (15 January), was instituted by the Franciscans and approved by Pope Clement VII (1523-34), after which the feast was highly venerated in Bruges and Antwerp in non-Franciscan calendars. There are many sewing-holes and circular impressions in the front pastedown and flyleaf, evidence of the insertion of pilgrim-badges, probably by the first owner. There are various minor marginal additions and annotations e.g. "Pater noster", "Gloria", and the correction of "secunda" to "tertia" (fol.138r), evidence of the book's practical use in daily devotions. – 3. Owned by "Marie Hanequart" by 1586, when the present binding was made: possibly the Marie Hannecart/Hannekart of Ath (about 40km south of Ghent) who married Pierre van Rode on 4 January 1587. – 4. In an English private collection in the 20th century, to judge by the fitted box with its spine-title in English, and by an inserted piece of paper recording that the volume was shown in 1956 to Francis Wormald, Professor of Palaeography, University of London.

References

The present manuscript is apparently unpublished. For further information about the artist, and grisaille manuscript illumination, see especially:

Miniatures flamandes, 1404-1482, edited by B. Bousmanne & T. Delcourt (exhibition catalogue, Bibliothèque nationale de France and Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 2011), especially pp.238-58 (Willem Vrelant and followers) and *passim* for grisaille manuscripts.

Bernard Bousmanne, "Item a Guillaume Wyelant aussi enlumineur". *Willem Vrelant: un aspect de l'enluminure dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux sous le mécénat des ducs de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire* (Turnhout, 1997).

P. Cockshaw, *Miniatures en grisaille* (exhibition catalogue, Bibliothèque royale, Brussels, 1986).

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The Mildmay Master's oeuvre was first studied in detail by Nicholas Rogers, *Books of Hours in the Low Countries for the English Market in the 15th Century* (M. Litt. dissertation, Cambridge, 1982).

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