The Wonderland of Books of Hours

Les Enluminures

Les Enluminures

The Wonderland of Books of Hours

The Wonderland of Books of Hours

Les Enluminures
Paris • New York • Chicago

Table of Contents

Ius
l ad
iuto
rium
me
um
intende. Ne ad ad
uuuandum me festi
na. Gl'a pri z filio.
et spiri scō. Sicut e
rat in principio et.
A. O admirabile cō.

Introduction

The Wonderland of Books of Hours

Sitting on the bank by her sister, who is reading, Alice ponders "and what is the use of a book … without pictures or conversations." You know what comes next. Alice follows the White Rabbit down the rabbit hole and through a long passageway, swims with Mouse in the pool of tears, and meets up with the White Rabbit, the Caterpillar, the March Hare and Mad Hatter, the Cheshire Cat, the Mock Turtle, and the King and Queen, among other fanciful characters.

What if we were to play make-pretend Alice and engage in conversation with some of our thirteen Books of Hours. Let's imagine going down the rabbit hole. Down, down, down … back in time and place.

A towering Cathedral dwarfs us as we find ourselves in the booming city of medieval Metz, renowned as "Metz the Rich," in eastern France. We meet a dashing knight on his way to pray, his small Book of Hours dangling suspended from his waist. Civic minded, he tells us of his special devotion to St. Stephen, whose relics are found in the Cathedral before us and whose martyrdom is pictured on the municipal seal of the city. It is the month of May, and the sun still soars high in the sky this late afternoon. Our knight proudly shows off the pictures in the illuminated calendar of his luxurious book. He points out his personal shield painted under the Zodiac Sign of Gemini for May, along with a picture of the sun in the margin, rising to the top of the page. Another knight, his twin brother, rushes up to join us, a similar book dangling from his waist. (cat. no. 10).

In bustling, commercial Bruges, full of English merchants carrying wool and silk, Italian bankers and money lenders, we meet up with the illuminator Willem Vrelant in his busy workshop. Standing just inside the door, we eavesdrop: Willem calls a halt to routine work to announce a major commission. Betkin, Matkin, Marie, Adrian – his team of apprentices composed of men and women – gather around. Willem explains that he has just received instructions from a wealthy Englishman to paint an extraordinarily rich Book of Hours. Not only does the patron, named Richard Newton, require many miniatures. That would be easy, if time-consuming. He wants them to be personalized to an unusual extent. They must include a rebus, new to the apprentices, many portraits of the owner, scenes of the city of London where none of them have ever been. It will be a challenge, he says, as important as his grand commissions for the Duke of Burgundy. We watch them disburse, back to their wooden easels, excited to carry out the new project (cat. no. 4).

Paris is not too far away. Although less than one percent the population of modern-day Tokyo, Paris astonishes us by its colossal size, the largest city in Europe in the sixteenth century. Wandering through the narrow streets on the Left Bank, we stop at a tiny entrance on the Rue Jacob in today's Latin Quarter. There is a wooden sign of a unicorn. We have arrived at the shop of the famous printer, Thielman Kerver. As we enter, we are bombarded by sights, sounds, and smells: the clacking of the presses, the pungent odor of ink, the musty smell of damp paper. A woman stands in the center of the hustle and bustle. She is the widow Yolande Bonhomme, still dressed in black, mourning her husband's death a few years earlier. With impressive energy, Yolande directs the activity of five presses and twenty or thirty journeymen, printers and typesetters turning out Books of Hours for the European market.

Crossing the alps, we end up in Italy in Perugia at the dawn of the Renaissance, home to Perugino, Pinturicchio, Bonfiglio, and later to Raphael. We fly through the Gates of the ancient Etruscan city. Near the Porta Sol, we meet a lovely woman, a Franciscan nun from Sant'Agnese di Porta Sol, who clasps in her hands a small, jewel-like treasure, full of precious pigments and goldleaf. She shows us her picture and that of her fellow nuns in a miniature of a Funeral Mass.

Through the pages of her manuscript, she welcomes us into her private world of prayer. She is like the Virgn Mary depicted on the red pavement of her convent surrounded by elaborate architectural settings. She is like David as she reads the golden letters of the first psalm: "Lord, in thy wrath rebuke me not." From her cloistered walls, partly adorned with frescoes by Perugino, could she see the majestic arched Gate of Augustus that inspired the illuminator? Or could she just remember it? (cat. no. 12).

Now, wake up, dear Reader, from Wonderland long ago.

***

Manuscripts known as "Books of Hours" were widely produced in the Middle Ages from about 1250 to about 1550. Written and painted entirely by hand (manu=hand; scriptus=to write), they were the most popular book among the laity and the aristocracy. Even today illuminated Books of Hours exist in greater numbers than any other type of manuscript from the Middle Ages. Every Book of Hours is unique. Lavish versions were costly, personalized with care for their individual owner and painted by some of the best artists of the day.

How were they made?
It wasn't easy to make a medieval manuscript. Specially treated animal skins, or parchment (cow, sheep, or goat), were cut, stacked, and folded in half to form "gatherings." After ruling, a scribe wrote the text, and artists decorated and illuminated the sheets. Arranged in sequence, the gatherings were sewn, then threaded through channels in wooden boards, to make up the front and back covers of the binding.

Where were they produced?
Before about the year 1200, medieval manuscripts were made in monasteries by monks, who were scribes and artists working in the service of God. After around 1200 with the rise of towns and the growth of a money economy, production shifted to city centers. In places like Paris, Oxford, and Florence specialized professionals in the book trade (scribes, artists, binders, publishers) belonged to guilds and were paid for their work. Books of Hours are all made by workshops in towns, often by families who worked together, husband and wife with their sons and daughters.

What does it mean "illuminated"?
The term "illuminated" comes from the Latin verb illuminare, meaning "to light up or illuminate." An illuminated manuscript is one whose pages shine with decorations of gold and bright colors. To create an illumination, which could be an initial, a border, or a full-page picture, the artist would typically start with a simple drawing outlined in lead or ink, add gold leaf over a prepared ground, and, finally, fill in the outlines with paints. The rich hues of the paint derived from a variety of sources, including ground up minerals (like azurite or lapis lazuli) and plant extracts.

Why are they in such good condition?
Parchment is a much more robust support than most European-made paper. The natural ingredients of the ink and pigments were mineral or vegetable products, resistant to change. Stored shut within hefty bindings, the text and paintings of medieval manuscripts were well protected from the elements. Made to last, medieval manuscripts were treasured.

What do we know about the technique?
As in the East during the same period, most pigments used in Western European manuscripts came from natural sources. Some pigments were made from organic ingredients (chalk, limestone, crushed eggshells, soot from lampblack, earth, saffron, weld, woad, and so forth). Others came along trade routes. For example, red kermes came from the Mediterranean Coast, while blue azurite was mined in Saxony and Hungary. Blue indigo and red Brazilwood came via the Silk Road from Asia, whereas the most expensive pigment, ultramarine was obtained from precious ground-up lapis lazuli sourced in faraway Afghanistan.

Did they use real gold?
Yes, leaf gold was beaten into tissue-thin sheets, then stuck on the page with clay or gesso (a mixture of animal glue, chalk, and white pigment). The artist polished the gold until it shone brightly. Artists also used shell (or liquid) gold composed of particles of gold held in suspension so it could be painted directly on the page. There were also gold substitutes including "vegetable gold" from natural yellow dies.

A short history of Books of Hours
For three hundred years, from c. 1250 to c. 1550, the Book of Hours was the bestseller of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The core of the Book of Hours is the Office of the Virgin Mary, with its set of prayers to be recited at home eight different times, or hours, of the day, just as monks chanted the office during the eight monastic hours.

Books of Hours are remarkably varied. Everyday versions were sometimes written on paper with modest ornamentation. Deluxe versions were nearly always copied on fine parchment and richly illuminated with precious gold leaf and lapis lazuli by the best artists of the day. Kings and queens, princes and princesses, doctors, lawyers, merchants, and housewives owned Books of Hours. Wealthy women often received illuminated Books of Hours as dowry presents. Mothers taught their children to read from Books of Hours. Recording in them milestones of family history, they passed them down from generation to generation as heirlooms.

Different texts and illustrations are typically found together in Books of Hours. The Hours of the Virgin is illustrated with the Christmas story, made up of scenes from the early life of Christ. Other sets of readings include the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Typically illustrated with an image of King David, the Penitential Psalms were recited to help one resist temptation to commit any of the Seven Deadly Sins. The Office of the Dead was prayed to reduce the time spent by one's friends and relatives in the fires of purgatory. A calendar prefaces each Book of Hours. Listing the important feast days throughout the year, calendars frequently include pictures of the Signs of the Zodiac and the Labors of the Month, activities that characterize everyday life throughout the year. Prayers to special saints were a way of tailoring each book to its owner.

The art of painting in Books of Hours
Whether illustrated with a single picture or dozens of images, Books of Hours tell us more about painting in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance than almost any other medium of art. Although most medieval illuminators did not sign their art, scholars have meticulously assembled groups of manuscripts around notnames (perhaps family members). Among them are masterpieces of medieval illumination painted by some of the most famous artists of the day The diverse content of each Book of Hours, as well as the patron's desire for personalization, offered many opportunities for artistic innovation. The master illuminator carefully guarded his or her designs as proprietary; medieval lawsuits record cases against apprentices who "stole" their master's creations.

Collecting Books of Hours
Books of Hours are found in many private collections, as well as the great museums of Western Europe and North and South America and on the art market. Later owners often left their own traces in Books of Hours. They had them rebound. They added special text. They even commissioned their own book plates (see for example Picasso's book plate for Paul Rosenberg, no. 5). Medieval manuscripts have lasted for hundreds, even thousands of years in changing environments and different conditions. They are durable treasures of Europe's rich artistic heritage. Owning an illuminated Book of Hours offers a unique experience, one that requires no special circumstances. Just put the manuscript on your shelf, take it out from time to time, leaf through it with care, admire the paintings, and relish the pleasure of it – the look, the touch, the smell, even the sound of the pages as they turn.

Sandra Hindman
September 2023


Deus in adiutorium
meum intende.
Domine ad adiuuandum

Gloria patri et filio et spiritui
sancto sicut erat in principio et
nunc et semper et in secula se
culorum amen. Alleluya.

Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui
animam gloriosae virginis matris
marie ad habitandum tibi dignum
fecisti quondam corporis eius
templum. Da nobis quesumus ut
quemadmodum illa genitricem
filii tui dilecti agnoscere meruit
ita nos eius precibus ad hostem pro

1 Ravishing manuscript from the "Golden Age" of illumination in Paris

The Hours of Le Goux de La Berchère (Use of Paris)
In Latin and French, illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Paris, c. 1420
11 full-page miniatures, 24 calendar vignettes, and many roundels throughout by the Master of the Munich Golden Legend

This is a ravishing manuscript in near-perfect condition produced in Paris at the time of the Bedford Master by his chief disciple The Master of the Munich Golden Legend. Its rich palette, sensitive attention to decorative detail, lavish use of gold (including some gold tooling), and creative style and iconography are typical of the earliest Parisian work of our master when he was most under the influence of the Bedford Master and before his Rouen period. The many roundels, enhancing the principal miniatures, are enchanting. Once in the collection of J.R. Ritman, it has for the past two decades been inaccessible in a private collection.

Provenance

1. Written in Paris, for the local use (and with rubrics in blue, sometimes described as characteristic of Parisian production) certainly illuminated by the Master of the Munich Golden Legend during his earliest Parisian period and close to the Bedford Master.

2. Charles Le Goux de la Berchère (1647–1719), Archbishop of Narbonne (1703–1719), with his arms on both covers of the binding (see: Eugene Olivier, Manuel de l'amateur de reliures armoriées françaises, 33, 1932, pl. 2334, who states that he "possédait une des plus importantes bibliothèques de l'époque embrassant toutes les branches du savoir humain, qu'il légua aux Jésuites; une partie considérable de sa collection passa à son successeur sur le siège de Narbonne, Mgr de Beauveau").

3. Renatus François de Beauvau du Rivau, Archbishop of Narbonne (1719–1739), signed along the gutter margin of f. 1 (as described Olivier, op. cit.); a large part of his collection has passed into the library at Toulouse.

4. A member of the Mosnier de Rochechinard family, of Dauphiné, with their small armorial bookplate (cf. Rietsrap, Armorial général, II, pl. CCLI; though the colors of the chief and the lion rampant are reversed, presumably simply an engraver's error).

5. A member of the Angosse de Combères or Angosse d'Estornez families, with their larger armorial bookplate (cf. Rietstap, I, pl. LII).

6. J. R. Ritman (b. 1941–), Amsterdam, his sale, London Sotheby's, A Second Selection of Illuminated Manuscripts from c. 1000 to c. 1522, The Property of J. R. Ritman, Sold for the Benefit of the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, 19 June 2001, lot 15.

7. Private Collection.

Text

ff. 1–12v, Calendar, in French, with an entry for every day; major feasts in gold, the others alternately red or blue; ff. 14–17v, Gospel Sequences, ending imperfect; ff. 18–27v, Three prayers to the Virgin: the Obsecro te, beginning imperfect in the masculine form, the O intemerata, and the "Saluto te beatissima uirgo Maria, angelorum regina…"; ff. 13r–v, 28–91, Hours of the Virgin, "... selon l'usage de Paris ...", with nine lessons at Matins; the first leaf is bound before f. 14; f. 91v is ruled and has a three-sided border, but no text; ff. 92–111, Seven Penitential Psalms, Litany, and two collects; ff. 111v–114, Hours of the Cross; ff. 115–117v, Hours of the Holy Spirit.


Ave gratia plena dominus
Domine labia mea aperies.
Et os meum annunciabit laudem tuam.

Figure 1
Master of the Munich Golden Legend
Pentecost, from the Isabeau de Croix Hours, f. 216
France, Paris, c. 1430
Private Collection

Figure 2
Bedford Master
Pentecost, from the Bedford Hours, f. 132
France, Paris, c. 1415–1425
London, British Library, Add. MS 18850

Illustration

This ravishing manuscript was illuminated by The Master of the Munich Golden Legend, who is named after a manuscript in the Bavarian State Library in Munich (CGM) containing a French translation of Jacobus of Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. The Master of the Munich Golden Legend, contributed to many of the great manuscripts that emerged out of the circle of the Bedford Master, including the Bedford Hours itself (British Library, Add. MS 18850) and the Sobieski Hours at Windsor Castle. He was tentatively identified by Eberhard König and more forcefully by Heribert Tenschert as Conrad of Toul, from an apparent signature in the illumination of the Munich volume (Das Pariser Stundenbuch an der Schwelle zum 15. Jahrhundert, 2011, pp. 139–48), although it must be admitted that no illuminator of that name is among the known records of the Parisian book trade. He was clearly a pupil or apprentice of the Bedford Master. In her catalogue of French manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum, which houses one of the star manuscripts by the artist (W.288), L.M.C. Randall suggests that some of the unusual iconography employed by the artist, especially in the border roundels (for example the scenes concerning Joachim and Anne, f. 13r), may have been inspired by a detail found in Jacobus's accounts.

A partial study of the artist and his works has been published by Gregory Clark, Art in the Time of War (2016); a dissertation on him by Laurent Ungeheuer (2015) remains unpublished. He may have worked on panel paintings as well as being a manuscript illuminator, if Eleanor Spencer was correct in attributing to him the great panel depicting Jouvenal des Ursins and his family (Louvre, Inv. 9618), painted between 1445 and 1449 for their chapel in Notre Dame, Paris. The present manuscript was painted earlier than this, at about the time when Paris was occupied by English troops in the Hundred Years' War, in 1420. After the occupation, and the outbreak of plague, many illuminators appear to have fled the city. It is not known whether the Master of the Munich Golden Legend left with them. Although he seems to have maintained a workshop in Paris, but there are also manuscripts made for use in Rouen to which he contributed, and another that suggests that he may have worked briefly in the vicinity of Angers or Le Mans (Plummer 1982, pp. 7–8).

Slightly later and probably in Rouen he collaborated with the Dunois Master and with the Master of the Harvard Hannibal (e.g., in the Hours of Isabeau de Croix, Private Collection). We thank Gregory Clark for pointing out that the present manuscript, while still very much in the spirit of the finest works by the Bedford Master, compares closely also to the miniatures in the Isabeau de Croix Hours, especially the dazzling patterning in both books. Compare, for example, the particolored ceilings and wavy rays surrounding the doves of the Holy Spirit in splendor in the de Croix Pentecost (fig. 1) to the same subject in our Hours. Because of the presence of the Dunois Master in the de Croix Hours, Clark (2016, p. 271) dates that codex to around 1440. Yet, for Clark, several indicators in the present manuscript suggest an earlier date between about 1420 and 1430, notably, the composition of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, which closely mirrors a Boucicaut composition of about 1420 (Clark 2016, fig. 51). Likewise, the praying apostle pitched forward before an opened book in the Pentecost of our Hours reformulates two like figures in the foreground of the Pentecost in the Bedford Hours (fig. 2; London, British Library, Add. MS 18850, f. 132), tentatively dated between 1415 to 1425.

The depth and purity of the colors and the brilliancy of the gold in this manuscript are dazzling. Roger Wieck's description of "one of the most important and beautiful Books of Hours in the Walters Art Gallery" (fig. 3; W.288) may equally be applied to the present book, whose miniatures and, especially, marginal decoration closely mirror the Walters manuscript: "The manuscript was created during a period – the first third of the fifteenth century – and in a place – Paris – when manuscript illumination reached one of its effervescent climaxes. The miniatures are the work of one of the leading illuminators of the early fifteenth century, a painter christened the Master of the Munich Golden Legend.... Their fine quality, their deep and pure colors, their attention to detail, and their nearly perfect state of preservation make these miniatures remarkable. But they are even more so because of the rich array of events and scenes that the pictures unfold for us..." (Wieck, 1988, p. 11). Wieck illustrates all twelve of the miniatures as full-page color plates (pls. 1–12), allowing easy comparison with the present manuscript. Several of the border vignette scenes are found in both manuscripts, but the Walters manuscript has fewer medallions in the borders of the Annunciation and King David miniatures. The Walters volume has more medallions at the lesser hours but lacks the series of twenty-four calendar miniatures of the present book.

Deus in adiutor
ium meum in
tende.
Domine ad adiuuand'

There are twenty-four miniatures in the lower borders of the calendar, depicting the Labors of the Months and the Signs of the Zodiac, in cusped quatrefoil frames, as follow: f. 1, Man warming himself by a fire, Aquarius; f. 2, Man chopping trees, Pisces; f. 3, Man pruning trees, Aries; f. 4, Man carrying a branch, Taurus; f. 5, Man on horseback with a falcon, Gemini; f. 6, Man cutting grass with scythe, Cancer; f. 7, Man reaping with sickle, Leo; f. 8, Man threshing, Virgo; f. 9, Man treading grapes, Libra; f. 10, Man sowing seeds, Scorpio; f. 11, Man knocking acorns from trees to feed pigs, Saggitarius; f. 12, Man killing a pig, Capricorn.

The eleven large miniatures each have several border vignettes: f. 13, The Annunciation; with seven border vignettes based on apocryphal writings or the Golden Legend, including: (i) Joachim and St. Anne offering lambs at the Temple, but being turned away; (ii) The Meeting of Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate; (iii) The Nativity of the Virgin; (iv) St. Anne and the Virgin, each holding a book; (v) The Presentation of the Virgin at the Steps of the Temple; (vi) The Virgin at a loom; (vii) An angel.

Figure 3
Master of the Munich Golden Legend
Visitation with marginal medallions of the infancy of Christ, f. 41
France, 1425-1430
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.288

Each of the following seven miniatures has five border vignettes, each with one or more angels praising, singing, or playing musical instruments: f. 47, The Visitation; f. 58v, The Nativity, with the Virgin adoring the Child, and Joseph warming a piece of cloth by a fire; f. 64v, The Annunciation to the Shepherds; f. 69v, The Adoration of the Magi; f. 74r, The Presentation in the Temple; f. 78v, The Flight into Egypt; f. 86, The Coronation of the Virgin; f. 92, King David in Penitence, in a landscape; with five border vignettes: (i) David beheading Goliath; (ii)Bathsheba bathing; (iii) King David telling Bathsheba's husband, Uriah the Hittite, to go into battle; (iv) Uriah saying his farewell to Bathsheba; (v) Uriah riding to his death; f. 111 v, The Crucifixion, with John and the Virgin to the left of the Cross, Longinus and other soldiers to the right; with five border vignettes each with an angel holding the Instruments of the Passion; f. 115, Pentecost, with the Virgin in the center, and St. Peter reading from an open book on the floor in the foreground; with five border vignettes, each with an angel playing a musical instrument.

Physical description

117 leaves, preceded by four paper flyleaves, and followed by one vellum and four paper ones; lacking 5 text leaves and two others possibly with miniatures or historiated initials, else apparently complete, collation 1 12, 2 8–1+1 (1st and 6th leaves missing, the 1st replaced with leaf that should follow f. 27), 38, 48–6 (1st leaf now bound as f. 13, 2nd and 6th leaves missing), 5–118, 126, 13–158, 16+2 (last 2 leaves canceled); ruled in pale red ink for 14 lines of text per page, justification c. 90 × 60 mm.; written in a regular formal gothic bookhand, with headings in red or blue, the calendar in red, blue, and gold, verse initial in gold on a pink and blue ground with white ornament, matching line-fillers, two-line initials in red and blue with white ornament, infilled with foliage, on a gold ground, attached to a foliate border running the height of the text in at least one margin, sometimes filling all four; borders in the fore-edge margin of every page, including those with no text, and also in the other margins of most pages, the borders of gold ivy leaves and black ink tendrils, interspersed with colored flowers, fruit, and occasional animals or birds; ELEVEN LARGE MINIATURES accompanied by full borders with small miniatures in the roundels and three-line initials; the vellum of high quality, generally clean and unblemished, a strip at the bottom of the last two leaves cut away and repaired with medieval vellum, the decoration slightly cropped in the top margins of some pages, occasional signs of use such as smudging, but generally in excellent condition. Bound in 18th-century red Morocco with gilt arms in the center of each cover, the impression deep and crisp but the gilding somewhat flaked, sewn on five cords, marbled endpapers, the edges of the leaves gilt, some extremely neat repairs to the joints and corners, but overall sound and in very good condition. Dimensions c. 165 × 120 mm.

Deus in adiutor
ium meum in
tende.
Domine ad adiuuand'

Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc
et semper et in secula seculorum
amen alleluya. hymnus.
Veni creator spiritus mentes tuorum visita im
plesque superna gratia quae tu creasti pectora.
Memento salutis auctor
quod nunc quondam corporis
collidata virginis nascendo
formam sumpsisti.
Mira mater gratie mater
misericordie tu nos ab hoste


INRI
Domine labia mea
aperies.
Et os meum
annunciabit laudem tuam.

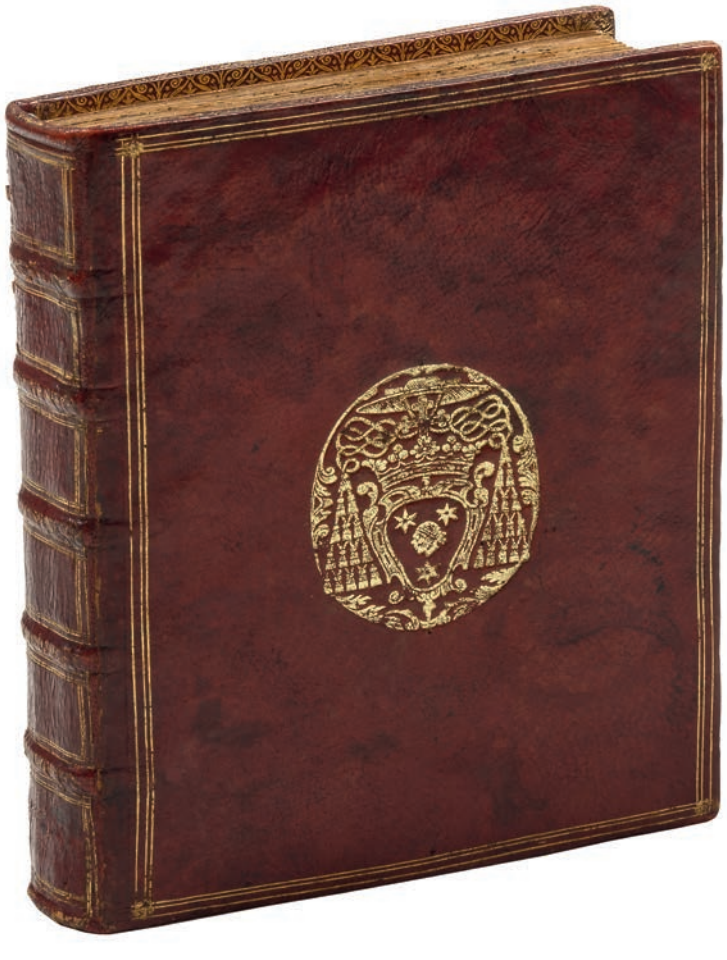
Literature

Published: Gregory Clark, *The Master of Morgan 453 and Manuscript Illumination in Paris during the English Occupation (1419–1435), Art in the Time of War.* Text Image Context. Studies in Medieval Manuscript Illumination, 3, Toronto, 2016, p. 381 (as c. 1420–1430).

Further references: Laurent Ungeheuer, "La Maître de la Légende dorée de Munich: Un enlumineur parisien du milieu du XVe siècle, formation, production, influences and collaborations," Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, École Practique des Hautes Études, 2015; Laurent Ungeheuer, "The Munich Golden Legend Master, a Disciple of the Bedford Master: Collaborations and Independence of a Parisian Illuminator between 1420 and 1450," *Revue de l'Art* 195 (2017), pp. 23–32; Roger Wieck. *Time Sanctified. The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, New York, 1988; John Plummer, *The Last Flowering French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420–1530: from American Collections*, New York, 1982.

We thank Gregory Clark for his expertise.

BOH 213




ET NON SANS CA


AVE GRACIA PLENA BOM

2 The dawn of Renaissance portraiture in France

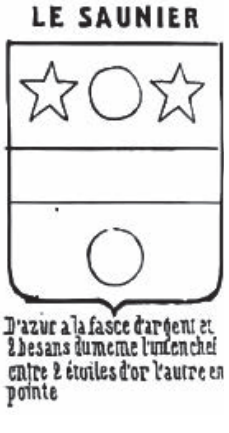
The "Le Saunier" Hours (Use of Rome)
In Latin and French, illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Lyon, c. 1490-1500
16 full-page miniatures, 15 small miniatures, 24 calendar miniatures attributed to the the Lambert Master (or Master of Guillaume Lambert, active in Lyon, 1475–1500) and the Master of the Alarmes de Mars (active in Lyon, circa 1485–1510)

Richly illuminated, this elegant manuscript is adorned with two remarkable donor portraits that witness the early interest of the elites of Lyon in the genre of portraiture. The patrons, likely named Jean and Catherine, most probably come from the Le Saunier family whose arms are reproduced three times in the manuscript. Two major painters active in the last quarter of the fifteenth century participated in the illumination of these Horae, now identified as The "Le Saunier" Hours after its patrons. The resurfacing of this manuscript, published but in a private collection for nearly three decades, prompts a re-examination of the styles of its collaborating artists and their importance for development of Lyonnais painting at the dawn of the Renaissance.

Provenance

1. This manuscript is made for the universal liturgical use of Rome (Office of the Virgin and Office of the Dead) and its Calendar is for the general "universal" composite use with no specifically local Lyonnais saints. However, one should underscore that in the Litany both Saint John the Baptist and Saint Stephen are present, and both were patron saints of the Cathedral of Lyon. The donors are presented by these same saints, Saint John the Baptist for the male donor and Saint Catherine for the female donor, but the latter is depicted facing a large full-page miniature of Saint Stephen. Stylistically, these Horae are clearly painted in Lyon at the turn of the sixteenth century, and contain miniatures by two important Lyonnais artists, respectively the "Lambert Master" and the "Master of the Alarmes de Mars."

Manuscript made for the donors depicted in prayer. The male donor is painted on f. 22v: his Christian name might well be Jean or Baptiste as the male donor is presented by Saint John the Baptist. Noteworthy, John the Baptist figures in high position in the Litany (f. 92)). The female donor, likely the male donor's wife, is represented on f. 143v: her Christian name might have been Catherine as the female donor is presented by Saint Catherine. There are three painted heraldic shields (f.15v [shield in the border of the small miniature depicting Saint Luke]; f.22v [large shield beneath the male donor's portrait]; f.143v [large shield beneath the female donor's portrait]). These arms are described as follows: D'azur à la fasce d'or accompagnée en chef de deux étoiles d'or à six raies et un besant d'argent et en pointe d'un besant d'argent. There is a family motto, repeated a number of times, once above the donor's portrait: "Et non sans cause"; the motto is repeated again on two scrolls in the border of the Suffrage to Saint Anne (f.135v).



In his Armorial général du Lyonnais, Forez et Beaujolais (1860), A. Steyert records the following shield in the alphabetical plates under "Le Saunier" : D'azur à la fasce d'argent à deux besants du même l'un en chef entre deux étoiles d'or l'autre en pointe and lists "Saunier (Le), G [reference to Goussancourt. Armoiries lyonnaises. Manuscrit]. Jourdan S. était conseiller de ville en 1386" (Steyert, 1860, p.83). The heraldry is very close, with perhaps a variant in the color of the "fasce", described by Steyert as "fasce d'argent" whereas in the present manuscript we have apparently a "fasce d'or". According to Steyert, one records an earlier "Jourdan Saunier" who was "conseiller de ville" in Lyon in 1386 (see Monfalcon, J.B. *Histoire de la*

ville de Lyon depuis son origine jusqu'en 1846, Lyon, 1847, tome II, p.1396). 2. Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), English antiquary and book-collector, famous "vello-maniac," owner of the largest collection of manuscript material in the nineteenth century, his shelfmark no. 4798, acquired circa 1831. See *The Phillipps Manuscripts. Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, 1837–1871* (with an introduction by A.N.L. Munby) [reprinted London, 1968], p.80. See also, Munby (A.N.L.), *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840,* Phillipps Studies, 3, Cambridge, 1954, p.159.

3. Otis T. Bradley (1895–1950), New York, attorney, collector and bibliophile. He was President of the New York State Bar Association. He is known for his interest in William Blake and was an important donor to Yale University as he was a Yale alumnus. The manuscript was sold in 1959, in the following sale Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Medieval Manuscripts and Autograph Letters, the Property of Lt-col. C.G. Darley …, of George Brudenell… of the…Lord Kenyon…of the Late Otis T. Bradley*, London, 23 February 1959, lot 232, p.50. In this sale, the manuscript fetched 2 900 £.

4. H.P.Kraus (1907–1988), celebrated bookdealer established in New York, described as "without doubt the most successful and dominant rare book dealer in the world in the second half of the 20th century," his Catalogue 95, no.24. Burin indicates: "Sold by H.P.Kraus in 1968 to Hellmut Schumann, A.G. of Zurich and resold in the same year." Burin adds: "Present whereabouts unknown" (Burin, 2001, cat.17).

5. European Private Collection.

Text

ff. 1–12v, Calendar, in French, in red, blue and brown ink, universal Paris composite use, including the following noteworthy saints: Vincent (in blue, 22 Jan.); Estienne (Stephen), twice in August (2 Aug; in blue, 4 Aug.); Lawrence (in blue, 10 Aug.); Baldomer (2 Sept.), honored in Lyon; ff. 13–13v, ruled blank leaves; ff. 14–19, Gospel pericopes; ff. 19–22, Obsecro te, masculine use: "Et michi famulo tuo…" (ff.20v–21); ff. 22v–66v, Hours of the Virgin, use of Rome, interspersed with Hours for the Days of the Week at Matins; with Matins (ff.23v–38v); Lauds (ff.39–48v); Prime (ff.49–52v), antiphon, "Assumpta es"; capitulum, "Que est ista"; Terce (ff.53–55v); Sext (ff.56–58v); None (ff.59–61v), antiphon, "Pulcra es"; capitulum, "In plateis"; missing the beginning of Vespers, miniature wanting (ff.62–65v); Compline (ff.66–69v); ff. 67–75v, Prayers, including "Nunc dimittis…"; "Beate et gloriose…"; "Salve Regina…"; "Omnipotens sempiterne…"; rubric, Ad vesperas primi sabbati de adventu usque ad vigiliam nativitatis domini…[Prayers and Mass for Advent]; ff. 76–78v, Short Hours of the Cross; ff. 79–81v, Short Hours of the Holy Spirit; ff. 82–95, Penitential Psalms, followed by Litany (ff.91v–93), including saint John the Baptist; Stephen, Lawrence, Vincent, Catherine, Elizabeth; followed by Prayers; ff. 95v–124, Office of the Dead (use of Rome), with the following readings: (1) Credo quod; (2) Qui Lazarum; (3) Domine quando; (4) Memento mei; (5) Heu michi; (6) Ne recorderis; (7) Peccantem me; (8) Domine secundum; (9) Libera me (See Leroquais, Office des Morts, BnF MS n. a. lat. 3163, f. 97); ff. 124v–129, Passion according to Saint John; followed by Prayers in Latin; ff. 129–131v, Prayers in French, incipits, "Ihesucrist filz de la divinité…"; "Glorieuse Vierge Marie a toy me rens et si te prie…": ff. 132–133, Seven Verses of Saint Bernard; ff. 133v–141, Suffrages to the Saints, with Sebastian; Anthony Abbott; Claude; Anne; Catherine; Barbara; Oratio ante ymaginem corporis Christi (ff.138–141); ff. 141–143, O intemerata; ff. 143v–144v, Suffrage to Saint Stephen [the Cathedral of Lyon (or "Primatiale Saint-Jean-Baptiste-et-Saint-Étienne") is dedicated to both Saint John the Baptist and Saint Stephen]; ff. 145–150v, Prayers in Latin, including, "Missus est Gabriel…";"Te deprecor ergo…"; ff. 150v–152v, Prayer to Jesus Christ, in French, rubric, Oratio ad dominum nostrum ihesum christum; incipit, "Mon unicip dieu je croy de cueur…"; ff. 152v–157, Prayers relative to the Seven Verses of Our Lord, in French, long rubric (f. 152v), Qui ceste oraison dira/Ce jour desconfes ne morra/Ne deable ne luy porra nuyre/Ne nul mal…faire iniure/Et trois jours devant sa mort/Verra la uni de confort; incipit, "La premiere parolle. Ihesus en qui tout bien habunde/Qui au partir du mortel monde…"; ff.157–157v, Added prayer in a different yet near contemporary hand, starting, "Exellentissima domina et glorissima semper virgo maria.. ».

Illustration

There are 24 Calendar miniatures, with Labors of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac, as follows:
f. 1-1v, Calendar, month of January, Feasting; Calendar, month of January, Aquarius; f. 2-2v, Calendar,


RINA GRECIE DEMMA V


S ANNVS AVTEM

month of February, Sitting by the fire; Calendar, month of February, Pisces; f. 3-3v, Calendar, month of March, Pruning trees; Calendar, month of March, Aries; f. 4-4v, Calendar, month of April, Man in the garden; Calendar, month of April, Taurus; f .5-5v, Calendar, month of May, Man with a falcon in the garden; f.5v, Calendar, month of May, Gemini (portrayed as a naked couple); f. 6-6v, Calendar, month of June, Hay Harvest; Calendar, month of June, Cancer; f. 7-7v, Calendar, month of July, Wheat Harvest; Calendar, month of July, Leo; f. 8-8v, Calendar, month of August, Wheat threshing; Calendar, month of August, Virgin; f. 9-9v, Calendar, month of September, Grape Harvest; Calendar, month of September, Libra; f. 10-10v, Calendar, month of October, Sowing; Calendar, month of October, Scorpio; f. 11-11v, Calendar, month of November, Gathering acorns for pigs; Calendar, month of November, Sagittarius; f. 12-12v, Calendar, month of December, Killing the pig; Calendar, month of December, Capricorn.

There are 16 large miniaturs and 15 small miniatures as follows: f. 14v, Saint John the Evangelist on the Island of Patmos, with his attribute the eagle [large miniature]; f. 15v, Saint Luke [small miniature]; f. 16v, Saint Matthew [small miniature]; f.18, Saint Mark [small miniature]; f. 19, Virgin and Child [small miniature]; f. 22v, Male donor in Prayer, presented by Saint John the Baptist (the Primatiale de Lyon is dedicated to Saint John the Baptist and Saint Stephen); [large miniature, Lambert Master]; f. 23, Annunciation [large miniature]; f. 39, Visitation (noteworthy, the presence of Saint Joseph) [large miniature]; f. 49, Nativity [large miniature]; f. 53, Annunciation to the Shepherds [large miniature]; f. 55, Adoration of the Magi [large miniature]; f. 59, Circumcision [large miniature]; [missing miniature at Vespers (between ff.60v–61)]; f. 66, Assumption of the Virgin [large miniature]; f. 76, Crucifixion [large miniature]; f. 79, Pentecost [large miniature]; f. 82, David and Bathsheba [large miniature]; f. 95v, Job on his Dungheap mocked by his sons and friends [large miniature]; f. 124v, Arrest of Christ and Kiss of Judas [small miniature]; f. 132, Saint Bernard, holding a book, and the Devil [small miniature]; f. 133v, Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian [small miniature]; f. 134v, Saint Anthony Abbott [small miniature]; f. 135, Saint Claude [small miniature]; f. 135v, Saint Anne teaching Mary to read [small miniature]; f. 136v, Saint Margaret [small miniature]; f. 137, Saint Barbara [small miniature]; f. 138, God in Majesty [small miniature]; f. 143v, Female Donor in prayer, presented by Saint Catherine of Alexandria; the scene is set in a room with a marbled-paneled apse and frieze that reads: "catherinae greciae gemmae" [large miniature; Master of the Alarmes de Mars]; f. 144, Saint Stephen, holding the stones of his martyrdom and an open book; there was also an important Church in Lyon dedicated to Saint Etienne, destroyed at the Revolution; [large miniature; Master of the Alarmes de Mars]; f. 145, Pietà [small miniature]; f. 151, Christ of Sorrows standing by his Cross [small miniature]; f. 153, Ecce Homo, between Mary and John, with arms of the Passion [large miniature].

In her important study, E. Burin, *Manuscript Illumination in Lyon 1473–1530* (2002) retraces the development of a school of painting in Lyon, parallel to the local flourishing printing press with the first book printed in the city in 1473. The author maps out manuscript production in Lyon according to different workshops, sometimes collaborating in a same manuscript, as is the case here. This manuscript was known to Burin (see her cat. 17) and was referred to as "H.P. Kraus, catalogue no. 24." However, at the time of her study Burin did not have access to the codex, which has been inaccessible in a private collection for nearly three decades. Burin signals the modernity of one of the artists, The Lambert Master (the "new, more modern approach to his compositions"). F. Avril characterizes his successor, the Master of the Alarmes de Mars, as an "excellent artist" known for his bold coloring and harmonious compositions. Hence the resurfacing of these Horae, now identified as The "Le Saunier" Hours after its patrons, prompts a re-examination of the styles of its collaborating artists and their importance for development of Lyonnais painting at the dawn of the Renaissance.

This Book of Hours was illuminated in Lyon around 1500 by the Master of Guillaume Lambert and the Master of the Alarmes de Mars (Burin 2002, pp. 84-85, no. 17). The first artist is responsible for most of the lavish decoration of the manuscript that contains sixteen full-page miniatures enshrined within golden architectural frames, fifteen small miniatures, and twenty-four calendar miniatures. Distinguished by François Avril as an "excellent artist" (Avril and Reynaud 1993, pp. 357-362), his heir and successor the Master of the Alarmes de Mars contributed two full-page miniatures representing the female patron before St. Stephen (ff. 143v-144) and three small arch-topped miniatures (ff. 138, 145, 151).


GLORIA IN EXC

Figure 1
Master of Guillaume Lambert
Nativity, from a Book of Hours, f. 53v
France, Lyon, c. 1490
Paris, BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 3117

Figure 2
Master of Guillaume Lambert
Nativity, from a Book of Hours, f. 57
France, Lyon, c. 1490-1500
Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 3027

The Master of Guillaume Lambert (fl. 1470-1500) is named after the scribe Guillaume Lambert because he illuminated the latter's personal Book of Hours, whose ex-libris indicates that it was written in Guillaume Lambert's house "near the portal" in 1484 (New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M. 1162). Lynn F. Jacobs and Elizabeth Burin have assembled a corpus of more than thirty illuminated manuscripts, attributed to four main artists (Jacobs 1993; Burin 2002). These are the Master of Guillaume Lambert (named after the Morgan manuscript), the Getty Master (named after Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 10), the Rosenberg Master (named after Les Enluminures, MS 00), and the Boilly Master, or Master of BnF MS lat. 18015. Since Guillaume Lambert's writing hand occurs in manuscripts illustrated by each of these artists, Christopher de Hamel has suggested that he acted both as a scribe and a stationer supervising this thriving enterprise (De Hamel 1986, p. 185) that is regarded as the most influential bookshop in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Lyon.

The present manuscript is among the finest examples of the Master of Guillaume Lambert's late production. The most distinctive feature is the choice of elaborate Renaissance frames that were designed by the Master of the Alarmes de Mars and which differ from the rather simple prismatic piers normally considered to be a hallmark of the Lyon workshop. The Master of Guillaume Lambert nevertheless relies on models that are found in manuscripts dating from the 1490s. For instance, nearly identical compositions of the Nativity occur in two different Books of Hours of this decade (Paris, BnF, MS. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 3117, f. 53v; Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 3027, f. 57; Fig. 1, 2). These also demonstrate the Master of Guillaume Lambert's distinctive interest in the choice of a close-up setting for most of his miniatures, that is exemplified by the comparison of St. John the Evangelist in this manuscript (f. 14) with St. Luke in a Book of Hours in Rouen (Bibliothèque municipale, MS 3027, f. 17; Fig. 3).

A distinctive feature of the Master of Guillaume Lambert's contribution to the present manuscript is the diptych of full-page miniatures that introduces the Hours of the Virgin. The male patron appears in prayer, introduced by St. John the Baptist to the Annunciation. Such portraits are exceptional among the manuscripts illuminated by the workshop of the Master of Guillaume Lambert, and their recurrence in the present manuscript indicates the luxurious nature of the commission. The comparison of another portrait, that of the merchant Jean I Molé illuminated by the Master of Guillaume Lambert in a Book of Hours mostly illuminated by Jean Colombe (Rodez, Société des Lettres, MS 1, f. 169v; Avril and Reynaud 1993, pp. 335-336; Fig. 4), demonstrates how the choice of a close-up setting by the same artist could increase the intimate relationship of the owner with his Book of Hours.

The most refined miniature of the manuscript is the portrait of the female patron, probably his wife, who is introduced by St. Catherine to St. Stephen at the opening of his suffrage (ff. 143v-144). The Master of the Alarmes de Mars represents the young lady wearing a lace bonnet

Figure 3
Master of Guillaume Lambert
Saint Luke, from a Book of Hours, f. 17
France, Lyon, c. 1490-1500
Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 3027

Figure 4
Master of Guillaume Lambert
Portrait of Jean I Molé, from the Hours of Jean I Molé, ff. 169v-170
France, Lyon, c. 1480-1490
Rodez, Société des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l'Aveyron, MS 1

kneeling in prayer with her patron saint in a refined interior setting, closed by a marble-paneled apse that includes a frieze which an inscription referring to St. Catherine. These present a vigorous and almost sculptural modelling that is emphasized by bold lightning, as well as rounded blue eyes, pursed red lips and a pointed chin. These features are shared by most of the characters of a Book of Hours for the use of Lyon now in Baltimore (Walters Art Museum, MS W.447; Burin 2002, pp. 133-134, no. 46), illuminated in the 1490s by the Master of the Alarmes de Mars and his associate the Master of the Chappes Hours, among which the best comparisons are Gabriel, Bathsheba, and the Apostles and Virgin of the Pentecost (ff. 23, 71, 74; Fig. 5, 6). Further comparisons are to be found in other Books of Hours painted by the Master of the Alarmes de Mars and his workshop, especially one for the use of Lyon (Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 583) and another for the use of Rome (New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 435).

The Master of the Alarmes de Mars takes his name from Jean d'Auton's presentation copy of the *Alarmes de Mars sur le voyage de Milan, avecques la conquest et entrée d'icelle* which he offered to Louis XII in 1499 (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5049; see Avril and Reynaud 1993, p. 361; Hermant 2015; Fig. 7). The artist benefited from the presence of the French court in Lyon, which settled in the city from 1494 onwards as an outpost during the Italian Wars. He was commissioned for the frontispieces of the presentation copies of Robert Gaguin's *La Perle Poétique* and André de la Vigne's *Ressource de Chrestienté* that were offered to Charles VIII in 1494 and 1495 (Christie's, 5 December 1973, lot 76; Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1687; see Lévy 2017). He was also familiar with the royal painter and poet Jean Perréal, who contributed a few miniatures to several of his manuscripts (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5447; MS lat. 1190). One of them is the portrait of the female patron of the Baltimore Hours, who is introduced by St. John the Evangelist to the Virgin and Child (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 447, f. 128; Fig. 8). The elaborate Renaissance decorum of this image may well have inspired the setting of the present manuscript's female patron's miniature. Adorned with these two remarkable portraits, this Book of Hours thus offers a brilliant witness to the early interest of the courtly and merchant elites of Lyon for the genre of portraiture.

Physical description

154ff., preceded and followed by 6 paper flyleaves, missing one leaf between ff. 61–62 which contained a miniature for Vespers of the Hours of the Virgin [collation: i6, ii6, iii12, iv8, v8, vi8, vii8, viii7 (of 8, missing viii), ix8, x4, xi4, xii3 (of 4, with iv likely a cancelled blank), xiii8, xiv8, xv8, xvi8, xvii8, xviii8, xix8, xx8, xxi6, xxii6], written in a very regular lettre bâtarde, in brown ink, on up to 21 lines, a few calligraphic flourishing to text extending in the upper margin, parchment ruled in pale red ink (85 x 45 mm.), vertical catchwords, added later inscriptions in ink in a cursive 17th-century script (?) above the miniatures identifying the text or the painted scene, rubrics in dark red, line-fillers in red and blue highlighted in liquid gold, numerous 1- to 3-line initials in red or blue with liquid gold ornamentation, one 5-line high initial in blue introducing the prayer "O intemerata" (f. 141), with 24 calendar miniatures set in illuminated borders placed in the outer margins, borders on reserved grounds with flowers, birds, strawberries and small burnished gold discs, with 15 small miniatures framed with illuminated bracket borders on reserved, dark red or gold grounds with colored acanthus leaves, flowers or birds, a few borders with heraldry (f.15) or scrolls with motto "Et non sans cause" (f.135v), with 16 LARGE FULL-PAGE MINIATURES set in characteristic architectural gold frames, some with Roman display capitals (beginning of text that follows on verso of leaves), some frames with added compartments with painted or camaieu d'or columns, figures, putti, cornucopiae and busts (see for instance lower frame on f. 23 and f. 76 with a sequence of busts treated in grisaille on dark red grounds). A few cases of smudging or thumbing (f.1v, 82, 143v–144) and some loss to paint surface in a few places (e.g. f.1, 6, 7, 22v, 39, 53, 59); some leaves a bit stained or warped (towards the end of the codex); some leaves cropped a bit short in a few cases with slight loss to the architectural borders (f.23, 49, 76, 79, 143v–144); small loss to parchment in upper righthand corner of f.53 and to lower righthand corner of f.157. Bound in modern red velvet over pasteboards, spine sewn on three raised thongs, brass claps, monogram on the clasp still present (one clasp wanting; the clasp present apparently mounted upside down), with cipher letters "M/E/U/S/L", engraved "fermesses" on the catchplates, gilt edges, paper pastedowns (velvet a bit worn in certain places, lower clasp wanting, else good condition). Paper label with initials (R and P ?) traced in brown ink, pasted on upper pastedown. Dimensions 152 x 89 mm.

Literature

Published: Jezler (ed.), *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer…* (1994), no. 30 [exhibited in Cologne at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museums]; F. Avril and N. Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520*, Paris, 1993, p. 361, in the entry dedicated to Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5089, Les Alarmes de Mars sur le voyage de

Figure 5
Master of the Alarmes de Mars
David and Bathsheba, from a Book of Hours, f. 74
France, Lyon, c. 1490-1500
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 447

Figure 6
Master of the Alarmes de Mars
Pentecost, from a Book of Hours (use of Lyon), f. 71
France, Lyon, c. 1490-1500
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 447

Figure 7
Master of the Alarmes de Mars
Triumph of King Louis XII as Mars, f. D
France, Lyon, 1499-1500
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5089

Figure 8
Jean Perréal
St. John the Evangelist introducing the patron to the Virgin and Child, from a Book of Hours, f. 128
France, Lyon, c. 1490-1500
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum

Milan… (circa 1500): "L'auteur de cette belle composition est un nouveau venu dans le monde de l'enluminure lyonnaise, où il apparaît dans les dernières années du siècle. Son beau coloris franc, ses compositions harmonieuses, et équilibrées et ses personnages aux traits sculpturaux se retrouvent dans plusieurs livres d'heures lyonnais de l'époque (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 435; New York, H. P. Kraus, cat. 95, no. 24; cat. Tenschert, XXX, 1993, no. 29 […]". Noteworthy that the present codex is none other than the former H.P.Kraus reference; E. Burin, *Manuscript Illumination in Lyon* (1473-1530), Turnhout, 2002, no.17, pp. 84–85.

Further reading: C. De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Boston, 1986; L. Jacobs, "The Master of Getty Ms. 10 and Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination in Lyon," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 1993, 21, pp. 55-83; M. Hermant, "Production et commande de manuscrits enluminés à Lyon à la fin du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance," in L. Virassamynaïken (ed.), *Lyon Renaissance. Arts et Humanisme*, Lyon/Paris, 2015, pp. 274-279; T. Lévy, *Les Peintres de Lyon autour de 1500*, Rennes, 2017.

We are grateful to Elliot Adam for his assistance with this description.

BOH 219


Incipit officii beate
marie secundu consuetu
dinem romane curie.
Ad matutinum. Versus.

3 By the "most celebrated and famous of miniaturists" in the time of Michelangelo

The Calcagni Hours (Use of Rome)
In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment
Italy, Florence, September 7, 1508
3 large miniatures, 5 historiated initials by the workshop of Attavante degli Attavanti

A Book of Hours created for a member of the Calcagni family of Poggibonsi from the workshop of Attavante degli Attavanti, one of the most celebrated illuminators of Renaissance Florence. Completed September 7, 1508, the Calcagni Hours dates to the middle period of Attavante's career. Dated manuscripts such as this are rare and remain critical elements in determining Attavante's chronology. Established patronage is also uncommon, making the Calcagni Hours unique among other works created by Attavante's workshop.

Provenance

1. A colophon on f. 199v dates the manuscript to September 7, 1508 (*requiesquem functus M D xiii diebus september*). It was created for a member of the Calcagni family whose coat of arms, a hound salient, appears in the lower margin of folio 14 (Marquand 1919, 82). The Calcagni family were based primarily in the town of Poggibonsi but held property in Florence. The hours may have been made for Daddo Calcagni who owned two houses situated in via dell' Aloro to the west of the Canonica in Florence.

2. J. Marechal Brown III (1915-1981).

Text

ff. 1-12v, Calendar, Use of Rome, with major feasts in red; f. 13, blank; ff. 14-77, Hours of the Virgin, rubric: *incipit officium beate virginis secundum consuetudinem Romane curie* (ff. 14-27v, Matins; ff. 28-43, Lauds; ff. 43-49, Prime; ff. 49v-54v, Terce; ff. 55-59v, Sext; ff. 60-64v, None; ff. 65-74, Vespers; ff. 74v-81v, Compline); ff. 81v-105v, Various prayers (ff. 81v-87, Three Psalms to be said on Tuesdays and Fridays at Matins [Psalms 44, 45, 86]; ff. 87-91v, Three Psalms to be said on Wednesday and Saturday at Matins [Psalms 95, 96, 97]; ff. 91v-102, Hours of the Virgin, Changed Office; ff. 102-104v, Prayers in honor of the Virgin, concluding with a prayer to St. Lawrence, ending in red, *Jesu nazarene filii david miserere mei*); f. 106, blank; ff. 106v-122, Seven Penitential Psalms, rubric: *Incipit septem psalmi paenitentiales* (ff. 107-108v, Psalm 6; ff. 108v-110, Psalm 31; ff. 110-115v, Psalm 37; ff. 115v-119, Psalm 101; ff. 119-120, Psalm 129; ff. 120-122, Psalm 142); ff. 122-134v, Litanies, incipit: *Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison*; ff. 134v-138v, Various prayers (ff. 134v-135v, Indulgences [*Deus qui voluisti pro redemptione mundi…*]; f. 136-136v, Salutations to the Blessed Virgin [*Ave cuiis conceptio solemni plena gaudio…*]; ff. 136v-137v, Prayer to the Blessed Virgin [*Deus qui conceptionis, nativitatis annuntiationis, purificationis…*]; 137v-138v, Prayer before communion [*Domine non sum dignus, ut intres sub tectum meum…*]; f. 138-138v, Prayer after communion [*Vera perceptio corporis et sanguinis…*] f. 138v concluding with a prayer to Saint Elizabeth [*Tuorum corda fidelium Deus miserator illustra: et beatæ Elizabethæ precibus gloriosis fac nos prospera mundi despicere,et cœlesti semper consolatione gaudere*]); f. 139, blank; ff. 139v-193, Office of the Dead, rubric: *Incipit officium mortuorum* (ff. 140-148, Vespers; ff. 148v-179v Lauds [ff. 150-158v first nocturne; ff. 158v-167v, second nocturne; ff. 168-179, third nocturne]; ff. 179v-193, Matins); ff. 193v-196v, the Short Hours of the Cross, rubric: *Incipit officium sacre crucis* (ff. 193v-194v, Matins; ff. 194v-195, Prime; f. 195, Terce; f. 195-195v, Sext; f. 195v, None; ff. 195v-196, Vespers; f. 196-196v Compline); ff. 196v-199 the Short Hours of the Holy Spirit, rubric: *Incipit officium spiritus sanctus* (ff. 196-197v Matins; ff. 197v-198, prime; f. 198 terce; f. 198-198v, sext; f. 198v none; f. 198v Vespers; f. 199 compline); 199v. Colophon: *Requiesquem de functus M D xii diebus septembre*.

Illustration

Three full-page miniatures, each with full borders decorated with portrait medallions of saints and other figures flanked by *putti* and trimmed in gold. Acanthus leaves painted in gold flow across brightly colored borders of vermilion, emerald, and azure. The subjects of the painted miniatures are: the Annunciation, David in Prayer, and the Raising of Lazarus. f. 13v. Annunciation. Gabriel kneels before a seated Virgin extending a lily to symbolize her purity. Rays of light flow from the upper left corner of the picture frame toward the Virgin symbolizing the incarnation; f. 106v. King David in Prayer. David kneels in prayer with his hands folded and face upturned toward heaven from which extend golden rays of light. His crown has been humbly laid at his feet; f. 139v. The Raising of Lazarus. Christ stands at the forefront of a crowd of his disciples facing Lazarus who emerges from his sepulcher wrapped in a gauzy shroud. Skulls placed in decorative roundels adorn the top of the margins.

Five historiated initials form the incipit of the major prayers. Similar to the miniatures, the initials are accompanied by fully decorated margins; f. 14. The Nativity. Initial "d" forming the first letter of the incipit of the Hours of the Virgin, *Domine, labia mea aperies*. Facing the miniature of the Annunciation on f. 13v. The Virgin kneels before the newborn Christ lying in a manger in the foreground. A mountainous landscape is visible through a window in the background; f. 107. King David. Initial "d" forming the first letter of the incipit of the Seven Penitential Psalms, *Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me*. Facing the miniature of David in Prayer on f. 106v. A portrait of David with crown and halo; f. 140. Saint holding a skull. Initial "d" forming the first letter of the incipit for the Office of the Dead, *Dilexi, quoniam exaudiet Dominus*. The initial may represent Saint Maracius whose legend was a popular choice for illustration of the Office of the Dead in sixteenth-century Florence (O'Brian 1982); f. 193v. The Crucifixion. Initial "d" forming the first letter of the incipit for the Hours of the Cross, *Domine labia mea aperies*. The crucified Christ is presented with a bleeding side-wound, flanked on either side by the Virgin and Saint John; f. 196v. Pentecost. Initial "d" forming the first letter of the incipit for the Hours of the Holy Spirit, *Domine labia mea aperies*. A crowd of Disciples with the Virgin at the center stand with tongues of fire burning above each. A dove, representing the Holy Spirit, hovers over the crowd, radiating light.

Attavante degli Attavanti (1452-1520/25) was an acclaimed Florentine illuminator best known for his luxurious Missals and Breviaries painted for patricians and royalty. Relatively early in his career in 1473, Attavante collaborated with Domenico Ghirlandaio on a Choir Book, the miniatures of which are now preserved in the Vatican Library (BAV, Cod. Ross. 1192). By the late 1470s, Attavante had established himself as leading miniaturist and received notable commissions from important clients, including a Missal made for Bishop Thomas James in 1483 (Lyon, BM, MS, 5123), a Breviary for Matthias I of Hungary created 1487-1492 (BAV, Urb. Ms. Lat. 112), and a Book of Hours produced for Laudomia de' Medici in 1500-1510 (BL, Yates Thompson MS 30). He circulated with some of the leading artists of the Renaissance and maintained a friendship with Leonardo da Vinci as documented by surviving correspondences. Some twenty-five years after his death Attavante was remembered by Giorgio Vasari as "the most celebrated and famous of miniaturists."

The Calcagni Hours strongly resemble other Books of Hours produced in Attavante's workshop, which he established at the height of his career. These works are characterized by full, richly decorated borders and introduce major sequences of prayer, such as the Hours of the Virgin, with a full-page miniature facing an historiated initial (Alexander 2016, 153-54; Garzelli 1985, 1:241). The Calcagni Hours feature the same characteristics with brightly painted borders of vermillion, emerald, and azure overlaid with gold acanthus tendrils, cartouches, and putti. Portrait medallions of saints and prophets complete the borders. Major prayers are introduced with a double folio spread, pairing a miniature and an historiated initial to create luminous, eye-catching openings. The same features are present in other Hours from Attavante's workshop, including manuscripts at Dartmouth Library Special Collections (fig. 1, MS. 1054), the Morgan Library (fig. 2, MS. M 14), Oxford (Keble College, MS. 60), and Stockholm (Nationalmuseum MS. B 1960) as well as many in private collections (fig. 3).

One of the most significant features of the Calcagni Hours is its known patronage. The book may have been made for Daddo Calcagni (Daddo di Tommaso di Simone Calcagni) of Poggibonsi who married Tommasa di Gabriele Riccobaldi in 1503 and owned two houses in the vicinity of San

Figure 1
Book ok Hours
a. *Annunciation* and *Nativity;* **b.** *David and Goliath and David in Prayer;* **c.** *The Raising of Lazarus* and *the Triumph of Death*
Italy, c. 1495
Hanover, Dartmouth Library MS. 1054

Figure 2
The Franceschi-Pitti Hours
a. *Annunciation* and *Nativity;* **b.** *David and Goliath* and *David in Prayer;* **c.** *The Legend of the Three Living* and *the Three Dead and Office of the Dead*
Italy, c. 1495
New York, Morgan Library MS M.14

Figure 3
Book of Hours
a. A*nnunciation* and *Nativity;* **b.** *David in Prayer* and *David Enthroned with Harp*
Sotheby's, July 7, 2015. Lot 72 now, Private Collection
Italy, c. 1480s

Incipit officium mortuorum
Ad vesperas. Dilaceravit. Di-

Qui

quo

mas

cerunt dies nostros
orationes nostras. Quoniam
dormiunt animam suam
in pulvere. In diebus meis i
nvocabo. Quia ad te
me taloces mortuorum

Incipit offic sce cruc. ad matutin. ℣.

Domine labia mea aperies. ℟. Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam. ℣. Deus in adiutorium meum intende. ℟. Domine ad adiuuandum me festina. Hymnus.

Patris sapientia ueritas diuina: de lo

Lorenzo. These properties are discussed in a correspondence between Michelangelo Buonarroti and papal secretary Giovan Francesco Fattucci on March 5, 1524. For political reasons, Michelangelo and Fattucci wanted to purchase the homes to eliminate Calcagni's association with the second Medici Laurentian Library project (Salmon 1990). Daddo Calcagni and his wife Tommasa also commissioned a glazed terracotta altarpiece for the Franciscan church of San Lucchese (near Poggibonsi) from the workshop of Giovanni della Robbia in 1517. Both Daddo Calcagni and Tommasa Riccobaldi's heraldry are visible on the predella (Marquand 1920, no. 82).

Physical description

i (modern paper) + 199 + i (modern paper), folios on parchment, modern foliation in pencil, 1-199, complete (collation i12 ii11 iii10 iv10 v12 vi10 vii10 viii8 ix2 x10 xi10 xii11 xiii10 xiv12 xv11 xvi10 xvii6 xviii4 xix10 xx10 xxi10), vertical catchwords, written in brown ink in gothic bookhand on 14 lines, single column, ruled in drypoint, red rubrics, painted 2-line initials, seven 3-line illuminated initials gilt with gold leaf accompanied by acanthus tendrils, FIVE HISTORIATED INITIALS (Nativity, David, Saint with Skull, Crucifixion, Pentecost) with borders decorated with portrait medallions, putti, and foliage, THREE FULL-PAGE MINIATURES (Annunciation, David in Prayer, The Raising of Lazarus) with decorated borders facing historiated initials, dated September 7, 1508 on folio 199v. Nineteenth-century binding in red velvet over wooden boards, edges gilt and gauffered, housed in a custom chemise and slipcase, ex libris J. Marechal Brown III. Dimensions 90 x 55 mm.

Literature

Alexander, Jonathan. *The Painted Book in Renaissance Italy, 1450-1600*, New Haven, 2016; Christie's; Manson and Woods International Inc. 1981. *Printed Books and Manuscripts Including Illustrated Books and Bindings: The Property of the late J. Marechal Brown, 3rd, the Estate of Arthur Haddaway, the Estate of Grace Phillips Johnson, the late Myles Standish Slocum*, New York, 1981; Garzelli, Annarosa. *Miniatura Fiorentina del Rinascimento, 1440-1525*, 2 vols., Florence, 1985; Marquand, Allen. *Robbia Heraldry*, Princeton, 1919; Marquand, Allen. *Giovanni della Robbia*. Princeton, 1920; O'Brian, Cecelia. "A Florentine Book of Hours in the National Gallery of Victoria," *Art Bulletin of Victoria*, 22 (1982), pp. 52-62; Salmon, Frank. "The Site of Michelangelo's Laurentian Library," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 49, no. 4 (1980), pp. 407-29.

Online Resources: Calcagni heraldry: http://wappen.khi.fi.it/Plone/alle-wappenwap.07931225/?searchterm=calcagni; Della Robbia altarpiece, San Lucchese: https://qspace.library.queensu.ca/handle/1974/24193b; Morgan Library, MS 14, Book of Hours: http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/24/76832; Dartmouth Library, MS 1054, Book of Hours: https://www.dartmouth.edu/~library/rauner/westmss/001054.html

BOH 181

Memoria de sancto xpistoforo

Dixit
es tertius ubi
xpistoforus
memorator
uix fames
aut potus
mala mors ibi non dñatur
non lymo nec procra qua
ubeat quamora sic dedit ab
mora moras sibi xpistus
pra xpōfori speciem qua
die tertia tertius sabato
subito quia non mora
ōfori speciem sancti qui
tur illo nempe die


London

4 Special ordered from Bruges by a Cheshire Sire

The Newton Hours and Prayer Book (Use of Sarum)
In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment
Southern Netherlands, Bruges, c. 1460-1470
62 miniatures, 44 full-page, by the Mildmay Master

Of exceptional richness, the present manuscript bears unusually extensive evidence concerning its original owner, probably Richard Newton of Newton, Cheshire, who appears four times in the volume, once with a rebus that reveals his identity. This manuscript survives as an excellent example of what must have happened frequently: a wealthy, landed gentleman from the countryside special-ordered a manuscript from a London bookseller who in turn passed on the directions to a supplier in Bruges. From the workshop of Willem Vrelant, our illuminator – identified as the Mildmay Master – frequently carried out commissions in Bruges for export to England. He is even named for one such book. Richly illuminated, the Newton Hours has sixty-two miniatures, of which forty-four are full-page, eight are half-page, and ten are historiated initials, along with numerous illuminated and burnished gold initials. Its intimate scale, fitting neatly in the hand, underscores its special, highly personalized devotional nature.

Provenance

1. Peter Kidd has cleverly (and we believe accurately) identified a marginal image accompanying the first miniature that depicts the owner in prayer (p. 26). In the lower margin, a sheep, marked with the letter 'N', suckles its lambs, perched on a barrel. These motifs make up a rebus – a form of riddle or puzzle composed of letters, pictures, and symbols to depict words, phrases, or names – otherwise attested in several English manuscripts, as well as in finger-rings, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The letter 'N', the sheep ("ewe," in Old English) and the barrel ("tun"), thus suggest the surname "Newton" ("N + ewe + tun").

The decorative cycle (there is no calendar) gives particular importance to St. Erkenwald of London, St. Edward the Confessor of Westminster, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and St. John of Beverley. The image of St. Erkenwald, who was the bishop of London in the seventh century, is extraordinary, and to the best of our knowledge unprecedented. It depicts the saint on the towers of a burning church within the walls of a city conspicuously labeled "Londinium." This must refer to the fire in 1087 of St. Paul's Cathedral, which miraculously spared Erkenwald's relics, eventually to be removed from the crypt and installed on the high altar, where they were constantly enriched by donors through the fifteenth century. While Saints Erkenwald, Edward the Confessor, and Thomas of Canterbury would seem to point to an origin in London for our manuscript, the unusual presence of both a prayer to and image of St. John of Beverley, an eighth-century bishop of York, suggests the north of England.

So, who was Mr. Newton, the patron of our manuscript? The Newton family is from a northern county, Cheshire, not London. Our hypothesis is that he is Richard Newton of Cheshire (b. 14 March 1442; died 1497), who was married to Jane Lowe (died 1498) of Denby in Derbyshire. Jane was from a family of means as the daughter of Geoffrey del Lowe of Macclesfield. Richard was the eldest son and heir of Oliver Newton, who died of the plague in 1452. He was a significant landowner in Cheshire and played a prominent role in local affairs. He was sworn many times on civil juries, sometimes on grand juries, was the collector of subsidy for the Macclesfield hundred, and held local offices in Cheshire, from which he was eventually exempted in 1494. The couple had at least six children, but only one son, Humphrey (1466-1536), who is much better known than his father and who became the sole heir of the Newton estates, married well, and accumulated additional wealth in lands. Humphrey became a writer of some renown, his work surviving in manuscripts (e.g., especially, his Capesthorne Commonplace Book, Bodleian Library, Lat. misc c. 66), and it is thanks to studies on Humphrey's writings that we have some limited information about the Newton family.


Deceptus ubi fugeam
Ad vos
Quidquid
Lauto

The Newtons were well-educated landed gentry of substantial means (Humphrey knew both Latin and English). Association with the Newton family may help explain the presence of the bishop John of Beverley of York, since the county of York bordered just to the northeast Cheshire (Richard) and Derbyshire (Jane). (We are grateful to Hanno Wijsman for suggesting other avenues of research. For example, he suggests that the arms might be original and could be those of another Newton family http://cheshire-heraldry.org.uk/vale_Royal/VRE19.html. The appearance of Catherine four times raises the possibility that the patron was married to Catherine and, because the patron kneels before Thomas and John on p. 21, he might be named John. These alternative identifications remain hyptothetical and do not change the basic premises of production and patronage).

The patron is depicted four times in the manuscript, which is quite unusual (see below, Illustration, for a full description of these miniatures, pp. 26, 32, 46, and 368,). In each instance he is in prayer, and these are not prayers of adoration (e.g., to the Virgin), but of contrition – in confession, fighting temptation, begging for final peace in death. His dress confirms his status as a wealthy landowner; he wears a tunic with a cinched waist, a flared skirt with pleats that tops right below the buttocks and puffed shoulders. With his black hose, he wears pointed shoes. On the ground in the first miniature (p. 26) are two hats, the red one worn first, and a fur one over that (what appears to be a hat badge or pilgrim's badge is pinned or sewn to the fur hat). In the fourth miniature (p. 368) only the fur hat rests on the ground. He has a dagger and a purse. A date in the early 1460s is wholly consistent with this dress (we thank Roger Wieck for confirmation of this detail). Depicted as still a young man in the miniatures, Richard Newton would have been in his early twenties.

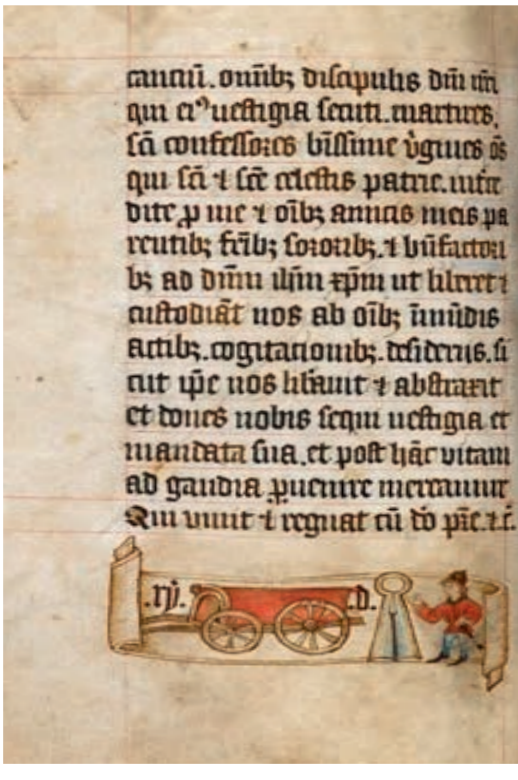


Figure 1
Book of Hours, rebus image, f. 80v
England, last quarter of the 15th century
British Library, Royal MS 2 A XVII

The rebus for "Newton" fits a pattern of identification of the English gentry (those without arms of nobility). Other medieval manuscripts whose owners are revealed by pictorial puzzles include *Roman de la Rose* for the Stoughton family (British Library, Harley MS f. 45v-46) with a fish and a stock in a barrel. A Book of Hours belonging to Richard Shearman reveals the owner's identity with the letters 'ry,' a cart, a letter 'd', a pair of shears and a man (British Library, Royal MS 2 A XVII) (fig. 1). Similar word play occurs on gold signet rings of the period: an eagle above a barrel for Egleton, a hop-fruit and barrel for Hopton, and a key and a bell for Keble (Oman, 1974). We can tie the use of the insignia of the barrel directly to the Newton family through Humphrey. A stained glass window donated by Humphrey Newton in the Jesus chapel at the north chancel of the church of St. Bartholomew in Wilmslow, where Newton family members were buried, includes his personal insignia, a barrel or ton (tun). His effigy is in the same church is in the middle of three tons with the inscription, "New*ton* [father], Mil*ton* [grandmother] and Phi*ton* [wife] To which I am heir."

2. At a later, unknown date, the manuscript traveled to France, when it was evidently in possession of the Norman family, the Doulcet family of Pontecoulant. Their coat-of-arms (silver ecu with the sand cross, fleurdelisee d'or) is added in the lower margin beneath the miniature of St. George (p. 57). Close inspection reveals that the shield is painted differently and that it partially covers at its edges the floral and foliate border, which appears to be partially erased. Thus, the shield appears to be a later addition. The Doulcet family, originally from Savoy, was established in Lower Normandy at the end of the fourteenth century (Rietstap 1861, p. 559). See Laillier 2004 for a full genealogy of the family.

3. Collection Jean-Baptiste-Florentin-Gabriel de Meyran, marquis de Lagoy (1764-1829), by descent. Nephew and executor of the will of the Marquis de Méjanes, whose collection constituted the first collection of the public library of Aix-en-Provence, the Marquis de Lagoy distinguished himself mainly by his collection of Old Master drawings.

Text

The manuscript includes an unusually lengthy collection of prayers in memory of the saints introducing and interspersed with the Hours of the Virgin and a set of penitential prayers.

English influence is clearly perceptible in the choice of saints commemorated and represented, such as St. George (pp. 57-60), St. Erkenwald of London (pp. 66-68), St. Thomas of Canterbury (pp. 94-98), St. Edward the Confessor (pp. 114-116) and St. John of Beverley (pp. 144-146). The textual use of Sarum ("secundum consuetudinem Anglie") for the Hours of the Virgin (pp. 205-247) confirms the English origin of the owner.

pp. 5-24, Fifteen "O"s of St. Bridget of Sweden; pp. 25-31, Prayer for confession; pp. 33-36, Prayer of blessing to be recited at night; pp. 37-44, Prayer to the Trinity, through the intercession of the holy apostles and martyrs, to be recited at sunrise; pp. 47-49, Prayer in memory of the holy guardian angel; pp. 53-54, Prayer to the holy Archangel Gabriel; pp. 57-60, Prayer to St. George; pp. 63-64, Prayer to St. Julian the Hospitaller; pp. 67-68, Prayer to St. Erkenwald, seventh-century Bishop of London; pp. 71-77, Prayer in the Holy Name of Christ; pp. 79-82, Verses of St. Bernard of Clairvaux; pp. 85-86, Prayer to St. Bernardine of Siena; pp. 89-92, Prayer to St. John the Evangelist; pp. 95-98, Prayer to St. Thomas of Canterbury; pp. 101-106, Prayer to St. Nicholas of Myra; pp. 109-113, Prayer to St. Erasmus; pp. 115-116, Prayer to St. Edward the Confessor; pp. 119-122, Prayer to St. Christopher; pp. 125-130, Prayer to St. John the Baptist; pp. 133-136, Prayer to the Holy Apostle Peter; pp. 139-141, Prayer to the Archangel Michael; pp. 145-146, Prayer to St. John of Beverley, eight-century Bishop of York; pp. 147-152, Prayer to the Holy Ghost; pp. 153-157, Prayer to Christ; pp. 159-170, Prayer to All Saints; pp. 173-174, Prayer to St. Anne; pp. 177-183, Prayer to St. Catherine of Alexandria; pp. 185-188, Prayer to Saint Apollonia; pp. 191-193, Prayer to St. Mary Magdalene; pp. 195-196, Prayer to Saint Barbara; pp. 197-199, Prayer to Saint Margaret of Antioch; pp. 201-202, Prayer to Saint Dorothy; pp. 205-247, Hours of the Virgin according to the *secundum use Anglicae*, Matins and Lauds; p. 248, Prayer to the Holy Trinity; pp. 249-250, Prayer at the Cross; pp. 250-251, Prayer to St. Michael; pp. 251-252, Prayer to St. John the Baptist; pp. 252-253, Prayer to Saints Peter and Paul; pp. 254-255, Prayer to St. Andrew; pp. 255-256, Prayer to St. Stephen; pp. 256-257, Prayer to St. Lawrence; pp. 257-258, Prayer to St. Thomas of Canterbury; pp. 258-259, Prayer to St. Nicholas of Myra; pp. 259-260, Prayer to St. Mary Magdalene; pp. 261-262, Prayer to St. Catherine; pp. 262-263, Prayer to St. Margaret; pp. 263-264, Prayer to All Saints; pp. 264-269, Prayer for peace; pp. 271-335, Hours of the Virgin, Prime (pp. 271-282); Terce (pp. 283-292); Sext (pp. 295-302); None (pp. 303-310); Vespers (pp. 313-319); Compline (pp. 321-335); pp. 339-362, Prayer to the Virgin "Gaude, flore virginali"; [five folios, two of which were illustrated with scenes from the Passion, were cut out and reassembled at pp. 312 and 320]; pp. 369-371, Prayer for all the faithful departed; pp. 373-386, Prayers for those in a state of mortal sin, or in a great tribulation; pp. 389-422, Seven Penitential Psalms, each followed by its own prayer; pp. 422-449, Psalms interspersed with the litanies of the saints, followed by prayers for absolution and the salvation of souls.

Illustration

Sixty-two miniatures make up the decoration of this manuscript. Forty-four full page miniatures (52 x 35 mm.) introduce the different sections of the text. Eight half page miniatures (32 x 36 mm.) introduce the different sections of the Hours of the Virgin, juxtaposing moments in the Passion narrative with scenes from the Infancy cycle. Ten historiated initials depicting the commemorated saints introduce the brief prayers inserted after Lauds of the Hours of the Virgin.

p. 2, The Raising of Lazarus (perhaps out of place and with no text); p. 4, St. Jerome, in cardinal habit, translating the Vulgate; p. 26, the patron kneeling in prayer before the Trinity surrounded by St. Thomas Beckett and St. John the Evangelist, accompanied by a phylactery containing the inscription *Peccavi tibi fugeavi nisi ad te Deus* ("I have sinned against you, I have fled only to you, O God"); in the lower margin, the rebus (see Provenance) accompanied by a phylactery containing the inscription *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum* ("Let every spirit praise the Lord", Ps. 150, 1); p. 32, the patron lying in bed, recites a prayer before night; his cloths are strewn on the bed, in front of a dying fire, and on the canopy of the bed, an image of the Holy Face faces the bust of Christ that appears in the cloud, above the golden railing of the window; p. 46, the patron, guided by an angel, fights the temptations of a hairy demon; the phylactery that issues from his mouth reads *Victor, custodi me* ("O Victorious, keep me"); p. 52, the archangel Gabriel, holding a phylactery with the greeting to the Virgin *Ave,*

gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta ("Salvation, full of grace, the Lord is with you, you are blessed"); p. 57, St. George in armor, on horseback, slaying the dragon; in the distance stands the daughter of the king of Libya, in front of two fortified cities, and in the lower margin, the added arms of the Doulct family; p. 62, Saint Julian the Hospitaller, at the helm of a ship, and his wife with a lantern, take a poor man across the river, in the guise of Christ; p. 66, St. Erkenwald, Bishop of London, whose relics were miraculously spared by the fire that ravaged St. Paul's Cathedral in 1087. The miniature features an astonishing depiction of the burning city of London (labeled *Londinium*), protected by the saint blessing atop a belfry; p. 70, the Transfiguration, depicting Christ between Moses and Elijah, and the apostles Peter, James and John stunned; p. 78, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux treading the demon he holds in chains; p. 84, Saint Bernardine of Siena, bearing the monogram IHS haloed with rays, declines the bishoprics of Siena, Ferrara and Urbino whose miters rest at his feet; p. 88, St. John the Evangelist, on the island of Patmos, receives from an angel the revelation of the Apocalypse, while a demon overthrows his inkwell from which he blackens the waves of the sea; p. 94, St. Thomas of Canterbury is murdered by three soldiers under the gaze of King Henry II while celebrating Mass; p. 100, St. Nicholas resurrecting the three children; p. 108, martyrdom of Saint Erasmus, eviscerated before Emperor Maximian Hercules; p. 114, St. Edmund, King of England, giving his ring to St. John the Evangelist, who appears to him in the guise of a pilgrim; p. 118, St. Christopher, carrying Christ, crosses a tumultuous river overlooked by the hermitage of a Cistercian monk; p. 124, St. John the Baptist, showing the Lamb of God that he wears on the closed binding of a gospel; p. 132, St. Peter, dressed in papal ornaments and holding the patriarchal cross; p. 138, The Archangel Michael, weighing a soul, while a demon clings to his scale; p. 144, St. John of Beverley receiving from King Athelstan the foundation charter of his monastery; p. 158, crowd of saints under the gaze of the Trinity, including the Virgin and Child, Saint Peter, King David, Saint George and Saint Francis of Assisi; p. 172: St. Anne, reading the Scriptures, in the company of the Virgin teaching Christ as a child; p. 176, martyrdom of Saint Catherine of Alexandria; p. 184, Saint Apollonia holding the instrument of her torture; p. 190, Saint Mary Magdalene; p. 194, Saint Barbara; p. 200, Saint Dorothy; p. 204, Christ in prayer in Gethsemane; p. 226, the Arrest of Christ; p. 227, the Visitation; p. 247, [historiated initial], the dove of the Holy Spirit; p. 248, [historiated initial], Throne of grace, God the Father supporting the dead Christ; p. 249, [historiated initial], The Crucifixion; p. 250, [historiated initial], the archangel Michael; p. 251, [historiated initial], St. John the Baptist; p. 252: [historiated letter], Saints Peter and Paul; p. 254, [historiated initial], Saint Andrew; p. 255, [historiated initial], St. Stephen; p. 256, [historiated initial], Saint Lawrence; p. 257, [historiated initial], St. Thomas of Canterbury; p. 258, Saint Nicholas of Myra; p. 259, Saint Mary Magdalene; p. 261, Saint Catherine of Alexandria; p. 262, Saint Margaret of Antioch coming out of the belly of the dragon; p. 263, group of saints, including an abbot and a monk; p. 264, a crowd in prayer, led by a bishop, at the feet of Christ; p. 270, the Appearance of Christ before Herod; p. 271, the Nativity; p. 284, the Flagellation; p. 285, the Annunciation to the Shepherds; p. 294, the Carrying of the Cross; p. 295, the Adoration of the Magi; p. 303, the Presentation in the Temple; p. 312, the Descent from the Cross; p. 313, the Massacre of

Figure 2a-b
The Mildmay Hours
St. Margaret and Dragon, ff. 33v-34r; family register, ff. 1v-2,
Bruges? in the mid-fifteenth century
Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS 35

the Innocents; p. 320, the Entombment; p. 321, The Flight into Egypt; p. 338, the nursing Virgin, to whom an angel extends the hand of righteousness; p. 366, Christ put on the cross; p. 368, the patron, kneeling in the margin, praying for the rest of souls, in front of a cemetery from which the deceased come out of the ground; the phylactery that accompanies it reads *Requiescant in pace supplico te, Iesu, Amen* ("Let them rest in peace, I beg you, O Jesus, Amen"); p. 388, the Virgin and Saint John in prayer before Christ of the end times, the dead coming out of the earth.

The miniatures in the Newton Hours and Prayer Book are attributed to the Mildmay Master, who specialized in Books of Hours for the continental and English market. Nicholas Rogers gave the artist his name in 1982 after a lavish Book of Hours, also produced for the export market, which includes notes of the family of "Sir Thomas Myldmaye, knight" whose relatives were later connected with the court of Elizabeth I (Chicago, Newberry Library, MS Case 35; also Saenger 1989) (fig. 2a, 2b). The Mildmay Master worked in the style of his contemporary Willem Vrelant of Bruges (arrived in Bruges in 1454; died 1480/1481), who, while maintaining a workshop, may also have functioned as a sort of *libraire* or stationer, assembling artists, scribes, decorators, and binders for diverse commissions. The deep reds and blues and the wide palette of greens are all typical of Vrelant and his associates and followers, and many of the compositions repeat Vrelant's well-known patterns.

Extraordinarily productive, the Mildmay Master favored figures with markedly blushed cheeks and women and young men with slightly pointed chins. His intimate miniatures evoke Bruges painting of the day, especially those of Hans Memling, the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Last Judgment (fig. 3). In our manuscript, the artist paid special attention to the depiction of the handsome young patron, who is remarkably individualized, with a rounded face, long rounded nose, small graceful hands and torso. From miniature to miniature, we can be sure that the same person is depicted, even when he has haphazardly discarded his clothing to get into bed and pray (p. 32). This group of donor miniatures, as well as exceptional images such as St. Erkenwald, raises questions about the practicalities of manuscript production: how did an artist in Bruges get specific instructions to enable him/ her to paint a highly personalized Book of Hours for a patron in Cheshire? This small manuscript remains one of the most richly illuminated and one of the most personalized within the artist's *oeuvre* and will certainly be at the center of attempts to answer this question.

Figure 3
Hans Memling
The Presentation in the Temple
c. 1470/1480, oil on panel
The National Gallery of Art, 1961.9.28

Our manuscript joins an ever-growing group of manuscripts in the Vrelant circle, which has become a kind of "catch-all" for manuscript illumination in Bruges in the third quarter of the fifteenth century (see exhibition Brussels and Paris, 2011, p. 242). In 2011, Bousmanne and Delcourt proposed an alternative to the complex commercial operation; they hypothesized the existence of a small family structure, in which anonymous hands, such as the Master of the Vraie Cronicque descose, were members of Vrelant's family. Vrelant's widow Marie (the Master of the Vraie Cronicque descose?), for example, continued to pay dues to the guild in Bruges until 1490-1491. The place of the Mildmay Master – whether a member of the family or part of a commercial network – with his/ her appealing colorful style in this "Vrelant" group has yet to be sorted out satisfactorily.

Physical description

449 pp (paginated in ink, collation impracticable), written in dark brown ink in a small rounded gothic bookhand on 16 long lines (justification 50 x 34 mm.), lightly ruled, rubrics in purplish red, versal initials throughout in blue or burnished gold with penwork in red or black, 2-line initials in blue or burnished gold with penwork, 62 MINIATURES, 44 FULL-PAGE, EIGHT HALF-PAGE, 10 HISTORIATED INITIALS, with narrow burnished gold frames and full borders of acanthus and small colored flowers and strawberries with tiny

gold besants. Bound in seventeenth-century marbled Havana calf, glazed, spine with 4 raised bands, front and rear cover gilt with ornate caissons with small irons, roulette and double gilt lines framing the outer edges (corners a bit battered, partially split), miniatures showing evidence of use, generally in very good condition. Dimensions 92 x 74 mm. (113 x 83 x 49 mm. binding included).

Literature

Unpublished; see:

On the heraldry: Chaix d'Est-Ange G., *Dictionnaire des familles françaises anciens ou notables à la fin du XIXe siècle*, XIV, Évreux, 1915; de Pontécoulant Louis-Gustave Doulcet, *Souvenirs historiques et parlementaires du comte de Pontécoulant, ancien pair de France*, Paris, 1861-1865; *de Normandie 54 2-3*, 2004. J.-B. Rietstap, Armorial général d'Europe, Gouda, 1861.

On the Newton family: Youngs, Deborah, *Humphrey Newton (1466-1536): An Early Tudor Gentleman*, Boydell and Brewer, 2008; Robbins, Russell Hope, "The Poems of Humpfrey Newton, Esquire (1466-1536)," *PMLA* 65 (1950), pp. 249-281.

On the Mildmay Master: Rogers, Nicholas, "Books of Hours Produced in the Low Countries for the English Market," M. Litt. Diss. University of Cambridge, 1982; Saenger, Paul, *Catalogue of the Pre-1500 Western Manuscript Books at the Newberry Library*, Chicago, 1989; [Exhibition] Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, and Paris, BnF, *Miniatures flamandes 1404-1482*, Brussels and Paris, 2011 (catalogue by B. Bousmanne and T. Delcourt).

On the use of Rebuses: Oman, Charles, *British Rings* 800-1974, London 1974.

Online Resources: The Capesthorne Manuscript: the Commonplace Book of Humphrey Newton https://www.europeana.eu/en/item/92093/Bibli; Royan MS 2 A XVII, rebus https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=5758; Harley MS 7333, rebus https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=23300

On the Mildmay Hours: Chicago, Newberry Library Case MS 35; https://www.newberry.org/english-medieval-book-hours; and digital reproduction

We are grateful to Gregory Clark, Peter Kidd, and Roger Wieck.

BOH 218


IKV PDI SCTI IOKEI

5 The name work of the Lyon illuminator, the Rosenberg Master

Hours of Guillaume II Molé (Use of Troyes)
In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Lyon, c. 1480-1490
13 full-page miniatures, 34 historiated initials, and 24 small calendar miniatures by the Rosenberg Master (active Lyon, c. 1470-1500)

This lavish manuscript is the personal Book of Hours of Guillaume II Molé (d. 1507), a successful merchant specialized in the trade of salt and arms, alderman of Troyes, and member of a prominent family of bibliophile merchants from Champagne. A remarkable witness to the mobility of artists, patrons, and models in late medieval France, this Book of Hours was commissioned from the workshop of Guillaume Lambert that flourished in Lyon at the crossroads between Northern and Southern Europe. Loaned by Alexander P. Rosenberg to the landmark exhibition *The Last Flowering. French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420-1530, from American Collections*, organized at the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1982-1983, this manuscript is the name work of the Rosenberg Master, and has been the subject of extensive study. The thirteen full-page miniatures and thirty-four historiated initials of the Hours of Guillaume II Molé offer a rare and dazzling example of Lyon illumination; they also summon, through the variety of their models, the legacy of some of the greatest artists of fifteenth-century France: the Rohan Master, Jean Fouquet, and Jean Colombe.

Provenance

1. This Book of Hours was illuminated in Lyon by the Rosenberg Master for Guillaume II Molé (d. 1507), a prominent salt and arms merchant, and alderman of Troyes (Bibolet 2007, pp. 27-28). It is introduced by a full-page armorial frontispiece (f. 2) that represents Guillaume II Molé's shield, in chief two stars or, in base a crescent argent, suspended from a helm with blue and gold mantling and with the crest of a putto. Two other putti support the helm, and each of them holds a scroll inscribed with the motto "EN ATTANDANT" (litt. "waiting for"). The same motto is seen on scrolls held by men within two historiated initials (f. 73v, 81v), and in several borders decorating the text pages throughout the manuscript. In eight of these borders, the motto is combined with the initials "GM" joined by a love-knot, undoubtedly Guillaume's initials (f. 11v, 17, 17v, 84-84v, 85v, 88-88v). The textual content for the use of Troyes, the masculine form of the *Obsecro te*, and two generic portraits of a male patron (f. 132v, 135v) further support this identification.

On June 19th 1467, Guillaume Molé had married Simone Boucherat. The couple is known to have commissioned several works of art. Soon after their marriage, they funded the erection of the "beau portail" of the church Saint-Jacques-aux-Nonnains of Troyes, facing their house, under which portal they were respectively buried in 1507 and 1519. Their patronage is exemplified by the gift of stained-glass windows to local churches, among which stands out an entire upper window of the Cathedral St. Peter and St. Paul of Troyes that represents the parable of the prodigal son (fig. 1a). Presented by their patron saints St. Guillaume and St. Simon, Guillaume Molé and Simone Boucherat are portrayed on each side of the lower register alongside their son and daughter, kneeling at a prie-dieu decorated with their arms (fig. 1c, 1d). On the sides of the tympanum, two scrolls display the motto "EN ATTENDENT" that appears throughout the present manuscript (fig. 1b).

Guillaume Molé and Simone Boucherat also commissioned three illuminated manuscripts, two of them from the same workshop as the present Book of Hours. The first is a copy of Jean Gerson's *Passion de Nostre Seigneur Ihesus Christ*, illuminated by members of Guillaume Lambert's workshop, which first folio presents their coats of arms hanging from a tree (fig. 2; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 25, f. 1). François Avril also attributes to their patronage a copy of the *Faits des Romains*, illuminated by the Master of the Alarmes de Mars, the most talented heir to Guillaume Lambert's workshop (Brussels, Royal Library, MS 9040; see Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007, p. 184). Finally,


DOMINE LABIA
MEA APERIES

f.2, Heraldic frontispiece of Guillaume II Molé

Figure 2
Getty Master
Resurrection of Lazarus, with arms of Guillaume II Molé and Simone Boucherat, from Jean Gerson's Passion de Nostre Seigneur Ihesus Christ, f. 1
France, Lyon, c. 1480-1490
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 25

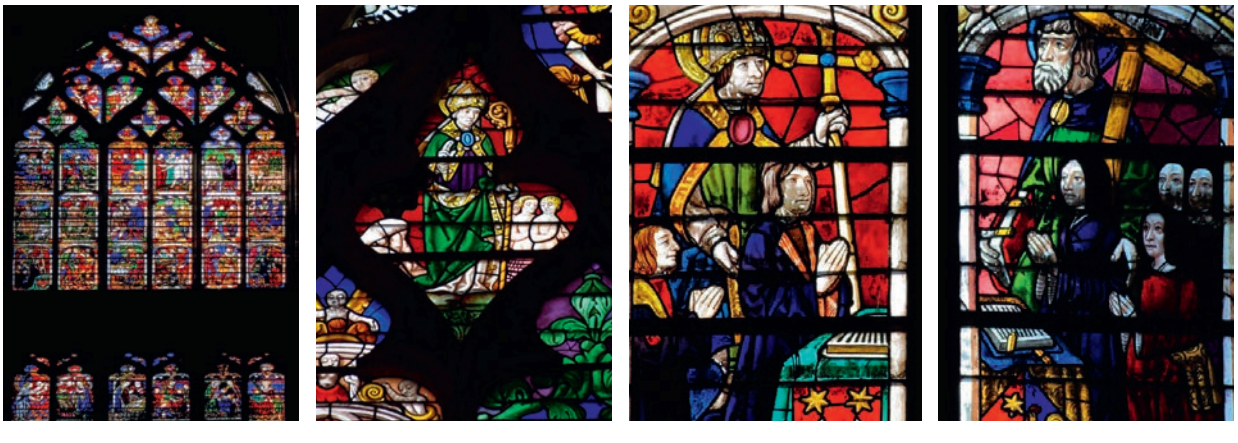


Figure 1
a. *Parable of the Prodigal Son; Annunciation; Nativity; Holy Family; Trinity of St. Anne*, with arms, motto, and portraits of Guillaume II Molé and Simone Boucherat
France, Troyes, c. 1498-1499
Troyes, cathedral St. Peter and St. Paul, bay 232
b. Detail: Scroll inscribed with the motto "En attendent"
c. d. Detail: Guillaume II Molé and his son presented by St. Guillaume; Simone Boucherat and her daughters presented by St. Simon

Jean-Baptiste Lebigue recently identified Guillaume Molé's arms in the decorated initial introducing a copy of the *Chevalier des Dames* in the Vatican Library (MS Reg. Lat. 1362; Lebigue 2013).

Guillaume II Molé and Simone Boucherat also possessed a Book of Hours for the use of Troyes made for a woman in the 1420s, and attributed to the Rohan Master (Christie's, 7 June 2000, lot 7). It might have been made for Jeanne Lésguisey, wife to Guillaume I Molé (1405-1459), who were the parents of Guillaume II. Around 1480, the latter and his wife commissioned a full-page armorial frontispiece from the Master of Guyot II Le Peley, active in Troyes, that was inserted at the beginning of the manuscript. This achievement of arms shares many similarities with the present miniature, although it differs in subtle ways. Indeed, the supporters are half-length naked youth rather than putti, the base of the helm is inscribed with the name "guillermus m." rather than his motto, and it depicts both Guillaume and Simone's coats of arms rather than only Guillaume's. It follows that the present manuscript can be considered as Guillaume II Molé's personal Book of Hours.

Guillaume II Molé belonged to an eminent family of Troyes merchants whose members often commissioned richly illuminated manuscripts. His younger brother, Jean I Molé (d. 1493), owned a Book of Hours illuminated by the famous Bourges artist Jean Colombe, in which he inserted his own portrait, commissioned from the Master of Guillaume Lambert in Lyon (see p. 29; Rodez, Société des Lettres, MS 1: see Avril and Reynaud 1993, pp. 335-336, no. 184). Jean I Molé's coat of arms differs from that of his brother by the addition of a *bordure engrailed or*, distinguishing the younger branch of the family. The same is found in a copy of Guillaume de Nangis' *Chronique abrégée des rois de France* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2598). After the death of Jean I in 1493, his elder son Claude Molé adopted the same coat of arms. The latter occurs in the armorial miniature of a Book of Hours commissioned in Paris from the Master of the Petrarch Triumphs around 1510 (New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M. 356; see Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet, 2007, p. 188, no. 44).

2. A separate note, already missing at the time of the 1977 auction (see below), is reported to have been written around 1820 and read "Col. Cooper, bought in Italy".

3. H. Harvey Frost (1873-1969), his printed bookplate on the upper pasteboard: "From the Library of H. Harvey Frost".

4. Sven Ericson, of Stockholm; sold Sotheby's, London 13 July 1977, lot 76, bought by Laurence Witten. 5 William H. Schab Gallery, bought by Alexander P. Rosenberg on 27 March 1979.

5. New York, Collection of Elaine and Alexander P. Rosenberg, MS 5. His bookplate on the upper pasteboard, with initials "APR" and the motif of an open window and view of the sea, commissioned from Pablo Picasso c. 1935.

Text

ff. 3-8v, Calendar in French, with major feasts in red. Feasts characteristic of Troyes include St. Frodobert (8 Jan), St. Patroclus (19 Jan), St. Savinian, in red (24 Jan), St. Sabina (29 Jan), Translation of St. Savinian (2 March), St. Mastiadia, in red (7 May), Translation of St. Lupus of Troyes (10 May), St. Fidolus (16 May), St. Ursus (26 July), St. Camelianus (28 July), St. Lupus of Troyes, in red (29 July), and St. Bercharius (16 Oct); [f. 9-9v, blank, unruled]; ff. 10-13v, Gospel extracts; [f. 14-14v, blank, unruled]; ff. 15-20v, Passion according to St. John; [f. 21-21v, blank, unruled]; ff. 22-82, Hours of the Virgin, use of Troyes, "*secundum usum ecclesiem trecensem*," with Matins (f. 22), Lauds (f. 35v), [f. 36-36v, blank, unruled], Prime (f. 43v), [f. 44-44v, blank, unruled], Terce (f. 48v), [f. 49-49v, blank, unruled], [f. 52-52v, blank, unruled], Sext (f. 53), [f. 56-56v, blank, unruled], [f. 59-59v, blank, unruled], None (f. 60), [f. 66-66v, blank, unruled], Compline (f. 67); variant readings from the Saturday before Advent to the Vespers of the Nativity's Vigil (f. 69); variant readings from the Matins of the Nativity to the First Octave of the Purification (f. 76); ff. 82v-85v, Hours of the Cross, [f. 83-83v, blank, unruled]; [f. 86-86v, blank, unruled]; ff. 87-88v, Hours of the Holy Spirit [incipit missing]; ff. 90-97, Penitential Psalms; ff. 97-102, Litanies and Prayers, including local saints of Troyes, Lupus, Frodobert, and Mastidia; [f. 103-103v, blank, unruled]; ff. 102v-128v, Office of the Dead, use of Troyes; [f. 129-129v, blank, unruled]; ff. 130-132v, *Obsecro te*, masculine form; ff. 132v-135v, *O Intemerata*; ff. 135v-136, Prayer to the Virgin, incipit, "Excellentissima domina et gloriosissima virgo;" ff. 136-142, Suffrages, Christopher, f. 136; Sebastian, f. 137; Lawrence, f. 137v; Nicholas, f. 138; Anthony of Padua, f. 138; Claude, f. 138v; Katherine, f. 139v; Mary Magdalen, f. 140; Barbara, f. 140v; Margaret, f. 141; Agnes, f. 141v; Genovefa, f. 142; [f. 142v-143, blank, ruled in red].


IESVS I ADIVTORIV MEV ITENISE

Illustration

Thirteen full-page miniatures, all but one (f. 22) set within a gold architectural frame: f. 2, Heraldic frontispiece of Guillaume II Molé (see above, Provenance); f. 10, Saint John on Patmos; f. 15, Arrest of Christ; f. 22, Annunciation with scenes from the Life of the Virgin: the Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple, the Virgin weaving in her chamber, and the Marriage of the Virgin; f. 35v, Visitation [face of the Virgin overpainted]; f. 43v, Nativity; f. 48v, Annunciation to the Shepherds; f. 53, Adoration of the Magi; f. 60, Presentation to the Temple; f. 67, Dormition of the Virgin; f. 82v, Crucifixion; f. 87, Pentecost; f. 102v, Funeral office.

Thirty-four five- to eight-lines historiated initials: f. 11, St. Luke; f. 12, St. Mark; f. 12v, St. Matthew; f. 64v, Man in prayer; f. 69, Virgin and Child; f. 70, A man; f. 70v, A man; f. 73, Visitation; f. 73v, A man, holding a scroll inscribed "EN ATENDAN;" f. 74, A man; Bust of the Virgin Mary; f. 74v, A man; f. 76v, Virgin Mary; f. 78v, A man; f. 79, Virgin Mary adoring the Christ Child; f. 80, Virgin Mary in Prayer; f. 80v, A man; f. 81, A man; f. 81v, A man, holding a scroll inscribed with "EN ATANDA;" f. 82, A man; f. 97, Virgin Mary; f. 118 A woman; f. 125v, Resurrection of Lazarus; f. 132v, Pieta with a masculine donor kneeling in prayer; f. 135v, Virgin and Child with a masculine donor kneeling in prayer; f. 136v, St. Christopher crossing the river; f. 137, Martyrdom of St. Sebastian; f. 137v, St. Lawrence; f. 139v, St. Katherine; f. 140, St. Mary Magdalen; f. 140v, St. Barbara; f. 141, St. Margaret; f. 141v, St. Agnes; f. 142, St. Genovefa.

Twenty-four small calendar miniatures within floral panel border: f. 3, January: Feast; Aquarius; f. 3v, February: Sitting by fire; Pisces; f. 4, March: Pruning vines; Aries; f. 4v, April: Young man with flower; Taurus; f. 5, May: Young man with two flowers; Gemini; f. 5v, June: Mowing; Cancer; f. 6, July: Reaping; Leo; f. 6v, August: Threshing; Virgo; f. 7, September: Treading grapes; Libra; f. 7v, October: Sowing; Scorpio; f. 8, November: Beating oaks for pigs; Sagittarius. f. 8v, December: Slaughtering pig; Capricorn.

This lavishly decorated manuscript is the name work of the Rosenberg Master, active in Lyon c. 1470-1500, who was part of the flourishing workshop of the scribe Guillaume Lambert. The latter is known from his own Book of Hours (fig. 6; New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.1162), which ex-libris indicates that it was written in Guillaume Lambert's house "near the portal" in 1484. Lynn F. Jacobs and Elizabeth Burin have assembled and studied a corpus of around thirty illuminated manuscripts, attributed to four main illuminators (Jacobs 1993; Burin 2002). These are the Getty Master (named after Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 10), the Rosenberg Master (named after the present manuscript), the Master of Guillaume Lambert (named after the Morgan manuscript), and the Boilly Master, or Master of BnF MS lat. 18015. Since Guillaume Lambert's writing hand occurs in several manuscripts illustrated by these artists, Christopher de Hamel suggested that he acted both as a scribe and a stationer supervising this thriving enterprise (De Hamel 1986, p. 185), the most important bookshop in late fifteenth-century Lyon.

An economic capital city second only to Paris in the late fifteenth century, Lyon benefited from its location on the main commercial crossroad between Italy and the Netherlands. Merchants, noblemen, and civic servants from abroad often resided in Lyon. This applies to Guillaume Molé, who is documented in Lyon as a merchant and a stranger in 1499 (Bibolet 2007, p. 27) and 1503 (Lévy 2017, p. 91, n. 10). Guillaume Lambert's workshop supplied lavish manuscripts to such an international clientele, from the Lacroix of Montpellier to the Molé of Troyes, from the cardinal-bishop of Geneva to the Vettori family of Florence and the count Werner von Zimmern of Meßkirch, to mention but a few (on the clientele, see Burin 1999-2000).

The Rosenberg Master was first named by John Plummer in 1982-1983 in the landmark exhibition *The Last Flowering. French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420-1530, from American Collections*, held at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, where the present manuscript was exhibited as no. 100 (Plummer 1982-1983). Stylistic features shared by the workshop include the clearly structured, full-length compositions; the men with strong cheekbones and long noses touched with white; the women with high foreheads, shaded temples, oval-shaped faces, and white complexions; the draperies falling in complex, angular, and highlighted folds, and the vivid palette (f. 87). The Rosenberg Master's personal manner is distinguished in details such as the dark blue clouds in the skies from which divine radiance shines forth, or the towering rocks (f. 35v) and round trees edged with yellow

highlights (f. 48v) punctuating the spacious landscapes. A series of historiated initials with close-up portraits of men and women (ff. 69-82) demonstrate a mastery in the modelling of the figures that is unexpected from this artist, for his draftsmanship has often been underestimated.

The Rosenberg Master contributed to the decoration of at least six of the workshop's Books of Hours. Two were illuminated for specific patrons, as the extensive cycle of illustrations, the personalization of the decoration with initials and mottoes, and the extent of the secondary decoration demonstrate. The Hours of Guillaume II Molé matches these three criteria; indeed, reflecting on the entire production, Elizabeth Burin observes that the present manuscript "is the most lavishly decorated, with a panel border spanning the height of written space on each text page" (Burin 2002, p. 17). Another Book of Hours now in Lunel (Bibliothèque municipale, MS 9; fig. 3), was probably made for Guillaume Lacroix, a merchant, changer, and usurer who had become governor of Montpellier and sojourned in Lyon in 1495. Other Books of Hours likely to have been bought from the Rosenberg Master are now in Oxford (Keble College, MS 40), in the Vatican Library, dated 1478 (MS Vat. Lat. 3780), and in Badia di Cava, dated 1482 (Abbey Library, MS 45); the latter having been acquired by the Vettori family of Florence.

Manuscripts produced in Guillaume Lambert's workshop are easily identified by a few distinguishing features, not to mention the similarities in the secondary decoration and script that were often entrusted to the same collaborators (Burin 2002, pp. 17-18). Most characteristic is the systematic framing of full-page miniatures with a gold architectural frame, according to a principle first developed by Jean Colombe in Bourges. The side frames imitate giltwood prismatic piers, occupied with statues of prophets and apostles set under Gothic canopies, while the upper and lower frames remain flat. Also characteristic is the inscription of the incipit on the lower frame, in black display capitals. Interestingly, some trimmed lower margins of the present manuscript preserve rare indications given by the scribe to the artist of the words to inscribe on the golden frames (ff. 10, 14, 87); on one instance, that is the Pentecost (f. 87), the Rosenberg Master forgot to include the incipit.

Also typical of the Lyon illumination is the consistency of the compositions, which were often conceived with the same models shared between members of the workshop. Compositions such as those of the Visitation (f. 35v), the Presentation to the Temple (f. 60) or the Dormition (f. 67) thus tend to recur from one manuscript to the next (fig. 4, 5). Most of these models were invented by Jean Fouquet in Tours, and had been diffused and simplified over time by Jean Colombe, to whom the Rosenberg Master borrowed the towering rocks used to punctuate the depth of his landscapes, and with whom the Getty

Figure 4
Rosenberg Master
Saint Luke drawing the Virgin and Child, from the Hours of Guillaume Lacroix with arms and motto "EN AY CAUSE"
France, Lyon, c. 1487-1495
Lunel, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 9

Figure 5
Getty Master
Presentation to the Temple, from a Book of Hours, f. 75
France, Lyon, 1478
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 10

Figure 6
Master of Guillaume Lambert
Dormition, from the Hours of Guillaume Lambert, f. 79
France, Lyon, 1484
New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.1162


Gloria in excelsis deo
DS IN ADIVTORIVM MEVM INTENDE


INR
ISTIE LABIA MEA ADERES

Master might have trained. Examples of motifs invented in Fouquet's Hours of Étienne Chevalier (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 71) that occur in the present manuscript include the Betrayal (f. 15), with Malchus armed, holding the lantern, while St. Peter resheathes his sword; the Dormition (f. 67), with the Virgin lying on her deathbed seen in profile and surrounded with apostles; and the Crucifixion (f. 82v; fig. 6), with the Swooning Virgin and a soldier mounting a horse seen from the back in the foreground.

The most impressive miniature of Guillaume II Molé's Hours is undoubtedly the Annunciation, set within a palatial chapel (f. 22), that opens the Matins of the Virgin, the most important office of a Book of Hours. The scene is enshrined within a golden architecture that extends onto the margins and distributes ancillary scenes from the Life of Mary: the Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple, having climbed the steps of the Altar of the Holocaust; the Virgin Weaving; and the Marriage of the Virgin. An almost identical composition, painted in grisaille, occurs in a Book of Hours illuminated a few years later by the eponymous Master of Latin 18015 (fig. 7). François Avril has devoted a study to the diffusion of this remarkable composition in fifteenth-century France (Avril 2006, pp. 129-133). A first version had been created in Paris by the Mazarine and Bedford Masters, in manuscripts such as the Bonaparte and Bedford Hours. In the mid-fifteenth century, another version, probably based on the Rohan Master's Virgin and Child in the Hours of Isabella Stuart (fig. 8; Cambridge, Fizwilliam Museum, MS 62), became increasingly popular between Brittany and Anjou. Stemming from the latter is the Annunciation of the Hours of Jeanne de France, illuminated around 1450 by the Jouvenel Master (fig. 9; Paris, BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 3244), which appears to be the closest to the Annunciation of the Hours of Guillaume II Molé.

Figure 6
Jean Fouquet
Crucifixion, from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier
France, Tours, c. 1452-1460
Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 71

Physical description

i + 128 + i, folios on parchment, with 14 modern parchment flyleaves facing leaves with miniatures (f. 1, 9, 14, 21, 36, 44, 49, 52, 59, 66, 83, 86, 103, 129), modern ten-by-ten foliation in pencil in the lower left corner, including the parchment flyleaves, 1-143 followed here, lacking 3 leaves likely with full-page miniature and text, each replaced with a modern parchment folio supplying the missing text (f. 55, f. 90, f. 130), otherwise complete, mostly in gatherings of eight (collation, excluding flyleaves cited above: i^{2}, ii^{6}, $iii\text{-}vi^{8}$, vii^{8-1+1}, $viii\text{-}xi^{8}$, xii^{8-1+1}, $xiii\text{-}xvi^{8}$, xvii^{8+1-1}, xviii^{8}, xix^{4}), with occasional catchwords, modern quire signatures (alphabetical in the outer margin), and instructions to the illuminator partially trimmed, written in brown ink in cursive gothic bookhand on 24 lines, ruled in red (justification: 85 x 55 mm), rubrics in red, 1- to 2-lines initials throughout in gold on blue or red ground, touched with gold, one-sided panel border on every text page, often with motto "EN ATTANDANT," 24 calendar miniatures framed with gold within one-sided panel border, 34 five- to eight-lines historiated initials, 13 full-page miniatures, a few flakes, one stain (f. 87), a few faces partially rubbed, one overpaint (face of the Virgin Mary, f. 35v), otherwise in excellent condition. Bound in a 20th-century polished black calf, spine re-using an 18th-century green leather title-piece lettered in gilt capitals "Officium B.V.M. Cod[ex] in me[mbranis];" leather case, the front cover embossed with a monogram "AE", the spine lettered in gilt capitals "Horae B.V.M." and "Troyes." Dimensions 153 x 102 mm.

Exhibition

The Last Flowering. French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420-1530, from American Collections, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 18 November 1982 to 30 January 1983, no. 100.

Literature

Published: J. Plummer, with the assistance of G. Clark, *The Last Flowering. French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420-1530, from American Collections*, New York/London, 1982, pp. 77-78, no. 100, ill. 100a-100b; L. Jacobs, "The Master of Getty Ms. 10 and Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination in Lyon," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 1993, 21, pp. 55-83, cited pp. 56, 64-66, 69-71, 77, ill. 20, 26; F. Avril and N. Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520*, cited pp. 320, 335, 359; S. Hindman, *The Robert Lehman Collection. IV, Illuminations*, New York/Princeton, 1997, cited pp. 39, 42, 44; E. Burin,

f. 22, Annunciation with scenes from the Life of the Virgin

Figure 7
Master of Latin 18015
Annunciation with scenes from the Life of the Virgin, from a Book of Hours, f. 31
France, Lyon, c. 1490-1500
Paris, BnF, MS lat. 18015

Figure 8
Rohan Master
Virgin and Child with scenes from the Life of the Virgin, from the Hours of Isabella Stuart, f. 141v
France, Angers, c. 1431
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 62

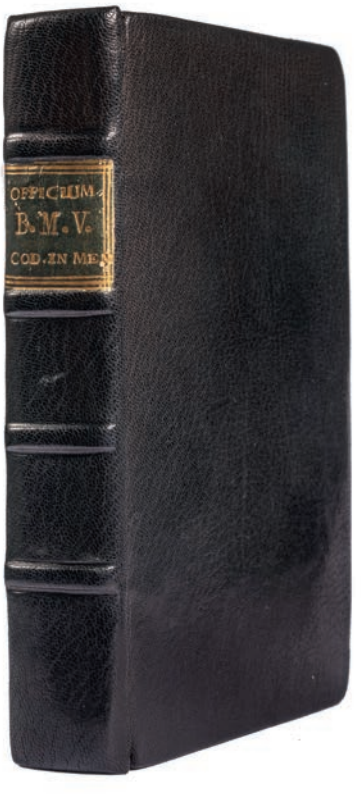
Figure 9
Jouvenel Master
Annunciation with scenes from the Life of the Virgin, from the Hours of Jeanne de France
France, Angers, 1452
Paris, BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 3244

Manuscript Illumination in Lyon (1473-1530), Turnhout, 2002, pp. 96-99, no 25, cited pp. 9-11, and *passim*, figs. 9, 12-14, 26, 76, 96; E. Burin, "Patrons and Illuminators in Lyon: Shaping the Manuscript Market around 1500," *Manuscripta*, 43-44, 1999-2000, pp. 45-64, cited p. 47, n. 7; F. Avril, "Les copies à répétition. À propos de la circulation et de la dissémination des modèles," in S. L'Engle and G. B. Guest (eds.), *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander. The Making and Meaning of Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts, Art & Architecture*, London/Turnhout, 2006, pp. 127-140, cited p. 132; F. Avril, "Heures de [Jean ?] Molé," in *Très Riches Heures de Champagne. L'enluminure en Champagne à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Avril, M. Hermant, and F. Bibolet, Paris/Châlons-en-Champagne, 2007, cited p. 184; T. Lévy, *Les Peintres de Lyon autour de 1500*, Rennes, 2017, cited p. 91, n. 10.; A. Bergeron-Foote, "Extrait des *Heures de Drulhon-Fayete*," in B. Dunn-Lardeau, *Catalogue raisonné des livres d'heures conserves au Québec*, Québec, 2018, pp. 84-93, no 13, cited p. 92, n. 16.

Further literature: E. Adam, *Un livre d'heures en grisaille de l'atelier du Maître de Guillaume Lambert de Lyon. Le manuscrit Latin 18015 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, unpublished Master's thesis, Paris, 2015, vol. 1, pp. 24-59; F. Bibolet, "Le mécénat troyen. Les bourgeois de Troyes à la fin du XVe siècle," in *Très Riches Heures de Champagne. L'enluminure en Champagne à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Avril, M. Hermant, and F. Bibolet, Paris/Châlons-en-Champagne, 2007, pp. 17-33; C. De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Boston, 1986; M. Hermant, "Production et commande de manuscrits enluminés à Lyon à la fin du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance," in L. Virassamynaïken (ed.), *Lyon Renaissance. Arts et Humanisme*, Lyon/Paris, 2015, pp. 274-279.

Online Resources: J.-B. Lebigue, "Un nouveau manuscrit destiné à Guillaume II Molé," *"Ou grant livraire." Carnet de recherche de la Section Romane de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, 2013, online edition [https://romane.hypotheses.org/262].

BOH 212




Domine labia mea aperies,
et os meum ānū

6 Classic Book of Hours from the early Rouen school of illumination

Book of Hours (Use of Evreux)
In Latin and French, illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Rouen, c. 1450-1460
7 miniatures by the Talbot Master

Illuminated in the bright and bold colors of the Talbot Master, this manuscript typifies manuscript production in Rouen at the end of the Hundred Years' War between France and England. When the English occupied Paris in the early 1420s, many artists fled, serving patrons in other municipal centers. One such artist is the Talbot Master, whose artistic origins can be found in "golden age" manuscript illumination by artists such as the Boucicaut and Bedford Masters and who is named for his most important patron, one of the English army officers stationed in Rouen at the end of the Hundred Years' War. Although the patron of this manuscript is unknown, it is grand in format, unusually large for a Book of Hours, indicating a significant commission.

Provenance

1. Written and illuminated in Rouen around 1450–1460 by the Master of John Talbot or the Talbot Master, for the use of Evreux; with Norman saints in the calendar as follow: Oven, Mellon, Sever, Vital, Urbain, Ursin.

2. Belonged to a François Vernage (his name in ink on front flyleaf). A François Vernage was Dean of the medical faculty at the Paris Academy of Medicine from 1702–1704. A priest named Étienne-François Vernage (1652–1723) lived in the parish of Saint Nicolas des Champs from 1678–1723, and was known to be in possession of a library at the time of his death in Paris.

3. An additional name inscribed in ink on the verso of the last flyleaf is much faded and mostly.

Text

ff. 1–12, Calendar; f. 13, The Gospel Lessons, John (f. 13), Luke (f. 14), Matthew (f. 15v), Mark (f. 16v); f. 18, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds (f.27v), Suffrages (f. 35), Prime (f. 39v), Sext (f. 46), None (f. 48v), Compline (f. 52); f. 56, Office of the Holy Cross (begins incompletely); f. 58v, Hours of the Holy Spirit; f. 62, Office of the Dead; f. 90, Blank; f. 92, Seven Penitential Psalms and litanies; f. 106, *Obsecro te* (for masculine use); f. 109v, *O Intemerata*; f. 113, The Fifteen Joys of the Virgin Mary, in French; f. 118v, The Seven Requests to Our Lord, in French.

Illustration

f. 18, The Annunciation; f. 39v, The Nativity; f. 46, The Adoration of the Magi; f.48v, Presentation in the Temple; f. 58v, Pentecost; f. 62, Burial scene; f. 91, King David kneeling before a vision of God.

This Book of Hours was illuminated in Rouen around 1450-1460 by the Talbot Master, who produced manuscripts for both English and French patrons from c. 1430 to c. 1460. He takes his name from Sir John Talbot (c. 1388–1453), Earl of Shrewsbury, for whom he illuminated a collection of poems and romances known as the Shrewsbury Book, presented to Margaret of Anjou c. 1445 (fig. 1; London, British Library, Royal MS 15 E VI), as well as three Books of Hours for himself or his wife Margaret Beauchamp (including Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 40-1950). Trained in Paris alongside the Fastolf Master, the Talbot Master settled in Rouen during the English occupation where he remained after their retreat in 1449 (Avril and Reynaud, 1993, pp. 169-171).

The Talbot Master's style is often defined by his taste for linearity, evident in the modelling of figures over flat areas of colors (Reynolds 2003). Another distinctive feature is the use of liquid gold to highlight draperies with swift brushes, to ornate mantles and clothes with brocade patterns, and to punctuate most of the skies with golden stars (f. 46, 91). These miniatures are best compared to those of manuscripts illuminated by the Talbot Master in the late 1440s. For instance, one can find the

Domine ad adiuuandum
me festina. Gloria patri. Sicut erat.

Figure 1
Master of John Talbot
Nectanebus, from Roman d'Alexandre en prose in the Schrewsbury Book, f. 5
France, Rouen, c. 1440-1445
London, British Library, Royal MS 15 E VI

Figure 2
Master of John Talbot
Melancholia veiling Alain Chartier; Alain Chartier surrounded by the Virtues, from Alain Chartier, Traité de l'Espérance, f. 218
France, Rouen, c. 1449-1450
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 126

Figure 3
Master of John Talbot
Annunciation, from a Book of Hours, f. 28
France, Rouen, c. 1440-1450
Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 545

Figure 4
Master of John Talbot
Adoration of the Magi, from a Book of Hours, f. 62
France, Rouen, c. 1440-1450
Paris, BnF, MS lat. 13283

Domine ne in furore
tuo arguas me: neq;
in ira tua corripias me.

Domine labia mea ap
Et os meum annu
ciabit laudem tuam

same stiff gestures and attitudes of the Annunciation's characters (f. 18) in the presentation scenes of the Shrewsbury Book (fig. 1; e.g. London, British Library, Royal MS 15 E VI, f. 5). The Nativity (f. 48v) offers a sound example of the Talbot Master's interest in spatial construction. The narrative is set on different planes divided by slim columns, which depth is rendered by a receding green-tiled floor that opposes the flatness of the starry blue sky. Such features are also found among the large miniatures of a compilation of Alain Chartier's poems, which was commissioned by the aldermen of Rouen shortly after 1449 (fig. 2; Paris, BnF, MS fr. 126; Avril and Reynaud 1993, pp. 169-171, no. 88).

Several miniatures of the present manuscript prove to be reminiscent of models used by the Talbot Master in other Books of Hours dating from the 1440s. Such is the case of the Annunciation that is related to that of another Book of Hours for the use of Paris (fig. 3; Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 545, f. 28), and of the Adoration of the Magi to be compared to that of a Book of Hours for the use of Rouen (fig. 4; Paris, BnF, MS lat. 13283, f. 62). The exquisite and elaborate floral borders of the present manuscript are distinguished by the motif of a vertical sprout of acanthus dividing the outer margins. This singularity is to be found in another and slightly later Book of Hours for the use of Therouanne, commissioned from the Talbot Master by a knight portrayed in prayer before the Annunciation (fig. 5, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 13245). The composition of the *Pentecost* of the Vatican manuscript (fig. 3; f. 153v) bears many similarities with that of the present manuscript, which suggests that this Book of Hours for the use of Evreux was most likely illuminated in Rouen around 1450.

Figure 5
Master of John Talbot
Pentecost, from a Book of Hours, f. 153v
France, Rouen, c. 1450-1460
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,
MS Pal. Lat. 13245

Physical description

ff. 121 (collation: i^{12}, ii–iii^{6}, iv–v^{4}, vi^{6}, vii^{2}, viii^{4}, ix^{2}, x^{4}, xi^{5} [of 6, missing xi], xii^{2}, xiii^{4}, xiv^{1}, xv^{6}, xvi–xvii^{4}, xviii^{2}, xix^{1}, xx^{6}, xxi^{2}, xxii^{5} [iii added in], xxiii^{4}, xxiv^{8}, xxv^{1}, xxvi^{6}, xxvii^{4}, xxviii^{6}), 14 lines, ruled in red (justification 101 x 74 mm), pages are numbered twice, once in the lower right margin in pencil starting anew after the calendar, and once in the upper left margin in ink, the miniatures are likewise numbered in ink, written in Gothic script, in black ink, with 1-, 2-, and 3-line initials in gold paint on red and blue grounds, rubrics in red ink, line fillers in patterns of red, blue, and gold, SEVEN LARGE ARCH-TOPPED ILLUMINATIONS PAINTED BY THE TALBOT MASTER, three lines of text, and margins densely illuminated with foliage, flowers, fruit, and acanthus leaves, folio lost between ff. 55 and 56 (preceding Office of the Holy Cross), paint residue on f. 55v indicates it was facing an illuminated page, perhaps a Crucifixion scene, seven text pages with illuminated margins, few pages with spots of smudged or faded ink and paint, some pages with spot stains in margins, particularly along lower edge, overpaint on the face of the Virgin in the Nativity, modern pencil notations to corners of pages, few pages with small tears and holes. Four unfoliated flyleaves after front cover and six before back cover with ink notations, first flyleaf at back of book with full-folio inscription in Latin, marbled pastedowns to front and back covers. Brown leather covers in style of thr eighteenth century, with gold-tooled medallion in center, design around border, and gilt stamping on edges, spine with four raised bands and gilt decoration, wear and losses to gold decoration, scratches, cracking, and flaking, and to cover, bent corners with wear and small losses t o edges. Dimensions 207 x 155 mm.

Literature

Unpublished.

For further literature see: F. Avril and N. Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440–1520*, Paris, 1993; C. Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury Book, British Library Royal MS. 15.E.VI," *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archeology at Rouen,* The British Archeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1986, 12, ed. by J. Stratford, 109–16. Leeds 1993; C. Reynolds, "Talbot Master," *Grove Art Online*, Oxford, 2003; J. Hamburger (ed.), *Picturing Prayer. The Book of Hours in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Mass., 2006; A.D. Hedeman, "Collecting Images: The Role of the Visual in the Shrewsbury

Talbot Book (Royal 15 E.VI)," in *Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe (14th–17th centuries)*, ed. K. Fresco and A.D. Hedeman. Ohio State University Press 2011; V. Reinburg, *French Books of Hours, Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600*. Cambridge, MA 2012.

Our thanks to Elliot Adam for his expertise and contribution.

BOH 220

Placebo domino.
Ps. Dilexi quoniam ex
audiet dominus.

7 Key work by the "Painter of the Signed Hours" in Jean Poyet's workshop

The "Signed Hours" (Use of Rome)
In Latin and French, illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Tours, c. 1490-1500
5 large and 17 small miniatures by "Jean of Tours" of the Workshop of Jean Poyer and another illuminator

This is an undeniably pretty and important manuscript, produced at the height of the Renaissance in Tours, and associated with an artist allied with one of the greatest of the exponents of the Tours style, Jean Poyer. Thanks to enthusiastic royal patronage, the influence of Paris, and the presence of Italian artists, Tours enjoyed an incomparable success as a center of French Renaissance art around 1500. Long considered a follower of the mythic Jean Bourdichon of Tours, Poyer has been rehabilitated in the past several decades. His style, employing clearly articulated figures, a frequent use of chiaroscuro, and daring color juxtapositions, is at once more complex and more subtle than that of some of his famous contemporaries, such as Bourdichon. Of grand format and in beautiful fresh condition, the present manuscript survives as a fine example of his style and that of his workshop. With its five large miniatures, its numerous smaller miniatures, and its rich unusual border decoration on all pages, the manuscript presents a visual tour de force.

Provenance

1. Copied and illuminated in Tours based on script and stylistic elements. The Calendar in French is very full but does not provide any particular localization. The liturgical of the Hours of the Virgin and the Office of the Dead is the universal use of Rome.

2. Sold at Christie's, London, 26 June 1991, lot. 39; see also E. Konig, in Tenschert, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter* V, XXX (1993), no. 28, pp. 470-489.

3. North American Private Collection.

Early sixteenth-century literature on art in France praised Jean Poyer's name together with such illustrious artists like Jean Fouquet, Jan van Eyck, Simon Marmion, Albrecht Dürer and Michelangelo (on Jean Poyer see esp. F. Avril, 1993, pp. 306-318; R. Wieck, et al., 2002; and M. Hofmann, 2004). A few documents from 1465 to 1498 sketch Poyer's career. In 1497, for example, he received payment for a "petites heures" for Anne of Brittany, a fragment of which may survive in a tiny single leaf in Philadelphia (Free Library, Lewis MS 11.15a). The real connection between Poyer's name and a consistent body of work depends on matching this oeuvre with the personality of the artist who emerges from the documents. Although Jean Bourdichon has been described as Fouquet's most important follower, Poyer, whose work was also greatly in vogue at court, was not only an exceptionally skilled painter but also, like Fouquet, an explorer of new artistic concepts. His style is marked by vibrant colours, increasingly dynamic figures, and amazing spatial effects that introduced Italian High Renaissance conceits to France at an early stage around 1500. A terminus ante quem for his death comes from Jean Lemaire de Belges's *Plainte du désire*, composed before Easter 1504, when he praises Poyer among other famous dead artists.

Most works that have survived in Poyer's style date from the last decade of the fifteenth century. Stylistic analysis reveals two main workshop collaborators who understood the master's art to an exceptionally high degree. One of them was charged with decorating the present Book of Hours together with another otherwise unidentified painter. The central figure of the miniature with Job and his friends is dressed in a blue robe with a gold collar, decorated with red capitals. When the manuscript first became known in 1991, the script on the collar of this figure was deciphered as IOAN TURO[NEN]S[IS] standing for Johannes Turonensis or Jean of Tours. Basing himself on the

inscription along with an analysis of the style, which shows undeniable "Poyetian" features, Eberhard König published the manuscript in 1993 as "the" autograph work by Jean Poyer. Apart from the fact that such inscriptions are difficult to decipher as they appear hidden among decorative fantasy letters, this manuscript cannot be linked to Poyer's core body of work for stylistic reasons. However, it may well include his collaborator's name: Jean was a common name in Tours.

This artist of the full-page miniatures has now been established as the Painter of the "Signed Hours," one of the major figures of Payer's workshop (see M. Hofmann, 2004, esp. pp. 47-55). We identify him as Jean of Tours. Close to the master is the fine modelling of faces with overall tiny dense brush strokes including the use of light blue to animate grey zones. Also typical is the use of dense gold hatching for selected materials to enforce the strong effects of light and shadow. The occasional use of light pink in contrast to bright red and blue is a signature of Poyer's color scheme. On f. 26, the magnificent Annunciation is clearly based on the Poyer model from one of his most famous works, the masterful Briçonnet Hours (fig. 1, Haarlem, Teylers Museum, MS 78, f. 21). Although this master understands Poyer's language in detail, he sometimes lacks Poyer's anatomical fluency. Job, for example, is depicted in profile while his upper body is slightly turned towards us. This twist, however, does not convince us as the chest seems quite flat. This manuscript proves that Poyer's collaborators worked under strict control of the master following a high standard of quality. The borders too are unusually inventive: slim gold panels filled with flowers alternate with blue panels partly decorated with knotted rope, or tree branches with floral decoration; dynamic birds perch on the branches.

Hofmann has distinguished a second hand in the "Signed Hours," the hand responsible for many of the miniatures on the text folios, which she describes as "Bourdichonesque." This artist executed many of the miniatures in a manuscript so-called the "J. de M. Hours" now on deposit in Basel (fig. 2, Historisches Museum, MS Com. Lat. 124, ff. 126v, 133v, 174, and 211 v), and his style is characterized by oval heads with high foreheads, the use of violet drawing for the faces with thin eyebrows, long noses, red cheeks and small heart-shaped mouths. The relationship between the Basel manuscript, the "Signed Hours," and Poyer's masterpieces, including the Hours of Henry VIII in New York (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS H.8), and the actual functioning of his workshop, still needs to be disentangled. A full study of the present "Signed Hours" will necessarily occupy a central place in such an investigation.

Text

ff. I-I 2, Calendar, in red, blue and gold; ff. I 3v-I 9, Gospel Sequences; ff. I 9-22v, Obsecro te; ff. 23-25,0 intemerata; ff. 26v-71v, Hours of the Virgin (Use of Rome), with Matins (f. 26v), Lauds (f. 36v), Prime (f. 48), Terce (f. 51 v), Sext (f. 55), None (f. 58), Yespers (f. 61 v), Compline (f. 68); ff. 72-80, Psalms for days of the week, rubric, *Tres psalmi sequentes dicuntur diebus martis et veneris*; ff.80-88v, Short hours for Advent, rubric, *Per totum adventum dicitur hec antiphona*; ff. 89-91 v, Hours of the Cross (lacking end); ff. 92-94, Hours of the Holy Spirit (lacking opening); ff. 95v-102v, Office of the Dead (first quire misbound, the rest of the Office of the Dead found on ff. 124-147v); ff. I 03v-123v, Penitential Psalms; ff. I

Figure 1
Jean of Tours
Annunciation, from the Briçonnet Hours, f. 21
Haarlem, Teylers Museum, MS 78

Figure 2
Jean of Tours
St. John on Patmos, from a Book of Hours, f. I33 v
Basel, Historisches Museum, MS Com. Lat. 124

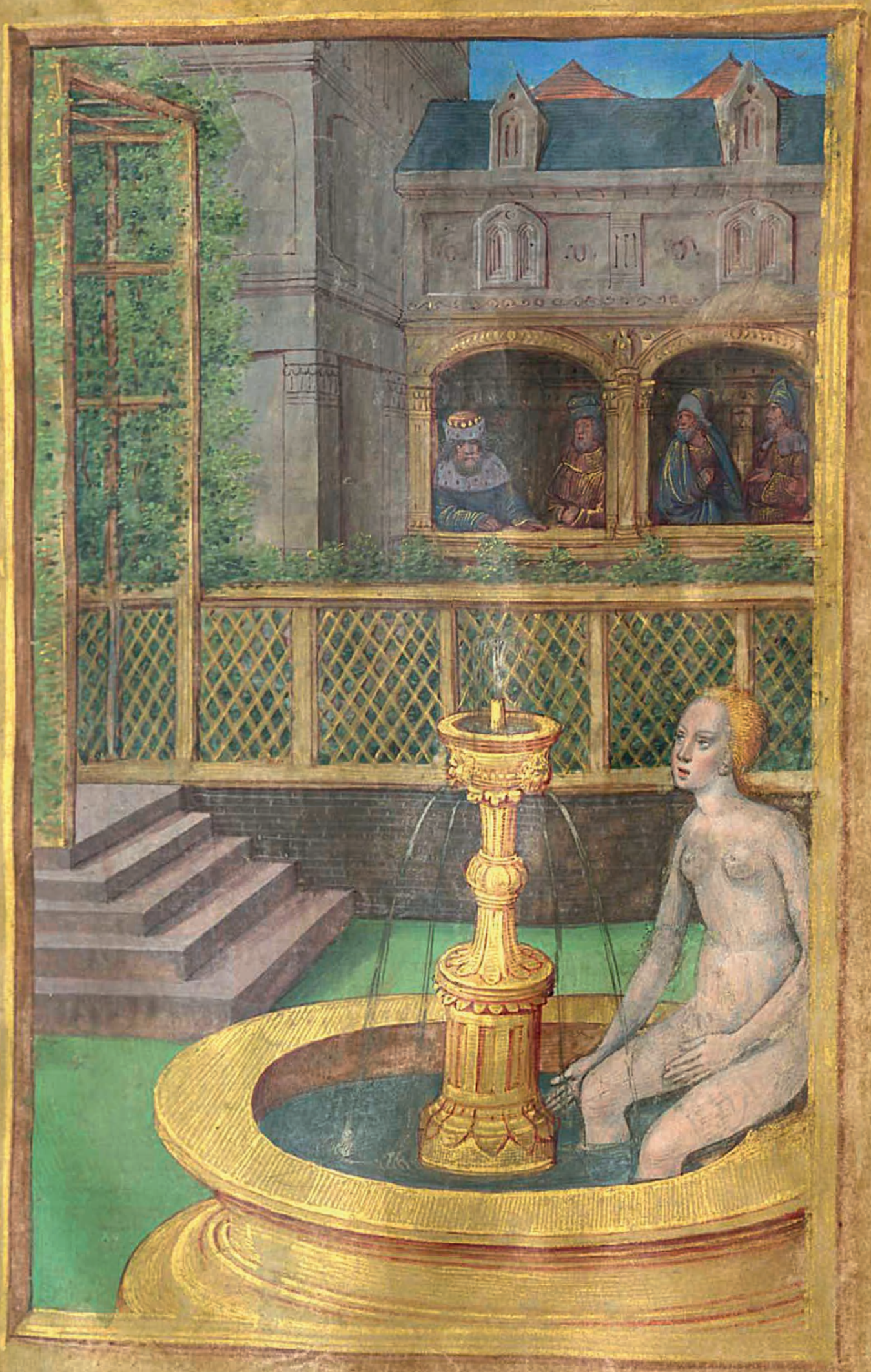
Figure 3
Jean of Tours
Pentecost, from a Book of Hours
Cleveland Museum of Act, Gift H Wade, 1924.426


AVE. GRACIA PLENA

Nunc dimittis. dr hec añ. A ñt.

Regina celi letare alla.
Quia quem meruisti
portare alleluia. Resurrexit sicut
dixit alleluia. Ora pro nobis
deum alleluia.


INRI



24-147v, Office of the Dead (Use of Rome); ff. I 48-170v, Prayers; ff. I 70v-183, Suffrages (with last leaf added out of sequence).

Illustration

There are 5 full-page miniatures: f. 13, St. John on Patmos, stony rocks rising from the blue sea, within narrow golden Renaissance-style frame containing putti and dragons (outer margin of frame cropped and lightly rubbed); f. 26, Annunciation, within narrow gold Renaissance style border, containing six angels playing musical instruments; f. 89, Crucifixion, with Mary Magdalene, her face hidden behind the Cross, her arms encircling the Cross, many soldiers at back, within architectural border (head of border cropped and outer margins rubbed; partly overpainted); f.95, Job, seated on a dungheap, with his three rich friends standing, in a gold frame surround (very lightly rubbed, head of frame cropped); f. I 03, Bathsheba bathing in a golden fountain, David and his companions gazing at her from the palace windows; within gold frame border (outer margin lightly rubbed).

There are 17 small miniatures: f. 15, St. Luke; f. 16v, St. Matthew, with angel;f. 18, St. Mark writing); f. 19,Virgo Lactans, on gold ground; f. 23,Virgin and John the Baptist at foot of the Cross; f. 36v,Visitation, showing only half-length Virgin and head of Elizabeth, golden-green rocks behind; f.48, Nativity.Virgin and Child, Joseph's face at back; f. 51v, Annunciation to the Shepherds, a group of Shepherds in brown robes holding staves (46 x 45 mm); f. 55, Adoration of the Magi, in the foreground the head of a white-haired bearded King, with Virgin and Child); f. 58, Presentation in the Temple (53 x 45 mm); f. 61 v, Massacre of the Innocents, a soldier tearing a child from the woman's arm (54 x 47 mm) (partly overpainted); f. 68, Coronation of the Virgin, two angels placing the crown (52 x 47 mm); f. 177, St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read (40 x 45 mm); f. 177a, Mary Magdalene. (45 x 45 mm); f. 177av, St. Catherine with crown and sword (48 x 45 mm); f. 178v, St. Margaret praying (50 x 45 mm); f. 179, St. Apollonia, holding a tooth with pincers (48 x 45 mm).

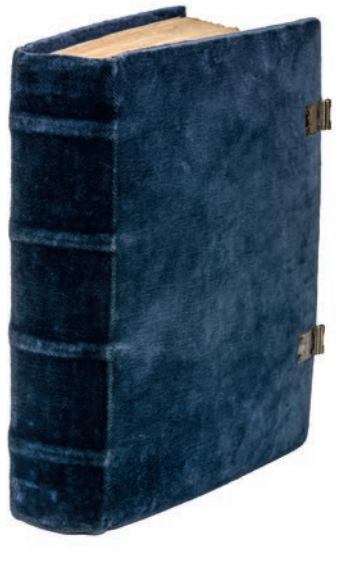
Physical description

184 ff. (including f. I 77a), preceded and followed by modern pastedowns and a single upper and lower flyleaf, lacking one miniature (Pentecost) at the beginning of the Hours of the Holy Spirit, today in Cleveland, Museum of Arts, inv. no. 24.426 (fig. 3), also missing some text leaves (collation: i-ii6, iii-xi8, xii4, xiii6 (8-2 [lacking miniature and a text leaf]),xiv-xvi8, xvii5 [8-3, missing i, vii-viii, text leaves], xviii-xxiii8, xxiv6, xxv6+1 [lacking part of suffrages; added text leaf of suffrages]), first quire of Office of the Dead misbound as quire 14 (should follow after quire 17), a few catchwords, written in brown ink in a regular batarde script, on 16 lines (justification 108 x 70 mm), rubrics in red, I - and 2-line high initials in grey and modelled in white on gold grounds infilled with colored flowers, line-fillers of tree branch work ("bois écotés") and flowers, a variety of outer borders on every page, mostly gold panels filled with colored flowers, blue panels decorated with knotted rope or tree branches, or tree branch work in gold or blue with floral decoration, similar three-quarter borders in calendar and surrounding small miniatures, 17 small and 5 full-page miniatures, two of them with overpaint (f. 61 v and f. 89). Bound in modern blue velvet over wooden boards, back sewn on 4 raised bands, brass catches and clasps, gilt edges. Dimensions 177 x 125 mm.

Literature

Published in: Hofmann, 2004, p. 48, pl. 144-148. Exhibited Morgan Library & Museum, 2000. See also, Avril, F. and N. Reynaud. *Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520*, Paris, 1993; *Tours 1500. Capitale des arts*, Paris (exh. cat.), 2012; Hofmann, Mara. *Jean Poyer: Das Gesamtwerk*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2004; Wieck, R., W. Voelkle and M. Hearne. *The Hours of Henry VIII. A Renaissance Masterpiece by Jean Poyet*, New York, 2000.

Online resources: On Jean Poyer: http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Poyer; Hours of Henry VIII at the Pierpont Morgan (New York) http://www.themorgan.org/collections/; Leaf from the "Signed Hours," Pentecost in the Cleveland Museum of Art: http://www.cleveIandart.o rg/collections/



BOH 80


ORATIO
S·AVGVS
TINI

8 Exquisite tiny manuscript from the Venetian Renaissance

Belegno Hours (Use of Rome)
In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment
Italy, Venice, c. 1500-1510
Miniatures by an associate of Benedetto Bordon, possibly the "Second Grifo master"

Known to experts but unpublished in scholarly literature, this miniature Book of Hours contains an important series of six miniatures and seven illuminated incipit pages from the workshop of the Veneto-Paduan illuminator, cartographer, and printer Benedetto Bordon (c. 1450/55-1530). Likely commissioned by a member of the Belegno family, it is among the smallest Italian Books of Hours known, and the unusual inclusion of miniatures for the Mass of the Virgin, the Prayer of Saint Augustine and the Fifteen Prayers of Saint Bridget indicates a patron of exceptional status and devotional interest.

Provenance

1. Written and decorated in Venice, c. 1500-1510, possibly for an individual connected to the Augustinian or Brigittine orders. The coat of arms on f. 3r is of the Belegno family (lozenge-shaped shield, bendy of 8, argent and gules).

2. Motto written in an 18th-century hand on folios 1 and 86: "*Sur les bords fortunés ou commence l'asie.*"

3. Libreria Antiquaria Hoepli, Milan, 3 December 1929, lot. 81.

4. Arthur A. Houghton jr. (1907-1990); his sale at Christies, London, 5 December 1979, lot. 227.

5. H. P. Kraus, New York, Catalog no. 159, *Illuminated Manuscripts from the 11th to the 18th century*, 1981, cat. No. 17.

6. Jorn Günther Antiquariat, Hamburg, Catalog no. 3, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften und Miniaturen*, 1995, cat. No. 25.

7. Bruce Ferrini, Akron, Ohio, June 1997.

8. Private Collection, USA.

Text

ff. 3-85v, Hours of the Virgin (Use of Rome): Matins (ff. 3-14v) [end lacking], Lauds [beginning lacking] (ff. 15-30), Prime (ff. 30v-34v), Terce (ff. 34v-38v), Sext (ff. 39r-42v), None (ff. 42v-47), Vespers (ff. 47-57) and Compline followed by weekday nocturns and prayers for Advent and Christmastide (ff. 57-85v); ff. 88-99, Mass of the Virgin; ff. 101-132, Seven Penitential Psalms, Litany, and Prayers; ff. 133-139, Marian Litany; ff. 140-149, Prayer of Saint Augustine, *Dulcissime domine iesu christi*; ff. 151-170, Fifteen Prayers of Saint Bridget in Italian; ff. 172v-175v, Prayer of Saint Jerome, *Deus qui populo tuo.*

Illustration

Six full-page miniatures, each faced with one profusely decorated incipit page; one additional incipit page: f. 2v, Nativity, with Mary and Joseph in prayer on either side of the recumbent Christ child who is placed in a woven basket; cow and ass peer out of wood-frame manger in background; landscape view in the distance; a simple stepped rectangular frame surrounds the composition; f. 3, Incipit page bearing the text "DOMINE LABIA MEA" in a vermillion, rectangular cartouche surrounded by gold-bronze and silver vegetal ornaments upon a dark blue ground; lozenge-shaped shield, bendy of 8, argent and gules, appears to have been added below the cartouche; f. 87v, Priest Celebrating Mass, holding a wafer in his left hand, facing a cloth-draped altar table with chalice and crucifix

surmounted by a gilded altarpiece; an acolyte holds a taper in his left hand and the celebrant's light-purple chasuble in his right hand; a polylobed acanthus-leaf frame surrounds the composition; f. 88, Incipit page bearing the text "MISSA BEATAE MARIAE" in a purple, lozenge-shaped cartouche surrounded by gold-bronze vegetal ornaments upon a dark green ground; f. 100v, David in Prayer, shown in profile, bald with a grey beard, hands clasped, wearing a bright red tunic and white slippers; in the foreground a viola da gamba and bow rest upon a tree-trunk, from which a solitary shoot extends upwards; a detailed landscape is visible with yellow-brown rocky peaks, distant bluish mountains and a tiny red-roofed church; an oval acanthus-leaf frame surrounds the composition; f. 101, Incipit page bearing the text "INCIPIUNT SEPTEM PSALMI" in a dark green inverted-heart-shaped cartouche surrounded by gold-bronze and silver vegetal ornaments upon a purple ground; f. 133r, Incipit page bearing the text "INCIPIUNT LETANIE" in a blue cartouche surrounded by silver grotesques and gold-bronze and silver vegetal ornaments upon a vermilion ground; f. 139v, Saint Augustine in his Study, wearing a mitre, white robe and black hood, seated upon a Savonarola chair at an elaborate golden angled writing desk, writing in a book, shelf, bench, and window visible in the background; a polylobed acanthus-leaf frame surrounds the composition; f. 140, Incipit page bearing the text "ORATIO S. AUGUSTINI" in a purple, rectangular cartouche surrounded by gold-bronze and silver vegetal ornaments upon a green ground; f. 150v, Saint Bridget in Prayer before a Crucifix, haloed and wearing a white and black brigittine robe; the Crucifix bears a realistic, full-color Christ figure and is implanted into the ground; in the background a detailed landscape is visible with yellow hills, bluish-green trees and a crenelated town or monastery; a simple stepped rectangular frame surrounds the composition; f. 151, Incipit page bearing the text "ORATIO[N]ES B. BRIGIDE" in a green, rectangular cartouche held up by a silver winged putto and surrounded by gold-bronze vegetal ornaments upon a purple ground; f. 171v, Penitent Saint Jerome, kneeling before a small Crucifix and holding a rock in his right hand, wearing an open light-purple tunic; a lion, rocks, and a red cardinal's hat are visible in the foreground; in the background a detailed landscape is visible with yellow hills, bluish-green trees and a hilltop tow; a polylobed acanthus-leaf frame surrounds the composition; f. 172, Incipit page with a vermilion cartouche but with no text visible, surrounded by gold-bronze and silver vegetal ornaments upon a dark blue ground.

Despite their diminutive size, the six miniatures in this tiny Book of Hours relate closely to large-scale painting in Venice around 1500. The book was clearly produced in the circle of Benedetto Bordon by a collaborator equally receptive to the stylistic innovations of such great masters as Andrea Mantegna, Vittore Carpaccio, Giovanni Bellini, and Cima da Conegliano. Though the details of Bordon's workshop practice and assistants remain to be pieced together, the miniatures may be by an accomplished collaborator known as the "Second Grifo Master" after his involvement in the decoration of a *Canzoniere* owned by the poet-scribe Antonio Grifo (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, It. Z. 64). Compare the so-called Gritti-Arundel-Walpole Psalter of the Prince d'Anjou (Wormsley Library, fig. 1). Bordon himself was an interesting and eclectic figure, variously employed as a painter, illuminator, editor, and cartographer, who played an important role in cultivating a distinct visual culture in Veneto-Paduan humanist circles. The son of a Paduan barber, the young Bordon, the Second Grifo Master, and Girolamo da Cremona collaborated on the illumination of a series of lavish legal texts commissioned by the bookseller Peter Ugelheimer in 1477-79. By the early 1490s, Bordon had moved from Padua to Venice where he became involved in the designing and financing of printed books illustrated by woodcuts, the most famous of which was the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* printed by Aldus Manutius in 1499, for which he likely provided the models. In 1523 he was contracted to produce a lavish Epistolary and Evangeliary for the Monastery of Santa Giustina in Padua, which both survive today, as do a number of other liturgical and devotional works from throughout his career. In 1526, he produced a book of maps that became known as the *Isolario*, clear evidence of his skill as a cartographer. By early 1530 he had redacted a will and returned to Padua, where he died soonafter. Bordon's works were evidently sought-out by the highest circles of patrons in and around Venice: in 1532 the chronicler Marcantonio Michiel recorded that the great merchant and collector Andrea Odoni had a Book of Hours illuminated by Bordon in his collection.

The tiny miniatures in the present book bear a close resemblance to firmly dated works illuminated by Bordon of around 1500, which suggest that it was produced at least partially under his supervision. These include the frontispieces of an edition of Martial's *Epigrammes* of 1501 and a commission issued by Doge Leonardo Loredan to Antonio Foscarini, both of which are now in the British Library (C4D11, ff. 2v-3r cat. no. 172 in Mariani Canova, ed., *La miniatura a Padova,* and Add.

MS 20916, f. 3r, respectively). All of these contain the same, exquisite golden-bronze acanthus leaf borders and grotesques that are found throughout the miniatures and incipit pages of the present book. The Foscarini commission (fig. 2), which dates from 1514, includes a similar floral cartouche of complimentary color that encompasses the incipit text. The Martial, also very small in size (151 x 97 mm), contains the same type of rectangular frame, lit from the top-right, as the Nativity and Saint Bridget miniatures in the present Book of Hours. Stylistic comparison with another Book of Hours illuminated by Bordon (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 1970; see Mariani Canova, ed., *La miniatura a Padova*, cat. No. 152, pp. 373-74), however, reveals a distinct shift away from the brighter palette and definite contours that characterize Bordon's work. A second miniature Book of Hours of slightly larger dimensions (79 x 55 mm), also apparently decorated in the Bordon workshop during the first decade of the sixteenth century but without any full-page miniatures, was likewise sold in the 1979 Houghton sale (lot. 229, later Laurence Witten, Catalogue 12, 1980, no. 22 and *ibid.,* Catalogue 18, 1983, no. 45, then Sotheby's London 25 June 1985, lot 111 and *ibid.,* 20 June 1995, lot 97).

The present artist's more painterly style may be identifiable with the work of the so-called "Second Grifo Master," an individual thought to have collaborated with Bordon throughout his career, beginning with the 1477-79 Ugelheimer commissions (see Marcon, "Una aldina miniata," pp. 120-24). This assistant's brushwork is more stippled and atmospheric than that of Bordon, with a subdued color palette more receptive of coeval developments in monumental painting. The miniature of Saint Augustine in his study, for example, shows astonishing parallels with the famous scene by Carpaccio from the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, especially in small details like the red hem of the saint's cloak, the bell resting on the writing desk, and the detail of the wall-shelf with books resting upon it (fig. 3). The miniature of the penitent Saint Jerome relates more generically to panel paintings of the subject by Jacopo and Giovanni Bellini, Bartolomeo Montagna, and Cima da Conegliano, a genre that was extremely popular amongst humanist patrons in Northern Italy at the time.

The Belegno coat-of-arms on f. 3 appears to have been painted over the page, though it may have been added by the original owner. The Belegni were a noble Venetian family, attested in the *Libro d'Oro* prior to the *serrata* of 1297, though their history in the renaissance period remains obscure. As the Book of Hours lacks a calendar, it is difficult to further identify its original patron with much specificity, and the litany does not include any saints unusual in a Venetian context. The use of the male form "famulo tuo" in the *Ominpotens sempiterne* prayer on fol. 129v suggests a male owner. In H.P. Kraus's 1981 catalogue (*Illuminated Manuscripts from the 11th to the 18th century*, cat. no. 17) the patron was erroneously suggested to be Jacopo Zeno, the bibliophile archbishop of Padua (1418-81), but the book is clearly too late in date to have been in his library. The curious inscription, written in an eighteenth-century hand on f. 1 and repeated on f. 86 is in fact a variation of a famous line of verse from chapter nine of Voltaire's *La Henriade* (1723): "Sur les bords fortunés de l'antique Idalie, lieux où finit l'Europe et commence l'Asie" (On the storied

Figure 1
Workshop of Benedetto Bordon by the Second Grifo Master and another artist The Gritti-Arundel-Walpole Psalter of the Prince D'Anjou
Italy, Venice, first quarter of the 16th century
United Kingdom, The Wormsley Library

Figure 2
Leaf of a Doge's Commission from Leonardo Loredan to Antonio Foscarini
Italy, Venice, c. 1501-c. 1521
London, British Library C4D11

borderlands of ancient Italia, where Europe ends and Asia begins). Unfortunately, the content of this inscription does not help establish the name of the eighteenth-century owner.

Figure 3
Vittorio Carpaccio
St. Augustin in his Study
c. 1502-1508, tempera on panel
Venice, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni of Venice

Physical description

178 leaves, plus one unnumbered flyleaf at beginning and one at end, complete except for three missing bifolia in gathering iii (collation: parchment pastedown forms bifolio with one unnumbered flyleaf, i^{2}, ii^{10}, iii^{4} [three bifolia missing between ff. 14v and 15], iv-viii^{10}, ix-x^{8}, xi^{5} [first blank cancelled], xii^{10}, xiii^{3} [first bank cancelled], xiv-xvi^{10}, xvii^{2}, xviii^{9} [blank after fourth folio in gathering is cancelled], xix^{7} [first blank cancelled], xx^{10}, xxi^{11} [first blank cancelled], xxii^{7} [blank after fourth folio in gathering is cancelled], unnumbered flyleaf forms bifolio with pastedown), modern foliation and collation in pencil, original vertical catchwords on final versos of all gatherings except i, xi, xiii, xvii, xix, xxi and xxii, 12 lines, ruled faintly in grayish-brown ink (justification 28 x 19 mm.), written in brown ink in a fine Italian cancelleresca hand, rubrics in red and one- and two-line initials in red and blue, three-line incipit initials for each hour of the Hours of the Virgin written in gold upon a vermillion ground, six full-page miniatures on the verso sides of otherwise blank folios, four of which are encapsulated by ovoid borders formed by gold-bronze acanthus leaves and two of which are surrounded by rectangular picture-frame borders, each miniature followed by an elaborate incipit page composed of a colored illusionistic cartouche surrounded by gold-bronze all'antica ornamentation or grotesques upon a colored background, and a seventh incipit page (for the litany) not facing a miniature, good condition except for some ink stains at folios 94v-97r, pastedowns and flyleaves appear original, Arthur A. Houghton "AHA" bookplate glued to upper pastedown, modern number stamp glued to lower pastedown with stricken "7", "38" and "BH00" written upon it, Bound in green velvet of undetermined date, in a modern green slipcase and box marked "BOOK OF HOURS, ILLUMINATED MS., VENICE, C. 1500". Dimensions 50 x 34 mm.

Literature

Mariani Canova, Giordana. "Profilo di Benedetto Bordon miniatore padovano," *Atti dell'Istituto Veneziano di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, cxxvii (1968–9), pp. 99–112; Alexander, Jonathan J. G., ed. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450–1550,* London, Royal Academy/New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1994; Marcon, Susy. "Una Aldina miniata," in *Aldo Manuzio e l'ambiente veneziano 1494-1515*, ed. Susy Marcon and Marino Zorzi, Venice, Il Cardo, 1994, pp. 107-133; Armstrong, Lilian. "Benedetto Bordon, miniator, and cartography in early sixteenth-century Venice," *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, xlviii (1996), pp. 65–92; Mariana Canova, Giordana, ed. *La Miniatura a Padova dal Medioevo al Settecento,* Modena, Franco Cosimo Pannini, 1999, pp. 351-416.; Marcon, Susy. "Bordon, Benedetto," in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani*, ed. Milvia Bollati, Milan, 2004, pp. 121-125.

Online resources: Bollati, Milvia, "Bordon, Benedetto," in *Grove Art Online*. *Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T010087

We are grateful to Nicholas Herman for his assistance with this description.

BOH 230


12


LIBERTY
IN GOD WE TRUST
1988


MISSA
BEATAE
MARIAE

Domi dei caritas fone vulcanatus. Spi-
ritalis vinculo igne inflamatus. Septi-
forme gra carisma vocatus. ℣. Emitte
spiritum tuu et creabitur. ℟. Et renouabis faciem terre. Omnis. Oratio.
Omnipotens sempiterne deus da
nobis illam sancti spiritus gra-
tiam quam discipulis tuis in die sa-
cto pentheroste transmisisti. Qui vi-
uis et regnas deus per omnia secula
seculorum. Amen. Benedicamus dno
Deo gratias.

Deus in adiutorium meum intende.
Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum amen. Alleluia.
Dum esset. Psalmus.
Dixit dominus domino meo: sede a dextris meis:
donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum

9 Remarkable example of a perfectly preserved Parisian Renaissance book with binding, clasps, and pictures all intact

The Hours of Jean Martin (Use of Rome)
In Latin and French, illuminated manuscript, on parchment
France, Paris, c. 1500
14 large miniatures and 23 small miniatures from the workshop of Jean Coene IV (Master of the Paris Entries)

Few Books of Hours survive in their original bindings, because they were well-handled, sometimes worn out, and often customized by successive owners. In its unrepaired blind-stamped leather binding with original clasps (and remnants of purple velvet chemise), this manuscript is therefore exceptional. Wide margins, rich coloring, and beautiful script all signal a luxury production painted by an artist, the Master of the Paris Entries, who worked on commission for figures in the court circle.

Provenance

1. The original owner of this Book of Hours was Jean Martin, an official in the French government (according to notary records, the Contrôleur Ordinaire des Guerres), whose name and important genealogical dates are written in the back of this volume.

2. Front pastedown with armorial bookplate of Monsieur le Marquis de Dollon (1769- 1856, over which is written in pencil "Miniatures … du peintre du roi Charles VIII."

3. Private collection

Text

ff. 1-6r, Calendar, in French; ff.7r-14v, Extracts from the Gospels; ff. 14v-16v, prayers "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata;" f. 17r-54v, Hours of the Virgin (Use of Rome), with mixed Hours of the Cross and Hours of the Holy Spirit incorporated into it; ff. 55r-59v, the Seven Penitential Psalms; ff. 60r-63v, Litany, Petitions, and Collects; ff. 64r-82r, Office of the Dead (Use of Rome); ff. 82v-88r, Suffrages; f. 88v, Seven Prayers of Gregory; f. 89r-90v, two prayers to Saint Martin and five prayers in French (these added in a different hand)

Illustration

Full-page miniatures: f. 7r, Saint John on the Island of Patmos writing the Book of Revelation; f. 10r, The Agony in the Garden; f. 17r. The Annunciation; f. 25r, The Visitation; f. 30v, Pentecost; f.31v, The Nativity; f.34v, The Annunciation to the Shepheards; f.37v, The Presentation in the Temple; f. 40r, The Adoration of the Magi; f. 43r, Flight into Egypt; f. 47r, Coronation of the Virgin; f. 55r, King David in Penitence; f. 64r, Job on a Dung-heap; f. 88v, The Mass of Saint Gregory

Historiated initials: f. 8r, Saint Luke, f. 8v, Saint Matthew, f. 9r, Saint Mark, f. 14v, The Virgin praising the Christ Child, f. 16r, The Virgin Enthroned holding the Christ Child, f. 82v, The Throne of Mercy, f. 83r, Saint Michael, Saint John the Baptist, f. 83v, Saint John, Saints Peter and Paul, f. 84r, Saint James, f. 84v, Saint Stephen, Saint Lawrence, f. 85r, Saint Christopher, Saint Sebastian, f. 85v, Saint Nicholas, Saint Claudius, f. 86v, Saint Anne, f. 87r, Saint Mary Magdalene, Saint Catherine, f. 87v, Saint Margaret, Saint Apollonia, f. 88r, Saint Barbara.

This is a very beautiful late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century Book of Hours which features, among other notable elements, a condition that is absolutely remarkable and an original binding decorated in such a way as to identify the owner for whom the book was made. The manuscript boasts a particularly well-preserved program of miniatures that can be attributed to style of the so-called Jean Coene IV (active c. 1490-1520), an artist who hailed from a long line of manuscript illuminators originally from Bruges but active in Paris from the early fifteenth century. Identified

Domine labia mea aperies.
Et os meum annunciabit laudem tuam.
Deus in adiutorium meum intende.
Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper: et in secula seculorum amen. Alleluya.
Et dicitur a pascha resurrectionis usqs ad septuagesimam. Et a septuagesima usq

Deus in adiutorium meum intende.
Ne ad adiuuandum me festina.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum amen. Alleluia
Memento salutis auctor quod nostri quondam corporis ex illibata virgine nascendo formam sumpsisti
Maria mater gratie mater misericordie tu nos ab hoste protege et hora mortis suscipe.

by Isabelle Delaunay and Eberhard König and dubbed the"Master of the Paris Entries," Coene was a prolific artist who, according to Peter Kidd, "was perhaps particularly known to contemporary patrons for his ability to create new compositions." His versatility as an artist is demonstrated by the variety of volumes to which he contributed, including histories, voyages, and Royal Entry books (the latter earning him his sobriquet), in addition to devotional works such as the Book of Hours seen here. Although the artist is known to have collaborated with Parisian illuminator Jean Pichore on several occasions (see, for example, British Library MS Sloane 2418), Coene had his own style, readily identifiable through his unique use of sharp, black outlines, minimal modelling, and gold highlights (particularly on garments). Like most professional workshops of the period, the Coene atelier was capable of producing work of varying quality, which often depended on the wealth and needs of the patron; this work, clearly a premium production, almost certainly was done by the master himself. The harmonious composition of each scene, the use of vibrant color combinations, and the confident line strokes clearly indicate the work of a practiced hand with none of the shortcuts one might expect in a more hurried execution.

As indicated above, the original owner of this Book of Hours was Jean Martin, an official in the French government (according to notary records, the Contrôleur Ordinaire des Guerres), whose name and important genealogical dates are written in the back of this volume. Two devotions to Saint Martin and his Translation (i.e., movement of his relics), added to the end of the Suffrages in a slightly different hand than that of the main scribe, are further evidence of the owner's identity, as is the design of the openwork hasps, with their prominent initials that seemingly must refer to "I[ean] M[artin]." Remnants of purple velvet under the anchor plates and catch plates indicate that the book was once covered in a chemise of this precious material. According to Szirmai, it was not unusual for medieval books to consist of a primary leather binding with an overcover added for extra protection and, especially in the case of textile overcovers, as a luxury material befitting the sumptuous contents.

Master of the Paris Entries
Family tree from *Le Sacre de Claude de France*, f. 39
France, Paris, c. 1517
London, British Library, Stowe MS 582

Master of the Paris Entries
Pierre Choque giving his manuscript to Anne of Brittany, from the *Commémoracion et advertissement de la mort de...*, 3v
France, Paris, c. 1514
Paris, BNF Fr 25158

Physical description

1 p.l. (blank), 90 leaves, [1] leaf, single column, 30 lines in a pleasing formal bâtarde book hand. Rubrics in red, one-line initials throughout with gilt letters against a blue or red ground, many blue and red line fillers with gilt decorative embellishment, calendar leaves with a two-line "KL" ("Kalends") in gold against a blue or red ground, one-line Dominical letter "A" similarly depicted, Golden Numbers and important feast days in red ink; numerous two-line gold initials against a blue or red ground and WITH 14 LARGE AND 23 SMALL FINELY EXECUTED MINIATURES, the larger miniatures inside an architectural border approaching trompe-l'oeil style, some with marbled columns and many with a golden chain or tassle extending into the margins, the text (underneath the miniatures) on these pages incorporating a large three-line embellished gold initial against a blue and red ground and an assortment of one- and two-line initials in the same style as elsewhere in the text; the smaller miniatures (nine lines high and framed by three thick gold bars). Front pastedown with armorial bookplate of Monsieur le Marquis de Dollon; front flyleaf with faded ink signature of "Jehan Martin" in an adolescent hand and

Domine labia mea aperies.
Et os meum annunciabit
laudem tuam.

Deus in adiutorium meum intende.
Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper:
et in secula seculorum amen alleluia.

℣. Veni sancte spiritus repple tuorum corda fi-
delium et tui amoris in eis ignem accende.

Nobis sancti spiritus gratia sit data
De qua virgo virginum fuit obum-
brata. Cum per sanctum angelum fuit sa-
lutata. Verbum caro factum est virgo
fecundata. ℣. Emitte spiritum tuum et crea-
buntur. ℟. Et renovabis faciem terre. Oremus
Omnipotens sempiterne deus da quo-
nobis istam sancti spiritus gratiam
quam discipulis tuis in die sancto
pentheostes transmisisti. Qui vivis et
regnas deus per omnia secula seculorum
Amen.

Ad primam.

Master of the Paris Entries
Louis XII and Anne of Brittany in Prayer before the Crown of Thorns,
from the Gradual of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany
Nantes, Musée Dobrée, inv. 994.3.1

later ink date 1667[?]; rear flyleaf with genealogy of Jean Martin in a contemporary hand, recording his birth in 1472, the birth of his wife Katherine Treteau in 1503, their marriage in 1518, and the birth of their daughter Marguerite in 1518; f. 90v with a later inscription by C[laude] Martin, dated 3 January 1579. Gid 27 (for a very similar binding). A few marks and a little rubbing to the leather, small stain affecting the top margin of one gathering, trivial erosion to paint and light rubbing to one or two of the miniatures executed on the hair side of the vellum, but all of these imperfections very minor, and the volume in outstanding condition. FINE CONTEMPORARY BLIND-STAMPED CALF, covers with central panel composed of five vertical floral rolls enclosed by two swirling floral-roll frames, raised bands, two original openwork silver clasps incorporating the initials "J M," original catch plates and anchor plates (these incorporating the initials "A M," no doubt for "Ave Maria"), remnants of velvet beneath the catch plates and anchor plates (see below), vellum pastedowns, all edges gilt, (probably some small repairs to the binding, but, if so, done with very great skill). In a modern brown cloth clamshell box with leather spine label. Dimensions 220 x 130 mm.

Literature

Unpublished.

For further literature, see: Orth, Myra, *Renaissance Manuscripts: The Sixteenth Century.* 2 vols., A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France, Turnhout and London, Brepols and Harvey Miller, 2017; De Hamel, Christopher. *The Medieval World at Our Fingertips. Manuscript Illuminations from the Collection of Sandra Hindman*, Turnhout and London, Brepols and Harvey Miller, 2017, pp. 189-99 (for the latest contribution on this artist).

BOH 160

Dñ. Ne in furore tuo. ps.
Domine ne in furore tuo
arguas me: neq; in ira
tua corripias me.
Miserere mei domine qm infirmus
sum: sana me domine quoniam co-
turbata sunt ossa mea.
Et anima mea turbata est valde:
sed tu domine usq;quo.
Convertere domine et eripe anima

Sanctum quoq; paraclitum spiritum.
Tu rex glorie christe.
Tu patris sempiternus es filius.
Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem: non horruisti virginis uterum.
Tu devicto mortis aculeo: aperuisti credentibus regna celorum.
Tu ad dexteram dei sedes in gloria patris
iudex crederis esse venturus.
Te ergo quesumus famulis tuis subuenire: quos pretioso sanguine redemisti.
Eterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria numerari.
Salvum fac populum tuum domine
et benedic hereditati tue.
Et rege eos et extolle illos usq; in eternum.
Per singulos dies: benedicimus te.
Et laudamus nomen tuum in seculum: et in seculum seculi.
Dignare domine die isto: sine peccato nos custodire.
Miserere nostri domine: miserere nostri.
Fiat misericordia tua domine super nos: quemadmodum speravimus in te.
In te domine speravi non confundar in eternum.

Ad laudes.

Deus in adiutorium meum intende.
Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et
semper et in secula seculorum amen. Al-
lelluia. ℣. Assumpta est. ℣ Psalmus.
Dominus regnauit decorem in-
dutus est: indutus est dominus
fortitudinem et precinxit se.
etenim firmauit orbem terre: qui

Deus in adiutorium meum intende.

Domine ad adiuuandum me festina. Gl'a pri et filio et spiri sancto

Sicut erat. A' Cri io.

10 Playful marginalia and graceful miniatures in an unusual early Horae

Thourotte Hours (Use of Metz)
In Latin and French, illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Metz, c. 1340
40 miniatures (2 full-page, 7 miniatures, 7 large historiated initials, and 24 calendar miniatures) by the Master of the Boethius of Montpellier

This enchanting Book of Hours is a critical work for the formation of the style of the gifted illuminator known as the Master of the Boethius of Montpellier, who was active in Metz in the mid-fourteenth century and is influenced by the Parisian artists Jean Pucelle and Jean Le Noir. As important for its text as it is for its art, the manuscript preserves an unusual cycle of prefatory prayers in a Lorraine vernacular accompanying the Office of the Virgin. Typical of the artist's work, delightful marginalia abound, a cat-like lion, a unicorn, hounds, hares, boars, monkeys, and angels playing music. Wholly unique is the imagery of the sun rising and falling throughout the year in the calendar, reflecting the changing of the seasons. Apart from its brief appearance at auction in 1960 and on the art market c. 1988, the manuscript has long been in an illustrious private collection and deserves further study for its illuminations, its text, and its patronage in this thriving center.

Provenance

1. Both the Use of the Hours of the Virgin and the inclusion in the Calendar of many saints venerated in Metz indicate that the manuscript was intended for use in that diocese: the feasts of St. Brice (13 November), and St. Clement, Apostle of Metz (23 November), are in red, and there are eight other bishops of Metz, St. Patience (8 January), St. Sulpicius (17 January), St. Legontius (18 February), St. Terence (16 May), St. Arnoul (16 August), St. Amatus (13 September), St. Goeric (19 September) and Waldrada (5 May) the first abbess of Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnais at Metz.

The manuscript was made for a man, shown with a sword and kneeling in the scene of St. George and the dragon on f. 13v. His devotion to St. George may identity the saint as his patron. St. Stephen, who is shown in a narrative scene on the facing folio. The presence of St. Stephen is most likely due to the fact that he is the patronymic saint of the Cathedral of Metz, so important to the city that it chose the scene of the stoning for its municipal seal (fig. 1).

It is possible that it is the original owner's coat-of-arms, *gules* a lion rampant *argent*, on the shield held by Gemini on f. 5v. This is the shield of Robert of Thourotte, or Torote (d. 1246), canon of Beauvais, elected bishop of Langres in 1232 (see Mark, 1991, p. 262, n. 3), then bishop of Liege in 1242, and the arms of his successors. It is also the shield of other families located in Burgundy whom Mark identifies, those in York, as well as that of William of Orlastone (see The National Archives, Kew, shelf mark C131/174/43), where the latter is listed as a debtor. In spite of the uncertainty of the identity of the original owner, we have chosen to retain the name of the manuscript as the Thourotte Hours (referred to by Mark as "Christie's 1960").

2. Edward Pole (1805-1890); notes on the pastedown and flyleaf record his ownership of the manuscript in 1859 and his gift of the manuscript to his daughter in 1877. She gave it to her son in 1916.

3. London, Christie's, 28 November 1960, lot 49.

4. Sam Fogg, Catalogue 14, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 1991. No 11. List price £ 375,000.

5. Private Collection; sold by the heirs.

Text

ff. 1-12, Calendar; [f. 13, blank]; ff. 13v-14, Illuminated diptych; [f. 14v, blank]; ff. 15-110, Office of the Virgin, Use of Metz, with a prayer in French prefacing each Hour except Matins; these prayers are variants of those found in Arsenal, MS 570 (edited, Meyer, 1901), except for Lauds which here is worded differently, and Sext, which is not found in the Arsenal manuscript. These prayers and the cycle of miniatures that accompany them link the Office of the Virgin with the Passion cycle. Written in a dialect found in Lorraine, the text of the prayers is important not only for its para-liturgical significance but also for the development of regional vernaculars in France. f. 15, Matins, beginning imperfectly; ff. 30v-32 [prayer, rubric on f. 30v, text and miniature beginning f. 31], *A laudes*, incipit, "Lus laudes que on doit dire a lai iornee uo[us] doit souenir … Et autre tel ie uous pri por mes amis"; ff. 32v, Lauds; Prayer edited in Meyer, 1901, pp. 45-46, is similar in content, but with different wording; ff. 50-52, [prayer, with its miniature on f. 49v], *On doit dire a prime ceste orixon*, incipit, "A prime il uous doit souenir que il apparuit a saint pier et a saint iake et a saint iehan … et por toutes mes amies, Amen; f. 52v, Prime; Prayer ed. Meyer, 1901, p. 46; ff. 62-64, [prayer, with its miniature on f. 61v], *Orixon dauant tierce*, incipit, "A tierce uous doit souenir que li felons iuis [sic, for iuifs] iugerent …, *Orixon*, Biaus dous ihesuscris … et por toz mes biens faitours; f. 64, Terce; Prayer ed. Meyer, 1901, p. 47; ff. 70v-74v [prayer, with its miniature on f. 70], *[Ameydi?] doit on dire cest orixon*, incipit, "A donc uous doit il souenir que a celle houre fut li doulz ihesu cris leuez …, *Orixon*, Biau dous ihesu cris ie uou pri …; f. 74v, Sext; Prayer not found in Meyer, 1901; ff. 78-79v, [Prayer], *On doit dire ceste orixon deuant none*, incipit, "Il uous doit souenir a celle houre que ihesu …; f. 80, None; Prayer ed. Meyer, 1901, pp. 47-48; ff. 85v-87, [Prayer], *On doit dire ceste orixon a uespres*, incipit, "A uespres uous doit souenir que a celle houre fut osteiz de la croix …"; f. 87v, Vespers; Prayer ed. Meyer, 1901, p. 48; ff. 99-100, [Prayer], *A complie doit on dire cest orixon*, incipit, "A donc uous doit il souenir …"; ff. 104v-110, Compline; [f. 110v, blank]; Prayer, ed. Meyer, 1901, pp. 48-49.

Illustration

This handsome manuscript was illuminated in Metz around 1340 in the same workshop as the *Consolation de Philosophie* in Montpellier (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, MS H43) and a Book of Hours in Paris (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 570); see *Ecriture et enluminure en Lorraine …,* 1984, nos 81 & 82, pp. 123-125, and Online Resources. Not only are the decoration, drapery and expressive figure style generally comparable (fig. 2), but the program of illustration in the present manuscript matches that of the Hours in Paris: the Calendars of both include the same series of labors and zodiac signs with the representation of Sol showing the height of the sun throughout the months of the year (fig. 3). Textually, both manuscripts are clearly related and share the closely related vernacular prayers introducing each of the Hours of the Virgin, an unusual feature. The manuscripts of this workshop are amongst the finest and earliest produced in Metz during this period and the style displays the mixture of northern French and English influence characteristic of Metz illumination of the fourteenth century. Influence of Jean Pucelle and Jean Le Noir has been noted in his art by Francois Avril, among others (*Fastes du gothique*, 1981). A renewed study of the artist's work would be desirable, particularly in the light of new material available over the last three decades.

Each month of the calendar occupies two pages, both with miniatures and a golden sun and with the appropriate labor on the recto and the zodiac sign on the verso. A special feature here is the small sun positioned on the page to show the relative height of the sun throughout the year. The sun consists of a tiny face within a six-pointed star of gold, from which emanate red hairline rays. The sun is positioned at the bottom of the page in January, gradually ascending to its highest point on 18 June (f. 6v), then falling low at the end of December.

The subjects of the miniatures are: f. 1, January: a figure standing behind a table drinking from two cups. The figure should have been Janus but, no doubt misunderstanding the model he was following, the illuminator painted only one face and one of the cups is raised to the back of the man's head; f. 1v, Aquarius; f. 2, February: a seated figure holding a key in each hand; f. 2v, Pisces: two blue fishes biting on a piece of green seaweed; f. 3, March: a peasant pruning; f. 3v, Aries; f. 4, April: a peasant catching blossoms in his skirt; f. 4v, Taurus; f. 5, May: a standing nobleman with a hawk on his wrist; f. 5v, Gemini: two naked figures, a man and a woman (the patrons?) each with only one leg, behind a shield *gules,* a lion rampant *argent;* f. 6, June: a peasant scything; f. 6v, Cancer: a crayfish; f. 7, July: a

Figure 1
St. Stephen in Prayer
Seal Matrix of the Tabellionage of Rambervillers, Châtellenie of the Bishopric of Metz, 15th century
(Location Unknown)

Figure 2
Master of the Boethius of Montpellier group
Deposition, Book of Hours (Use of Metz)
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 570, f. 35

Figure 3
Master of the Boethius of Montpellier group
Calendar, month of September, ff. 8v-9 from a Book of Hours (Use of Metz)
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 570

Figure 4
Master of the Boethius of Montpellier group
Book of Hours (Use of Metz), f. 221v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 48

Deus in adiutorium meum intende.
Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.
Alleluia. Psalmus

Laudate pueri
dominum: lau
date nomen domini.
Sit nomen dñi be
nedictum: ex hoc nu
nc et usq; in seculum.
A solis ortu usq;
ad occasum laudabi
le nomen domini.
Excelsus sup omnes
gentes dñs: et sup
celos gloria eius.

kneeling peasant cuts wheat with a sickle; f. 7v, Leo, a cat-like lion; f. 8, August: a peasant threshing wheat; f. 8v, Virgo; f. 9, September: a peasant sowing; f. 9v, Scorpio; f. 10, October: a peasant gathering grapes; f. 10v, Libra; f. 11, November, a peasant swinging a mallet to slay a boar; f. 11v, Sagittarius; f. 12, December: a seated man warming his hands and feet at a fireplace; f. 12v, Capricorn: a unicorn.

The saints in the two registers of the full-page miniatures are: f. 13v St. John the Baptist, St. Clement and St. Antony above St. George and the dragon with a knight, the donor, kneeling in prayer on the right; f. 14, A bishop saint (Goeric?), St. Agnes and St. Denis above the Stoning of St Stephen.

Figure 5
Master of the Boethius of Montpellier group, Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, f. 4v
Montpellier, BU Médecine, H 043

Each Hour of the Office of the Virgin is illustrated with a miniature of the Passion, above the opening of the prefatory prayer in French, and an historiated initial of the Life of the Virgin, which opens the Hour. Three-sided borders of tendrils with trefoil leaves and cusped bars containing birds, beasts and angels extend from the historiated initials.

The subjects of these miniatures and initials are: f. 31, Christ before Pilate (miniature); f. 32v, Visitation (Lauds) (historiated initial), in the margin angels, censing, playing the lute, a dog, hound, hare, and monkey; f. 49v, Flagellation (miniature); f. 52v, Nativity (Prime) (historiated initial), in the margin an angel with a scroll, an ape, hound, and stag; f. 61v, Christ Carrying the Cross (miniature); f. 64, Circumcision (Terce) (historiated initial), in the margin an angel with a viola, and a wild boar; f. 70, Christ Nailed to the Cross (miniature); f. 74v, Adoration of the Magi (Sext) (historiated initial), in the margin angels, on trumpeting, a hound, bird, rabbit and unicorn; f. 78, Crucifixion with the Virgin and John the Evangelist (miniature); f. 80, Presentation in the Temple (None) (historiated initial), in the margin, a hound looking up at an angel; f. 85v, Deposition (miniature); f. 87v, Death of the Virgin (Vespers) (historiated initial), in the margin, an angel playing the psaltery, a rabbit, hound, fox, and heron; f. 99, Anointing the Body of Christ (miniature); f. 104v, Coronation of the Virgin (Compline) (historiated initial), in the margin, angels playing the lute and the trumpet.

The plentiful marginal illustration is enchanting, a characteristic of this artist: angels censing, playing the lute, dogs, hares, monkeys, a wild boar, a unicorn, a rabbit, a heron. The zodiac sign Leo resembles a domestic cat, and Capricorn is a unicorn.

The present manuscript has been studied by Mark, 1991, whose unpublished dissertation details the volume's importance. For Mark, the manuscript is most closely related to two manuscripts in the Master of the Boethius of Montpellier group, Douce MS 48 (Oxford, Bodleian Library) (fig. 4) and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 570. Mark describes it as "a stepping stone from Douce 48 to Arsenal 570" and characterizes the style of the Master of the Boethius of Montpellier as "graceful, swaying, and large-headed with a half domical cranium, a thickly modelled 'sunburned' face, and fine expressive hands." She concludes "its [Thourotte Hours] figure style is close to but not identical with the quintessential Boethius style." (fig. 4)

Physical description

i +110+i folios on parchment, in gatherings of 8 leaves except for 112 (ff. 1-12), 22(ff. 13-14), 32+4 (ff. 15-16, plus ff. 17-20), 47(ff. 21-27) and 153(ff. 108-110), 4^7(ff. 21-27) and 15^3(ff. 108-110), text is written in a gothic bookhand in dark brown ink between 13 horizontals and 2 verticals sometimes ruled in faint grey or brown but usually only scored, prickings survive in the lower margin, rubrics in red, with instructions to the rubricator (e.g., ff. 64 and 70v) sometimes surviving, text capitals are touched red, one-line versal initials are of burnished gold with pen-work flourishing of blue, line-endings, most commonly pairs of horizontal paragraph marks or fleur de lis, are also blue and gold, two-line initials have staves of burnished gold with grounds and infills of blue and pink patterned with white or orange-red, SEVEN LARGE HISTORIATED INITIALS accompanied by borders inhabited with animals and angels opening each hour of the office of the virgin, SEVEN MINIATURES introducing the prayers preceding each hour, TWENTY-FOUR SMALLER MINIATURES and 24 golden suns decorating the calendar, TWO FULL-PAGE MINIATURES forming

bnens fautours ad iij

Gus
i ad
iuto
rui
me
um
inte

dn̄e ad aduuā
dum me festina
la pri et filio et
iaut erit in

Eus
ī ad
uto
ruī
me
um
unte
de. Ne ad adiu
uandū me festina.
Ola pri. Qē erat
hesu saluator hu
scki redemptis qpe

a votive diptych including the patron with his patron saint, slightly trimmed, tears in ff. 20, 75, 79 and 108.. Bound in 17th-century red velvet, spine with raised bands. Dimensions 130 x 90 mm.

Literature

Published: Mark, Claudia Marchitiello. "Manuscript illumination in Metz in the fourteenth century: Books of Hours, workshops, and personal devotion," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1991 (9112943), pp. 685-689, and passim; *Burlington Magazine*, no. 1026, September 1988, p. xxv; Christie's Manson, and Woods, Ltd., *Catalogue of Important Books*, Monday, November 28, 1960, lot 49, pp. 21-22, pl. lot 49; Paris, Pierre Beres, Catalogue 60, *Manuscrits et livres du quatorzième au seizième siècle*.

Further reading: Avril, François. *Les Fastes du gothique*, exhibition catalogue, Paris, 1981, no. 256; *Ecriture et enluminure en Lorraine au moyen âge: Catalogue de l'exposition 'La plume et le parchemin'* …, Nancy, 1984, nos 81 & 82, pp. 123-125; Mark, Claudia Marchitiello, "A Fourteenth-Century Book of Hours From Metz," *The Yale University Library Gazette* 69 (October 1994), pp. 12-35; Meyer, P. "Prières et poésies religieuses d'un manuscrit lorrain (Arsenal ms. 570)," *Bulletin de la société des anciens textes français* 27 (1901), pp. 43-83; *Trésors de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* [Exposition, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 26 mars-22 juin 1980]. Paris, 1980, n° 94; *Trésors des bibliothèques de Lorraine, Lorraine, 1998 [then Saarbrucken and Luxembourg, 1999].*

Online resources: Arsenal, MS 570 https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc79773g; Arsenal, MS 570 (detailed description) https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1405695/f5.item Montpellier, BU Médecine, H 043 http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/codex/8841

BOH 215

xvi f xbyhl s' mcomede
b g xbi hl'
a b hl s' lambert
vi b vmy hl'
c xvii hl s' gury.
xbvi d xvi hl' vigile
vi e xi hl s' matheu. &
f x hl s' moice
xvii g ix hl'
iii a vmi hl'
b vii hl s' bache
xi c vi hl'
xix d v hl s' cosme s' damien.
e iiii hl'
vii f iii hl s' michiel
g ii hl s' geronne

Octobres qui iours
xxxi · luna xix ·

xvi E s' remy
v b vi A s' legier
xiii c v A
ii d iii A s' francois
e iii A
x E ii A s' capraise s' fol
G luna s' marc pape

xviii F
viii b viii id s' denis
c vi id
xv d v id s' thyarace
iii e iii id
E iii id
xii G ii id s' calix pape

Omine labia mea ape-
ries. Et os meū annun
ciabit laudem tuam.
Deus in adiutoriū meū intende.
Dñe ad adiuuandū me festina.
Gloria patri & filio & spiritui san
cto. Sicut erat in principio & nūc
& semp & in secula seculorū. Amē.
Alleluya. Nota q̄ Alleluya dicit
a pascha vsq̄ ad septuagesimā. Et
a septuagesima vsq̄ ad pascha: di-
citur. Laus tibi dñe rex eterne glo
rie. Inuitatorium. Aue maria gra-
tia plena dñs tecū. Aue maria gra-
tia plena dñs tecum. Psalmus.
Venite exultemus dño iubile-
mus deo salutari nostro: pre-

occupemus faciem eius: in confes=
sione / & in psalmis iubilemus ei.
Aue maria gratia plena dñs tecũ.
Quoniã deus magnus dñs & rex
magn⁹ super omnes deos: quoniã
non repellet dñs plebem suã / quia
in manu eius sunt omnes fines terre
& altitudines mõtium ipse conspi=
cit. Dominus tecum.
Quoniã ipsius est mare & ipse fe
cit illud / & aridã fundauerunt ma=
nus ei⁹: venite adoremus & proci=
damus ante deũ / ploremus coram
dño qui fecit nos: quia ipse est dñs
deus noster: nos aũt populus eius /
& oues pascue ei⁹. Aue maria gra.
Hodie si vocẽ eius audieritis no=
lite obdurare corda vestra: sicut in
exacerbatione secundũ diem ten=
tationis in deserto: vbi tentauerũt
patres vestri / probauerunt &
viderunt opera mea. Dñs tecum.
Quadraginta annis proxim⁹ fuit
generi huic & dixi semper hi
errant corde: ipsi vero non cogno
uerunt vias meas: quibus iuraui in
ira mea si introibunt in requiem
meam. Ave gratia plena do

11 Fine "print-assisted" paintings by printers who were illuminators

Printed Book of Hours (Use of Rome)
In Latin and French, printed and illuminated on parchment
France, Paris, Germain Hardouyn, c. 1536
14 painted metalcuts with illuminated borders, painted initials, and printer's device likely illuminated in the Hardouyn Workshop

Paris was the epicenter of the production of printed books of Hours from 1485 to nearly 1550. Many of these imprints, consciously imitated illuminated manuscripts. In this particularly appealing volume by the Hardouyn Workshop, fourteen metalcuts are so vibrantly and expertly painted that they are practically indistinguishable from illuminated miniatures. The Hardouyn brothers were distinguished from other early Parisian printers by their skills as illuminators. This is a small volume, in a distinctive and unusual format, very narrow and oblong, fitting easily in a pocket to carry about for use in private devotion.

Provenance

1. Printed in Paris by Germain Hardouyn in the sixteenth century for use of Rome. The almanac for the year 1536–1548 suggests a date of printing c. 1536. Germain Hardouyn (active c.1521–1541), was an illuminator, printer, bookseller, and publisher associated with the University of Paris.

2. Likely sold in Munich by Rosenthal in the 1880s, as listed in the Rosenthal Catalogue XXII, no. 4032. Antiquarian bookseller Ludwig Rosenthal (1840–1928) opened a rare book business in Munich in 1867, which he later partnered with his brothers Nathan and Jacob.

3. Belonged to Noel F. Barwell (1879–[1953]?), his armorial bookplate on the front pastedown. Educated at Cambridge University (Trinity), and listed as member of the Bibliographical Society of Great Britain in 1900 with address in Russell Chambers, Bury Street, W.C.

Text

f. 1, Title-page, "Hore beate Marie virginis se//cundum vsum Romanu[m] totaliter//ad longum sine require / impresse// Parisius per. G. Hardouyn alme/ vniuersitatis Parisiensis bibliopo//le iurati / commorantis inter duas // portas Palatii ad intersignium di/ue Margarete.// Chascun foit content de ses biens// Car qui na souffisance na riens./"; f. 1v, "Vng iuif mutilant iadis. Lhostie du sainct sacrament …; Eugene au tresor de leglise …; In eleuationis sacre hostis …"; f. 2, Almanac for the years 1536–1448; ff. 2v–8, Calendar; f. 8v, Gospel Lessons, John; f. 9, Luke; f. 10, Matthew; f. 10v, Mark; f. 11, The Passion from the Gospel of John, followed by prayers; f. 15v, *Obsecro te*; f. 17, *O intemerata;* f. 18v, *Sequuntur septem gaudia spiritualia* …, incipit, "Gaudia flore virginali …"; f.19v, Hours of the Virgin, use of Rome, with the Hours of the Holy Cross and Holy Spirit worked in: Matins (f. 19v); Lauds (f. 27); Matins Holy Cross (f. 32); Matins Holy Spirit (f. 33); Prime (f. 33v); Prime Holy Cross (f. 35); Prime Holy Spirit (f. 35v); Terce (f. 36); Terce Holy Cross (f. 37v); Terce Holy Spirit (f. 38); Sext (f. 38v); Sext Holy Cross (f. 40); Sext Holy Spirit (f. 40v); None (f. 41); None Holy Spirit (f. 42v); None Holy Cross (f. 43); Vespers (f. 43); Vespers Holy Cross (f. 46); Vespers Holy Spirit (f. 46v); Compline (f. 46v); Compline Holy Cross (f. 48v); Compline Holy Spirit (f. 49); f. 49v, *Salve regina*; f. 50, Antiphona ad beata mariam, incipit, "Alma redemptoris mater"; prayers for each day of the week; f. 53, Penitential Psalms; followed by Litany and prayers; f. 61v, Office of the Dead (use of Rome); f.75, Prayers for the dead, *Oratio pro fidelibus defunctis*; f. 75v, Suffrages; f. 80, *Stabat Mater*; f. 81, Seven prayers of Saint Gregory; f. 81v, incipit "missus est Gabriel angelus…"; f. 84, Hours of the Conception of the Virgin; f. 88v, Prayer of Saint Augustine, incipit ""Deus propicius esto michi pecatori…"; f. 90, Table of contents; f. 90v, Table of contents concludes "FINIS"; Colophon: "Ces presentes heures a lusaige// de Romme / tout au long sans re-//querir ont este nouvellement impri//mees a Paris par G. hardouyn Li//braire iure de luniuersite de Paris// demourant audit lieu entre les deux// portes du palays a lenseigne sain//cte Marguerite."

onitur hora ve=
ritudo latuit in
em mortē subiit
u corona glorie
doramus te xpe
i: quia p sanctā
i mūdū. Oremus
xpe fili dei viui
ē crucē & mor=
iū tuū & animā
a mortis mee &
is viuis mīam &
quiē & veniā ec
ērā cōcordiā &
vitam & leticiā
viuis & regnas.
ancto spiritu.
i. Dñe ad ad=
patri. Hymnus.
gitus virtus spiri
endat eruat ab
bis non noceat
ed protegat fo
. ān. Veni san=
ū corda fideliū
gnē accēde. ℣.
& creabūtur. ℟
erre. Oremus.
rne deus da no
pūs gratiā quā
sancto penthe
qui viuis & re.

Conuerte nos deus saluta
ris noster. Et auerte irā
tuam a nobis. Deus in adiutoriū
meum intende. Dñe ad adiuuan=
dum. Gloria patri Psalmus.
Sepe expugnauerunt me a iu
uētute mea dicat nūc israel.
Sepe expugnauerūt me a iuuētu
te mea: etenim nō potuerūt michi
Super dorsum meum fabricaue=
runt peccatores: prolongauerunt
iniquitatem suam.
Dñs iustus concidet ceruices pec
catorū: confundātur & cōuertant
retrorsum oēs qui oderunt syon.
Fiant sicut fenum tectorū quod
prius q̄ euellatur exaruit.

DOmine ne in furore tuo arguas me: neq; ĩ ira tua corripias me. Miserere mei dñe qm̃ infirmus sum sana me dñe: qm̃ cõturbata sunt ossa mea. Et anima mea turbata est valde: sed tu domine vsquequo.

Conuertere domine & eripe animam meam: saluum me fac ꝓpter misericordiam tuam.

Qm̃ nõ est in morte q̃ memor sit tui ĩ inferno aũt quis cõfitebit tibi.

Laboraui in gemitu meo lauabo per singulas noctes lectũ meũ: lachrymis meis stratũ meũ rigabo.

Turbatus est a furore oculꝰ meꝰ: inueteraui ĩter oẽs inimicos meos.

Discedite a me omnes qui opera
mini iniquitatē: quoniam exaudi=
uit dominus vocem fletus mei.
Exaudiuit dñs deprecationem
meā: dñs orationem meā suscepit.
Erubescant & cōturbentur vehe
menter oēs inimici mei: conuertā=
tur & erubescant valde velociter.
Gloria patri & filio. Psalmus.
Beati quorū remisse sunt ini=
quitates: & quorū tecta sunt
peccata. Beatus vir cui nō impu=
tauit dñs peccatū: nec est in spiritu
eius dolus. Quōm tacui inueterauerūt
ossa mea: dū clamarem tota die.
Quōm die ac nocte grauata est sup
me manus tua: cōuersus sum in erū
na mea dum configitur spina.
Delictum meū cognitū tibi feci:
& iniusticiam meā non abscondi.
Dixi confitebor aduersum me in
iusticiam meam dño: & tu remisi=
sti impietatem peccati mei.
Pro hac orabit ad te omnis san=
ctus: in tempore oportuno.
Veruntamen in diluuio aquarum
multarū: ad eū nō approximabūt
Tu es refugium meū a tribulatio
ne que circundedit me: exultatio
mea erue me a circundantibus me.
Intellectum tibi dabo & instru=
am te in via hac qua gradieris: fir=

Printed Books of Hours were one of the mainstays of the Parisian publishers and printers; well over 2,000 editions were produced between 1488 and 1568. The new technology of printing, at least in theory, introduced Books of Hours, a prayer book for the laity, to a broader audience. Certainly, the growing urban middle class was one of the chief purchasers of these books. In practice, many printed Books of Hours were finished by hand, in some cases, so luxuriously, that they may have been as expensive as manuscript copies.

Illustration

f. 1, Printer's device of two winged cherubs holding a shield hung from a tree with flowers in background, red-lined gold frame around text; f. 1v, Small image (six lines) of miraculous host, not painted except for red frame, red-lined gold frame around text; f. 8v, John on Patmos with an eagle, and a vision of the Virgin and Child in the sky; f. 11, The Arrest of Christ; f. 19v, The Annunciation with the angel Gabriel pointing to the Holy Spirit above the head of the kneeling Virgin Mary; f. 27, The Visitation of Saint Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary; f. 32, The Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and Saint John; f. 33, Pentecost with the Holy Spirit above the heads of the Virgin Mary and four apostles; f. 33v, The Nativity with the Virgin Mary and Saint Joseph adoring the Infant Christ; f. 36, The Annunciation to two shepherds tending a flock; f. 38v, The Adoration of the Magi; f. 41, Presentation in the Temple, set in a round frame; f. 43v, Flight into Egypt; f. 47, Coronation of the Virgin; f. 53v, David spies on Bathsheba in her bath with female attendant; f. 61v, Job seated on a dung heap, witnessed by his wife and friend.

Printed Book of Hours like the present example illustrate the transition from the world of the medieval manuscript and the age of the printed book. In contents, use, and layout they follow in the tradition of the medieval illuminated Book of Hours – lavishly illustrated texts for private prayer that have been called the "best sellers" of the late Middle Ages. Technically, however, such books are the products of print technology. The handwritten script of the past has been simulated with type, and hand-painted miniatures have been replaced by detailed metalcuts that still follow the traditional iconography of the manuscript Book of Hours but add richness and complexity through additional parallel narratives. Other traditional manuscript components, including painted initials, line fillers, and borders on every text page, have been added by hand or replaced by further sets of metalcuts.

Olivier Truschet and Germain Hoyau, c. 1552-1553
La ville, cité et Université de Paris. À Paris par Olivier Truschet et Germain Hoyau
Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Kartenslg. AA 124

Hore beate Marie virginis secundum vsum Romanũ totaliter ad longum sine require / impresse Parisius per. G. Hardouyn alme vniuersitatis Parisiensis bibliopole iurati / commorantis inter duas portas Palatij / ad intersignium diue Margarete.

Chascun soit content de ses biens
Car qui na souffisance na riens.

Germain Hardouyn (active c.1521–1541) and his brother Gilles Hardouyn (1455–1521) achieved the uncommon distinction of being registered as both printers and illuminators. Their Parisian workshop specialized in over-painted prints (recently called "print-assisted paintings"), with both the printing and illuminating occurring in-house. The Hardouyn workshop received print matrices from other workshops, such as that of Jean Pichore, also an illuminator, who took inspiration from Albrecht Dürer and Martin Schongauer in composing his metalcuts. The illustrations in the present Book of Hours are not derived from the Pichore metalcuts known to have been used by the Hardouyns, though they seem to have been heavily influenced by them. The Hardouyn workshop illuminators were guided by the metalcuts, but also altered their compositions according to their own abilities and tastes. The paintings here are skillfully rendered with shaded modeling and drapery folds, precise gold line highlights, and expressive, rosy-cheeked figures.

The metalcut series of the present book has parallels to a unique Book of Hours printed by Germain Hardouyn, c. 1534 (fig. 1, Tenschert and Nettekoven, 2003, III, no. 147), which is illustrated by a series of miniatures rather than metalcuts. A Book of Hours sold at Sotheby's, (fig. 2, London, December 7, 2015, lot 21) appears from available images to be very similar to the volume described here, with an almanac from 1534–1536. This is a very rare imprint, not in Lacombe (1907) or Brunet (1860–1865); very likely Moreau-Renouard, 1972–2004, vol. 5, p. 105, no. 194, BP 16 108201, Bohatta, 1924, no. 1177, although no collation is listed, and the imprint is described simply as an octavo, listed in these sources is a single copy sold by L. Rosenthal, Munich, Cat. XXII, no. 4032, no date, 188?, where it is described as bound in modern gold-tooled calf.

Figure 1
Book of Hours
printed by Germain Hardouyn
France, Paris, c. 1534
Tenschert and Nettekoven, 2003, III, no. 147

Figure 2
Book of Hours [almanac 1534-1546]
France, Paris, Germain Hardouyn
Sotheby's, London, December 7, 2015, lot 21

Physical description

90 ff. (collation: A-K^8, L^4, M^6 [alphanumerical quire signatures on recto of second and third leaves, B-K signatures on recto of first four leaves, L signatures on recto of first three leaves, M signatures on recto of first five leaves]), thirty-two lines printed in Roman font in black ink, (justification 118 x 47 mm), single-, double-, and triple-line initials in gold paint on alternating red and blue grounds, fourteen metal-cut prints, hand-painted with primarily blue, green, and red palette, with gold embellishments, miniatures framed by painted gold doric-style architectural borders that frame text below images, with added gold decoration around borders, some folios with wear, discoloration, and minor damage from handling, f. 42 with loss of paint, faded ink to lower corner; increased wear to last quire, with creasing to parchment from f. 79 onward, f. 90 slightly offset, single unfoliated laid paper flyleaves and pastedowns inside front and back covers, late-nineteenth-century ink notation in French to front pastedown. Nineteenth-century style brown leather covers with gilt-ruled frame, gold tooled spine with seven recessed bands and label: HEURES ANCIENNES, VÉLIN. MINIATURES. Worn with surface losses at joints and edges, small scratches and light abrasions to covers. Dimensions 143 x 76 mm.

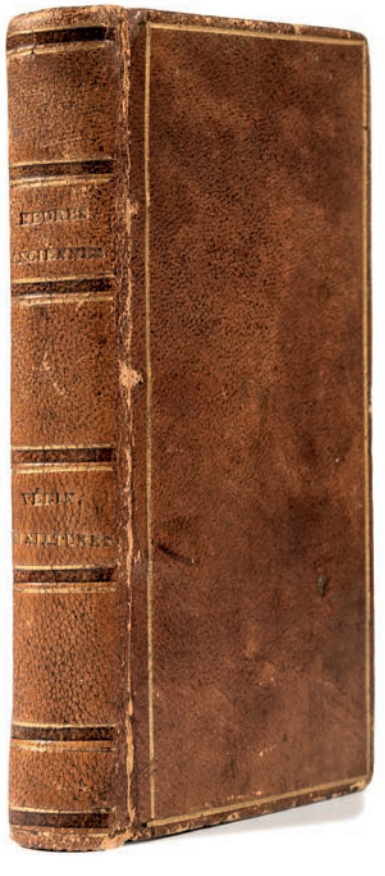
Literature

Likely published: B. Moreau, and P. Renouard, with G. Guilleminot-Chrétien and M. Breazu. *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle, Histoire générale de Paris,* 5 vols., Paris, 1972–2004. vol. 5, p. 105, no. 194, BP 16 108201; H. Bohatta, *Bibliographie der Livres d'Heures: Horae BMV, Officia, Hortuli Animae, Coronae BMV, Rosaria und Cursus BMV des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts,* Vienna, 1924, no. 1177; *Bibliotheca Catholico-Theologica, Catalogue XXVIII de la librairie ancienne de Ludwig Rosenthal*, Munich, George Schuh, 188?, no. 4032.

For further literature and comparative examples, see: M. Warren, "Gillet and Germain Hardouyn's Print-Assisted Paintings, Prints as Underdrawings in Sixteenth Century French Books of Hours," in *The Reception of the Printed Image in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, Multiplied and Modified,* eds. G. Jurkowlaniec and M. Herman. Routledge 2020; A. Pettegree and M. Walsby, *French Books III & IV: Books Published in France Before 1601 in Latin and Languages Other Than French*. Leiden: Brill,

2012, no. 67493; H. Tenschert and I. Nettekoven, *Horae B.M.V.: 158 Sundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibermühle*, Rotthalmünster, Antiquariat Heribert Tenschert, 2003, III, no. 143; E. Angermair, J. Koch, A. Löffelmeier, E. Ohlen, and I. Schwab, *Die Rosenthals. Der Aufstieg einer jüdischen Antiquarsfamilie zu Weltruhm*, Böhlau, 2002; P. Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens*, Paris, 1965, pp. 197–198; J. Müller, *Dictionnaire abrégé des imprimeurs/éditeurs français du XVIe s.*, Paris, 1970, p. 76; L.-C. Silvestre, *Marques typographiques, ou, Recueil des monogrammes, chiffres, enseignes, emblèmes, devises, rébus et fleurons des libraires et imprimeurs qui ont excercé en France, depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie, en 1470 …*, Paris, 1853, no. 57; C.-J. Brunet, "Notice sur les Heures Gothiques Imprimées à Paris à la fin du quinzième siècle et dans une partie du seizième," *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livre, Paris 1860-1865*, Vol. 5, col. 1553–1684; Hardouyn, cc. 1628–1644; J. Van Praet, *Catalogue de livres imprimés sur vélin, qui se trouvent dans des bibliothèques tant publiques que particulières, pour servir de suite au Catalogue des livres imprimés sur vélin de la Bibliothèque du roi*, Paris, 1824.

BOH 223




ECCE·VIR
GO·MATE
R·DEI
Incipit officium be
ate marie uirginis se
cundum curiam ro
manam. Ad matu
tinum. Versus. xxxiii.
Domine labia mea
aperies: Et os me
AVE MARIA

12 Little jewel of a manuscript from a great moment in Perugian Quattrocento art

The Dyson Perrins Hours (Use of Rome)
In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment
Italy, Perugia (Nunnery of Sant'Agnese?), c. 1450-1475
With 4 full-page miniatures and 10 historiated initials from the circle of Tommaso di Mascio Scarafone or the Montemorcino Master

This is a little jewel of a manuscript of astonishing originality and beauty, with miniatures like the tiniest of Umbrian panel paintings, echoing the monumental art of Piero della Francesca, Perugino, and Pintoricchio, representative of one of the great moments of Quattrocento art. The illuminations are attributed to a Perugian artist who has recently garnered some attention, Tommaso di Mascio Scarafone (once thought to be identical with Bartolomeo Caporali), who painted the gates of the city of Perugia in the Matricola manuscripts of the Perugian guilds. The provenance in the important Dyson Perrins collection and the manuscript's inclusion in the landmark exhibition of the Burlington Fine Arts Club of 1908 are noteworthy.

Provenance

1. The manuscript has been ascribed to Perugia for over a century. The generally sparse calendar includes both patron saints of the city, Saint Ercolano (bishop of Perugia, 1 March) and Saint Lorenzo (in red, 10 August, his name too being second among the martyrs in the litany). Sir George Warner drew attention also to the prominence of Saint Agnes and the presence of nuns in several miniatures, and he suggested that the manuscript might have belonged to a member of the Perugian convent of Sant'Agnese di Porta Sole.

2. The arms on the binding, beneath an ecclesiastical hat and within a cross of the Knights of Malta, were identified by Warner as those of a bishop of the family of Ruiz de Huidobra, of Castile (or, a tree sinople, a border or with 8 crosses sable). No bishop of this family is listed in Gams, Series Episcoporum, in Spain, Portugal or southern Italy. The arms will certainly be identifiable.

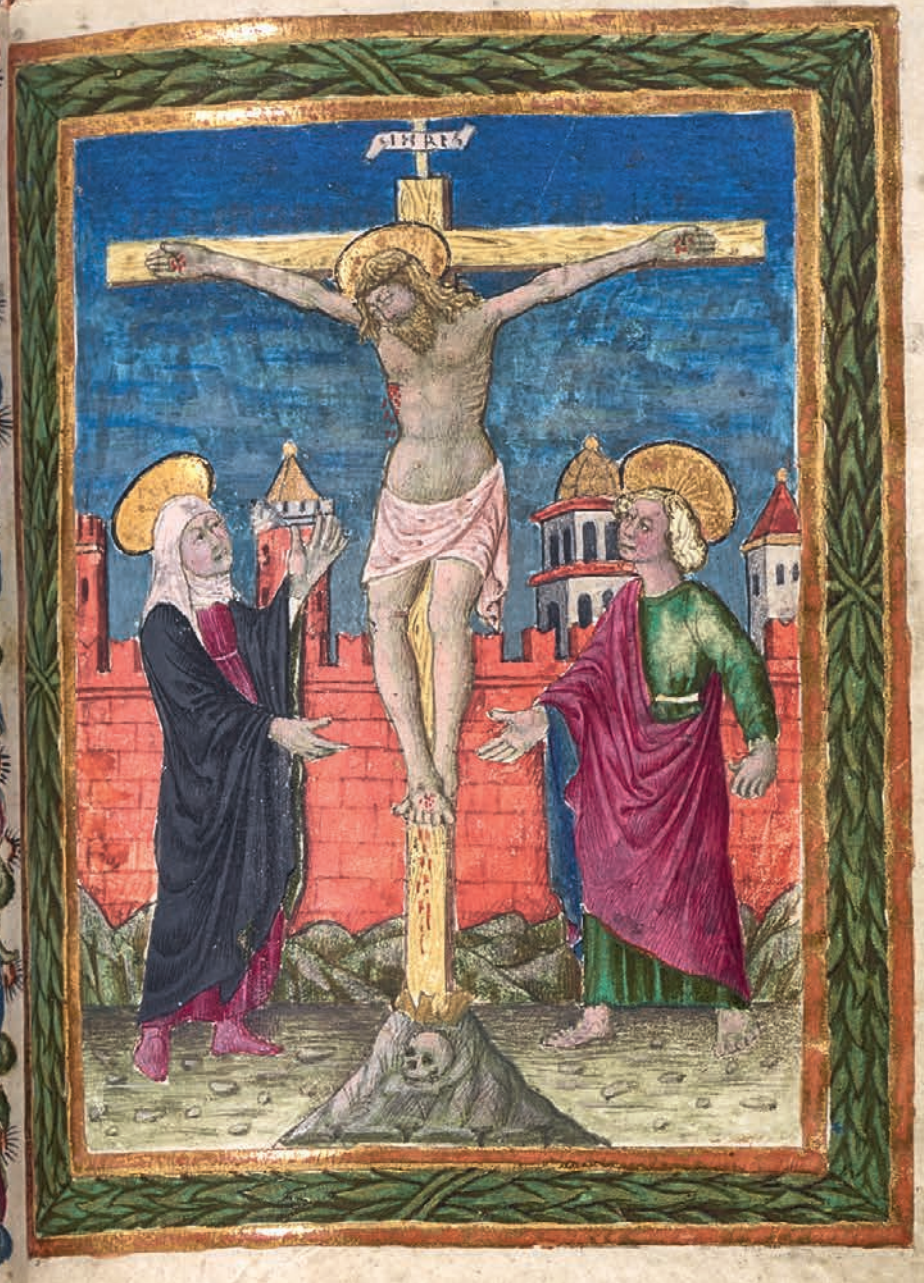
3. Charles William Dyson Perrins (1864-1958), manufacturer of Worcestershire sauce, one of the greatest of all collectors of illuminated manuscripts in the twentieth century, bought from S. Rosen in Venice in 1906, with his bookplate and labels at each end; lent by him to the seminal Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition of 1908 (the collation on the flyleaf is in the hand of [Sir] Sydney Cockerell, the exhibition's organizer). Dyson Perrins sale, Sotheby's, 29 November 1960, lot 122; re-sold, Sotheby's, 5 July 1965, lot 204.

Text

ff. 1r-12v, a Calendar, including Saints Herculanus (1 March) and Laurence (10 August); ff. 14r-94v, the Hours of the Virgin, Use of Rome, with Matins (f. 14r), Lauds (f. 27v), Prime (f. 42v), Terce (f. 47v), Sext (f. 52r), None (f. 56r), Vespers (f. 60r), and Compline (f. 69r); f. 95 is ruled but blank; ff. 97r-120v, the Penitential Psalms and Litany; ff. 122r-162v, the Office of the Dead, Use of Rome; f. 163r erroneously repeats text from the top of f. 165r; ff. 163v and 165r-169r, the Hours of the Cross; ff. 169v-171r, prayers, including the Salve virgo gloriosa.

Illustration

The subjects of the four full-page miniatures are: f. 13v, the Annunciation, with the Virgin and Angel Gabriel kneeling on opposite sides of a central red pavement receding into the background, with the Holy Spirit descending in the form of a dove to the Virgin from God the Father in the sky, all against an elaborate building in the background supported on columns and vaulting, with domed towers; f. 96v, King David, crowned but otherwise naked and sunk up to his shoulders in the ground with his arms upraised, supported by God the Father, who stands above him and holds his wrists, flanked


IHS REX

by an angel on either side, all within an arched colonnade supporting a Renaissance pediment, pink turrets, and domes; f. 121v, Funeral Service, conducted by a bishop and two priests in a Renaissance church of architecture similar to that of the previous miniature, with monks in one aisle and nuns in the other; f. 164, the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and Saint John standing to other side of the cross, all in front of an orange crenellated wall, with turrets in the distance.

The subjects of the ten historiated initials are: f. 14, the Virgin and Child, with full border including an antelope, eagle, a medallion in which a young man holds a scroll inscribed AVE MARIA GRACIA PL[ENA], two putti supporting a blue square bearing the inscription ECCE VIRGO MATER DEI, and additional putti, two of whom flank a bowl of fruit; f. 42v, a female saint, her hands clasped in prayer; f. 47v, a bearded and bald male saint holding a book; f. 52, a youthful saint holding a book; f. 56, another youthful saint holding a book; f. 60, a female saint holding a martyr's palm (perhaps Saint Agnes); f. 69, an old man, bearded and balding, holding a scroll inscribed MEMENTO MEI DOMINE; f. 97, King David, bearded and crowned, playing a psaltery, with full border including a leopard, a small bird, a medallion of a young man, a medallion in which an old man holds a scroll inscribed DOMINE DEVS, and two putti holding a large vase; f. 122, a nun, her hands clasped in prayer, with full border including two exotic birds, two medallions of angels, and three putti, two of whom hold torches; f. 163v, Christ as Man of Sorrows, with full border including a pelican, a medallion of an angel, a medallion of a young man holding a scroll inscribed DOMINE IEXU CRISTI SALVATOR, and two putti carrying a third who holds a bunch of flowers and a pinwheel toy.

This is a little jewel of a manuscript of astonishing originality and beauty, with miniatures like the tiniest of Umbrian panel paintings from one of the great moments of Quattrocento art. Only recently have the illuminators of Perugia received serious attention, for their work is closely related to that of painters such as Benedetto Bonfigli (c.1418-1496, active from 1445) and Gerolamo di Giovanni di Camerino (fl.1449-73); cf. especially J. J. G. Alexander, pp. 109-116; and N. Morgan et al., pp. 146-54, both with further references. The architectural settings here are very striking, probably reflecting actual parallels in Perugia itself, for illuminators were familiar with multiple manuscripts showing the gates of the city in the Matricola manuscripts of the Perugian guilds. The remarkable background of the Annunciation here, for example, with a circular double archway closely echoes the Etruscan arch, or Porta Augusta, as seen from the Piazza Grimana in Perugia (fig. 1). The setting of David being lifted up, not from the sea but from within a cathedral, is possibly unique in manuscript art. The Crucifixion is set before an orange wall. Compare especially the so-called Bernardino panels of c. 1472 in the Galleria Nazionale dell' Umbria in Perugia, inspired by Piero della Francesca, and assigned to the emerging elite of young Perugian painters, (Pintoricchio, Perugino, and Bonfigli (fig. 2).

There are intimate parallels with the work of Bartolomeo Caporali (c.1420-c.1505), attributed illuminator of a Missal recently acquired by the Cleveland Museum of Art, dated 1469 (John L. Severance Fund 2006.154; cf. S. Fliegel, The Caporali Missal, 2013; fig. 3). In the Crucifixion in the present manuscript (f. 164r) both the Virgin in a black habit over a red dress and the pose and garments of Saint John are strikingly similar to the same figures in the Caporali Missal. On balance, however, the artist of the present manuscript is even closer to the recently identified illuminator, once thought to have been Caporali, Tommaso di Mascio Scarafone or the Montemorcino Master (compare Alexander, op. cit, figs. 1-5; and fig. 4 here).

Figure 1
Porta Augusta from the Piazza Grimana
Perugia

Figure 2
Stories of Saint Bernardino
St. Bernardino healing a young girl
Perugia, dated 1473
Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell' Umbria

Inaprico ffin imagin
da mbrasam qd ne
spas. antiphona:
Placebo psalmus

DEXTERA

Iam cantiet tomi
nus: uocem orationis
mee Qua inclinauit
aurem suam mihi: et

Particularly extraordinary is the iconography of the miniature depicting David at the opening of the Penitential Psalms (f. 96v). Shown stretching his arms up toward God the Father, who grasps them in support, the naked king appears submerged from the shoulders down in rocky pit. This miniature was probably intended to reflect the content of one of the Psalms (eg. Psalm 39.3: "And he heard my prayers and brought me out of the pit of misery" or, from the last of the Penitential Psalms, Psalm 142.6-7: "I stretched forth my hands to thee ... Turn not away thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit"). Some comparable interpretations of this content appear in other Books of Hours: see, for example, the depiction of David appealing to God to save him from the pit of Hell in London, British Library, Add. MS 37421 (from the Hours of Etienne Chevalier). In our manuscript, however, the indoor surroundings (notably quite similar to the church depicted in the following miniature, f. 121v) frame the scene quite unusually, as though God is lifting David from a grave.

Rich in detail and some unusual iconography, this manuscript's illuminations reward close examination. The illuminated borders teem with a menagerie of bestiary creatures (an antelope, a leopard, a pelican, etc.) and lively scenes of charming putti, including one holding a medieval toy, a pinwheel typically shown in the hands of children (see, for example, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 218, f. 95) or fools (see, for example, New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Typographical MS 2, f. 17).

Physical description

174 ff., complete, collation: paper and vellum endleaves + i12, ii10+1 [f. 13 inserted], iii-ix10, x10+1 [f. 96 inserted], xi10, xii10+1 [f. 121 inserted], xiii-xv10, xvi10+1 [f. 164 inserted], xvii8[of 10, blank ix-x cancelled at end], with horizontal catchwords, modern pencil foliation; 13 lines, ruled in purple ink, written-space 55 x 39mm., written in brown ink in a rounded but sharp- angled Italian gothic bookhand, rubrics in red, headings for the four principal openings written entirely in burnished gold, capitals touched in yellow, versal initials throughout in blue or burnished gold, 2-line initials throughout in burnished gold or blue with penwork in purple or red extending to the full height of the pages, similar initials in the calendar with penwork in both colours; ten historiated initials, 5 to 7 lines high, painted in leafy designs in colours on burnished gold grounds, six of them with elaborate full-length borders of coloured plants and acanthus leaves terminating in burnished gold bezants, four with full borders in similar designs including animals and putti; four full-page miniatures within broad frames of pink or green laurel leaves within burnished gold lines; some occasional rubbing of the text, as common in Italian manuscripts, occasional marginal thumbing, generally in excellent state with wide margins; bound in late eighteenth-century southern European (probably Spanish) red morocco gilt, arms in gilt on covers, spine with four raised bands with flowers and vases gilt in compartments, gilt title "DEVOCION", edges gilt and gauffered, green silk marker, fitted slipcase. Dimensions 109 x 86 mm.

Figure 3
Bartolomeo Caporali (c.1420-c.1505)
Crucifixion, from a Missal
dated 1469
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund 2006.154

Figure 4
Montemorcino Master
Elevation of the Consecrated Wafer
Italy, Perugia, c. 1490

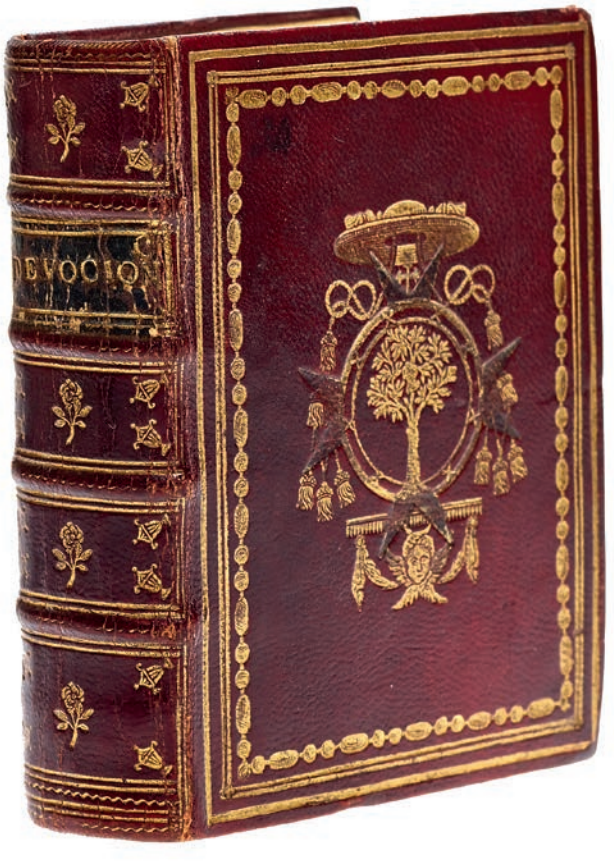
Literature

Published: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908, p. 122 (no. 252); Warner, George. Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C.W. Dyson Perrins, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 166-167 (no. 66)

Further literature: J. G. Alexander, "The City Gates of Perugia and Umbrian Manuscript Illumination of the Fifteenth Century," The Medieval Book, Christopher de Hamel Festschrift, 2010, pp. 109-116; and N. Morgan, S. Panayotova and S. Reynolds, Western Book Illumination in the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Cambridge Colleges, II, ii, 2011, esp. pp. 146-54,

Online resources: "Add MS 37421," Digitised Manuscripts, British Library, 2016 http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_37421; "New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Typographical MS 2," Digital Scriptorium, 2016 http://ds.lib.berkeley.edu/TypographicalMS2_20 "S. Agnese," Monastic Matrix, 2016 https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/monasticmatrix/search/node/agnese%20perugia

BOH 135



rum suffragium uat
inter apostolos primu
tur laureatus obtines
tu. o singulare preci
benignus exaudi u
ut in tuetur pro n
salute ℣ Ora pro
nobis Vt digni
Eto die pl
ificator
a potoh tu re
precibus tuis
placat et sou


Deo sancti auriostole
gloriosi pontifices venie
dui impertitur rabi

13 Extensively Illuminated Book in distinctive styles for two successive patrons in Mons

Hours of Jean Antoine de Mahieu and Jacqueline de Sivry (Use of Mons)
In Latin and some French, illuminated manuscript on parchment
Southern Netherlands, Mons, c. 1460 (original portion), c. 1480-1490 (updated)
22 full-page miniatures by the Mildmay Master (13), the Master of Philippe de Croÿ (7), and a third Mons illuminator, follower of Simon Marmion (2) and 4 small miniatures by the Mildmay Master

This is a fascinating Book of Hours with an extensive cycle of illuminations by three different artists. It offers an excellent case study of how Books of Hours were customized for the special devotional needs and artistic taste of owners even within a generation of each other. Made of an unknown patron (a woman) around 1460, the original manuscript was updated only about a decade later for Jean Antoine de Mahieu, Lord of Bosqueau, and his wife, Jacqueline de Sivry, Lady of Buath, in Mons. From the best of the three artists, they ordered a lovely miniature with their portraits and arms, announcing their ownership, and paying tribute to a local hero, Simon Marmion.

Provenance

1. The manuscript was made in Southern Netherlands probably in two different stages. The core of the Hours and the calendar were written in Mons for an unknown patron with inserted miniatures by the Mildmay Master of Bruges, c. 1460. The Calendar and the Office of the Dead for the use of St. Waltrude in Mons. Then, around 1480, the manuscript was updated also in Mons by a couple represented in prayer at the feet of the Virgin on f. 119v, Jean Antoine de Mahieu, Lord of Bosqueau, and his wife, Jacqueline de Sivry, Lady of Buath (see the discussion below). The manuscript was illuminated by three different artists at two different stages (see discussion below).

2. The manuscript belonged to Jean-Baptiste-Florentin Gabriel de Meyran, marquis de Lagoy (1764-1829): a small label with the note "appartient au Marquis de Lagoy" attached inside the front cover. He was the nephew and executor of the testament of marquis de Méjanes, whose collection, essentially of Old Master drawings, constituted the founding collections of the municipal library in Aix-en-Provence.

3. Another ownership inscription written in grey ink inside the front cover: "Jean Fra(n)sois de Lescluse demeurant a Frasne". Frasne is only 37 kilometers from Mons.

Text

ff. 1-12v, Calendar, use of Mons; f. 13, blank; ff. 13v-21v, Hours of the Cross; f. 22, blank; ff. 22v-28, Hours of the Holy Spirit; ff. 28v-34, Mass of the Virgin; ff. 34v-39v, Gospel Sequences; f. 40, blank; ff. 40v-95v, Hours of the Virgin, use of Rome; ff. 97-100v, *Obsecro te* (for female use, "miche famulae tue"); ff. 100v-102v, *O intemerata*; f. 103, blank; ff. 103v-113, Penitential Psalms; ff. 113-119, Litanies, followed by prayers; f. 119v, miniature: Jean Antoine de Mahieu and Jacqueline de Sivry before the Virgin and Child; f. 120, blank; ff. 120v-161, Office of the Dead, use of the Saint Waltrude Collegiate Church in Mons (cf. Ottosen, Online resources); ff. 161v-163, Prayers for the Mass and when the priest raises the host, f. 163v, blank; ff. 164-170v, Prayers to St. James the Great (f. 164r-v), St. Hubert of Liège (f. 165r-v), St. Paul (f. 166r-v), St. Francis (f. 167r-v), St. Barbara (f. 168r-v), and St. Michael (ff. 169, 170r-v; leaves bound in wrong order: f. 170 should precede f. 169; f. 169v blank); ff. 171-199, Prayers on the Seven Last Words from the Cross (ff. 171-172v), Passion Sequences from the Gospel of St. John (ff. 173-174v), Prayers to Christ (ff. 174v-177v), the Holy Trinity (f. 178), St. Michael (f. 178r-v), Holy Angels (ff. 178v-179), St. John the Baptist (f. 179), St. John the Evangelist (f. 180), Holy Apostles (f. 180r-v), St. Christopher (ff. 180v-181v), St. Sebastian (ff. 181v-182), St. George (ff. 183-184), St. Adrien (ff. 182v-183), St. Hubert of Liège (f. 183r-v; different from the prayer on f. 165r-v),

St. Anthony (ff. 183v-184), St. Nicholas (f. 184r-v), St. Joseph (ff. 184v-185), St. Mary Magdalene (f. 185r-v), St. Martha (ff. 185v-186), St. Catherine (f. 186r-v), St. Barbara (ff. 186v-187; different from f. 168r-v), St. Agathe (f. 187r-v), St. Agnes (ff. 187v-188), St. Wilgefortis (f. 188r-v, rubric, "de sancta ontcommera"), Virgins (ff. 188v-189), eight verses of St. Bernard (ff. 189-190), St. Margaret (f. 190v), a prayer attached to an indulgence that promises as many days of pardon as there are bodies buried in a cemetery, incipit, "Avete omnes anime fideles..." (ff. 191-192v), and a prayer, which the rubric instructs to be said to the Virgin on Saturdays, incipit, "Missus est gabriel angelus..." (ff. 192v-199).

Illustration

Thirteen full-page miniatures by the Mildmay Master: f. 13v, Descent from the Cross; f. 22v, Pentecost; f. 28v, Virgin and Child surrounded by angels; f. 40v, Annunciation to the Virgin; f. 51v, Visitation; f. 62v, Nativity; f. 72v, Annunciation to the Shepherds; f. 77v, Presentation at the Temple; f. 82v, Herod ordering the Massacre of the Innocents; f. 90v, Flight to Egypt; f. 96v, Pietà, flanked by St. John and St. Mary Magdalene ; f. 103v, Last Judgment with the Virgin and St. John; f. 120v, Funeral office, a nobleman standing by the coffin with his prayerbook first patron.

Two full-page miniatures by a second, later artist, a follower of Simon Marmion in the second campaign: f. 119v, Jean Antoine de Mahieu and Jacqueline de Sivry before the Virgin and Child; f. 161v, Mass of St. Gregory, a male supplicant kneeling in the background.

Seven full-page miniatures by the Master of Philippe de Croÿ: f. 67, Holy Virgins (bound out of place); f. 164, St. James the Great as pilgrim; f. 165, St. Hubert in prayer before a deer; f. 166, St. Paul; f. 167, St. Francis receiving the stigmata; f. 168, St. Barbara, with a female supplicant kneeling at her feet; f. 171, St. Michael weighing souls.

Four small miniatures by artist A, the Mildmay Master: f. 34v, St. John on Patmos; f. 35v, St. Luke with ox; f. 37, St. Matthew with angel; f. 38v, St. Mark with lion.

This is a very interesting book, in which we find contributions by three distinct artists, and it illustrates unusually well how deluxe Books of Hours were customized within even a generation of their original composition to conform with the artistic tastes and devotional culture of new owners.

The original manuscript ended at f. 161 and includes ff. 171 to 192 (with the unillustrated Suffrages beginning on f. 178). It was complete in itself with all the textual components of a typical Book of Hours, as well as a full cycle of thirteen full-page and four smaller miniatures. The full-page miniatures are all on inserted singletons. Three miniatures now nestled in the core of the manuscript do not belong with it, and they were added in the second campaign, f. 67, f. 119v, and f. 161v (see below).

It is the Mildmay Master who was responsible for the core of the original manuscript. This artist specialized in Books of Hours for the continental and English market. Nicholas Rogers gave the artist his name in 1982 after a lavish Book of Hours, also produced for the export market, which includes notes of the family of "Sir Thomas Myldmaye, knight" whose relatives were later connected with the court of Elizabeth I (Chicago, Newberry Library, MS Case 35; also Saenger 1989). The Mildmay Master worked in the style of his contemporary Willem Vrelant of Bruges (arrived in Bruges in 1454; died 1480/1481), who, while maintaining a workshop, may also have functioned as a sort of *libraire* or stationer, assembling artists, scribes, decorators, and binders for diverse commissions. The deep reds and blues and the wide palette of greens are all typical of Vrelant and his associates and followers, and many of the compositions repeat Vrelant's well-known patterns.

Extraordinarily productive and perhaps a "style" rather than a single hand, the Mildmay Master favored figures with markedly blushed cheeks and women and young men with slightly pointed chins. His intimate illuminations evoke Bruges painting of the day, especially those of Hans Memling, for example the Annunciation (f. 40v) and the standing Virgin and Child with Angels (f. 28v) 9). In our manuscript, the artist paints elongated figures, with small heads and slender bodies, mostly situated on pale yellow tiled grounds. His outdoor landscapes are cursory, and he favors the same tone of light yellow for paths and bare grounds. Unusual here are his delicate acanthus and floral borders sprinkled with fanciful grotesques.

Inipiunt septem psalmi pe
nitenciales ant. Ne reminis
scaris domine.

Domine ne in
furore tuo ar
guas me neq;
in ira tua co
ripias me. Miserere mei do
mine qm infirmus sum sa
na me dne qm conturbata
sunt ossa mea. Et anima
mea turbata est valde sed tu
dne usq;quo. Convertere
dne et eripe aiam meam sal
vum me fac propter miam
tuam. Qm non est in morte qui
memor sit tui in inferno au

Our manuscript joins an ever-growing group of manuscripts in the Vrelant circle, which has become a kind of "catch-all" for manuscript illumination in Bruges in the third quarter of the fifteenth century (see exhibition Brussels and Paris, 2011, p. 242). In 2011, Bousmanne and Delcourt proposed an alternative to the complex commercial operation; they hypothesized the existence of a small family structure, in which anonymous hands, such as the Master of the Vraie Cronicque descose, were members of Vrelant's family. Vrelant's widow Marie (the Master of the Vraie Cronicque descose?), for example, continued to pay dues to the guild in Bruges until 1490-1491. The place of the Mildmay Master (or Masters) – whether a member of the family or part of a commercial network – with his/her appealing colorful style in this "Vrelant" group has yet to be sorted out satisfactorily (fig. 1)

Figure 1
In the style of Willem Vrelant
Last Judgement from a Book of Hours, fol. 76v
Bruges, c. 1470
Baltimora, Walters Art Museum, Walters Manuscript W.195

The patron of the original manuscript is unknown. There is a nobleman standing apart in the Funeral miniature prefacing the Office of the Dead, but we believe the book was instead made for a woman because the prayer *Obsecro te* is for female use. Although the paintings were made in Bruges, the text of the manuscript was made in Mons. The Office of the Dead follows the liturgical use of the Saint Waltrude Collegiate Church in Mons. The calendar also follows the use of Mons, including the rare St. Ghislain of Mons in red (9 Oct). The city of Mons belonged to the diocese of Cambrai, and the calendar includes a number of saints venerated in this diocese, as well as the neighboring dioceses of Tournai and Liège. The rare St. Ursmar of Lobbes (18 Apr) was venerated in the dioceses of Cambrai and Liège, and St. Achard (or Achaire) of Jumièges (15 Sept) also in the diocese of Tournai (cf. Leroquais 1927, nos. 125, 323; Calendoscope, Online resources). Other locally venerated saints in the calendar include: St. Bavo of Ghent (1 Oct), St. Aldegonde of Maubeuge (30 Jan), St. Brigit (1 Feb), St. Amand of Maastricht and Vedast (Vaast) of Arras (7 Feb), St. Scholastica (10 Feb), St. Juliana of Nicomedia (16 Feb), St. Gertrude (17 March), St. Donatian of Reims (14 Oct), and St. Walaric or Valery (1 Apr). For a comparison of a contemporary Book of Hours following the liturgical use of Saint Waltrude of Mons, see Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 206 (see Online resources).

The prayer to the rare St. Wilgefortis, a bearded crucified woman, under the Flemish name "Ontkommer" (f. 188r-v, rather than "Livrade" in French) could mislead one to think that this manuscript was destined for the Flemish rather than French-speaking part of the Southern Netherlands. However, the numerous rubrics in French confirm that the manuscript was made for francophone patrons (for example on f. 191). The paintings, on singletons, were thus sent from Bruges to Mons for insertion. On stylistic grounds they cannot date much after 1460.

Shortly thereafter (perhaps on the death of the first owner – a member of the same family in Mons?), the manuscript was altered to reflect new ownership, that of Jean Antoine de Mahieu, Lord of Bosqueau, and his wife, Jacqueline de Sivry, Lady of Buath, represented on f. 119v. This inserted miniature is clearly out of place in this, the original, section of the manuscript. Their coats of arms are presented above them, held by angels. On the left, the arms of de Mahieu: *d'argent à deux quintefeuilles de gueules en chef et une merlette de sable en pointe*. On the right, the arms of Jacqueline de Sivry: *parti, au 1 d'argent à deux quintefeuilles de gueules en chef et une merlette de sable en pointe* (de Mahieu); *au 2 écartelé: aux 1 et 4 burelé d'argent et d'azur* (de Sivry); *au 2 et 3 d'or à deux chevrons de gueules* (de Montigny). Jean Antoine de Mahieu, *écuyer*, Lord of Bosqueau, was born c. 1460, the younger son of Henri de Mahieu, *chevalier*, and Isabeau de Landas, who had married in 1447 and lived in Maubeuge, south of Mons, in the diocese of Cambrai, where they held several feudal lands (Delcourt 1865, p. 449). The de Mahieu was an ancient noble family that originated in Guelders in the twelfth century; later generations spread to Mons, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Maubeuge, Antwerp, Ghent and Brussels (Delcourt 1865, p. 439-440). The branch of the family to which the owner of our manuscript, Jean Antoine de Mahieu belonged, was installed around Mons and Maubeuge in the diocese of Cambrai.

Figure 2
Philippe de Croÿ Master
Book of Hours, *Resurrection of Lazarus,* f. 57
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 15080

Several members of the family had been ennobled with titles of *chevalier* and *écuyer* (Delcourt 1865, pp. 449-450). Jean Antoine de Mahieu married Jacqueline de Sivry, Lady of Buath. They had a daughter, Jacqueline de Mahieu, Lady of Bosqueau, who married Eustache de Masnuy, *échevin* of Mons (Rietstap 1861, pp. 130, 784; Delcourt 1865, pp. 449-450).

The artist responsible for updating the manuscript, adding seven miniatures to accompany Suffrages, and for f. 67, now out of place but originally within the Suffrages, is the Philippe de Croÿ Master, whom Dominique Vanwijnsberghe named after his principal patron, seigneur de Croÿ et comte de Porcéan (1435-1511) ("Ung bon ouvrier nommé Marquet Caussin," Brussels: KIKIRPA, 2013, pp. 78-79, 250-56, et passim). His style is completely different from the Mildmay Master. He favors tiled floors in brown and white or grey and white, and his palette is generally more sombre, almost grisaille, with blue and white, grey, and a burnt brownish-orange. Having miniatures accompany these prayers must have been important to the new owners Jean and Jacqueline, because the many of the same prayers (Hubert, Barbara, for example) occur, though unillustrated, in the original portion of the manuscript. This illuminator is active in the 1480s (see the Hours illuminated by him in Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, MS 15080, fig. 2).

A third painter intervened at the same time in this second campaign. The most skilled of the three illuminators, this artist (responsible for ff. 119v and161v) is a follower of a group of Hainaut (Valenciennes or Mons) illuminators working around 1480-1500 published by Gregory Clark in 2004 (see especially figs. 1, 2, 6, 8, and 10 there, from a Book of Hours in Stuttgart). His delicate figures are well-modeled, with tiny hands, and individualized faces. His tributes to Simon Marmion are visible in the two angels that hold shields on f. 119 with their sweet faces, and the couleurs changeant of their wings and drapery. Like the Mildmay Master he uses yellow tiled floors but the tiles are distinctly different, giving a three-dimensional effect. The Mass of St. Gregory is a tour de force by this artist, and here again there is a tribute to Marmion in the coloring, facial types, and even the composition.

Physical description

199 folios on parchment (f. 199 is pasted onto the back cover), modern foliation in pencil, 1-199, lacking one text leaf (collation: i^{12} ii^{8} [+1, one inserted miniature, f. 13] iii^{8} [+1, one inserted miniature, f. 22] iv^{8} v^{8} [+2, one inserted miniature, f. 40] vi^{8} [+4, one inserted miniature, f. 51] vii^{12}[+10, one inserted miniature, f. 67, bound out of place; should be in quire xx] viii^{6} [+3, one inserted miniature, f. 72] ix^{8} [+1, +6, two inserted miniatures, ff. 77, 82] x^{8} [+4, one inserted miniature, f. 90] xi^{6} [+1, +8, two inserted miniatures, ff. 96, 103] xii-xiii^{8} xiv^{8} [+1, one inserted miniature, f. 120] xv^{8} [-7, lacking one leaf after f. 134] xvi-xviii^{8} xix^{4} xx^{8} [lacking one leaf, f. 67, which is bound out of place in quire vii; the order of the leaves in this quire is also incorrect: f. 170 should precede f. 169] xxi-xxiii^{8} xxiv^{5}), no catchwords or signatures, ruled in red ink (justification 95 x 61 mm.), written by two different scribes (corresponding to the two artists: scribe B wrote ff. 67r-v, 164-170v; scribe A wrote the rest) in brown ink in gothic textualis bookhand in single column on 17 lines, capitals touched in yellow, line-fillers in pink and blue with decorative details in burnished gold, 1-line initials alternating in burnished gold with penwork flourishes in black and in blue with penwork in red, 2-line initials in burnished gold on grounds divided into dark pink and blue with white penwork, 3-line initials of similar style with hairline tendrils extending to the margin with small flowers and leaves in burnished gold, 5-line burnished gold initials on grounds divided into dark pink and blue with white penwork, 5-line painted initials on gold grounds with painted tendrils, leaves and flowers, FOUR VERY FINE SMALL MINIATURES framed with burnished gold bars, within ¾ rinceaux borders decorated with small flowers in colors and small leaves in burnished gold, TWENTY-TWO FINE FULL-PAGE MINIATURES within full rinceaux borders decorated with flowers, berries, curving acanthus leaves and numerous imaginative hybrids playing musical instruments, highlighted with generous amounts of burnished and liquid gold, in addition sixteen full rinceaux borders and 5-line initials in pink or blue on burnished gold grounds; ink stain in the margin of f. 1, water stains in the lower margins of the

first 32 leaves, colors slightly faded in the marginal decoration on f. 120v, a stain in the marginal decoration of f. 77v and some other minor signs of use, otherwise in very good condition. Bound in the seventeenth century in brown calf over wooden boards, spine with four raised bands, gold-tooled with fleurons and foliage, gilt title ("OFFICIU / BEATEM / VIRGIN", partly worn out), gilt edges, leather very rubbed, gold tooling worn, front cover almost detached, hinges of the back cover fragile. Dimensions 167 x 116 mm.

Literature

As-Vijvers, A. and A. Korteweg, (eds). *Splendour of the Burgundian Netherlands*, Utrecht, Zwolle, The Hague, 2018, pp. 304-5, 374; Bousmanne, B. and T. Delcourt (eds). *Miniatures flamandes, 1404-1482*, Paris and Brussels, 2011; Clark, G. "Beyond Jacquemart Pilavaine, Simon Marmion, and the Master of Antoine Rolin: Book Painting in the Hainaut in the Penultimate Decade of the Fifteenth Century," pp. 391-98 in Brigitte Dekeyzer and Jan Van der Stock, eds., *Manuscripts in Transition—Recycling Manuscripts, Texts, and Images: Proceedings of the International Congress Held in Brussels (5-9 November 2002),* Louvain, 2005; Delcourt, F. J. "Généalogie de la famille de Mahieu," *Annales de l'Académie royale d'archéologie de Belgique* 21 (1865), pp. 439-490; Kren, T. and S. McKendrick. *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, Los Angeles and London, 2003; Leroquais,V. *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 3 vols, Paris, 1927; Ottosen, K. *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead*, Aarhus, 1993; Rietstap, J.-B. *Armorial général d'Europe*, Gouda, 1861; Smeyers, M. and J.Van der Stock, *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts 1475-1550*, Ghent, 1996; Van Wijnsberghe, D. "Ung bon ouvrier nommé Marquet Caussin," Brussels, 2013.

Online resources: Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 206:http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/codex/5963/512; Calendoscope (IRHT, Paris): http://calendoscope.irht.cnrs.fr/application/positif?idSaint=945; K. Ottosen, "Responsories of the Latin Office of the Dead": https://www.cantusplanus.de/databases/Ottosen/search.html;Virtual exhibition "Miniatures flamandes, 1404-1482" (BnF, KBR, 2011): http://expositions.bnf.fr/flamands/index.htm

We are grateful to Gregory Clark for his assistance.

BOH 217

PARIS
1, rue Jean-Jacques Rousseau
75001 Paris
tel +33 (0)1 42 60 15 58
info@lesenluminures.com

NEW YORK
23 East 73rd Street
7th Floor, Penthouse
New York, NY 10021
tel +1 212 717 7273
newyork@lesenluminures.com

CHICAGO
980 North Michigan Ave.
Suite 1330
Chicago, IL 60611
tel +1 773 929 5986
chicago@lesenluminures.com

www.lesenluminures.com
www.textmanuscripts.com