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Minute Masterpieces
Study of a Late Fifteenth-Century
French Book of Hours (CBL WMs 89)

II of IV

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Minute Masterpieces
Study of a Late Fifteenth-Century
French Book of Hours (CBL WMs 89)

4 Vols

Vol. II: Plates and Appendices



Catherine Yvard

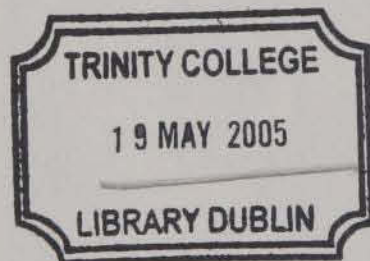
IRCHSS Government of Ireland Scholar

Supervisor: Pr. Roger Stalley

PhD thesis

Department of the History of Art, Trinity College, Dublin

2004



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Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen
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Plates



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Tours artist (Hand E)

Man by the fire; Aquarius (January)

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 1v



Plate 2

Tours artist (Hand E)

Man eating by the fire; Pisces (February)

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 Man pruning vineyard; Aries (March)
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Plate 7

Tours artist (Hand E)

Men reaping wheat; Leo (July)

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Plate 8

Tours artist (Hand E)

Men threshing wheat; Virgo (August)

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Plate 9

Tours artist (Hand E)

Man treading grapes; Libra (September)

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Plate 10

Tours artist (Hand E)

Man sowing in a ploughed field; Scorpio (October)

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Plate 11

Tours artist (Hand E)

Man knocking down acorns; Sagittarius (November)

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Plate 12

Tours artist (Hand E)

Man roasting a hog; Capricorn (December)

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 12v

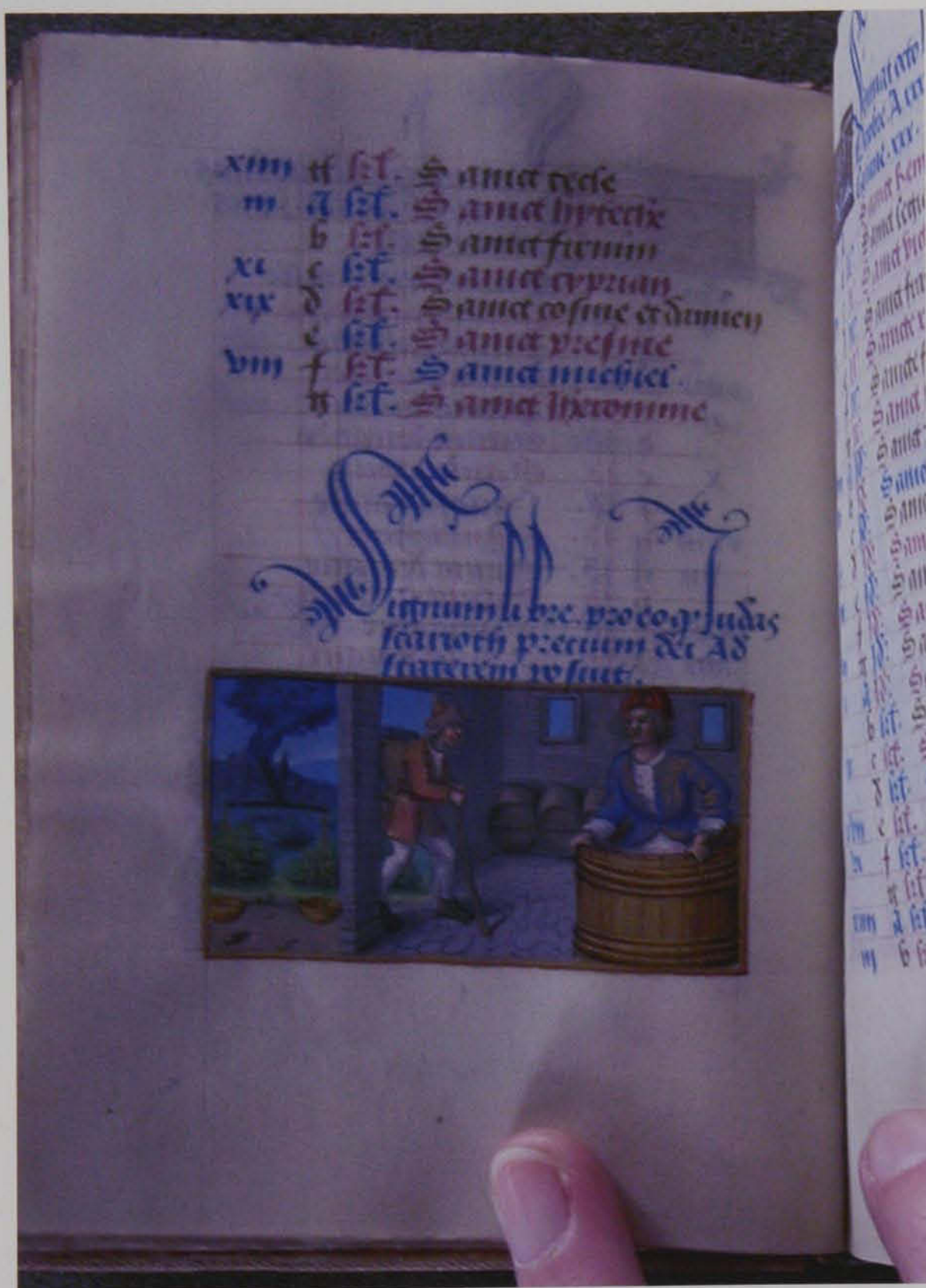


Plate 13

Tours artist (Hand E)

View of calendar layout (end of September)

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Plate 15
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Pietà
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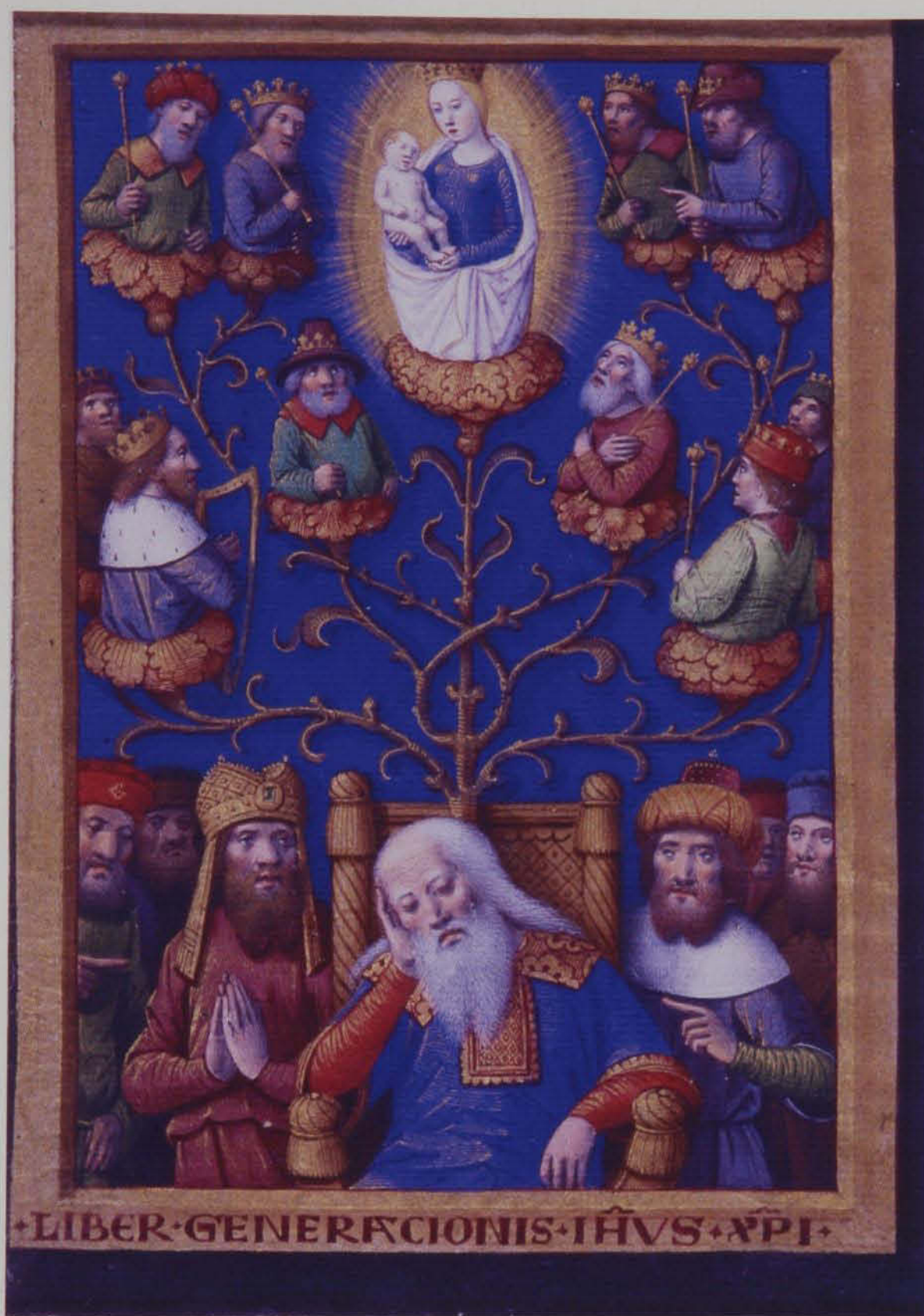


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Tree of Jesse
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Christ Taking Leave of his Mother
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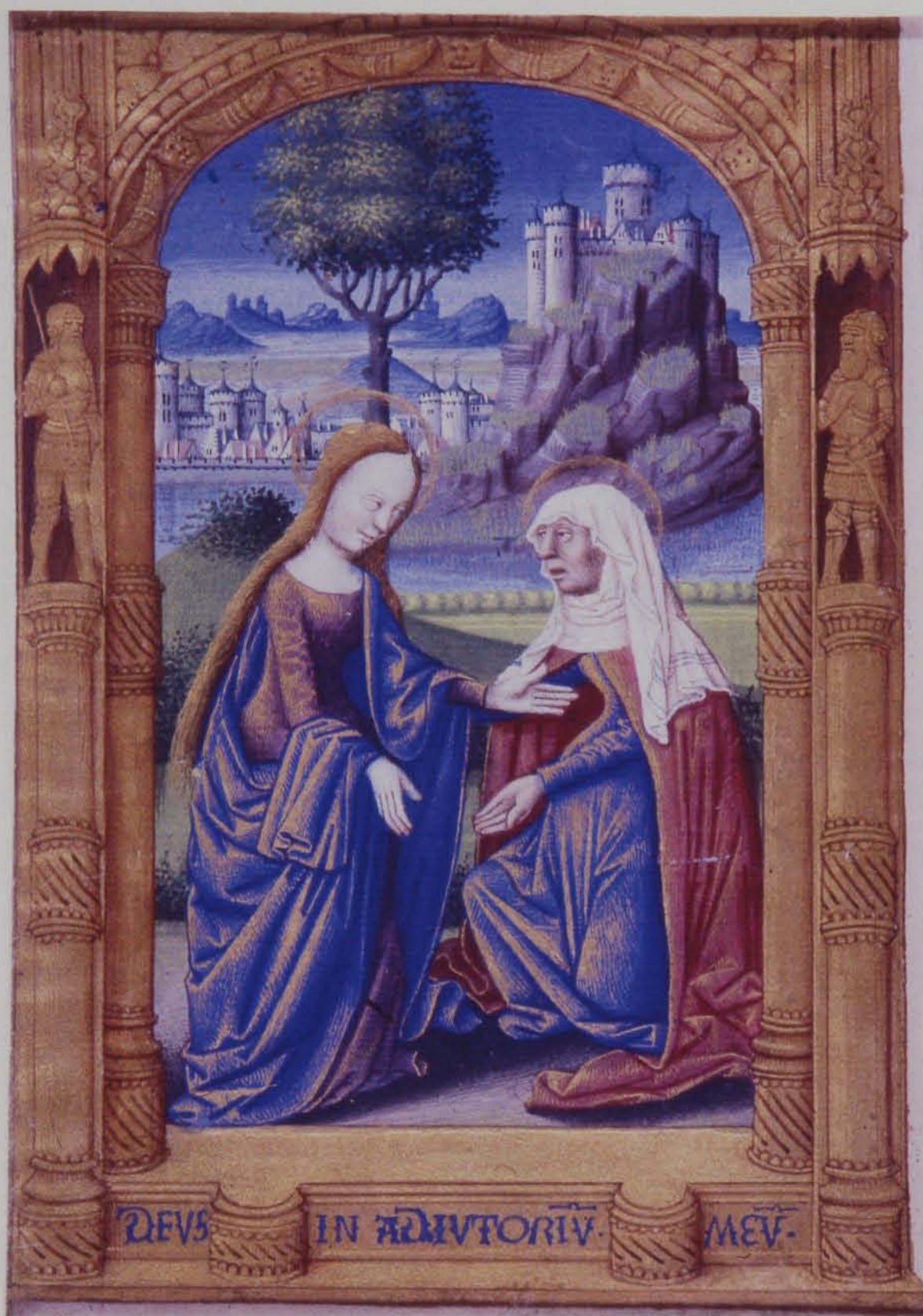


Plate 19
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Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 45



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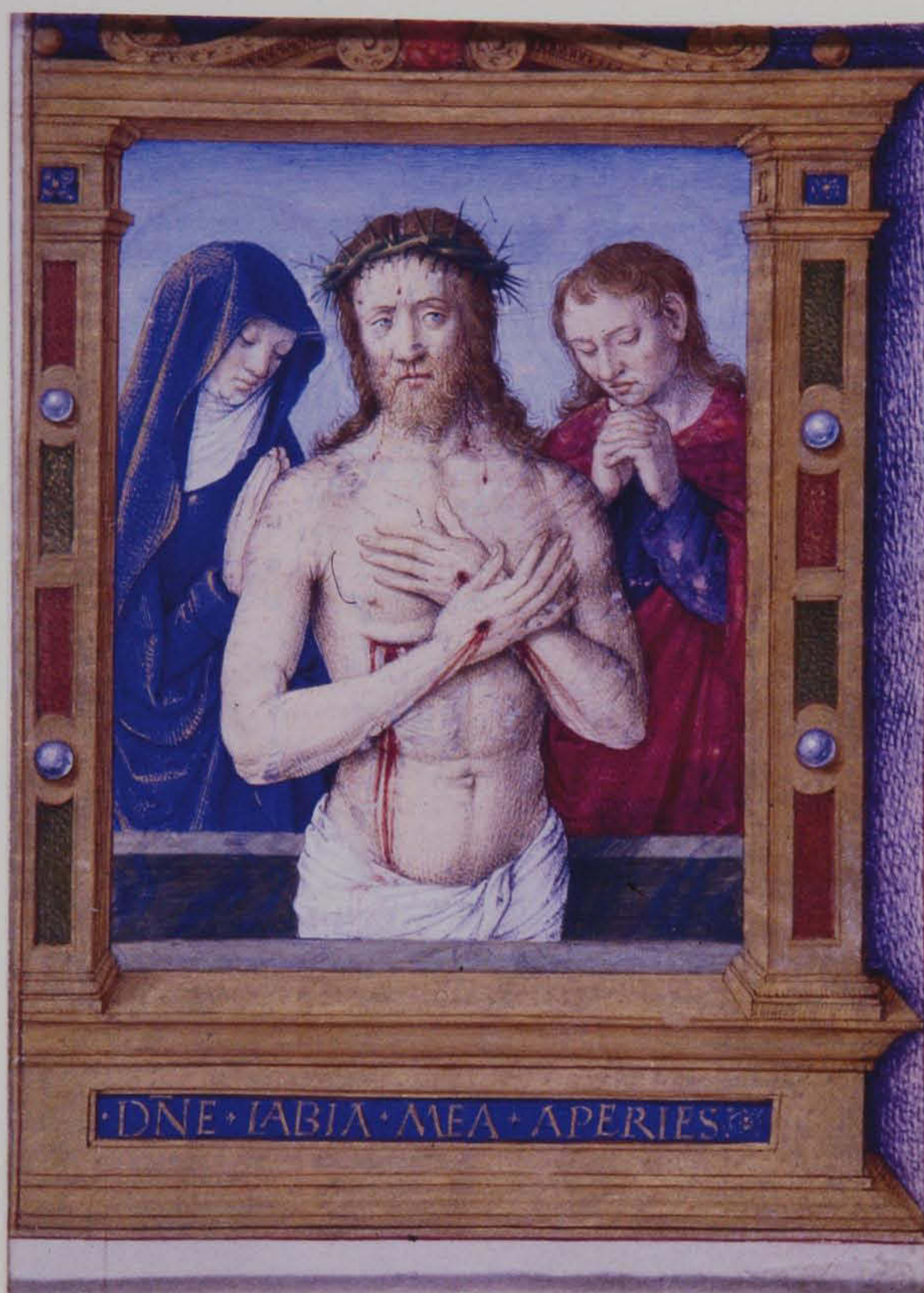


Plate 26

Follower of Jean Fouquet (Hand C)

Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John

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Plate 27
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Plate 28

Follower of Jean Fouquet (Hand C)

Deposition

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 61

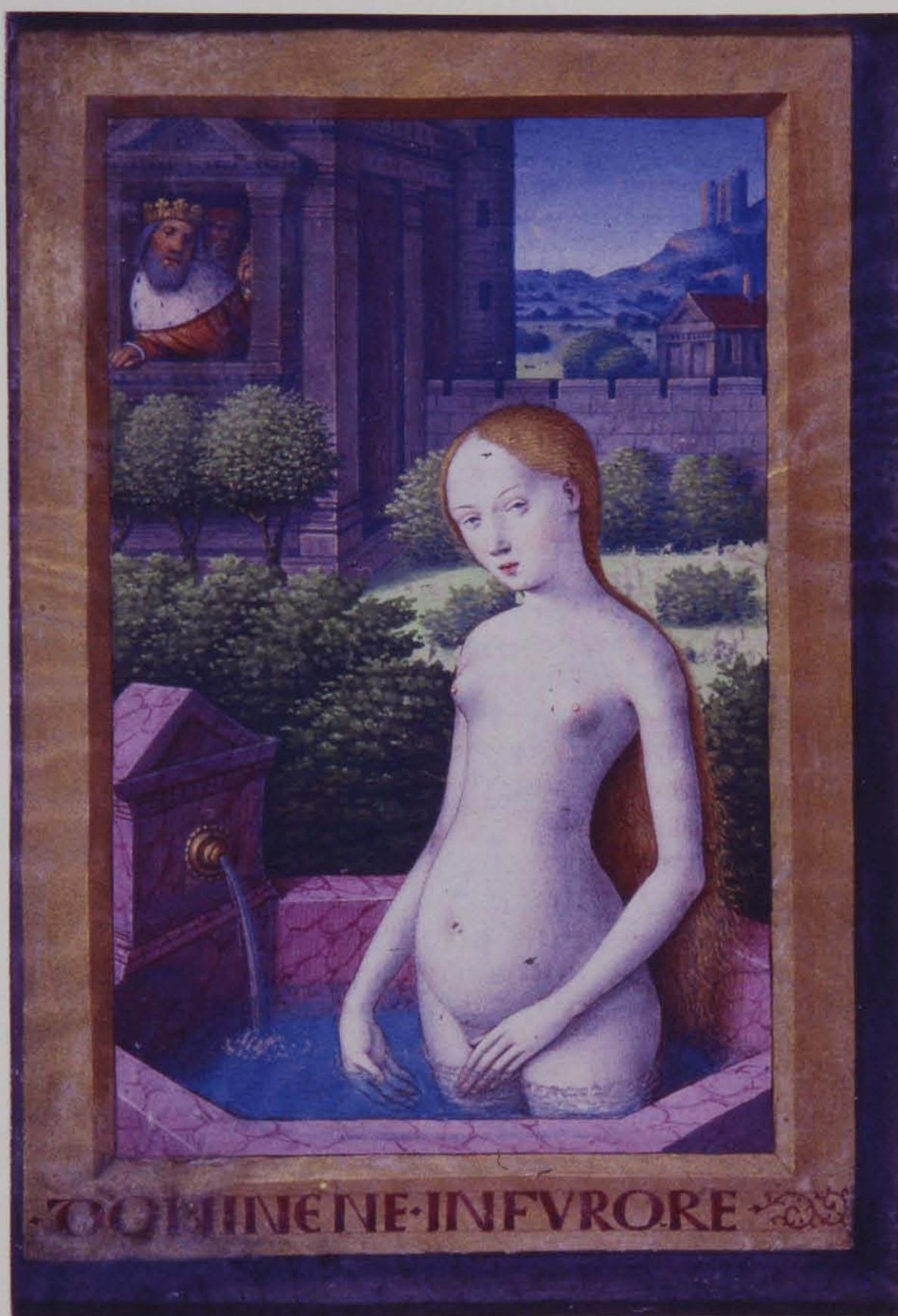


Plate 29

Jean Bourdichon (Hand B)

Bathsheba Bathing

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 65



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Master of the Echevinage de Rouen (Hand A)

Martyrdom of St Sebastian

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 100



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Master of the Echevinage de Rouen (Hand A)

St Martin and the Beggar

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 101v



Plate 38
Master of Jean Charpentier (Hand D)
Ego Sum
Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 116v

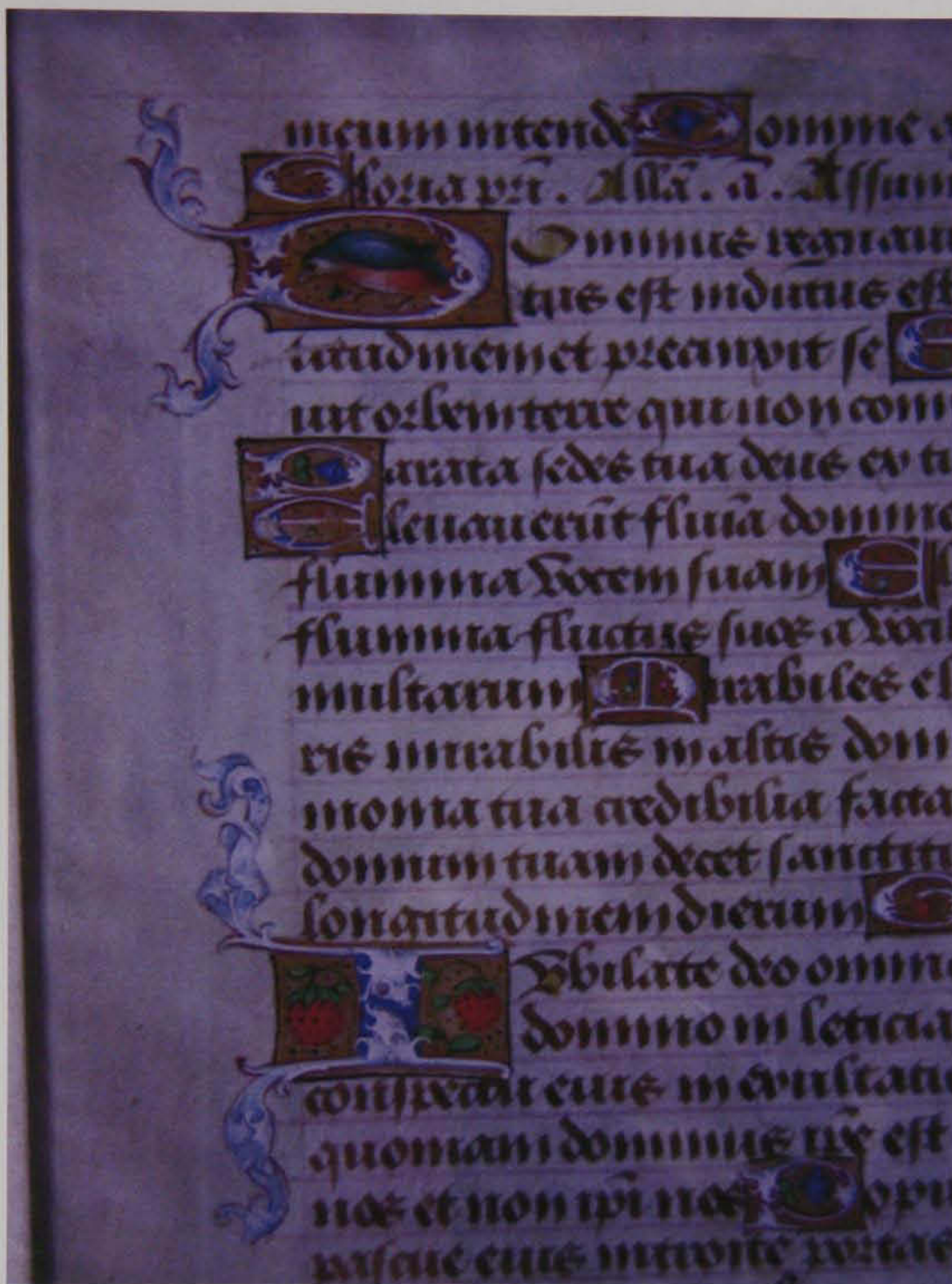


Plate 39

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen
 Decorated initials: bird, flowers and strawberries
 Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 40v



Plate 40

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen
 Decorated initials: weasel
 Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 44v

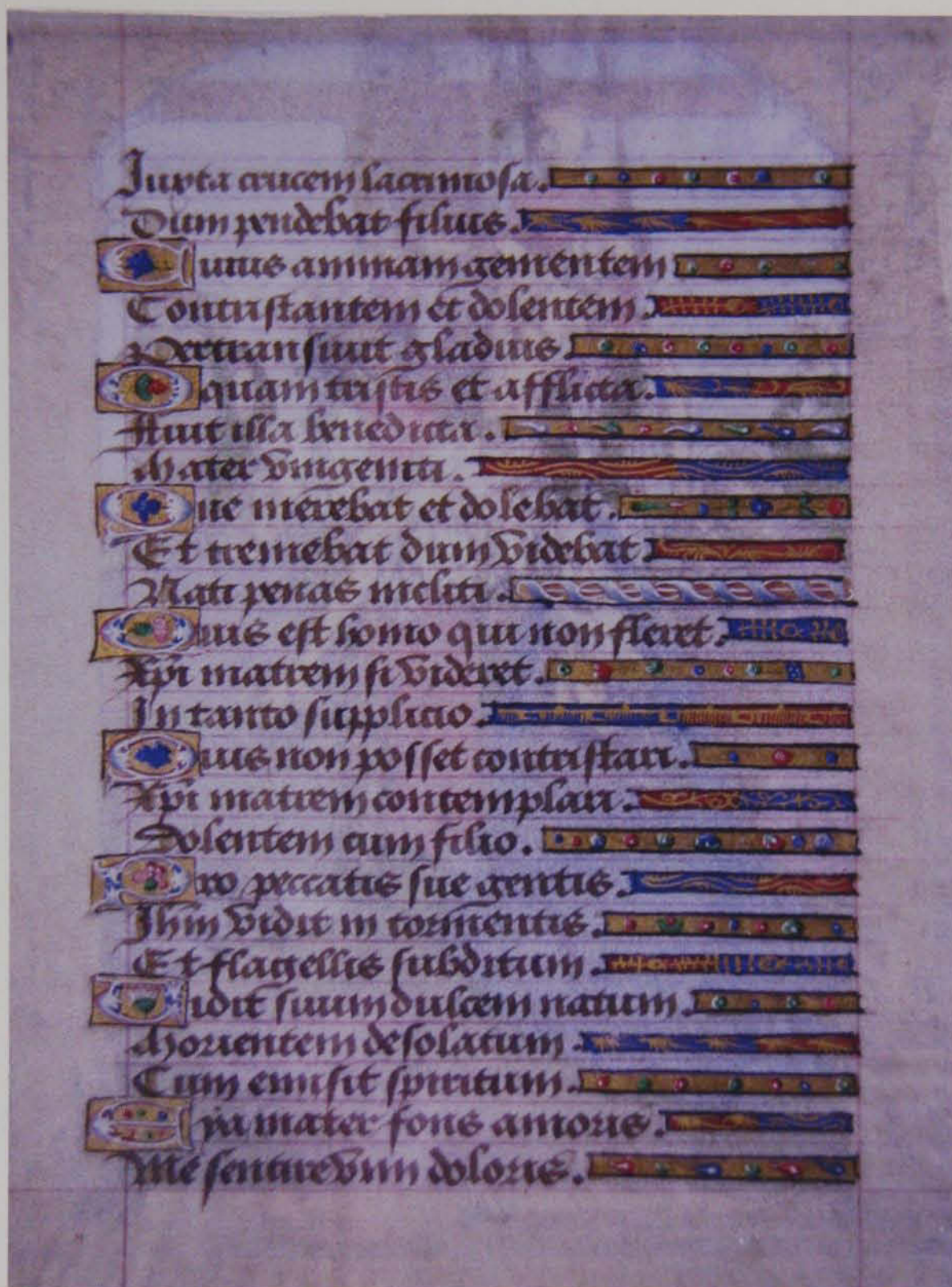


Plate 41

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Decorated initials and line fillers

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 61v

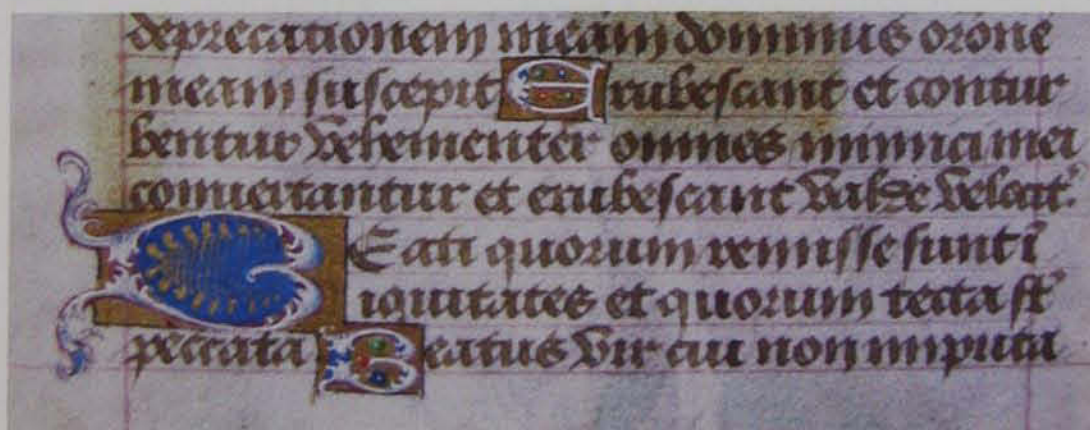


Plate 42

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Decorated initials

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 65v



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Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen
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Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 123



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Tours workshop?
Decorated initial (TYPE B)
Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 107v

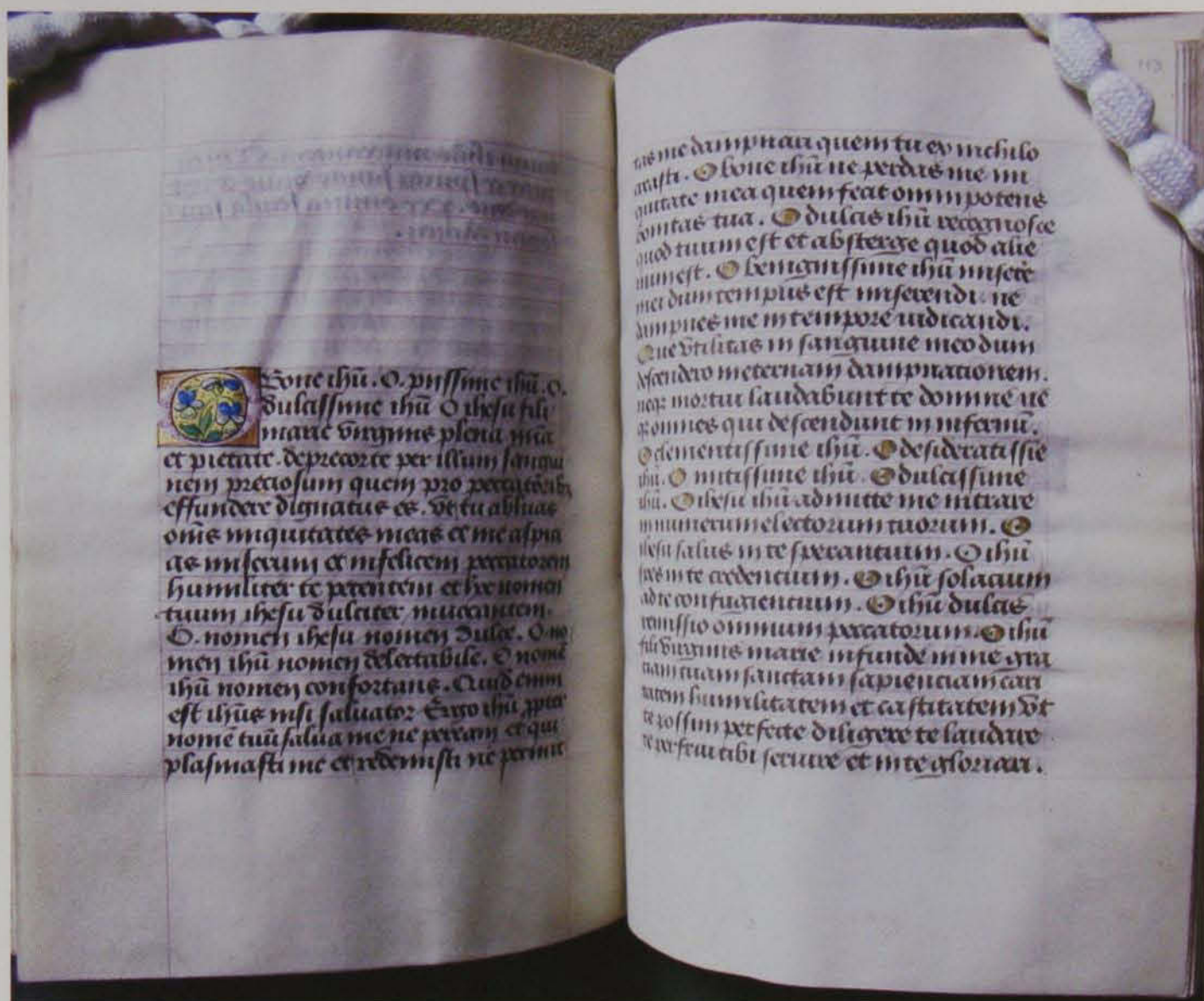


Plate 45

Tours workshop?

Decorated initials (TYPE B)

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, fols 112v-113

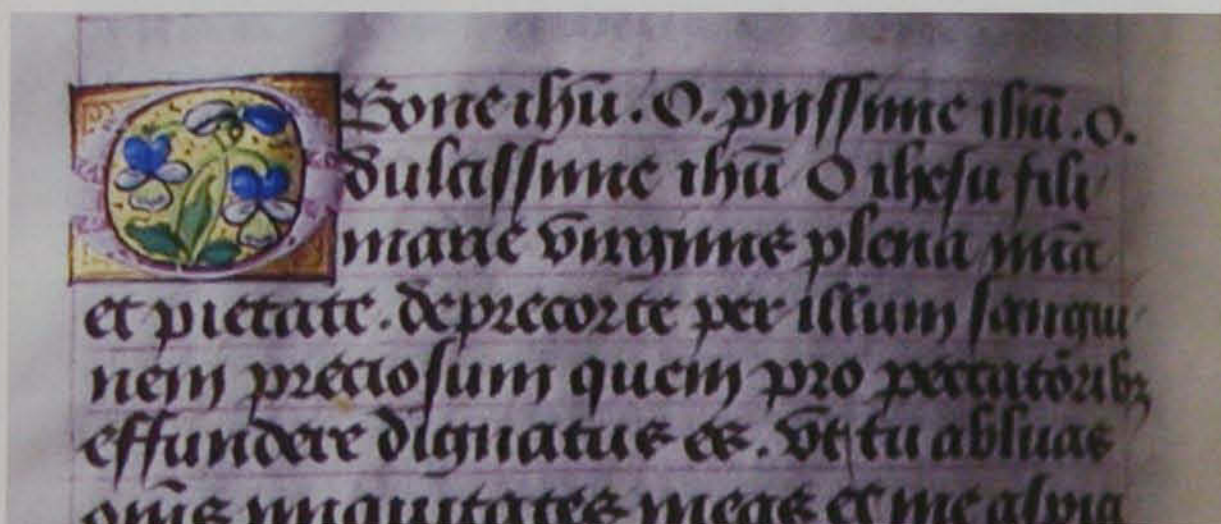


Plate 46

Tours workshop?

Decorated initial (TYPE B)

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 112v

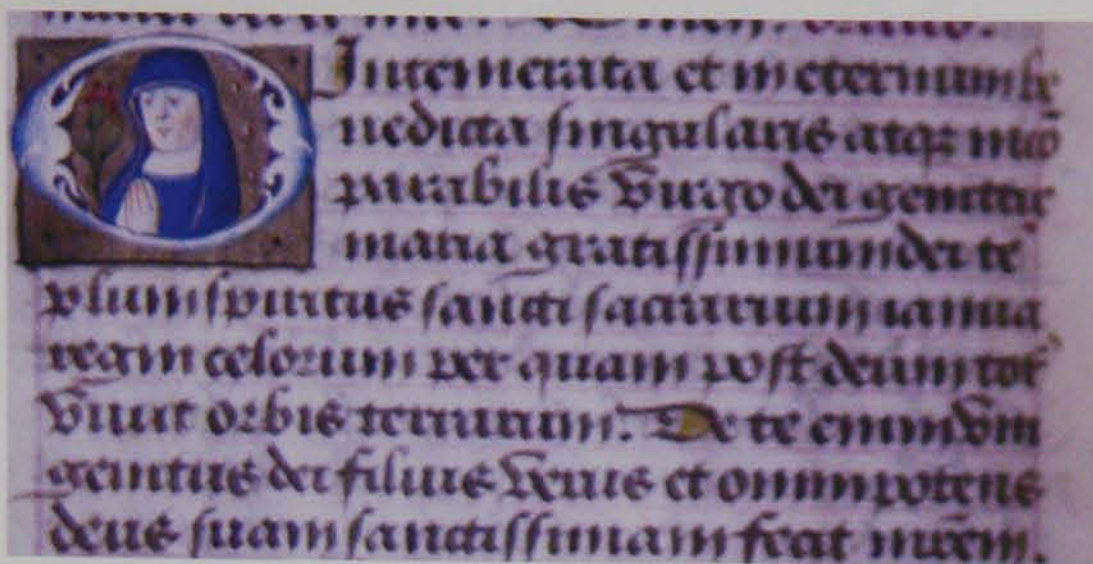


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Historiated initial: Praying Virgin

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 18v



Plate 48

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: St Joseph; decorated initials: bird and scarab

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 27



Plate 49

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Inhabited initial: head of man

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 28v

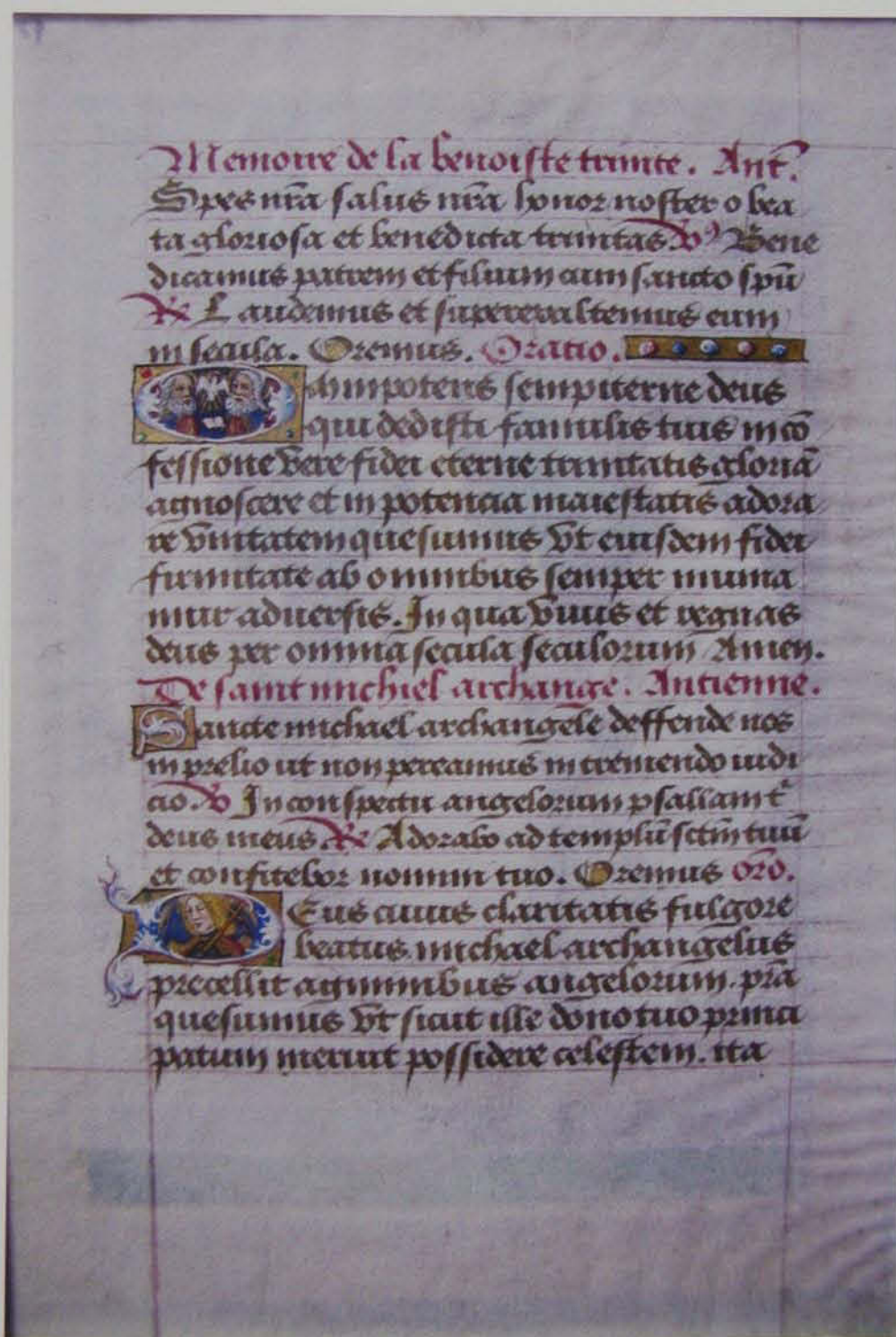


Plate 50

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initials: Trinity and St Michael

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 89v

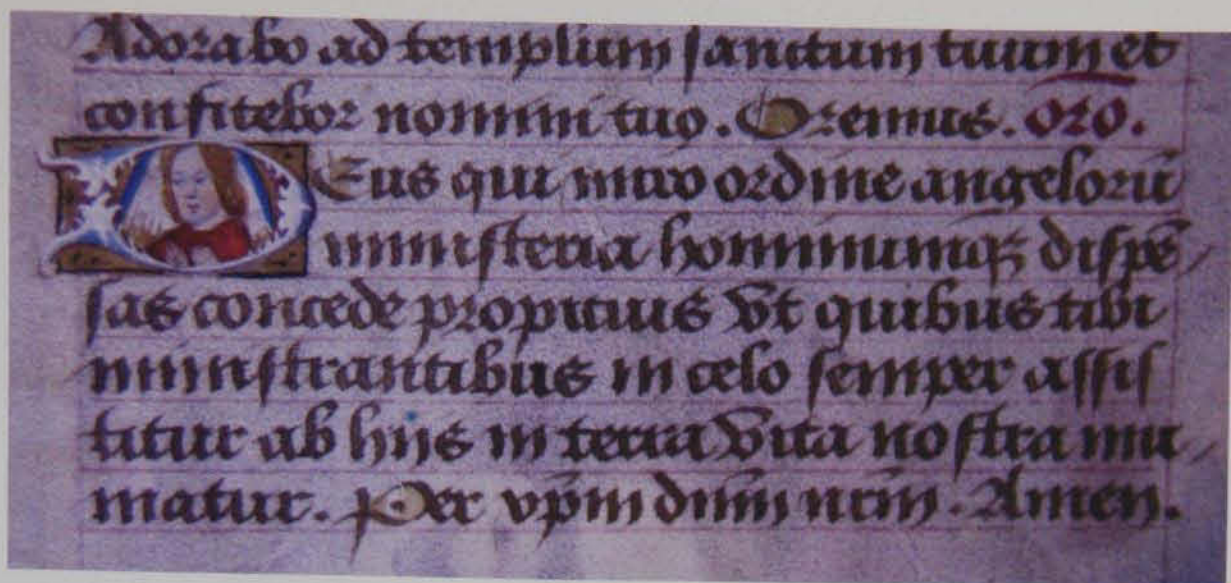


Plate 51

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: angel

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 91

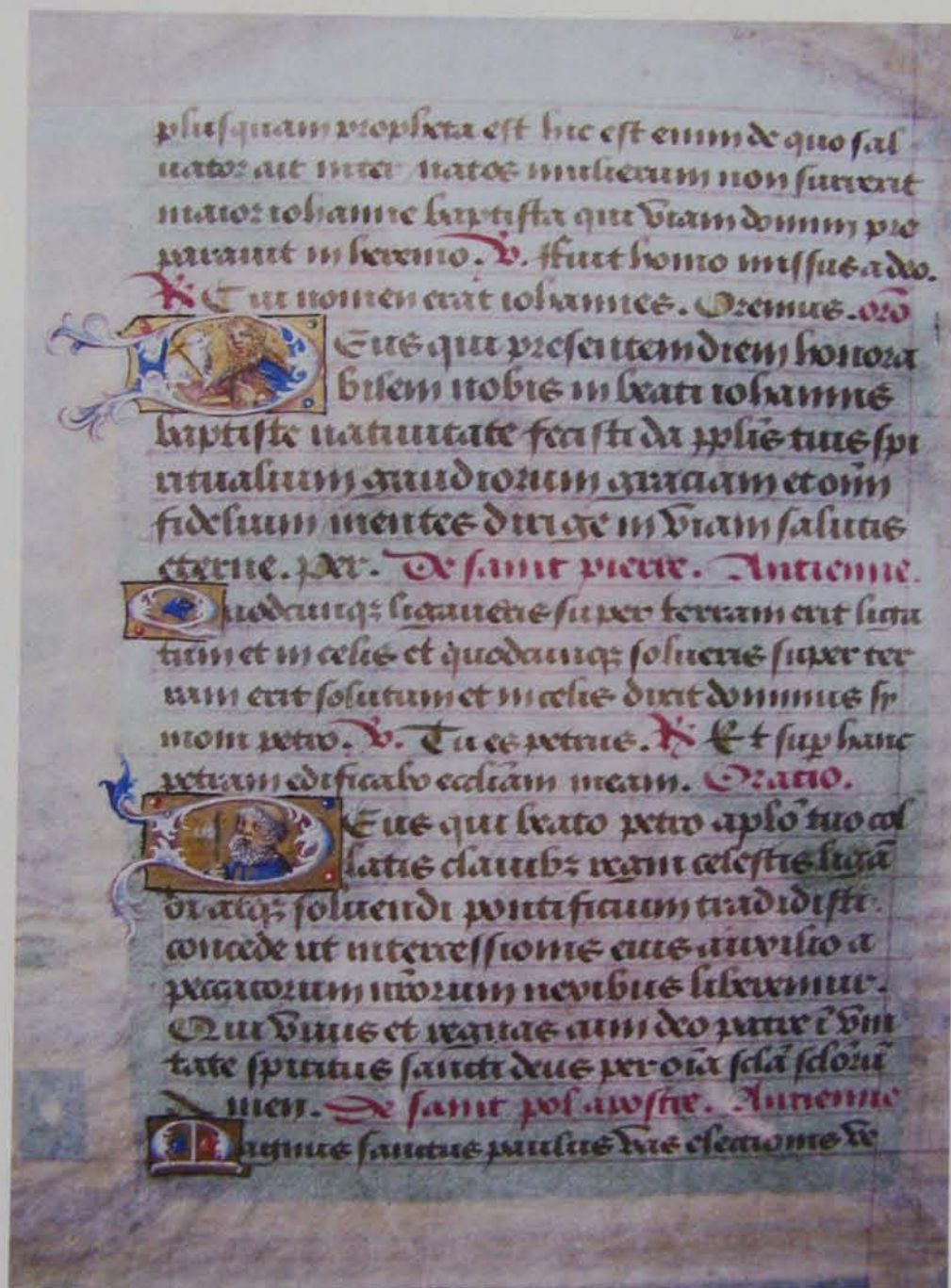


Plate 52

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initials: St John the Baptist and St Peter

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 93v



Plate 53

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: St John the Baptist

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 93v



Plate 54

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: St Paul

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 94

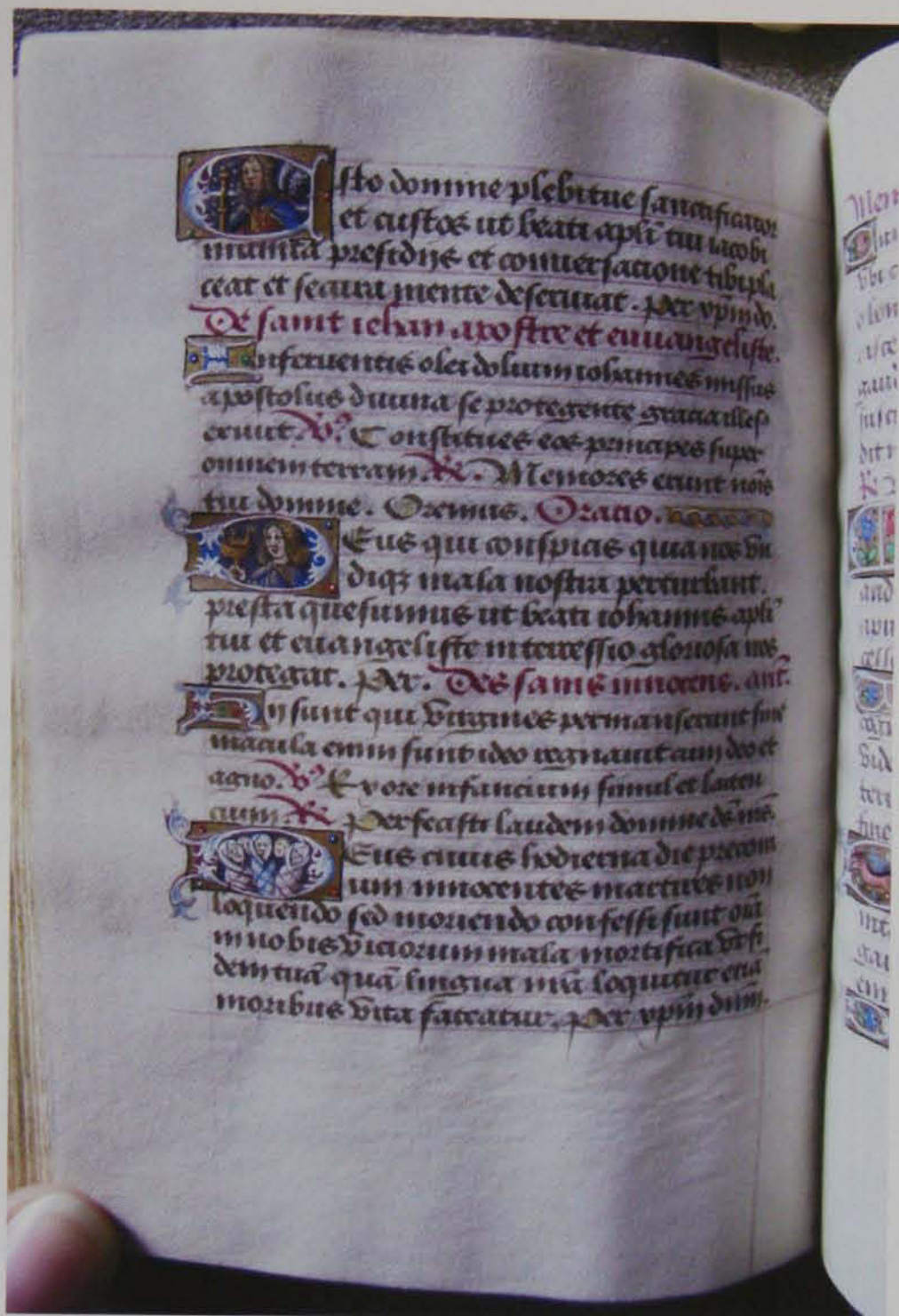


Plate 55

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen
 Historiated initials: St James the Major, St John the Evangelist,
 Holy Innocents
 Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 94v

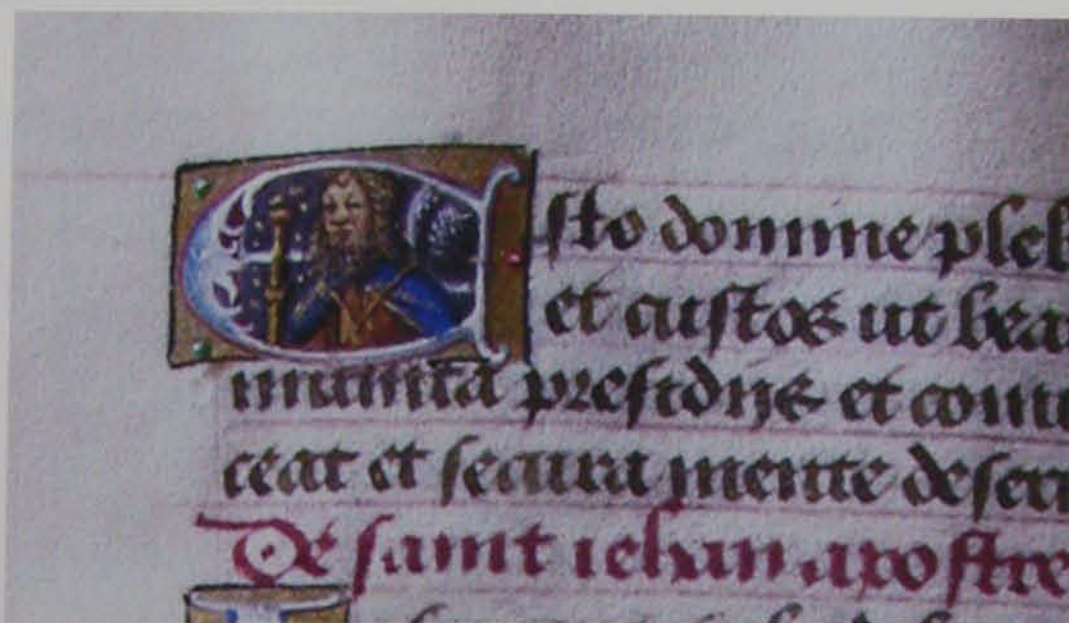


Plate 56

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen
 Historiated initial: St James the Major
 Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 94v



Plate 57

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: St John the Evangelist

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 94v



Plate 58

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: Holy Innocents

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 94v



Plate 59

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: St Thomas

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 95b

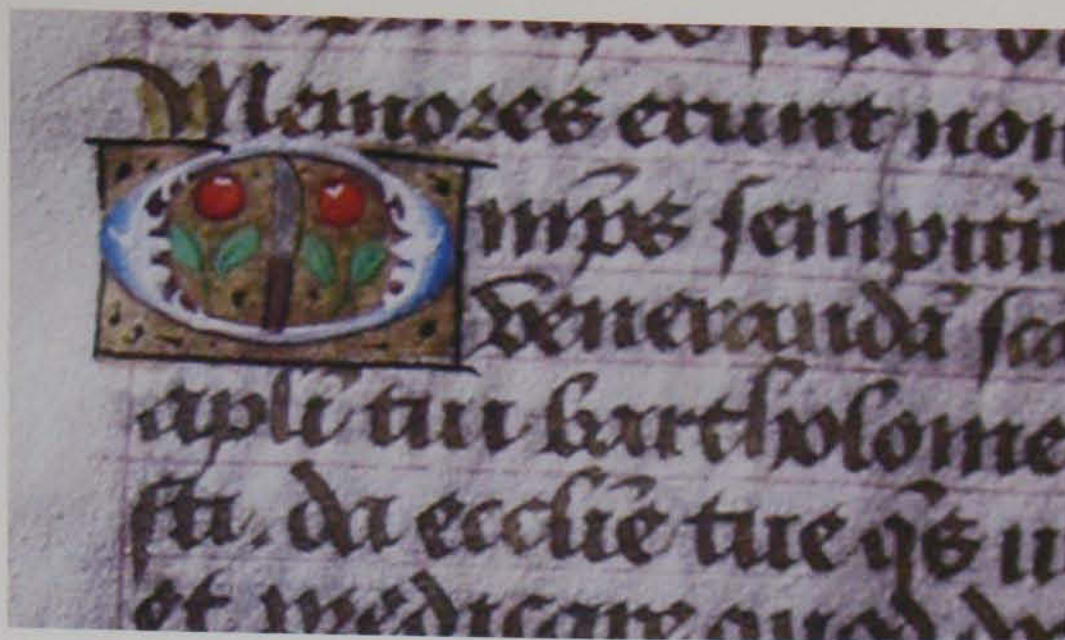


Plate 60

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen
 Historiated initial: flaying knife (for St Bartholomew)
 Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 95bv



Plate 61

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen
 Historiated initial: St Stephen
 Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 95bv

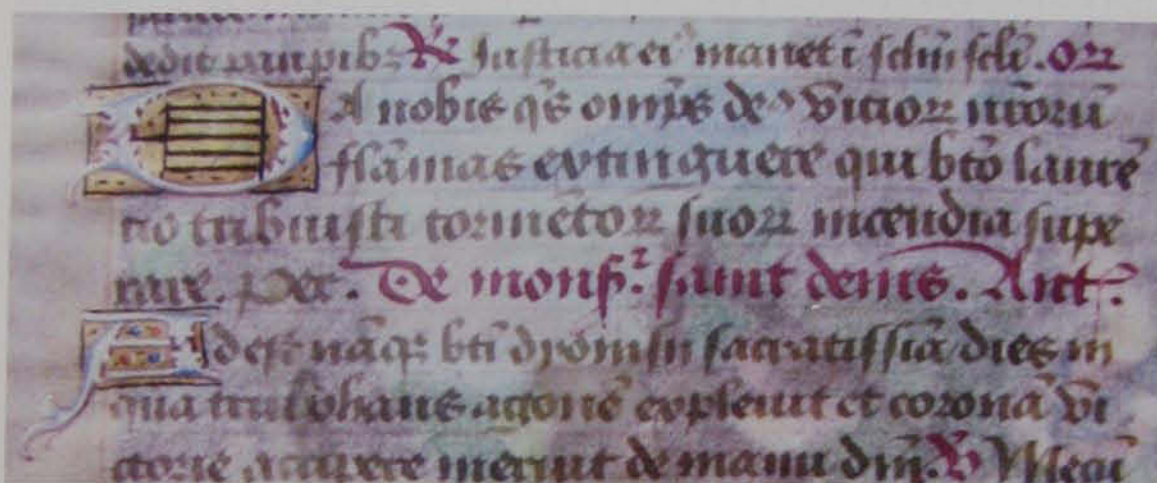


Plate 62

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen
 Historiated initial: gridiron (for St Laurence)
 Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 96

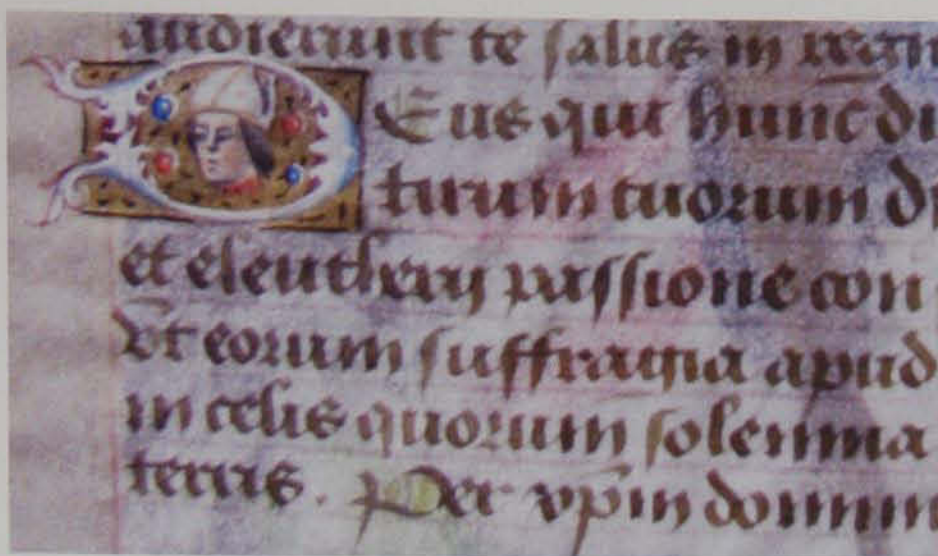


Plate 63

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: head of St Denis

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 96



Plate 64

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: St George

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 97v

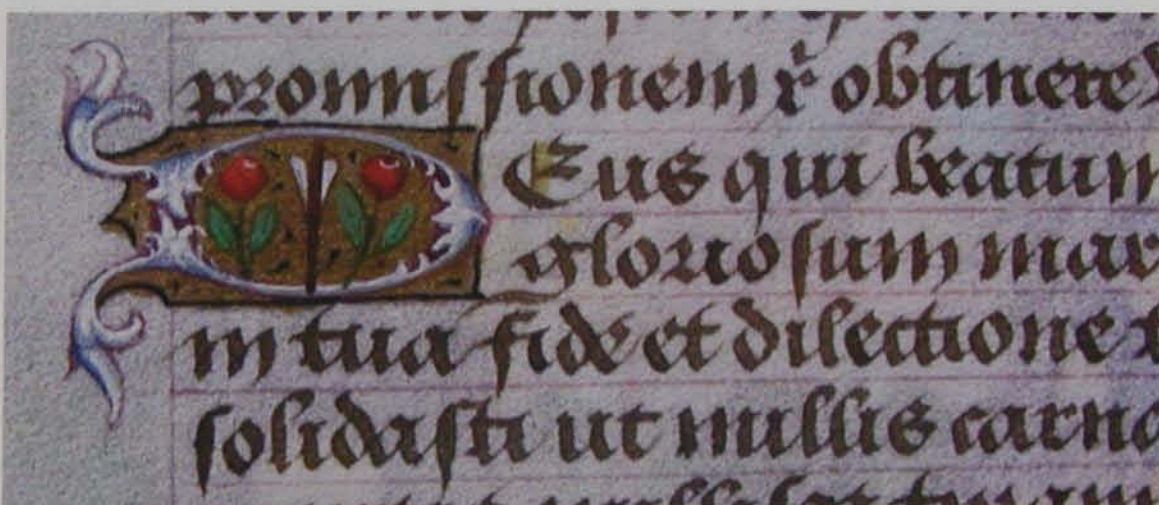


Plate 65

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: arrow (for St Sebastian)

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 100v



Plate 66

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: St Nicholas

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 101

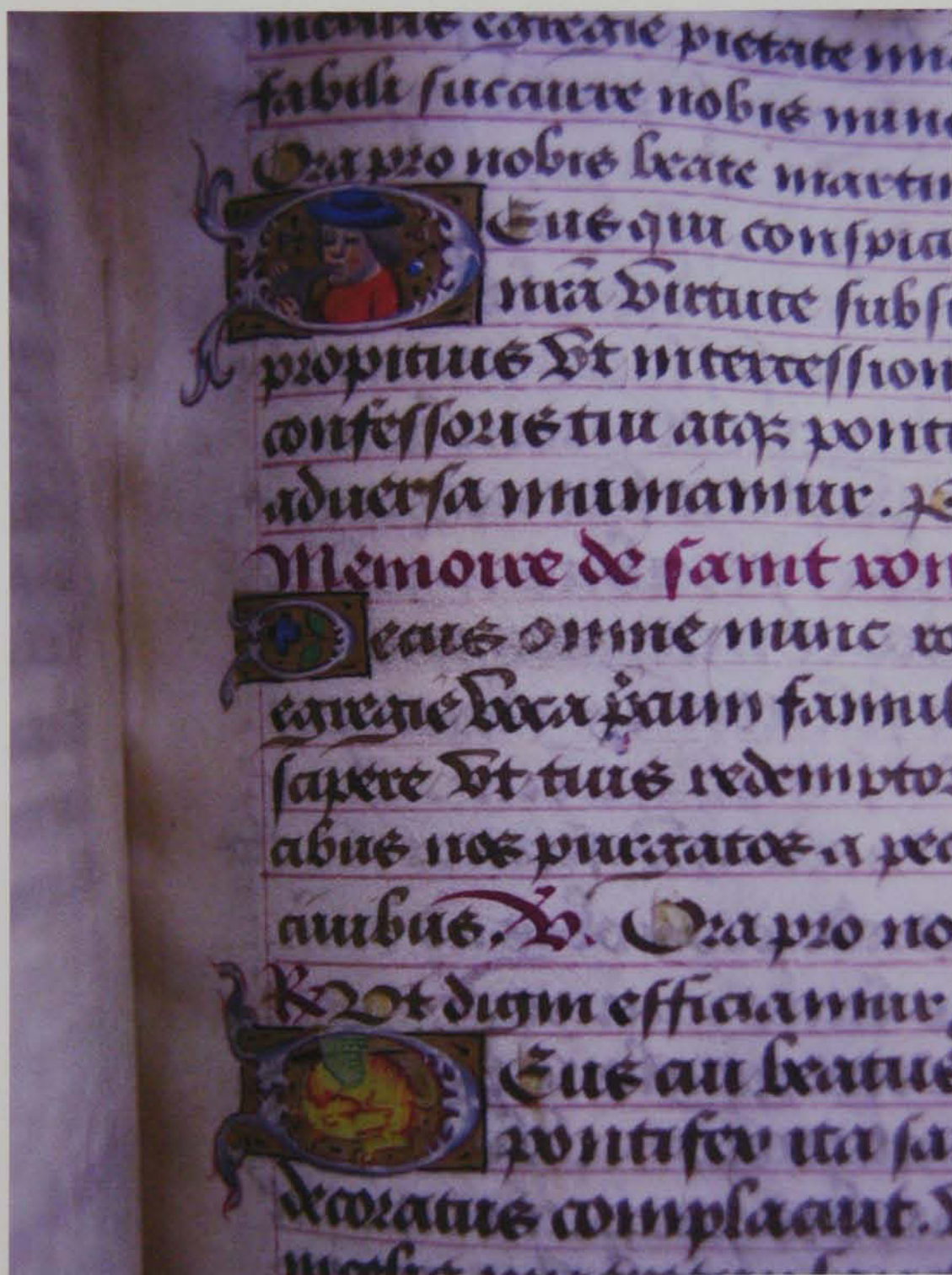


Plate 67

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initials: beggar (for St Martin) and gargouille (for Romain)

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 102



Plate 68

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: beggar (for St Martin)

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 102

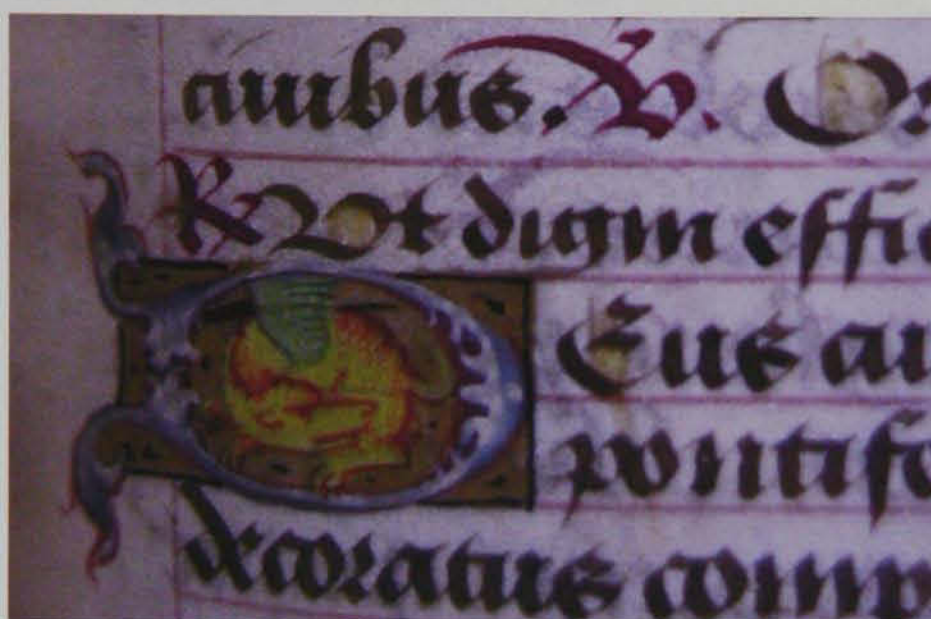


Plate 69

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initials: gargouille (for St Romain)

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 102

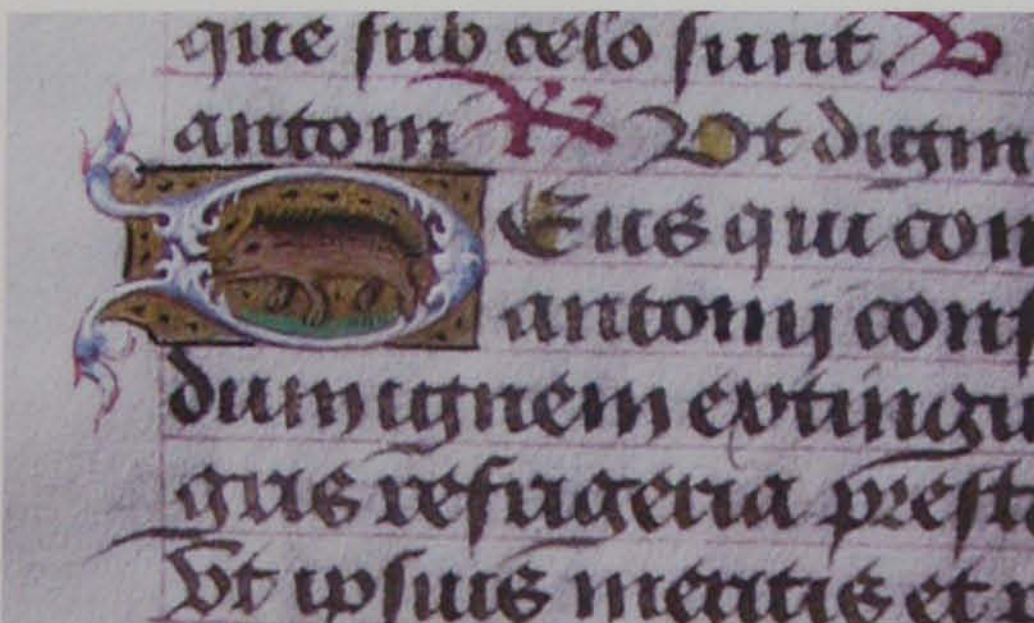


Plate 70

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Historiated initial: pig (for St Anthony)

Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 102v

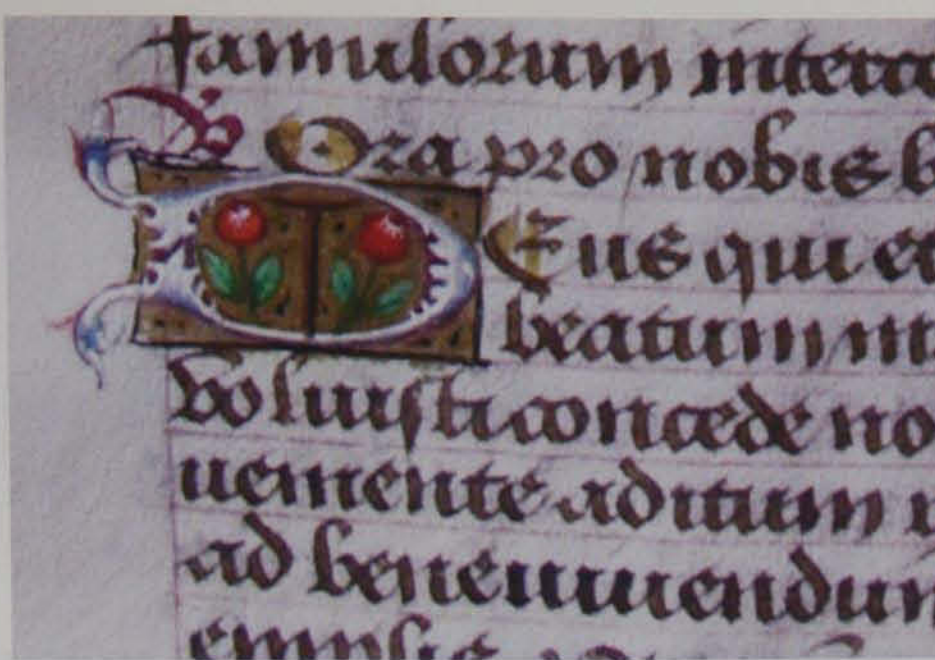


Plate 71

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen
 Historiated initial: crutch (for St Maur)
 Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 102v



Plate 72

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen
 Historiated initial: God the Father
 Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 108v



Plate 73

Workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen
 Historiated initial: Judas hanging himself
 Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89, f. 118



Plate 74
Binding: upper board
Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89



Plate 75
Binding: lower board
Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89



Plate 76
Binding: foreedge
Chester Beatty Library, WMs 89

Appendices

Appendix I.1

Influence of compositions from

the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37)

on books of hours painted by the Master of the Echevinage

and his followers

Miniatures in the <i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37)	Rouen miniatures inspired by these Flemish compositions
Trinity (f. 14)	- London, SAL, ms. 13 (<i>Playfair group</i>), f. 107v
St Michael and the Devil (f. 15v)	- Dublin, CBL, ms. 89, f. 90v - Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030, f. 103 (historiated initial, same inspiration but variation, same round shield) - Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, so-called <i>St Lô Hours</i>, f. 157 - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 103v (variation)
Martyrdom of St Andrew (f. 21)	- Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, so-called <i>St Lô Hours</i>, f. 164 (figures, but not setting)
Martyrdom of St Stephen (f. 24v)	- Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, so-called <i>St Lô Hours</i>, f. 138 - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 107
St Christopher (f. 26)	- Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 120 (setting but not figure of the saint)
Martyrdom of St Laurence (f. 31v)	- Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, so-called <i>St Lô Hours</i>, f. 154 (partially inspired) - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 121

Miniatures in the <i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37)	Rouen miniatures inspired by these Flemish compositions
St Martin and the Beggar (f. 34v)	- Dublin, CBL, ms. 89, f. 101v - Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, so-called <i>St Lô Hours</i>, f. 162 - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 123
Vision of St Hubert (f. 39v)	- Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 124
St George and the Dragon (f. 67v)	- Dublin, CBL, ms. 89, f. 96v (different setting) - Edinburgh, EUL, ms. 43, f. 43 (small) and f. 144 - Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030, f. 106 (historiated initial)
Betrayal (f. 71)	- Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, so-called <i>St Lô Hours</i>, f. 31 - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 28v
Flagellation (f. 90)	- Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, so-called <i>St Lô Hours</i>, f. 38v - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 35 (not as literal as in the Hours of St Lô)
Deposition (f. 111v)	- Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, so-called <i>St Lô Hours</i>, f. 59 - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 50v
Entombment (f. 119v)	- Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, so-called <i>St Lô Hours</i>, f. 65 - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 55v (not as literal as in the Hours of St Lô)

Note: The Trinity (f. 150), the <i>Noli me tangere</i> scene (f. 153) and the Martyrdom of St Catherine (f. 163) in the <i>St Lô Hours</i>, and the Trinity (f. 99v) and St Catherine (f. 125) in the <i>Turin Hours</i> are not inspired by the <i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i>	
Influence on element of the borders from the <i>Prayer book</i> on the borders of the manuscripts where some compositions are repeated	- Dublin, CBL, ms. 89: no borders - Edinburgh, EUL, ms. 43: influence (dragons)¹ - London, SAL, ms. 13 (Playfair group): influence (dragons) - Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030: no borders - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88: strong influence - Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, so-called <i>St Lô Hours</i>: faint influence (a few dragons)²

¹ This influence is possibly seen in other border details, but I have had access to only a limited number of black and white reproductions of this manuscript.

² I have not seen this manuscript, as it is now in a private collection, but I had access to black and white reproductions of all folios with miniatures, thanks to the precious help of Claudia Rabel. My judgement is thus based on these borders.

Appendix I.2

Impact of border motifs from

the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37)
on manuscripts painted by the Master of the Echevinage
and his followers

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Archer Archer with pointed helmet	 f. 36	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 110v (also on f. 94v, no reproduction) Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin  Above: Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 349v

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15th–early 16th century)
Battle 1 Two men jousting, mounted on rams	f. 34v	Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin Above: Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 349v

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Battle 2 Battle of hybrids	 f. 45	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen - Baltimore, WAG, W233, fols 94 and 95; no reproduction Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin  Above: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1954, f. 24v  Above: Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 326v (ca. 1503) -Paris, BNF, Lat. 8551, f. 63v (ca. 1503); no reproduction

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Battle 3 Man or hybrid fighting dragon with legs spread out showing genitalia	 f. 31v  f. 36	Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin  Above: Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 326v (also on f. 154, no reproduction)

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Bird 1	 f. 15v	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Baltimore, WAG, W. 233, f. 69v  Above: Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3231, p. 527

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15th–early 16th century)
Bird 1 (continued)		Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin  Above: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1954, f. 24v
Bird 2 Wader	 f. 29	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3231, p. 527 - Sotheby's London, 10 July 1967, lot 55, border of the Presentation to the Temple (no folio number given in sales catalogue); no reproduction

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Bird 2 (continued)		 Above: Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Var. 88, f. 143v (also on fols 44 and 107; no reproductions) Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin - Besançon, BM, ms. 136, f. 7; no reproduction - Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 211v (grisaille, mirror version) and f. 387v; no reproduction - Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1954, f. 10; no reproduction

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15th–early 16th century)
Birds 1 Pheasant attacked by eagle	 f. 26	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Baltimore, WAG, W. 233, f. 69v  Above: Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Var. 88, f. 136v (also on f. 103v; no reproduction)

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Birds 2	 f. 50v	Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin - Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 371 (mirror version); no reproduction
Dragon 1	 f. 15v	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod., Varia 88, f. 123

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Dragon 2	f. 15v	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen Above: Baltimore, WAG, W284, f. 139v Above: Brussels, Bibl. Roy. de Belgique, ms. 9053, f. 2 Above: Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3231, p. 526

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Dragon 2 (continued)		Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin - Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 326v, f. 387v; no reproduction - Paris, BNF, Lat. 8551, f. 63v; no reproduction Master of Y.144¹ - Rouen, BM, ms. Y.144, f. 7 (remotely inspired); no reproduction
Dragon 3	 f. 18	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 403 (variation)

¹ See Delaunay, 1991, p. 100.

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Dragon 3 (continued)		Above: Brussels, Bibl. Roy. de Belgique, ms. 9053, f. 2 Above: Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, so-called <i>St Lô Hours</i>, f. 162

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Dragon 3 (end)	 Above: Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 143v (also on f. 125 with wings; no reproduction)  Above: Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3231, p. 527 Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin - Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 349v; no reproduction. - Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1954, f. 23v ; no reproduction Motif found in Parisian workshop (late 15th century) - Dublin, TCD, ms. 102 (Irish Cat. 14), f. 176 recto and verso; no reproduction	

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15th–early 16th century)
Dragon 4	 f. 15v	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Baltimore. WAG. W. 233. f. 69v Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin - Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1954, f. 11, winged version on f. 16; no reproduction

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Dragon 5	 f. 19  f. 33	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 458  Above: Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 28v Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin - Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 154; no reproduction - Paris, BNF, Lat. 8551, f. 63v; no reproduction - Besançon, BM, ms. 136, f. 7; no reproduction

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Dragon 6	 f. 23v  f. 49v	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Var. 88, f. 127 (also on f. 115, no reproduction)  Above: Brussels, Bibl. Roy. de Belgique, ms. 9053, f. 2

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15th–early 16th century)
Dragon 6 (continued)	 Above: Baltimore, WAG, W. 233, f. 69v Robert Boyvin - Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 416, f. 1, no reproduction A variation of this motif seems to have reached the workshop of Jean Colombe in Bourges, ca. 1485:  Above: <i>Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry</i>, Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 65, f. 138v Motif found in Parisian workshop, ca. 1480-90: - Dublin, TCD, ms. 102 (Irish Cat. 14), f. 49 recto and verso, no reproduction	

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15th–early 16th century)
Dragon 7	 f. 31v	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Brussels, Bibl. Roy. de Belgique, ms. 9052, f. 2  Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596, f. 2 - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Varia 88, f. 121; no reproduction Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin - Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 326v (similar but tail down); no reproduction

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Dragon 8	 f. 31v	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3231, p. 527  Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596, f. 5 (variation)

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Dragon 8 (continued)		 Above: Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 136v (also on f. 103v, no reproduction)

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Dragon 9 Dragon with beak	 f. 33	Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin - Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 349v; no reproduction - Paris, BNF, Lat. 8551, f. 63v; no reproduction Motif found in Parisian workshop, ca. 1480-90:  Above: Dublin, TCD, ms. 102 (Irish Cat. 14), f. 2v

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Dragon 10	f. 49v	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen - Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 108 (similar but mirror version), also on p. 126, etc...; no reproduction - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 112v; no reproduction Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin Above: Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 387v (also on f. 326v; no reproduction) - Paris, BNF, Lat. 8551, f. 63v; no reproduction - Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1954, f. 11; no reproduction

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15th–early 16th century)
Dragon 11	 f. 24v	Follower of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen: Playfair group, ca. 1500  Above: London, SAL, ms. 13, f. 81v (also on other folios)  Above: London, SAL, ms. 13, f. 57, on blue ground

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15th–early 16th century)
Dragon and bird Dragon attacking a bird	 f. 38	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Baltimore, WAG, W. 233, f. 69v
Frog and bird Frog and wader by a pond	 f. 21	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Var. 88, f. 44: Frog and flying wader, but not very close connection; no reproduction  Above: Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3231, p. 527

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Frog and bird (continued)		Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin  Above: Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 371 - Besançon, BM, ms. 136, f. 7; no reproduction - Paris, BNF, Lat. 8551, f. 63v; no reproduction
Hunt Two dogs attacking a stag	 f. 50v	Robert Boyvin  Above: Baltimore, WAG, W450, f. 16 (mirror version)

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Hunter 1 Man blowing horn	 f. 26	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596, f. 86
Hunter 2 Man with hunting horn and right arm up	 f. 39v	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Var. 88, f. 124

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Hybrid 1 Hybrid archer aiming back at winged dragon, in Sagittarius position	 f. 14	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen - Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 192 (hybrid archer in same position, but with bare chest); no reproduction
Hybrid 2 Winged hybrid aiming with bow and arrow	 f. 30v	Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin  Above: Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 349v

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Hybrid 3 Hybrid grotesque aiming at winged dragon with crossbow	 f. 33	Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin  Above: Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 211v (similar figure but with four legs)
Hybrid 4 Man with face in profile on his backside, with broom and hitting drum with spoon	 f. 45	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Var. 88, f. 109v; no reproduction

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Man brandishing scimitar 1	 f. 33	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Rouen, BM, ms. 385 (A.11), f. 150
Man brandishing scimitar 2	 f. 14	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596, f. 5 (variation)

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15 th –early 16 th century)
Monkey 1 Seated monkey with grey hair	 f. 15v	Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin - Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 154 (exactly same position); no reproduction
Monkey 2 Monkey playing viola	 f. 41	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen  Above: Brussels, Bibl. Roy. de Belgique, ms. 9052, f. 2 - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Var. 88, f. 74 (no hood and different position of the legs); no reproduction

Border motif	<i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Flanders, 1469-71; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37): borders by Lievin van Lathem	Rouennais manuscripts (late 15th–early 16th century)
Monster (appears in the miniature of St Michael and the Devil in the <i>Prayer book</i> but is reused as a border motif)	f. 15v	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen - Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 159 (as border motif); no reproduction

Appendix I.3

**Typical Rouennais border motifs
used in the late 15th-early 16th century**

Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15 th -early 16 th century)
Butterfly Red admiral butterfly flat on the page	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen - Ampleforth 275, p. 53 - Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 485 - Geneva, Bibl. publ. et univ., fr. 160, f. 82 - Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562, f. 65  Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596, f. 5 - Sotheby's London, 6 July 2000, Ritman sale, lot 39, f. 34v - Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, f. 55v Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin - Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 349v

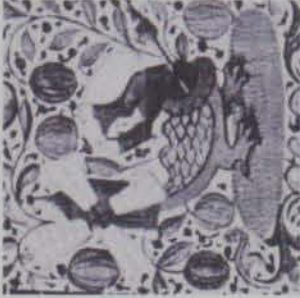
Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15 th -early 16 th century)
Eagle and doe Eagle picking neck of a doe lying on the ground	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 632  Above: Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Var. 88, f. 123
Fantastic creature Fantastic colourful creature with tusks and trump	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Rawl. Lit. e.17, f. 69 - Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562, f. 47
Flower pot Pot or vase with flowers	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop Baltimore, WAG, W284; New York, PML M.457, see f. 85v; Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562; Paris, BNF, Fr. 284; Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37... Lesser quality: Tenschert, XLV, Cat. 16...

Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15 th -early 16 th century)
Fox and barnyard fowls Hooded fox with injured leg in bandages holding a brown bowl. Before him are a duck, a hen and a cockerel.¹	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Ampleforth Abbey, ms. 275, p. 263 - Durham, Ushaw College, ms. 20, f. 92 (fox is at a pulpit) - Oxford, Bodleian, Rawl. Liturg. e.17, f. 58v - Paris, Giraud Badin 1986, f. 62
Griffin Half-eagle, half-lion	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop  Above: Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 458 - Geneva, Bibl. pub. et univ., fr. 160, f. 150 (attacked by man brandishing a club) - Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Rawl. Liturg. e.17, f. 37v - Paris, Giraud Badin 1986, f. 97 - Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 39v

¹ Variation on the cowled fox preaching to the barnyard fowls found for ex. in the so-called *Lawrence Hours*, for the use of Cambrai (Pennsylvania, Bryn Mawr, Bryn Mawr College Library, ms. 24, f. 21).

Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15 th -early 16 th century)
Hybrid A Hybrid holding a stick and with pot hanging from his tail	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Ampleforth Abbey, ms. 275, p. 53 - Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562, f. 18v  Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 28, f. 2 - Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 118v  Above: Waddesdon Manor, ms. 12, f. 71
Hybrid B Hybrid on all fours with feet on wheels and windmill on his back²	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Paris, BNF, Fr. 2629, f. 270 - Paris, BNF, Fr. 20124, f. 154

² Motif mentioned by Rabel, 1984, p. 75.

Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15 th -early 16 th century)
Hybrid C Hybrid (or woman) carrying bag of flour³	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop  Above: Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 152v (addition by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen in <i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i>) - Paris, BNF, Fr. 20124, f. 202  Above: Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 165 Playfair Group Also used in <i>Playfair</i> type calendars for October (see London, V&A, ms. L.475-1918, f. 10), but woman carrying the bag rather than hybrid

³ Motif mentioned by Rabel, 1984, p. 75.

Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15 th -early 16 th century)
Hybrid D Hybrid with lion lower half and tail and holding two crutches with his hands, human bust, bearded	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 44 - Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 118v, f. 134 (winged) - Waddesdon Manor, ms. 12, f. 13 (clothed bust of animal)
Lady Lady with unicorn	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop  Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596, f. 5  Above: Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Var. 88, f. 13 Unicorn only: - Baltimore, WAG, W241, f. 57 (dipping horn in pool) - New York, PML, M.1093, f. 142

Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15th-early 16th century)
Man on bear Man mounted on bear, holds a club and turns his head back	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Ampleforth, ms. 275, p. 155  Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 28, f. 2 - Paris, BNF, Fr. 6183, f. 10 - Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 147
Man and dancing dog Man seated on the floor playing the flute and dog dancing in front of him on his hind legs	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Durham, Ushaw College, ms. 20, f. 85 - New York, PML, M.167, f.13 (crude version) - Paris, Giraud Badin 1986, f. 126
Lion Lion-like creature with grey mane, holding stones	 Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596, f. 2 - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 55

Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15 th -early 16 th century)
Mermaid Mermaid combing her hair, and holding mirror beside fountain	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Durham, Ushaw College, ms. 20, f. 76 - New York, PML, M.167, f. 29 - Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69, f. 25 No fountain: Above: Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 458 (also on f. 594, lesser quality) Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 28, f. 2

Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15 th -early 16 th century)
Mermaid (continued)	 Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 129, f. 1  Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596, f. 2 - Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 143 - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Var. 88, f. 20v Hexagonal fountain only: - Baltimore, WAG, W233, f. 54v - New York, PML, M.1093, f. 12 - Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Douce 253, f. 28 - Waddesdon Manor, ms. 12, f. 27

Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15 th -early 16 th century)
Monkey A Monkey holding acanthus, looking back	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop  Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596, f. 2  Above: Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 44

Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15 th -early 16 th century)
Monkey B Monkey seated on a snail, reading	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - New York, PML, M.167, f. 78 Jean Serpin/Robert Boyvin  Above: Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 349v
Pears Green pears	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 192...; Paris, BNF, Fr.2629, see f. 300; Fr. 15459, see f. 1; Fr. 20124, see f. 259 for ex; Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69 (pears in grisaille as on f. 31v)...; Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, see f. 13, 22...; Turin, Bibl. Reg. Cod. Var. 88, f. 28v... Playfair Group - London, SAL, ms. 13
Putto Putto mounted on black pig with shield, brandishing a club	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Durham, Ushaw College, ms. 20, f. 214 - New York, PML, M.167, f. 56

Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15 th -early 16 th century)
Tigress Tigress looking at herself in a bowl of water-mirror⁴	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 594 - Geneva, Bibl. pub. et univ., fr. 160, fols 1, 4v, 80 (with inscription <i>h/gre</i>) - Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 143 - Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562, f. 21 - Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Var. 88, f. 20v
Wild man A Wild man brandishing a club behind his head with both hands to hit bear	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Rawl. Liturg. e.17, f. 69 - Paris, Giraud Badin 1986, f. 27 - Grenoble, BM, ms. 1012 Res., f. 94 (mediocre Rouennais workshop, variation: wild man about to hit cow- like creature)

⁴ Motif mentioned by Rabel, 1984, p. 75.

Motif	Rouen Manuscripts (late 15 th -early 16 th century)
Wild man B Wild man barefoot mounted on strange cow, holding shield and brandishing club above his head	Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and workshop - Ampleforth 275, p. 197  Above: Paris, BNF, Fr. 28, f. 2 - Paris, BNF, Fr. 2629, f. 300 - Paris, BNF, Fr. 6183, f. 10  Above: Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 22

Appendix II

Transcription of texts in WMs 89

II.1 Localisation

A. Calendar

Feasts are entered in blue in the calendar (bold), the rest of the entries alternates dark red and brown.

Jenuier

- 1 **a la circoncision**
- 2 b oct saint estienne
- 3 c octaves saint jehan
- 4 d octaves des innocens
- 5 e saint symeon
- 6 **f la thiephaine**
- 7 g saint frambout
- 8 A saint lucien
- 9 b saint paul hermite
- 10 c saint guillaume
- 11 d saint sauveur
- 12 e saint satir
- 13 f saint hylaie
- 14 g saint felix
- 15 A saint mor, s bon
- 16 b saint marcel
- 17 c saint soupplice
- 18 d saint price
- 19 e saint lomer
- 20 **f s fabien et sebastien**
- 21 g sainte agnes
- 22 **a saint Vincent**
- 23 b sainte esmerance
- 24 c sainte babile?
- 25 **d saint paul**
- 26 e saint policarpe
- 27 f saint julien
- 28 g sainte agnes
- 29 a saint paulin
- 30 b sainte beatrix
- 31 c saint mectren

Feurier

- 1 d sainte bride
- 2 e **la chandeleur**
- 3 f saint blaise
- 4 g saint avertin
- 5 a sainte aguathe
- 6 b saint amant
- 7 c sainte elaine
- 8 d saint salomon

- 9 e saint aubert
- 10 f sainte scolace
- 11 g saint desier
- 12 a sainte Eulalie
- 13 b saint luc
- 14 c saint valentin
- 15 d saint marcel
- 16 e sainte iulienne
- 17 f saint donat
- 18 g saint Symeon
- 19 a sainte susane
- 20 b s eleuthere
- 21 c saint victor
- 22 d **saint pierre**
- 23 e saint policarpe
- 24 **f saint Mathias**
- 25 g saint donat
- 26 a sainte venice
- 27 b saint honnore
- 28 c saint just

Mars

- 1 d saint aubin
- 2 e saint prime
- 3 f saint marin
- 4 g saint adrien
- 5 a saint saturnin
- 6 b saint felice
- 7 c sainte perpetue
- 8 d saint potencien
- 9 e saint boutoul
- 10 f saint alexandre
- 11 g saint blanchart
- 12 a saint gregoire
- 13 b saint lubin
- 14 c saint innocent
- 15 d saint longin
- 16 e saint edouart
- 17 f saint patris
- 18 g saint offrain
- 19 a s offradosse
- 20 b saint agapit
- 21 c saint benoist
- 22 d saint quiriace
- 23 e saint theodoire

24 f saint teclé
25 g lanunciation nostre dame
 26 a saint mondin
 27 b saint legier
 28 c saint arnoul
 29 d saint eustaiche
 30 e saint riule?
 31 f saint albaire

Avril

1 g saint valerien
 2 a ste marie l egipcienne
 3 b saint pancrace
 4 c saint boniface
 5 d sainte yraïne
 6 e saint thimote
 7 f saint macaire
 8 g sainte appolinaire
 9 a saint precor
 10 b saint profert
 11 c saint leon
 12 d saint marcel
 13 e saint valerien
 14 f sainte eufeme
 15 g saint prime
 16 a saint anaclet
 17 b saint leonide
 18 c saint mapolite
 19 d saint proffert
 20 e saint victor
 21 f saint gobert
 22 g saint denis
23 a saint george
24 b saint robert
25 c saint marc
 26 d s anastaise
 27 e saint vital
 28 f saint germain
 29 g saint pierre
30 a saint eutrope

May

1 b s jacque. s. philippe
 2 c saint anastaise
 3 d **sainte croix.**
 4 e saint quiriace
 5 f saint fortunat
 6 g saint jehan
 7 a saint silvain
 8 b saint beath
9 c saint nicolas

10 d saint memer
 11 e saint gendulphe
 12 f saint pancras
 13 g saint boniface
 14 a saint andorme
 15 b saint ysidoire
 16 c saint honnore
 17 d saint ambroise
 18 e saint felice
 19 f saint yves
 20 g sainte wandrille
 21 a saint aubert
 22 b sainte emille
 23 c saint desier
 24 d saint donacien
25 e saint urbain
 26 f saint augustin
 27 g saint cheron
 28 a saint germain
 29 b saint maxime
 30 c saint felix
 31 d sainte peronnelle

Juin

1 e s Marcellin s pierre
 2 f saint nichomede
 3 g saint lyeffart
 4 a saint pantalin
 5 b saint boniface
 6 c saint ponce
 7 d saint proces
 8 e saint marc
 9 f saint felicien
 10 g saint landri
11 a saint bernabe
 12 b sainte basile
 13 c saint leon
 14 d sainte babile
 15 e saint flour
 16 f saint sire
 17 g saint boutoul
 18 a sainte maxime
 19 b saint gervais
 20 c saint florent
 21 d saint lyeffroy
 22 e saint paulin
 23 f vigile
24 g saint iehan baptiste
25 a saint eloy
 26 b saint jehan s paul
 27 c saint leon

28 d vigile
29 e saint Pierre s pol
30 f saint marcial

Juillet

1 g saint thiebault
2 a s process et martinien
3 b saint marcial
4 c saint martin
5 d saint dominique
6 e oct saint pierre
7 f s Thomas dacquin
8 g saint procope
9 a saint zenon
10 b les sept freres martirs
11 c saint benoist
12 d saint sist
13 e saint curien
14 f saint landri
15 g saint bertin
16 a sainte alexis
17 b saint piath ou prath
18 c saint arnoul
19 d saint just
20 e sainte marguerite
21 f saint pancrace
22 g la magdelaine
23 a sainte appolinaire
24 b sainte xpristine
25 c s Jacque s xpofle
26 d saint marcel
27 e les sept dormans
28 f sainte anne
29 g saint felix
30 a saint abdon et sennes
31 b saint germain

Aoust

1 c saint pierre
2 d saint estienne
3 e saint estienne
4 f s osonans
5 g saint pons ou yons
6 a saint sist
7 b saint donne
8 c saint justin
9 d vigile
10 e saint Laurens
11 f sainte couronne
12 g sainte claire
13 a saint ypolite

14 b vigile
15 c la nostre dame
16 d saint omer
17 e oct saint laurens
18 f saint agapit
19 g saint grant
20 a saint bernard
21 b saint prive
22 c saint syphorien
23 d saint thimote
24 e saint bertholomy
25 f saint loys roy de france
26 g saint abondin
27 a saint george
28 b saint augustin
29 c la decollation s iehan
30 d saint fiacre
31 e saint paulin

Septembre

1 f saint leu s gille
2 g saint anthoine
3 a saint godegran
4 b saint marcel
5 c saint victorin
6 d saint donacien
7 e saint cloust
8 f la nostre dame
9 g saint omer
10 a saint demettré
11 b saint prothin
12 c saint scire
13 d saint venant
14 e sainte croix
15 f oct nostre dame
16 g saint mathelin
17 a saint lyeffart
18 b saint pantalin
19 c saint signe
20 d vigile
21 e saint mathieu
22 f saint morisce
23 g saint tecla
24 a saint hyteche
25 b saint firmin
26 c saint cyprian
27 d saint cosme et damien
28 e saint presme
29 f saint Michiel
30 g saint iheronime

Octobre

- 1 a saint remy
- 2 b saint legier
- 3 c saint victor
- 4 d saint francois
- 5 e sainte xpine
- 6 f sainte foy
- 7 g saint marc
- 8 a saint demettré
- 9 b **saint denis**
- 10 c saint gereon
- 11 d saint macaire
- 12 e saint venant
- 13 f saint curien
- 14 g saint calixte
- 15 a saint ozon/oron
- 16 b saint michiel
- 17 c saint cerbon
- 18 d **saint michiel**
- 19 e saint luternast
- 20 f saint capraise
- 21 g les xi mille vierges
- 22 a saint mellon
- 23 b saint gacien
- 24 c saint magloire
- 25 d saint crespin
- 26 e saint amant
- 27 f vigile
- 28 g **saint symon et jude**
- 29 a saint narcis
- 30 b saint lucan
- 31 c vigile s **Quentin.**

Novembre

- 1 d **la feste de Toussains**
- 2 e **le jour des mors**
- 3 f saint marcel
- 4 g saint cler
- 5 a saint lye
- 6 b saint lyenart
- 7 c saint herculant
- 8 d les quatre coronnes
- 9 e saint theodoire
- 10 f saint tiburce
- 11 g **saint martin**
- 12 a saint leon
- 13 b saint brice
- 14 c saint maclou.
- 15 d saint feustin

- 16 e sainte aignen
- 17 f saint mauduit
- 18 g saint romain
- 19 a saint emond
- 20 b saint coulombain
- 21 c saint just
- 22 d sainte cecile
- 23 e **saint clement**
- 24 f s Grisogonne
- 25 g **sainte katherine**
- 26 a sainte genevieve
- 27 b saint vital
- 28 c saint rufin
- 29 d vigile
- 30 e **saint andre**

Decembre

- 1 f **saint eloy**
- 2 g saint flain
- 3 a saint claudien
- 4 b saint ambroise
- 5 c sainte barbe
- 6 d **saint Nicolas**
- 7 e saint fiacre
- 8 f **la nostre dame**
- 9 g saint cyprian
- 10 a sainte eulalie
- 11 b saint fulcien
- 12 c saint valerien
- 13 d sainte luce
- 14 e saint nichaise
- 15 f s maxime
- 16 g sainte barbe
- 17 a saint ladre
- 18 b saint flamen
- 19 c saint seurin
- 20 d saint entille
- 21 e **saint Thomas**
- 22 f saint victor
- 23 g saint bertin
- 24 a vigile
- 25 b **le jour de noel**
- 26 c **saint estienne**
- 27 d **saint Jehan**
- 28 e **le jour des Innocens**
- 29 f **saint Thomas martir**
- 30 g saint perpete.
- 31 a saint silvestre pape

B. Litany

Michiel
Gabriel
Raphael
Angeli et archangeli
Beato spirit ordines
Ioh baptista
Patriarche et prophete
Petre
Paule
Andrea
Iacobe
Iohannes
Philippe
Bartholomee
Mathee
Symon
Iuda
Mathia
Barnaba
Thoma
Luca
Marce
Apostoli et evangeliste
Discipuli domini
Innocents
Stephane
Clete
Clemens
Syxte
Laurenti
Vincenti
Fabiane
Sebastiane
Dyonisii cum sociis tuis
Maurici...
Eustaci...
Georgi
Christofore
Adriane
Quintine
Cosma
Damiane
Gervasi
Prothasi
Blasi
Martires
Silvester
Gregori
Hylari

Martine
Nicolae
Benedicte
Anthonii
Romane
Mellone
Eligi
Maure
Leobine
Fiacri
Iuliane
Germane
Confessores
Anna
Maria Magdalena
Felicitas
Perpetua
Agnes
Agatha
Cecilia
Lucia
Marguareta
Katherina
Barbara
Appolonia
Susanna
Genovefa
Avia
Fides
Spes
Caritas

C. Hours of the Virgin (use of Rouen)

Matins:

First antiphon (antiphon to ps. 8): benedicta tu

First lesson: sancta maria virgo virginum

Lauds:

First antiphon: Assumpta est

Capitule : In omnibus requiem

Hymn : O gloriosa domina excelsa supra...

Antiphon to Benedictus : O gloriosa dei genitrix...

Prime:

Antiphon : Maria virgo

Capitulum : per te dei genitrix

None:

Antiphon : Pulchra es

Capitulum : Et radicavi

D. Office of the Dead (use of Rouen)

	Lessons	Responses	Versicles
1	Parce michi domine	Credo quod redemptor	Quem visurus sum ego
2	Tedet animam meam	Qui lazarum resuscitasti	Qui venturus es iudicare
3	Manus tue domine fecerunt me	Domine dum veneris iudicare	Commissa mea pavesco
4	Quantas habeo iniquitates	Heu michi domine quia peccavi	Anima mea turbata est
5	Homo natus de muliere	Ne recorderis peccata mea	Dirige domine deus meus
6	Quis michi hoc tribuat ut in inferno	Libera me domine de penis infernorum...	Clamantes et dicentes...
7	Spiritus meus atenuabitur dies mei	Peccantem me quotidie...	Deus in nomine tuo salvum...
8	Pelli mee consumptis carnibus adhesit...	Requiem eternam dona eis...	Qui lazarum resuscitasti a monumento...
9	Quare de vulva	Libera me domine de morte eterna in die illa...	1. Dies illa dies ire calamitatis et miserie dies... 2. Quid ergo miserrimus... 3. Tremens factus sum ... 4. Plangent se super se omnes tribus... 5. Requiem eternam dona eis

II.2 Calendar verses

with translation

1. **January** (f. 1v): *Signum aquarii pro eo quod dominus in Jordane baptizatus est.*
The Sign of Aquarius because the Lord was baptised in the Jordan.
2. **February** (f. 2v): *Signum piscis pro eo quod Jonas fuit in ventre cethi.*
The Sign of Pisces because Jonas stayed in the whale's belly.
3. **March** (f. 3v): *Signum Arietis pro eo quod Abraham pro filio suo arietem obtulit.*
The Sign of Aries because Abraham sacrificed a ram instead of his son.
4. **April** (f. 4v): *Signum Tauri pro eo quod Jacob cum angelo sicut taurus luctatus est.*
The Sign of Taurus because Jacob wrestled with the angel like a bull.
5. **May** (f. 5v): *Signum geminorum pro eo quod Adam et eva de uno corpore facti fuerunt.*
The Sign of Gemini because Adam and Eve were shaped out of one single body.
6. **June** (f. 6v): *Signum Cancri pro eo quod sanctus Job cancrarius fuit.*
The Sign of Cancer because saintly Job had canker.
7. **July** (f. 7v): *Signum leonis pro eo quod Daniel in sacu leonum fuit.*
The Sign of Leo because Daniel was in the lion's den.
8. **August** (f. 8v): *Signum virginis pro eo quod genitrix Dei Filium genuit et virgo permansit.*
The Sign of Virgo because the mother of the Son of God gave birth and remained a virgin.
9. **September** (f. 9v): *Signum libre pro eo quod Judas scarioth precium dei Ad staterem posuit.*
The Sign of Libra because Judas Scariot sold God against staters.
10. **October** (f. 10v): *Signum Scorpionis pro eo quod Pharaonis excercitus in mari Rubro fuit demersus.*
The Sign of Scorpio because the army of Pharaoh was submerged in the Red Sea.¹
11. **November** (f. 11v): *Signum Sagittarii pro eo quod Jonas sagittarius fuit.*
The Sign of Sagittarius because Jonah [should be Jonathan]² was an archer.
12. **December** (f. 12v): *Signum Capricornio pro eo quod Moyses cornutam faciem habuit.*
The Sign of Capricorn because Moses had horns.

¹ The link between Pharaoh and the scorpio comes from the exegesis of Ps. 73-13 in a letter of St Jerome (ed. I. Hilberg, p. 690, CSEL 54, Epist. 69): Pharaon cum exercitu suo nolens populum Dei exire de Aegypto in typo baptismi suffocatur, et in psalmis de interfectione illius scribitur: *Tu confirmasti in virtute tua mare, contrivisti capita draconum in aquis, tu congregisti caput draconis magni* (Ps. 73-13). Unde et reguli et scorpiones arentia quaeque sectantur veniunt et, postquam ad aquas venerint, hydrophobas et lymphaticos faciunt.

² See II Samuel 1: 22: 'From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty, the bow of Jonathan turned not back...'

Appendix III
Quires Diagrams
CBL WMs 89

Important Note:

Out of the 25 miniatures, 22 have been taken out of the manuscript and mounted between two thin sheets of glass. These folios are designated in **bold** numbers and with interrupted lines in the following diagrams.

A sheet of tissue has been inserted in the manuscript in place of the miniatures that were taken out and mounted. As this sheet was pasted in, it often makes it impossible to see the sewing. When the sewing is visible, I have added a capital S in the valley of the quire.

Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

Follower of Fouquet

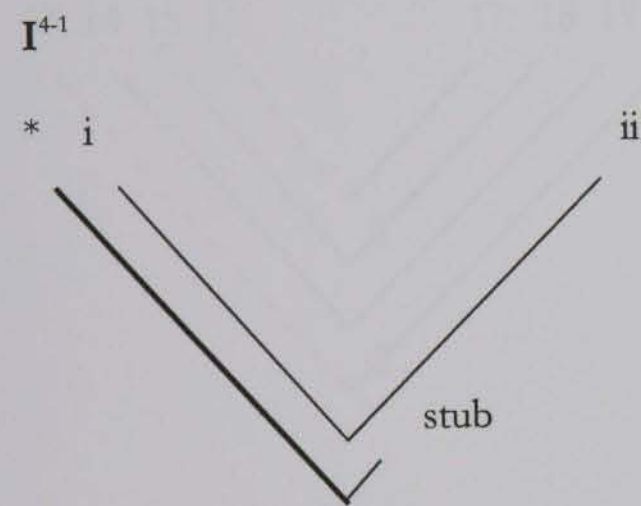
Artist close to Jean Bourdichon

Master of Jean Charpentier

Historiated initials: **I**

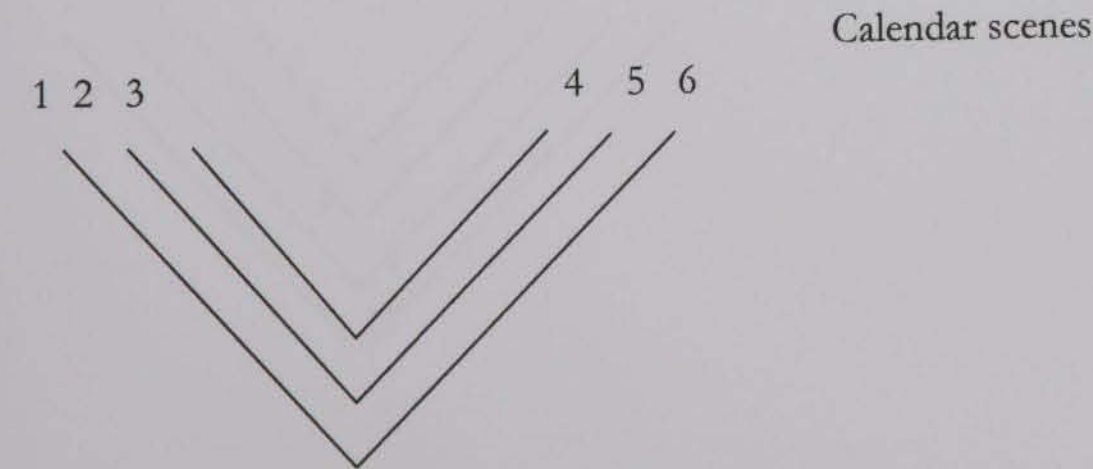
--- mounted folios

.... missing folios

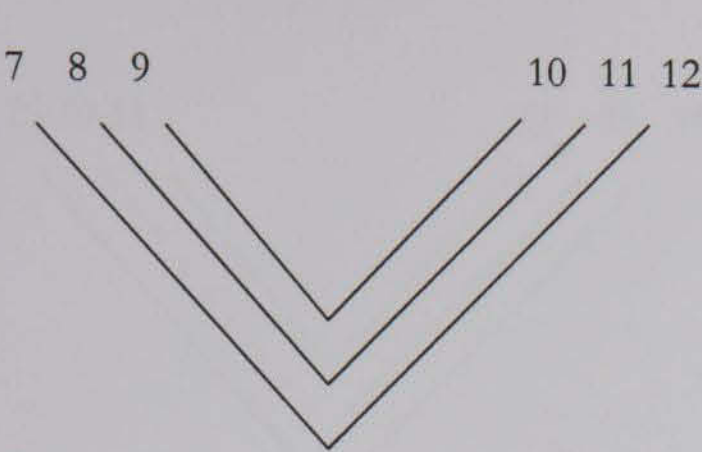


*: pasted on the back of front cover
Blank: i and ii are ruled in pink like the rest of the manuscript, but do not contain any text.

II⁶ (fols 1-6)

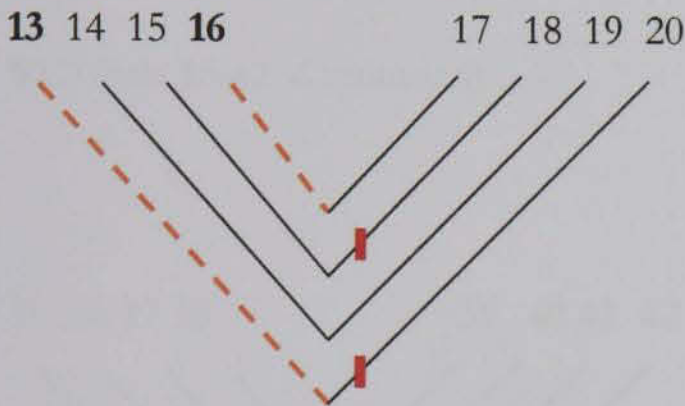


III⁶ (fols 7-12)



Calendar scenes

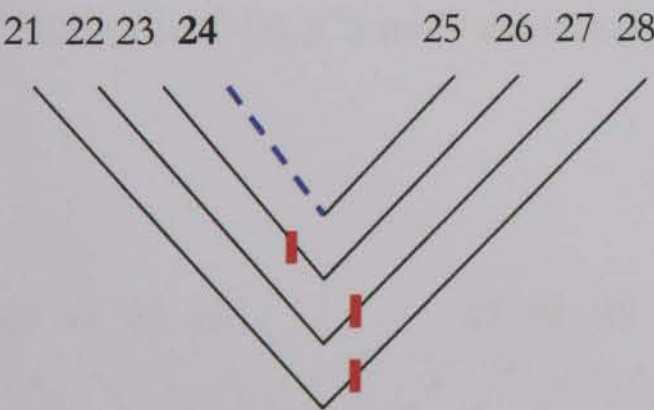
IV⁸ (fols 13-20)



f. 13: Symbols of the Evangelists
f. 16v: Pietà

Note: A sheet of tissue was placed after f. 14, but no folio was cut out.

V⁸ (fols 21-28, 4 mounted)

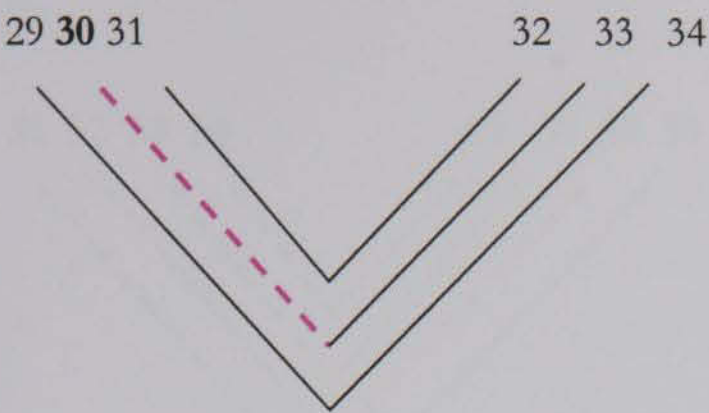


f. 24v: Tree of Jesse

Blank: f. 24

VI⁶ (fols 29-34, 2 mounted)

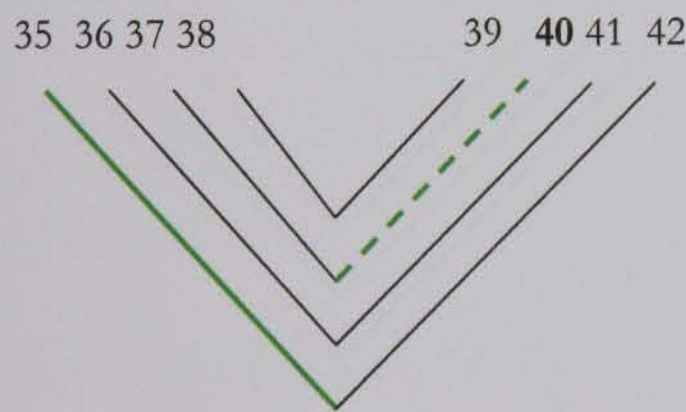
f. 30v: Christ Taking Leave of his Mother.



Blank: f. 29v and f. 30, except for rubric (*Cy ensuivent les cinq douleurs nostre dame contenans cinq resquestes*), f. 33 except for one sentence, f. 34rv.
Scribe B: f. 29 was written by a different hand.

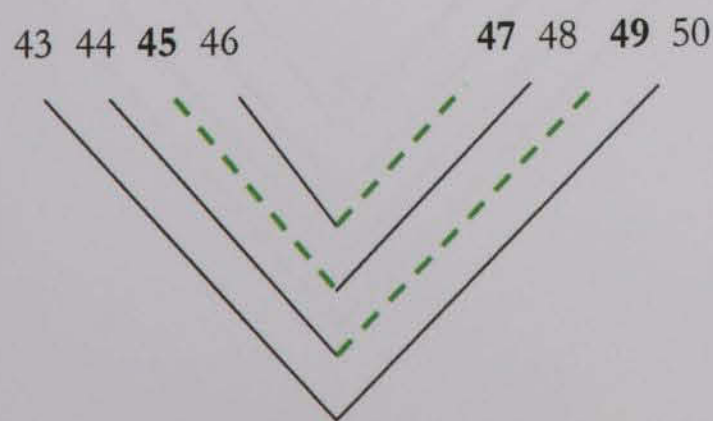
VII⁸ (fols 35-42, 6 mounted)

f. 35: Annunciation (still in the codex)
f. 40: Visitation



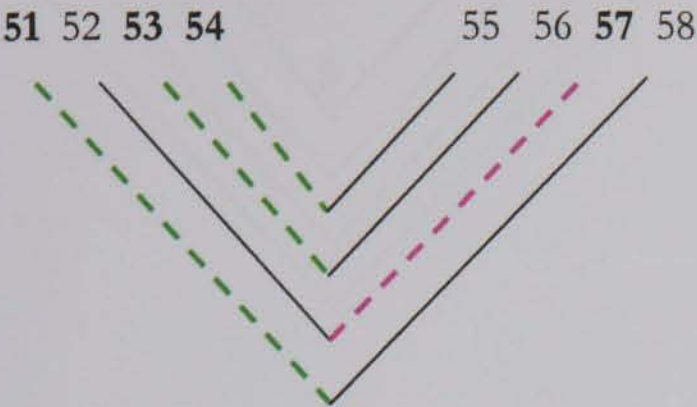
VIII⁸ (fols 43-50, 3, 5 and 7 mounted)

f. 45: Nativity
f. 47v: Annunciation to the Shepherds
f. 49v: Adoration of the Magi



IX⁸ (fols 51-58, 1, 3 4, and 7 mounted)

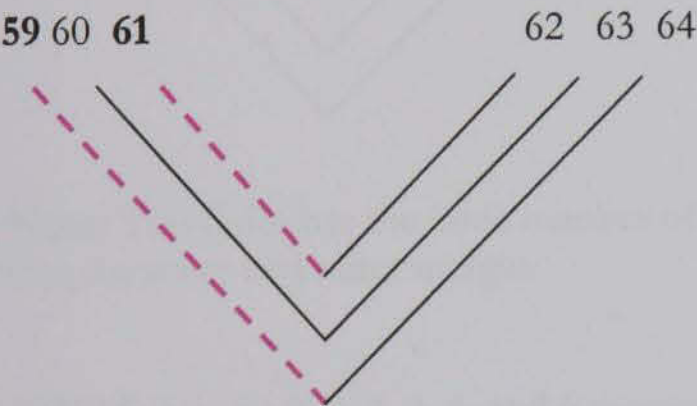
- f. 51: Circumcision
- f. 53: Dormition of the Virgin
- f. 54v: Coronation of the Virgin
- f. 57: Man of Sorrows



Blank: f. 52v

X⁶ (fols 59-64, 1 and 3 mounted)

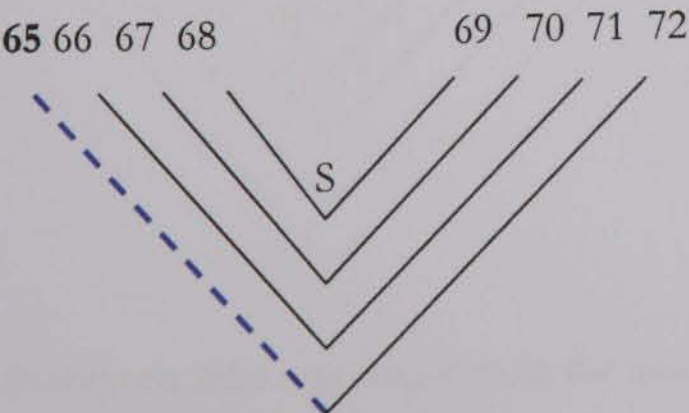
- f. 59: Pentecost
- f. 61: Deposition



Note: bifolio 59/64 only counts 24 lines.
Blank: f. 64v

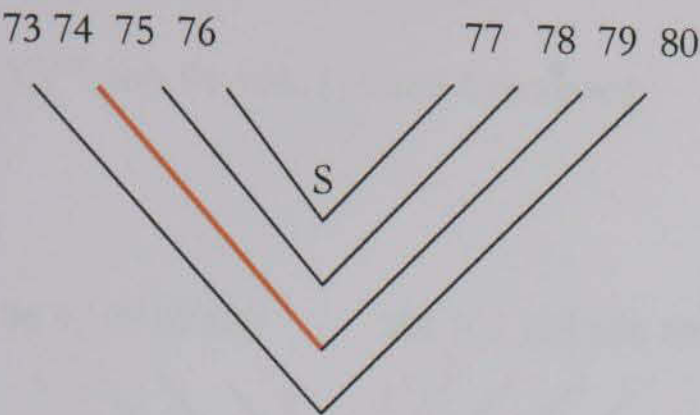
XI⁸ (fols 65-72, 1 mounted)

- f. 65: Bathsheba Bathing

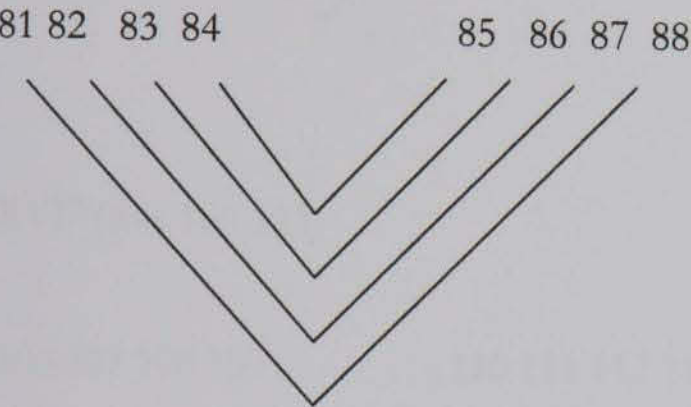


XII⁸ (fols 73-80)

f. 74: Heavenly Court and Hell
Scene (still in the codex)



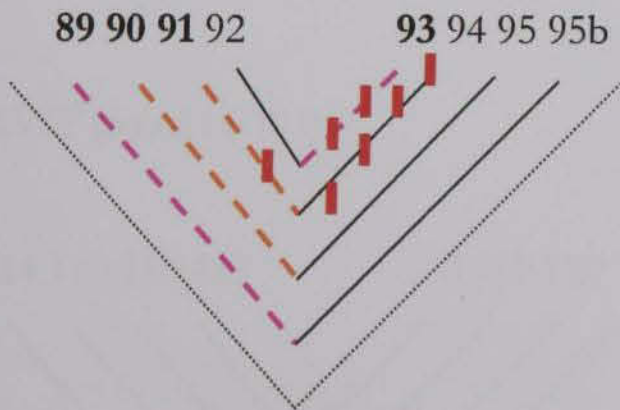
XIII⁸ (fols 81-88)



Note: This quire has the same number of lines but the second line from the top extends into the inner and outer margin.

XIV¹⁰⁻²² (fols 89-95b, 2, 3, 4, and 6 mounted)

f. 89: Three Persons of the Trinity
f. 90v: St Michael fighting the Devil
f. 91v: St Gabriel
f. 93: St John the Baptist

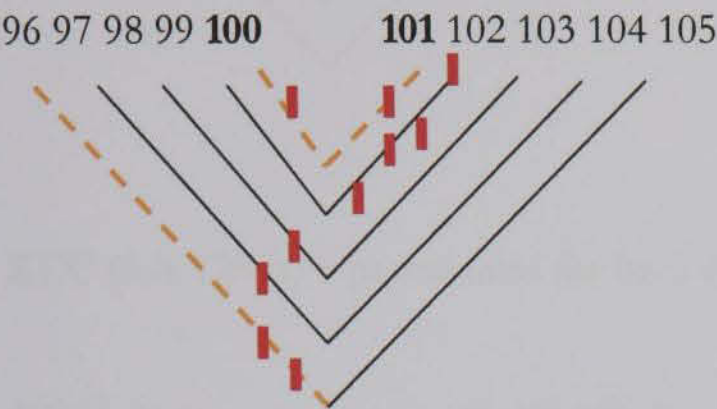


Note: one folio was forgotten in the numbering, it has been called 95b.

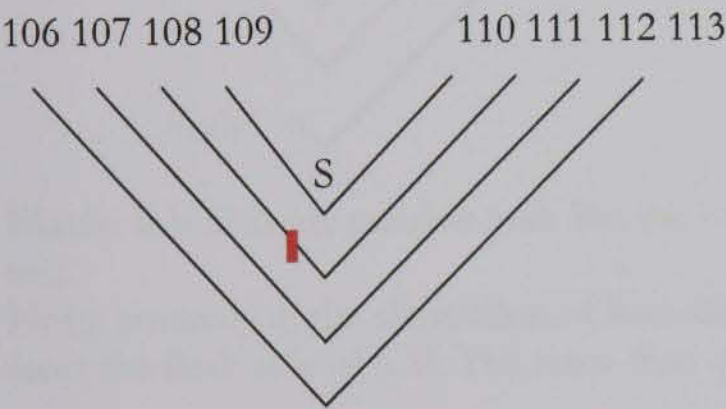
Important: some text is missing after f. 95b containing the end of the suffrage to St Stephen, and possibly a miniature of St Laurence. This bifolio could also belong to quire XV, see **Chapter IV.C**.

XV¹⁰ (fols 96-105; 1, 5 and 6 mounted)

f. 96v: St George and the Dragon
f. 100: Martyrdom of St Sebastian
f. 101v: St Martin and the Beggar



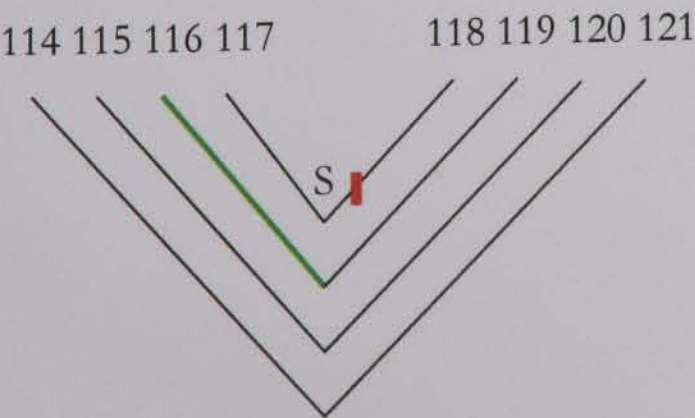
XVI⁸ (fols 106-113)



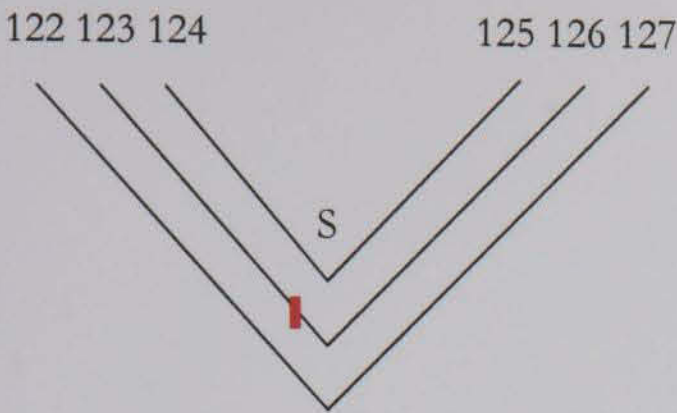
Blank: upper half of f. 107v, an illustration was probably intended
Scribe B: f. 107rv and 112rv

XVII⁸ (fols 114-121)

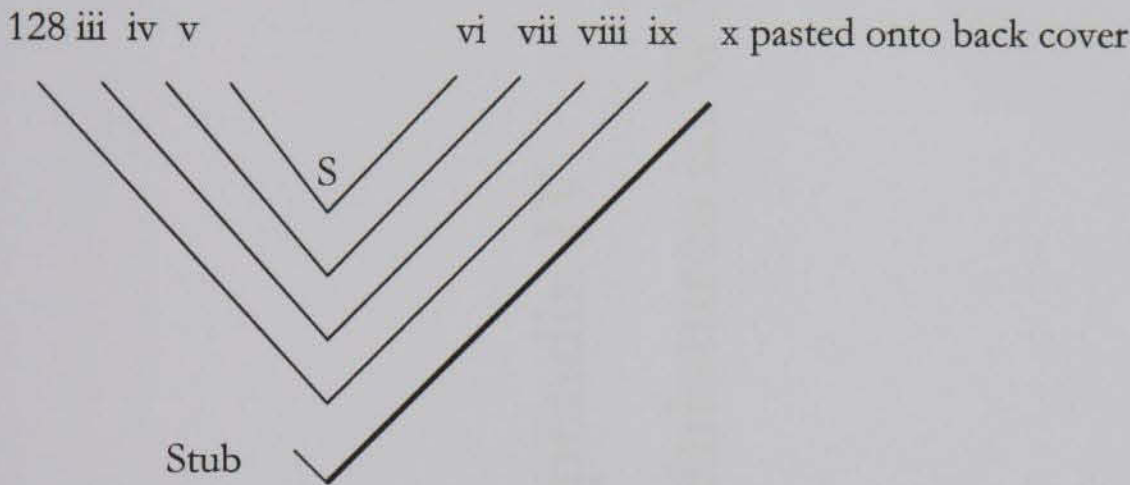
f. 116v: *Ego sum* (still in the codex)



XVIII⁶ (fols 122-127)



XIX⁸ (fols 128-ix) x pasted onto the back cover, thicker vellum, unruled



Blank: fols iii-ix are ruled in pink like the rest of the manuscript, but do not contain any text.

Note: anomaly in the alternation of hair side/flesh side openings, f. 128v is hair side and faces the flesh side of f. iii. The same thus also occurs on opening viii verso and ix.

Appendix IV

Dating the miniatures in WMs 89

Artist	Miniatures painted in WMs 89	Useful clues for dating the miniatures in WMs 89	Proposed dates for miniatures in WMs 89
Hand A: Master of the Echevinage de Rouen Period of activity (Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 172): ca. 1450s-1482/3	- Four Symbols of the Evangelists (f. 13) - Pietà (f. 16v) - Heavenly Court and Hell Scene (f. 74) - St Michael and the Devil (f. 90v) - Archangel Gabriel (f. 91v) - St George and the Dragon (f. 96v) - Martyrdom of St Sebastian (f. 100) - St Martin and the Beggar (f. 101v) pl. 14, 15, 30, 32, 33, 35-7	- Influence of the <i>Prayer book of Charles the Bold</i> (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37) can be seen in work of the Rouennais Master from ca. 1480 (prior to 1485, as <i>Perchart Missal</i> features Flemish influence). - Similarities with the <i>Hours of Jean d'Estouteville</i> (Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88), ca. 1480-5. - Similarities with the <i>Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel</i> (Besançon, BM, ms. 69), post-dating 1480 when Neufchâtel became bishop of Bayeux.	Ca. 1485 -> period of activity needs to be extended by a few years to ca. 1485.
Hand B: Jean Bourdichon Period of activity (Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 293): ca. 1457-1521	- Tree of Jesse (f. 24v) - Bathsheba Bathing (f. 65v) pl. 16, 29	- Motif of the Tree of Jesse with enthroned Jesse inspired by Rouennais designs. Tree of Jesse in WMs 89 is halfway between the versions by the Master of the Echevinage (ca. 1475-85), and that by Robert Boyvin (ca. 1500). - Collaboration between Bourdichon and Master of Jean Charpentier in two <i>Hours for the use of Tours</i>: Poitiers, BM, ms. 55 (ca. 1490), and New York, PML, M. 96 (ca. 1485-90), where the Master of the Della Rovere Missals contributed one miniature.	Ca. 1485-90

Artist	Miniatures painted in WMs 89	Useful clues for dating the miniatures in WMs 89	Proposed dates for miniatures in WMs 89
Hand C: Follower of Fouquet	- Christ Taking Leave of his Mother (f. 30v) - Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John (f. 57) - Pentecost (f. 59) - Deposition (f. 61) - Three Persons of the Trinity (f. 89) - St John the Baptist (f. 93)	- Parallels with the work of Jean Poyer (active in Tours ca.1480–ca.1515) and of the Master of the Della Rovere Missals (active in Tours ca. 1485–ca. 1490). - Influence of the Virgin in <i>Liget Triptych</i> (Loches, Logis royal du château) painted by Jean Poyer on the Virgin of the Deposition scene in WMs 89. - Same type of frame (fols 57 and 93) as that used by the Master of the Della Rovere Missals in New York, PML, M.96, f. 32. - Parallels with the <i>Hours of Marguerite de Rohan</i> (Princeton, Univ. Lib., Garrett ms. 55), attributed to the Master of the Della Rovere Missals, dated to ca. 1485-90.	Ca. 1485-90

Artist	Miniatures painted in WMs 89	Useful clues for dating the miniatures in WMs 89	Proposed dates for miniatures in WMs 89
Hand D: Master of Jean Charpentier Period of activity (Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 288): ca. 1475-90	- Annunciation (f. 35) - Visitation (f. 40) - Nativity (f. 45) - Annunciation to Shepherds (f. 47v) - Adoration of the Magi (f. 49v) - Circumcision (f. 51) - Dormition of the Virgin (f. 53) - Coronation of the Virgin (f. 54v) - <i>Ego Sum</i> (f. 116v) pl. 18-25, 38	- Collaboration between the Master of Jean Charpentier and Jean Bourdichon in Poitiers, BM, ms. 55 (ca. 1490), and in New York, PML M. 96 (ca. 1485-90), where the Master of the Della Rovere Missals also contributed one miniature. - Influence of landscape painted by Hand C in WMs 89 (f. 93) on the <i>Syracuse Hours</i> (Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez X, fols 18v) dated to ca. 1490-5.	Ca. 1485-90
Hand E: Tours artist Period of activity: unknown	Calendar miniatures (f. 1-12v) pl. 1-13	- Parallels with the style of Jean Poyer (active ca.1483–ca.1515) in <i>Le Secret des secrets</i> (Paris, BNF, N.a.f. 18145; ca. 1490-5) and the <i>Hours of Henry VIII</i> (New York, PML, ms. H.8; ca. 1500).	Ca. 1485-90

