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Minute Masterpieces

Study of a Late Fifteenth-Century

French Book of Hours (CBL WMs 89)

1 of IV

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Minute Masterpieces

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

4 Vols

Vol. I: Text

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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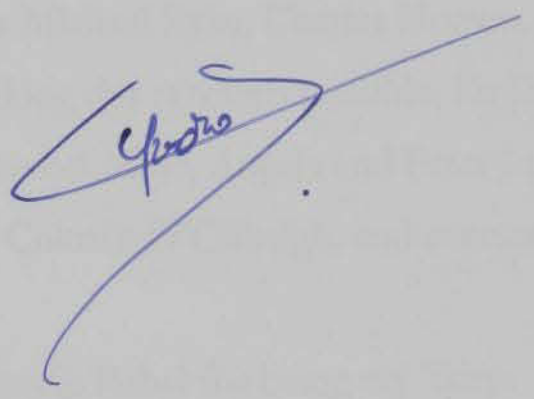

Catherine Yvard. October 2004

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank:

The Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences, for funding this PhD, the Department of Art History for helping me finance photographic fees, printing costs, and for funding research trips together with the Trinity Trust Travel Grant.

In Ireland: Professor Roger Stalley, Dr Michael Ryan, Charles Horton, and everyone at the Chester Beatty Library for making this research possible, Dr John Scattergood, Ruth Sheehy, Leo Dungan, Dr Rachel Moss, Angela and Peter Lucas, Penny Woods, Margaret Doyle, Patricia Quigley, Br. Colmán O'Clabaigh, and everyone in the libraries where I studied all over Ireland.

In France: Patricia Stirnemann and Claudia Rabel for being my 'fairy-godmothers', Hélène Loyau, Jean-Baptiste Lebigue, and everyone at the IRHT for their help and kindness, Mara Hofmann, François Avril and Nicole Reynaud.

But also Laurent Cavet, Isabelle Delaunay, Marie-Thérèse Gousset, Roseline Harrouët, Dr Anne Korteweg, Séverine Lepape, Charles Manning, Philippe Palasi, Anne Ritz.

Special thanks to Anne Brady for helping me in so many ways.

Thanks to my parents, to Anne and Cécile.

Summary

This thesis provides a full monographic study of a previously unpublished manuscript book of hours for the use of Rouen now in the collection of the Chester Beatty Library (WMs 89). The manuscript is examined from a stylistic, iconographical and codicological point of view with the aim of establishing the stages and circumstances of its execution, and its location in the context of late 15th century French manuscript production. It is shown that it was written and received its secondary decoration in Rouen ca. 1485-90, and that five artists were involved in its lavish illustrations: one from Rouen (the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen), and four from Tours (Jean Bourdichon, a talented follower of Fouquet, the Master of Jean Charpentier, and another Tourangeau, responsible for the small calendar miniatures). Each miniature is considered in relation to other works assigned to these various artists and to their contemporaries. The origins of these compositions and their impact on later generations of miniaturists are examined. This study also reveals the essential impact that the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37), painted by the Flemish artist Lievin van Lathem ca. 1469-71, had on the work of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen.

Vol. IV consists in an illustrated Catalogue of Manuscript Books of Hours in Irish Collections.

Minute Masterpieces

Study of a Late Fifteenth-Century Book of Hours (CBL, WMs 89)

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Vol. I: Text

Vol. II: Plates and Appendices

Vol. III: Comparison Figures

Vol. IV: Catalogue of Manuscript Books of Hours in Irish Collections

Frequently Used Abbreviations

Bayer. Staats.: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich)

Bibl. de l'Ars.: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Paris)

Bibl. Maz.: Bibliothèque Mazarine (Paris)

Bibl. Reg.: Biblioteca Regia

Bibl. Vat.: Biblioteca Vaticana (Vatican)

BL: British Library (London)

BM: Bibliothèque Municipale

BNF: Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris)

Bodl. Lib.: Bodleian Library (Oxford)

CBL: Chester Beatty Library (Dublin)

EUL: Edinburgh University Library

Irish Cat.: refers to entries in the *Catalogue of Illuminated Books of Hours in Irish Collections*, vol. IV of this thesis.

KB: Koninklijke Bibliotheek (The Hague)

NLR: National Library of Russia (St Petersburg)

ÖNB: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna)

PML: Pierpont Morgan Library (New York)

RIA: Royal Irish Academy (Dublin)

SAL: Society of Antiquaries of London

s.n.: sine numero

TCD: Trinity College Dublin

V&A: Victoria and Albert Museum (London)

WAG: Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore)

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Introduction

Books travel. Easily carried, they have often embarked on long journeys to reach the shelf where they now rest. This is especially true of manuscripts, whose journey has also been a journey through time. When it comes to books of hours, now scattered in libraries and private collections around the world, their sheer number is evidence of the popularity they enjoyed in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance period. From the mid-13th century to the mid-16th century, these books of prayers and offices were commissioned and produced, mainly in France, Flanders, Holland, but also in Spain, Italy, Germany and England.

Gestation

A dissertation I wrote a few years ago sparked my interest in books of hours, in which miniatures complement the study of panel painting in the medieval and Renaissance period, and often provide valuable insight into medieval life and piety. I focused at the time on the illustration of the Office of the Dead in books of hours in Dublin.[1] However, my primary sources were incomplete, as they were limited to the Trinity College Library, the Chester Beatty Library, and the Royal Irish Academy Library: 13 manuscripts in total.[2] This imperfect census was partly due to my ingenuous approach, and partly to the absence of any comprehensive catalogue of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in Irish collections. Still wishing to focus on books of hours, the first research stage of the present thesis was the establishment of a handlist of all books of hours in Irish collections. Only when the primary sources are known can one envisage the most appropriate way to study them.

My original intention was to focus on the transition from manuscript to printed books of hours, basing this study on manuscript and early printed books of hours in Irish collections. This research harvested 23 manuscripts[3] and 10 printed books of hours. The manuscripts were mostly Flemish, Dutch and French, but two were English (TCD ms.

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[1] See Yvard, 1998 (unpublished dissertation) and Yvard, 2000.

[2] Four of which were either missing the Office of the Dead section (TCD mss. 95, 108, 4904 which is only a fragment), or its introducing miniature (as in the case of WMs 94 in the Chester Beatty Library). I ignored then the existence of the Hours in the Jesuits College, or in the Allen Library and did not know about the other books of hours present in Ireland.

[3] There are 23 entries in the catalogue but Cat. 23 is more likely to have been an illustrated prayer book than a book of hours (see **Irish Cat. 23**).

94 and Glenstal abbey); most of them dated from the 15th century, and thus reflected the peak of the book's popularity in the late Middle Ages. Printed copies were mostly French dating from 1499 to 1549. However, this handful of books of hours formed a haphazard gathering with no coherence and was thus ill suited as a foundation for the vast study I had envisaged. Furthermore, a doctoral thesis had recently been written on this subject by Isabelle Delaunay, who concentrated her study on the transition from manuscript to print in Parisian books of hours, with the much more representative number of over 200 books of hours studied.[4]

While assembling the catalogue of books of hours in Irish collections, learning gradually how to look, what to search for, and how to approach manuscripts and early printed books, I soon realised that in spite of their similarities, they could not be studied in the same way, especially because of the reproducible nature of prints, as opposed to the uniqueness of miniatures.[5] As an art historian, I felt more competent to answer the questions raised by manuscripts than printed books: the study of hands required a training of the eye that prints did not involve to the same extent. The catalogue of manuscript books of hours in Irish collections thus became a vital component of my project.

However, this heterogeneous group could not provide as a whole the basis for a coherent work. The *Hours of Lord Hoo* in the Royal Irish Academy Library[6] and the three books of hours in the Chester Beatty Library,[7] all French and dating from the 15th century, stood out for the quality of their execution. The former, with miniatures by the Hoo Master and the Talbot Master had benefited from the attention of Leslie Williams in the 1970s,[8] and the *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy* (CBL WMs 82) was studied by Donal Byrne in 1972[9] in an unpublished MA dissertation where he attributed its 148 miniatures to the Bedford Master, and to the Dunois Master[10] (then called the Bedford Master's Chief Associate). On the other hand, WMss 89 and 94 in the Chester Beatty collection were virtually unstudied, although the artist at work in WMs 94 had been identified by Pächt as an intriguing miniaturist whose art shows such a strong Italian influence that he may

---

4 Delaunay, 2000.
5 Even though, as we shall see, designs, motifs and compositions were repeated and copied within the same workshop and from one to the other
6 Ms. 12R31 (**Irish Cat. 11**).
7 Mss. 82, 89 and 94 (**Irish Cat. 7-9**).
8 See Williams, 1975.
9 See Byrne, 1972.
10 Named after the *Hours of Jean de Dunois* (London, BL, Y.T.3).

have been of Italian origin.[11] Active in the Northeast of France, he was later nicknamed the Master of Walters 219 by Meiss[12] after a book of hours in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. A third book of hours (WMs 89) had received very little attention, with its miniatures cursorily classified as: Tours, school of Bourdichon, late 15th century.[13]

The three Chester Beatty hours were French. Dating from the early, mid and late 15th century,[14] they could be used as a sample of three distinct periods in French miniature painting. WMs 94, although highly unusual, was emblematic of a decade that gave birth to the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*[15] exquisitely illuminated by the Limbourg brothers. WMs 82 was a lavish example of the production of the Parisian Bedford Master and his workshop, which had a lasting impact on French miniature painting in the second half of the 15th century. As for WMs 89, its different hands exemplified various trends emerging in the last quarter of the 15th century, under the influence of Jean Fouquet. I thus intended to provide full studies of WMss 94 and 89, and an update on WMs 82 in view of the recent discoveries on the Bedford and Dunois Masters.

I began researching on WMs 89, as so little was known about it, and this manuscript lead me in so many directions that it took over the whole thesis and turned it into a monograph. My work gained in coherence from this focus on a single manuscript, and the absence of any prior work on these hours, made for the use of Rouen, gave me the sense of venturing on virgin territory.

The Catalogue

The catalogue[16] comprises 23 entries providing a description of each book of hours, with collation, localisation,[17] characterisation of the secondary decoration, textual contents (including rubrics and incipits of significant texts),[18] list of illustrations, and short stylistic discussion, followed by details on provenance and bibliography. As the original plan was to focus on the Chester Beatty books of hours, the entries for WMss 82, 89 and 94 are more developed than the others.

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11 Pächt, 1950, pp. 43-5.
12 Meiss, 1967, p. 360.
13 See *Chester Beatty Library. Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, by L. Bieler, 1961 (typescript).
14 The earliest being WMs 94, WMs 82 dating from ca. 1443, and WMs 89 from the end of the century.
15 Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 35.
16 **Vol. IV** of this thesis.
17 For this aspect of the study, I am greatly indebted to Laurent Cavet, who is extensively studying uses as part of his doctoral thesis *La diffusion d'une pratique dévotionelle au Moyen Age. L'Office de Beata.* Université de Paris-Sorbonne (to be submitted).
18 However, for TCD ms. 103 (**Irish Cat. 15**), I have not been able to take down some of the rubrics and incipits, as they are in Medieval Dutch and require an expertise that I do not have.

These books of hours are in several different libraries: the Trinity College Library, the Chester Beatty Library, the Allen Library, the Jesuits College Library, and the Royal Irish Academy Library in Dublin, Clongowes Wood College in Clane (co. Kildare), the Russell Library in Maynooth (co. Kildare), Glenstal Abbey Library in Murroe (co. Limerick), and Queen's University Library in Belfast.

No books of hours were ever produced in Ireland, and it is difficult to know when the ones that are now in Irish collections arrived on the island, as details of provenance have rarely been recorded. However, it would seem that none of them reached these shores in the Middle Ages or the Renaissance, apart from one East Anglian book of hours (ca. 1340-50) now in the Library of Trinity College.[19] This manuscript is the earliest book of hours in the catalogue and one of two executed in England.[20] According to Bishop Stearne's manuscript catalogue of Trinity College, these Hours for the use of Sarum belonged to Bective Abbey (co. Meath), prior to its dissolution in 1536. All other books of hours were executed in France or Flanders in the 15th century (mostly in the second half of the century) and arrived in Ireland at a much later date. Unfortunately, in most cases, the only information provided is the year when the manuscript entered the library where it is now. Due to its long existence, the Trinity College Library, founded at the same time as the College in 1591, acquired some of its books of hours at an early stage, but most of them in the 19th century[21] (**Irish Cat. 12-20**). The Russell Library was founded by Charles William Russell, who was president of Maynooth College from 1857 to 1880, and contains two manuscript hours which entered the collection in the 19th century (**Irish Cat. 21-2**);[22] this is also the case for the manuscripts in Clongowes College, founded in 1814 (**Irish Cat. 2-5**).[23] The library of Queen's University also contains a (mutilated) book of hours for the use of Rouen that

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19 TCD, ms. 94; **Irish Cat. 12.**

20 The other one is the late 15th century manuscript now in Glenstal Abbey. However, the incomplete Glenstal manuscript was certainly a prayer book rather than a book of hours (see **Irish Cat. 23**).

21 Ms. 95 was presented by Miles Symner, TCD scholar from 1626, fellow from 1652 and archdeacon of Kildare (d. 1664). He also gave the Library a 14th century English or Irish copy of the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent de Beauvais (TCD ms. 188). Ms. 104 was given by Reverend Thomas Lyster in 1785, ms. 103 was acquired with the Fagel Library in 1802, ms. 107 was purchased from Milliken in 1838, and a note indicates that it belonged to a certain James Scott, from Trinity College, Cambridge in the early 19th century. Ms. 105 was presented by Franc Sadleir, provost of Trinity (d. 1851). No provenance details have been recorded concerning ms. 108. A note indicates that ms. 102 was in Fulda in 1810. Ms. 4904 was given to the Library in 1970 and came from a codex which originally belonged to Alfred Chester Beatty (see provenance details in **Irish Cat. 20**).

22 RB 37 was still in the hands of a lady called Martha Honiley in 1860, and a 19th century bookplate with the inscription *In deo spero* also indicates that the manuscript was then still in private hands.

23 Ms. 1, a Flemish manuscript, was in France in the 17th century, in the hands of Jérôme Collot, surgeon to Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715), as his bookplate indicates, but it is not known when it was presented to the Clongowes Library. Ms. 2 was given to Clongowes in 1826. For mss. 3 and 5, no indication of provenance has been recorded but the latter has a 19th century binding with the motto *Supra spem spero*.

entered its collection in the late 19th century (**Irish Cat. 1**).[24] The hours now in the Allen Library were presented to the then-named O'Connell school library by Reverend P.S. Gilligan in 1864 (**Irish Cat. 6**), and the *Hours of Lord Hoo* were presented to the Royal Irish Academy by H.A. Forbes in 1874 (**Irish Cat. 11**). The hours for the use of Rome in the Jesuits College are a bequest dating from 1924 (**Irish Cat. 10**), and the prayer book at Glenstal Abbey came from the library of the late Sir Osmond Grattan Esmonde, and was presented in 1943 by his sister Frigelda. The three books of hours in the Chester Beatty Library were purchased in the first quarter of the 20th century by Sir Alfred Chester Beatty, who brought them to Ireland in 1950, together with the rest of his collection (**Irish Cat. 7-9**). Ex-libris and marks of ownership provide a few additional clues, too scarce however to reconstruct the journey of the book, except in the case of the *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy*,[25] which is well documented.

The original owner is known only for a couple of these manuscripts: the hours for the use of Rouen now in the Royal Irish Academy were executed for Lord Thomas Hoo and his wife Eleanor Welles, possibly for their marriage ca. 1444. Both of them are depicted in the pages of their manuscript, where they are easily recognised as they are attired in clothes decorated with their heraldic bearings.[26] Prigent de Coëtivy, a Breton admiral particularly favoured by King Charles VI, commissioned the lavish book of hours for the use of Paris now in the Chester Beatty Library (WMs 82), also certainly to celebrate his union to Marie de Rais, ca. 1443.[27] Its borders are rich in heraldry and mottoes. Coats of arms also feature in the borders of TCD ms. 103,[28] and there are mottoes in the French book of hours in the Russell Library, with depictions of the donors (a lady on f. 63 and a man on f. 77),[29] but unfortunately they have not yet been identified.

WMs 94[30] also contains coats of arms in its borders, together with the motto *Sens plus* and we have been able to attribute these arms to the Contet family, from

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[24] Queen's College opened in October 1849 and, while the beginnings of the library can be dated to 1850, it was not built until 1866-8. As the library's shelf-catalogue specifies that the manuscript was part of Queen's College Collection, it must have entered the library before 1908, when Queen's College changed its name to Queen's University of Belfast (See T.W. Moody and J.C. Beckett, *Queen's Belfast 1845-1949. The History of a University*. London, 1959, vols I and II). No other indication of provenance is available.
[25] CBL, WMs 82; see **Irish Cat. 7**.
[26] RIA, ms. 12R31, fols 192 and 196v. For more details, see **Irish Cat. 11**.
[27] For more details, see **Irish Cat. 7**.
[28] **Irish Cat. 15**.
[29] RB 38, see **Irish Cat. 22**.
[30] In the Chester Beatty Collection.

Champagne.[31] Unfortunately, this family is not well documented and it was not possible to identify which of its members, in the early 15th century, could have commissioned this most delicate book of hours for the use of Paris.

The most skilfully executed manuscripts are also those containing marks of ownership. However, WMs 89, which is at the centre of our study, contains miniatures of the highest quality, and yet does not contain any arms, mottoes or owner portrait.

Books of hours in the Chester Beatty collection

Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (1875-1968) started his career at the bottom of the ladder, working in the mines of Colorado and Mexico, and subsequently made his fortune as a mining consultant in the early years of the 20th century. He then began to assemble a vast collection of art works, mostly books and prints, but also objects such as Japanese inro and netsuke. After the death of his wife Grace in 1911, he moved to London, where he made his first purchases of Western manuscripts and rare books between 1914 and 1916. Chester Beatty did not at first seek the advice of a specialist, and Sir Sydney Cockerell, an expert on medieval illumination 'hurried him at once to tea with the Yates Thompsons to see manuscripts that would raise his standards'![32] These first acquisitions included five French 15th century books of hours,[33] betraying an early interest of Chester Beatty in this type of book. Beatty's standards did rise and the manuscripts he went on to purchase were of the highest quality, and often came from the dispersal of important collections, such as the Hoe, Huth, or Phillipps collections. In the 1920s, he decided to hire Dr Eric Millar, assistant in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum, to work on a catalogue of his Western manuscripts. Horton stressed that: 'Between 1911-28, Beatty collected over 250 Western manuscripts, only the best were kept for the catalogue, the remainder were generally sold or exchanged for better quality work'.[34] Two volumes of this catalogue were published, in 1927 and 1930,[35] comprising over 150 entries organised chronologically. However, unexpectedly, he decided in the early 1930s to sell most of his Western collection, and two sales did indeed take place in

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31 This was achieved thanks to the help of Philippe Palasi, specialised in the identification of arms. For more details, see **Irish Cat. 9**.

32 Henry Yates Thompson was a major collector of medieval manuscripts and Chester Beatty would later acquire some manuscripts from his collection, including the *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy,* still part of the collection today. Quoted by De Hamel, 1985, not paginated.

33 Horton, 2003, p. 14.

34 Horton, 2004, p. 151, n. 5.

35 E. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts,* 2 vols, each divided between text and plates, Oxford, 1927-30.

1932 and 1933.[36] He had originally intended to sell all his Western manuscripts but, possibly disappointed with the results of the sales, and by the fact that several manuscripts did not find a buyer,[37] he decided to step back and not proceed with selling what was left of the Western collection. Why had he suddenly made this decision? While some suggested it was for financial reasons, Horton recently wrote that 'the proceeds of the sales… would have made little difference to the overall wealth of Beatty at the time',[38] and argued that the Western manuscripts were sold in order for the collector to acquire Biblical papyri that would greatly increase the prestige of his library.[39] Whatever the reason, these two sales meant that Millar's work could not continue, and the third volume, which was going to include 15th century manuscripts (and therefore most of the books of hours in the collection), was never to be published. The 1932-3 sales included 14 books of hours, French,[40] Flemish,[41] English,[42] Italian[43] and Spanish[44].

Disillusioned with Britain after the war,[45] Beatty moved in 1950 to Ireland. Here, he received preferential treatment from the government[46] and made arrangements so that his collection would not be dispersed after his death, but would become property of the Irish government. The Chester Beatty Library opened to the public in 1954 at 20 Shrewsbury road in Dublin.

Dr Ludwig Bieler, who was Professor of Latin Palaeography in University College Dublin, worked on the Western collection in the early 1960s and his 1961 catalogue reveals that 14 books of hours were still in the collection at the time.[47] It was then that the manuscripts were renumbered in order to fill the gaps left by the manuscripts sold in 1932-3:[48] the *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy*, formerly W. 87 became WMs

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36 Sotheby's London, *Catalogue of the Renowned Collection of Western Manuscripts the Property of A. Chester Beatty, Esq. The first portion*, 7 June 1932; Sotheby's London, *Catalogue of the Renowned Collection of Western Manuscripts the Property of A. Chester Beatty, Esq. The second portion*, 9 May 1933.

37 The *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy* (WMs 82, then numbered WMs 87), for instance, were lot 24 in the 1932 sale and have remained in the collection to this day.

38 Horton, 2004, p. 151, n. 6.

39 Horton, 2004, p. 151.

40 1932: lot 16, 23, 24 and 25. 1933: lot 53 and 54.

41 1932: lot 31. 1933: lot 68 and 69.

42 1932: lot 26. 1933: lot 56.

43 1933: lot 64.

44 1933: lot 55.

45 For a development on the reasons behind this decision, see Kennedy, 1988, pp. 46-55.

46 These advantages were mostly financial: he benefited from an 'exemption from the strict foreign exchange rules, which limited the amount of money people could take out of the country. He also secured the waiving of import taxes on purchases for his library' (Horton, 2003, p. 43).

47 See *Chester Beatty Library. Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, by L. Bieler, 1961 (typescript).

48 At the time of the 1955 exhibition in Trinity College, Dublin, the old numbering was still in use. See Dougan, 1955.

82,[49] WMs 89, the object of the present study, was W. 95, and present-day WMs 94 was W. 84.[50] As one might expect, this renumbering created much confusion, and led to the temporary disappearance of the early 15th century Hours now know as WMs 94.[51] From the publications of Meiss in 1974[52] to Randall in 1989,[53] scholars lost track of the manuscript's whereabouts, as no manuscript corresponded with the shelfmark 84. It was assumed the manuscript had been sold and De Vaivre even wrote in 1985 that the Chester Beatty manuscript had been sold in Paris as lot 140 in the 1964 Lardanchet catalogue[54] and had not reappeared since.[55] It was only this year, in the catalogue *Paris-1400. Les arts sous Charles VI*,[56] that the manuscript returned to the shelf it had never left…[57]

In the last years of his life, Chester Beatty's behaviour went through erratic periods during which he was prone to take unconsidered and contradictory decisions.[58] Possibly because he felt he had not shown enough good will towards his homeland, he made contacts with Princeton University[59] implying he wished to offer manuscripts. In the summer of 1966, he added a codicil to his will, withdrawing 27 Western manuscripts from the bequest to the Irish State.[60] Shortly afterwards, he contacted the New York dealer H. P. Kraus, apparently wishing to sell all Western manuscripts except the ones which were currently on exhibition.[61] Kennedy suggested that 'Perhaps Beatty felt that his Library was primarily an Oriental one and it was therefore appropriate to send his Western manuscripts for sale where they would probably be bought by American collectors'.[62] Chester Beatty added another codicil in November 1966 confiming this

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[49] It also had been ms. 85 in the collection of Henry Yates Thompson. See James, 1902, no. 85.
[50] **Irish Cat. 7, 8 and 9.**
[51] **Irish Cat. 9.**
[52] See Meiss, 1974, where each reproduction (fig. 524-5) is accompanied with the annotation 'Present whereabouts unknown'.
[53] See Randall, 1989, p. 283, where it is referred as 'ex-Chester Beatty Ms. 84, present whereabouts unknown'.
[54] *Beaux livres anciens et modernes*, Paris, librairie Lardanchet (Cat. 57), 1964, lot 140.
[55] De Vaivre, 1985, p. 38, n. 4. On closer examination, the Lardanchet manuscript was indeed a manuscript containing work by the same artist but it was a book of hours for the use of Besançon (private collection).
[56] Taburet-Delahaye, 2004, p. 234, in relation to Cat. 140.
[57] For more on this, see **Irish Cat. 9.**
[58] On this, see Kennedy, 1988, pp. 136 and ff.
[59] Where he had studied civil engineering in 1893-4.
[60] Ten of them being books of hours, designated by their old numbers: W. 83-85, W. 87, W. 90, W. 96-98, W. 100, W. 104 (fragment).
[61] See Kraus's account of this episode in a chapter of his book *A Rare Book Saga* (London, 1979; 1st ed. 1978) aptly titled 'My Greatest Disappointment', pp. 209-10. As Kennedy noted, 'without Hayes [his influential librarian in Dublin] to remind him of his commitment to the Irish governement, Beatty [then in the South of France] was obviously inclined to regard his Library as his private possession.' (Kennedy, 1988, p. 140).
[62] Kennedy, 1988, p. 136.

decision to exclude from the bequest: 'all my manuscripts having an English, French, German, Flemish, Belgian, Dutch, Italian or Spanish provenance'[63] except the ones on exhibition at the time. He died in January 1968 and seventy-four Western manuscripts to be sold after his death.[64]

Again, the 1968-9 sales greatly reduced the number of Western manuscripts in the collection: 74 manuscripts were offered on the market, 12 of which were books of hours, again of diverse origins, mostly 15th century.[65]

Through a continuous process of selling, buying and exchanging, the Western collection changed over the years, but manuscripts were always of the highest quality. Prestigious books of hours painted by the most skilled painters passed by the hands of Chester Beatty: the *De Lévis Hours*, attributed to the Bedford Master,[66] the *Hours of Jean Robertet*, painted by Jean Fouquet and Jean Colombe,[67] a book of hours for the use of Rome now assigned to the Master of the Petites Heures d'Anne de Bretagne,...[68] only to mention the French examples, were all at one point part of his collection.

Although the Chester Beatty Library may be better known today for its Far Eastern and Islamic collections, the Western collection still contains manuscripts of the utmost importance such as the striking *Thebaid*, by Statius, illuminated in grisaille against a deep blue ground by Jacopo Avanzi in Padua ca. 1380,[69] the so-called *Chester Beatty Rosarium*[70] with minute paintings by the Flemish artist Simon Bening (Flanders, ca. 1530), the *Walsingham Bible*[71] made for the Walsingham priory in the 12th century, to name a few.

Only three manuscript books of hours now remain in the Library, but they are gems in the collection. The *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy*,[72] containing 148 miniatures painted by the Bedford Master and Dunois Master ca. 1443, were purchased privately in 1919 by Edith Beatty, from Henry Yates Thompson himself, as a present for her husband. They

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63 A. Chester Beatty's Codicil to his last will, dated to 17th November 1966; copy of the will kept in the Chester Beatty Library Archives.
64 Sotheby's London, *The Chester Beatty Western Manuscripts: Part I. Catalogue of Thirty-Seven Manuscripts of the 9th to the 16th century*, 3 Dec. 1968; Sotheby's London, *The Chester Beatty Western Manuscripts: Part II. Catalogue of Thirty-Seven Manuscripts of the 9th to the 16th century*, 24 June 1969.
65 1968: lot 25, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36. Lot 23A consisted of five leaves from a Parisian book of hours. 1969: lot 59, 63, 68, 69, 71 and 72.
66 Sold in the 1933 sale, lot 53. Now New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, ms. 400. See Meiss, 1974.
67 Sold in the 1933 sale, lot 54. Now New York, PML, M. 834. See Avril, 2003, Cat. 28.
68 Sold in the 1969 sale, lot 69. Still in a private collection. Referred to in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 267.
69 WMs 76.
70 WMs 99.
71 WMs 22.
72 WMs 82. **Irish Cat. 7**.

entered the 1932 sale as lot 24 but were not sold. It is not recorded when WMs 94[73] was purchased but it was exhibited as part of the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition in 1908,[74] and at the time was the property of Hamilton E. Field, which owed it the nickname of *Hamilton Field Hours*. Chester Beatty must have bought it soon afterwards from the famous collector.

As for WMs 89, the object of the present study, it seems it was purchased privately in spring 1928, possibly in Spain;[75] this is the only (slim) indication of provenance. It contains no mark of ownership, not even annotations by later owners and is in pristine condition, missing only one folio in the suffrages section.[76] The manuscript has lost its original binding and was rebound possibly in the 17th century in pink velvet with clasps decorated with putto heads and floral motifs. The folios were trimmed and the foredge was gilt when the rebinding took place (see **pl. 74-76**). This book of hours is small in size, with folios measuring only 129 by 91 mm, and a text block of 87 by 58 mm throughout. The vellum used for these 129 folios is very thin, nearly transparent in places, and thus suits the refined execution of the manuscript. It is written in a regular French bâtarde, in brown ink, with rubrics in blue and dark pink. WMs 89 is a book of hours for the use of Rouen (Hours of the Virgin and Office of the Dead), a link with Rouen which is confirmed in the suffrages and the litany, but not in the calendar where Rouen feasts, surprisingly, do not feature. It contains 12 small calendar miniatures, 25 full-page miniatures, 27 historiated initials and numerous decorated initials; its borders, however, have been left blank.

All miniatures are full-page, an innovation which Avril attributed to Jean Fouquet in the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* (Tours, ca. 1452-60) and the *Hours of Jean Robertet* (Tours, ca. 1460-5).[77] However, close examination reveals that they were not all painted by the same artist, but that five different hands were responsible for the miniatures alone (including the calendar): one from Rouen and four from Tours. The styles differ greatly from one artist to the other[78] and yet, a certain homogeneity was achieved through the full-page format adopted by all artists. Furthermore, the fact that these are miniatures in a book rather than loose images means that two images were not meant to be seen simultaneously but in sequence. Differences would thus not have been as obvious as they

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73 Painted by the Master of Walters 219, as mentioned above.
74 Burlington Fine Arts Club. *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscrits*, London, 1908, Cat. 204.
75 This information comes from the notes in the Chester Beatty archives.
76 See **Chapter IV, C.** for more details on this and **Appendix III** for quires diagrams.
77 New York, PML, M. 834. See Avril, in Avril, 2003, pp. 252-3. Once also in Chester Beatty Collection but sold in 1933, lot 54.
78 Except for the calendar artist (Hand E), close to Hand C (Jean Bourdichon).

are today. Indeed, as is the case with many of the manuscripts in the Chester Beatty collection, nearly all full-page miniatures have been cut out from the codex and mounted between two thin sheets of glass.[79] This was done by Zaendorf in London[80] and was common practice among many private collectors. This procedure was thought appropriate for a better preservation of manuscripts, and Chester Beatty explains it himself to Lady Powerscourt: 'Of course we do all the conserving and patching-up we can… but sometimes it's a hopeless proposition. Take just one example. I've a prayer-book that belonged to Philip II of Spain and it's a near-total wreck. Most of the leaves are gone, but there are some thirty-two miniatures in it by Simon Bening of Bruges that are perfect and can be rescued. Now why shouldn't people who are interested be able to handle them properly?'.[81] This is somewhat shocking in our eyes, but one cannot deny it was done with the best intentions… One of the consequences of this is that one can now see all miniatures side-by-side. This situation betrays the integrity of the book while allowing easier comparisons between the different styles. Only three large miniatures remain in the book: the Annunciation scene, the Heavenly court and Hell scene, and the *Ego sum* miniature (fols 35, 74 and 116v; **pl. 18, 30 and 38**).

The manuscript raises numerous questions. Who painted the miniatures? How do they fit in the production of these various artists and in the trends of late 15th century painting? How is the mixture of Rouen and Tours artists to be explained? Was this common practice? Was this collaboration planned from the beginning? When and how was this book of hours executed? Do its miniatures present unusual subjects or iconography? Who was responsible for commissioning the manuscript? Only the book can speak and we will see that it can answer some of these questions, while sometimes allowing only for hypothesis.

The late 15th century date given to it up to now is valid, but a careful stylistic and iconographical study will allow us to refine it. We will see that WMs 89 contains paintings of an outstanding quality that can only be the result of a commission from a wealthy member of the royal entourage. Its refined miniatures rival large-scale panel painting of the period and provide outstanding examples of manuscript illumination from the late 15th century, combining works by very skilled artists from Rouen and Tours.

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[79] Kept in three phase boxes made to measure in 2004 by Jessica Baldwin, conservator at the Chester Beatty Library.
[80] Reference to this procedure is made in the Chester Beatty Archives
[81] From S. Powerscourt, *Sun too fast*, London, 1974, p. 220. Alfred Chester Beatty is here referring to the so-called *Chester Beatty Rosarium*, still in the collection as WMs 99.

Among the artists at work in these pages, one finds the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen, responsible for eight miniatures (**Chapter I**). He is the only miniaturist from Rouen: all the other ones are representative of late 15th century Tours manuscript illumination. Two miniatures feature the work of an artist whom we offer to identify with the renowned painter Jean Bourdichon (**Chapter II.I**), six miniatures were painted by a skilled follower of Jean Fouquet (**Chapter II.II**), and nine by the Master of Jean Charpentier, also active in Tours (**Chapter II.III**). These different styles will be analysed following the order in which they appear in the book, treating separately the calendar illuminations, as they were painted by yet another Tours artist (**Chapter II.IV**). This will be followed by an analysis of the secondary decoration, textual contents and localisation of these hours (**Chapter III**). The concluding chapter will attempt to answer the questions of how, where, when and for whom this manuscript was executed, focusing especially on the codicological aspects of the manuscript (**Chapter IV**).

Chapter I

A Rouen artist:

The Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

The first artist encountered in the pages of the Chester Beatty Hours (WMs 89) is an illuminator associated with the city of Rouen and named after its city council: the Echevinage de Rouen. His origin differs from that of the three other illuminators at work in the pages of the manuscript who are all associated with Tours. Yet, one must not forget that these Hours were made for the use of Rouen, and were thus intended to be used by someone related to or living in Rouen.

This chapter will focus on the context of Rouen in the late 15th century and on the importance of the Master of the Echevinage workshop for Rouen illumination, defining the notion of workshop in relation to his work and giving an overview of his production. A study of his style in the Chester Beatty Hours, and a detailed examination of the iconography of the eight miniatures attributable to him will follow. These miniatures will be seen in relation to other manuscripts illuminated by the Rouennais Master, and will be placed in a wider context by determining the origin of some of the compositions, and showing the impact they had on later artists.

A. Rouen and the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

1. Context: Rouen and its Echevinage

The production of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen, as his name indicates, is intricately linked to the city of Rouen, where his workshop was based. By the end of the 15th century, Rouen had recovered from the Hundred Years War and its thriving book trade reflected the wealth of its economy. From 1419 until November 10th 1449, when Charles VII made his triumphal entrance into the city, Rouen was under English domination. Manuscripts made in Rouen in the first half of the 15th century showed a marked influence of Parisian illumination. The geographic proximity of Rouen and Paris, and the density of the economic exchanges between the two cities, both situated on the Seine, partly explained the intensity of artistic exchanges (see **fig. 1** for map).[1] The

[1] All **fig.** numbers refer to figures in **Vol. III.**

Parisian influence on miniature painting was also due to the fact that a few Parisian artists followed their English patrons when, expelled from Paris, they found refuge in Rouen in 1436. This was the case for the Fastolf Master and the Talbot Master, named after their main patrons: Sir John Fastolf and Sir John Talbot, captains of the English forces.[2] The so-called Master of the Harvard Hannibal,[3] although first active in Paris, also pursued his career in Normandy, and so did the so-called Master of the Golden Legend.[4] Reynolds stressed the dynamism of the Rouen book trade in comparison with the morose situation in Paris under English rule when the commissioning of art works slowed down considerably. Furthermore, there is evidence in Rouen that some Englishmen played an active part in the making of books, like William Bradwardine, seigneur of St Vaast and La Poterie who, in March 1420, hired Jacquet le Caron, to exercise his 'mestier d'escripre et enluminer' for three years at a salary of 20 *livres tournois* per year.[5]

The Royal Irish Academy Hours provide an example of an early Rouen production (see **Irish Cat. 11, fig. 11.1-2**).[6] Dating from ca. 1444, these Hours were commissioned by Lord Thomas Hoo, who had become Chancellor of Normandy and France around 1437. An artist named after this manuscript, the Hoo Master was responsible for all miniatures (see **Irish Cat. fig. 11.1**) except one painted by the Talbot Master (St Hildevert on f. 200v; **Irish Cat. fig. 11.2**). Both artists used compositions reflecting the Parisian tradition and Williams suggested the Hoo Master may have been a Parisian artist, like the Talbot Master, or a Rouen artist trained in Paris.[7] This would not have been unusual and the records of a trial (ca. 1400) indeed give evidence of a Rouen artist being trained in the capital, as it involved Guillaume de La Rue, a Rouen illuminator-bookseller who claimed to have learnt his craft in the Parisian workshop of Etienne de Fontaine in 1367-68.[8]

Rouen recovered well from the ordeals of the Hundred Years War and, at the

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[2] See Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 169-71, cat. 88. Gousset, 1993, pp. 233-47. Reynolds, 1994, pp. 305-8.
[3] Named after a miniature painted in Harvard, Houghton Library, ms. Richardson 32.
[4] Named after a copy of the Golden Legend now in Munich (Bayer. Staats., ms. gall. 3). For more on artists active in Normandy during the English occupation, see Reynolds, 1994, pp. 300-313. See also **D.1** in this chapter.
[5] Bradwardine also committed to provide lodgement, food, clothes and materials. See Reynolds, 1994, p. 311, and Reynolds, 1989, p. 54 where the nam e of the craftsman is mispelt 'Craon'. Document originally transcribed by C. de Beaurepaire, in *Nouveaux mélanges historiques et archéologiques*, Rouen, 1904, pp. 360-6, and cited by Watson, 1984, pp. 23-4.
[6] Dublin, RIA, MS 12 R 31, **Irish Cat. 11 in Vol. IV.**
[7] See L. L. Williams, 'A Rouen Book of Hours of the Sarum use, ca.1444 belonging to Thomas, Lord Hoo, Chancellor of Normandy and France' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 75C9, 1975, pp. 189-212. Reynolds, 1989, p. 53 and 1994, pp. 303-4.
[8] See Gousset, 1993, pp. 233-47.

end of the 15th century, it had become the second city of the kingdom, closely competing with Lyon. By 1550-60,[9] its population had grown to 70 000 souls. Watson stressed that 'François I, king from 1515 to 1547, is said to have described it as the first city in the kingdom, Paris being a region rather than a city'.[10] Its strategic position between Paris and the sea, its flourishing metallurgic and linen industries, the wealth of the surrounding countryside made it a prosperous city where potential patrons abounded. As the seat of an important archbishopric, its dynamic book trade benefited from the presence of both lay and clerical dignitaries.

Like many French cities at the time, Rouen was administered by a council called an Echevinage, whose members, the échevins, were members of the local bourgeoisie. As in Poitiers, St Lô[11] or Amiens,[12] the Echevinage felt the need to assemble a library for the use of the city councillors. Richard placed the foundation of the library in the first quarter of the 15th century. He suggested that the library must have already contained some volumes when a certain Jehan Marcel gave a copy of Augustine's *Cité de Dieu* to the Échevins sometime between 1420 and 1449.[13] Avril argued that: '…les premières commandes durent remonter à une époque un peu antérieure, vers 1450, le rassemblement de livres ainsi projeté visant peut-être à célébrer la récente libération de la ville…'.[14] It was housed in the city hall and an inventory made in 1647[15] lists twenty-one manuscripts as well as twenty-eight printed books. A record in the *Registre des Délibérations* at the date of 28 December 1465, states that a copy of the *Chronique de Normandie* was borrowed by the Duke of Normandy, who promised to return it without delay:

Item, fu par l'ordonnance des Conseillers dessusdits, baillé en prest a Monseigneur le Duc de Normandie, les Croniques de Normandie, et délivrées ès mains de Jehan, Monseigneur de Harcourt, lequel les promist de faire rendre et rapporter devers ladite ville, après ce que mondit Seigneur les aura veues, et dedens brefz jours. [16]

This formal control of the library, imposed on such a man as the Duke of Normandy, shows the importance accorded by the échevins to their books, and the fact that this borrowing was recorded in the *Registre* certainly means that it was not common

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[9] Jouanna, Hamon, Biloghi and Le Thiec, 2001, p. 1055.
[10] Watson, 1984, p. 15.
[11] See Delisle, 1891, vol. I, pp. 544-5.
[12] See A. Dubois, 'La bibliothèque de l'Echevinage d'Amiens aux XVe et XVIe siècles', in *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, 13, 1895-1897, pp. 242-45; Labarre, 1971, p. 138, pp. 367-74; Nash, 1999, pp. 45-6.
[13] C. Richard, *Notice sur l'ancienne bibliothèque des échevins de la ville de Rouen*, Rouen, 1845, pp. 9, 47-8.
[14] In Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 170.
[15] See Richard, as in n. 9.
[16] *Registre des délibérations*. 28 dec. 1465, 242r, quoted by Richard, 1845, p. 31.

practice for the Echevinage library to lend its books. It could also reflect the pride the Échevins may have felt in lending a book to the Duke.

The library at first acquired 'second-hand' manuscripts, which had not been especially commissioned by the Echevinage, such as an early 14th century *Coutumier de Normandie.*[17] The first two manuscripts bearing the arms of the city in their original borders and thus made especially for the Echevinage library, are a copy of the *Régime des princes*, by Gilles de Rome followed by works by Cicero and Alain Chartier (1454-5),[18] and a manuscript containing Aristotle's *Ethiques, Politiques* and *Economiques* (ca. 1450).[19] The Echevins had the former illustrated locally by the Talbot Master who also contributed one miniature to the latter. Yet the Aristotle manuscript was otherwise illustrated by the Master of the Ethiques d'Aristote (named after this manuscript), an artist active in the North of France and whose style was close to that of the Flemish artist Loyset Liédet. The involvement of this artist in a manuscript commissioned by the Rouen échevins is surprising, and Reynaud suggested that 'Le Maître de Talbot venait sans doute de disparaître, et les conseillers n'avaient pas encore recruté l'artiste local qui devait peu après devenir leur enlumineur attitré, le Maître de l'Echevinage de Rouen'.[20] Indeed, from the late 1450s, the Echevinage began to commission a series of manuscripts from a local workshop[21] whose style was to become the hallmark of Rouen miniature painting for the second half of the 15th century. In spite of this privileged link with the Echevinage, the artist responsible for these paintings remains anonymous. He may have been mentioned in the *Registre des Délibérations* of the city council, but, although a great amount of archival material has survived for Rouen, the records have not been preserved for the period from 1471 to 1491,[22] during which period our artist executed several works for the Echevinage.

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17 Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais, Collection Dutuit, no. 95. This manuscript contains the inscription: 'Ce livre coustumier de Normandie est de l[ostel commun] de la ville et cité de Rouen', transcribed in Rahir, 1899, Cat. 95. Richard, on p. 48, suggested that this manuscript could have been among the first books to enter the library, arguing that, 'Engagés dans une suite interminable de procès, comme propriétaires et comme corps politique, leur [the Échevins'] premier besoin fut d'étudier les lois…'.

18 Rouen, BM, ms. I, 2 (927). See Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 43.

19 Paris, BNF, Fr. 126. See Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 88. Payment for the binding of this manuscript by the Echevinage was recorded in the *Registre des Délibérations* at the date of 31 August 1455. See Richard, 1845, pp. 26-8.

20 Reynaud, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 93.

21 See **2.b.** in this section for a discussion of the meaning of 'workshop'.

22 Rabel, 1989, n.73.

2. Presentation of the artist and his workshop

a. Anonymous artist with many names

In the absence of a name for this illuminator singled out for his work for the Échevins, scholars have given him various titles. He was first mistakenly given the name of Jacobus Ten Eyken, a Flemish scribe who signed a copy of Valerius Maximus' *Faits Mémorables*[23] in 1469. Four miniatures survive in this manuscript, dating from slightly later and painted by the Rouennais Master. A confusion between these two men led to the designation of the miniaturist as Jacobus Ten Eyken.[24]

In 1982, Plummer gave the artist the name of Master of the Geneva Latini,[25] after the miniatures (two remaining) he painted ca. 1470 in a copy of *Le Trésor*, an encyclopaedic work by Brunetto Latini, held in the Geneva library.[26] In 1989, Rabel preferred calling him the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen on Avril's suggestion,[27] thus reflecting the importance of the Echevinage as a major client of this artist. Avril reused this appellation in 1993.[28]

To this day, both names are employed with a preference by the non-French-speaking scholars for the Master of the Geneva Latini rather than the tongue-twisting Master of the Echevinage! To confirm the rule, we shall call him the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen, as this name has a historical relationship with the artist's production.

b. The Master of the Echevinage workshop

A great number of manuscripts have been assigned to this artist but, as is often the case for workshop products, it is difficult to draw the line between the Master's hand and that of his assistants.[29] The miniatures in the manuscripts assigned to his workshop vary greatly in quality.[30] A number of elements can explain these variations: they can correspond to different stages in the development of the Master's style, reflect his collaborators' unequal skills or even be an indication of other workshops trying to match his style. These three explanations are not mutually exclusive and probably combined to

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[23] Paris, BNF, Fr. 284-5.
[24] He is designated by Pächt and Thoss, 1974, vol. I, esp. p. 58.
[25] Plummer, 1982, Cat. 87-8.
[26] Geneva, Bibl. publ. et univ., ms. fr. 160. For reproduction, see Rabel, 1989, ill. 8.
[27] Rabel, 1989, n. 7.
[28] Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 169.
[29] See also the *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy* (**Irish Cat. 7 in Vol. IV**) whose numerous miniatures were painted by the Bedford Master, the Dunois Master, and other assistants working in the same style.
[30] Especially in books of hours.

produce the variations one observes.

Struck by the similarities between books of hours attributed to the Master of the Echevinage, de Hamel wrote: 'Many Rouen Books of Hours of the 1460s to 1480s mirror each other so exactly that one must visualise some kind of production line to multiply almost identical illuminations at great speed'.[31] Yet, as Rabel stressed, this may be casting a modern eye onto a late medieval production.[32] Without talking of a 'production line', one has to acknowledge that the Master of the Echevinage workshop must have been highly organised, leading to 'une standardisation très poussée, qui dissimule la présence de nombreux collaborateurs utilisant des compositions se répétant, avec de menues variantes de détail, d'un livre d'heures à l'autre.'[33] The standard illustration cycles of books of hours lent themselves particularly well to the reproduction of patterns, so that one often witnesses full or partial recycling of certain compositions, as for the St Sebastian or St Martin scenes in the Chester Beatty Hours.[34] Even in manuscripts of another nature, it is striking to observe how groups of figures or architectural backgrounds are repeated from one manuscript to the other. In the *Cité de Dieu* manuscript,[35] for instance, Nimrod standing beside the tower of Babel (f. 122) is repeated from copies of *La Bouquechardière* [36] and the Nativity scene (f. 155) seems to be taken straight out of the Master's books of hours.

The Master probably headed quite a large workshop, and his assistants would have been trained to follow his style and compositions so that manuscripts were illustrated in a consistent way. Wieck noted that: 'He created models for the dozen or so standard illustrations for a typical Book of Hours and hired assistants for their ability to paint in his style…'.[37] He may have reserved for himself the more important commissions like those made for the échevins and would have left the illumination of more standardised books like speculative books of hours[38] to his assistants. Although archival material for Rouen at the period when our artist was active is very poor, one can see from previous periods that 'L'organisation du travail semble avoir été plus individuelle, souvent familiale,[39] et les associations professionnelles connues sont des

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31 De Hamel, 2nd ed., 1994, p. 195, see ills 177-180 for an example of the Nativity miniature in four different books of hours.
32 Rabel, 1989, p. 58.
33 Avril in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 172.
34 See **C.7 and 8** in this chapter.
35 Paris, BNF, Fr. 27 (vol. 1).
36 See for example Construction of Tower of Babel in Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2543, f. 218.
37 Wieck, 1997, p. 69.
38 As opposed to commissioned Hours. On this distinction, see article by Delaunay, 2001, pp. 249-70.
39 See Gousset, 1993, pp. 233-47.

arrangements conclus au coup par coup entre deux personnes',[40] as in the case of the *Bouquechardière* the writing of which the Échevins commissioned directly from the scribe.[41] The Master of the Echevinage was probably running a shop, helped by a few members of his family and apprentices, in the same way as Andry Le Musnier (ca. 1423-1475), illuminator and libraire in Paris at a slightly earlier date[42] or Jean Gillemer, in Poitiers involved in a trial in 1472.[43]

As in most cities with a thriving book trade, Rouen had its *libraires* quarter, close to the cathedral. In May 1484, a register from the municipal archives of Rouen refers to four men described as illuminators: Jean Masselin, Jean Le Moigne, Guillaume Coutil, and Guillaume Longuet (also mentioned in 1489).[44] Avril reckons that the Master of the Echevinage was active until ca. 1482-3,[45] but in view of the work executed in WMs 89, we shall see that his career needs to be extended by a few years, so that he could be one these artists. Yet, in the absence of any document linking one of these names to an identifiable manuscript (as in the case of Jean Bourdichon and the *Grandes Heures of Anne de Bretagne*),[46] any attempt at assigning a name to the Master of the Echevinage remains arbitrary. All these illuminators resided close to the Place du Vieux Marché, some distance to the west of the cathedral.[47] By 1479, the Portail Nord of the Cathedral had become known as the Portail des Libraires (**fig. 2**), due to the concentration of their trade close to this entrance. Indeed, from 1487, accounts show rents being paid by booksellers at this Portail to the chapter of the cathedral.[48] The Portail des Libraires has kept its name to this day and it has not lost its relevance, as the antiquarian bookshops of Rouen are to be found nearby.

It is reasonable to think that the Master of the Echevinage lived in this part of the city among the other members of his trade. As he seems to have been the most talented illuminator in Rouen at the time, chosen by the échevins to illuminate several of

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40 Rabel, 1989, p. 58.
41 See **3.a.** in this section.
42 Rouse and Rouse, v. 1, 2000, p. 303-27.
43 The surviving record shows that Gillemer had six assistants and that he was not only involved in illuminating but also bookdealing, decorating and he also organised the writing of manuscripts. See A. Lecoy de la Marche, 'Interrogatoire d'un enlumineur par Tristan l'Ermite', in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, ser. 5, III, (1891-2), pp. 396-408. For a more recent discussion and English edition of this text, see V. Day, 'Portrait of a Provincial Artist: Jehan Gillemer, Poitevin Illuminator', in *Gesta*, XLI/1, 2002, pp. 39-49.
44 See Beaurepaire, *Nouveaux mélanges historiques et archéologiques* (Rouen, 1904) and *Derniers mélanges* (1909), p. 161-77, pp. 229-36.
45 In Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 172.
46 See **Chapter II, I.A.**
47 '... Jean Masselin, Jean Le Moigne and Guillaume Coutil lived in the parish of Sainte Croix- Saint Ouen, while another lived nearby, near the Dominican convent', in Watson, 1984, p. 21.
48 *Inv. Som., Arch. Dep., série G, II*, pp. 215 and ff., and 351and ff., mentioned by Watson, 1984, p. 23.

the manuscripts they commissioned, his successful compositions could have inspired the work of other Rouen miniaturists. This could explain why, when one looks at late 15th-early 16th century manuscripts produced in Rouen, they all seem to share a family resemblance that ultimately, closely or more loosely, links them to the art of the Master of the Echevinage. Nash observed the same phenomenon in Amiens manuscript painting in the first half of the fifteenth century stressing that 'Such homogeneity is a logical consequence of an urban environment, where artists often lived in close proximity, in the same area or even the same street. Many were interrelated by blood, through marriage, master-apprentice ties or economic partnerships'.[49] Furthermore, patterns and models circulated, as is shown by records of disputes over stolen drawings.[50] When the art of some successful illuminators such as the Master of Bedford could have an impact on the art of miniature painting in other cities than Paris, it must have been easy for style and compositions to travel from one workshop to the other when they were only a short distance from each other, within the same city.

The situation in Rouen in the second half of the 15th century may have been comparable to that in Paris a century before where: 'On the rue Neuve [...] sharing out of the work was common practice [...] combining the desire of the artists to have a steady flow of employment with the desire of the contractor to get his manuscript produced as quickly as possible'.[51] Yet, the work attributed to the Master of the Echevinage shows very little evidence of collaboration with artists working in a different style.

Wieck placed his death 'sometime in the early 1480s' after which 'the workshop continued like a well-oiled machine into the second decade of the next century, although the style, as might be expected, changed.'[52] Avril dated his first works from the late 1450s and observed that the style of the *Livre des Trois Eages*[53] suggests he was still active ca. 1482-3 (**fig. 5**).[54]

His work had a long-lasting influence on local manuscript production, as Watson showed in his study of the *Playfair Hours*.[55] In this work, he provided numerous examples of late 15th-early 16th century *Hours for the use of Sarum*, designed for English or Scottish

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49 Nash, 1999, p. 29.
50 See case of Jacquemart de Hesdin accused by another painter John of Holland of having stolen 'certaines couleurs et patrons estant icelui', quoted in Meiss, 1967, p. 226.
51 Rouse and Rouse, 2000, p. 253.
52 Wieck, 1997, p. 69.
53 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 70.
54 Avril in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 172.
55 Watson, 1984; London, V&A, L.475-1918.

patrons[56] residing in France and containing compositions rooted in those of the Master of the Echevinage. The *Playfair Hours*, or the *Hours for the use of Sarum* now in Edinburgh University Library,[57] both dated to the last decade of the 15th century show an interesting mixture of styles, the finest work being very close to the Master of the Echevinage (see **fig. 35, 38-9**). The impact of the Master of the Echevinage can also be felt in the first decades of the 16th century in the work of the Rouen artist Robert Boyvin.[58]

3. A numerous and varied production

While attempting to give a representative sample of the range of manuscripts the Master of the Echevinage illuminated, one has to bear in mind that this list remains open and does not have any claim to be exhaustive. Manuscripts linked to this artist regularly surface at auctions and, even in public libraries, hitherto unpublished manuscripts such as the Chester Beatty Hours will bring into light new work by the Rouen Master.

One advantage of naming this illuminator after the Echevinage, is that the manuscripts he illuminated for the city council feature among his most finished works and adequately reflect his skill. While many manuscripts in sales and exhibition catalogues are regularly associated with the name of the Master of the Echevinage (the use of Rouen is usually a first hint), only a limited number can be regarded as being by the Master's hand, especially among books of hours. The following manuscripts, beginning with the ones painted for the Echevinage share a high level of finish; some details betray the presence of several hands, yet they worked in such close manner that differentiating them is virtually impossible. As we shall see, these manuscripts are of varied contents and very few of them show collaboration with artists working in a different style.

a. Commissions from the Echevinage[59]

Although the Master of the Echevinage did not work exclusively for the Echevinage, he executed at least five manuscripts for this library, distinguished by their heraldic borders where the arms of Rouen appear alongside those of Normandy and

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56 Some of these manuscripts may have been produced for members of the Scots Guard employed by the French kings (this was discussed by R. Watson, in 'What was the Importance of Rouen for the English Booktrade, c. 1450-1530', unpublished paper given as part of *British Books in a European Context*, Ninth Biennial Conference of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Univ. of Leicester, 5-7 July 2002).
57 Edinburgh, EUL, ms. 43.
58 See **E.3** in this chapter for more on Robert Boyvin.
59 For more details, see the comprehensive article by Rabel, 1989, pp. 48-61.

sometimes also of France. It seems that the first surviving manuscript to be attributed to the Master of the Echevinage is a copy of *La Bouquechardière* (**fig. 3**),[60] a text written between 1416 and 1422 by a Norman, Jean de Courcy, seigneur of Bourg-Achard (from which the title of the work derives). This compilation of texts related to Ancient History, beginning with the Deluge and ending with the birth of Christ,[61] proved to be a great success in the decades 1460-80, especially locally. Indeed, out of the thirty-five surviving copies of *La Bouquechardière,* twelve were illuminated in the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen.[62] One copy belonged to Philippe Pot, Seneschal of the Duke of Burgundy,[63] another was given as a present to Jeanne de France, wife of Jean II by her brother-in-law, Louis de Bourbon, general lieutenant of Normandy from 1470 onwards.[64] The popularity of this work is proved even further by the fact that some of the surviving copies contain empty shields in their borders,[65] which means that a few copies of this lavish manuscript (from 360 to 400 folios and 400 to 500 mm high), quite expensive to produce with its six large miniatures introducing each section, were made on speculation. This practice was common in the second half of the 15th century for books of hours, but it is quite remarkable for a manuscript of this size and of this nature.

The municipal records mention important expenses linked to a copy of *La Bouquechardière* that the échevins were having made in 1457: these costs involved fifty-three quires of parchment and the scribe hired for this work was called Raoulet Bellefosse.[66] This copy certainly corresponds to Fr. 2685 (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, **fig. 3**), whose miniatures were painted by the Master of the Echevinage. This manuscript indeed contains fifty-two quires, and displays in its borders, together with the

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[60] Paris, BNF, Fr. 2685. Reproductions of f. 159 of this manuscript can be found in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, no. 89, p. 168 and in Rabel, 1989, fig. 2, p. 50.

[61] For more details on the textual contents, see de Chancel, 1999, pp.181-96.

[62] Paris, BNF, Fr. 2685; Fr. 329; Fr. 20124; Fr. 20130 (only volume II); Fr. 6183-15459 (in two volumes); Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1556-7 (on paper except for folios with miniatures); Waddesdon Manor, ms. 11; Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2543; St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F.v.IV.13; London, BL, ms. Harley 4376; Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 728 (312); New York, PML, M. 214 see also Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 45.16 (one folio); Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 3514; The Hague, Meermanno-Westreenianum Museum, 10 A 17; Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 71-72, and formerly Phillipps 132. For full list and details on these manuscripts, see B. de Chancel, 1987, pp. 219-90.

[63] Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 728 (312).

[64] Paris, BNF, Fr. 329.

[65] Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2543; St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F.v.IV.13 and London, BL, ms. Harley 4376 have unpainted shields in their borders. The arms of Diane of Poitiers have subsequently been added around the first miniature in Paris, BNF, Fr. 6183 (whose vol. 2 is Fr. 15459).

[66] Richard, 1845, pp. 20-21: 'Mémoire que il a esté marchyandé avec Louys de Bavent, parcheminier, pour fournir plusieurs kayers de parchemin de vellin, a huit feulles le kaier, pour faire le livre de la Boucachardiere, pour la ville, par viii s. t. [12 fr.] chacun kaier'.
'Item, le iie jour de juillet iiiie lvii, par Messeigneurs, marchandé fu chiez Raoulet Bellefosse, de escripre ledit livre de la Boucachardiere, par xix s. iii d. l. [28f. 60 c.] chacun cayer, et pour le faire regler de roze' (*Registre des délibérations*, f. 129).

arms of Rouen and Normandy,[67] a shield referring to Charles VII and his two sons.[68] As Charles VII died in 1461, the illumination of this manuscript was necessarily painted between 1457 and 1461. The transcription of such a work would have taken quite some time and it is reasonable to think that the Master of the Echevinage probably intervened in its illustration around 1459-60. All the manuscripts of *La Bouquechardière* illuminated in the Master of the Echevinage workshop were painted following the same model, even though a few compositional and stylistic variations occur. The one executed for the Echevinage, differs from the others in a few important points that seem to confirm its early date. The Echevinage copy contains an extra miniature featuring the author, Jean de Courcy and the miniatures for Books III and IV precede their table of contents, instead of introducing the text itself. It is thus tempting to think that a routine was not yet established in the workshop for the design of this manuscript and this copy could be the prototype to the whole series of *Bouquechardière* manuscripts.[69]

The Master of the Echevinage was commissioned by the Echevinage to illustrate other historical works, such as the *Chronique de Normandie* (**fig. 4**),[70] usually erroneously attributed to Gilles Le Bouvier, illustrated with eleven miniatures and dating from before 1465, as it was at the end of that year that Charles, Duke of Normandy and brother to Louis XI, was allowed to borrow it for a short period of time (see above).[71] The 1647 inventory[72] of the Echevinage library mentions both *La Bouquechardière* [73] and the *Chronique de Normandie.*[74] Around 1465-70, the illuminator was responsible for the nine remaining miniatures in a copy of the *Estoire d'Oultremer,*[75] by Guillaume de Tyr, which recounts the conquest of the Holy Land and of the kingdom of Jerusalem, up to 1232. Copies of this text are not so common in the 15th century. The surviving miniature in the Echevinage copy of the *Chroniques de Charles VI et de Charles VII* now in the Bibliothèque

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67 Rouen: de gueules à l'agneau pascal d'argent, la tête nimbée et contournée, portant une bannerette du même chargée d'une croisette d'or, au chef cousu d'azur chargé de trois fleurs de lys d'or. Normandy: de gueules à deux léopards passants d'or.
68 Charles, duc de Berry: d'azur à trois fleurs de lys d'or a la bordure engrellée de gueules. Dauphin (future king Louis XI): écartelé au 1 et 4, de France; au 2 et 3, d'or au dauphin d'azur.
69 See Rabel, 1989, p. 51.
70 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2623.
71 See in **1.** in this chapter
72 See Richard, 1845, pp. 2-3.
73 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2685; no. 6 in the inventory.
74 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2623; no. 16 in the inventory.
75 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2629. Two miniatures are missing.

Nationale in Paris[76] (**fig. 31**) is also attributed to the Master of the Echevinage, and this manuscript has been dated to ca. 1480, as the decorated initials are painted in a late style.

This artist also illustrated literary works, such as Boccaccio's *Decameron*[77] for which he painted two miniatures. This work was particularly popular in France in the fifteenth century and it is not surprising that the Echevinage wished to have a copy on its shelves.

b. Historical and literary manuscripts

While the illumination of the *Bouquechardière* was a 'speciality' of the Master of the Echevinage, the manuscripts he was commissioned to illustrate were quite varied in their contents. Even though he never missed an opportunity to recycle compositions, or just some of their components from one manuscript to the other, his production reflects a great capacity of adaptation to different subjects. The range of non-religious manuscripts he illustrated also shows the taste of the clientele for books written in the French language, whether they were originally written in French or whether they were translations of well-known works.

As an artist active in Rouen, a city which had regained an enviable status after the English occupation, he was commissioned to illustrate a copy of the *Grand Coutumier de Normandie* (ca. 1460),[78] an account of local laws which must have been especially relevant to the Normans at the time. Indeed, now that Normandy had returned to the control of the king of France, it was particularly important for its inhabitants to know their rights and the legislation governing their area.

Apart from the numerous copies of the Bouquechardière chronicle previously mentioned in relation to the Echevinage Library copy, other historical works include the four remaining miniatures in a copy of Valerius Maximus' *Faits Mémorables*[79] and one miniature in *Les Faits des Romains*,[80] all dating from ca. 1470. The three volumes of Titus Livius' *Histoires romaines*,[81] translated by Pierre Bersuire and containing a large number of miniatures, were dated by Lyna to ca. 1470-80, nut we would argue for a slightly later

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76 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596. The reason why most of these Echevinage manuscripts are now in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is that in 1682, several of the most beautiful manuscripts in the Echevinage library were given as a present to Colbert, whose library was later bought by the King of France (in 1732) and became part of the Bibliothèque Royale. See Richard, 1845, p. 8.
77 Paris, BNF, Fr. 129.
78 New York, PML, M. 457. See Plummer, 1982, Cat. 87.
79 Paris, BNF, Fr. 284-5; copied by Jacobus Ten Eyken, see above.
80 Geneva, Bibl. publ. et univ., Fr. 80.
81 Brussels, Bibl. Roy. de Belgique, mss. 9051-3.

date, ca. 1478-85.[82]

The Master of the Echevinage was responsible for the two large surviving miniatures in a copy of *Le Trésor*, a work of encyclopaedic nature written in French by Brunetto Latini (ca. 1220-94).[83] This work was mentioned before in relation to the other name given to the Rouennais Master: the Master of the Geneva Latini.

His production was very diverse and he did not limit himself to one type of book as some illuminators did at the time.[84] He also illustrated literary works: in addition to the *Decameron* he illuminated for the Echevinage,[85] he was responsible for the miniatures in a copy of the *Cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, now in London, by the same author.[86] One can add to these a prose *Tristan* containing one miniature on its first folio.[87] This miniature, as Loomis stressed,[88] must have been painted around the same time as the Vienna *Bouquechardière*,[89] ca. 1470.[90] In Vienna, a copy of Christine de Pisan's *Livre de la Cité des trois vertus à l'enseignement des dames*,[91] and one of Alain Chartier's *Oeuvres diverses en prose et en vers*[92] also show the Master of the Echevinage's distinctive style.

Together with the *Grand Coutumier* and the Echevinage *Bouquechardière*, a copy of the *Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu*,[93] by Martin Le Franc is to be counted among the earliest manuscripts painted by the Master of the Echevinage. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that Martin le Franc (ca. 1410-61) was born in Normandy and the *Estrif*, a successful didactic and moral work, was written in 1447-8.

One of the Master's latest and most distinguished works, dated by Avril to ca. 1482-83,[94] consists in twelve three-quarter-page miniatures in a copy of the *Livre des Trois Eages*,[95] by Pierre Choisnet (ca. 1411-ca. 1483), doctor and astrologer to King Louis XI

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82 See Gaspar, Lyna, 1989, vol. III pt. I, Cat. 248, 248.2, 248.3, pp. 33-7. As the borders show influence from the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37; see **Appendix I.2**), we offer a slightly later date.

83 Geneva, Bibl. publ. et univ., Fr. 160.

84 See the Master of Jean Charpentier who focused on the illumination of books of hours in **Chapter II, III.A.3**.

85 Paris, BNF, Fr. 129.

86 London, BL, ms. Add. 18750; this copy may be the one given by the Echevinage to Moneypenny, as recorded many years later in the *Registre des délibérations*...in 1471, see Richard, 1845, no. 8, p. 16.

87 Paris, BNF, Fr. 103.

88 In *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, New York, 1938, p. 113, see fig. 304.

89 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2543, see for example the Meeting between Priam and Helen on f. 105 where Helen is nearly identical to Isolt.

90 See Pächt and Thoss, 1974, vol. 1. I would suggest a slightly earlier date, judging by the costume and elongated proportions of the figures, the angularity of the style and abundance of Gothic inscriptions.

91 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2605.

92 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2619.

93 *Manuscrits et enluminures du onzième au dix-huitième siècle*, G. Berès Sales Catalogue no. 66, Paris, [1975], lot 14.

94 Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 92, p. 172.

95 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 70.

(**fig. 5**). It is the only surviving manuscript copy of this text and Rabel suggested in her article that it might have been the dedication copy to the king.[96] This short moral poem refers to the three ages of man and contains a praise of good governance in which the king is compared to a shepherd always acting for the benefit of his flock, even though it sometimes means shearing it! The miniatures are particularly interesting, as the illuminator made an effort to create novel compositions adapted to the content of the poem (hunting scenes, depictions of the shepherd and his flock…), and the result is of a very high quality.

In contrast, to illuminate a copy of St Augustine's *Cité de Dieu* now in Paris (**fig. 14, 22, 23**),[97] his only surviving theological manuscript, the Master of the Echevinage based his miniatures on the compositions of an early 15th century copy of this work present in the Echevinage library.[98] This shows how the Echevinage library could act as a reservoir of models for Rouen illuminators, especially for the Master of the Echevinage whose links with the city council were constant. One could imagine that, for the subsequent generations of illuminators, the library still played that role and, when asked to illustrate a specific work, they may have been allowed to borrow manuscripts from the Echevinage library to use as models. This would have contributed to the perpetuation of the style and compositions of the Master of the Echevinage into the late 15th-early 16th century.[99]

c. Liturgical manuscripts and books of hours

A few missals attributed to the Master of the Echevinage have survived, and have remained in Rouen in the Bibliothèque Municipale. One contains the arms of archbishop Robert de Croismare and is for the use of Rouen.[100] The so-called *Missal of the Carmes de Rouen*[101] must have been illustrated shortly after the text was copied by Jean Hardi, from 1479 to 1481.[102] Ms. 385 (A.11) is also called *Perchart Missal* after one of its owners Richard Perchart, canon of Rouen and rector of St Gervais of Paris,[103] whose kneeling figure was added below the two large miniatures (see f. 149v-150, **fig. 6**). Ms. 285 (A.15)

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[96] Rabel, 1989, p. 54; see also C. Samaran, 'Pierre Choisnet, *Le Rosier des Gueres* et le *Livre des trois Eages*', in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 87, 1926, pp. 372-80.
[97] Paris, BNF, Fr. 27-28.
[98] Paris, BNF, Fr. 23-24.
[99] See **E** in this chapter and Watson, 1984.
[100] Rouen, BM , ms. 380 (Y.19); only one surviving miniature on f. 26.
[101] Rouen, BM, ms. 287 (A.22).
[102] See Rabel, 1989, p. 60, n. 18.
[103] This Missal was given to the Rouen Chapter by Canon Perchart on 12 Aug. 1485.

is also associated with the Master of the Echevinage.

These Missals, copied on two columns, usually contain two full-page miniatures facing each other (featuring a large Crucifixion facing God the Father in majesty surrounded by the four Evangelists), to introduce the Canon of the Mass.[104] The so-called *Missal of the Carmes de Rouen*[105] also contains historiated initials and small miniatures accompanied by numerous scenes in the borders.

Only one Breviary, for the use of Besançon (**fig. 7, 76**),[106] partly attributed to the Master of the Echevinage has come down to us. It was painted for Charles de Neufchâtel, archbishop of Besançon, whose arms decorate its margins. Sent in exile in Normandy, he resided in Rouen as bishop of Bayeux from 1480 to his death in 1498. This manuscript contains ten large miniatures of varying formats, a few of which show the Master of the Echevinage at his best.[107] They were certainly painted in the early 1480s, shortly after Charles de Neufchâtel arrived in Rouen. This lavish manuscript, comprising 467 folios, contains more than a hundred smaller miniatures of uneven quality and numerous historiated initials showing several hands at work, one of them being more in the manner of the Parisian Master of the Chronique Scandaleuse.

Among the earliest Hours attributed to the Master of the Echevinage, are a manuscript now in Toulouse[108] dating from the 1450s and a book of hours in private hands that last appeared on the market in 1976 (ca. 1450-5).[109] The number of books of hours assigned to the Master of the Echevinage workshop has been ever increasing and many will be missing from the following list. It nevertheless provides a fair impression of the workshop's production. The typical book of hours associated with the Master of the Echevinage was for the use of Rouen and its set of miniatures was repeated from one book to the other with little variation. The calendar was rarely illustrated, even though a Rouen cycle of calendar illustrations with labours of the months and signs of the zodiac developed in the last quarter of the 15th century. This later cycle can be found in two *Hours for the use of Rouen* in the Walters Art Gallery,[110] it was repeated in the *Playfair Hours* group[111] (**fig. 132**) and in other Hours in the Echevinage style such as the Arsenal *Hours*

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104 See fols 13v-14 in Rouen ms. 285 (A.15), and 149v-150 in ms. 385 (A.11).
105 Rouen, BM, ms. 287 (A.22).
106 Besançon, BM, ms. 69.
107 See the Nativity on p. 192 or the Birth of St John the Baptist on p.134.
108 Toulouse, BM, ms. 143.
109 Lucerne, Gilhofer and Ranschburg, Cat. 70, 1976, no. 73.
110 Baltimore, WAG, W.233 and 241.
111 See Watson, 1984 for discussion of these scenes and numerous illustrations.

for the use of Rouen.[112] Yet in the vast majority of the Hours attributed to the Master of the Echevinage, the calendar remained unillustrated.

The cycle of miniatures usually began with a quartered composition depicting the four Evangelists, which introduced the Gospel Lessons (**fig. 8**). This choice of featuring the four Evangelists within the same miniature instead of the more common depiction of St John on the island of Patmos is a hallmark of Rouen illumination and is to be found in many books of hours illustrated by the Master of the Echevinage.[113] Generally, the rest of the miniatures were quite unoriginal and common to many books of hours produced elsewhere in France: Annunciation (Matins of the Hours of the Virgin; see **fig. 26-7**), Visitation (Lauds), Nativity (Prime), Annunciation to the Shepherds (Tierce), Adoration of the Magi (Sext), Presentation to the Temple (None; see **fig. 28, 30**), Flight into Egypt (Vespers; see **fig. 10**), Coronation of the Virgin (Compline). A miniature of David admonished by Nathan or of David in prayer often introduced the Penitential Psalms. A few variations could be found for the Office of the Dead[114] and the Suffrages were only illustrated in the most lavish Hours. All these scenes were treated following a set model and the similarities are striking.[115]

Nonetheless, his work is full of exceptions to the 'rule' and the hours that stand out are probably the ones that were commissioned and thus required to be personalised in some way. This personalisation could consist in just a section added with certain prayers and a miniature depicting the donor(s). When examining a book of hours now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Randall stressed that: 'As often observed in books of hours completed in Rouen during the last quarter of the 15th century, the final text sequence in W241 was added, in this case for the lady depicted in the last miniature (f. 121)'.[116] It also may have been the case for Waddesdon Manor, ms. 12 where the last quire contains prayers in French such as the 'Fifteen Joys of the Virgin' and the 'Seven Requests of the Lord',[117] and is introduced by a depiction of a lady donor kneeling before the Virgin and Child (f. 123); the same occurs in numerous books of hours for the use of Rouen attributed to the Master of the Echevinage.[118] A lady is kneeling before St John on

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112 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 429.
113 Usually on f. 13, after the calendar. See in Waddesdon Manor, ms. 12; Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 429; Moscow, Lenin Library, f. 218, no. 388; Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Douce 253…
114 See **C.3.** in this chapter.
115 Rabel, 1989, p. 58.
116 Baltimore, WAG, W. 241; Randall, 1989-92, vol. II pt 2, Cat. 163, p. 302.
117 For transcription of these two texts, see Leroquais, 1927, vol. II, pp. 310-1, and 309-10.
118 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 429, f. 95; Ampleforth Abbey, ms. 275, p. 263; Giraud-Badin 1986, f. 126; Giraud-Badin 1988, f. 113; Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Douce 253, f. 134.

f. 139v in *Hours for the use of Coutances* also in Baltimore (**fig. 9**),[119] and a couple kneels on either side of St Catherine in the *Hours for the use of Rouen* now in Harrow School.[120] One can imagine that standard books of hours were made on speculation and, if a lady was interested in acquiring one, the appropriate last quire was added to the others, introduced by a miniature featuring a female patron. Manuscripts were often sold unbound, so that quires could easily be added. This method would explain why these books of hours, although they frequently feature a miniature with patron, do not contain coats of arms or mottoes.

Alternatively, the personalisation of the book of hours could affect the appearance and content of the whole manuscript. In this case, the patron had requirements on how his book of hours should look and what it should contain, and was not interested in buying a 'ready-made' book of hours. Such books of hours, as one can expect, were of a higher quality and their miniatures displayed greater skill and finish. It seems that in these more prestigious productions, the Master of the Echevinage himself is likely to have taken the brush himself, or entrusted it to his most skilful assistants. A beautiful book of hours in the hands of a prominent dignitary could act as a precious advertisement for the workshop.

Very rare are the Hours illustrated by the Master of the Echevinage where it is possible to identify the original owner. The small *Hours for the use of Coutances* (130 x 100 mm; **fig. 15, 18, 25, 27, 30, 37, 41, 57, 62**) now in the Turin Library[121] was commissioned by Jean d'Estouteville (d. 1494), Grand-Maître des Abalétriers, Conseiller and Chambellan to the King.[122] On f. 135v (**fig. 57**), he is depicted in armour, wearing the collar of the Order of St Michael, a distinction he received in 1469, when the Order was founded. Kneeling before the Virgin and Child, his balding forehead and distinctive features betray the only surviving 'portrait' painted by the Master of the Echevinage.

The so-called *Hours of Chrétienne de France*,[123] although they are close to the standard book of hours produced by the Master of the Echevinage, differ from it in a few significant ways. Indeed the second of the fourteen miniatures represents a couple in

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119 Baltimore, WAG, W284.
120 Harrow on the Hill, Harrow School Library, s.n., f. 189.
121 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
122 Amiet wrongly identified the patron as Jacques d'Estouteville (in Amiet, 1979, pp. 660-2), but in a recent exhibition catalogue (Bernard, Pagella, 2003, Cat. 12), the manuscript has been returned to its true original owner, Jean d'Estouteville, Seigneur de Torcy (see **D.4.c.** in this chapter for discussion on ownership).
123 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562. These Hours are named after Christine de France, Duchess of Savoy (1606-1663) and daughter of Henri IV. She was a later owner of the manuscript and left her signature on the inside of the front cover.

prayer before St Herbland (f. 18v) to whom a church in Rouen was dedicated. The donors may have been residing in the parish of St Herbland, as suggested by Avril.[124] The Annunciation to the Shepherds appears in the background of the Nativity scene (f. 41v), instead of being the subject of the miniature for Terce and the Coronation of the Virgin is not depicted, allowing the artist to include Christ among the Doctors for Vespers (f. 57v) and the Marriage at Cana for Compline (f. 60v), two highly unusual scenes for a book of hours.

The other Hours notable for the quality of their illuminations are *Hours for the use of Rouen* in the Bodleian Library in Oxford,[125] in the Walters Art Gallery,[126] and *Hours for the use of Coutances* (Normandy) also in the Walters Art Gallery (**fig. 9**),[127] *Hours or the use of Bayeux* now in Rennes,[128] and *Hours for the use of Bourges* in Ushaw College,[129] which contain a Passion cycle.

Two more books of hours, both in private collections, deserve to be given a special place in the Master of the Echevinage production. One *Hours for the use of Rouen*[130] (**fig. 10, 26, 28**) contains eight large miniatures in demi-grisaille, a method which is not found in any other manuscript illuminated by the Master. This book of hours stands out by the quality and vibrancy of its miniatures. The figures are dressed in shades of grey while the rest of the painting retains its colours, thus lending the figures a sculptural quality. The assistant to the Bedford Master, the Dunois Master, at work in the *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy*[131] also in demi-grisaille had brought this practice back into fashion[132] (see **Irish Cat. 7, fig. 7.1-3**) and was imitated by Parisian miniaturists such as the Master of Jean Rolin (see **fig. 43**) and Maître François. A book of hours in demi-grisaille dating from ca. 1440-50 is assigned to the Fastolf Master,[133] this Parisian miniaturist who followed his English patrons to Rouen when the capital returned to the French king in 1436.[134] The Master of the Echevinage was therefore placing himself in the tradition of these Parisian artists, but his use of the demi-grisaille accentuated the contrasts, through

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124 Avril, Reynaud, 1993, no. 91, p. 172.
125 Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Douce 253.
126 W. 233; see Wieck, 1988, no. 59 and Randall, 1989-92, v. II, pt 2, Cat. 164. W. 224 in which Randall attribute two miniatures to the Master (the rest of the manuscript being painted in his manner): fols 10v and 30. Randall, 1989-92, v. II, pt 2, Cat. 165.
127 W. 284; Wieck, 1988, no. 60; Randall, 1989-92, v. II pt 2, Cat. 162.
128 Rennes, BM, ms. 32.
129 Durham, Ushaw College, ms. 20.
130 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69, probably dating to ca. 1470-5.
131 Dublin, CBL, WMs 82. See **Irish Cat. 7, in Vol. IV**.
132 It had been especially popular in the 14th century.
133 London, BL, Harley ms. 2915.
134 He then settled in England (see section **A.1** in this chapter; see Avril, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 169).

the use of particularly vivid colours in the background and sharp contours, as opposed to the softer effect of the Dunois Master miniatures.

The so-called *Hours of St Lô* (see **fig. 11, 19-20, 24, 29, 36, 40, 52, 54**) that reached a record price at a New York Sotheby's sale in 1998[135] were originally believed to have been commissioned for the house of the Augustinian canons regular of St Lô in Rouen founded in 1114,[136] as they include an unusual Suffrage to St Lô and because the arms on the clasps are those of the priory. However, this manuscript is for lay use and the hours are for the use of Coutances,[137] which explains the presence of St Lô, patron saint of this town. This lavish book of hours contains no less than fifty-eight very large miniatures[138] of great delicacy, making it the longest surviving cycle painted by the Master of the Echevinage for a book of hours. This cycle of miniatures is very close to the one in the *Turin Hours* previously mentioned.[139]

It is interesting to note that these books of hours stand out more for the quality of their craftsmanship than for the originality of the subjects treated. In the most lavish hours, rather than renewing his repertoire, the Master of the Echevinage either treated the usual compositions in a novel way, as he did in the demi-grisaille *Hours for the use of Rouen*, or expanded the cycle of illustrations for the Suffrages, as in the *Turin Hours* or in the so-called *Hours of St Lô*.

An illuminator could also be asked to add sections to works originally illuminated by other artists. The *Hours of Jacques II de Chastillon*, a recent acquisition of the Bibliothèque Nationale[140] (**fig. 12**), was painted ca. 1427 by illuminators from Amiens. In the late 15th century, it came into the hands of Pierre de Roncherolles and his wife, Marguerite de Chastillon. The first owners Jacques II de Chastillon and his wife Jeanne de la Flotte had wanted to feature in the pages of their Hours in the company of their patron saints (pp. 58-9). Pierre de Roncherolles and his wife followed the same pattern and asked a Rouen illuminator close to the Master of the Echevinage to add their portraits (on pp. 526-7; **fig. 12**) and a few more folios with their favourite saints, together with an unusual poem about death, 'La Complainte de la Demoiselle'. The Master of the Echevinage also painted a few additional quires in the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*[141] for

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135 Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37, ca. 1460-75: $3,300,000. Formerly Sotheby's London, 6 Dec 1983, lot 82.
136 See Bachelin, 1869, p. 2.
137 The diocese of Coutances was located in the western part of the archbishopric of Rouen (see **fig. 1**).
138 The size of the folios is ca. 285 x ca. 205 mm.
139 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
140 Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3231; See Nash, 2002, pp. 1-111.
141 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37 (89.ML.35).

a later owner, but we will get back to this manuscript in detail.[142]

d. Few collaborative works

As the Chester Beatty Hours contain the work of several Tours artists alongside the miniatures by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen, it seems relevant to look for similar collaborations in other manuscripts. One does find a link with Tours in a few manuscripts linked to the Master of the Echevinage.

According to Avril, the *Hours for the use of Tours*, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale[143] were probably written and decorated in Tours,[144] and subsequently brought to the Master of the Echevinage for him to paint the miniatures.[145] This seems to be quite an unusual procedure since Tours was an active centre for manuscript illumination.[146] An inscription added on the first folio shows that Etienne Binet and his wife Jeanne Beauvalet living in Tours, owned this manuscript, possibly being its first owners.[147]

A second intriguing book of hours for the use of Rouen[148] was written and decorated in Rouen and indeed contains four miniatures in the style of the Master of the Echevinage,[149] but three other miniatures (fols 7v, 20v and 73v), were painted in the 'early Tours style of Jean Bourdichon when still under the marked influence of Jean Fouquet, perhaps around 1480'.[150] These miniatures in arched frames with full borders on liquid gold grounds feature 'on the verso of leaves with appropriate prayers on their rectos',[151] which probably means that they are well integrated within the rest of the manuscript. This manuscript is especially interesting in relation to WMs 89, as both these books include work by a Tours artist close to Jean Bourdichon. Unfortunately, as these Hours are not accessible for study, any further comparison is not possible.

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142 See **D.3.** in this chapter.
143 Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030; The calendar and litany indicate Tours and Paris. The suffrages contain St Louis and Genevieve (Paris), St Martin (Tours) and an added suffrage to St Gatian (Tours; f. 112). The Office of the Dead is for the use of Paris while the Hours of the Virgin mix Parisian and Tourangeau elements. I would like to thank Laurent Cavet for giving me indications on the use of this manuscript.
144 Except for larger initials, painted in a late Rouen style also used in the Turin Hours (Turin, Bibl. Reg, Cod. Var. 88), see **fig. 59c-d**.
145 In Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 169. They were dated by Avril to ca. 1470-5, but I would argue for a later date, ca. 1480-5 (see **D.4.d.** in this chapter).
146 See **Chapter II Intro. B**.
147 Further research would be needed to date this inscription and establish when Etienne Binet and his wife lived.
148 Sotheby's London, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 6 July 2000, lot 82.
149 Unfortunately, no miniature attributed to the Master of the Echevinage was reproduced in the sale catalogue, so this attribution could not be verified.
150 In Sotheby's London, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 6 July 2000, lot 82, p. 94.
151 Idem, p. 93.

The *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel*[152] contains very high quality miniatures by the Master of the Echevinage (**fig. 7, 76**) alongside some less refined compositions by members of his workshop, including Robert Boyvin,[153] and a group of miniatures by another artist working in a different style. The latter is recognisable through the frequent use of a vibrant blue fabric with powdery gold pattern[154] and a figure type that owes more to Tours artists than to the school of Rouen. This artist [155] also collaborated with the Master of the Echevinage on a set of miniatures now in the Treasury of Auxerre Cathedral, which have been cut out from a book of hours and framed. The Massacre of the Innocents and the Crowned Virgin and Child surrounded by two musician-angels can be attributed to him.[156] His style has some affinities with the later Parisian Master of the Chronique Scandaleuse (active ca. 1493-ca. 1510),[157] whose work was influenced by Jean Poyer.

The so-called *Northumberland Hours*,[158] for the use of Rome, sold at the Ortiz-Patiño sale[159] are extremely unusual, as they contain thirteen miniatures related to the work of the Master of the Echevinage, as well as work by the Master of the Geneva Boccaccio[160] (fols 43, 57 and 125), active in Nantes and later Angers, and two miniatures by the Master of Charles de France (fols 15 and 63), an artist apparently in the service of Charles de France, brother of Louis XI.[161] Although the thirteen miniatures were definitely not painted by the Master of the Echevinage himself, his influence is so evident that Avril suggested that the manuscript may have been executed in Rouen during the brief period when Charles de France stayed in that city as Duke of Normandy. The initials A and Y occurring on its pages together with the two miniatures by the Master of Charles de France could suggest that the book was owned by Amadeus IX of Savoy (1435-72) and his wife Yolande de France (1434-78), Charles' sister, who also seem to have been based in Normandy in the 1460s. The calendar and litany point to Tours rather than Normandy, but Yolande and Charles had family ties in Tours. The Ortiz-Patiño catalogue stressed that 'The idea of a travelling workshop-in-exile of Charles de

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152 Besançon, BM, ms. 69. For more details on Charles de Neufchâtel, see **3.c.** in this section.
153 Delaunay, 1995, p. 233. See **E.3** in this chapter for more details on this artist.
154 See for example in the Meeting at the Golden Gate on p. 346.
155 Responsible for miniatures on pp. 346, 554, 562, 575, 673, 724, and 781 (?).
156 I am greatly indebted to Claudia Rabel, for bringing these miniatures to my attention.
157 See Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 274-77.
158 As it was formerly in the Library of the Dukes of Northumberland in Alnwick Castle.
159 Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 36; formerly Sotheby's London, 29 Nov. 1990, lot 140.
160 Named after ms. 191 in Geneva Library.
161 He painted for him a book of hours (Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 473), and a few other manuscripts: Cologny-Geneva, Bodmer Found., ms. 143; Paris, BNF, Fr. 1949.

France and his sister adds a fascinating complication to the localisation of this important manuscript… perhaps Rouen painters joined the peripatetic entourage of the royal duke.' It may originally have been commissioned by another member of Charles' entourage, as codicological elements and the placement of the monogram seem to suggest: 'presumably Amadeus IX and Yolande de France became the patrons or intended recipients at a second phase during the making of the book'.[162] This manuscript exemplifies how the particular circumstances of a patron might result in an unexpected mixture of styles and localisation elements, such as that found in the Chester Beatty Hours.

The production of the Master of the Echevinage was vast and varied, in nature as well as in quality. His well-organised workshop was able to produce lavish miniatures for the Echevinage library, highly personalised books of hours, but also standardised books of hours made on speculation. He could thus cater to different markets and rarely needed to collaborate with illuminators outside his own workshop to meet the demand.

B. Stylistic analysis of the work of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen in WMs 89

As noted before, the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen is responsible for eight miniatures in the Chester Beatty Library Hours (WMs 89). These are mainly in the Suffrages section: St Michael and the Devil (f. 90v; **pl. 32**), the Archangel Gabriel (f. 91v; **pl.** 33), St George and the Dragon (f. 96v; **pl. 35**), the Martyrdom of St Sebastian (f. 100; **pl. 36**), St Martin and the Beggar (f. 101v; **pl. 37**), but also the Four Symbols of the Evangelist, first full-page miniature in the manuscript (f. 13, **pl. 14**), a Pietà (f. 16v; **pl. 15**) to introduce the prayer to the Virgin *Obsecro te* and finally, a most unusual miniature introducing the Office of the Dead, a depiction of the Heavenly court combined with a Hell scene (f. 74; **pl. 30**). These miniatures were painted in quires **IV** (fols 13 and 16v), **XII** (f. 74), **XIV** (fols 90v and 91v), and **XV** (fols 96v, 100, 101v).[163]

1. General

The miniatures painted by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen in the Chester Beatty manuscript need to be ranked among his most finished works. The landscapes as

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[162] For quotes in this paragraph, see Sotheby's New, York, Ortiz-Patiño, lot 36, unpaginated catalogue.
[163] See **Appendix III: Quires Diagrams**.

well as the treatment of the figures and of countless details show great unity, betraying a single hand at work on these miniatures. The depiction of Gabriel (f. 91v, **pl. 33**) stands out by its sculptural monumentality, but the scroll, his features and the folds of his cloak link him to the other paintings assigned to the Master of the Echevinage in the manuscript.

Great care is brought to detail and Lafond defined his style accurately when he wrote: 'Le peintre des *Heures de Chrétienne de France*[164] est un praticien très appliqué et d'ailleurs fort expert [...] et s'il s'exprime, avec un fort accent flamand, dans une langue un peu sèche, il sait du moins rendre ses petits tableaux intéressants et pittoresques à souhait'.[165] The Flemish influence is striking in some of the miniatures in the *Chester Beatty Hours*, especially in the treatment of draperies and gems. These miniatures contradict Zolotova's assertion in *Enluminures françaises du XVe siècle dans les collections de Moscou. Livres d'Heures* (Leningrad, 1991): 'Les artistes rouennais de l'époque... ont presque totalement échappé à l'influence du réalisme néerlandais.' The very precise and clear brushstroke of the illuminator rendered faithfully the peacock feathers of Gabriel's wings and the gems along the hem of his cloak, reminding us of the work of Jan van Eyck.[166]

A distinctive feature of the Master in several miniatures is the use of scrolls shaded with pink and bearing Gothic inscriptions related to the scene, in the Four Symbols of the Evangelists (f. 13, **pl. 14**), St Gabriel (f. 91v, **pl. 33**), and St Martin and the Beggar (f. 101v, **pl. 37**). These swirling scrolls achieve a delicate decorative effect and were also used by the Master of the Echevinage in the *Cité de Dieu* (see Last Judgement scene, f. 2, **fig. 14**) now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[167]

The palette includes vibrant blues for garments as well as for the pure lapis background of the Four Symbols miniature (f. 13, **pl. 14**), dark pink, green (pale and darker), gold camaïeu (ox and lion, Gothic pillar in St Gabriel miniature, armours, frames...), white shaded with blue, mauve, or pink for the phylacteries, brown for rocks, different shades of grey (especially for walls)... Gold hatchings stress the drapery folds and brighten the rocky landscapes. Hardly any red is used (only in the Heavenly Court and Hell Scene on f. 74 and St Sebastian on f. 100; **pl. 30** and **36**) and very little yellow.

In a few instances, the artist shows interest in colour effects, subtly changing one tone into another, as in the beautifully rendered wings of St Michael (f. 90v, **pl. 32**)

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164 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562; see **A.3.c.** in this chapter.
165 Ritter and Lafond, 1913, p. 23.
166 See **C.5** in this chapter.
167 Paris, BNF, Fr. 28.

where the dark pink on the outside contrasts with the green turning to blue on the inside. This delicate handling of colours also appears in the orange tones turning to yellow on the dragon's belly or highlighting his wing in the St George scene (f. 96v, **pl. 35**).

Centred compositions around a main character have been favoured, but this is mainly due to the nature of the sections illustrated by the Master. Indeed the Suffrages lend themselves naturally to such a treatment, as each suffrage focuses on one saint, who is also given prominence in the introductory miniature. The use of space is radically different in the Four Symbols miniature (f. 13, **pl. 14**), and in the Martyrdom of St Sebastian (f. 100, **pl. 36**), as one would expect.

2. Figures

Human figures have elongated proportions, lending them a certain elegance to the detriment of morphological accuracy. This is especially visible in the miniature depicting the Martyrdom of St Sebastian (f. 100, **pl. 36**), where Sebastian's skinny naked body is frail and perched on long stick-like legs. There is no sense of a muscular body such as that achieved by Hand C in the miniature of the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John (f. 57; **pl. 26**) within the same manuscript. Although the body of Christ resting on his mother's cloak is more convincingly rendered (f. 16v, **pl. 15**), it lacks the physicality attained by the other illuminator.

Nevertheless, some of his figures have more presence: covered in elaborate draperies, they take on more volume and occupy more space. A good example of this is Gabriel surrounded by his floating cloak (f. 91v, **pl. 33**), or the angel in the Four Symbols miniature (f. 13; **pl. 14**). Naked figures or those in tight-fitting clothes have more slender proportions.

Women are posed in an S-shape curve so recurrent in Gothic art: theirs heads are slightly bent, their shoulders recede and their bellies come forward. This gentle movement can be observed in the figure of the princess in the St George miniature (f. 96v, **pl. 35**), but also in other miniatures assigned to the Master of the Echevinage, such as Salome awaiting the head of John the Baptist in the Sotheby's *Hours for the use of Coutances*,[168] or the Flight into Egypt in the Sotheby's *Hours for the use of Rouen* (**fig. 10**),[169] where the attendant has a similar position.

Hands are delicate and small, adding to the sophistication of these figures. Yet,

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[168] Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 152.
[169] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69, f. 46.

bare feet are often unnaturally large and seem to have no clear bone structure, as revealed for St Sebastian (f. 100, **pl. 36**), the beggar in the miniature of St Martin (f. 101v, **pl. 37**), or the smaller figures of the damned in the Hell scene (f. 74; **pl. 30**). This feature can be traced in other manuscripts such as the so-called *St Lô Hours*[170] in the miniature of the Beheading of St John the Baptist, or that of St Martin (**fig. 40**).

Faces and bodies are shaded with grey and men often have eyebrows drawn close to the eye and rising on either side of the nose line. This feature can result in a sombre or worried look as on the face of St Martin (f. 101v; **pl. 37**). Yet, if accentuated, these circumflex eyebrows impart a tragic expression: grief is expressed by frowning, as in the sorrowful face of Mary Magdalen or that of St John in the Pietà (f. 16v; **pl. 15**). St Sebastian, on the other hand, whose face is graced by a faint smile, seems to scoff at his torturers (**pl. 36**). Figures depicted in profile often have their eye very close to the profile line, like the beggar in the St Martin scene (**pl. 37**): this characteristic is also observed in the so-called *Hours of Chrétienne de France*, in the scene of Christ among the Doctors,[171] in the Martyrdom of St Thomas Becket in *Hours for the use of Coutances* (**fig. 29**),[172] in the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel* (**fig. 7**)…[173]

Faces of women and angels have a pale porcelain-like complexion. Angels have peaceful, expressionless faces, especially Gabriel (f. 91v; **pl. 33**) and the angel, symbol of St Matthew (f. 13; **pl. 14**), not unlike that of the tonsured choirboy in the miniature of the Corpus Christi procession in the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel.*[174] Gestures are well rendered, with the detail of one of the holy women wiping her tears (f. 16v, **pl. 15**). It is thought that this realistic detail was first used by Claus Sluter in the weeping angel of his Puits de Moïse (Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon, ca. 1395-1406) and it became a common feature in paintings by Roger van der Weyden (see the Prado *Deposition*, ca. 1435-8). Movements are convincingly rendered as can be judged from the miniatures featuring St Michael and St George positioning themselves before striking the evil creatures at their feet (**pl. 32 and 35**).

Blond hair is finely painted, in particular the tresses of St Gabriel (**pl. 33**), which flicker with light in places, or the delicate curls of St Michael (**pl. 32**). These painterly features show again a great attention to detail and a sense of observation, betraying knowledge of Flemish art.

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170 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, fols 152 and 162.
171 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562, f. 57v.
172 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 141.
173 Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 458.
174 See previous note.

Animals are as meticulously painted as humans: the three symbols of the Evangelists have accurate proportions and details of the ox's hooves or of the eagle's tail are minutely rendered. The graceful grey-white horses, prancing in the St George miniature (**pl. 35**) or turning towards the beggar in the St Martin miniature (**pl. 37**) also have good proportions, even though the heads seem too small. These horses find an echo in the hunt scene on f. 5 in *Le Livre des Trois Eages*, by Pierre Choisnet[175] (**fig. 5**) where the Master of the Echevinage especially demonstrated his skill at depicting animals. Fantastic animals are as vividly depicted as horses and their hybrid bodies in the depths of Hell (f. 74; **pl. 30**) have nothing to envy in Hieronymus Bosch's compositions.

3. Draperies and clothes

Nowhere else in his work does the Master of the Echevinage devote so much care to elaborate draperies. St Gabriel (**pl. 33**) is especially striking with his cloak suspended in the air in a gathering of angular folds, highlighted with gold, a treatment of drapery that betrays a strong Flemish influence. Floating angular draperies give energy to the figure, with deep folds marked by a darker hue and highlights of gold. This meticulous treatment of fabric is also to be noticed in the elaborate piece of dark pink fabric swirling around St Michael (**pl. 32**), or in the blue-white folds gathered around the seated St Matthew (**pl. 14**). The angels in the St Martin miniature (**pl. 37**), with their robes swirling up in complicated folds, seem derived from the works of Rogier van der Weyden, such as the *Altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments* (ca. 1453-5; **fig. 13**).[176] The same type of angel is found in other manuscripts by the Master of the Echevinage, such as the demi-grisaille *Hours for the use of Rouen*,[177] or the *Cité de Dieu* (**fig. 14**).[178]

The Master's affection for coloured gems painted on a brushed gold ground can be traced in all the manuscripts assigned to him: they appear on hats, such as the head-dresses worn by Fortune or by Dido in copies of *La Bouquechardière* (**fig. 3**), but also along the hems of cloaks as here in the St Gabriel miniature (**pl. 33**). In virtually all Annunciation scenes in books of hours produced by the workshop, Gabriel wears a cloak hemmed with a jewelled gold strip, held by an ornate brooch with gems. This jewelled hem can be painted with varying degrees of skill. While the Gabriel in

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175 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 70.
176 Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten.
177 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69, see f. 41: angel of the Annunciation to the Shepherds
178 Paris, BNF, fr. 28.

Waddesdon Manor ms. 12 (f. 27) and that in Heribert Tenschert's catalogue[179] (f. 33) both wear the same type of cloak as the Chester Beatty Gabriel, the latter betrays a more expert hand.

Garments often include gold brocaded fabric with a black line floral ornament, as on the garment worn by the interlocutor of the emperor in the Martyrdom of St Sebastian, or the sleeves of St Martin (**pl. 36-7**). The same type of fabric is commonly used by his workshop for the cloak of the archangel Gabriel in Annunciation scenes[180] or more generally to dress important figures and introduce some pattern, as among the dignitaries surrounding Romulus in *Les Faits des Romains.*[181] The hat worn by the emperor in the Martyrdom of St Sebastian (f. 100; **pl.** 21) also recurs as the hat worn by Romulus in this miniature, by one of the Magi in the Adoration from the *Bodleian Library Hours.*[182] As in the *Turin Hours,*[183] a faint gold line is used for haloes as opposed to the gold disc used in the so-called *St Lô Hours*[184](**fig. 11, 19-20, 24, 29, 36, 40, 52, 54**), the gold rays in the Sotheby's *Hours for the use of Rouen*[185](**fig. 10, 26, 28**), or the jewelled halo in some miniatures in the *Hours of Chrétienne de France.*[186]

Shining armour stresses the slim and elegant silhouettes of St George (**pl. 35**) and St Michael (**pl. 32**), treated in a gold camaïeu. Horses are richly caparisoned with inscriptions on the harness, a practice that is found in other manuscripts like *La Bouquechardière,*[187] or *Le Livre des Trois Eages*[188](**fig. 5**). An interesting detail deserves to be noted in the miniature of the Martyrdom of St Sebastian (**pl. 36**) where the artist has painted the leather hand-protections worn by the archers about to shoot their arrows at the saint.

4. Interiors, landscapes, and night scenes

Only one interior is visible in the miniatures painted by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen. The vision into the choir of a Gothic church as a backdrop to the Archangel Gabriel (**pl. 33**) is impressive, with the glimpse of a Flamboyant style window in the choir and panelling in the triforium. The perspective leads the eye into the depths

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179 *Landau Hours*, for the use of Rouen (König, Bartz, Tenschert, 2000, Cat. 16).
180 See in *Landau Hours*, f. 33.
181 Geneva, Bibl. publ. et univ., Fr. 80, f. 2.
182 Oxford, Bod. Lib., Douce 253, f. 58.
183 Turin, Bibl. Reg. Cod. Varia 88.
184 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, see fols 139, 141, 152…
185 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69, see fols 25, 31v, 46…
186 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562, see fols13 and 30v.
187 See St Petersburg, Bibl. Salt.-Cht., Fr. IV no. 13.1, f. 85.
188 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 70, f. 5.

of the choir and the Gothic pillar to the right is an unusual device which acts as an extension of the brushed gold frame as well as an interesting incursion into the space of the cathedral.[189] The walls are grey, with colourful marble columns and gold capitals, while the slender columns of the porch to the left are painted a pale pink.

Several landscapes appear in the miniatures assigned to the Master of the Echevinage and the same elements are repeated again and again, only varying their arrangement. Trees have a very distinctive shape: a few are round but most of them are oblong with a round top and straight sides, as one can see at the back of the Pietà (f. 16v; **pl.** 2), St Michael (**pl. 32**), St George (**pl. 35**)... This type of trees, highlighted with gold, is found in several other manuscripts by the workshop such as the *Hours for the use of Rouen* sold at Sotheby's in 1998 [190] (**fig. 10**), the *Turin Hours* [191](see **fig. 25**), in three Walters Art Gallery Hours related to the Master of the Echevinage,[192] in the *Livre des Trois Eages* [193] (**fig. 5**)... Trees usually take geometrical shapes so that in the so-called *Hours of St Lô* [194] (**fig. 11**), triangular trees, like yews are combined with round ones. This yew tree can, in some cases, look more like a schematic fir tree such as the one in the Nativity scenes reproduced in *The History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, by de Hamel[195] from four different manuscripts produced by the workshop, but this fir tree does not appear in the miniatures of the Chester Beatty Hours. A few trees have a lighter foliage, and thus a more realistic shape, like the one behind Mary Magdalen in the Pietà scene (**pl. 15**) or the one to which St Sebastian is tied (**pl. 36**), and the grass is featured by dark green criss-cross on a paler green ground. Trees are usually small in comparison with figures. Landscapes are punctuated with tall rounded rocks, painted in brown or grey with gold highlights, these rocks are sometimes divided into grass-covered plateaux as in the St George miniature. These soaring rocky outcrops are scattered in the middle ground but further in the distance, where the landscape turns to a deep blue, a river usually meanders through gentle hills, closer to an impression of the countryside in the West of France. The setting of the St Michael miniature (**pl. 32**) clearly shows this contrast between the unrealistic sugar loaves in middle and foreground and the peaceful scenery at the back. In two instances the illuminator has used rocks in the foreground as 'repoussoirs', to give

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189 See 5. in section C of this chapter for more details
190 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69; see fols 31v, 41, 46...
191 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, see f. 103v...
192 Baltimore, WAG, W. 224, 241and 284 and possibly also W. 233 but I do not have seen any reproduction of an outdoor scene.
193 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 70, see f. 5 or 12...
194 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37, see f. 139.
195 De Hamel, 2nd ed., 1994, p. 195, see ills 177-180.

depth to the composition and set the action beyond those rocks, in the St Martin miniature (**pl. 37**) and more conspicuously in the St Michael miniature (**pl. 32**). Yet this device does not create the required illusion, partly because the tree on the left in the St Michael miniature should be much larger, and possibly also because the ornamental frames stress the two-dimensional nature of the painting. This contrasts with some frames used by the Master of Jean Charpentier, which enhance the three-dimensionality of the scene, such as in the Circumcision scene (**pl. 23**). The middle ground is never treated very convincingly, as the trees are usually too small for their location so that the transition between foreground and distance is not handled in a realistic way (see **pl. 32, 35**…).

Cities and castles have brown, grey or pink walls and blue or gold roof. These structures are often surrounded by water, as in the Martyrdom of St Sebastian (**pl. 36**), and the miniatures of St George (**pl. 35**) and St Martin (**pl. 37**). Contrasting with many other manuscripts by the Master of the Echevinage[196], no ships are found here, only a few swans in the St Sebastian scene (**pl. 36**). Castle walls following the slope of a hill, as in the Martyrdom of St Sebastian (**pl. 36**), are characteristic of the Master's workshop and they occur, for instance in the background of the first miniature of the *Decameron*,[197] where youths gather in the countryside escaping from the plague in Florence. The sky is not treated in a consistent way. Although it is always scattered with light gold clouds, it is quite a light blue in most miniatures while in the Pietà (**pl. 15**) and in the St Martin scene (**pl. 37**), it turns to an intense blue at the top of the composition.

5. Frames

The Master's frames are oblong, nearly covering the whole surface of the page. The only text consists of a few words inscribed on the frame. In the typical layout of the time, the miniature was contained in an arched compartment surrounded by a thin gold band, and the beginning of the text, introduced by a decorated initial, featured below the miniature. Both miniature and text were surrounded by a full decorative border on unpainted vellum and/or gold ground sprinkled with animals, grotesques, acanthus and flowers. This formula was that employed for most books of hours up to very late in the century but none of this is to be found in the Chester Beatty Hours.

In WMs 89, two types of frames were employed. Some frames are plain gold: in

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196 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 70, f. 12; Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 139 (**fig. 11**).
197 Paris, BNF, Fr. 129, f. 1.

the Pietà (**pl. 15**), the Coronation of the Virgin and Hell Scene (**pl. 30**), the Archangel Gabriel (**pl. 33**) and St George (**pl. 35**) miniatures. Although similar to the frames used by Hand B,[198] they are wider and are not set against black-tinted vellum,[199] and the inscriptions are in a paler red. The space they limit is quite irregular in size, but it is on average larger than that in the miniatures by Hand B,[200] allowing, in spite of the small scale of the book, a large oblong space for the unfolding action. The incipit of the prayer was forgotten in the miniature of St Gabriel (**pl. 33**).

The second type of frame used by the artist is gold decorated with acanthus leaves spiralling around a central axis on three sides of the miniature as in the Four Symbols (**pl. 14**), St George (**pl. 35**) or St Sebastian (**pl. 36**). In these three miniatures, the bottom part of the frame is reserved for an inscription in dark red but, in the case of St Michael (**pl. 32**), the four sides of the frame are decorated with acanthus, leaving no space for the incipit, so that the suffrage is missing its first words. The use of the acanthus leaf in a gold camaïeu lends a classical touch to these frames.

Both these types of frames echo the wooden frames of panel paintings at the time, where it was also quite common to find inscriptions (see for example the remnants of an inscription on the frame of the *Head of Christ* painted by Petrus Christus in Bruges, ca. 1445).[201] The gold frames surrounding the Master of the Echevinage scenes in the *Chester Beatty Hours* give these miniatures the status of diminutive panel paintings, mimicking the frames commonly used by Jean Bourdichon at the time.[202] The text only functions here as a decorative feature, so secondary that it has been forgotten in two occasions.

C. Individual miniatures: iconography and stylistic context

1. Gospel Lessons: Four Symbols of the Evangelists (f. 13; pl. 14)

The depiction of the four Evangelists within a single miniature is specific to Rouen, yet the treatment of this standard subject in the Chester Beatty Hours has some striking and original features. Numerous Hours painted in Rouen give examples of the

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198 See **Chapter II I.1.**
199 See Tree of Jesse (f. 24; **pl. 16**) and David and Bathsheba (f. 65; **pl. 29**).
200 Frame of David and Bathsheba miniature (f. 65): ca. 115 x 78 mm, internal space: ca. 97 x 62 mm; Tree of Jesse (f. 24): ca. 119 x 83 mm; internal space for the miniature: ca. 105 x 71 mm.
Echevinage Pietà (f. 16v): ca. 127 x 87 mm; internal space: ca. 107 x 68 mm; St Sebastian (f. 100): ca. 124 x 86 mm; internal space: ca. 109 x 70, but it varies, as it is smaller for St Michael (f. 90v) for instance.
201 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 4).
202 For more on Jean Bourdichon, see **Chapter II, I.**

standard miniature introducing the Gospel Lessons[203] (**fig. 8**). Quartered, it consists of four small scenes separated by a gold baguette and contained within an arched frame. In each compartment, an evangelist is writing his Gospel, accompanied by his symbol: St John is on the island of Patmos while the three others are in rooms with lattice windows, sitting at pulpits. Elsewhere in France, the habit was to introduce St John's lesson with a large miniature of St John on Patmos and the subsequent lessons with either large or more often smaller representations of the other Evangelists, or just a decorated initial.[204] However, this compartmented composition does not seem to have been specific to Rouen, as one finds it for instance in the *Spitz Hours*[205] (Paris, ca. 1420), in *Hours for use of Rome* made ca. 1440 in Belgium (Tournai?) now in the Pierpont Morgan Library,[206] and in a late fifteenth-century book of hours for the use of Amiens now in Trinity College.[207] The quartered composition was often, but not systematically used in Hours produced in Rouen, as can be seen in a book of hours related to the Master of the Echevinage sold at Sotheby's in 2000, where a large miniature is devoted to each Evangelist.[208]

The artist in the Chester Beatty Hours has retained the Rouen idea that the four evangelists should feature together on the same page. Yet, he made a radical innovation by unifying the composition, setting it against a common pure blue ground and choosing to depict only the symbols of the Evangelists and not the Evangelists themselves. The four majestic winged creatures stand out against the blue, and the gold used for the lion and the ox recalls the gold of the frame. The positioning of these two animals diagonally balances the tones of the composition. Apart from the position of its wings, the eagle is similar to that in the miniature of St John on Patmos in the so-called *Hours of St Lô*[209] (**fig. 11**). The scrolls are delicately shaded with pink and bear the Evangelists' names written in a Gothic script. They curl around and between the figures, replacing in a subtler way the gold baguettes that usually compartmented the miniature. Set against an abstract ground

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203 See Waddesdon Manor MS 12, f. 13 (Delaissé,Marrow and de Wit, 1977, p. 252, fig. 12); Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Douce 253, f. 13 (Watson, 1984, fig. 21); Moscow, Lenin Library, f. 218, no. 388, f. 13 (Zolotova, 1991, ill. 54); König, Bartz, Tenschert, 2000, Cat. 16, f. 13, no reproduction; Sotheby's, 23 June 1998, lot 69, f. 13… For a later development of this motif, see Watson, 1984, plate IX, p. 89. For an earlier version (ca. 1444), see **Irish Cat. 11** (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy Library, Ms. 12R31, f. 13), also painted in Rouen.

204 See **Vol. IV: Catalogue of Manuscript Books of Hours in Irish Collections**, one miniature introducing each lesson in **Irish Cat. 3, 7, 9, 14**. Only St John on Patmos to introduce the four Lessons: **Irish Cat. 10, 16, 22**.

205 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., Ms. 57. On this manuscript, see G. T. Clark, *The Spitz Master. A Parisian Book of Hours,* Los Angeles, 2003.

206 M.357, f. 15, reproduced in Wieck, 1997, Cat. 34.

207 See **Irish Cat. 13.1.**

208 Sotheby's 6 July 2000, lot 39, fols 23, 26, 28, 30v.

209 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 139 (**fig. 11**).

of pure colour, the four Symbols seem to float in the ether, yet their positions suggests, except for the eagle, that they are resting on something. Along the bottom of part of the frame, one can read *INICIUM SANCTI EVANGELII*, announcing the Gospel Lessons.

The choice of a white robe combined with white wings for the angel gives the figure a sculptural quality also found in the St Gabriel miniature (f. 91v; **pl. 33**). The Sotheby's *Hours for the use of Rouen* [210] (**fig. 10, 26, 28**) also show an interest in this aspect of the figures, as they were entirely painted in demi-grisaille.

The symbols seem to have been taken from a miniature such as the Last Judgement scene in the earlier *Cité de Dieu* [211](ca.1475-80; **fig. 14**) where the four Symbols of the Evangelists feature in the corners of the composition, holding scrolls bearing their names. Even the black ink ornament following their name is repeated in both miniatures. The stylistic similarities are so striking that one is tempted to recognise the same hand in these two paintings. The lion is lying in the *Cité de Dieu* instead of standing, and they all have a halo. The *Cité de Dieu* Angel resembles the type used by the workshop to represent the archangel Gabriel[212] (**pl. 33, fig. 26-7**), wearing a jewelled cloak as opposed to just a white robe combined with white wings in WMs 89. The symbols of the four Evangelists holding scrolls also appear in the borders of the so-called *Missal of the Carmes de Rouen* [213] (written from 1479 to 1481), on f. 154v: they accompany a seven-line historiated initial depicting the Holy Trinity. The postures of the four symbols are similar, in spite of their smaller scale, to those of the Chester Beatty miniature: the position of the ox's legs and wings, the hands of the seated angel holding a scroll in the shape of a question mark... Similar Evangelist symbols inhabit the borders of the Holy Trinity miniature in the *Turin Hours* dating from ca. 1480-5, but their posture differs (**fig. 15**).[214]

So far, only one other such representation of the Four Symbols could be found, in a late fifteenth-century prayer book painted in Tours (**fig. 16**).[215] Two artists were responsible for its miniatures and the Four Symbols composition, introducing a suffrage to the Evangelists, was painted by an artist close to Jean Bourdichon ca. 1495-1500. The four Symbols were painted against a pale blue sky, but the arrangement is different and, even though they also hold scrolls, these are purely decorative and do not bear the names

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[210] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69.
[211] Paris, BNF, Fr. 28, f. 2.
[212] See **5.** in this section.
[213] Rouen, BM, ms. 287 (A.22).
[214] Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 99v.
[215] Saint-Germain-en-Laye, BM, ms. R 60 732, f. 48. For a full discussion of this manuscript, see Antoine, 2004, pp. 2-64.

of the evangelists as in WMs 89. Elisabeth Antoine suggested that the antecedent to this composition could be a miniature of God the Father in majesty surrounded by the four Symbols against a deep blue ground in the so-called *Hours of Mary Stuart* (Angers?, ca. 1455-65), painted by the Master of the Geneva Boccacio (**fig. 17**).[216]

2. *Obsecro te*: Pietà (f. 16v; pl. 15)

The next miniature in the book was also painted by the Master of the Echevinage and introduces the prayer *Obsecro te*, addressed to the Virgin and nearly always found in books of hours. As it refers to the sorrow of the Virgin at the foot of the cross, a Pietà was a common choice to introduce this section. A plain liquid gold frame, shaded so as to suggest light coming from the left surrounds the scene. On the bottom is the inscription *OBSECRO TE DOMINA*, the first words of the prayer, which continues on the opposite page.

The cross rising behind the Virgin dominates the centre of the composition. The body of Christ lies on the folds of the Virgin's blue mantle. Her face is peaceful as she prays, looking at her son, her hands clasped and her whole attitude exuding piety and serene trust. Her attitude contrasts with that of the other figures present at the foot of the cross who all show exterior signs of their deep sorrow. The faces of the two women to the right of the cross and of St John have these characteristic circumflex eyebrows, which lend them a tragic expression. The third holy woman standing to the left wipes a tear from her eye as she looks down at the lifeless body of Christ. The focus of their attention is the peaceful face of Christ, whose sufferings are revealed by the blood dripping from his wounds. Mary Magdalen, to the far right, kneels awkwardly as her right knee does not relate consistently with the rest of her body, partly owing to the fact that it is covered in a different colour drapery. Her hands are joined in prayer and the attitude of the holy woman beside her is also a praying attitude, often used for the Virgin Annunciate. The group of figures forms a triangle in the foreground while the open landscape at the back stretches into the distance, punctuated by the characteristic oblong trees,[217] and by the towers of a city. The eye is led into the distance by a gentle hill to the left while, to the right of the cross, a hill rises towards a strange tall rock.[218]

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216 Paris, BNF, Lat. 1405 (another fragment is in private hands), f. 186. See Antoine, 2004, p. 19.

217 See **4.** in the previous section.

218 In the Flight into Egypt sold at Sotheby's in 1998 (23 June 1998, lot 69, f. 46), one tree between the Virgin and the female figure to the right also contrasts with the otherwise oblong trees in the miniature.

The Turin Pietà [219] (**fig. 18**) is the closest to the Chester Beatty miniature with one of the holy women crying, like a reversed version of the one in WMs 89, with folds of her cloak tucked under her arms in the same way. Yet, the composition is slightly different: Christ is skinnier and lies on the Virgin's lap so that his body is arched and his right arm falls vertically. The crying Magdalen takes his left hand and John holds his head but he is not seen frontally as in the Chester Beatty Hours. Mary Magdalen is more distant in the latter and the holy woman with her head covered by a white scarf shaded with blue has to my knowledge no equivalent in the work of the Master.

The so-called *Hours of St Lô* [220] also include a Pietà on f. 108 (**fig. 19**) close to the Turin version, but it is missing the crying figure and two angels hover over the scene. The Virgin has a blue veil over her head and all figures have full gold halos rather than the Chester Beatty and Turin line of gold. The Virgin of the Entombment in the pages of the *St Lô Hours* (f. 65, **fig. 20**), veiled in white, with fingers tightly crossed and the crying Magdalen are closer to the figures of the Chester Beatty Pietà. On the other hand, the Mary in profile in the St Lô Pietà with her large turban and veil passing under her chin does not appear in the Chester Beatty Hours, yet this character will be recurrent in Playfair type miniatures (see **fig. 21**).[221] The St Lô composition was followed in the *Edinburgh Hours,*[222] excluding the angels and in a rougher style.

The Chester Beatty Pietà thus presents two major variations: Christ is lying on his mother's cloak on the ground rather than on her lap, and Mary Magdalen prays instead of taking Christ's hand. This composition was repeated in a later *Hours for the use of Rouen* now in London (**fig. 63**).[223]

3. Office of the Dead: Heavenly Court and Hell Scene (f. 74; pl. 30)

The next miniature painted by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen introduces the section of the Office of the Dead. It was common to illustrate this section with a deathbed scene, an actual depiction of the Office being performed, or a burial scene.[224] The Raising of Lazarus or Job on his Dung Heap was also commonly found as

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219 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 127.
220 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37.
221 See this character in the *Playfair Hours* (London, V&A, ms. L.475-1918): Pietà (f. 31v; **fig. 21**) and Presentation in the Temple (f. 69v).
222 Edinburgh, EUL, ms. 43, f. 16.
223 SAL, ms. 13, f. 20v. See **E.1.** in this chapter for more details.
224 The Coëtivy Hours (**Irish Cat. 7**) give an example of all these subjects: fols 88v, 96, 106.

both Lazarus and Job were referred to in the text of the Office of the Dead.[225]

The image of the Three Living and the Three Dead seems to have been favoured by the Master of the Echevinage workshop,[226] although a burial service,[227] or a Vigil of the Dead[228] can occasionally be found. The late 15th century *Playfair Hours* contain both a burial scene and the Three Living and Three Dead.[229] The Office of the Dead in the *Hours of Chrétienne de France*,[230] the *Turin Hours*,[231] and Walters 233 in Baltimore[232] is introduced by a Last Judgement, and the Baltimore *Hours for the use of Coutances*[233] contain a miniature featuring clerics praying over a corpse while Michael battles a devil for his soul.[234] Ushaw College ms. 20 contains a funeral procession about to enter a church on f. 143,[235] a composition which seems to have been made popular by the procession painted by Jean Fouquet in the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* (ca. 1452-60).[236]

The subject found on f. 74 of the Chester Beatty Hours featuring a Hell scene combined with the Heavenly Court centred on the Coronation of the Virgin is therefore highly unusual.

a. Description

The clear division of the miniature between Heaven and Hell is reminiscent of a Last Judgement scene. Yet nowhere does one see Christ the Judge separating the Blessed from the Damned. Shown in all her glory, the Virgin is being crowned in Heaven by the Holy Trinity. Christ to the left is placing a crown on her head and, while doing this, reminds us of his Passion by pointing to his side wound. God the Father balances the composition on the right, holding an orb and raising his hand in a blessing gesture. The Dove of the Holy Spirit hovers over the Virgin's head and this whole scene is set against

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225 See Yvard, 1998 for a discussion of miniatures introducing the Office of the Dead in Dublin books of hours. See also **Vol. IV: Catalogue of Manuscript Books of Hours in Irish Collections**, for various examples of the subjects found at the beginning of the Office of the Dead.
226 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 81; Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69, f. 63; Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 429, f. 74; Baltimore, WAG, W. 241, f. 92 (with Death striking a youth and a Pope in roundels in the border)…
227 Sotheby's London, Ritman sale, 6 July 2000, lot 39, f. 149; Waddesdon Manor ms. 12, f. 93; Moscow, Lenin Library, f. 218, No. 388, f. 104.
228 König, Bartz, Tenschert, 2000, Cat. 16, f. 127.
229 Watson, 1984, pl. XXII and XXIII.
230 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562, f. 103.
231 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 70.
232 Baltimore, WAG, W. 233, f. 98, reproduced in Wieck, 1988, fig. 120.
233 Baltimore, WAG, W. 284, f. 85, reproduced in Wieck, 1988, fig. 117. The miniature for the Office of the Dead in W. 224 has been lost.
234 Also in Giraud-Badin 1988, f. 97 and Sotheby's 9 Dec. 1958, lot 30, f. 136, even though in both cases the quality is not as high as in Baltimore, W. 284.
235 Durham, Ushaw College, ms. 20.
236 Chantilly, Musée Condé.

a liquid gold background. The crowd of the Blessed is attending the Coronation: monks, knights, priests but also a bishop, a cardinal, and even a pope all celebrate the Triumph of Virtue embodied in the mother of Christ. Women have not been omitted, occupying the top rows on either side: to the right, one can recognise a few nuns, while on the left, rows of identical maidens could figure the Wise Virgins.[237] The vision of the elect and their holy sovereigns is enclosed in an upside down rainbow, while rays of gold radiate from the scene, materialising the heavenly splendour and bliss.

The fact that the illuminator (or the patron) chose to combine the horrors of Hell with the Coronation of the Virgin is very unusual, and yet, in the context of the book of hours, it finds its justification. Indeed the Blessed Virgin was the privileged interlocutor for most of the prayers contained in the book of hours. Although the text of the Office of the Dead did not allude to her directly, she was a reassuring presence particularly solicited at the crucial moment of death: a mother for the last breath as everyone had one for his first. Being Christ's mother, it was assumed that she could have some influence on his decision when the last judgement would come, and thus, the God of Justice, thanks to her intercession, would become a God of Mercy, more humane and understanding.[238] According to the Golden Legend, an angel was sent to her to deliver this message from her son: 'I present you as the wall that supports the entire world… the raft of the shipwrecked, the ladder of those who go to Heaven, the protector of sinners'.[239]

The scene that takes place in the smoky grottoes down below is of another nature, devoid of harmony, symmetry and order. The alternative to holiness and bliss is found in these dark places where the souls are being tormented by ugly little demons. These naked vulnerable souls contrast with the fully clothed elect who retain all the attributes of their earthly functions. Some are being hung and beaten by two demons who seem quite conscious of being observed and turn to the reader with a mocking smile. A third one is scorching the head of one of the victims hung asunder. In the next cave, to the right, three more demons are fiercely and relentlessly beating and piercing lifeless bodies lying on the ground. Below these two caves, through gaps in the brown rock, one can see other souls in distress being burnt in hellish fires. Gruesome hybrid devils are pushing and pulling souls towards a large green monster seated on a cauldron

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237 The Wise Virgins sometimes accompanied the Coronation scene in 13th century sculpted tympana as in archivolts of the East Portal of the North transept at Chartres. See Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture in France. 1140-1270*, London, 1972, p. 435.
238 See the position of the Virgin as intercessor in Gothic sculpture, in Sauerlander, 1972, p. 30.
239 Golden Legend, vol. II, p. 101 in French 1967 translation.

already swarming with yelling victims. This most fearful creature, seated on the fiery furnace, is waiting for his henchmen to bring him victims. His triple-faced head (his ears are actually gaping mouths) provides a monstrous counterpart to the Holy Trinity up in Heaven, who could also occasionally be depicted as a three-headed figure.[240] His belly opens its jaws to devour sinful souls. The facial expressions and vain resistance of the damned betray their fear and despair. A female victim to the left is keeping a hand on her private parts as if to indicate the nature of her sin, yet this is not a clear catalogue of the seven deadly sins and their corresponding punishments as for instance in the *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* (ca. 1480-5) painted by Hieronymus Bosch.[241] Another female figure, lifted on the shoulders of a grotesque devil raises her arms as if imploring the Heavenly court above, but it is too late, salvation is now out of reach. And the response to the third Nocturn of the Office of the Dead echoes: *quoniam in inferno nulla est redemptio.*[242]

Standing in a peaceful landscape, apparently unaware of the wailing and gnashing of teeth beside him, a man in contemporary clothes is enraptured by the scene taking place in Heaven, and raises his hand to show the righteous way. This man stands halfway between Heaven and Hell, faced with a universal alternative. Either he leads a virtuous life and he will join the ranks of the elect, or his sinful ways will drive him into the depths of Hell for all eternity. This image echoes the advice given in a popular 15th century compilation of spiritual texts attributed to Peter of Luxembourg: 'Tu ne diras pas une trop grande quantité de prières, mais tu t'accoutumeras à souvent penser à l'une ou l'autre chose qui s'ensuivent: d'abord à la bonté de Dieu et à ta mauvaiseté; ensuite à la gloire que tu veux avoir et au châtiment que tu as mérité; enfin à l'heure de la mort et au jour du jugement'.[243]

This man is the alter ego of the reader as well as a generic embodiment (as opposed to an actual portrait) of the person who commissioned this book,[244] who would also have been the first user of the manuscript. He has removed his hat and is dressed in the same long robe as the men carrying the canopy over the Host in the Corpus Christi procession in the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel.*[245] He also looks quite like the hunter on a grey horse on f. 5 of the *Livre des Trois Eages* [246] (**fig. 5**), who wears the same black scarf. The reader, thanks to this figure, steps into the space of the miniature, a device that

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240 See Duchet-Suchaux, Pastoureau, 1994, p. 328.
241 Madrid, Museo del Prado.
242 'in Hell there is no redemption'.
243 Quoted by Hasenohr, in Beriou, Berlioz, Longères, 1991, p. 241.
244 See **E.3.b.** in this chapter for a confirmation of this interpretation.
245 Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 485.
246 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 70.

erases the boundary between the page and the outside world. Depictions of the patron occurred in many books of hours, usually combined with coats of arms, as in the *Hours of Jean d'Estouteville* [247] (**fig. 57**), but they were commonly depicted together with their patron saint, in the company of the Virgin and Child or the Trinity. The miniature in WMs 89 is of a different nature: it presents the patron/reader with a moral alternative.

To my knowledge, there are no other images with a similar iconography, combining Coronation, Hell scene and earthly embodiment of everyman.[248] The composition is striking and results in a greater involvement of the reader; it prepares him for reading the Office of the Dead and puts him in the appropriate frame of mind. This highly effective composition strikes the imagination and inspired later Rouen illuminators.[249]

b. Parallels in other works by the Master of the Echevinage

The Heavenly Court and the Hell Scene were used independently in the copy of the St Augustine's *Cité de Dieu* illuminated by the Master of the Echevinage.[250] If Augustine had been included in the Hell scene miniature, pointing at the damned, one would have been very close to the Chester Beatty miniature. On f. 249v (**fig. 22**), a Hell scene introduces the 21st book, accompanied by the rubric: *De l'ordre de la desputoison par laquelle il est premierement a determiner du pardurable tourment des dampnes avecques le dyables que il n'est de la pardurable beneurte des sains.* This book describes the torments of the damned and demonstrates that their suffering knows no end: the accompanying Hell scene is therefore particularly appropriate. This carefully painted miniature, seems to be a close-up of the Hell scene in the *Chester Beatty Hours* with, at its centre, the demon made even more terrifying as he is shown swallowing a victim. This closer view, as well as the strange metal structure placed on his head like a mock crown, in the shape of a trident and echoing the shape of his horns, render him fiercer. The souls in his belly are painted in the same way as in the Chester Beatty miniature with one bending to the right as if to escape. The red stool on which the cauldron is placed is similar, but victims are more individualised, as there is more space to paint their features. The two grottoes are filled with the same combination of torturers and victims. In the foreground, the demon

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247 Turin, Bibl. Regia, Cod. Varia 88, f. 135v. See also in **vol. IV:** *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy* (**Irish Cat. 7, fig. 7.2**) or the *Hours of Lord Hoo* (**Irish Cat. 11**.)

248 Even though this figure may depict the patron who commissioned the manuscript, the absence of any coat of arms thwarts any attempt at finding his name. This anonymity therefore favours our identification with this figure.

249 See **section E.** in this chapter.

250 Paris, BNF, Fr. 28, fols 249v and 273v.

carrying the woman upside down is closer to the cauldron while another one, not found in the Chester Beatty miniature, carries a soul on his shoulders like a sheep (see **fig. 65** for later Rouen Hell scene including this figure). At the back, the sky, darkened by smoke, is only visible above the head of the green devil. On either side, the grottoes rise, creating a claustrophobic space from where it is impossible to escape.

The next book, on the other hand, is introduced by an image of the Heavenly Court (f. 273v, **fig. 23**). The Coronation of the Virgin is central to the scene, taking place in a mandorla of red cherubs.[251] This scene is quite a common type used by the Master of the Echevinage (see for example the Trinity and Crowned Virgin in the *Livre des Trois Eages*[252]) but here, the assembly of saints is depicted in several rows at the bottom and on three registers on either side. Many saints carry their attributes and are thus better individualised than the ones in the Chester Beatty miniature, probably again owing to the larger scale of the composition (132 x 94 mm).

According to Laborde, the *Cité de Dieu* painted by the Master of the Echevinage 'a été copié exactement sur le Fr. 23-24. C'est la même conception, les mêmes dispositions, le même nombre de lignes, etc… Mais dans cet exemplaire, les peintures sont beaucoup plus importantes par le nombre des personnages et la composition des scènes est singulièrement élargie'.[253] This earlier *Cité de Dieu*, dating from ca. 1390 or early 15th century was indeed part of the Echevinage library, so that it would have been easy for the Master of the Echevinage to borrow it and use it as a model. Yet, one should not infer that the artist slavishly copied each composition, adding a few figures, and a background landscape to 'modernise' them. The Hell scene introducing Book 21 in the Master of the Echevinage *Cité de Dieu* (**fig. 22**), so close to the Hell scene in the Chester Beatty manuscript, does not draw its inspiration from the corresponding miniature in the earlier *Cité de Dieu*. In Fr. 24, Book 21 is introduced by a Last Judgement scene instead, a miniature that the Master of the Echevinage chose not to follow. This is not to say that a Hell scene at this point in the book was unusual: Laborde provided many examples of such scenes,[254] but none of them compares with the composition by the Master of the Echevinage.[255]

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251 The mandorla is better suited to the elongated format of the miniature which spans the width of one column of text than the circular shape used in the *Chester Beatty Hours*.
252 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 70, f. 2.
253 See Laborde, 1909, p. 361. Compare for example the miniatures for the Building of the Tower of Babel (f. 119v in Fr. 23 and f. 122 in Fr. 27).
254 See groups 1 and 5 in Laborde, 1909.
255 See **D.2** in this chapter for possible origins for this composition. See **E.1, 2 and 3.a** for later versions of this scene.

Depictions of Hell are quite a common occurrence in books of hours but they are usually integrated in the wider context of a Last Judgement, a subject which could introduce the Penitential Psalms or the Office of the Dead. As Baschet pointed out, in books of hours, 'Comme pour les œuvres placées à l'intérieur des églises, le choix d'une figuration de l'enfer suppose l'intégration d'une image répulsive au sein d'un « lieu » symbolique voué à la prière et à la louange de Dieu'.[256]

4. Suffrage to St Michael: St Michael and the Devil (f. 90v; pl. 32)

The miniature of St Michael fighting evil creatures introduces one of four suffrages illustrated by the Master of the Echevinage. In most standard books of hours associated with this artist, the suffrages were not illustrated; miniatures do occur, however, in more personal commissions. The so-called *Hours of St Lô* [257] (**fig. 11, 19-20, 24, 29, 36, 40, 52, 54**) contain the most extensive iconographical programme with a total of fifty-eight miniatures, including fourteen dedicated to different saints; the lavish *Turin Hours* [258] (**fig. 15, 18, 25, 27, 30, 37, 41, 57, 62**) contain twenty miniatures depicting saints out of a total of forty-six, the Rennes Hours only contain a miniature featuring St James the Major and St John the Baptist[259] while Ushaw College ms. 20 features St Catherine.[260] The unusual *Hours for the use of Tours* have sixteen large historiated initials (on average 8 lines high) to introduce the suffrages.[261] The so-called *Hours of Chrétienne de France* contain a miniature of St Herbland and donors,[262] while a diminutive book of *Hours for the use of Rouen* of lesser quality contains three miniatures for the suffrages section.[263]

A suffrage or Memorial (from the Latin *memoriae*) is a petition to a saint, beginning with a few short laudations and followed by a request for intercession. On f. 90v of WMs 89 (**pl. 32**), the artist has forgotten to write the first words of the antiphon beginning the suffrage at the bottom of the frame, and he did not leave an acanthus-free space for the inscription to be put in.[264] The antiphon is thus missing its first words (*Michaele archangele veni*) and this also happens for the suffrage to St Gabriel (f. 91v; **pl. 33**).

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256 Baschet, 1993, p. 424.
257 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37.
258 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
259 Rennes, BM, ms. 32, p. 268.
260 Durham, Ushaw College, ms. 20, f. 121.
261 Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030.
262 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562, f. 18v.
263 Sotheby's London, Ritman sale, 6 July 2000, lot 39.
264 See **B.5** in this chapter on frames. Unfortunately, this frame is not visible on **pl. 32**.

St Michael, richly attired in gold armour, is about to strike an irate devil trying to bite his foot. The saint stands on the skinny hybrid body of the creature, who would look like a dog, if it were not for its three straight 'horns', its bird's feet, its fins along the elbows, and its strange bony backbone.[265] Another brown spiny demon, with a face on his belly, is gripping onto the round shield. St Michael seems quite undisturbed by these aggressive creatures, his facial expression is peaceful and his movement seems to be frozen in space. The angular folds of the drapery also seem to be suspended in the air in the same way as the swirling robes of the angels in the St Martin miniature (**pl. 37**). The delicate multicoloured wings and the proportions of the saint in his tight armour are slender and elegant but his scale in relation to his environment is monumental. Trees seem small compared to him, especially the one on the rock to the left,[266] which in spite of its location in the very foreground is as small as the archangel's shield! The turquoise blue of the nearby river echoes that of the distant hills and of the sky and the river bank draws a diagonal line dividing the miniature in two with a dark green lower half and a blue upper half linked by the colourful body of the saint. The bank also runs parallel to the archangel's sword. Two fantastic rocks form strange islands, which would seem more natural in a Chinese landscape. Their verticality contrasts with the gentle hills in the distance.

This scene also appears in the so-called *Hours of St Lô*[267] (**fig. 24**) where the miniature is nearly the same height as the Chester Beatty miniature, with a standard arched frame (ca. 81 x ca. 125 mm).[268] The facial type is slightly different and the archangel, instead of looking down, looks at the monster holding on to his shield, as he is about to strike him. This thorny monster gripping the shield is the same, whereas the demon at the angel's feet differs in its upper half from the Chester Beatty monster. The position of Michael on the latter's body is also slightly different as his left foot pushes on his neck rather than his backside. The archangel has a gold halo, so that the brandished sword is partly hidden by it. The armour, draperies and setting betray the same model and maybe even the same hand.[269] In *Hours for the use of Tours* now in Paris,[270] an 8-line

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265 Also found in the dragon in the St George miniature (**pl. 35**), and in some evil creatures in the Hell scene (**pl. 30**).
266 A similarly shaped tree can be found in the Pietà miniature (**pl. 15**).
267 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 157. I thank Claudia Rabel for kindly providing me with reproductions of this manuscript.
268 Calculated from the photographs. Size of the folios as given by the sales catalogue: ca. 285 x ca. 205 mm.
269 It is quite impossible to judge this correctly as, the manuscript being in private hands, it has not been possible to study it. The lack of colour reproductions is an additional handicap.
270 Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030.

initial M contains St Michael and the Devil modelled on the larger versions, with swirling draperies and round blue shield (f. 103).

A similar miniature also occurs in the *Turin Hours* [271](**fig. 25**): the elements of the composition are the same as in the *Chester Beatty Hours* and the St *Lô Hours*, but arranged differently. The setting is also different, even though it uses all the familiar elements of the Master of the Echevinage workshop. The spiny monster is reproduced in a mirror position, grabbing the dark pink cloak of the archangel on the left rather than his round blue and gold shield on the right. Although one clearly feels that this demon was more adapted to the round shield than to the floating cloak, this allows St Michael to swivel round with a powerful backhand blow, in a gesture identical to that of the Chester Beatty St George (**pl. 35**). The demon under the saint's feet also looks like St George's dragon. The Turin miniature, like the rest of the manuscript, displays a high degree of craftsmanship, especially when considering its minuteness.[272] It also shows how the artist, instead of simply reproducing a model, could rearrange the elements of its composition and offer a variation on a theme.

5. Suffrage to St Gabriel: Archangel Gabriel (f. 91v; pl. 33)

The suffrage to the archangel Gabriel follows that of Michael, reflecting the celestial hierarchy, and this miniature is also to be assigned to the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen. Depictions of St Gabriel are commonly found in the books produced by the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage, but they usually form part of an Annunciation scene. In these scenes, the Archangel always arrives from the right, entering a church where the Virgin is in prayer.[273] Although the so-called *Hours of St Lô* [274] contain fifty-eight miniatures painted by the Master of the Echevinage, it does not contain any suffrage to St Gabriel; the same is true of the *Turin Hours* [275] so that nowhere else does one find the archangel Gabriel depicted on his own. The archangel in WMs 89 bears some resemblance with the other Annunciation angels (see **fig. 26-7**): the most striking similarity is the jewelled orfrey of his cope, held by a quatrefoil jewelled morse,

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271 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 103v.
272 Size of the folios: 130 x 95 mm.
273 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 13 and f. 146 (the setting is a kind of terrace overlooking a city and was that usually reserved to David and Nathan scenes); Sotheby's, London, 23rd June 1998, lot 69, f. 25; Waddesdon Manor, ms. 12, f. 27; König, Bartz, Tenschert, 2000, Cat. 16, f. 33; Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562, f. 21; Baltimore, WAG, W. 224 (in border), W. 233, W. 241, W. 284, Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 13...
274 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño, lot 37.
275 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.

and thrown over a white robe.[276] He holds a scroll curling around a sceptre, bearing the first words of the salutation to the Virgin, as does the archangel in the Waddesdon manuscript where the scroll curls around a central colonnette instead.[277]

Compared to other miniatures from the Master's workshop, one is struck by the monumentality of the figure and by its Flemish character. The treatment of the peacock feathers and jewelled orfrey of the cope recalls Jan van Eyck's realistic depiction of gems and feathers in works like the Ghent altarpiece. The angular draperies that seem to be suspended rigidly in the air and the architectural setting also belong to the tradition established by 15th century Flemish painting. Only in the Turin Annunciation[278] (**fig. 27**) is the archangel's cloak floating in the same way instead of falling to the ground, but in this case, the bulk of the drapery is cut off by the frame.

Thanks to the format of the miniature, not limited by an arched frame, one gets a sense of the scale of the church where the archangel is standing, as one can see up to the apex of the vaults. This composition conveys great monumentality to the figure, enhanced by the sculptural treatment of the draperies. This sculptural quality was also sought in the demi-grisaille *Hours for the use of Rouen* [279] (**fig. 26**). The white drapery clings to Gabriel's knee in a similar way in both books of hours. The interplay between light and shade in the white robe is achieved with bluish tones, abundant use of gold is made to highlight the folds of his cope and his shoulders, as if rain of gold had fallen on him in the course of his journey. A deeper blue, contrasting with the gold, marks the depths of the folds and contributes to creating a very rich surface, together with the green of the inside of the cope, the colourful gems and peacock feathers.

A comparison with the Archangel Gabriel painted by Hans Memling ca. 1467-70 as part of the *Jan Crabbe Triptych* [280] (**fig. 32**) shows the extent to which the Master of the Echevinage was indebted to Flemish art. The treatment of the curls, subtly highlighted with gold, the band with a small gold cross on the forehead, the white robe clinging to the angel's body, the peaceful expression on his face (almost sleepy in the case of the

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276 See for comparison the hem of his cloak in the Annunciation in König, Bartz and Tenschert, 2000), Cat. 16, p. 257, f. 33.
277 Waddesdon Manor, ms. 12, f. 27.
278 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 13.
279 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69, f. 25.
280 The Annunciation in grisaille is painted on the reverse of the wings of this triptych (depicting a Crucifixion with donors). The reverse of the left wing featuring the archangel is now in Bruges (Groeningemuseum, inv.O.1254), as is the reverse of the right wing, featuring the Virgin (inv.O.1254). The central panel is in Vicenza, Museo Civico, inv. A.297, and the inside of the wings are in New York, PML. For more details about this triptych, see de Vos, 1994, Cat. 5, pp. 90-3.

Rouennais archangel),[281] the slender fingers holding the sceptre with the scroll curling around it, and even the foot half covered by the robe: the two depictions offer fascinating parallels, and one cannot help thinking that the Master of the Echevinage must have had a Flemish model of this kind for his miniature.

To the left of the miniature, is the entrance to the church opening out onto a sunlit porch.[282] At the back, hardly visible between the archangel and the right hand side pillar is the altar, covered in a white cloth. The choir is surrounded by a colonnade of marble columns (green and dark red), crowned with gold Corinthianesque capitals. This colourful effect is abandoned in the heights of the majestic building, painted in various shades of grey with touches of gold for the tall flamboyant windows. The flooring recalls the Annunciation, with its tiles marked with A and M for Ave Maria.

This interior finds close parallels in the scene of the Presentation in the Temple, also in the demi-grisaille *Hours for the use of Rouen* [283] (f. 44, **fig. 28**). If one removes the protagonists from this church, the perspective is similar to that of the Gabriel miniature in the Chester Beatty manuscript. The doorway is to the left, and the scene also takes place at the junction between the nave and the choir,[284] with the eye being drawn towards the depth of the choir to the right by the line defined by the clerestory level. The same setting is also used for the Martyrdom of Thomas Beckett on f. 141 in the so-called *Hours of St Lô* [285] (**fig. 29**). Furthermore, one finds in the demi-grisaille Presentation scene an asymmetry in the ornate Gothic pillars used as repoussoirs on either side of the composition: one is thin while the other is wider so that the view is shifted to the left. These pillars are within the space of the miniature in spite of their impossible location in terms of Gothic church architecture. They do not act as a frame to the miniature or as a complete diaphragm as no arch links them (see the architectural frames used by the Master of Jean Charpentier).[286] One could argue that these pillars derived from a more traditional composition such as that found in the Presentation scene in the *Turin Hours* [287] (**fig. 30**) where an arch links the two uneven pillars and thus echoes the rounded format of the miniature. In this Turin miniature, the full arch acts as a traditional (if

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[281] His expression is similar to that of Matthew's Angel on f. 13.
[282] In spite of the fact that this porch opens on the north side of the church, see discussion of this in Panofsky, 1953, pp. 147-8.
[283] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69.
[284] The placement of the altar is strange, as it should be further down in the choir.
[285] Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37. A slightly closer view without the opening to the left is used in the Adoration of Veronica's Veil in the same Hours on f. 32v, for the Presentation in *Hours for the use of Rome* (Sotheby's London, 10 July 1967, lot 55, no folio number given).
[286] See Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 32v mentioned in previous note for similar pillars.
[287] Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 44; see also the Presentation scene in the *Hours for the use of Rome* (Sotheby's London, 10 July 1967, lot 55, no folio number given).

asymmetrical) diaphragm that frames and encloses the scene instead of suggesting the existence of the church outside its boundaries. In the demi-grisaille Presentation (**fig. 28**), the two pillars shoot upwards beyond the limits of the miniature. They do not close the composition but open it towards the undepicted space of the cathedral.[288] The gold Gothic pillar decorated with a small statue[289] in the Chester Beatty miniature derives from a composition such as the demi-grisaille Presentation (**fig. 28**), which itself ultimately derives from a composition like the Turin Presentation (**fig. 30**). But in WMs 89, the artist has dispensed altogether with the thin pillar to the left, a bold innovation that defies the usual laws of symmetry.

One of the most elaborate Gothic frameworks painted by the Master features on the surviving miniature in a copy of the *Chroniques de Charles VI et Charles VII* [290] (ca. 1480-5) depicting the Coronation of King Charles VI in Reims Cathedral[291] (**fig. 31**). This symmetrical arch forms a monumental doorway into the space of the coronation and dwarves the protagonists of this scene. The effect achieved is thus very different from that of the single pillar in the Chester Beatty miniature, which closes the perspective to the right and stresses the verticality of the building as it shoots upwards beyond the frame of the miniature. The pillar cuts the cathedral in half and echoes the verticality of the engaged columns supporting the vaults at the back. The ecclesiastical setting particularly recalls Van Eyck's *Madonna in a church* (**fig. 33**) now in Berlin and the Washington *Annunciation,* where Panofsky stressed that: 'In both cases the centre of vision is shifted far to the right, quite near the margin of the picture'.[292]

The simple gold frame, devoid of any inscription,[293] stresses the panel-like quality of the painting, and one would expect to see on the opposite page a painting of the Virgin standing in the same church, receiving the message brought by the archangel, to complete this unbalanced Annunciation scene. An Annunciation scene would have been

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[288] In *L'Estoire d'Oultremer* (Paris, BNF, Fr. 2629, f. 300), the coronation of Gui de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem by the Queen of Jaffa is taking place in the choir of a cathedral and, on either side, one can see a pale Gothic pillar that seems to continue beyond the limits of the painting, like the pillar in the St Gabriel miniature.

[289] Unfortunately, this bearded figure does not hold any attribute, so that it features a generic saint or prophet. The workshop included symbolism in the relief above the arch of the Annunciation in Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 13 and Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69, f. 25, featuring the Original Sin.

[290] Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596, f. 5.
The more basic ones are exemplified in typical Rouen Annunciations where a Gothic canopy supported by thin columns on either side frames the scene (Baltimore, WAG, W. 284, f. 39v; Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 13…).

[291] A similar type of Gothic frames was being used ca. 1485-9 by Jean Colombe in Bourges (see **fig. 125**) and, in a rounder form, by the Master of Jean Charpentier, see for ex. f. 51 in the present hours, **pl. 23**.

[292] Panofsky, 1953, pp. 193-4.

[293] The suffrage is missing its first words.

appropriate to introduce the Hours of the Virgin, but the depiction of the archangel alone is justified by the fact that it introduces his suffrage. Direct precedents for this unusual miniature could not be found, but it had an impact on later Rouennais illumination.[294]

6. Suffrage to St George: St George and the Dragon (f. 96v; pl. 35)

The next miniature by the Master of the Echevinage introduces the suffrage to St George. Mounted on a prancing silvery white horse the saint is brandishing his sword and about to strike the dragon at his feet. Dressed in full gold armour, his short blue cape is flying behind him, and the white shield with a red cross is at his side.[295] The horse is richly caparisoned and the gold inscription 'SANCTE GEORGI MARTIR' can be read along his flank and neck. The use of lettering on harnesses was a common practice in the workshop, as in the hunt scene from *Le Livre des Trois Eages* [296](**fig. 5**), where initials linked by a love knot, are possibly designating the couples taking part in the hunt.

Under the horse's hooves, the dragon is trying to remove a spear fragment stuck in his neck, while looking up at St George. Remains of his previous victims are scattered around him and a trail leads to the grotto where he found refuge, under the rocky outcrop to the right. It is interesting to note that this extraordinary rock with its grassy plateaux of various heights is designed in exactly the same way as the one at the back of the miniature of St John on Patmos in the so-called *Hours of St Lô* [297](**fig. 11**). One can thus see again how elements of the landscape could be recycled from one miniature to the other within the same workshop.

To the left, stands the princess with her hands joined in a prayer for the victory of the knight over the dragon. An unusual detail is the sheep grazing beside her, who would be more appropriately placed at the feet of a shepherdess rather than a lady of royal blood. He seems undisturbed by the battle taking place in the foreground. At the top of the dungeon to the left, the king and queen are witnessing the scene, at a safer distance than their daughter. In the background a city surrounded by water was painted over the landscape in a thin layer of paint.[298] A winding river leads the eye into the blue distance. The placement of the two main figures, the dragon, as well as the city in the

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294 See **E.3.c.** in this chapter.
295 This banner originally was that of the Crusaders and became that of England when St George replaced Edward the Confessor as its patron saint.
296 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 70, f. 5.
297 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998,Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37, f. 139.
298 The blue of the landscape appears beneath the delicate tower.

water are reminiscent of Rogier van der Weiden's *St George* (ca. 1430-2; **fig. 34**), now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, but the comparison stops here.

In spite of the popularity of St George, he is not depicted in the so-called *Hours of St Lô*,[299] nor in the *Turin Hours*,[300] where the suffrages are extensively illustrated. Only in the Edinburgh *Hours for the use of Sarum* [301] (1490s) does one find two depictions of St George. The scene is contained in a six-line miniature on f. 43 where the princess is moved to the right and the two royal heads can just be glimpsed at the top of the castle tower in the background. The larger miniature of St George on f. 144 (**fig. 35**) resembles the Chester Beatty miniature: the position of the caparisoned horse, the dragon looking up while trying to get rid of the spear in his throat, the princess at the back with a grazing sheep and her parents in their tower. Yet the contrapposto and rotating movement of the Chester Beatty knight in shining armour is closer, to that of the Turin St Michael[302] (**fig. 25)** than to the Edinburgh George (**fig. 35**). The landscape and castle also differ and the monster's grotto has disappeared in the *Edinburgh Hours*.

Again the Chester Beatty miniature is given the appearance of a panel painting with its acanthus frame and, this time, the first words of the suffrage to St George have been inscribed in the bottom part left blank for that purpose in dark red letters on gold reading *SALVE MARTIR GLORIOSE*.

7. Suffrage to St Sebastian: Martyrdom of St Sebastian (f. 100; pl. 36)

St Sebastian is shown here tied to a slender tree, a man is tying his feet while two archers take aim at him. He looks serene, with a hint of a smile on his face in spite of the five arrows embedded in his body. Each archer wears an archer's glove (three fingers and a wrist strap) on his right hand to protect his fingers, and a sword hangs from the waist of one of them, which betrays the illuminator's attention to detail. The bodies of the executioners curve forward, responding to the curve of their bows, as they are about to shoot at close range. Behind them to the left, the emperor Diocletian, surrounded by a group of dignitaries, points at the saint and at the same time designates himself as the man who ordered the execution. One encounters again and again his type of hat in miniatures assigned to the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage,[303] and this group of onlookers seems to be borrowed from a scene from the *Chronique de la Bouquechardière*

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299 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37.
300 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
301 Edinburgh, EUL, ms. 43.
302 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 103v.
303 See **3.** in previous section.

depicting the foundation of Venice, Sicambria, Carthage and Rome on f. 159 of a Paris copy of the manuscript (**fig. 3**).[304] The group of figures inspecting the construction of Venice, with its pointing king is similar to the group in the St Sebastian miniature.

This scene is faithfully repeated in the so-called *Hours of St Lô*[305] on f. 158 (**fig. 36**) with only a few variations in St Sebastian's hair, the type of tree he is tied to, the positions of the onlookers, the absence of sword and finger protections for the archers, slight variations in dress, the position of the kneeling executioner, and in the landscape and distant city. The detail of the tree sticking out, taller than the others in the distance to the left is repeated from one miniature to the other.

The martyrdom of St Sebastian depicted in the *Turin Hours*[306] **(fig. 37)** and in the *Hours for the use of Sarum* in Edinburgh[307] (**fig. 38**) repeats the same model without the group of onlookers and a few other details. This variation in the scene points again to the way the workshop was recycling different features from one manuscript to the other. The two archers, St Sebastian and the man tightening the ropes around the saint's ankles are repeated almost exactly.[308] According to Watson,[309] the artist at work on a number of scenes in the *Edinburgh Hours*,[310] including the Martyrdom of St Sebastian is very close to the Master of the Echevinage and was also responsible for the small scene of the Martyrdom of St Appollonia in the *Playfair Hours*[311](**fig. 39**). This small miniature is the only one painted by this artist in the *Playfair Hours* to the illumination of which six other hands have taken part. There is no doubt that it stands the comparison with the Chester Beatty miniatures: the frowning expression of the saint and the two ruffians are very familiar.

As for all comparisons made so far, even though some compositions or elements of the compositions are closely repeated, nowhere does one the same rectangular framing of the miniatures. The Chester Beatty miniature, is framed by gold acanthus leaves and space was left at the bottom of this frame for an inscription in red on gold: *O QUAM MIRA REFULSIT GRACIA*, the first words of the suffrage to St Sebastian.

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304 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2685.
305 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37.
306 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 110v.
307 Edinburgh, EUL, ms. 43, f. 147, reproduced in Watson, p. 56, fig. 18.
308 In the *Edinburgh* and *Turin Hours* the kneeling man has his right knee on the ground instead of the left.
309 Watson, 1984, p. 75.
310 Especially the Pietà (f. 16), the Visitation (f. 34), the Annunciation to the Shepherds (f. 50v), and. the Martyrdom of St Sebastian (f. 147).
311 London, V&A, L. 475-1918, f. 182.

8. Suffrage to St Martin: St Martin and the Beggar (f. 101v; pl. 37)

The last miniature painted by the Master of the Echevinage in these Hours is a depiction of St Martin and the beggar, introducing the suffrage to St Martin. The saint (ca. 316-97) became bishop of Tours in 370, and was especially venerated in the West of France.[312] St Martin is depicted before the walls of Amiens where the event is supposed to have taken place. He is mounted on a white horse with a blue harness on which one can read *MARTINE*, written in gold and the letters *S M*, certainly standing for 'Sancte Martine'. The saint, with a concerned look on his face, bends towards a cripple who stands on the side of the road. He has taken his sword and is cutting half his mantle to give it to the beggar. Martin seems wealthy, wearing a fur-hemmed tunic and matching hat, his sleeves are cut in a brocaded fabric.

The cripple, to the left, in the foreground, looks up at him, clearly doubting what he sees. His share of Martin's cloak rests on his head, he is poorly dressed, with a torn blue short tunic. He walks on crutches, having lost one foot, his left leg is wrapped in bandages, supported by a splint. To the left at the back are the walls of the city, with its gate tower in the foreground. A similar architectural structure is found to the right in the background of the Visitation miniature in the demi-grisaille *Hours for the use of Rouen.*[313] Paler buildings at the back surrounded by water may be a continuation of the city walls. Blue hills gently rise in the distance.

In the sky, three angels with pinkish scrolls surround God the Father, who appears in an oval of gold, surrounded by dark blue clouds highlighted with gold. He also holds a scroll and makes a blessing gesture with his right hand. The wings of the angels match the colour of their robes: the left angel is dark pink, while another one is mauve, and the right one wears gold with orange shading. The angels hover over the scene and their robes twist and gather as in 15th century Flemish paintings, especially in the works of Rogier van der Weiden (see **fig. 13**). The swirling robes, combined with the agitated scrolls create a great decorative effect against the sky. A similar angel all dressed in gold announces the good news to the shepherds in the Sotheby's *Hours for the use of Rouen*,[314] and more angels with billowing draperies carry the Instruments of Christ's Passion in the Last Judgement scene from the copy of the *Cité de Dieu* [315] (**fig. 14**) or the very similar

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312 See Duchet-Suchaux, Pastoureau, 1994, pp. 240-2.
313 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69, f. 31v.
314 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69, f. 41.
315 Paris, BNF, Fr. 28, f. 2.

Last Judgement in *Hours for the use of Rouen* in the Walters Art Gallery,[316] to give only a few examples.

This scene is very close to the Saint Martin miniature in the so-called *Hours of St Lô* [317](**fig. 40**): the position of the protagonists is the same with the cripple's head covered by half of Martin's cloak. His face in profile has similar features, with his eye too close to the profile line, as if he were a cyclop (see also **fig. 7** for this feature). He holds his crutch in the same manner and his leg is also wrapped in bandages. Small details differ: his tunic is more shapely, the horse does not turn towards him, the expression on St Martin's face is not as worried, the path seems to curve away from the picture plane… there are also marginal differences in the landscape and cityscape at the back. The *Turin Hours* [318] also contain a nearly identical miniature on f. 123 (**fig. 41**).

The main difference is that, in both the *St Lô* and the *Turin Hours*, the sky is empty and silent, the swirling draperies of the angels' robes, their scrolls and the watchful God are absent. The different format of the miniature, with a rounded top does not allow as much space to feature them in the sky. The oblong format of the miniature and its simple gold frame in the Chester Beatty miniature also change the impact of the composition. The shading of the frame makes it project slightly from the vellum surface. The miniature is surrounded by a plain gold frame with the inscription in dark red: '*O MARTINE O PIE QUAM PIUM*', which is the incipit of the prayer to St Martin, continuing on the opposite page.

This miniature contains a significant amount of text, as the scrolls have not only a decorative function, but contain legible inscriptions which complement the composition. These scrolls read (from left to right):

Hic martinus qui nullis nocuit.

Martinus adhuc cathechumenus hac me veste contexit.

Hic martinus qui trine placuit maiestati.

Hic martinus qui cunctis profuit.

These verses come from the liturgy.[319] Verses 1, 3 and 4 originate in a sequence attributed to Adam de Saint-Victor,[320] to be sung before the Gospel reading at Mass. These three verses correspond to the scrolls held by the angels, who chant and extol the

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316 Baltimore, WAG, W. 233, f. 98.
317 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 162.
318 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
319 I would like to thank Jean-Baptiste Lebigue, researcher specialised in Liturgy at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Orléans for finding the origin of these verses and helping me with their translation.
320 See *Patrologia latina,* vol. 196, col. 1530.

saint's virtues, implicitly suggesting that his virtuous example should be followed:

This Martin who never harmed anyone.

This Martin who was helpful to everyone.

This Martin who knew how to please the divinity as three persons.

The second verse is an antiphon taken from the *Life of St Martin*, by Sulpicius Severus,[321] this antiphon was used at Matins in the Office of St Martin. This verse is what Christ said after he received a half of Martin's cloak, in the guise of a poor at the Amiens gates:

Here, Martin, when still a catechumen, clothed me with this garment.

God the Father, holding this scroll, reminds the reader of the saint's charity, while stressing the true identity of the poor, for whom Martin is cutting his cloak in the lower part of the composition. These words are spoken by Christ disguised as the beggar, and by God the Father, who is one with his Son. This inscription reminds the reader of the true meaning of this scene.

D. Origins of some compositions by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

1. Parisian influences

The art of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen is rooted in the early 15th century Parisian tradition. It seems that the influence of artists active in Rouen in the first half of the 15th century, such as the Fastolf Master or the Talbot Master,[322] on the work of the Master of the Echevinage was not as important as that exerted by Parisian late followers of the Bedford Master. Many names have been given as source of inspiration for the Rouen Master, and they all point to Parisian artists, in the lineage of the Master of Bedford.[323] Avril stressed that his earliest works such as a book of hours now in Toulouse[324] (1450s) reflect the influence of the Master of the Munich Golden Legend,[325] one of the most prolific imitators of the Bedford style, active until ca. 1450 and often mistaken for the Bedford Master himself. According to Reynolds, a number of books of hours painted in the Golden Legend style but for the use of Rouen,[326] Evreux[327] and

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321 *Vita sancti Martini Turonensis,* J. Fontaine (ed.), 1967, cap. III, par. 3 (Sources chrétiennes, 3).
322 See also **A.1** in this chapter.
323 See **A.1** in this chapter, for historical and geographical reasons for these artistic exchanges.
324 Toulouse, BM, ms. 143.
325 Named after a manuscript in Munich: Bayer. Staats., Cod. Gall. 3.
326 Naples, Bibl. Naz., ms. I B 27 and Minneapolis, Priv. Coll.
327 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., ms. McClean 82.

Bayeux[328] would indicate that, from ca. 1420 to the 1440s,[329] the Master of the Munich Legend left Paris to work in Normandy.[330] His temporary move to Normandy would explain the longlasting impact of his style on Rouen illumination. However, by the time the *Bouquechardière* was painted for the Echevinage de Rouen[331] (ca. 1457-61), the miniatures painted by the Master of the Echevinage 'montrent un style pleinement affirmé et déjà affranchi de l'influence du Maître de la Légende Dorée de Munich'.[332]

It has also been said that: 'Its strongest influences are [...], from the work of the Dunois Master and (especially) the Coëtivy Master...'.[333] The Dunois Master illustrated a copy of the *Bouquechardière* (ca. 1455-60),[334] but no interesting comparisons can be drawn with the Rouen versions.[335]

Plummer wrote in 1982 that 'After the departure of the English from Rouen in 1449... new artistic impulses from Paris, particularly from such artists as the Master of Jean Rolin II and the illustrator of *L'Information des Princes* by Thomas Aquinas transcribed at Paris in 1453[336] (**fig. 42**), transformed and reinvigorated Rouennais illumination'.[337] The composition used by the artist at work in the Presentation miniature in *L'Information des Princes* [338] is indeed close to later Presentation miniatures by the Master of the Echevinage.[339] In the 1993 catalogue, Reynaud did not make any distinction between a Master of Jean Rolin and a Master of Jean Rolin II, and gathered all of their work under the name of the former.[340] It is in the work of this Master of Jean Rolin, named after his main patron, the Cardinal-Bishop of Autun, that one finds the most interesting elements of comparison with WMs 89. The Master of Jean Rolin worked in Paris from ca. 1445 to ca. 1465 and collaborated on a number of occasions with the Dunois Master, in

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328 Caen, Mus. des Beaux-Arts, Mancel ms. Collection 139.
329 After this period, he seems to have returned to Paris where he painted a number of manuscripts including the *Eales Hours* (Reading, University Library, ms. 2087).
330 She also argued that the two added miniatures in the so-called *Neville Hours* (Paris, BNF, Lat. 1158, fols 27v and 34v) depicting Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland and his wife in prayer with other family members were painted in the 1430s by the Golden Legend Master in Normandy, probably in Rouen. For full demonstration, see Reynolds, 1994, esp. pp. 300-304.
331 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2685.
332 Avril, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 171.
333 About lot 25, related to the style of the Master of the Echevinage, in Sotheby's London, *A selection of illuminated mss from the 13th to the 16th centuries, the property of Mr J.R. Ritman*, 6 July 2000, p. 100.
334 Paris, BNF, Fr. 62-3.
335 For more on the Dunois Master, see **Vol. IV, Irish Cat. 7.**
336 The Hague, KB, ms. 76 E 20.
337 Plummer, 1982, p. 66.
338 I would believe that a less skilled artist was responsible for the other, smaller miniatures. See Koninklijke Bibliothek website for all images.
339 See Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2619, f. 1 for comparison. See also the same tubular treatment of Nobility's clothes in *L'Estrif de Fortune, Manuscrits et enluminures du onzième au dix-huitième siècle.* Pierre Berès [1975], lot. 14, f. 78.
340 See Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 38-45.

particular on the *Hours of Simon de Varye*,[341] dating from ca. 1455. The Martyrdom of St Sebastian[342] (**fig. 43**) in these Hours illustrates the connection between the Parisian artist's repertoire and that of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen.

In this miniature, the overall layout of the composition and the parallel position of the archers in profile to the left with one leg forward definitely find an echo in the Chester Beatty miniature (f. 100; **pl. 36**), even though the group of onlookers is standing further from the scene to the left, and half hidden behind a hill. It is worth noting that, like the Master of Jean Rolin in the *Hours of Simon de Varye*, the Master of the Echevinage used the demi-grisaille technique in the Sotheby's *Hours for the use of Rouen* [343](see **fig. 10, 26, 28**). However, the stylistic treatment of miniatures by the Master of the Echevinage is less nuanced than the work of the Master of Jean Rolin, his designs are more linear and his use of colour is bolder.

Further bridges can be drawn between the work of the Parisian artist and that of the Rouen Master comparing the former's Annunciation scene as it appears in *Hours for the use of Paris* [344] (**fig. 44**; ca. 1450-60) with Echevinage Annunciations (see **fig. 26-7**). The scene of St John on Patmos (f. 13) in the same Hours also can be compared with that painted by the Master of the Echevinage in the so-called *Hours of St Lô* [345] (f. 139, **fig. 11**).

2. The problematic origin of the Heavenly Court and Hell Scene miniature (f. 74; pl. 30)

The iconography of this miniature is unusual in many ways: in its confrontation of an earthly viewer with depictions of Heaven and Hell, in the combination in the same iconographic programme of the Coronation of the Virgin and a vision of Hell, and in the prominence of the figure of Satan, unusual in French art.

The idea of featuring a standing figure as a witness to Heaven's bliss and Hell's torments could have sprung from the illustration of certain copies of St Augustine's *City of God* such as a Flemish manuscript now in Utrecht (Ghent, ca. 1464-74),[346] where St Augustine is included in the design of the historiated initials introducing the various

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341 Malibu, Getty Mus., ms. 7; The Hague, KB, ms. 74 G 37 and 74 G 37a. See **Irish Cat. 7** for more on this manuscript. See also **fig. 89** for a miniature painted by Jean Fouquet in this manuscript. For a comprehensive study of this manuscript with reproduction of all miniatures, see Kren, Avril, 1994.
342 The Hague, KB, ms. 74 G 37, f. 76v.
343 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69.
344 In König, Bartz and Tenschert, 2000, pp. 150-65, Cat. 9, f. 27.
345 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37.
346 Utrecht, Univ. Lib., ms. 42.

books. Visually echoing his own discourse, he intervenes in the scenes to point at the key elements of his demonstration.[347] The introducing initials to books 12 and 19 thus depict St Augustine showing philosophers Hell with burning fires as well as the angels in Heaven (see f. 270, **fig. 45**) in a way that echoes the Chester Beatty miniature. In ms 89, the figure is standing and its gesture is encouraging the reader to consider the alternative between Heaven and Hell, instead of kneeling in the usual devotional attitude: he seems to be demonstrating something in the same way as St Augustine. French copies of the *Cité de Dieu* did not include the author within the miniature as can be judged from Laborde's study.[348] The Master of the Echevinage, whose art often has Flemish overtones,[349] may have been inspired by a Flemish *City of God* when he designed the unusual Heavenly Court and Hell Scene. Yet, when it came to actually illustrating the *Cité de Dieu* now in the Bibliothèque Nationale[350] (**fig. 22-3**), he refrained from including the author in his compositions.

The possible origin of the standing figure pondering the alternative offered to him has already been considered, but it is worth stressing the originality of a combination of the torments of the damned with the heavenly court gathered around the Virgin crowned by the Trinity. The Coronation was similarly combined with a vision of Hell in a painting executed in the Southern Netherlands in the late 15th century and recently exhibited in Paris.[351]

The Master of the Echevinage, in his depictions of Hell,[352] does not feature the long-established mouth of Hell, preferring to it a composition centred on the figure of Satan as Prince of Hell.[353] This representation originated in 14th century Italian art and survives in countless frescoes, usually incorporated into the wider context of a Last Judgement.[354] One fails to find any equivalent in French representations of Hell, where the mouth of Hell prevailed until late in the century. Maître François, the most prolific

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347 See reproductions of this manuscript in Van der Horst, 1989, Cat. 142, pp. 39-40, especially ills 626, 633-5 (fols 154, 270, 287 and 308).
348 See Laborde, 1909.
349 See **3.** in this section.
350 Paris, BNF, Fr. 27-8.
351 Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, inv. Pe 158; see Clouzot, Laloue…, 2004, Cat. 33.
352 See CBL, WMs 89, f. 74 and Paris, BNF, Fr. 28, f. 249v.
353 Baschet gives this title to the miniature introducing Book 20 in the Paris *Cité de Dieu* painted by the Master of the Echevinage (Paris, BNF, Fr. 28, f. 249v; see Baschet, 1993, fig. 142; **fig. 22**)
354 See Verona, San Fermo Maggiore, tomb of Barnaba da Morano (winged devil seated frontally, caves all around him with various tortures; see Baschet, 1993, pl. V.1); Florence, San Giovannio Baptistery, to the right of the Last Judgement, Hell with horned monster, swallowing a soul, as in the *Cité de Dieu* miniature. Padova, Scrovegni Chapel, Last Judgement by Giotto. Florence, San Marco Museum, Last Judgement by Fra Angelico, another one similar in Berlin Staat Museum (grottoes above, swallowing a soul). San Giminiano, Duomo, Hell scene presided by a large horned Satan swallowing and grabbing souls.

Parisian miniaturist active ca. 1460-80, was responsible for a number of Hell scenes in various manuscripts,[355] and their iconography is centred on the torments inflicted to the souls by gesticulating demons not unlike those depicted by the Master of the Echevinage (see especially the one to the left of the flaming well, carrying three victims; **fig. 46**). Maître François's compositions divide the victims according to their social status, which led Baschet to point out that 'cette image…constitue, dans le cadre de la miniature française, la première représentation structurée de l'enfer'.[356] This representation in three levels corresponding to the three orders of society does not contain the presiding figure of Satan.

In order to find another example of the depiction of the 'Prince of Hell', one has to turn to the work of an earlier artist: the so-called Master of the Brussels Initials[357] who, as an Italian artist working in Paris in the first decade of the 15th century, inscribed himself in the Italian tradition by centring his composition around the frightening figure of a large green demon swallowing helpless souls (**fig. 47**).[358]

The Master of the Echevinage seems to have been the only French artist drawing on this tradition, and it comes as no coincidence that Baschet precisely included in his study, among his few carefully chosen illustrations, the Hell scene from the Paris *Cité de Dieu*[359] (**fig. 22**), and the Heavenly Court and Hell scene from the *Missal of Raoul du Fou* painted by a follower (**fig. 65**).[360] This composition, repeated by followers of the Master of the Echevinage,[361] stands out in French depictions of Hell and reflects the influence of Italian iconography.

One earlier example features in the Crucifixion from the *Dreux Budé Triptych*,[362] which contains a Hell scene dominated by a figure of Satan towering over flaming pits on a red metal structure of the same type as that found in the Rouennais composition (see **pl. 30, fig. 22, 64-6**). This painting, dated to ca. 1449, is attributed to the Master of

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355 See especially Henri Romain, *Abrégé de Tite-Live, Compendium historial* and compilation of texts by various authors known as *Le Mignon* (Paris, BNF, Fr. 9186, f. 298v; **fig. 46**), executed for Jacques d'Armagnac. Maître François reused his depiction of Hell to introduce Chapter XX in the copies of Augustine's *Cité de Dieu* he produced (see for ex. Paris, BNF, Fr. 18 and Bibl. Ste Genevieve, ms. 246).

356 Baschet, 1993, p. 423. Some torments also refer to the sin they punish, like hanging for the sin of Pride.

357 Named after a series of historiated initials he painted in the *Très Belles Heures de Jean, duc de Berry* (Brussels, Bibl. Roy., Ms. 11060-1).

358 See London, BL, Add. 29433, f. 89; ca. 1407), and related Hours attributed to this artist: Madrid, Bibl. del Palacio, 2099, f. 95 (ca. 1400), Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Douce 62 (ca. 1402), Cleveland, Art Mus., ms. 64.40 (*Hours of Charles the Noble*, ca. 1405).

359 Paris, BNF, Fr. 28, f. 249v.

360 Evreux, BM, Ms. 99, f. 90: on this manuscript see **E. 2** in this chapter.

361 See **E. 1, 2 and 3.a** in this chapter.

362 Central panel (Crucifixion): Los Angeles, Getty Mus. Left panel (Betrayal of Christ with two Donors): Bremen, private collection. Right panel (Resurrection with Jeanne Peschard, wife of Dreux I Budé and her daughters): Montpellier, Musée Fabre.

Dreux Budé (identified as André d'Ypres), an artist trained in Flanders but active in Paris from 1445-50.[363]

3. Links with Flanders

As early as 1930, Meurgey stressed the Flemish character of the compositions in the Chantilly *Chronique de la Bouquechardière* [364] (ca. 1460-70) in *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures du Musée Condé à Chantilly* (Paris, 1930). Scholars have consistently connected the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen with Flemish art, to such an extent that it was even suggested he could have been a Flemish artist working in Rouen.[365]

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

On closer examination, it appears that many compositions used by the Master of the Echevinage were copied after a Flemish manuscript painted in 1469-71 by Lievin van Lathem and the Master of Mary of Burgundy: the so-called *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*.[366] Lievin van Lathem was a major Flemish painter, recorded from 1454, when he joined the painter's guild in Ghent, until his death in 1493. Documents make clear that he spent most of his career in Antwerp but commissions brought him to other northern cities such as Utrecht and Brussels. He counted among his prestigious patrons the Burgundian dukes Philip the Good (r. 1419-67)[367] and his son and heir Charles the Bold (r. 1467–77),[368] and Louis de Gruuthuse (ca. 1427-92)[369] who worked as a diplomat for both dukes. From 1487 to 1490 (and possibly until his death in 1493), van Lathem was in the service of Maximilian I.

Durrieu was the first one to draw the attention to this Flemish artist whom he called in 1903 the 'Maître de la Conquête de la Toison d'Or' after a copy of the *Histoire de Jason* now in Paris.[370] He proposed at the time, and in a 1916 article, to identify this artist with Philippe de Mazerolles, a French artist active in Bruges from ca. 1469 to his death in 1479, whose name was recorded as 'valet de chambre et enlumineur en titre de Charles le

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363 For a recent summary on this artist, see Lorentz, 2004, pp. 92-6.
364 Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 312.
365 See confusion with Jacobus ten Eyken, the scribe of BNF, Fr. 284-5, written in Rouen in 1469, see **A.2.a.** in this chapter.
366 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37.
367 *Prayer book of Philip the Good* (Paris, BNF, N.a.f. 16428).
368 *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37).
369 *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies* (Chatsworth, duke of Devonshire, ms. 7535; Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 58), *Histoire de Jason*, by Raoul Lefèvre (Paris, BNF, Fr. 331; Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 59), Pseudo-Aristotle *Secret des Secrets* and *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, by Jacob van Gruytrode (Paris, BNF, Fr. 562; Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 60).
370 BNF, Fr. 331.

Téméraire' in 1467.[371] By 1916, Durrieu had become the owner of a prayer book which, he stated in his article, had been written and illuminated by Mazerolles for Charles the Bold. Although the presence of St Gatian (linked to Tours) and St Eutrope (patron saint of Saintes, in the South West of France)[372] in the suffrages is puzzling in a devotional book for a Burgundian duke, the presence of his emblem[373] in the margins of f. 68 and the pre-eminence of St George in miniatures associated with the kneeling patron[374] seem to confirm the ducal patronage. Scholars now agree that the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*[375] is not to be assigned to Philippe de Mazerolles, to whom Smeyers and de Schryver have attributed the Vienna *Black Hours*,[376] but to Lievin van Lathem and the Master of Mary of Burgundy. The Getty *Prayer book* has since been identified as a manuscript whose payment was recorded in the Burgundian accounts.

As Kren recently explained,[377] this manuscript seems to have been executed in two campaigns. In January 1469, the Burgundian accounts recorded payment for the writing of the first portion called *petit livret* (which corresponds to fols 9-66) to Nicolas Spierinc and in August, payment was made to Lievin van Lathem for twenty-five *histoires* (miniatures) and their borders. Van Lathem's second campaign probably sometime after 1470 showed a greater involvement of his assistants, including some work by the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy.[378]

Surprisingly, the first campaign hardly referred to the prestigious patron whose name only appeared in the suffrage to St Christopher (f. 26v) and whose heraldry was nowhere to be found. Kren stressed that armorials were originally painted around the miniature of the Virgin and Child (f. 5v), but were subsequently painted over 'either as the selection of heraldry grew inaccurate over time or by a subsequent owner.[379] Yet, as this border containing musician angels seems to have been painted in the same workshop, possibly during the second campaign, it is difficult to understand why the arms of Charles the Bold would have been eclipsed. If one follows the working pattern

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371 Durrieu, 1916, pp. 6-8.
372 See **fig. 1.**
373 Two branches crossing to form a saltire cross.
374 Fols 6, 67v-68. Charles the Bold had a particular devotion to St George (see Durrieu, 1916, p. 50).
375 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37.
376 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1856. This is based on a surviving document recording that Philippe Mazerolles finished for the duke a book of hours written in gold and silver on black parchment (see Smeyers, 1998, pp. 367-72, and de Schryver, 1999, pp. 50-67). However, scholars disagree on this point and, according to Kren and McKendrick, the name of Philippe de Mazerolles still remains to be reunited with his oeuvre (see Kren, McKendrick, 2003, pp. 121 and 264).
377 In Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 16, pp. 128-31.
378 Named after the magnificent so-called *Hours of Mary of Burgundy* (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1857) in which he also collaborated with Lievin van Lathem. See Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 19.
379 In Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 16, p. 128.

proposed by Kren, the second campaign was on the contrary the most explicit in terms of depicting and identifying the patron.[380] The forthcoming facsimile *The Prayer Book of Charles the Bold*, by de Schryver,[381] should elucidate these questions while hopefully providing a transcription of the documents that identify the manuscript as the Duke's *Prayer book*.

We now seem to have strayed very far from WMs 89 and the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen but comparison between some of the Getty compositions and Rouen miniatures reveals how close they are in spite of the distance between Flanders and Normandy.

b. Impact of van Lathem's compositions on WMs 89: St Michael, St George and St Martin

Three compositions in WMs 89 are based on Lievin van Lathem's miniatures, as can be seen when comparing his St Michael fighting the devil (f. 90v, **pl. 32**)[382] with that in the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* (f. 15v, **fig. 48**). Although the Rouennais miniature lacks the shimmering vibrancy of van Lathem's, the composition is clearly the same in spite of the difference in style. Van Lathem's miniature is more painterly and atmospheric with the empty divine throne and demons falling down from stormy clouds in the distance. The figure of the Rouen St Michael has the elongated and elegant proportions so characteristic of the Master of the Echevinage, but the movement and setting are the same, with the two strange rocky outcrops at the back and the demon grasping the angel's round shield. The St Michael miniatures in the so-called *Hours of St Lô* [383] (**fig. 24**) and in the *Turin Hours* [384](**fig. 25**) also ultimately derive from the same Flemish model.[385] In the latter, an intriguing blend has been operated between the St Michael and St George compositions from the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* [386](**fig. 48-9**). Indeed, the dragon trampled by St Michael is the closest to van Lathem's,[387] but the landscape at the back is taken from the Flemish St George miniature.

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380 The miniatures depicting him and St George (f. 6 and the diptych on f. 67v-68) and his arms (also on f. 68) were all painted during the second campaign.
381 Announced by Kren in Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 16, p. 131.
382 See also Sotheby's, New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 157 and Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 103v.
383 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37, f. 157.
384 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 103v.
385 See also Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030, f. 103 (historiated initial). But the landscape behind St Michael in WMs 89 is closest to that in the *Prayer book* with the two rocks left with no trees.
386 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, fols 15v and 67v.
387 Indeed in both WMs 89 (f. 90v) and the *Hours of St Lô* (f. 157), the demon under the angel's feet is quite different from van Lathem's dragon.

A similar adaptation of a van Lathem composition[388] (**fig. 49**) can be found in the Chester Beatty miniature of St George and the Dragon (f. 96v; **pl. 35**), where the group formed by the mounted saint, the dragon and the princess standing at a distance with a sheep grazing beside her is repeated by the Master of the Echevinage while the setting has been changed. The dragon trying to remove the broken spear thrust in its neck and the knight's helmet are repeated. Yet, it is in the Edinburgh *Hours for the use of Sarum*[389] that the knight's gesture is closest to the Flemish model[390] (compare **fig. 35 and 49**).

Comparison between the Chester Beatty St Martin miniature (f. 101v; **pl. 37**), and the Getty St Martin[391] (**fig. 50**) is also compelling. Indeed the setting, buildings, clothes and gestures of St Martin and the beggar are repeated with the same mannered movement of the sword to cut the cloak and the detail of the right arm of the beggar awkwardly twisted to hold the crutch.[392] Yet, the Master of the Echevinage added hovering angels to fill the oblong space of the full-page miniature, but did not retain the few onlookers at the city gate and the second beggar from van Lathem's miniature. Other versions of this St Martin scene by the Master of the Echevinage can be found in the so-called *Hours of St Lô*[393] (**fig. 40**) and in the *Turin Hours*[394] (**fig. 41**).

The suggestion of the Master of Jean Rolin's Sebastian composition (**fig. 43**) as a possible source for the Chester Beatty miniature (f. 100; **pl. 36**) remains valid, as the centralised van Lathem composition (f. 29) had no impact on the Master of the Echevinage. He seems to have copied a few miniatures from the *Prayer book* to include them in his collection of models to be used in his workshop, but did not keep a copy of each of them. The impact of the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* on the work of the Echevinage was nevertheless not limited to these three miniatures.

c. Influence of other miniatures from the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*[395]

The Master of the Echevinage borrowed several other compositions from the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*,[396] as can be seen in a number of Hours attributed to him,

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388 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 67v.
389 Edinburgh, EUL ms. 43, f. 144.
390 See also in the same Hours, a smaller version of this composition on f. 43 and in Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030, f. 106 (historiated initial).
391 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 34v.
392 The elbow should be bending the other way to be anatomically correct!
393 Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 162.
394 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 123.
395 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37.
396 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37.

especially the so-called *St Lô Hours* [397] and the *Turin Hours* [398](see **Appendix I.1**). The miniatures of the Martyrdom of St Andrew (f. 21; **fig. 51**),[399] St Stephen (f. 24v)[400] and St Laurence (f. 31v),[401] St Christopher (f. 26),[402] St Hubert (f. 39v)[403] and the Entombment (f. 119v),[404] all attributed to van Lathem, and the Betrayal (f. 71),[405] Flagellation (f. 90; **fig. 53**) and Deposition (f. 111v; **fig. 97**)[406] assigned to the workshop of the Master of Mary of Burgundy and part of the second campaign,[407] all entered the repertoire of the Master of the Echevinage.

In the case of scenes occurring both in the *St Lô Hours* [408] and the *Turin Hours* [409], one notes that the St Lô version is more literal and closer to the Flemish miniatures, both in terms of composition but also of style. This can especially be observed in the Flagellation[410] (compare **fig. 53 and 54**), the Deposition,[411] or the Entombment scenes,[412] in which the St Lô facial types and dress are more directly related to the Flemish model. This closer stylistic relationship to the original finds an echo in the mixture of 'champie' initials (see **fig. 140**) with a few more modern initials in grisaille, which suggests a slightly earlier date for the *St Lô Hours* (ca. 1480)[413] than for the *Turin Hours* (ca. 1480-5),[414] containing grisaille and a later type of initials (see **fig. 143 and 59c-d**).[415] The three

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[397] Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37.
[398] Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
[399] See Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 164 (**fig. 52**).
[400] See Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 138 for best example: note the repeated detail of the seated figure in the foreground overlooking the martyrdom.
[401] See Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 154 and Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 121.
[402] See Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 120 for best example.
[403] See Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 124.
[404] The closest version to the Van Lathem miniature is that found on f. 65 of the so-called *Hours of St Lô* (Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37): note the bust of Jesus propped up and the headdress of the man supporting him, Mary Magdalen in the foreground with crumpled drapery around her waist, etc… A less literal version also exists in Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 55v.
[405] See Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 31 and Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 28v: note especially the position of Malchus with head foreshortened and legs crossed in the foreground, man carrying lantern at the back etc…
[406] See Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 59 and Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 50v: note especially the figure of the man on the ladder with his floating cloak and position of one of the holy women holding the other ladder to the left…
[407] These attributions are based on the ones made by Kren in Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 16.
[408] Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37.
[409] Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
[410] Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 38v and Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 35 to compare with Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 90.
[411] Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 59 and Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 50v to compare with Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 111v.
[412] Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 65 (**fig. 20**) and Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 55v to compare with Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 119v.
[413] Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37.
[414] Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
[415] See **Chapter III, I.D.2.**

miniatures in WMs 89 (**pl. 32, 35, 37**) are closer to the van Lathem compositions than the Turin miniatures, which could suggest that they were executed earlier. Their format and the type of initials used in the Dublin manuscript definitely indicate that they were executed later than the *St Lô Hours.*[416]

In *Hours for the use of Rouen* now in London,[417] the miniature of the Trinity (f. 107v; **fig. 56**) painted ca. 1500 by a follower of the Master of the Echevinage[418] is a striking transcription of van Lathem's composition into a later Rouennais idiom. In this miniature, God the Father and an angel symbolising the Holy Spirit are shown supporting the dead body of Christ, a depiction of the Trinity specific to late 15th century Ghent-Bruges books of hours.[419] Van Lathem used it on several occasions in the late 1460s-early 70s in the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* [420] (**fig. 55**) and the *Trivulzio Hours* [421] but not invariably, as the Trinity miniature in the earlier *Prayer book of Philip the Good* [422] (dated to ca. 1461-2) features a different composition, with the Holy Spirit as a dove. In spite of the thirty years and geographic distance that separate the execution of the Rouen and *Prayer book* miniatures, the position of the angel's and God's hands under Christ's arms, Christ's left hand resting on the angel's thigh… echo each other from one manuscript to the other. This Trinity was thus certainly transmitted to the later generation of Rouen artists via the repertoire of the Master of the Echevinage,[423] even though no version painted by the Master seems to have survived. It is surprising to note that the Trinity miniatures in the so-called *Hours of St Lô*,[424] in the *Turin Hours* [425] (**fig. 15**) and the *Edinburgh Hours* [426] follow a different pattern.[427]

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[416] See previous note.
[417] London, SAL, ms. 13.
[418] This manuscript is part of the 'Playfair group' defined by Watson in Watson, 1984. See also **E.1** in this chapter.
[419] See the *Hours of Paul d'Overtvelt* (Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. de Belgique, ms. IV 95, f. 155v) for another example of such a composition, attributed to Petrus Christus (ca. 1470). See Smeyers, 1998, p. 414, ill. 87 for a reproduction of this miniature.
[420] Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 14.
[421] The Hague, KB, SMC 1, f. 13v. It is possible to view all miniatures on the Koninklijke Bibliotheek website.
[422] Paris, BNF, N.a.f. 16428, f. 43. See reproduction of this miniature in Thomas, 1976, p. 87.
[423] This SAL manuscript also contains very interesting borders with 'Lathemesque' dragons, see **d.** in this section for more details.
[424] Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 150.
[425] Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 99v.
[426] Edinburgh, EUL, ms. 43, f. 112v.
[427] God the Father under a canopy held open by angels, holds Christ who shows his wound.

d. Impact of the *Prayer book*'s secondary decoration

Not only did several compositions from the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* [428] enter the Master of the Echevinage's repertoire, but numerous border motifs and possibly some of its decorated initials had a lasting impact on Rouennais illumination.

-- Border motifs

Kren divided the execution of the miniatures into two campaigns (1469 and ca. 1471), stressing that the borders of the first campaign tended to be decorative, while the later borders were mostly historiated. With the possible exception of the borders around the miniatures attributed to the Master of Mary of Burgundy workshop,[429] they were all painted by van Lathem or a talented assistant. As Kren stressed, 'another distinctive feature of van Lathem's art is the border decoration, especially the battling griffins and hybrids of the Gothic tradition, which he drew with such grace and spirit that the visual appeal of his borders rivalled and sometimes eclipsed that of the miniatures they accompanied'.[430]

The imaginative grotesques inhabiting the borders painted in the first campaign had a great impact on the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage, which faithfully repeated dragons, battles and archers in the borders of its manuscripts (for all border motifs comparisons, see **Vol. II, Appendix I.2.**). The winged dragon looking up in the Duke's prayer book (f. 15v; see **Dragon 2 in Appendix I.2**) was endlessly repeated in Rouen books of hours such as the *Hours for the use of Coutances* in the Walters Art Gallery,[431] or in the folios added to the *Hours of Jacques II de Chastillon* [432] for Pierre de Roncherolles and his wife. The Brussels *Histoires romaines* [433] feature a version of this winged dragon less faithful to its model, where the strange starry white patch on the dragon's shoulder is relocated below his wing, and changes into a kind of sun with wavy rays.[434]

Later manuscripts produced by followers of the Master of the Echevinage show the long-lasting impact of Flemish border decoration on Rouennais manuscript illumination. The battle of hybrids on f. 45 of the *Prayer book* is found in the borders of

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428 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37.
429 For repartition of hands, see **a.** in this section.
430 In Kren and McKendrick, 2003, p. 239.
431 Baltimore, WAG, W.284, f. 139v.
432 Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3231, p. 526.
433 Brussels, Bibl. Roy. de Belgique, ms. 9053, f. 2.
434 This pattern is repeated by this artist on other dragons in the borders of this manuscript (see Brussels example of **Dragon 3**).

the *Hours for the use of Rouen* in Baltimore,[435] attributed to a late fifteenth-century follower of the Master of the Echevinage, and again about two decades later in the borders painted by the Rouen artist Jean Serpin (see **Battle 2** in **Appendix I.2**). The latter was responsible for the decoration of two manuscripts commissioned by Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, both of which contain miniatures by Robert Boyvin, an artist who inherited numerous designs from the Master of the Echevinage.[436] These luxurious manuscripts, Seneca's *Epistolae* (1503)[437] and the *Antiquitates Judaicae*, by Flavius Josephus (ca. 1503)[438] both contain the battle of hybrids in their borders. It also features in another *Hours for the use of Rouen* now in Vienna (ca. 1495-1503)[439] painted by Boyvin,[440] in which Pächt had noticed the influence of Lievin van Lathem's motifs.[441] The two men tilting, mounted on rams, found in the borders of the *Antiquitates Judaicae* [442] also originate from the Duke's *Prayer book* [443](see **Battle 1** in **Appendix I.2**).

A few folios in the *Prayer book* (fols 10, 19v, 24v, 46v) 'are decorated with flat designs inspired by enamels or textiles, probably fabrics imported from Italy, which feature intricate patterns of gold or silver acanthus and griffins on black, red, or brown'.[444] Although the manuscripts illuminated by the Master of the Echevinage do not give any evidence of this type of decoration, a later book of hours (ca. 1500) painted by a follower of the Rouennais Master,[445] features some borders that may ultimately derive from this Flemish model. On several folios of these hours for the use of Rouen (see **Dragon 11** in **Appendix I.2**), the borders contain gold dragons and acanthus on a burgundy ground (in some cases a blue ground). The presence of these flat gold patterns may indicate that the textile-inspired borders by van Lathem were also incorporated in the stock of patterns used in the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage, even though no surviving manuscript by the Master features these motifs.

Referring to van Lathem's art, McKendrick stressed 'the artist's delight in the monsters' writhing, rainbow-colored forms',[446] and the borders of late 15th-early 16th

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435 Baltimore, WAG, W. 233, fols 94v and 95.
436 See **E.3.a** in this chapter for more details on Robert Boyvin.
437 Paris, BNF, Lat. 8551, f. 63v. Precisely dated thanks to the accounts of the Gaillon castle, residence of the Cardinal.
438 Paris, Bibl. Maz., Ms. 1581, f. 326v.
439 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1954, f. 24v.
440 See Delaunay, 1995, p. 232.
441 In Pächt, 1977, p. 141. See also Delaunay, 1991, p. 54.
442 Paris, Bibl. Maz., Ms. 1581, f. 349v.
443 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 34v.
444 McKendrick in Kren, McKendrick, 2003, p. 130.
445 We saw that this manuscript also contains a miniature of the Trinity (f. 107v) inspired by van Lathem (see **c.** in this section). For more on this manuscript, see also **E.1.** in this chapter.
446 Kren and McKendrick, 2003, p. 243.

century manuscripts produced in Rouen are indeed peopled with such dragons, recognisable by their fierce looks, wavy spines and multicoloured bodies. These often frolic in Ghent-Bruges style borders strewn with naturalistic flowers.

While Pächt noted in 1977, in connection with the Vienna Hours,[447] a strong link between later Rouen artists and the work of the Flemish miniaturist Lievin van Lathem, he did not propose that Flemish features could have entered the Rouen repertoire at an earlier date. Delaunay suggested that the Ghent-Bruges decoration was introduced in Rouen illumination ca. 1503-4,[448] and considered the dragons as a typical Rouennais motif.[449] Yet, careful study of compositions and border decoration shows that the impact of Flemish miniature painting can be felt in Rouen manuscripts as early as the 1480s, and that the dragons were of Flemish origin.

An intriguing dragon also made its way into the pages of the most famous *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*.[450] This manuscript was executed in various stages, as it had been left unfinished at the death of Jean de Berry and of two of its illuminators in 1416. Ca. 1485, the Bourges miniaturist Jean Colombe was commissioned to complete it and it is on one of the folios decorated in his workshop (f. 138v) that one finds a dragon similar to van Lathem's dragon on f. 23v of the *Prayer book* (see **Dragon 6 in Appendix I.2**). It is thus not impossible that the motif would have reached Bourges, but as this is its only occurrence in the Chantilly manuscript, further research would be needed in the border repertoire of Jean Colombe to ascertain whether this type of motif occurs again.[451] Familiar dragons also appear in the borders of a book of hours painted in Paris ca. 1480-90[452] by an artist working in the style of the Master of the Chronique Scandaleuse (see **Dragon 3, 6 and 9 in Appendix I.2**, see also **Vol. IV, Irish Cat. 14**). Some of these motifs thus seem to have circulated from Rouen to other centres. The Master of the Chronique Scandaleuse was previously classified as 'Rouen School',[453] but the secondary decoration of his manuscripts, his numerous collaborations with Parisian miniaturists and

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447 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1954; Pächt, 1977, p. 141. These borders have since been assigned by Delaunay to Jean Serpin, with miniatures painted by Robert Boyvin (see Delaunay, 1995, p. 232).
448 Delaunay, 1991, p. 58.
449 Referring to Boyvin *Hours for the use of Rouen* (Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 416), Delaunay wrote: 'le décorateur a surtout peint des salamandres, motif qui semble typiquement rouennais' (Delaunay, 1991, p. 52).
450 Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 65, f. 138v.
451 An initial on f. 131 of the *Très Riches Heures*, also attributed to the workshop of Jean Colombe contains a round bird, seen frontally and looking down which often features in the borders of Rouennais manuscripts (see for instance Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 34), but this type of stylised bird, easy to reproduce may not be specific to the Rouennais repertoire.
452 Dublin, TCD, ms. 102; see **Irish Cat. 14.**
453 See Pächt, Thoss, 1977.

with the Parisian libraire Antoine Vérard have argued for relocating him in the capital. Artists working in his style, however, seem to have been active in Rouen: the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel*[454], and some framed folios from a lost book of hours now kept in Auxerre Cathedral show side by side the work of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen and that of an artist close to the Master of the Chronique Scandaleuse. The presence of 'Rouennais' dragons in the borders of TCD ms. 102 provides another example of points of contact between the two workshops. Nevertheless, the use of these Hours (Paris) and their compartmented borders on brown, dark red and blue ground place its execution in Paris.

-- Possible influence of the decorated initials

In the *Turin Hours*,[455] grisaille initials such as the ones used in WMs 89, typical of late 15th century Rouen illumination[456] (see **fig. 57 and 143**) alternate with a new type of decorated initial painted in blue on a red ground, or vice-versa, with both colours patterned with gold. Dragons, birds or faces are sketched in gold on the inner ground and this type of design is reminiscent of some initials found in the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* (see **fig. 59a-d**). Could the decorated initials, like the imaginative borders and colourful miniatures, have inspired the artist at work in the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage? The same type of initial was used in the *Chroniques de Charles VI et Charles VII* (ca. 1480-5; **fig. 31**).[457] It is encountered in the unusual *Hours for the use of Tours* (ca. 1480-5)[458] now in Paris, and it appears that, while the script and penwork initials were executed in Tours, larger initials and miniatures were completed in the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen.[459] It is interesting to note that these three manuscripts show influence from the *Prayer book*[460] in their miniatures and/or their border motifs. The *Missal of Raoul du Fou*,[461] painted by a follower of the Master of the Echevinage in the 1490s also features these initials.[462]

The Master of the Echevinage may also have been inspired by the page layout in the *Prayer book*.[463] The miniature of the Mass of St Gregory (f. 94v; **fig. 62**) in the *Turin*

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454 Besançon, BM, ms. 69.
455 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
456 See **Chapter III, I.D.2.**
457 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596.
458 Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030.
459 Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 169.
460 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37.
461 Evreux, BM, ms. 99, see initial on f. 28v for ex.
462 See **E.2** in this chapter for more details on this manuscript
463 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37.

Hours [464] adopts an unusual format, slightly taller, surrounded by a full border, and with no text on the page. Although this may be coincidental, several folios in the *Prayer book* present the same layout (see fols 1v, 5v, 39v, 67v, 70v) and may have inspired the Rouennais Master.

e. Translation from a Flemish to a Rouennais idiom

As one would expect, the Flemish artist was better at rendering the proportions of the figures in relation to the surrounding architecture and landscape. The Rouen compositions are flatter, more linear, and the rendering of landscape is less atmospheric: the shimmering treatment of light and colour was lost in favour of clean lines and less subtle shading techniques. Figures are more elongated and facial features are transformed to obey Rouennais types.[465]

Some adaptations are especially interesting because they appear to reflect a sensitivity to contemporary fashion, as in the scene of St Andrew's Martyrdom. A figure dressed in late 15th century Flemish fashion in the *Prayer book*, (**fig. 51**),[466] with a tall hat and his hand on the pommel of a walking stick, stands beside the emperor and contrasts sharply with the rest of the figures. His counterpart in the so-called *St Lô Hours* (**fig. 52**)[467] is similarly out of place and wears a contemporary French dress. The same type of hat and scarf is worn by several hunters in the *Livre des Trois Eages* [468] (**fig. 5**), by the man considering Heaven and Hell in the Chester Beatty Hours (f. 74; **pl. 30**), and by the laymen supporting the canopy over the Host in the Corpus Christi procession in the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel.*[469] In the St Hubert miniature in the *Hours of St Lô* (f. 124), the saint is wearing a short tunic with long split sleeves over a tight-fitting bodice, and rounded shoes, instead of the short-sleeved brocaded tunic and pointed chausses worn by St Hubert in the Duke's *Prayer book* (f. 39v). This adaptation of costume only applies to these few figures, and the Master of the Echevinage generally repeated outfits while often replacing short tunics with long robes.[470]

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464 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
465 Although we saw that in certain St Lô compositions, one feels closer to the Flemish source: facial types are copied more faithfully for instance in the Flagellation scene (compare **fig. 53 and 54**).
466 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 21.
467 Sotheby's London, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37, f. 164.
468 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf ms. 70, f. 5.
469 Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 485.
470 Compare figure standing to the left in St Andrew's Martyrdom (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 21; **fig. 51**) with that in *St Lô Hours* (f. 164; **fig. 52**), or figure in profile to the right in St Laurence's Martyrdom (ms. 37, f. 31v) with that in *St Lô Hours* (f. 154), etc…

In the case of the Martyrdom of St Laurence,[471] the three gesticulating executioners in the foreground do not come from van Lathem's composition, but the rest of the miniature was repeated by the Master of the Echevinage, both in the so-called *Hours of St Lô* and in the *Turin Hours*.[472] The Master of the Echevinage did not feature the fall of the angels in the St Michael scene (see **pl. 32, fig. 24-25**), nor the secondary figures in the St Martin miniature (**pl. 37, fig. 40-41**),[473] possibly for greater clarity of design, and/or maybe because he originally only partially copied the composition from the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* (**fig. 48** and **50**).

The Rouen Master adopted van Lathem's settings both interior (only in the case of the Flagellation, **fig. 54**) and exterior, but he used these landscapes as interchangeable backdrops, like a stage set, so that St Andrew's Martyrdom takes place in the countryside in the *St Lô Hours* [474] (**fig. 52**) instead of outside the city gates as in the *Prayer book* [475] (**fig. 51**). Alternatively, in the Turin St Christopher (f. 120), the setting was taken from van Lathem (f. 26), but the figure of Christopher is different. Certain motifs were repeated such as the overhanging cliffs and ubiquitous castles in water, the prominent gate with the city walls receding in the distance to the left.[476] Could the oblong shape of the trees in the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* [477] also have influenced the Rouen Master? The more one looks, the more points of contact one finds.

One would be tempted to credit the *Prayer book* for introducing a new depth in landscapes painted by the Master of the Echevinage, linking the foreground to the distant hills in a continuous flow, thanks to the receding walls of a city or to the meanders of a river. Such a consistent way of treating landscape was absent in earlier manuscripts produced in the Rouennais workshop, like the early copies of *La Bouquechardière* [478] (see **fig. 3**; ca. 1457-61), the *Grand Coutumier de Normandie* [479] or the *Chronique de Normandie* [480] (ca. 1460-5; see **fig. 4**) whereas the Chester Beatty miniatures stretch into the blue

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471 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 31v.
472 Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 154 and Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 121. Note the castle in water, the steep hill and the group of onlookers to the right, especially the courtesan in profile wearing the same hat and brocaded garment hemmed with white.
473 Compare Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 34v with CBL WMs 89, f. 101v, Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37, f. 162 or Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 123.
474 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37, f. 164.
475 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 21.
476 On fols 21, 24v and 34v in *Prayer book* (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37). See Dublin, CBL, WMs 89, f. 101v; Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 123…
477 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37.
478 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2685, Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2543…
479 New York, PML, M.457.
480 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2623.

distance.[481]

Did the Master of the Echevinage make use of colour models or mere drawings as a way of absorbing van Lathem's designs? Could one deduce from the Rouennais miniatures whether the Master of the Echevinage had colour models from the *Prayer book*? Indeed, it is interesting to question how and to what extent the Master of the Echevinage copied the Flemish manuscript patterns to include them in the repertoire of his own workshop. Unfortunately, only black and white reproductions are available of the manuscript offering the widest range of miniatures inspired by the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*, the so-called *Hours of St Lô*.[482] But the *Turin Hours* [483] and the three miniatures in WMs 89 provide us with a few clues (**pl. 32, 35, 37**). The St Martin figure must have been copied in detail, as both the St Lô and the Dublin St Martin are dressed in the same way as in the *Prayer book*, with a short blue tunic hemmed with fur, under a red cloak, and with the same hat with a gold pattern (compare **pl. 37, fig. 40 and fig. 50**).[484] The Turin St Martin (**fig. 41**) takes a few liberties with the outfit, but the colours and brocade have been kept.[485] In the Echevinage versions, the beggar's tunic has become blue. The Chester Beatty St George is a variation on the Flemish original and the colours used are different (compare **pl. 35 and fig. 49**). The St Michael miniature was reproduced faithfully, especially in the movement and colour of the drapery,[486] and in some details of the armour (see the design of the knee protections, repeated both in the *St Lô Hours* and in WMs 89 or the curving line defining the sabaton; compare **pl. 32, fig. 24 and 48**). However, the Master of the Echevinage seems to have known more about armours than van Lathem, as he added numerous accurate details. This possibly was because Normandy was such a battleground at the time that the artist would have had every opportunity to see armoured soldiers first hand.[487]

Copies made in the Rouennais workshop of the miniatures of St Michael and the Devil, and of St Martin and the Beggar may thus have been in colour. However, none of the other Turin scenes based on compositions from the *Prayer book* make use of the same

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481 Ms. 89, see especially fols 16v, 90v, 96v, 101v.
482 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37.
483 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
484 See also the same clothes worn by the executioners in the St Lô Flagellation and in the *Prayer book* (**fig. 53 and 54**).
485 Note also that the brocaded fabric worn by the courtier standing to the right in the Martyrdom of St Laurence (f. 31v) was also repeated in Rouen Hours (Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 121 and Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37, f. 154).
486 Except in Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 103v.
487 He also had experience in illuminating historical works, and his soldiers in earlier manuscripts such as the *Bouquechardière* series or in the *Chronique de Normandie* (Paris, BNF, Fr. 2623, see **fig. 4**) wear similarly detailed armours.

colours as their Flemish model.[488] Future study of coloured reproductions of the so-called *St Lô Hours* will certainly cast more light on this subject.

On the other hand, in terms of border motifs, it is striking to note that Jean Serpin used the same colours for his battle of hybrids ca. 1503 in the Mazarine *Antiquitates Judaicae* [489] as van Lathem had over thirty years before (see **Battle 2 in Appendix I.2**). The designs of Jean Serpin or of the artist at work in the borders of the London *Hours for the use of Rouen* [490] (ca. 1500),… still reflect what McKendrick called the rainbow-coloured quality of van Lathem's dragons (see **Appendix I.2** for numerous examples).[491] These elements seem to argue for the existence in the Rouen workshop of a detailed colour transcription of border motifs from the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold.* In contrast, most miniatures were copied without colour.

However, not all miniatures and motifs employed by van Lathem were 'copied' by the Master of the Echevinage. Did he choose the ones he was most likely to use or the ones that appealed most to him visually? Did he select the most common saints? St Martin, George and Michael certainly feature among these, but why not St Sebastian? The Crucifixion, St John on Patmos, the Martyrdom of St Sebastian, of St Catherine, etc… from the *Hours of St Lô* [492] were not painted after the Flemish miniatures,[493] nor the Trinity, even though a later example proves that this model was also available to Rouen artists (see **fig. 56**).[494] Was he satisfied with his own rendition of certain scenes… or should one deduce from the Trinity example that most miniatures from the *Prayer book* were indeed copied but not all were subsequently used in the Rouen workshop? The St Lô Beheading of St John the Baptist[495] may have been inspired to some extent by the Flemish composition but not as literally as many other miniatures. In terms of borders, Flemish elements were used alongside Rouennais motifs, as in the *St Lô Hours* [496] containing very few 'Lathemesque monsters', or in the *Breviary of Neufchâtel* [497] (**see Appendix I.1, I.2 and I.3**).

How were these miniatures selected? It is impossible to answer but one can observe that they were picked from folios throughout the book. All quires of Charles the

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488 See the Betrayal (f. 28v), the Flagellation (f. 35), Deposition
489 Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581, f. 326v.
490 London, SAL, ms. 13.
491 Kren, McKendrick, 2003, p. 243.
492 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37, fols 54v, 139 and 158.
493 We saw that the St Sebastian miniature was probably based on a Parisian composition (see **1.** in this section).
494 London, SAL, ms. 13, f. 107v.
495 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37, f. 152.
496 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37.
497 Besançon, BM, ms. 69.

Bold's manuscript must therefore have been left in the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen for a certain amount of time, during which miniatures and border motifs were copied to supply the workshop with new models.

f. How and when did these compositions come to Rouen?

Such a wealth of parallels between the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* and the repertoire of the Master of the Echevinage indicates that the influence came from that particular manuscript and not from another work illustrated by Lievin van Lathem. Examination of other prayer books assigned to the Flemish artist, such as the *Prayer book of Philip the Good* [498] (**fig. 96**), the *Trivulzio Hours*, [499] or a book of hours now in Rouen [500] confirm this, as none of them contains all the compositions and decorative elements that had such an impact on the Rouennais workshop.

The extent to which the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* as a whole [501] influenced the work of the Master of the Echevinage and his followers implies that it must have come to Rouen and been left in the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen for some time. This hypothesis is fully supported by the presence of a section of thirty-five folios containing eight miniatures in the Master of the Echevinage style, added at the end of the *Prayer book*. This addition had, until recently, been attributed to a Parisian artist close to Maître François [502] but, upon closer examination, it appears it was painted in a style typical of the Rouen workshop (see f. 126 or f. 152, for examples; **fig. 60, 61**). The landscape behind St Elizabeth in the *Prayer book* [503] is characteristic of the style of the Master of the Echevinage with its elongated trees, rocky outcrop with grassy plateaux and castle in water. The figures also follow the types used by the Rouennais Master, [504] and one can compare the two identical tonsured clerics in the Mass of St Gregory [505] (**fig. 60**) with those in the Heavenly Host on the left of f. 74 in WMs 89 (**pl. 30**). A comparison with the Mass of St Gregory in the *Hours of Jean d'Estouteville* [506] (**fig. 62**) further proves that the artist at work in the added miniatures in the *Prayer book* belonged

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498 Paris, NAF 16428. See Thomas, 1976.
499 The Hague, KB, SMC 1.
500 Rouen, BM, Ms. Martainville 192.
501 Miniatures by both van Lathem and the workshop of the Master of Mary of Burgundy, border motifs and possibly even initials.
502 See Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 16, p. 131, n. 18. Durrieu also believed that this addition presented 'l'aspect matériel des produits sortis des ateliers de librairie parisiens du temps de Charles VIII.' (Durrieu, 1916, p. 56).
503 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 149v.
504 See **B.2.** in this chapter.
505 Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 126.
506 Turin, Bibl. Reale, Cod. Varia 88, f. 94v.

to the Master of the Echevinage workshop. The Turin miniature includes more figures but most elements are repeated: the angel supporting the body of Christ above the altar, the positioning of the instruments of the Passion against a starry deep blue background, the two kneeling attendants to the left who are simple clerics in the *Prayer book*, and cardinals in the Turin version.

The layout of these pages is unusual, as the miniatures are small and have been pushed to the left to leave space on the right for the text to start from the top of the page.[507] Nor is the liquid gold band that surrounds the text on three sides a common feature of the Rouennais workshop. However, the decorative elements in the border are typically Rouennais, especially the hybrid female figure carrying a sack of flour on f. 152 (**fig. 61;** see **Appendix I.3, Hybrid C** for examples of this figure in other manuscripts produced in Rouen in the late 15th century). Considering the textual content of this addition, one will note that it contains a Prayer for Peace which, according to Rabel, seems to have been a characteristic component of Rouennais suffrages.[508]

The manuscript was thus certainly brought to the workshop in order to receive this addition and the Master, seduced by the delicate Flemish compositions, took this opportunity to copy a number of its miniatures and drolleries, which would in turn become standard features of Rouennais illumination. The addition consists of 24 folios (fols 126-159v), which probably represents three quaternion.[509] In order to incorporate these quires, the manuscript would have needed to be rebound and the present binding may date from this time, as the 2003 catalogue states that the binding is late 15th-early 16th century.[510] It would be interesting to date this binding more precisely and locate its place of execution to test the validity of this hypothesis.

In what circumstances were these quires added? One should first consider whether the manuscript could have been brought to Rouen by the Duke himself. In 1472, Charles the Bold was in Normandy, but his reasons were military. Indeed, Normandy was greatly coveted by the Burgundian Duke, for this wealthy region was 'so situated – flanked on the one side by the duchy of Brittany, and on the other by the dominions of the duchy of Burgundy; fronting the coast of England, where ruled the descendants of its former sovereigns, and commanding the passage from the sea to the very doors of the capital- that, if severed from the monarchy, it must become the

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507 On fols 146 and 148, the miniature is rectangular (7 lines and 8 lines).
508 See Rabel, 1984, p. 35.
509 Unfortunately, I have not been able to study this manuscript and did not have access to precise codicological information.
510 Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 16, p. 128.

impregnable seat of an independent power; fatal to the existence of the monarchy'.[511] However, these campaigns were a failure: the Duke's armies were defeated by the strong resistance of Beauvais, Dieppe and Rouen and had to return home by September of the same year. Ironically, during this campaign, Charles the Bold set camp close to the walls of the château de Valmont,[512] ruled by Jacques d'Estouteville, who came to own the hours now in Turin[513] originally commissioned by his cousin Jean from the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen.[514]

However, the additional quires were certainly not commissioned by the duke during his few months in Normandy. He was at war and it seems highly unlikely that he would have taken his recently completed prayer book to a local workshop to have a few quires added during these military campaigns.[515] This is confirmed by the fact that, in a book rich in marks of ownership, these added quires do not contain the arms of the Duke, and the added prayers reveal little apart from a certain affection for Parisian saints such as Avia or Genevieve. Furthermore, the miniatures are of mediocre quality, and do not match the art of the illuminators who usually worked for Charles the Bold.

One could formulate the hypothesis that, during his military campaign in 1472, the Duke's *Prayer book* fell into Norman hands, and that its new owner commissioned a few more quires from the Master of the Echevinage to provide for his devotional preferences, possibly ca. 1473-5. This date would match the archaic style of the added quires. The manuscript could also have remained in the hands of Charles the Bold until his death at the battle of Nancy on 5th January 1477. His prayer book may have accompanied him in his campaigns, which would explain how it arrived in France.[516] Again, considering the nature of the addition, one would be tempted to believe it must have been painted at the latest ca. 1477-80.

Although it is not known under what circumstances the manuscript arrived in France, it became the property of a certain 'Mademoiselle de Marles', who left her name on the front flyleaf.[517] In 1916, Durrieu suggested that this Mademoiselle de Marles could

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511 Kirk, 1863, vol. I, p. 271.
512 See Morandière, 1903, p. 482.
513 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
514 See **4.c.** in this section for more details on the commissioning of the *Turin Hours*.
515 Furthermore, the city of Rouen, where the workshop was based, did not surrender to his armies.
516 A third possibility would be that Charles the Bold gave his prayer book as a present to someone living in France, but the marks of ownership he left in the book would have made it an unlikely present.
517 The inscription reads 'Je suys a Mademoiselle de Marles.'

be Marie de Luxembourg (ca. 1470-1546),[518] countess of Marle. She was the granddaughter of Louis de Luxembourg who was executed by Louis XI in 1475 because of his intrigues with Charles the Bold.[519] Durrieu recorded that 'En septembre 1487, elle se remaria avec un prince de la Maison de France, François de Bourbon, comte de Vendôme, lui apportant en dot le comté de Marle avec celui de Saint-Pol. On peut croire que cette union amena le transport de l'ancien livre de prières de Charles le Téméraire au cœur de la France royale'.[520] He also argued that Marie was responsible, around the time of her marriage, for commissioning the addition,[521] consisting in a series of suffrages where St Francis, Anthony of Padua and Elizabeth reflected the devotional preferences of the Bourbon-Vendôme,[522] and St Avia, Barbara, Genevieve and Mary of Egypt showed a strong connection with Paris. Kren in the most recent catalogue *Illuminating the Renaissance*, was of the same opinion.[523] Yet, the signature on the flyleaf reads Marle and not Marles. Furthermore, Marie de Luxembourg called herself 'Marie de Luxembourg' in all letters by her hand and in all the books in which she left her mark (about twenty-five), so that this 'Mademoiselle de Marles' seems to have been a different person.[524]

The unremarkable character of the eight added miniatures would also be surprising if one insisted on 1487 as the approximate date of their execution. They lack originality and the borders are inhabited by fantastic creatures that do not betray any influence from the van Lathem border designs (see **fig. 60-1**). No attempt was made by the Master of the Echevinage to harmonise his contribution with the rest of the book, as if he had not yet seen the *Prayer book* when they were painted. One could argue that the incorporation of the Flemish models and motifs into the Rouen visual vocabulary required time, and the workshop was not readily able to assimilate these novelties, hence the undiluted Rouennais character of this addition. Yet this lack of impact of the Flemish

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518 I would like to thank Dr Anne Korteweg for pointing out to me that the birth date of Marie de Luxembourg is closer to 1470 than to 1464 as is commonly believed (see for ex. Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 16, p. 128).

519 See Durrieu, 1916, p. 56.

520 Durrieu, 1916, p. 56.

521 Which contains the Passion according to St John, introduced by a miniature of the Mass of St Gregory (f. 126), suffrages introduced by a depiction of the saint to St Anthony of Padua (f. 146), St Francis (f. 147), St Avia (f. 148), St Elizabeth (f. 149v), St Barbara (f. 151), St Genevieve (f. 152) and St Mary of Egypt (f. 153v), a prayer for Peace and prayers to the Virgin.

522 Durrieu illustrated this by stressing the popularity of these names in the Bourbon-Vendôme family: 'François de Bourbon, comte de Vendôme, avait pour mère une Isabelle, ce qui est la forme française du nom Elisabeth; une de ses sœurs s'appelait de même. Un de ses fils François, une de ses filles Antoinette, ainés des petits fils: Antoine et François.' (Durrieu, 1916, p. 56).

523 Kren, McKendrick, 2003, p. 131.

524 Dr Korteweg brought these points to my attention and was the one to suggest that 'Mademoiselle de Marles' was probably not to be identified with Marie de Luxembourg. She insisted on the need for further analysis of the inscription in order to offer a correct date and attribution for it.

elements can be better explained by the fact that the Rouennais Master was certainly asked to execute the additional quires without seeing the rest of the manuscript. In this case, one still needs to explain how the Flemish compositions and border motifs can have become models used in the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage. The extent of their impact on the later Rouennais production and the reproduction in detail of numerous patterns suggests that the manuscript must have remained for a certain amount of time in the workshop. Once the additional quires completed, the rest of the manuscript must have been brought to the workshop for the book to be rebound. It is not rare to find that libraires, bookbinders, illuminators, worked under the same roof and were often the same person.[525] Delaunay noted that, 'sur le Pont Notre Dame [in Paris], en 1460, six écrivains, cinq enlumineurs, trois relieurs et trois peintres occupent une échoppe', she also gave the example of Pasquier Bonhomme, libraire, bookbinder and printer in Paris in the 1470s.[526] The *Prayer book* thus must have made its way to the Rouennais workshop at the latest ca. 1477-80 at the death of Charles the Bold.

g. A web of connections between Flemish and Rouennais illumination

The introduction of Flemish elements in Western French manuscript decoration has often been linked to Louis XII who, at the death of the great Flemish book lover Louis de Gruuthuse in 1492, acquired a number of his manuscripts, which he kept in Blois.[527] Van Lathem worked for Gruuthuse and it thus has been suggested that his work may have been introduced in Western France via the Royal collection. Yet, new evidence brought by our manuscript implies that the process had already begun prior to Louis XII's acquisition.

This Flemish influence is not so surprising and fits into a web of strong historical ties between Rouen and Burgundy. Rouen notoriously sided with the Burgundians during the strife that opposed them to the Armagnacs in the first decades of the 15th century and economical interests linked Rouen to pro-Burgundian areas. This was also reflected in the artistic domain. A manuscript containing *Les Ethiques, Politiques* and *Economiques*, by Aristotle (in Nicolas d'Oresme's translation) was commissioned by the Echevinage de Rouen, ca. 1450 (payment for the binding was recorded in 1455),[528] and while the Talbot Master painted the frontispiece to *Les Politiques*, *Les Ethiques* and *Les Economiques* were

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525 Delaunay, 2000, p. 2, after Monicat, J., *Comptes du domaine de la ville de Paris. Vol. II: 1457-1489*, Paris, 1958, col. 164-8.
526 Delaunay, 2000, p. 5.
527 See Smeyers, 1998, pp. 403-13 in French edition.
528 Rouen, BM, ms. 1.2 (927).

illustrated by an artist from the North of France, named after this manuscript the Master of the Ethiques d'Aristote. The style of this artist is closely linked to that of the Flemish miniaturist Loyset Liédet active in Bruges from ca. 1469, for whom he often has been mistaken.[529]

Rabel stressed in her unpublished dissertation that 'à Rouen comme ailleurs en France, travaillaient de nombreux artistes flamands dont l'activité dans la capitale normande est attestée par les documents d'archives'.[530] Several documents refer to Gerard Louf, from Utrecht, 'imaginier et painctre', who seems to have settled in Rouen from ca. 1466.[531] Furthermore, a Flemish artist, working in the manner of the Master of Margaret of York,[532] was active in Rouen in the 1470s, as several manuscripts provide examples of his collaboration with a miniaturist from the Master of the Echevinage group.[533]

4. Revised chronology for some works by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen

The influence of the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*, noticeable in a large number of manuscripts produced by the Master of the Echevinage, offers an unprecedented opportunity to review the dating of some of these productions. Indeed, all manuscripts containing visual references to the Flemish *Prayer book* [534] should be dated to sometime after 1477-80 when it seems to have reached Rouen.[535] On the whole, this chronology confirms the dates already given to these manuscripts by scholars, based on stylistic grounds.

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529 See Delaissé, 1959, Cat. 63. For a more recent entry on this manuscript, see Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 43, pp. 92-3.
530 Rabel, 1984, p. 71.
531 Guey, 'La peinture flamande à Rouen', in *Amis des monuments rouennais. Bulletin*, 1928-1931, pp. 102-3. See also Delaunay, 1991, p. 56. Delaunay offered to identify Gerard Louf with the Master of the Cardinal de Bourbon.
532 Pächt and Thoss, 1974, pp. 68.
533 New York, PML, M.214 (*Bouquechardière*); a book of hours in private collection and Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2566 (Q. Curtius Rufus, *De rebus gestis Alexandri magni*, translated in French by Vasco de Lucena, manuscript executed for Louis, Bâtard de Bourbon between 1468 and 1481). See Rabel, 1984, p. 24 and 71,and McKendrick, 'Between Flanders and Normandy: A Case of Influence within Collaboration between Flemish and Norman miniaturists?', at *Under the Influence. The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts,* conference organised by the Research Centre for Illuminated Manuscripts, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 3-5 July 2003 (to be published).
534 See **Appendix I.1 and I.2 in Vol. II**.
535 See **D.3.f.** in this chapter.

a. Early works

In the case of manuscripts which, by their overall appearance and style have been dated to the late 1450s and the 1460s, such as the Echevinage *Bouquechardière* (**fig. 3**),[536] the *Chronique de Normandie* (**fig. 4**),[537] the *Grand Coutumier de Normandie*,[538] or *L'Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu*,[539] this early dating is confirmed by the absence of 'Lathemesque' influence. The borders of the early productions of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen are usually not inhabited or, when they do contain grotesques, these seem to be typically Rouennaises in inspiration (see **Vol. II, Appendix I.3**). The so-called *Hours of Chrétienne de France*,[540] and the *Cité de Dieu*,[541] both dated to ca. 1470-5, do not either refer to the Flemish repertoire.

Many of the *Bouquechardière* copies[542] seem to have been executed before the influence of the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* could be felt in the vocabulary of the Master of the Echevinage, and even the depiction of landscapes and space lacks depth and consistency. But this may be due to the fact that the workshop was following a set pattern which was established in the late 1450s and did not try to innovate, always copying the same set of miniatures and their attendant archaisms.

The demi-grisaille *Hours for the use of Rouen* are close to the *Turin Hours* in the selection of compositions and the extensive use of gold for the borders. The initials ornate with grisaille acanthus shaded in pink or grey and the absence of borders on text pages point to a late date,[543] but the absence of any influence from the *Prayer book* could argue for ca. 1475.

b. A few landmarks

The so-called *Missal of the Carmes de Rouen* [544] does not contain any visual references to the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*, and yet, we know that it was copied from 1479 to 1481 by Jean Hardi,[545] so that it must have been illustrated shortly afterwards. Should one deduce from this manuscript that the Flemish motifs were only integrated

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536 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2685.
537 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2623.
538 New York, PML, M.457.
539 Berès [1975], lot. 14.
540 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562. See Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 91, p. 172.
541 Paris, BNF, Fr. 27-8.
542 See Paris, BNF, Fr. 329; Fr. 2685; Fr. 15459, Fr. 20124; Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2543…
543 Except for f. 1, 17 and 19. The Turin Hours and the Sotheby's *St Lô Hours* contain panel borders the length of the text throughout.
544 Rouen, BM, ms. 287 (A.22).
545 Rabel, 1989, p. 60, n. 18.

into the Rouennais vocabulary from ca. 1482-3 at the earliest? The presence of Flemish motifs in a Rouennais manuscript is a definite proof that it postdates the passage of the *Prayer book* in the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage. However, the absence of any Flemish influence may not necessarily mean that it predates it. None of the miniatures in this Missal match the subjects usually copied after the *Prayer book*, and the artist may, for an unknown reason, not have had access to the Flemish motifs when he decorated the borders, or he may have consciously chosen to use a different set of patterns. Furthermore, the main miniature in this manuscript (Crucifixion scene on f. 123v) was painted by a different artist, whose style and composition shows that he belonged to the Rouennais school. Most of the historiated initials and border scenes were painted by an artist closer to the Master of the Echevinage, yet, their overall quality does not match the work attributed to the Master himself at the time,[546] so that the Missal may have been executed in the workshop of another illuminator, trained by the Master of the Echevinage, but who did not have access to the same repertoire of motifs. We shall thus maintain ca. 1477-80 as the time when the Flemish motifs entered the repertoire of the Master of the Echevinage. On the other hand, the so-called *Perchart Missal*,[547] which shows in its borders the influence of van Lathem (**fig. 6**), was completed by 1485, when it was given to the Chapter by Canon Perchart.[548] The Flemish motifs thus appeared in the work of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen between 1477 and 1485.

c. The *Turin Hours*

It is important to place the *Turin Hours* [549] in this chronology, as they owe so much to the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*, while featuring compositions close to the ones found in WMs 89. The strong personalisation of the manuscript provides precious clues for dating these hours.

This manuscript contains many heraldic marks indicating that it was owned by at least one member of the powerful Estouteville family from Normandy.[550] On f. 135v (**fig. 57**), it is Jean d'Estouteville, Seigneur de Torcy, who is depicted kneeling before the Virgin and Child, recognisable thanks to the collar of the Order of St Michael, which he

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546 Compare for instance with the so-called Perchart Missal, executed before 1485 (**fig. 6**).
547 Rouen, BM, ms. 385 (A.11).
548 See transcription of this surviving record in Blanquart, 1912, p. 36.
549 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88. **Fig. 15, 18, 25, 27, 30, 37, 41, 57, 62.**
550 On fols 13, 31 and 135v, Estouteville: *Burelé d'argent et de gueules de dix pièces au lion de sable brochant.*

received at the foundation of the Order by Louis XI in August 1469.[551] A few verses of a poem found in a manuscript now in Rouen record this event:

Le Roy Loys lui donna voulentiers,
Sans requeste, l'un des nobles colliers
De Saint-Michel, et richesse à milliers,
Pour guerredon de son loyal service.[552]

Morandière recorded that Jean d'Estouteville also featured in the donor position, in armour and wearing the collar of the order on a window he commissioned for the chapel dedicated to St Michael in the Blainville castle in 1492. Although this window has not survived, a sketch was taken by Gaignières in the 17th century (**fig. 58a-b**), which Morandière described thus: 'Dans l'ancienne église paroissiale étaient deux verrières (Estampes, Pe 8, f. 4, coll. Gaignières), représentant Torcy, sans barbe, nez long, les cheveux courts, le collier de Saint-Michel au cou, à genoux, en armure avec la cote armoyée, en bas son écu en bannière, écartelé Estouteville, le lion colleté, et de Mauquenchy, entouré de l'Ordre, que porte aussi St Michel, debout derrière lui ; et sa femme à genoux devant une pietà, St François derrière elle, vêtue comme Anne de Bretagne en tête de ses Heures, un capot de velours noir bordé d'une bande d'or avec des pierreries, et une robe de drap d'or ornementé de rouge, en bas ses armes : d'Estouteville parti de la Rochefoucauld, posé sur un losangé d'or et de gueules, dans un écu en losange entouré de la cordelière…'.[553] Seigneur de Torcy and Grand-Maître des Arbalestriers de France, he was held in high esteem by several generations of kings. He died in 1494, aged 84 and the portrait in the *Turin Hours* indeed features an elderly knight.

The Estouteville arms feature on their own in the borders of fols 13 (**fig. 27**), 31 and 135v (**fig. 57**). The *Turin Hours,* however, also pay homage to other members of the Estouteville family, by displaying their arms. The presence of the arms of Robert d'Estouteville parted with those of his wife Alix Bertrand (married ca. 1285),[554] and of the arms of Louis d'Estouteville (d. 1463) parted with those of his wife Jeanne Paynel[555]

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551 See Bernard, Pagella, 2003, Cat. 12. The authors identified the patron as Jean d'Estouteville, seigneur de Torcy (mispelt Torey).
552 BM Rouen, mss Bigot; quoted in Morandière, 1903, p. 540.
553 Morandière, 1903, p. 539.
554 On f. 30: *Parti d'Estouteville et Bertrand: d'or au lion de sinople.*
555 On f. 28v; *parti d'Estouteville et Paynel: D'or à deux fasces d'azur accompagnées de neuf merlettes de gueules 4, 2, 3, rangées en orle.*

shows dynastic pride.[556] In the 13th century, the Estouteville family parted in two branches: the elder son of Jehan I, Robert IV, became the first seigneur de Valmont and his younger brother Estout inherited the Torcy seigneurie.[557] In 1285, Robert IV greatly increased the family domains through his marriage with Alix Bertrand de Bricquebec, heiress to one of the most powerful Norman families. Louis d'Estouteville,[558] through his heroic action in the battle against the English forces, especially in the defence of the Mont-Saint-Michel, had greatly contributed to the prestige of his family. These two Estouteville had thus played an important role in the history of the family.

More surprisingly, one finds, on fols 20v and 35, Estouteville, parted with the d'Albret colours. These arms are those of Jacques d'Estouteville, Seigneur de Valmont, Conseiller and Chambellan du Roi (1448-90), who married Louise d'Albret on 14th March 1481.[559] Jacques was Louis' grandson and thus a cousin of Jean (who was from the Torcy branch). As a contemporary of Jean, his arms seem out of place, unless he came to own the manuscript after Jean.

A closer study of these various coats of arms leads to a certain number of remarks. First of all, the collar of the Order of St Michael painted around the donor's neck on f. 135v (**fig. 57**) is undoubtedly original, so that Jean was definitely the commissioner of this book of hours,[560] as he was the only member of the Estouteville family to receive this distinction. Second, the arms on fols 13, 28v, 30, 31, and 135 are thinly painted and there is no reason to think that they are not original. On the other hand, on fols 20v and 35, although the Estouteville side appears to be original, the pigments on the d'Albret side are too thick, and it seems to have been painted over. It is not possible to see what arms lay beneath the d'Albret but it could have been Mauquenchy: Jean was Seigneur de Mauquenchy and wore these arms parted with Estouteville on the Blainville stained glass window (see **fig. 58a**). Alternatively, this side could also have borne the arms of his wife, Françoise de la Rochefoucauld, as they

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556 See for another example of such a devotion to ancestors the so-called *Hours of Jacques II de Chastillon*, where all donor portraits (Chastillon and his wife Jeanne de La Flotte, and Pierre de Roncherolles and his wife) are enclosed by borders containing coats of arms of their ancestors (Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3231, pp. 58-9 and pp. 526-7; see **fig. 12**).

557 In subsequent generations, the elder son inherited the title.

558 From the Valmont branch.

559 *Parti d'Estouteville et écartelé de France et de gueules plein.*

560 One should note that his special devotion to St Michael is reflected in the presence of a suffrage to the archangel introduced by a miniature on f. 103v (**fig. 25**). In 1489, Jean d'Estouteville and his wife founded a church dedicated to St Michael and the Trinity in their castle at Blainville. It was consecrated by the archbishop in 1492 (Morandière, 1903, pp. 537-8).
In 1466, they also founded the monastery of St Clare in Rouen, where they chose to be buried. In 1481, they founded a monastery dedicated to the Virgin and St John for the order of the Poor Clares, also in Rouen (Morandière, 1903, pp. 480, 517).

appear on the other window at Blainville (**fig. 58b**). From these observations, one can deduce that the *Hours of Jean d'Estouteville* must have passed into the hands of his cousin Jacques, who personalised them by changing the arms that were specific to Jean. The arms of Robert IV and Louis d'Estouteville paid homage to his ancestors, and therefore did not need to be changed, nor did the Estouteville arms on fols 13, 31 and 135v. Jacques died in March 1490, four years before Jean (Sept. 1494), so that it is not a question of Jacques inheriting the book from his cousin.[561] Therefore, Jean must have given his Hours, possibly as a present, to Jacques sometime between March 1481 (when Jacques married Louise d'Albret), and March 1490 (when Jacques died). One would be tempted to offer ca. 1480-5 as the date for the execution of the *Turin Hours*, taking these dates into account and considering the style of the miniatures. The coats of arms would thus have been altered ca. 1485-90 by Jacques, the new owner. One last observation must be made concerning the integration of the coats of arms within the borders. All coats of arms have a rectangular shape, but their original shape was that of a shield, like, for instance, the arms of Charles de Neufchâtel in his breviary[562] (**fig. 7 and 76**). The design of these borders was suited for a shield shape, so that the added bottom corners now interfere with the border motifs as on f. 13 (**fig. 27**; see also **fig. 57**), where the unicorn's leg and a strawberry have been painted over.[563] The grassy banks below originally echoed the pointed shape of the shield (as on **fig. 7**).[564] The reason for changing shape was possibly to allow slightly more space for the d'Albret arms to be painted in, ca. 1485-90.

d. Other manuscripts marked by the Flemish influence

Charles de Neufchâtel (d. 1498) became bishop of Bayeux in 1480, and subsequently commissioned a breviary for the use of Besançon[565] from the Master of the

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561 A similar situation to Alain de Coëtivy inheriting his brother's hours and altering the coats of arms, in the case of the *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy* (see **Irish Cat. 7**).

562 Besançon, BM, ms. 69.

563 On f. 135v (**fig. 57**), the tail of the peacock and of the dragon originally followed the pointed part of the shield.

564 The bottom border of the Last Judgement (f. 70; introducing the Office of the Dead) has been modified, but this does not relate to the alteration of the arms, as no arms feature on this folio. A man stands with his arms up in the air, but he seems to have been redrawn. The extremity of a spear emerges from the sketchily redrawn acanthus in the bottom right corner, and close examination of this corner reveals the silhouette of a figure mounted on an animal. The figure of death, featured as a skeleton, mounted on a bull once aimed at the frightened man with its spear: an appropriate reminder for the Office of the Dead. A similar scene features for instance in the border of a book of hours for the use of Poitiers dated to ca. 1455-60, and attributed to the Master of Charles de France (Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3191, f. 100v).

565 Besançon, BM, ms. 69.

Echevinage de Rouen (**fig. 7 and 76**).[566] It took one year and a half for Jean Hardi to copy the 289 folios of the *Missal of the Carmes de Rouen*[567], so that one should allow some time for the text of the Breviary (which counts 934 pages, i.e. 467 folios) to be copied, depending on the number of scribes involved. The illustration programme comprising ten large miniatures and over 100 small ones, painted by three different artists, was thus also probably painted ca. 1480-5. This is confirmed by the close relationship between the Breviary's borders and those of the *Turin Hours* (see some parallels in **Vol. II, Appendix I.2 and I.3**).[568]

The *Chroniques de Charles VI et VII*[569](**fig. 31**) commissioned by the Echevinage and dated by Claudia Rabel to ca. 1480,[570] W. 233 and W. 284 (**fig. 9**) in the Walters Art Gallery, the New York *Hours for the use of Rouen*[571] all bear the mark of van Lathem in their borders, and occasionally in their compositions, and thus have to be dated to the 1480s. The so-called *Hours of St Lô*[572](**fig. 11, 19, 20, 24, 29, 36, 40, 52, 54**), whose compositions are most faithful to the van Lathem designs is to be dated to ca. 1480, before the *Turin Hours*[573](**fig. 15, 18, 25, 27, 30, 37, 41, 57, 62**).

Le Livre des trois Eages[574](**fig. 5**), the *Hours for the use of Tours*[575] have to be placed among the latest manuscripts illustrated by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen (ca. 1485). The former does not quote any van Lathem motif, but it is due to the nature of the manuscript: religious compositions were not adapted to this work and the borders have been left blank. In the latter, the borders have also been left unpainted, but some miniatures refer to the *Prayer book* (see **Vol. II, Appendix I.1**). The Dublin Hours,[576] with the full-page format of its miniatures and the visible Flemish influence, belong to this group, and are possibly the latest surviving book of hours produced by the Master of the Echevinage.[577]

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566 A few other artists contributed, but the hand of the Master of the Echevinage is the most expert. See **A.3.c.** in this chapter for more details.
567 Rouen, BM, ms. 287 (A.22). See Rabel, 1989, p. 60, n. 18.
568 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
569 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596.
570 Rabel, 1989, p. 53.
571 New York, PML, M.1093.
572 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37.
573 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
574 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 70.
575 Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030.
576 Dublin, CBL, WMs 89.
577 The manuscript, except for its calendar and one bifolio, was written and received its secondary decoration in Rouen (see **Chap. III and IV**).

E. Impact of some compositions on later Rouen illuminators

1. The *Playfair Hours* group[578]

Watson has shown in his work on the *Playfair Hours*[579] that a large number of books of hours, produced in Rouen in the last decade of the 15th century, borrow compositions and stylistic characteristics from the Echevinage repertoire. Many of them follow the use of Sarum and thus reflect a production directed towards a British and especially Scottish clientele residing in France (as is the case for the *Playfair Hours* or the *Edinburgh Hours* for the use of Sarum[580]). The link between the Rouen book trade and the English market was not new and sprang from the Rouen occupation by the English in the first half of the century.[581] This continuing tradition was reflected at the end of the 15th century by the fact that one of the first printed books of hours for the use of Sarum was produced in Rouen by Jacques Le Forestier in 1495.[582]

Although it is linked to the Master of the Echevinage workshop, the *Playfair Hours* group is, by its overall lack of finish and its obvious 'stall book' aspect, at the other end of the market when compared to the Chester Beatty Hours. The manuscripts gathered by Watson around the *Playfair Hours* all show a combination of hands working in the same style within the same book,[583] the result often being mediocre (see **fig. 21**). As Watson stated: 'What we have with the *Playfair Hours* is a product of the 'middle range' of the market'.[584] Most compositions, such as the Four Evangelists, the Annunciation, the Adoration, etc… follow patterns set up by the Master of the Echevinage workshop, yet they are treated in a crude manner. The miniatures that stand out within these quite standardised cycles are the closest to the work of the Master of the Echevinage (see **fig. 39**). The work of the two most skilled artists in the *Playfair Hours* (hands 2 and 4) can be paralleled in some miniatures of the Edinburgh *Hours for the use of Sarum* including the Martyrdom of St Sebastian[585] that shows such striking similarities with the Chester Beatty St Sebastian (compare **pl. 36 and fig. 38**). We also have shown that the Edinburgh St George (f. 144, **fig. 35**) could fruitfully be compared with the miniature in the Chester Beatty Hours (**pl. 35**). To confirm this parallel, the executioners

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578 The term '*Playfair Hours* group' is only used here to conveniently refer to manuscripts that used compositions also found in the *Playfair Hours*. It does not have any other implications.
579 London, V&A, L. 475-1918. See Watson, 1984.
580 Edinburgh, EUL, ms. 43.
581 See **A.1** in this chapter.
582 See Baurmeister, 1983, pp. 66-75.
583 He has counted up to seven hands at work in the miniatures and small miniatures of the *Playfair Hours*.
584 Watson, 1984, p. 12.
585 Edinburgh, EUL, ms. 43, f. 147.

in the Playfair Martyrdom of St Appollonia (f. 182; assigned to hand 2 by Watson, **fig. 39**) undeniably bear family resemblances with the Chester Beatty ruffians in the St Sebastian scene. Watson rightly suggested, concerning these two more talented hands that 'we can perhaps think of their having been trained in the immediate circle of the Master of the Geneva Latini'.[586]

The *Hours for the use of Rouen* now in the Society of Antiquaries of London[587] are part of this *Playfair Hours* group and, among their thirty full-page miniatures, feature two very interesting miniatures in relation to WMs 89. Indeed the *Obsecro te* is introduced by a Pietà (f. 20v; **fig. 63**) whose composition follows the same pattern as that in WMs 89 (f. 16v; **pl. 15**). We stressed the originality of the Chester Beatty composition where Christ is lying flat on the ground on his mother's cloak instead of being raised awkwardly on her lap as can be seen in the *Playfair Hours* [588] (**fig. 21**; inspired by composition such as in the so-called *St Lô Hours*,[589] **fig. 19**). Only in the London Pietà, probably dating from ca. 1500, does one find the same arrangement as in WMs 89, also repeating the placement of the other figures around the Virgin and her son (**fig. 63**). In the same manuscript, the Office of the Dead begins with a diptych spreading over the double page. A miniature of the Resurrection of the Dead (f. 84v) faces a version of the Heavenly Court and Hell scene (f. 85; **fig. 64**) derived from a composition such as that in WMs 89. Few variations are to be noted: gallows rise on the smoky rocks and a landscape was painted to the left. Other Rouennais artists, such as the Master of the Raoul du Fou Missal and Robert Boyvin, repeated this composition but the Society of Antiquaries miniature is the closest to WMs 89.[590] There is no variation in the number of demons and their victims, and the man standing to the left adopts the same attitude as in WMs 89, although he looks more frightened by this vision (different from the donor position in the Hours painted by Robert Boyvin; **fig. 66**). The Resurrection of the Dead scene facing this miniature strengthens its message.

In many ways, the *Playfair Hours* [591] are extremely useful, as they provide a sample

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586 Watson, 1984, p. 75.

587 London, SAL, ms. 13. These Hours were owned by Iehan Dufour and Marguerite Autin, who have left their full names on fols 24, 62v and 63 and letters of their names as decoration on every page. Yet, close examination reveals that they were not the first owners of these Hours as original letters were painted over on each folio. Recurrent letters seem to have been: S, T, R, V, I, B, L, A, M, H, F, N and E.

588 London, V&A, ms. L. 475-1918.

589 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, Ortiz-Patiño sale, lot 37, f. 108. He has this position in all other surviving Hours attributed to the Master of the Echevinage and in manuscripts from the *Playfair Hours* group.

590 Although it is missing the Dove of the Holy Spirit. See 2. and 3.a in this section for versions of this composition by the Master of the Raoul du Fou Missal and Robert Boyvin.

591 London, V&A, ms. L. 475-1918.

of the work of various artists influenced closely or more loosely by the Master of the Echevinage, and whose work it is possible to follow in other late 15th -early 16th century manuscripts produced in Rouen. It is in several of these manuscripts that the impact of certain Chester Beatty compositions can be felt.

2. The Master of the Raoul du Fou Missal

This artist was named by Delaunay[592] after the miniatures he painted for a Missal[593] which was commissioned by Raoul du Fou, bishop of Evreux (Normandy) from 1479 to 1511. The *Missal of Raoul du Fou* was painted by an artist whose work is linked to the Master of the Echevinage workshop in the choice of the compositions as well as in its general style, even though the degree of finish is not as high and the proportions of the figures are not the same (see **fig. 65**).[594] The Missal miniaturist seems close to the chief artist in the *Playfair Hours* to whom Watson assigned eleven miniatures (including the Pietà, see **fig. 21**),[595] and Delaunay also stressed his collaboration in the *Playfair Hours*, and also assigned to him the calendar miniatures (see **fig. 132**).[596] It seems that the same illuminator was at work in *Hours for the use of Rouen* now in the Arsenal Library.[597] The faces feature the same shadow under the lip like a dimple on the chin (**fig. 21**), and the comparison between the Visitation scenes in the two books of hours is quite revealing. The features of the figures in the Pentecost miniature on f. 28 in the *Missal of Raoul du Fou* follow the same pattern.[598]

Raoul du Fou was a book lover and a great patron of the arts, and commissioned numerous buildings and restorations.[599] Only the second part of his Missal, originally in two volumes, survived and passed into the library of the Evreux Chapter house.[600] Blanquart suggested dating it 'du milieu de l'épiscopat de notre évêque ou, pour mieux préciser, des années qui suivirent le mariage de Charles VIII et d'Anne de Bretagne' [601] and indeed, the style and comparison with the *Playfair Hours* (last decade of the 15th

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592 In Delaunay, 1991, pp. 97-100.
593 Evreux, BM, ms. 99. See Omont, *Catalogue Général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Evreux*, Paris, 1887, pp. 74-5.
594 See the unnaturally tall St Maur on f. 218.
595 London, V&A, L. 475-1918, hand 7 according to Watson, 1984, p. 60: fols 13, 31v, 36, 44, 59v, 64, 67, 69v, 72, 74 and 80.
596 See Delaunay, 1991, p. 98. Watson attributed the calendar to Hand 1, together with the small miniature of St Francis on f. 167 in Watson, 1984, p. 60.
597 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 429.
598 See Delaunay, 1991, pp. 96-100 for related manuscripts.
599 See Blanquart, 1912.
600 It is now in the collection of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 99.
601 Blanquart, 1912, p. 32.

century) confirm that the *Raoul du Fou Missal* certainly dates from the 1490s.[602]

The work of this artist is particularly relevant to our study as, among many other compositions he borrowed from the Master of the Echevinage repertoire, he also made use of the striking Heavenly Court and Hell scene to illustrate the Missal of the bishop of Evreux.[603] On f. 90 of this Missal, opposite a full-page Crucifixion, is a large miniature (148 x 151 mm; **fig. 65**)[604] strikingly similar to that in the *Chester Beatty Hours* (**pl. 30**). The composition is divided between the Heavenly Court gathered around the Virgin being crowned[605] and the depths of Hell in the bottom half of the miniature, whereas Hell takes up more space in the Chester Beatty miniature. Instead of the inverted rainbow around the Heavenly scene, the artist has painted a ribbon of clouds curling in and out. In the assembly surrounding the Coronation of the Virgin, one can recognise the knight in armour to the left, the pope, cardinal, bishop and monk on the same row to the right. Many figures and attitudes down in Hell are also familiar: the evil creature with a bird head carrying the female soul hiding her private parts, the one to the right of the cauldron with the gesticulating soul on his shoulders, raising her arms in terror… On the left, an extra demon brings a tonsured naked man holding him on his back, like a shepherd would carry a lamb. This figure also featured in the *Cité de Dieu* Hell scene painted by the Master of the Echevinage (**fig. 22**).[606]

The main difference is that here, the spectator of these two extremes has disappeared and is replaced by a hill with distant gallows. Yet, one could think that the vision of Bishop Raoul du Fou considering these two alternatives would have been interesting. The artist may have deemed it adventurous to depict the bishop faced with the choice between Heaven and Hell. The bishop was instead depicted in a more peaceful environment, introduced by St James to St Maur on f. 218.[607] Yet, it may be no coincidence that several souls being tortured are identified as clerics by their tonsure… even the clergy was not guaranteed to escape the torments of Hell…[608]

Blanquart suggested that one could recognise in the three levels of the composition the three floors of religious theatre in the Middle Ages, while stressing the

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602 The royal union took place on the 6th of December 1491.
603 See Ritter and Lafond, 1913, p. 27.
604 See Blanquart, 1912, p. 37-8.
605 It is interesting to note that the Trinity is faithfully repeated from the smaller miniature featuring the Trinity on f. 36 (plate III in Blanquart), another example of recycling of elements of the composition within the workshop.
606 Paris, BNF, Fr. 28, f. 249v.
607 Reproduction of this folio on p. 16 in Filiozat, Henry, 1999, pp. 17-24.
608 This does not occur in the Chester Beatty miniature, nor in Arsenal ms. 416 which we shall study in the next paragraph, but tonsured victims do feature in the London manuscript (London, SAL, ms. 13, f. 85; **fig. 64**).

fact that the stage remained empty: 'seulement, entre le Ciel et l'Enfer, la Terre est réduite a un étroit espace et la scène y reste vide'.[609] In the Chester Beatty Hours (**pl. 30**),[610] an 'actor' represents the patron as well as mankind on this piece of land halfway between Heaven and Hell…

Although all the protagonists are here, except for the onlooker, the resulting miniature lacks finish and its treatment is very sketchy compared to the Chester Beatty miniature. The layout of the whole page is different: the presence of arched compartments in the borders mixed with a standard decorative border of acanthus and flowers somewhat diverts the eye from the main scene whereas the plain gold frame used in the Chester Beatty miniature enhances its content. It is also important to stress the context of the miniature: while it was adapted to the contents of the Office of the Dead in the Chester Beatty Hours, it is here placed in a Missal, facing a Crucifixion scene. Double page arrangements were common in 15th century Missals to introduce the Canon of the Mass, and most Missals attributed to the Master of the Echevinage workshop contained this set of two full-page miniatures facing each other, as one can see in the *Perchart Missal* (**fig. 6**).[611] It was standard to find a Crucifixion scene on the left page and the Evreux Crucifixion follows closely the Rouen Missal composition, except for the soldiers playing dice in the foreground and the protagonists mounted on horses, furthermore, he added scenes in the borders evoking the Passion.[612] The facing miniature usually featured God the Father surrounded by the four Evangelists writing. The Evreux miniature of the Heavenly Court and Hell Scene is thus an unusual choice. God the Father is only a secondary character in this busy composition and the artist made up for the absence of the four writing Evangelists in the main composition by including them in the margins.[613] Yet their relationship with the main subject seems loose.

The close parallels between the Chester Beatty miniature and the Evreux miniature suggest that both spring from a common model that was originally used in the Master of the Echevinage workshop. The Evreux miniature has an extra demon to the left, which does not appear in the Chester Beatty Hell scene, but features in the earlier Hell scene on f. 249v of the *Cité de Dieu* (**fig. 22**) [614] dating from the 1470s,[615] which

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609 Blanquart, 1912, p. 38, note 3.
610 See also London, SAL, ms. 13, f. 85 (**fig. 64**) and Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 416, f. 66v (**fig. 66**).
611 Rouen, BM, Ms. 385 (A.11); see also, BM, ms. 285 (A.15), fols 13v-14. This combination is repeated in a Missal illustrated by Robert Boyvin (Rouen, BM, A.26), who inherited many of the Master of the Echevinage compositions (see **3.** in this section).
612 The Pietà is also found in the bottom border of the Ms. 285 Crucifixion.
613 St Veronica and her veil appears below the God the Father miniature in Ms. 285 (f. 14).
614 Paris, BNF, Fr. 28, f. 249v.

implies that this composition was then already part of the Echevinage repertoire.

3. Robert (or Robinet) Boyvin

a. Presentation of the artist

From 1493 to his death in May 1510, Georges d'Amboise (1460-1510) was archbishop of Rouen.[616] This powerful man, close to Louis XII was a great bibliophile, who encouraged and promoted the arts in his archbishopric. Closely involved in diplomacy during the reign of Louis XII, he had been to Italy on several occasions and he hired several Italian artists, when rebuilding the Gaillon castle, summer residence of Rouen archbishops, thus introducing novel Italian Renaissance ideas to Normandy. He built a large library, acquiring 138 volumes from Frederic III of Aragon, last king of Naples who had lost his throne in 1501 and went into exile in Tours. Many of these manuscripts, written and painted in the Italian fashion, had a great impact on Rouennais illumination, especially visible in the manuscripts commissioned locally by Georges d'Amboise.[617]

It is possible to identify three of the miniaturists who worked for the archbishop as they appear in the 1502-3 accounts for the Gaillon castle:[618] Nicolas Hiesse, Jean Pichore and Robert Boyvin. The style of the first one remains unknown as the manuscripts his name is associated with have not survived. Jean Pichore whose name is associated with a copy of the *Cité de Dieu* now in Paris[619] was a Parisian artist who took part in several important commissions from Georges d'Amboise. Finally Robert Boyvin is connected in the accounts with a copy of Seneca's *Epistles* now in Paris,[620] containing the arms of Georges d'Amboise, and dating from 1503.

In relation to the Chester Beatty Hours, we shall be especially interested in the work of this third artist, about whom Avril wrote: 'Probablement formé au cours des années 1480-1490, cet artiste sans grande personnalité semble avoir récupéré un stock de compositions mises au point dans l'atelier du Maître de l'Echevinage de Rouen, reprenant les méthodes de reproduction standardisées de celui-ci'.[621] König proposed the

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615 According to Rabel, 1989, p. 55.
616 He became Cardinal in December 1498.
617 Concerning the patronage of Georges d'Amboise, see Ritter, Lafond, 1913; Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 411-418 and Delaunay, 1995, pp. 211-244. See also **3.d.** in previous section.
618 See Jouen, 1908, pp. 385-92.
619 Paris, BNF, Lat. 2070 (see **4.** in this section).
620 Paris, BNF, Lat. 8551; the link between the mention in the accounts and the manuscript was made by Lehoux, 1949, v. II, pp. 323-8.
621 Avril in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 413-4.

seductive hypothesis that the Master of the Echevinage and Robert Boyvin (active ca. 1485-ca. 1515) could have been relatives, and possibly even father and son, as several members of the Boyvin family were involved in the Rouen book trade in the 15th century, including two illuminators, Jean (recorded 1440) and Pierre (recorded 1502).[622] Yet, in the absence of documentary evidence linking an existing Echevinage manuscript with the name of the artist at work, the Master of the Echevinage remains anonymous.

Delaunay recognised Robert Boyvin's hand in at least three miniatures from the *Playfair Hours* (fols 18, 144v and 150),[623] which coincided with Watson's 'hand 6'.[624] She listed in her article a number of manuscripts, nearly all books of hours for the use of Rouen that she assigned to Robert Boyvin, distinguishing between different periods in his work.[625] His first manner showed the direct influence of the Master of the Echevinage while his later style, more monumental, borrowed characteristics from the art of Jean Pichore with whom he collaborated on a few occasions.[626] Several manuscripts such as the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel*,[627] or a book of hours for the use of Rouen sold in 2000[628] show the work of the Master and of Robert Boyvin alongside. A book of hours now in Syracuse,[629] not listed by Delaunay in her 1995 article, shows an interesting mixture of miniatures. Some of them (in arched compartments with full decorative borders) are to be attributed to a hand close to the *Playfair Hours* group, deriving from the Master of the Echevinage (fols 43v, 46, 48v, 53v, 56), while six full-page miniatures were painted by Robert Boyvin. The catalogue entry assigns the latter to the workshop of Jean Colombe, but the comparison of the St John on Patmos (f. 13) with that in a Boyvin *Hours for Sarum use* in the Frank Kamarcik collection dated to 1495-1503 by Delaunay

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622 In König, 1992, p. 554. Members of the Boyvin family are, during the whole 15th century, associated with the Rouen booktrade (see Delaunay, 1995, pp. 216-7) and a Robinet Boyvin is documented from 1487 to 1502 as having his shop not far from the archbishop's palace (Archives Départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2512-2519).

623 Delaunay, 1995, p. 230.

624 Watson had also attributed f. 150v to hand 6. See Watson, 1984, p. 60.

625 See Delaunay, 1995, pp. 230-3.

626 Robert Boyvin collaborated with Jean Pichore on a *Chroniques* by Enguerrand de Monstrelet (Paris, BNF, Fr. 2678-2679), a copy of *Antiquitates Judicae* by Flavius Josephus (Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581) and a *Fleur des Histoires* (Paris, BNF, Fr. 54), all commissioned by Georges d'Amboise.

627 Besançon, BM, ms. 69.

628 Sotheby's London, Ritman sale, 6 July 2000, lot 39. The stylistic differences are so striking between the two artists that the catalogue suggests that the Echevinage miniatures were painted ca. 1470 and that the Boyvin miniatures would have been included ca. 1490 in a second campaign. Yet the text shows no discrepancy so that it is tempting to believe that 'the two styles are exactly contemporaneous, the elderly Master of the Geneva Latini and the young painter of Cardinal d'Amboise's time working together' possibly ca. 1480 (Ritman sale catalogue, p. 156). Unfortunately, this manuscript is not accessible for study, as it is now in a private collection.

629 Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, ms. 17 (formerly V.b.14); see Daneu Lattanzi, 1984, Cat. 157, pp. 269-71, fig. LVIII and pp. 284-5. Use not given, but calendar indicates Rouen. Following Delaunay's classification proposed in her 1995 article, the Syracuse Hours are part of Group II, dating from ca. 1495-1503

leaves no doubt. These Syracuse Hours thus confirm the strong link between the Echevinage workshop and Robert Boyvin.

Robert Boyvin reused, in several of his books of hours, compositions found in the Chester Beatty Hours, including the Heavenly Court and Hell Scene that had also appealed to the Master of the Raoul du Fou Missal. It is interesting to note that Boyvin seems to have collaborated with the Master of the Raoul du Fou Missal on a book of hours dating from ca. 1485-95.[630]

b. Heavenly Court and Hell Scene

It is in *Hours for the use of Rouen* now in the Arsenal Library that another version of this miniature can be found, painted by Robert Boyvin (**fig. 66**).[631] Like the *Chester Beatty Hours*, this book of hours does not bear any mark of ownership but, judging from the style of the illumination, it probably dates from around 1500, as the influence of the Master of the Echevinage is mixed with the more monumental style of Jean Pichore.[632]

The two miniatures introducing the Office of the Dead very much reflect these two combined influences. On the left hand side is a version of the Heavenly Court and Hell Scene (f. 66v; **fig. 66**) directly inspired by a miniature such as that in the Chester Beatty Hours, and thus bearing the mark of the Master of the Echevinage. On the facing page is a depiction of the popular tale of the Three Living and the Three Dead (f. 67), a composition used by the Master of the Echevinage,[633] but translated into a later idiom brought to Rouen by the work of Jean Pichore.

The miniature on f. 66v is treated with broader expanses of colour and less finesse than the Chester Beatty miniature, but all the elements of the composition are present, even the format: the painting covers most of the page surrounded by a liquid gold frame.[634] Although the Arsenal miniature is more two-dimensional, and lacks the detailing of WMs 89, it features the same protagonists: the Virgin crowned by the Trinity in concentric circles of coloured cherubs surrounded by a heavenly assembly,[635] hybrid demons torturing helpless souls or dragging them towards the furnace and the green

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630 Paris, BNF, Lat. 1177: Delaunay attributed the miniature on f. 104 to the Master of the Raoul du Fou Missal (see Delaunay, 1995, p. 230).
631 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 416, f. 66v.
632 Delaunay dates it from ca. 1495-1503 (Delaunay, 1995, p. 230).
633 See Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69, f. 63 and Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 81. These two compositions could themselves have been inspired by a 'Fouquettian' composition such as that found in the so-called *Hours of Anne de Beaujeu* (ca. 1470-5; Paris, BNL, N.a.l. 3187, f. 139v), recently attributed to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio by Avril in Avril, 2003, pp. 328-33.
634 The size of the folios is ca. 184 x ca. 123 mm.
635 The knight has vanished but the pope-cardinal-bishop-monk sequence is still present to the right.

monster seated on his cauldron[636] and, most of all, a spectator to both of these scenes. This time, a figure is kneeling beside the smoky grottoes in the typical donor attitude, which definitely identifies him as the patron of the manuscript. This sheds some light on the identity of the standing figure in the Chester Beatty miniature, which was certainly meant to represent the patron of the manuscript. In the Arsenal miniature, the man, dressed in black and kneeling in prayer, seems unaware of what is taking place around him. Staring ahead of him, he ignores Heaven as well as Hell in an attitude that does not involve the reader as much as the expressive gesture of the standing figure in WMs 89, or the frightened attitude of the man in the London Hours (**fig. 64**).[637] The Heavenly host is depicted bust-length and three-quarter length, and the figures in the foreground are painted in quite a large scale, so that these colourful rows come forward and the austere kneeling donor seems to be pushed back in the composition.

The depths of Hell are not as threatening as in the Chester Beatty miniature, painted in paler colours and with less gruesome details. The souls filling the three cauldrons are an undistinguished mass, the bodies hanging in the caves are merely silhouettes rather than individualised figures crying for help. Only the five naked souls in the foreground are given prominence and express their distress like the female figure on the devil's shoulders on the right, little sister of the same figure in the three other miniatures previously mentioned. As in the Evreux Missal (**fig. 65**), a sixth demon has been added to the left but it is a different one, pulling a soul by its feet rather than carrying it like a sheep. This may argue for a more complete original version of the composition that would have contained these two extra figures.

This composition differs from the other miniatures in the manuscript because of the smaller scale of its figures. Although all are to be attributed to Robert Boyvin, the different rules in the composition and proportions of the figures in relation to their environment in this miniature betray the Master of the Echevinage model.[638] The contrast is striking with the treatment of the Three Living and the Three Dead on the opposite page (f. 67), where the figures are painted in a style closer to that of Jean Pichore. It is unusual to find such subjects juxtaposed, but the message of the Heavenly Court and Hell scene complements that conveyed by the Tale of the Three Living and

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636 Gestures and positions of the evil creatures are slavishly repeated from one miniature to the other, even the green devil balancing his whole body, with his legs joined, to drag a man by his feet to the cauldron. A blue demon has been added, dragging a soul by his feet with a rope.

637 London, SAL, ms. 13, f. 85.

638 This influence can also be felt in the figure of the Tiburtine Sybil in the miniature of Augustus and the Tiburtine Sybil (f. 34v) to be compared with the Tiburtine Sybil in Baltimore, WAG, W. 224, f. 30 attributed to the Master of the Echevinage.

the Three Dead, and both are incentives for the reader to lead a virtuous life.

c. The Archangel Gabriel

In two other *Hours for the use of Rouen*,[639] the introductory miniatures to the Hours of the Virgin demonstrate further the impact of the Master's compositions on the work of Robert Boyvin. The Matins of the Virgin are in both cases preceded by an Annunciation scene spreading over two pages (**fig. 67, 68a-b**). To the left is the archangel Gabriel and to the right the Virgin Annunciate. The similarities between the Chester Beatty St Gabriel and Robert Boyvin's archangel are immediately apparent: the cloak suspended in the air, the jewelled hem, the white robe, the position of the body, the sceptre held in the left hand… In both cases, the arrangement of the folds is strikingly identical, the white robe clings to his right knee in the same manner. An archangel like that in the Chester Beatty Hours (**pl. 33**) was undeniably used as the model, confirming, as Avril suggested, that Robert Boyvin must have acquired a set of models from the Master of the Echevinage workshop.[640] One would expect these three archangels to superimpose perfectly but on closer examination, the Chester Beatty angel is of smaller proportions.[641]

The model kept by Boyvin seems to have been painted in different colours: the green was kept for the lining of the cloak, but the blue was replaced in both cases by a deep burgundy colour (**fig. 67, 68a**), closer to the cloak of the Turin Annunciation archangel (**fig. 27**). The Boyvin versions of the archangel are weaker, as all the interesting surface details of the Master of the Echevinage miniature have been lost: the hair has become an orangey mass, the wings have lost their peacock feathers, the pearls on the jewelled orfrey are only sketchily evoked by a dot of white… The artist shows no understanding of how the drapery works[642] and the Boyvin version of the archangel is a simplification of its model, flattened by the use of large expanses of bright colour and of a thick layer of white for the robe. The Gothic church has vanished, to be replaced by a Classical Renaissance secular interior with marbled panels and the archangel stands out

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639 Paris, BNF, Lat. 10559, fols 18v-19 and N.a.l. 894, fols 24v-25.
640 Concerning the transmission of model books from Master to assistants in France, see the will of Bernardino Simondi (12 March 1498) discussed in Sterling, 1987-90, vol. II, p. 347.
641 The format of WMs 89 being smaller, Gabriel is about 65 x 40 mm (excluding wings and cloak, the width being that of his white robe measured at his feet) while the N.a.l. 894 archangel is ca. 105 x 49 mm, a measurement close to that of Lat. 10559 where the archangel is ca.105 x 45 mm.
642 In N.a.l. 894, the cloak fabric curls up slightly at the bottom, showing the pink side but the artist forgot to paint the hem so that the gem is a clumsy afterthought, a dot of blue on the dark pink. In Lat. 10559, the hem was not painted either but no gem was added.

against a darker background. The marbled gold frame around the miniature in Lat. 10559 (**fig. 67**) echoes the simplicity of the Chester Beatty frame, while the N.a.l. 894 miniature (**fig. 68a**) is surrounded by a gold frame with gothic pinnacles hastily painted on either side. Contrasting with the classical setting, this Gothic detail could have been inspired by a frame painted by the Master of the Echevinage where the pinnacle would have had much more relief (as in the pillar that accompanies St Gabriel, **pl. 33**).

The presence of the Virgin Annunciate on the opposite page in both cases (see **fig. 68b**) confirms the impression one had that this archangel came from an Annunciation scene. The Master of the Echevinage probably did paint such an Annunciation scene, spreading over two pages, set in a church, in books of hours he illuminated and as a model to be used in his workshop. He then only had to reuse the St Gabriel on his own to introduce the Chester Beatty suffrage.

Robert Boyvin also made use of a double-page Annunciation in Arsenal ms. 416,[643] but its composition is different and the kneeling angel with outspread wings is not following the Master of the Echevinage model. It would be tempting to say that Robert Boyvin may have been looking at a Pichore model for this Annunciation, as Delaunay stressed that 'Le livre d'heures de l'Arsenal présente la plus forte influence du peintre parisien'.[644] As Avril wrote, Boyvin 'était de toute évidence un suiveur, sans aucun talent créateur, même s'il avait son style propre…'[645]

4. No impact on Jean Pichore, possible link with the Master of Petrarch's Triumphs

In 1929, Lafond wrote that '…les comptes publiés par A. Deville[646] nous apprennent que les enlumineurs de Georges d'Amboise travaillaient en 1503 à une *Cité de Dieu*, aujourd'hui conservée à Edimbourg (Advocates' Library). On ne se risquerait pas beaucoup en supposant qu'ils avaient pour modèle le beau livre dont nous venons de parler'.[647] Lafond was here suggesting that the Master of the Echevinage *Cité de Dieu* [648] was certainly used as a model for a copy commissioned by Cardinal George d'Amboise from the Parisian artist Jean Pichore. He identified this copy as being the one now in the

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643 Fols 18v-19. This manuscript was mentioned above for its version of the Heavenly Court and Hell scene miniature; **fig. 66**), see also **fig. 80**.
644 Delaunay, 1995, p. 227. She especially draws the comparison between the Virgin in the Presentation in the Temple (f. 42v) and that in the Pichore Presentation in Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 79, f. 54.
645 Avril, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 414.
646 Deville, 1850.
647 Lafond, 1929, p. xl.
648 Paris, BNF, Fr. 27-28.

National Library of Scotland,[649] but it has since been proved that the manuscript commissioned by Georges d'Amboise corresponds to a *Cité de Dieu* now in Paris,[650] and not to the Edinburgh copy. Only the first volume of this *Cité de Dieu* has survived, and its two remaining miniatures (fols 112v and 166v) do not support Lafond's hypothesis, showing no link with the earlier *Cité de Dieu* painted by the Master of the Echevinage.

The so-called Master of Petrarch's Triumphs, named after a lavish manuscript given as a present to Louis XII ca. 1503,[651] was one of the main artists in Jean Pichore's workshop.[652] They shared the same style, rooted in the work of Tours artists such as Poyer and Bourdichon.[653] Even though both of them were Parisian, they were hired to illustrate a number of manuscripts written and decorated in Rouen, commissioned by the Cardinal d'Amboise and possibly also by the échevins. The *Hours of Claude Molé* (ca. 1495-1500)[654], assigned to the Master of Petrarch's Triumphs,[655] contain an interesting miniature of the Torments of Hell (f. 64, **fig. 69**)[656] that could have been inspired by the work of the Master of the Echevinage. Indeed, in spite of the variations in the composition and in the palette used, the central position of the green devil whose belly opens its gaping jaws, revealing trapped souls seems to be inherited from a scene such as the Chester Beatty Hell scene (f. 74, **pl. 30**) or the *Cité de Dieu* miniature (f. 249v, **fig. 22**).

These Hours show a connection with Tours in a few calendar feasts, variants in text of the *O Intemerata* and of the Office of the Dead, and in the illumination style. Plummer thus asserted that 'The Horae's miniatures… have little to do with contemporary or earlier styles at Rouen, but instead are related in at least a general way to the paintings of Jean Bourdichon and Jean Poyet. However shortly after our manuscript was made, our artist did migrate to Rouen…'[657] The Torments of Hell miniature may on the contrary show that the Master of Petrarch's Triumphs already had a knowledge of some Master of the Echevinage compositions around 1495, and took this green Leviathan from his repertoire.

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649 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, ADV. MS. 1.1.2. Formerly in Advocate's Library.
650 Paris, BNF, Lat. 2070. The style and quality of its manuscripts corresponds better to the work of Jean Pichore, and a colophon states it was painted for Georges d'Amboise, which is confirmed by the presence of his arms on several folios; see Avril, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 411-2.
651 Paris, BNF, Fr. 594.
652 See, for example of his work, *Les Remèdes de l'une et l'autre Fortune*, by Petrarch (Paris, BNF, Fr. 225).
653 See **Chapter II, Introduction C.**, and **I.A.** for details on these two artists.
654 New York, PML, M. 356; use of Rome.
655 Plummer, 1982, Cat. 116.
656 As part of a cycle depicting the Four Last Things: Death, Hell, the Last Judgement and Heaven.
657 Plummer, 1982, p. 90.

F. Conclusion

These eight miniatures in WMs 89 display such skill and finesse that they have to be attributed to the Master of the Echevinage himself, rather than to one of his assistants. The crisp lines, precise handling of details and vibrant use of colour, show the Master's art at his best in terms of technique. If, for most of these images, he recycled standard compositions (Pietà, Martyrdom of St Sebastian, St Michael, St Martin and the Beggar…), the use of an atypical full-page format changes the way one perceives them. Abandoning the common arrangement 'arched miniature-few lines of text-decorative border wrapping around text and image', the artist gave his miniatures the status of diminutive panel paintings. He thus abandoned the favoured 15th century page layout for a novel format that made him step into a new world, following a trend set by Tours artists such as Jean Bourdichon[658] at the end of the 15th century.[659] All artists at work in this book of hours must indeed have been asked to adopt this format in order to harmonise their contributions.[660] The full-page format was not either a common practice for the Master of Jean Charpentier.[661]

While the Master is known for his reuse of the same compositions and tricks, this manuscript shows that he was perfectly able to innovate and create very original images. The four Evangelists gathered on the same page in the Rouen fashion are here replaced by their symbols on an undivided pure lapis ground in an unusual composition. The Hell scene combined with the Heavenly Court was such a powerful image that it had a great impact on later Rouen artists, and possibly even on the Master of Petrarch's Triumphs. The treatment of the Archangel Gabriel, for which one could not find any precedent, and the striking parallels with the work of Lievin van Lathem confirm the influence of Flemish art on the Rouen Master. Comparison with other books of hours has shown that the Chester Beatty miniatures deserve to be placed among the most lavish productions of the Master of the Echevinage: the demi-grisaille *Hours for the use of Rouen*,[662] the so-called *St Lô Hours*,[663] and the *Turin Hours*.[664]

Early productions by the Master of the Echevinage are characterised by the very

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658 See **Chapter II, I.**

659 It is worth noting that in the *Turin Hours* (Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88), the Mass of St Gregory miniature on f. 94v has taken up the space usually reserved for a few lines of text and the text begins on the opposite page. The image gradually expands and the next step from here is the miniature taking over the space of the decorated border, as it does in the Chester Beatty miniatures.

660 See **Chapter IV.**

661 See **Chapter II, III.B.5.**

662 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69.

663 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37.

664 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.

angular and elongated proportions of the figures, as can be seen for instance in the *Chronique de Normandie*,[665] dated by Avril to ca. 1460 (**fig. 4**). In his late works, faces become rounder (see for example the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel* **fig. 7, 76**),[666] architectural frames more elaborate as in the miniature in the *Chroniques de Charles VI et de Charles VII* (**fig. 31**),[667] figures gain in monumentality, especially in some miniatures of *Le Livre des trois Eages* (ca. 1482-3; **fig. 5**).[668] A detailed study of the Chester Beatty miniatures makes it clear that they belong to this second group of later manuscripts. The monumentality of some Chester Beatty figures is not without evoking some miniatures (see f. 9v for example) from *Le Livre des trois Eages*,[669] which is one of the Master's latest surviving work,[670] while the hunt scenes keep the figure proportions and types of the Heavenly Court and Hell Scene miniature (compare **pl. 30 and fig. 5**). The two manuscripts also share the absence of borders and the full-page format, but *Le Livre des trois Eages* keeps the arched design, as do the *Hours for the use of Tours*.[671] The full-page rectangular format of the Chester Beatty miniatures surrounded by a Classical or plain gold frame places these paintings at the end of the artist's career, after *Le Livre des trois Eages*. This full-page layout was largely adopted by Robert Boyvin, who inherited so many models from the Master of the Echevinage (see **fig. 66, 67, 68a-b and 80**).

As a result of these various comparisons, it appears that the Chester Beatty miniatures share most features with the Master of the Echevinage's latest works. They even seem to go one step further, as WMs 89 is the only surviving manuscript by the Rouen Master adopting the full-page miniatures. If one accepts that the Chester Beatty miniatures are the work of the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen himself, it will be necessary to lengthen his career by a few years, and I am tempted to date them to ca. 1485 at the earliest. This dating will be confronted with that of the other miniatures in the book and with the secondary decoration in the general conclusion.

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665 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2623.
666 Besançon, BM, ms. 69, see p. 485.
667 Paris, BNF, Fr. 2596, f. 5.
668 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 70, see for example f. 9v featuring a giant shepherd.
669 BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 70; see for example f. 9v.
670 See Avril in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 172.
671 Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030. These Hours also have unpainted borders.

Chapter II

Diverse contributions by Tours artists

Introduction: Tours in the 15th century and the impact of Jean Fouquet

Although eight miniatures are attributed to the Rouen Master of the Echevinage, the other artists responsible for the large and small miniatures in this manuscript show close artistic connections with Tours. It is thus essential to define the context of Tours in the late 15th century and to discuss its major artistic figure, Jean Fouquet, whose impact can be felt on these Tours artists. This short introduction to illumination in Tours will concentrate on works and artists related to the Chester Beatty miniatures.

A. Tours, the royal city

Unlike Angers, Tours (see **fig. 70**) did not benefit from the long-established presence of a princely court, but the decision of Charles VII to settle in the castle of Montil-lès-Tours in 1444 radically changed the destiny of this city. The strife with the Burgundians and the English had led the king to find refuge in Bourges from 1418 to 1425. Yet the increasing insecurity of the Berry brought him to the safer fortresses of nearby Touraine and when peace was reached with the duke of Burgundy and the English forces fled from Paris in 1436, he nevertheless chose to remain in Touraine. He stayed in Montil-lès-Tours just outside Tours for the first time in 1444, where he negotiated the truce with the English embassy and it gradually became his favourite residence. Although the king himself did not reside in the city, some members of the royal household and an increasing number of royal officers settled in Tours.

As early as 1462, Louis XI (r. 1461-83) publicly announced that he would also settle in Touraine and subsequently transformed the château at Montils, changing its name to Plessis-lès-Tours. As Chevalier stressed, 'Pour Charles VII, Tours n'avait été qu'une résidence parmi d'autres, pour Louis XI ce fut le centre d'où partaient toutes ses grandes décisions, son domicile d'élection…'.[1]

Tours thus became the city of the king and the residence of the royal court and

[1] Chevalier, 1983 (1st ed. 1975), p. 146.

officers of the crown, attracting a large number of people and modelling itself according to their needs. Chevalier estimated that the population of the city must have leapt from 9000 to 12000 between 1450 and 1520 (from 10500 to 16000 including the outskirts)[2] with a peak between 1470 and 1490. Many dignitaries of Tours gained increasing influence in the entourage of the king and an affluent bourgeoisie emerged in Tours: 'Ces hommes nouveaux sont des marchands enrichis, des avocats, des officiers royaux, des serviteurs d'hôtels princiers, éléments isolés encore vers 1460, mais qui tendent à se rejoindre pour reconstituer une bourgeoisie…'.[3] The presence of the court in Tours favoured the development of a flourishing market for luxury products, including precious books. Numerous churches and works of art were commissioned, reflecting this influx of wealthy patrons: the churches Sainte-Croix, Notre-Dame-de-l'Ecrignole, St Denis, St Pierre des Corps, Saint-Symphorion…were all either enlarged or rebuilt.[4]

B. Book production in Tours in the late 15th century

A number of artists' names appear in the accounts of the city:[5] 'en nous aidant des mentions éparses dans les comptes de la ville, en utilisant le répertoire dressé par E. Giraudet, l'on peut estimer à 13 le total de peintres, verriers et enlumineurs attestés à Tours de 1450 à 1480. Mais les mêmes sources, plus les minutiers, nous donnent 17 noms nouveaux de 1480 à 1500 et 11 encore de 1500 à 1520'.[6] Even when taking into account the fact that these records offer only a very partial picture of the artistic activities in Tours, they nevertheless reflect its vitality. Among these painters-illuminators-scribes, Jean Fouquet, Jean Bourdichon and Jean Poyer occupy a special place, as the work of these major artists is well known,[7] whereas no miniature has thus far been associated with Regnault Fillole (recorded in 1471, d. 1505) or Jehan Joret (1471) who also received royal commissions, or with the names of Robert Duherlin (1473-93), Bernard Dupatiz (1495), Gatien Poyer (1492), Guillaume Piqueau (1482), Pierre Regnart (1483), Jehan Bredin (1495), Allart Follarton (1476-1480), Protais de Porteville (1496)…[8] One of these names may correspond to one of the Tours artists at work on the *Chester Beatty Hours* but, as in the case of the Master of the Echevinage, no identification is possible.

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2 Chevalier, 1983 (1st ed. 1975), p. 96.
3 Chevalier, 1983 (1st ed. 1975), p. 109.
4 See Schaefer, unpublished thesis, 1971, p. 10.
5 See Giraudet, 1885.
6 Chevalier, 1983 (1st ed. 1975), pp. 329-30.
7 See **C.** in this section.
8 See Giraudet, 1885 for more details on the records concerning these illuminators.

Several of them seem to have lived on rue de la Scellerie (see **fig. 70**), where the chancellor Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins had a hotel, in the St Vincent parish (Jehan Bredin,[9] Bernard Dupatiz, the libraire Jean du Liège, Colin Hay, for whom the street is not specified) or in the St Hilaire parish, where Regnault Fillole had a house and where the Parisian printer and libraire Anthoine Vérard was to buy a house in 1505.[10] Fouquet owned the Tour des Pucelles, on the rue des Pucelles.[11]

The existence of imprimeurs-libraires is only attested from 1485.[12] This arrival was probably retarded because, as Chevalier stressed: 'La clientèle des libraires à Tours est faite de gens riches qui recherchent les livres de piété les plus traditionnels et sont prêts à payer cher une belle pièce de collection écrite à la main et bien décorée, mais qui ne s'intéressent pas aux nouveautés.'[13]

C. Jean Fouquet, Jean Bourdichon and Jean Poyer

In the domain of large and small scale painting, as Reynaud stressed: 'la conjonction géographique fortuite du plus grand peintre de la France du XV[e] siècle et de la clientèle privilégiée du milieu royal et de la cour donnera l'essor à une activité artistique d'une qualité sans précédent.'[14] Indeed it seems that the artistic activity in Tours was very limited until ca. 1450 when a talented local painter emerged: Jean Fouquet (ca. 1415/20-1476/81). Around 1446, he travelled to Italy where he painted a portrait of Pope Eugene IV (now only known through engravings), which won him the admiration of his contemporaries.[15] In 1475, an archival document records payment made to 'Jehan Fouquet, peintre du roy [Louis XI], pour entretenir son état.'[16] Several panel paintings by his hand have survived such as the *Melun Diptych* (ca. 1451)[17] painted for Etienne Chevalier, Treasurer of France (d. 1474), a *Portrait of Charles VII* (ca. 1450-5),[18] a *Portrait of*

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[9] A document dating from 1495 records that Jehan Bredin, painter illuminator, bought a house on the rue de la Scellerie from his 'frère germain' Guillaume Bredin, argentier to the count of Angoulême (Giraudet, 1885, p. 48).
[10] Chevalier, 1983 (1st ed. 1975), p. 327.
[11] See 'Documents d'archives', no. 14 and 15, in Avril, 2003, p. 420.
[12] Chauvigné, 1885), p. 18.
[13] Chevalier, 1983 (1st ed. 1975), p. 327.
[14] In Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 129.
[15] Two important fifteenth-century testimonies have survived: Filarete, Florentine architect and sculptor included Fouquet in a list of talented Northern painters (ca. 1460) alongside Jan van Eyck and Roger van der Weyden; and Francesco Florio, a Florentine Dominican who lived in Tours and had met Fouquet talked about him in superlative terms ca 1470 in a treatise called *De probatione Turonica*. For full transcription of all surviving documents linked to Fouquet, see Avril, 2003, pp. 418-22.
[16] Paris, Bibl. nat. Fr. 20685, p. 632, Fr. 32511, f. 354v; quoted in Avril, 2003, p. 420.
[17] *Etienne Chevalier and his patron saint* is in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Inv. 1617 and the *Virgin and Child* in Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Inv. 132.
[18] Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures, Inv. 9106.

Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins (ca. 1460-5),[19] Chancellor of France (b. 1401, d. 1472), and the *Nouans Pietà* (ca. 1460-5).[20]

He was also responsible for the illustration of manuscripts, the most famous being the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* dating from ca. 1452-60, another commission from the Treasurer of France (**fig. 87, 100-1**). The Italian Renaissance elements in this manuscript reflect the impact of Fouquet's Italian trip on his art: 'plus intenses, plus travaillées que nulle autre de ses œuvres, les miniatures du livre d'heures Chevalier ont été peintes, à l'évidence, lorsque l'artiste était encore sous l'emprise des fortes impressions reçues à Florence, de la vision lumineuse d'un Fra Angelico'.[21] Yet they retain the shimmering treatment of light and the realism of Northern painting, which place them at the crossroads between these two traditions. The *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* were taken apart in the 18th century and only 47 miniatures[22] and one recently discovered text bifolio[23] have survived. Fouquet took part in more modest books of hours commissioned by important dignitaries such as the *Hours of Simon de Varye* [24] (Paris and Tours, ca. 1455; **fig. 89**) or the *Hours of Jean Robertet* [25] (Tours, ca. 1460-5 and Bourges, 1465-70; **fig. 121**) and provided the illustrations for historical works such as the *Grandes Chroniques de France* [26] (Tours, ca. 1455-60) or a copy of the *Statuts de l'Ordre de St Michel* [27] (Tours, ca. 1469-70)…[28] His art had such an impact on painting in the Loire Valley that it seems that all contemporary Tours miniaturists modelled their production after his highly original compositions. His

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[19] Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures, Inv. 9619.

[20] Nouans-les-Fontaines (Indre et Loire), Parish Church. For a comprehensive and up-to-date catalogue of his works (panel paintings, drawings, miniatures,…), see the catalogue of the 2003 exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale dedicated to Jean Fouquet (Avril, 2003).

[21] Avril, 2003, p. 198; Sricchia Santoro even evokes the possibility of a collaboration of Fouquet and Fra Angelico in the decoration of the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome (in Avril, 2003, p. 57).

[22] I shall follow the sequence given by Avril in Avril, 2003, p. 193. Forty are in Chantilly, Musée Condé. No. 20 (Right Hand of God chasing the Demons) is New York, Metropolitan Museum, Lehman Collection, 1975.1.2490; No. 25 (David in prayer) is London, British Library, Add. 37421; No. 30 (St Michael and the Dragon) is London, Upton House, Bearsted Collection, The National Trust, 184; No. 38 (St Martin and the Beggar) is Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, R.F.1679; No. 44 (St Margaret) is Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, M.I.1093; No. 45 (St Ann and the three Mary) is Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 1416.

[23] No. 48 (text bifolio) is in Deurle (Belgium), Coll. Roger and Alix De Kesel.

[24] In collaboration with the Dunois Master. Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 7; The Hague, KB, ms. 74 G 37 and 37a.

[25] New York, PML, M. 834.

[26] Paris, BNF, Fr. 6465.

[27] Paris, BNF, Fr. 19819.

[28] Again this is not meant to be a complete account of Jean Fouquet's works but aims at showing his relevance in the context of his influence on the Chester Beatty Tours miniaturists. For his complete works, see Avril, 2003.

two sons also were painters,[29] and Avril suggested that one of them must have been the Master of the Munich Boccaccio[30] to whom he assigned the copy of the *Antiquités Judaïques*[31] (Paris, ca. 1415-20 and Tours, ca. 1470), hitherto attributed to Fouquet himself, and possibly a certain number of more commercial books of hours inspired by the Chevalier compositions[32] (including the *Hours of Diane de Croy*[33]; **fig. 102, 122,** see also **fig. 123**).

In Fouquet's lifetime, a number of manuscripts were produced in Tours that drew inspiration from his compositions. Only in the next generation would Tours artists distance themselves from his production while retaining certain elements. Jean Bourdichon (ca. 1457-1521) a well-documented artist whose name is associated with the lavish *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne*[34] (Tours, ca. 1503-8; **fig. 71**) was greatly influenced by the art of Fouquet and may, we shall argue, have taken part in the illumination of the *Chester Beatty Hours.*[35]

Another Tours artist long confused with Jean Bourdichon was Jean Poyer (active ca. 1480-ca. 1515).[36] Like Fouquet and Bourdichon, he was both a painter and an illuminator[37] (see **fig. 94, 98, 103, 124, 130, 131** for examples of his work), a draughtsman and designer of settings for festivals, he also was linked to the court of France under three successive kings: Louis XI (d. 1483), Charles VIII (d. 1498) and Louis XII (d. 1515). He worked on a number of occasions for the Queen Anne de Bretagne[38] (1477-1514) and it was probably on the queen's advice that Charles VIII commissioned Poyer to paint the frontispiece to one of his books of hours,[39] and a copy of *L'Exposition sur le symbole des apôtres*,[40] by bishop Pierre Louis de Valtan. Among his most lavish productions are *Hours for the use of Rome* (Tours, ca. 1485-90) now in Haarlem[41] which Guillaume Briçonnet, France's secretary of the Treasury under Charles VIII commissioned for his

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[29] See the testimony of Jean Brèche (ca. 1550 and printed in 1586): 'Parmi les peintres il y a Jean Fouquet et ses fils, Louis et Francois', transcribed fully in *Documents littéraires et témoignages divers*, no. 11 in Avril, 2003, p. 422.

[30] Thus named after a copy of *Des Cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, by Boccaccio (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Gall. 6) to which Fouquet also collaborated.

[31] Vol. I: Paris, BNF, Fr. 247; vol. II: Paris, BNF, N.a.f. 21013.

[32] See Avril, 2003, Cat. 41-48.

[33] Sheffield, Ruskin Gallery, R.3548. For more on this manuscript, see **II.B.5.** and **III.D.1.** in this chapter.

[34] Paris, BNF, Lat. 9474.

[35] See **I.A.** in this chapter for more on Jean Bourdichon.

[36] On Jean Poyer (also spelt Poyet), see Hofmann, 2001.

[37] In 1485, he painted the Loches Crucifixion triptych, which shows a strong Fouquet influence.

[38] See Paris, BNF, Lat. 2844 and New York, PML, M. 50.

[39] New York, PML, M. 250.

[40] London, BL, Add. 35320.

[41] Haarlem, Teylers Museum, ms. 78; see Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 169.

wife. Another of his Hours was brought to light by John Plummer in 1982[42] (see **fig. 124 and 130**). Jean Poyer was highly regarded in his own time and Jean Lemaire de Belges, in his *La Plainte du Désiré* (1504), placed him alongside Hugo van der Goes and Rogier van der Weyden. In WMs 89, the work of Hand C[43] and the style of the calendar miniatures (Hand E)[44] are, in many respects, reminiscent of Jean Poyer's art.

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[42] New York, PML, H. 8; see Plummer, 1982, Cat. 113; see also Wieck, Voelkle and Hearne, 2001.
[43] See **II** in this chapter.
[44] See **IV.D** in this chapter.

I. Hand B: Jean Bourdichon?

Two miniatures of great quality in WMs 89 (f. 24v and 65; **pl. 16, 29**) are by a hand close to Jean Bourdichon (ca. 1457-1521), one of the most renowned illuminators of his time, employed by four kings of France and whose influence spread widely outside the Tours region where he was active.

A. The work of Jean Bourdichon

Jean Bourdichon was highly considered in his own time, catering to aristocratic patrons and recipient of the prestigious title of 'peintre du roi' under four successive kings, from Louis XI to François I[er]. As Reynaud wrote: 'la clientèle de Bourdichon est d'abord celle du milieu royal immédiat, qui impose et met à la mode un art de cour fait pour plaire par sa somptuosité et ses conventions'.[45] Bourdichon's compositions were not highly original but they reflected the wealth of their commissioners through their impeccable execution. Charles VIII, who gave him a room where to work in the royal castle at Plessis-lès-Tours in 1491, held him in high regard.[46] In spite of his fame, he was not mentioned by contemporary writers like Lemaire de Belges or Pèlerin Viator.

In 1869, an archival document was discovered by Steyert,[47] where Anne de Bretagne, Queen of France ordered payment in March 1508 of the enormous sum of 1050 livres in 600 gold écus to Jean Bourdichon for having 'richement et sumptueusement historié et enlumyné unes grans heures pour nostre usage et service où il a mys et employé grant temps'.[48] This payment was only made ten years later by Francis I. This description matched a lavish book of hours now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the so-called *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne*[49] (Tours, ca. 1503-8; **fig. 71**). The identification of this late manuscript as being by the hand of Jean Bourdichon led to a number of subsequent attributions.

As many of his works are part of the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Louis Mâle published most of them in articles in 1902 and 1904.[50] McGibbons in 1933, and Limousin in 1954 assigned a number of other works to Bourdichon, some of

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45 In Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 293.
46 See Limousin, 1954, p. 8.
47 Steyert published this document in *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*, 2nd ser., Paris, 1880-1, vol. II, pp. 3-4.
48 Quoted by Reynaud in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 164, p. 297. It had taken Bourdichon over four years to illustrate these Hours.
49 Paris, BNF, Lat. 9474.
50 'Trois oeuvres nouvelles de Jean Bourdichon, peintre de Charles VIII, de Louis XII et de François Ier' in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1902, I, pp. 185-203; 'Jean Bourdichon et son atelier', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1904, II, pp. 441-57.

which have since been reattributed to different artists, especially Poyer, like the *Liget Triptych*[51] (**fig. 94**). The following survey of works currently attributed to Jean Bourdichon is based on the one provided in 1993 by Nicole Reynaud.[52]

Only one of Bourdichon's large-scale paintings has survived:[53] a triptych of the *Virgin between St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist.*[54] Records show that he designed the settings for official events[55] and was also commissioned to provide dress patterns, preliminary sketches for stained glass,[56] coins, metalwork… Yet, the bulk of his surviving work has been preserved in numerous manuscripts.

He has often been considered to be a pupil of Fouquet, taking over his workshop at his death (prior to 1481) but, as Reynaud and Avril pointed out, two of Fouquet's sons were painters and the workshop and models certainly passed on to them upon their father's death. Avril thus recently suggested that Jean Bourdichon could have been trained by the Master of the Munich Boccaccio, possibly one of the sons of Jean Fouquet.[57] Jean Bourdichon collaborated with him on a number of occasions in his early career,[58] for example in the *Antiquités Judaïques* and the *Guerre des Juifs* [59] (ca. 1470), and the *Hours of François de Bourbon-Vendôme* [60] (ca. 1475-80). Other early works possibly by the young Bourdichon[61] include a copy of *L'Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu* [62] (ca. 1465), by Martin Le Franc (ca. 1410-61), *Hours for the use of Rome* in Malibu[63] (ca. 1480-5) and in Frankfurt[64] (Paris and Tours, ca. 1475-80), and *Hours for the use of Dol* [65] (ca. 1475).

Bourdichon is credited with numerous luxurious books of hours, such as the *Hours of Charles VIII* [66] (ca. 1485?), *Hours for the use of Rome* [67] (ca. 1480-5), *Hours for the use of Tours*[68] (ca. 1490), the *Hours of Ippolita of Aragon* [69] (before 1498), the so-called *Hours of*

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[51] Loches, Logis Royal du Château. Assigned to Bourdichon by Limousin, 1954, p. 35.
[52] See Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 293-305.
[53] But mentions are made in archival documents of other large paintings now lost.
[54] Naples, Capodimonte Museum. For a reproduction, see Ring, 1949, no. 319, p. 241.
[55] He contributed to decorations for the famous meeting of Francis I and Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June 1520.
[56] See Limousin, 1954, p. 22.
[57] See Avril, 2003, pp. 18-28.
[58] For such a collaboration, see Avril, 2003, Cat. 34, 37, 38, 39.
[59] Vol. I: Paris, BNF, Fr. 247 and vol. II: Paris, BNF, N.a.f. 21013; Avril, 2003, Cat. 34.
[60] In which Bourdichon painted a Virgin and Child initial. Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 417, f. 9v.
[61] Still according to Reynaud in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, see especially Cat. 161.
[62] St Petersburg, NLR, Fr.F.v.XV, 6.
[63] Malibu, Getty Mus., ms. 6. In 1993, Reynaud already had included this manuscript in her section on Jean Bourdichon (see Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 161).
[64] Frankfurt im Main, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, ms. L.M.48.
[65] Vienna, ÖNB, Series nova 13247; Dol is in Brittany. See Avril, in Avril, 2003, Cat. 48.
[66] Paris, BNF, Lat. 1370.
[67] Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 3781.
[68] London, BL, Harley ms. 2877.
[69] Montserrat, ms. 66.

Henry VII (ca. 1500; **fig. 82, 128, 129**) whose surviving folios are dispersed between several libraries, following its dismantling possibly in the 17th century,[70] the *Hours of Frederic III of Aragon* [71] (between 1501 and 1504; **fig. 72-3**) commissioned by Frederic III, former king of Naples who was sent on exile in 1501 to Tours,[72] the *Hours of Jean Bourgeois* [73] (between 1488 and 1492), confessor to Charles VIII… The *Holford Hours* for the use of Paris [74] (ca. 1515), the *Rothschild Hours* for the use of Rome[75] (**fig. 83**) and the *Gardner Hours* [76] are all very close to the *Grandes Heures* in terms of compositions and borders including realistic plants and flowers and thus presumably were painted by the mature Bourdichon.

He painted one miniature in the *Hours of Charles d'Angoulême* [77] (ca. 1482-5), which was otherwise illuminated by Robinet Testard, an artist from Poitiers (active ca. 1470-ca. 1531). It is especially interesting to note that the work of Jean Bourdichon is found alongside that of the Master of Jean Charpentier in two instances, apart from WMs 89. These manuscripts are two *Hours for the use of Tours*: one in the Pierpont Morgan Library[78] (ca. 1480; Holy Family on f. 21) and the other in Poitiers[79] (ca. 1490; f. 22: Annunciation, f. 47: Nativity; f. 157: Martyrdom of St Appollonia and f. 159: God the Father). Plummer[80] added to these the *Hours for the use of Rome*, now in the Newberry Library[81] but, although a 'Bourdichonnant' artist took part in its illustration, one would expect a higher finish from the Master himself or from one of his most talented followers (see f. 95; **fig.**

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[70] Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepy's Collection, v. I, p. 13: fragment; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Ms. 8999: St Luke; London, BL, Additional ms. 35254, fols T (Job on Dungheap), U (Pentecost), V (Virgin Annunciate); London, BL, Bagford Collection, Harley ms. 5966, f. 9: fragment of text page; London, BL, Royal ms. 2 D XL, 49 folios of text; Los Angeles, Getty Museum (three detached leaves: Bathsheba bathing, Presentation in the Temple and Louis XII with patrons; very recent acquisitions, shelfmarks not known yet); Paris, Louvre (Adoration of the Magi); Sam Fogg, Flight into Egypt; Philadelphia, Free Lib. of Philadelphia, Rare Book Dpt, Lewis E M 11.19 (February), 11.20 (June), 11.21 (August) and 11.22 (September). A formerly unknown miniature of the Nativity has been recently acquired by the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (shelfmark not known yet). The whereabouts of the miniature of Louis XII of France were not known until it reappeared on the market very recently and was acquired by the Getty Museum in Los Angeles.
The Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Bathsheba bathing, and Flight into Egypt were, until very recently in New York, Bernard H. Breslauer collection, MS. 8-11. See Backhouse, 1973, pp. 95-102. See **B.3.b.** in this chapter for more details.

[71] Paris, BNF, Lat. 10532.

[72] He certainly brought with him his illuminator Giovanni Todeschino who painted the elaborate frames to the Bourdichon miniatures, see Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 163.

[73] Innsbruck, Universitätsbibl., Cod. 281.

[74] New York, PML, M. 732.

[75] Waddesdon Manor, ms. 20. See Delaissé, Marrow and de Wit, 1977, pp. 416-45.

[76] Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum, ms. 8.

[77] Paris, BNF, Lat. 1173, f. 22v. The Annunciation on f. 9v seems to be only by an assistant (see Plummer, 1982, pp. 47, 83 and 85.

[78] New York, PML, M. 96.

[79] Poitiers, BM, ms. 55.

[80] See Plummer, 1982, p. 46.

[81] Chicago, Newberry Library, ms. 47.

75).

Unlike the Master of Jean Charpentier, Bourdichon did not specialise in books of hours, he also illustrated a number of prayer books and liturgical works: a prayer book possibly for Pierre de Rohan,[82] powerful adviser to Louis XI, Charles VIII and Louis XII until his disgrace in 1506, a *Missal for the use of Rome* for Louis d'Amboise, bishop of Albi,[83] a *Missal for the use of Tours* for Jacques de Beaune, member of a powerful Tours family[84] (between 1506-09 and 1511; **fig. 74,** see also **fig. 149**), and *Officia Octo*, a collection of prayers by Leonardo Corvino.[85]

The work of the Tours Master is also found in a small number of secular manuscripts. Four miniatures, featuring the *Four States of Society* [86] (ca. 1505-10) may have originally illustrated an anthology of poems. The miniatures for *Le Voyage de Gênes* [87] (ca. 1508) illustrate the account of the king's victorious conquest of Genoa in 1507, written by Jean Marot. Slightly later, Queen Anne commissioned from Bourdichon the eleven miniatures corresponding to each poem or epistle contained in the *Epîtres des poètes royaux*[88] (ca. 1510), a fictitious correspondence between Anne and Louis XII during his campaign against the Venetians in 1509.

B. Miniatures by Hand B: iconography and stylistic context

This section will show that the artist responsible for the Tree of Jesse (f. 24v, **pl. 16**), and for Bathsheba bathing under the eye of David (f. 65, **pl. 29**) may be identified as the Tours Master himself. The Tree of Jesse introduces the Genealogy of Christ, in the centre of quire **V**, while the Bathsheba miniature was painted on the first folio of quire **XI**, introducing the Penitential Psalms.

1. General stylistic characteristics

These two miniatures are characterised by a very fine brushwork, resulting in a smooth finish of the surface. The shading of the faces and bodies is grey with touches of pink for cheeks and mouth. The palette varies greatly between the two miniatures: bright

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[82] New York, PML, M. 292.
[83] Naples, Bibl. naz., I B 21. Louis d'Amboise was the brother of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise we mentioned in **Chapter I, E.3** in connection with Rouen and Robert Boyvin.
[84] Paris, BNF, Lat. 886. Treasurer of Anne de Bretagne and bishop of Vannes, he became dean of the chapter of Saint-Gatien of Tours in 1506 and in 1509, vicar and administrator of the Tours archbishopric.
[85] London, BL, Add. 21591.
[86] Paris, École Nationale des Beaux-Arts, M. 90-93; Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 166.
[87] Paris, BNF, Fr. 5091; Avril, Reynaud, 1993, cat. 167.
[88] St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F.v. XIV, 8; see Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 168.

blue, white, green, red and gold dominate the Tree of Jesse (**pl. 16**), while the Bathsheba miniature is painted in more muted colours (**pl. 29**).

The miniatures are full-page, as in the rest of the manuscript, and the frames are plain gold like some of the ones used by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen (see **pl. 15, 30, 33, 37**), but the gold is more vibrant in the frames painted by the Tours artist. The brilliance of these two frames is enhanced by the fact that the vellum around them has been tinted in black (**pl. 16**) and dark purple (**pl. 29**). This contrast creates a three-dimensional effect that makes the frame seem to project from the surface of the page. Jean Bourdichon is known to have used this device in the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne*[89] (**fig. 71**), where the vellum was tinted black, and in the so-called *Hours of Henry VII*,[90] where it is dark red (see **fig. 82**).[91]

The frames both bear the incipit of the section they introduce. If one compares them with the inscriptions used by the other artists in the *Chester Beatty Hours*, the letters, traced in a burgundy colour, are thicker and more assertive. As Reynaud pointed out: 'Les caractères à l'antique des inscriptions sur les cadres dorés ne sont plus ceux de Fouquet, ils sont plus courts et plus épais et se retrouvent sur la plupart des cadres plats de l'atelier de Bourdichon dont c'est une marque de fabrique…'.[92] Although the colour of the ink is different, the script is close to that running on the Annunciation frame of the *Hours of Frederic III of Aragon*[93](p. 106, **fig. 72**), and in the so-called *Hours of Henry VII*[94](**fig. 82**), both painted by Bourdichon: many letters are similarly shaped (see especially the A, D and G) and the M with a loop is found in both the *Aragon Hours* and the *Chester Beatty Hours*, so that it is possible that they were traced by the same hand.

Contrasting with the work executed by the other miniaturists at work in the pages of WMs 89,[95] Hand B depicts his main figures in half or three-quarter length. This type of composition was first used by the Master of the Hours of François de Bourbon-Vendôme,[96] in the Hours of the same name, painted in Tours ca. 1475-80.[97] Jean Bourdichon collaborated in these Hours and was subsequently responsible for

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89 Paris, BNF, Lat. 9474.
90 See **I.A.** in this chapter for location of various folios.
91 Some miniatures painted by Bourdichon in Poitiers, BM, ms. 55 are surrounded by a gold frame set against marbled vellum (fols 157, 159…).
92 In Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 295.
93 Paris, BNF, Lat. 10532; no inscription on the other frames.
94 See **I.A.** in this chapter for location of various folios.
95 With the exception of Hand C for the miniature of the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John (f. 57, **pl. 26**).
96 Who, like Bourdichon, was also certainly trained by the Master of the Munich Boccaccio.
97 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 417; see Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 75, and Avril, 2003, Cat. 39.

popularising this bust-length depiction of figures, where the reader is invited closer to the actors of the image. He made use of this in many of his miniatures[98] and inspired artists beyond the Tours region. It illustrates what Ringbom called the 'rise of the dramatic close-up',[99] a format which stresses the devotional quality of the image, to the detriment of the narrative.[100]

2. Genealogy of Christ: Tree of Jesse (f. 24v; pl. 16)

The miniature of the Tree of Jesse introduces the beginning of the Gospel according to St Matthew (Matt. 1, 1-16), a passage that recounts the genealogy of Christ beginning with Abraham, and going through twenty-six generations. This text was not common in books of hours,[101] nor was the depiction of the Tree of Jesse.[102]

This image embodies the genealogy of Christ, springing from Jesse and culminating in the Virgin holding the infant Christ. Earlier representations (12th-13th c.) featured Christ and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit at their apex, reflecting the interpretation made by the Fathers of the Church and by medieval theologians of Isaiah's prophecy: 'Egredietur virga de radice Jesse et flos de radice ejus ascendet'.[103] Playing with the similarities between *virga* (rod) and *virgo* (virgin), the root was thus understood as Jesse, the stem as the Virgin, and Jesus as the flower. In the 14th and 15th century, the Virgin became more prominent, reflecting a rise in the Marian cult.[104]

a. The Chester Beatty miniature

The miniature functions on two different levels: that of 'reality' and that of the 'vision' or 'dream'. In the lower part of the miniature, Jesse, surrounded by six men, is asleep on his throne and all these figures are depicted in three-quarter length. One of them wears a turban while another has the elaborate jewelled headdress of Old Testament priests. Above their heads, the vision of Jesse's lineage is represented, spreading its branches against a deep blue ground. The stylised tree grows out of the patriarch's spine and ten of his descendants spring from its flowers, depicted from the

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98 See in the so-called *Hours of Henry VII* (ca. 1500, **fig. 82, 128, 129;** see **I.A.** in this chapter for location of all its folios), *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (ca. 1503-8, **fig. 71**; Paris, BNF, Lat. 9474), London, BL, Add. 2877; Poitiers, BM, ms. 55…

99 See Ringbom, 1965 (1st ed.).

100 See Ringbom, 1965 (1st ed.), pp. 209-10.

101 See **Chapter III B.2.d.**

102 See **b.** in this section.

103 Isaiah, 11: 1-3: 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots.'

104 For a recent study of the iconography of the Tree of Jesse, see Lepape, 2004.

waist. While the focus of attention in the lower level is the sleeping figure of Jesse, the figures in the upper register are turned towards the beaming Virgin and Child. In both registers, long inquisitive pointing fingers draw the attention of the reader on these central figures. The Virgin, three-quarter length, emerges from the central flower and emanates a mandorla of light: the Virgin and Child and Jesse thus occupy a central vertical axis around which the rest of the characters are symmetrically positioned.

The blue background is even more vibrant than that used by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen in his miniature of the Four Symbols of the Evangelists (f. 13; **pl. 14**). In the lower part of the miniature, the presence of two figures partly visible in the shade at the back suggests relative depth. In the upper register, the gold tree detaches itself against this abstract ground, its branches creating a decorative pattern. The arrangement of the kings (some seen from behind, some more frontally), their diminution in size in the higher branches, and the direction of their gaze describe an assembly around the Virgin, and create an impression of depth.

This miniature is characterised by an extraordinary finish culminating in the peaceful face of Jesse, and by the use of vibrant colours against an abstract ground which contrasts with the plain gold frame where runs the inscribed incipit of St Matthew's Gospel: *LIBER GENERACIONIS IHUS XPI.*

b. Parallels with works by Jean Bourdichon

No representation of the Tree of Jesse can be found in manuscripts ascribed to Jean Bourdichon, but the format, size of the figures and facial types designate him or one of his most talented assistants as the Chester Beatty miniaturist. The face of the Virgin is very close to that in the Annunciation in the *Hours of Frederic III of Aragon* [105] (Tours, between 1501 and 1504; p. 106; **fig. 72**): similar inclination of the head, small red mouth, and porcelain complexion with rosy cheeks. The lower register characters bear many similarities with the group of men on the right hand side of the cross in the Deposition scene (p. 198; **fig. 73**) in the same manuscript, especially in the hats, the finely painted woolly beards, parted in two, and the shading of the figures at the back.

The bearded type of the two companions of Jesse standing on either side of his throne is also found in the so-called *Hours of Henry VII* in the person of one of Job's friends.[106] Another striking parallel can be made between the pointing figure to the right

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[105] Paris, BNF, Lat. 10532.
[106] Job and his friends miniature. London, BL, Add. ms. 35254 T.

of Jesse and a similar character in the Circumcision scene of the *Missal of Jacques de Beaune*, for the use of Tours[107] (between 1506/9 and 1511; **fig. 74**) with the interesting detail of the thumb in the belt also repeated in the miniature of David giving a letter for Joab to Uriah in the *Hours of Frederic III of Aragon.*[108]

Clothes are painted in vivid colours highlighted with gold applied in parallel lines, closer to the *Hours of Frederic III of Aragon* (see **fig. 72-3**) whose 'rehauts d'or finement hachurés savent rester discrets'[109] than to the criss-cross highlights used in an earlier book of hours such as the Malibu *Hours for the use of Rome* [110] (ca. 1480-5) or in the later *Hours of Henry VII* (ca. 1500; **fig. 82, 128, 129**). Liquid gold decorated with dark red patterns is used extensively for Jesse's collar and the elaborate oriental-looking head dresses of two of his companions. The gold and red combination is also used in the throne, and the tree and its flowers. This same colour is found in the robe of the man receiving Christ's body in the *Hours of Frederic III of Aragon*'s Deposition (p. 198; **fig. 73**). Jean Bourdichon made use of a pure lapis background on rare occasions, as in the miniature of St Peter and St Paul (f. 99v) in the *Rothschild Hours.*[111]

c. The Enthroned Jesse

The Genealogy of Christ according to St Matthew is not a common component of books of hours and the three surviving examples, also introduced by a representation of the Tree of Jesse, occur in hours for the use of Rouen produced locally in the late 15th-early 16th century. Hours now in the Bodleian Library[112] painted by the Master of the Echevinage (ca. 1465-70), and the early 16th century Arsenal Hours painted by Robert Boyvin[113] (f. 7; **fig. 80**) feature the same combination text-image as WMs 89.

A Tree of Jesse painted by the Master of the Echevinage introduces the winter temporal in the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel* [114] (**fig. 76**), while it features in the Hours of the Virgin of two books of hours painted in the Rouennais style: for Matins in *Hours for the use of Rouen* [115] dating from ca. 1470-80 (**fig. 77**), and in Arsenal ms. 429 dating

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107 Paris, BNF, Lat. 886, f. 29v. Dated to the early 16th c. by Leroquais in MS, vol. III, pp. 263-6.
108 Paris, BNF, Lat. 10532, p. 216.
109 Reynaud in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 297.
110 Malibu, Getty Mus., ms. 6.
111 Waddesdon Manor, ms. 20; fig. 25 in Delaissé, Marrow and de Wit, 1977.
112 Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Douce 253, f. 18.
113 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 416. Already mentioned in relation to the Heavenly Court and Hell Scene on f. 66 based on a composition by the Master of the Echevinage, see **Chapter I E.3.b.**
114 Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 161.
115 Sotheby's London, 18 Oct. 1954, lot 42, folio not given in catalogue.

from ca. 1480-90,[116] and for Prime in Arsenal ms. 635 (also ca. 1480-90; f. 49).[117]

In the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel*,[118] Jesse is seated on a throne, resting his head on his right hand, and surrounded by four figures holding scrolls (p. 161; **fig. 76**). All the main elements of the Chester Beatty composition are there, even though the Tours artist zoomed in dramatically on the figures and simplified the tree pattern. In the Sotheby's *Hours for the use of Rouen*, dating from ca. 1490-5 (**fig. 77**), the Tree of Jesse is similar to the Besançon layout but the figures are brought closer together by the format of the miniature.[119] In the Arsenal *Hours for the use of Rouen* [120] (possibly dating from around the same time or slightly later), many figures, full-length as in the Sotheby's Hours, surround the throne of Jesse. Two branches of the tree spring from his spine, and eleven kings seen bust length come out of its flowers. They surround the Virgin in the sun who stands on the crescent moon, holding the Child. The background is a dark brown verging on black so that the visual impact of the composition is very different from the Chester Beatty miniature.[121] Furthermore, although Jesse supports his head in the same manner, his eyes are open, so that the Tree loses its 'dream' dimension.

In the later *Hours for the use of Rouen*,[122] which, as we saw, include a close version of the Chester Beatty Heavenly Court and Hell Scene miniature,[123] Robert Boyvin also rejected the three-quarter-length format favoured by the Tours artist so that the composition (f. 7; **fig. 80**) is arranged in two equal halves, and the scrolls and inscription are an archaism probably inherited from the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen.[124] The arrangement of Jesse's lineage is two-dimensional, like a decorative frieze, rather than suggesting depth as in the Chester Beatty miniature. Yet, the full-page format, the seated sleeping Jesse supporting his head with his right hand, the throne and his companions gathered on either side, the headdresses, the overall shape of the tree rooted in his spine, and the flowers against the (paler) blue background provide parallels with the Chester Beatty miniature.

All these miniatures of the Tree of Jesse have in common the depiction of an

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116 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 429, f. 23.
117 Painted in the Rouennais manner (mentioned in Ritter, Lafond, 1913, p. 55).
118 Besançon, BM, ms. 69.
119 The background could be a pale blue but I have unfortunately not had access to a coloured reproduction of this miniature.
120 Sotheby's London, 18 Oct. 1954, lot 42, folio not given in catalogue. Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 429, f. 23.
121 The background is also dark in Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Douce 253, f. 18.
122 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 416.
123 See **Chapter I, E.3.b.**
124 The Master of the Echevinage de Rouen included such Gothic inscriptions especially in his copies of the *Chronique de la Bouquechardière* (see **Chapter I, A. 3.**).

enthroned Jesse, surrounded by prophets, as opposed to the more common lying Jesse.[125] As early as 1908, Emile Mâle had noted this dramatic change in the depiction of this subject, and drawn parallels between manuscripts and stained glass windows produced in Normandy in the late 15th-early 16th century.[126] More recently, Séverine Lepape called this type of layout 'nouvelle formule', in her survey of the iconography of the Tree of Jesse.[127] By the end of the 13th century, the Tree of Jesse was not depicted anymore in stained glass windows, mainly because, by then, major cathedrals already had a full complement of windows, and possibly also because the subject fell out of fashion. Campaigns started again ca. 1470 with numerous cathedrals and parish churches being extended or rebuilt, and the need for stained glass windows resurfaced. As the authors of the Haute-Normandie *Corpus Vitrearum*[128] stressed, 'La période des lendemains de la guerre de Cent Ans est marquée par un formidable mouvement de reconstruction qui se vérifie dans toute la province: les trois-quarts des églises normandes sont alors, au moins partiellement, rebâties et en même temps vitrées.'.[129] The 'new formula' of the Tree of Jesse flourished in Norman stained glass windows designed at that time: in Evreux Cathedral (ca. 1467-9; **fig. 78**), in Saint-Ouen de Rouen (1480), Saint-Maclou de Rouen (1470), Bernay-la-Couture (1480), in the now lost church of Saint-Vincent de Rouen whose Tree of Jesse window (ca. 1490) is now kept in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen.[130] Michel Hérold argued that these compositions are so similar that they certainly sprang from a common pattern.[131]

It was in this context and at that time that the Master of the Echevinage adopted this composition in the manuscripts he produced, followed by later Rouen artists like Robert Boyvin, who inherited numerous designs from the Master.[132] The Master of the Echevinage possibly drew his inspiration from the design of these stained glass windows, or one could even suggest that he designed a few of them himself, as manuscript

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125 See in late 15th century *Hours for the use of Angers* (Baltimore, WAG, W. 245, 4th quarter of the 15th c. Randall, 1989-92, Cat. 168, vol II pt 1, in border, with Jesse asleep across the bottom border of Annunciation for Matins of the Virgin).
126 Mâle, 1908, p. 82.
127 Lepape, 2004. I would like to thank here Séverine Lepape for explaining to me the origins and development of this type of composition, as I was unable to access her thesis, and for providing me with a reproduction of the Evreux window.
128 Callias Bey, Chaussé, Gatouillat and Hérold, 2001, p. 33. An index by subject is conveniently given at the end of the book so that it is possible to get a comprehensive list of all surviving Tree of Jesse windows in the region.
129 As in previous note, p. 27.
130 For later examples, see the window designed in 1506 by Arnoult de Nimègue (another instance of a Flemish artist active in Rouen) in Saint-Godart de Rouen, or the later window in the church of Saint-Etienne (1523) at Elbeuf.
131 Hérold, 1995, pp. 114-21.
132 See **Chapter I E.3.**

illuminators often were versatile and could be commissioned for other tasks, like designing patterns for stained glass windows.[133]

In 1913, Ritter and Lafond stressed that: 'Les manuscrits et les peintres-verriers normands représentent toujours, dès la fin du XVe siècle, Jessé assis, entouré de prophètes. Mais on ne saurait leur faire honneur de cette innovation iconographique, qui appartient plutôt à l'art allemand ou néerlandais et apparaît pour la première fois peut-être dans les éditions xylographiques du *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* et de la *Biblia Pauperum.*'[134] Indeed the enthroned Jesse did not originate in Normandy, but a few much earlier examples point towards the North of France rather than to the Netherlands or Germany. On the occasion of an exhibition in Arras in 2000, fragments of a triptych which featured the Tree of Jesse with a female donor have brought to light the earliest surviving example of the 'new formula'.[135] This triptych was executed in Artois ca. 1445-50 for a Cistercian nun whose face can still be seen below the branches of the Tree,[136] where a very elegant king is seated, dressed in the fashion of the court of Burgundy ca 1450.[137] The depiction of an enthroned Jesse is to be linked with the use of this type of representation in manuscript copies of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* very popular in Artois, Picardy and at the Burgundian court in the mid-15th century.[138] The manuscript of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* at Einsiedeln[139] was painted ca. 1450 by the Master of Dreux-Budé,[140] active in Paris but originally from the North of France and possibly to be identified with the painter-illuminator André d'Ypres, also known as André d'Amiens.[141] A number of other manuscripts of the *Speculum* 'en général situées de manière assez vague dans un espace franco-néerlandais'[142] seem to have been modelled after the Einsiedeln manuscript and thus also contain the enthroned Jesse.

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133 See for instance the stained glass roundel bearing the monogram of Laurens Girard (ca. 1460) whose design is attributed to Jean Fouquet (Paris, Musée National du Moyen Age, Inv. Cl. 1037 a; Avril, 2003, Cat. 18, pp. 164-5, with reproduction). In the 1450s, the Master of Dreux Budé also seems to have been involved in designing the windows of the nave of Saint-Séverin in Paris (see Reynaud, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 53).

134 Ritter, Lafond, 1913, pp. 55-6. See also *Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments rouennais*, 1911, pp. 158-160.

135 Private collection. See Gil, 2000, Cat. 27, pp. 66-9, with reproductions.

136 Fragment of a Cistercian abbot on outside of the wings, recognisable thanks to his robe and crozier, and possibly a Benedictine monk featured on either side of a Crucifixion of which only the Virgin and part of St John's cloak has survived.

137 Marc Gil stresses that: 'l'élégance du jeune roi au centre du panneau de gauche rappelle les courtisans qui entourent Philippe le Bon sur le célèbre frontispice des *Chroniques du Hainaut* (1448)' (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. de Belgique, ms. 9242), in Gil, 2000, p. 69.

138 Gil, 2000, p. 67.

139 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 206 (49).

140 On this artist, see Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat.19.

141 Reynaud, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 53.

142 Reynaud, in Avril, Reynaud, p. 56. These copies are: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., ms. 23, Malibu, Getty Mus., Ludwig XI 9 and Paris, BNF, Fr. 460.

He also appears in the border of an Annunciation miniature in the later *Epistolier d'Antoine Clabault*,[143] executed ca. 1490 by the Master of Antoine Clabault, active in Amiens (**fig. 79**). Accompanying a miniature of the Virgin as the Apocalyptic Woman, it strongly refers to the Immaculate Conception.[144] The new formula is also found in the border of the Annunciation in the *Très Petites Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* [145] (ca. 1498), painted by the Parisian Master named after this manuscript. Yet, here again, one finds a link with Picardy, as Nicole Reynaud offered to identify the Master of the Très Petites Heures with Jean d'Ypres, the third generation in a family of miniaturists who originally came from the Amiens area, son of the Coëtivy Master (Colin d'Amiens?) and grandson of the Master of Dreux Budé (André d'Ypres?).[146] The Master of the Très Petites Heures is nevertheless more often associated with the lying Jesse composition, as he greatly contributed to its popularity in books of hours through his designs for the *Hours for the use of Rome* printed by Simon Vostre in 1498 (**fig. 81**).[147] Reynaud stressed that: 'il a animé un atelier dont les modèles et les pratiques lui ont survécu et se sont diffusés jusque vers 1520, et particulièrement en Normandie autour de Rouen'.[148] And indeed, one finds an echo of the printed diptych in a Rouennais book of hours[149] (ca. 1490-1500), attributed to a follower of the Master of the Echevinage,[150] where the Tree of Jesse featuring a lying Jesse is painted on a full page format with no text, facing the Annunciation to introduce the Hours of the Virgin.

The motif of the enthroned Jesse thus seems to have originated in the Artois-Picardy region ca. 1450, and reached nearby Normandy, where it was widely used from the 1470s. However, if the miniature in the *Chester Beatty Hours* closely follows the Rouennais layout, it was undoubtedly painted by a Tours artist, whom we have identified with Jean Bourdichon, who innovated in the close up on Jesse and the prophets. Only

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143 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 662, f. 104v. Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 220, pp. 390-1.
144 See also in the border of the Annunciation in *Hours for the use of Rome* (ca. 1465-70; The Hague, KB, ms. 76 G 14, f. 7) on a burnished gold ground, assigned by Nicole Reynaud to the same group as the Master of the Prince of Piemonte (future Duke of Savoy Amédée IX), active in the Bresse region between Savoy and Lyonnais. Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 116, p. 210-1.
145 Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3120, f. 28. Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 143, with reproduction.
146 See Reynaud, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 265.
147 In these Hours, the Hours of the Virgin are introduced by a diptych featuring the Tree of Jesse on the left and the Annunciation on the right. See *Hours for the use of Rome*, Paris, 22 August 1498, printed by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre (New York, PML 125444 [ChL 1483], fols b3v-b4). This layout was copied and reused in other workshops, see in Dublin: *Hours for the use of Rome* printed for Anthoine Vérard ca. 1503 (Jesuits Library, s.n., fols 16v-17), *Hours for the use of Sarum* printed by Nicholas Higman for François Birckman or Régnault, early 16th c. (Marsh's Lib., ZI.2.8, fols 24v-25), *Hours for the use of Sarum* printed in Rouen by Nicolas Le Roux for François Régnault ca. 1538 (Marsh's Lib., ZI.2.15, fols 28v-29).
148 In Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 265.
149 Rouen, BM, ms. Y.144, fols 14v-15.
150 Called by Delaunay after this manuscript: the Master of Y.144. See Delaunay, 1991, p. 100.

one other surviving Tours book of hours, painted in the workshop of Jean Poyer (ca. 1500-10) contains a miniature of the Tree of Jesse, but Jesse is shown in the lying position.[151]

Although Jean Bourdichon was not from Rouen, there seems to have been artistic ties between the two cities, confirmed by the fact that the *Chester Beatty Hours* mix work by artists from both Rouen and Tours. The Tours artist responsible for the Tree of Jesse thus seems to have been inspired by a typical Rouen composition, possibly devised by the Master of the Echevinage. As WMs 89 also contains miniatures by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen, Jean Bourdichon may have had access to the Rouennais Master's patterns through working on the same manuscript. Alternatively, one could envisage that he had seen some of the stained-glass windows of the Tree of Jesse in Norman churches and drew inspiration from them. Indeed the vibrant blue background in the Dublin miniature (f. 24; **pl. 16**), is reminiscent of the 'beau verre bleu comme on en rencontre très souvent dans les verrières normandes, éclatant et de valeurs changeantes' described in the introduction to the *Corpus Vitrearum.*[152]

The Tree of Jesse painted by Robert Boyvin in Arsenal ms. 416 (ca. 1500-5; **fig. 80**) is closer to the Bourdichon miniature than to the Echevinage version as exemplified in the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel*[153] (ca. 1480-5; **fig. 76**). Although it has retained the scrolls held by the prophets and their full-length depiction, the tight gathering of prophets around the throne, the shape of the throne itself, the faces with broad noses used for Jesse and the prophets, and the tree springing from his spine rather than having its roots hovering over Jesse's shoulder (as in the Evreux Cathedral window; see **fig. 78**)[154] all seem to indicate that Robert Boyvin had a model close to the Chester Beatty miniature.

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151 Harvard, Houghton Library, Typ. ms. 614, p. 13. The iconographic programme of this book of hours is highly unusual, and this miniature introduces the Hours of the Virgin, forming a diptych with a miniature of St John on Patmos (p. 12), each hour is then introduced by a miniature from Christ's Passion.

152 Callias Bey, Chaussé, Gatouillat and Hérold, 2001, p. 33. An index by subject is conveniently given at the end of the book so that it is possible to get a comprehensive list of all surviving Tree of Jesse windows in the region.

153 Besançon, BM, ms. 69, p. 161.

154 In the Sotheby's *Hours for the use of Rouen* (Sotheby's London, 18 Oct. 1954, lot 42), the tree also springs from Jesse's back with no roots visible. It would appear to be slightly anterior to the Boyvin version, if one judges from the border design, possibly ca. 1490-5.

3. Penitential Psalms: Bathsheba bathing (f. 65; pl. 29)

a. The Chester Beatty composition

According to tradition, King David was the author of the psalms, which explains why an episode from his life was often chosen to introduce the Seven Penitential Psalms in books of hours. The Bible recounts how, seduced by Bathsheba's beauty, David forced her to commit adultery and then had her husband killed (Samuel II, 11, 1-27).

In WMs 89, Bathsheba stands naked in a fountain while David leans out of the window of his palace to look at her. The palette is different from that used in the Tree of Jesse (f. 24v; **pl. 16**), favouring pink rather than vivid red, turquoise blue instead of bright blue. Little use is made of gold, only to highlight Bathsheba's hair and David's crown, and a touch of silver enhances the ripples in the water. The porcelain-like body of Bathsheba brings a delicate light to the miniature. It is shaded with grey and very few touches of pink are used, to heighten the cheeks, ears and nipples. Her rounded belly follows the aesthetic canons of fifteenth-century female representations like that of Eve in the *Ghent Altarpiece*, painted by Jan van Eyck (ca. 1432).[155] Her golden hair falls down her back into the water and she looks 'out of the frame' with tiny dreamy eyes, apparently unaware of the presence of the concupiscent king. Her left hand is discreetly positioned while she absentmindedly moves the other in the turquoise water. The marble ledge of the fountain forms a parapet along the frame of the miniature. Far from the Gothic overtones of the Master of the Echevinage settings, David's palace uses the classical language of the Italian Renaissance, complete with pilasters, pink marble panelling and window with pediment. Beyond the garden wall, another construction also classical in style, relays the gaze towards the blue distance where the remnants of a medieval castle rise on a hill.

The figures are unnaturally large, compared to the buildings and trees that surround them: David looks like a giant in a miniature palace with a hedge of diminutive trees below his window. Bushes along the wall and around the fountain offer a more convincing natural backdrop. The foliage is obtained through applying fine dabs of different shades of green, and a very small amount of gold is used in the trees.

While earlier books of hours focused on the depiction of the penitent David, the scene of Bathsheba bathing became increasingly popular in the second half of the 15th century and into the 16th century. The emphasis thus shifted from a representation of the penitent sinner to that of the object of his lust, leading to the central depiction of

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155 Ghent, Cathedral of St Bavo.

Bathsheba, as one finds in the *Chester Beatty Hours.*

b. The *Hours of Henry VII* composition

A very similar representation of this scene exists in several manuscripts attributed to Jean Bourdichon. Emile Mâle even credited Jean Bourdichon with popularising this iconography: 'Bethsabée entre toute nue dans une fontaine, ses beaux cheveux d'or étalés sur son dos; des arbres et des fleurs l'environnent et David regarde du fond du jardin… Il n'est pas impossible que Bourdichon soit le premier qui ait eu l'idée de la représenter'.[156]

The closest version to WMs 89 features in the so-called *Hours of Henry VII.*[157] This name comes from the inscription on the binding of the section now in London,[158] but it seems that Louis XII was the original owner of this book, as a miniature featuring the kneeling monarch surrounded by his patron saints has reappeared recently after a long absence.[159] An inscription runs along the bottom of the plain gold frame reading: '*LOYS XII DE CE NOM. IL EST FAIT EN LEAGE DE XXXVI ANS*', indicating a date ca. 1498-9, the first year of his reign.

The depiction of Bathsheba bathing (**fig. 82**),[160] which introduced the Penitential Psalms, is one of the nine large surviving miniatures of this lavish book. The similarities with the Chester Beatty miniature are striking: the overall composition, the curves of Bathsheba's body, the position of her right hand in the water, her round belly and her breasts set far apart, the mass of her blond hair falling in her back, the silver lines circling the water around her, the treatment of the foliage and the position of David at the window are repeated from one miniature to the other. The Getty composition is deeper (this may partly be accounted for by the larger size of the miniature[161]) and the proportions of the figures in relation to their environment are more convincing.[162] In many ways the Getty miniature seems to be an expanded version of the Chester Beatty one in terms of composition: the fountain is more elaborate and the garden

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156 Mâle, 1904, p. 197.
157 Henry VII (1457-1509). See **A.** in this section for location of all folios, as the manuscript was dismembered and only partially survives. On this manuscript, see Backhouse, 1973, pp. 95-102; Backhouse, 1983, Cat. 21, pp. 163-8; Wieck and Voelkle, 1992, no. 8-11, pp. 76-81.
158 London, BL, Royal ms. 2 D XL.
159 It has recently been acquired by the Getty Museum in Los Angeles, with a Rothschild provenance. For a reproduction of this miniature, see Kren, (ed.), 1983, Cat. 21, fig. 21f.
160 Formerly New York, Bernard H. Breslauer collection, ms. 11. Was most recently acquired by the Getty Museum in Los Angeles (shelfmark not known as yet).
161 243 x 170 mm (size given in Wieck and Voelkle, 1992, no. 8-11).
162 David especially looked like a giant trapped in his palace in the Chester Beatty manuscript.

sophisticated, the classical buildings at the back are treated in more details, betraying a better knowledge of Renaissance architecture. While the Chester Beatty Bathsheba modestly covered her private parts, the Getty Bathsheba is more provocative in her posture, the water acting as a faint veil. She exposes herself fully to the reader's eye and although she turns her back on David,[163] she seems to be aware of his presence and looks cunningly in his direction. The frames used in the so-called *Hours of Henry VII* are also plain gold set against a dark marbled background and bear inscriptions lettered in much the same way as the two Chester Beatty frames. The delicate handling of the brush in the Chester Beatty miniature equals that of the Getty painting and the closeness of the compositions points to Jean Bourdichon as the hand at work in both of these miniatures.[164]

The same model lies behind another miniature attributed to Jean Bourdichon in the so-called *Rothschild Hours* (use of Tours; ca. 1510-15?) now in Waddesdon Manor[165] (**fig. 83**). David's palace is similarly positioned, but the king has been relocated to a different window, better suited to the arch of the frame. The walled garden cuts across the whole miniature and the fountain, on the same level as the grass, is awkwardly shaped and does not combine harmoniously with the frame.

c. Impact of this composition on contemporary artists

The Bathsheba miniature by Jean Bourdichon was popular with contemporary Tours artists as can be seen in the *Hours for the use of Rome* sold in 1953[166] (**fig. 84**), probably dating from ca. 1490. Bathsheba is seated rather than standing in the fountain and the position of her arms and bust are very close to the Chester Beatty Bathsheba. She looks down rather than at the viewer. The marble fountain is similar in its shape to that of the Chester Beatty miniature but the water comes out of the mouth of a lion as in the so-called *Hours of Henry VII*, and in the *Rothschild Hours* (**fig. 82-3**). The perspective in the garden is rendered with more depth than in the *Chester Beatty Hours*, yet David, whose position has changed, is still too large for his palace. The quality of this miniature seems

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163 Who is more youthful and has no companion behind him.
164 However, I have not been able to see the original, so my judgement is based on reproductions.
165 Waddesdon Manor, ms. 20, f. 63v. Unfortunately, I have not been able to see any colour reproduction of this miniature. The Waddesdon Manor catalogue dated these miniatures to ca. 1505, before the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (Paris, BNF, Lat. 9474; see Delaissé, Marrow and de Wit, 1977, pp. 416-45), while more recently, N. Reynaud saw in it a later work (in Avril, 1993, p. 300). In any case, this manuscript, with its borders of naturalistic flowers on gold is later than the Chester Beatty manuscript.
166 André Hachette collection. Sale, Paris, December 1953, lot 21. Ex library of Edouard Kahn. Reproduction in catalogue. Folio number not provided.

to equal that of the Chester Beatty miniature, also adopting the panel-like format framed by gold, but it is difficult to bring the comparison further as the manuscript is currently in a private collection, and only a black and white reproduction is available at present.

The miniature of the same subject in another *Hours for the use of Tours* [167] (1485-95; **fig. 85**) is also inspired by a similar Bourdichon composition: the movement of Bathsheba's hands, the lion head, the tree and most of all, the contorting posture of king David... Yet, the proportions of Bathsheba are wrong with arms too long and hands too large, and the curve of her belly is exaggerated. The fountain is also quite strange, as it seems to turn into a stream. Although this artist was inspired by the art of Bourdichon, his work does not show the same degree of finish as the four other miniatures.

A very similar David and Bathsheba scene made its way into the repertoire of Robert Boyvin around 1485-95. One of its first appearances in the work of Boyvin was as a small border miniature in *Hours for the use of Rouen*,[168] while the main miniature still featured David and Nathan, a favourite of the Master of the Echevinage. This small miniature, although reversed, betrays some knowledge of the Bourdichon composition, especially in the placement and architectural style of the palace, and in the position of David at the window. Yet, Bathsheba stands in a pond instead of a fountain. She acquired prominence in the later books of hours painted by Robert Boyvin (Group II; ca. 1495-1503),[169] as Bathsheba bathing became the subject of the main miniature introducing the Penitential Psalms. The scene in *Hours for the use of Rouen* [170] (**fig. 86**) or in *Hours for the use of Amiens* [171] from this group was certainly inspired by a Bourdichon composition. The awkward position of Bathsheba's left hand in the former is closer to Bathsheba in the so-called *Hours of Henry VII* [172] (**fig. 82**) than in the Dublin Hours (f. 65; **pl. 29**).

However, as the scene appeared in early books of hours of Group I (ca. 1485-95), the so-called *Hours of Henry VII* [173] (ca. 1499-1500) cannot have been the original

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167 Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 507, f. 96; a reproduction of several of its miniatures can be found on the *Liber Floridus* website.

168 Paris, BNF, Lat. 1177, f. 78. This scene is also used as a border miniature in a book of hours in Paris, Bibliothèque des avocats du barreau de Paris.

169 I am here following Isabelle Delaunay's classification of Robert Boyvin's books of hours into three different periods. Through a detailed study of iconography, style, decoration and codicology, she distinguished Group I (ca. 1485-95), Group II (1495-1503) and Group III (after 1503-1515?). See Delaunay, 1995, pp. 223-9.

170 Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 894, f. 63v, facing a full-page miniature of David and Uriah.

171 Paris, BNF, Lat. 13298, f. 77.

172 Formerly New York, Bernard H. Breslauer collection, ms. 11. Was most recently acquired by the Getty Museum in Los Angeles (shelfmark not known yet).

173 As above.

source of inspiration. Boyvin, as stressed previously,[174] inherited many models used by the Master of the Echevinage. It is thus worth wondering whether this composition could have made its way into the Rouen repertoire through the collaboration of the Master of the Echevinage with Jean Bourdichon on WMs 89. The Master of the Echevinage, having seen the miniature of Bathsheba bathing (f. 65; **pl. 29**) could have copied it and incorporated it into his repertoire. However, no such scene painted by the Master of the Echevinage has survived, so that it seems unlikely he would have it in his model-books, unless he did not have time to make use of it before his death. Indeed, he probably died ca. 1485[175] and, Boyvin must have taken over his workshop,[176] possibly finding the Bathsheba composition as part of the workshop material. But this is only a hypothesis.

The same model can still be found behind the composition painted by Jean Pichore in *Hours for the use of Rome*, spreading over two full-pages.[177] Jean Pichore was a Parisian artist who worked in Rouen in the early 16th century, and Delaunay noted that he must have met Robert Boyvin ca. 1502, as the two artists collaborated on several manuscripts commissioned by the Cardinal Georges d'Amboise from 1503.[178] The similarities between his composition in the *Hours for the use of Rome* and that of Boyvin in N.a.l. 894 would suggest that Pichore was inspired by Boyvin's version rather than directly by a miniature by Jean Bourdichon.[179]

C. Conclusion

Multiple parallels between these two Chester Beatty miniatures and illuminations ascribed to the Tours artist Jean Bourdichon lead one to think that he is the hand at work in the *Chester Beatty Hours*. Comparisons drawn between the Tree of Jesse miniature and features found in the later *Hours of Frederic III of Aragon* [180] (ca. 1500-1504; **fig. 72-3**) or the *Missal of Jacques de Beaune* [181] (bet. 1506/9 and 1511; **fig. 74**) do not provide valuable dating clues, as the Bourdichon workshop tended to be conservative with its

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174 See **Chapter I, E.3.**
175 See **Chapter IV, D.**
176 See **Chapter I, E.3.**
177 Rouen, BM, ms. Martainville 183, fols 34v-35.
178 Seneca's *Epistles* (Paris, BNF, Lat. 8551); Jean Mansel, *La Fleur des histoires* (Paris, BNF, Fr. 54); Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chroniques* (Paris, BNF, Fr. 2679); Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (Paris, Bibl. Maz., ms. 1581). See Delaunay, 1995, pp. 222 and 233. See **Chapter I, E. 3 and 4.**
179 Even though Avril suggested that Pichore may have been trained in Tours, which would explain his affinities with the work of Jean Bourdichon and Jean Poyer (Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 412).
180 Paris, BNF, Lat. 10532.
181 Paris, BNF, Lat. 886.

repertoire.

The comparison with the so-called *Hours of Henry VII*,[182] dated from ca. 1498-9, is more fruitful. The greater lavishness of these Hours, which now ought to be called the *Hours of Louis XII*, is explained by their royal patronage, while the *Chester Beatty Hours* were a more modest commission for which Jean Bourdichon only contributed two miniatures. The architecture is more detailed in the royal commission, and the Chester Beatty miniature seems to be a simplified version. However, considering that the Bourdichon miniatures are well integrated in the structure of the *Chester Beatty Hours* and seem contemporary with the rest of the iconographical program,[183] they cannot have been painted as late as 1500-05, and have to be anterior to the Getty Bathsheba. These two Bathsheba miniatures could nevertheless spring from an earlier model painted by Bourdichon. Judging from their style and the way in which they relate to the rest of the manuscript, the Chester Beatty Bathsheba and the Tree of Jesse miniature were probably painted ca. 1485-90.

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[182] See **I.a** in this chapter for location of all folios.
[183] See **Chapter IV.C**.

II Hand C: a talented follower of Jean Fouquet

The third style one encounters in this manuscript is found in six miniatures of very high quality: Christ Taking Leave of his Mother (f. 30v; **pl. 17**), the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John (f. 57; **pl. 26**), the Pentecost (f. 59; **pl. 27**), the Deposition (f. 61; **pl. 28**), the Three Persons of the Trinity (f. 89; **pl. 31**) and St John the Baptist in the Wilderness (f. 93; **pl. 34**). It will be argued that this artist came from Tours, as he borrows compositions from the work of Jean Fouquet, but his approach is different from that of Bourdichon: his figures are more physical and his treatment of perspective more accurate. A few interesting parallels can also be drawn with the work of Jean Poyer and of the Master of the Della Rovere Missals, both also based in Tours.[184] These miniatures are found in quires **VI** (f. 30v), **IX** (f. 57), **X** (fols 59 and 61), and **XIV** (fols 89 and 93).[185]

A. Stylistic characteristics of the work of Hand C

1. General

This artist shows greater variety in his compositions and figure depictions than the other miniaturists and, although one can identify the artistic milieu that gave birth to his style, no other work by his hand could be found thus far. The artist's palette contains muted colours: deep blue, mauve, pink and olive green, liquid gold for the frame, the architecture and highlights, white with grey, blue, pink or mauve shading, pale blue for the sky. There is no use of bright yellow, and red occurs only in the Deposition (**pl. 28**). Draperies are highlighted with fine gold cross-hatching. Gold garments such as that of the bearded apostle in the foreground of the Pentecost scene (**pl. 27**) are shaded with dark red-brown.

Examination through a magnifying glass reveals that numerous vigorous strokes of black and red combine to achieve the subtle shading and expressions of the faces. This busy criss-cross treatment contrasts with the smoother handling of faces by the Master of the Echevinage. Some pigment loss in the miniature of the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John (**pl. 26**) reveals the under drawing in places.[186] A dot of white on Christ's pupil gives brightness to his gaze. The sky is usually pale blue, becoming slightly darker along the top edge of the frame, through a series of parallel

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184 Although the Master of the Della Rovere Missals spent some time in Italy, see **C.** in this section.
185 See **Appendix III: Quires diagrams**.
186 On the arm, bust and shoulder of Christ.

horizontal strokes of darker blue.

Out of all the miniaturists at work in the pages of these Hours, this third artist is the most expert in depicting the human body. He paints the human face and body in a truly Renaissance style, as one can see in the powerful miniature of Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John (**pl. 26**). All characters have highly individualised features that give each face a portrait quality. The figures have a small mouth, slightly pursed, with pale pink lips and the nose tends to be quite broad, with a rounded end. Figures have small pale blue eyes, the white of the eye is often enhanced as if they were looking up, and it is interesting to note that this was a characteristic of the work of Jean Poyer, also a follower of Jean Fouquet (see **fig. 130**).[187] This device conveys particularly well the ecstatic state of the Virgin in the Pentecost miniature (f. 59; **pl. 27**).

The draperies painted by this artist are bulky, but not as angular as those of the Master of the Echevinage, and do not have the same Flemish feel. They are treated in a more realistic way, and none of them seems to float, suspended in the air as in the work of the Rouennais artist.

In terms of interiors, the artist was highly influenced by Italian Renaissance architecture. He most probably became acquainted with it through the work of Jean Fouquet, whose impact on our artist is quite important, as we shall see later in this study. As Avril noted: 'il [Fouquet] a influencé [...] le cours même de la peinture dans le Val de Loire et jusqu'à Bourges, où il a, entre autres, fait pénétrer certains des concepts artistiques italiens bien avant le reste de la France'.[188] Yet, the Chester Beatty artist did not attempt to mix Gothic and Renaissance architectural vocabularies as Fouquet did.[189] Unlike the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen (see the St Gabriel miniature, f. 91v, **pl. 33**) or the Master of Jean Charpentier whose settings and frames rely on Flamboyant Gothic, he did not make any use of Gothic details or settings.

2. Frames

The frames are very diverse, but they all use a classical idiom. Unlike the frames used by the Master of Jean Charpentier,[190] these have only one function: they enclose the

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187 See for instance in the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne* (Tours, ca. 1492-5; New York, PML, M. 50) or in the so-called *Hours of Henry VIII* (Tours, ca. 1500; New York, PML, H. 8; **fig. 130**). For more details on Poyer, see **Introduction** to this chapter.

188 In Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 131.

189 See the miniature of St Stephen and Etienne Chevalier before the Virgin in the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* where the Virgin is seated under a Flamboyant church portal combined with a Renaissance niche set in what looks like a Renaissance palace (Chantilly, Musée Condé).

190 See **III. B.5.** in this chapter.

image as if it were a large scale painting, sometimes mimicking an altarpiece, especially in the case of the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John (f. 57; **pl. 26**), the most elaborate in the series. Jewelled, with pearls and coloured panels, this frame seems to be made of gilt wood, decorated with the head of a putto between two volutes above the entablature. The first words of the Hours of the Cross are inscribed in gold on blue on the base, like a title to the piece. The language of this frame clearly belongs to the Renaissance. It casts a purple shadow on the vellum, a technique that originated in Paduan manuscripts[191] and was often used by Jean Bourdichon[192] or by artists associated with him (**fig. 72-4**).[193] Yet, in spite of this effort at creating relief, a gold moulding surrounds the whole composition, frame and shading included, and abruptly interrupts the frame on the inner side of the page stressing its two-dimensionality. This contradiction between the depth suggested by the shading and the surrounding moulding shows that the artist did not fully comprehend the illusionistic possibilities of the architectural frame, or chose to negate them. The accolade and overall shape of this frame (**pl. 26**) can be compared to that of the Annunciation in *Hours for the use of Tours* now in New York[194] where the use of purple shading, gems and pearls is also to be noted (**fig. 88**). The roundels at either end of the accolade accompanied by golden 'hooks' are also similar to those found in the St John the Baptist miniature (f. 93, **pl. 34**). While John Plummer suggested that the faces recalled the work of the Master of Charles of France,[195] Mara Hofmann has recently assigned the New York Annunciation to the Master of the Della Rovere Missals,[196] a French artist who spent some of his career in Italy before returning and settling in Touraine in the 1490s.[197]

The frame of the St John the Baptist miniature (f. 93; **pl. 34**) is painted in the same manner, with gems, pearls, coloured panels and cornices, while using a brighter selection of colours; it also features the incipit to the suffrage in gold on blue, below the

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191 See Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 165, p. 300. See for instance Homer's *Iliad* (Vatican, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1626), dating from 1477 or *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, by Valerius Maximus (New York, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Spencer MS 20), dating from ca. 1480-5, illuminated by Gaspare da Padova (Cat. 39 and 41 in Alexander, 1994).

192 Especially in the first decade of the fifteenth century as in *Le Voyage de Gênes* (Paris, BNF, Fr. 5091) or the *Epitres des poètes royaux* (St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F.v. XIV, 8).

193 In the borders painted by Giovanni Todeschino in the *Hours of Frederic III of Aragon* (Paris, BNF, Lat. 10532) illustrated by Bourdichon and those of the *Missal of Jacques de Beaune* (Paris, BNF, Lat. 886), inspired by the former but probably painted by a French artist (see Avril, Reynaud, Cat. 163 and 165).

194 New York, PML, M.96, f. 32. It is interesting to note that these Hours also contain work by the Master of Jean Charpentier and one miniature by Jean Bourdichon (see **I.A.** and **III.A.4.** in this chapter for more details).

195 For more details on this artist, see **Chapter I, A.3.d.**

196 See Hofmann, 2003, p. 40.

197 See Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 290-2, and Avril, 2003, p. 396. See **C.** in this section for more details.

image. While no purple shading was used, no surrounding moulding disrupts the illusion of a slightly projecting frame but, as on f. 57, its sharp interruption along the inner part of the page thwarts the three-dimensional effect.

The frame to the Deposition scene (f. 61; **pl. 28**) is also circumscribed by a gold moulding flattening the whole composition in spite of the shading of the architectural frame. The arch supported by two Corinthian columns is even interrupted by the moulding so that only the volutes on either side are visible. Again, the incipit of the prayer is inscribed on the base of the 'retable', in dark red ink.

These frames are thus using a Renaissance idiom but do not fulfil its potential by allowing the composition to project from the surface of the page: the three-dimensionality is there, but the illusionist impact is, to some extent, negated. Some plainer frames succeed better at creating the illusion of a large-scale panel painting surrounded by gilt wood or marble, as popularised by Jean Bourdichon. On f. 30v (Christ Taking Leave of his Mother; **pl. 17**), it is plain gold standing out against vellum tinted black or dark purple. Like the Master of the Echevinage on two occasions,[198] the artist forgot to write the incipit of the prayer on f. 30v, depriving the text of its first words. The Trinity miniature (f. 89; **pl. 31**) is surrounded by a gold marble frame veined with red, set against green marbled vellum, a contrast that gives relief to the frame.

The Pentecost (f. 59; **pl. 27**) is set within a blue-grey marbled frame containing in its bottom part the incipit to the Hours of the Holy Spirit inscribed in a dark red colour on a gold cartouche sunken into the stone. A gold line surrounding miniature and marbled frame stresses again its two-dimensionality, as it did in the miniatures of the Man of Sorrows, and of the Deposition (**pl. 26, 28**).

B. Individual miniatures: iconography and stylistic context

1. Five Prayers to the Virgin attributed to St John: Christ Taking Leave of his Mother (f. 30v; pl. 17)

A depiction of Christ taking leave of his mother introduces five prayers assigned to St John the Evangelist (announced in the rubric as *les cinq douleurs nostre dame contenans cinq requestes* on f. 30).[199] This prayer was rarely introduced by a miniature and, when it

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198 Fols 90v and 91v; see **Chapter I, B.5. and C.4. and 5**.
199 See **Chapter III, II.A.2.a.** for more details on this prayer.

was, the subject depicted was different.[200]

As Réau stressed, representations of this scene began to appear in the late Middle Ages based on the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* by the Franciscan friar know as the Pseudo-Bonaventure and developed in relation to Passion plays and to the cycle of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.[201] Chapter 72 of the *Meditations* describes how Jesus takes his leave after a supper in the house of Mary and Martha, addressing the Virgin: 'Most beloved Mother… the time of redemption is coming. Now all things said of me will be fulfilled, and they will do to me what they wish'.[202]

Although this subject is highly unusual for a book of hours, it suits the mood of the Sorrows announced by the rubric. However, Christ taking leave of his Mother is not actually part of the Virgin's Sorrows, which consist of the Prophecy of Simeon, the Flight into Egypt, the Loss of the infant Christ in the Temple, Mary meeting Jesus carrying the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Deposition and the Entombment. Furthermore, the ensuing prayer does not actually evoke the Virgin's Sorrows, as announced.[203]

Christ is taking leave of his mother before facing his destiny and enduring the Passion. The Virgin is kneeling before him and her slightly swollen eyes, her nose touched with red convey the impression that she has been crying and now tries to refrain her tears, confiding in her faith. Christ's blessing gesture and his serene expression are aimed at soothing her sorrow. The presence of a book, which he holds open, facing his mother, alludes to the fact that his fate was written. By his gesture, Christ blesses both his mother and the book, whose prominence can only be understood if it is identified as the Old Testament, announcing the coming of the Messiah and prefiguring his sacrifice. As the sacrifice is about to unfold, the central presence of the book is essential to the meaning of the composition. The prophecy is about to be fulfilled and the Virgin is reminded of the ineluctability of her son's sacrifice by the open book.

Réau[204] noted how representations of Christ Taking Leave of his Mother reflected the increasing importance of the Marian devotion: in the first versions, Christ stood, blessing his mother but in later pictorial interpretations of the scene, the roles were inverted and Christ knelt before his mother, seeking her benediction. In the *Chester*

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200 We found only two other examples, and the subject depicted was, in one case, the Virgin and Child (Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf 40), and in the other, the Presentation in the Temple (Baltimore, WAG, W. 230, f. 150; Randall, 1989-92, Cat. 121).

201 This episode is not mentioned in any of the Gospels. See Réau, 1955-9, vol. 2, pt 2, p. 395.

202 Ragusa and Green, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: an illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century by Saint Bonaventure*, Princeton, 1961, pp. 308-9.

203 See **Chapter III, II.A.2.a.**

204 See Réau, 1955-9, vol. 2 pt 2, p. 395.

Beatty Hours, even though the content of books of hours was largely dedicated to the Virgin, the artist has put the two figures in a balanced relationship. The Virgin is kneeling, but Christ, seated on a bench is also in a position of humility that brings him to her level and both of them have dignified postures, conveying the acceptance of the divine will.

Christ is seated before a grey wall while the room deeply recedes behind the Virgin towards an Italianate loggia where five apostles are conversing. Ultimately, the perspective leads to the countryside beyond the colonnade. The direction of the bench, perpendicular to the surface of the page, the three-quarter position of the two protagonists, the converging lines of the tiling, and the receding wall all contribute to hollow out the page, like a telescopic space that one would unfold. The apostles in the loggia all have different poses and the trick of representing one of them turning his back, casually resting his elbow on the low wall to listen to the conversation further deepens the composition. The palace is decorated with marble panelling, and the same type of Italianate loggia is found in many later manuscripts illustrated by Jean Poyer.[205]

The Visitation in the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, painted by Jean Fouquet, shows a similar composition closed on one side while leading into the distance on the other (**fig. 87**), which is ultimately derived from 14th century Italian art.[206] Several of the miniatures attributed to Jean Fouquet in the *Hours of Jean Robertet*[207] (Tours, ca 1460-5 and Bourges, ca. 1465-70) are constructed in the same way: St Luke (f. 15), St Matthew (f. 17), St Mark (f. 19)… As in the Dublin miniature, 'Les trois miniatures de Luc, Matthieu et Marc constituent autant de variantes assez similaires sur la manière de moduler un espace intérieur et d'y aménager une échappée (galerie ou corridor) tirant le regard vers une ouverture éclairée'.[208] In his depiction of space, one can thus detect the influence of the great Tours artist on the Chester Beatty miniaturist, but he is one 'generation' removed, adopting conventions of the 1480s.

This subject is rare, in manuscript illumination as in panel painting. Gerard David painted a bust-length depiction of this scene as part of a diptych, facing a panel with a

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205 See for instance in the *Hours of Jean Lallemant l'Ainé* (London, BL, Add. 39641, fols 3v, 41v…) which, unlike Avril (Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 171, dated to ca. 1498), Wieck assigns to an artist he calls 'Pseudo-Poyer' (Wieck, 2000, pp. 44-5, dated to ca. 1510-20).

206 See for instance Annunciation by Fra Angelico (Florence, Convento di San Marco).

207 New York, PML, M.834. See latest analysis of this manuscript in Avril, 2003, Cat. 28, pp. 253-7. Other miniatures in this manuscript were painted by Jean Colombe.

208 Avril, 2003, Cat. 28, pp. 252-3.

Virgin and Child with Angels [209](Bruges, 1490-5). Set against a gold background, this composition cannot compare with the Chester Beatty scene, except maybe in the gesture of Christ's blessing hand. Another Flemish artist, Simon Marmion painted a full-page miniature of the same subject in a book of hours now in Munich[210] but the scene, again, is a close-up. This tipped-in illumination was seemingly inserted in the manuscript as an afterthought.[211]

In stylistic terms, the face of the Virgin is very close to that of Marguerite de Rohan in her book of hours for the use of Paris now in Princeton (f. 113v; **fig. 91a**).[212] The Countess of Angoulême (ca. 1420/24-1496), grandmother of François I[er] is shown in prayer, facing a blessing Christ (f. 114; **fig. 91b**) whose light beard, hair curling on the shoulders and fold of the tunic can also be compared to the Chester Beatty Christ (**pl. 17**). Yet the Princeton Jesus has a taller forehead and higher eyebrows. As we will see, more parallels can be drawn between the work of the Princeton artist and that of Hand C. The attribution and date of the *Hours of Marguerite de Rohan* being problematic, it will be discussed in more details in the concluding section, in relation to the dating of the miniatures by Hand C.[213]

2. Hours of the Cross: Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John (f. 57; pl. 26)

a. The Chester Beatty composition (**pl. 26**)

The next miniature painted by Hand C introduces the Hours of the Cross. Instead of the more standard Crucifixion, the miniature features the Resurrected Christ standing in the tomb. Showing his bleeding wounds, he is flanked by the Virgin and St John the Evangelist. The Renaissance overtones of this miniature are in sharp contrast with the preceding Hours of the Virgin, illuminated by the Master of Jean Charpentier.

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[209] Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung and other version with no angels around the Virgin in Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. no. 1080 and 1079, third version divided between Upton House, in Warwickshire and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. See Kren, McKendrick, 2003, Cat. 101 for reproductions.

[210] Munich, Bayer. Staats., Clm. 28345, f. 230.

[211] See M.W. Ainsworth in Kren, McKendrick, 2003, p. 352. A trend for this subject developed in the early 16th century mostly in Germany and Italy. In Germany: engraving by Dürer, from his *Life of the Virgin*, dated to ca. 1505 (Vienna, Albertina, Graphische Sammlung), and by Daniel Hopfer (early 16th century; Cleveland Museum); drawing by Hans Schaufelein (1510; Malibu, Getty Mus. 85.GA.438); panel painting by Altdorfer (ca. 1520; Nat. Gal. of London). In Italy, panel paintings by Corregio (ca. 1514, Nat. Gal. of London) and Lorenzo Lotto (1521; Berlin, Gemäldegalerie). Yet, none of these can fruitfully be compared with the Chester Beatty composition.

[212] Princeton, University Library, Garrett ms. 55. I would like to thank Mr François Avril, Conservateur Honoraire at the Bibliothèque Nationale for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

[213] See **C.** in this section.

This miniature stands apart, both in quality and in its use of three-quarter length figures, as opposed to full-length ones. Yet the same hand was at work here as in the other miniatures, the Virgin's face and transparent veil crossing under the chin is very similar to the Virgin figure in the Pentecost miniature (f. 59; **pl. 27**).

Christ stands in the tomb, a loincloth tied around his waist, his hands are crossed on his chest and blood is trickling from his wounds and nose. He looks slightly to the right, and yet his gaze seems directed at the reader. His body is anatomically correct, even though the pigments have been scratched in places. His physical and emotional presence imposes itself upon the reader who is encouraged to adopt the faithful attitudes of the Virgin and St John. This type of composition is rooted in the tradition of the Deesis, as it was developed in icon painting, featuring Jesus flanked by the Virgin and St John playing the role of intercessors. The bust-length format lends monumentality to the design and is perfectly suited to the subject.[214]

The great humanity of facial expressions is compelling: the sadness and determination in the eyes of Christ, the sorrow and concentration in the frowning and tight lips of St John, the inner meditation on Mary's face. As Ringbom noted, this form of composition 'which is limited to the most expressive parts of the human body, i.e. the face, head, neck and hands, provides excellent opportunities for elaborating physiognomical details and rendering the finer shades of emotion'.[215] The careful rendering of the expressions and of the body of Christ lends a Renaissance feel to this image, which is enhanced by the jewelled architectural frame where the incipit *DOMINE LABIA MEA APERIES* features.[216]

b. Parallels in print

There appears to be no comparable example of the Chester Beatty composition in miniature form, but it seems that the artist's main inspiration came from an engraving by the German artist Martin Schongauer (ca. 1435/50-1491). Engravings circulated widely at the end of the 15th century and their compositions inspired many a miniaturist:

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[214] This format was made popular by Jean Bourdichon (see **I.A.** in this chapter). Adopted by Hand C only in this miniature, this choice can certainly be explained by the fact that the artist was subordinating his composition to a model (see **b.** below).
[215] Ringbom, 1984 (1st ed.: 1965), p. 50.
[216] See **A.2.** in this section for more details.

it is thus not unusual to find miniatures based on engravings.[217] Ringbom stressed that 'Owing to the graphic medium, Schongauer's composition attained a wide diffusion'.[218] Indeed the similarities between his *Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John* [219] (ca. 1470-5; **fig. 93**) and the Chester Beatty miniature are striking, especially in the figure of Christ.

The position of Christ's hands, the placement of the wound on his side, the trickle of blood down his bust, the shading of his body, the waist line and belly button, the way in which the loincloth is tied low on the hips are all taken from Schongauer's print. Yet the Chester Beatty Christ is more alert and muscular, and his hands are broader, while the Schongauer Christ is full of sadness and suffering. He stands in the tomb in the open air, and his physical strength in spite of the wounds conveys a message of hope. In the miniature, Christ does not need the support of Mary and the Evangelist who stand beside him, eyes closed, in prayer while in the Schongauer engraving, the vulnerability and suffering of Christ are conveyed by the solicitous attitude of both[220] and by the Virgin's tears. Christ in the *Chester Beatty Hours* does not inspire compassion but respect, and seems more distant. This distance introduced in the French translation of this engraving is interesting, as it reflects the self-control of French religious art, as opposed to the greater empathy conveyed by the German composition.

The pointed arch evokes Gothic architecture in Schongauer's print while the jewelled retable frame of the Chester Beatty miniature reflects the impact of Italian Renaissance. The French artist adopted the iconography of the print without copying its style, even though St John's head, seen in perspective, slightly from above, is still more Germanic than French.[221]

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[217] For a Dutch miniature (Liverpool, The National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Ms. Mayer 12023, p. 26) based on an Annunciation by Schongauer (Washington, D.C., NGA, Rosenwald Collection), see Alexander, 1992, pp. 124-5, figs 210-1. The *Hours of Charles d'Angoulême* (early 1480s; Paris, BNF, PBN lat. 1173) are especially interesting in this respect. They contain forty-three examples of print-inspired miniatures, sixteen of them being overpainted prints by Israel van Meckenem. See Matthews, 1986, pp. 4-18. For 15th century examples of this in the Netherlands, see also Marrow, 1978, pp. 590-616 and Calkins, *Oud Holland*, 1978, pp. 137-60.

[218] Ringbom, 1984 (1st ed.: 1965), p. 145, n. 10.

[219] Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 194 x 154 mm.

[220] Both of them touch him, as they would have done in a Lamentation scene, where they support Christ's dead body.

[221] But does not follow the standard curly hair type used in Schongauer or Rogier van der Weyden's paintings; see for example the Prado *Deposition* (ca. 1435-38) or the Philadelphia *Crucifixion Diptych* (ca. 1455; John G. Johnson Collection).

c. Parallels in manuscripts

To find parallels for this miniature in manuscripts, one will again have to turn to the circle of Jean Fouquet and the West of France, but they will only be partial comparisons as no equivalent could be found for the Chester Beatty composition, combining the three protagonists within the same space.

The Chester Beatty Virgin is not unlike that painted by Jean Fouquet in the *Hours of Simon de Varye* [222] (ca. 1455; **fig. 89**), although the latter, younger, is not wearing the wimple. In the so-called *Hours of Anne de Beaujeu*,[223] an artist very close to Jean Fouquet, possibly his son,[224] called the Master of the Munich Boccaccio after a copy of *Des Cas des nobles hommes et femmes* now in Munich,[225] was responsible for a miniature of Christ (f. 13bis verso; **fig. 90**; Tours, ca. 1470-5)[226] introducing a prayer to the Holy Face. Christ is dressed and seen in quarter length, yet his head slightly turned, his thoughtful gaze directed towards the right, his light beard and the blue background present parallels with the Chester Beatty Christ. A similar Christ head was painted on f. 44 of the *Hours of Louis de Laval* by an unidentified Fouquettian artist[227] (ca. 1470-5) but he is facing the reader and the presence of the hanging cloth at the back refers to Veronica's veil. The diptych from the *Hours of Marguerite de Rohan* [228] (fols 113v-4; **fig. 91**) offers again interesting parallels with WMs 89, in spite of the different setting and mood of the image. The pale blue gaze of Christ, his broad neck and large hands betray the same artistic sensitivity and the delicately painted face of the Countess can also be compared with that of the Virgin (**pl. 26**).

One finds a diptych[229] of the Man of Sorrows (f. 37v) facing a Virgo Doloris (f. 38) introducing the 'Stabat Mater', in the *Hours of Anne de France* [230] (Bourges, 1470s; **fig.**

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[222] The Hague, KB, ms. 74 G 37 a., f. 1v. The manuscript is divided into three parts: one is The Hague, KB, ms. 74 G 37 and the other is Malibu, Getty Mus., ms. 7. For a recent discussion of this manuscript, see Avril, 2003, Cat. 23, pp. 187-92.

[223] Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3187; Avril recently suggested that this manuscript could have been made for Jeanne de Valois, rather than for the Beaujeu family. See Avril, 2003, Cat. 35, pp. 328-33.

[224] See Avril, 'Jean Fouquet et ses fils', in Avril, 2003, pp. 18-28. In this catalogue, he assigned to this artist a certain number of works hitherto attributed to Jean Fouquet himself, such as the *Antiquités Judaïques* and *De la Guerre des Juifs*, by Flavius Josephus (Paris, BNF, Fr. 247 and N.a.f. 21013).

[225] Munich, Bayer. Staats., Cod. Gall. 6 (formerly Gall. 369).

[226] The decoration of this manuscript seems to have begun ca. 1465 in Paris and was later continued in Tours.

[227] Paris, BNF, Lat. 920; the Master of the Yale Missal and Jean Colombe also collaborated to the illumination of this manuscript; see Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 179 and Avril, 2003, Cat. 52. See also **III.D.1.** in this chapter.

[228] Princeton, University Library, Garrett ms. 55.

[229] Reminiscent of a diptych of the same subject, painted after Roger van der Weyden (Bruges, Musée Communal).

[230] New York, PML, M. 677.

92). This manuscript is attributed to Jean Colombe (active ca. 1460/65- ca. 1491) from Bourges.[231] As Wieck wrote, 'The viewer is encouraged to dwell on each carefully depicted wound, on every drop of meticulously painted blood'.[232] Featured against a pale blue ground, this Man of Sorrows appears as dead and his skeletal body is exposed to his mother's gaze. The Virgin in prayer on the facing page does not share the same space, and this is enhanced by the bright red background. The mood of this diptych is completely different from that of the Chester Beatty miniature.

d. Parallels in panel painting

In 15th century Northern painting, the combination of these three bust-length figures was extremely rare. A painting from the Nuremberg School painted ca. 1430 features an early representation of Christ rising in the tomb, supported by the Virgin and St John.[233] Images of Christ and the Virgin were more common: the Master of Flemalle (Robert Campin, recorded from 1406 to his death in 1444) painted Christ beside the Virgin,[234] and diptychs combining the *Virgo Doloris* and the Man of Sorrows[235] or the *Ecce Homo*[236] (wearing cloak and crown of thorns). The three figures are present in 15th century Italian *Lamentation* scenes, where Mary and John support a dead Christ.[237]

In his analysis of Schongauer's engraving, Ringbom stressed that the composition was an odd iconographical combination: 'His wounds and the attitudes of the Virgin and St John are at variance with the "Ecce Homo" … It is not a "Resurrected Christ"…, since the hands are crossed in the manner of the "Man of Sorrows"'.[238] This composition aims at involving the viewer emotionally but it is not derived from any episode of the Passion, so that one cannot reconstruct a narrative around it.

While evoking the Crucifixion and the Lamentation, this representation of the three holy figures painted bust-length against the pale luminous sky has a meditative

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231 He completed the illustration of the *Hours of Jean Robertet* (Bourges, ca. 1465-1470; New York, PML, M. 834) begun by Fouquet in Tours a few years earlier (ca. 1460-1465), and regularly collaborated with a 'Fouquettian' artist, the Master of the Yale Missal (see Avril, 2003, Cat. 51 and 52).
232 Wieck, 1997, p. 105. On Colombe, see section on Master of Jean Charpentier.
233 Dijon Museum. See O. Fisher, 'Quelques remarques sur les primitifs des écoles suisses et allemandes dans la collection Dard à Dijon', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 1931, 5, p. 102, fig. 6.
234 Only their heads. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection.
235 Bust-length. See copy after Roger van der Weyden, Bruges, Mus. Communal.
236 Bust-length. See copy after Dirc Bouts, London, Nat. Gal.
237 See *Lamentation* by Masolino (ca. 1424; Empoli, Museo della Collegiata di Sant'Andrea) where Christ emerges from the tomb, his right arm supported by the Virgin and St John kneeling to kiss his left hand. In the way they touch Christ, this composition is not so far from Schongauer, but only Christ is seen bust-length. In the late 1460s-1470s, Giovanni Bellini (ca. 1431/36-1516) painted several bust-length *Lamentations* featuring the Virgin and St John on either side of the dead body of Christ (see Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera and Berlin, Museum, reproduced in Ringbom, 1965, figs. 61-2).
238 Ringbom, 1984 (1st ed.: 1965), p. 144.

mood that makes it a truly devotional image designed to emulate the reader's piety. No landscape distracts the attention from the figures standing close to the surface of the page. Although the three figures share the same space, the ledge of the tomb and the absorbed attitudes of the two praying figures set them apart from Christ. On either side of the Saviour, the Virgin and St John the Evangelist are in the position of intercessors, relaying and embodying the reader's prayers.[239]

3. Hours of the Holy Spirit: Pentecost (f. 59; pl. 27)

The next miniature painted by our 'Fouquettian' artist is also the next one in the manuscript and introduces the Hours of the Holy Spirit. The scene of Pentecost was a standard introductory miniature to this section, but it is treated quite unconventionally.

Full-length figures stand in a Renaissance interior decorated with coloured panels, and a frieze with garlands and masks running along the wall leads to a scallop-shell niche in the top left corner. The lines drawn by the architecture and the floor tiles create an off-centred composition and lead towards the centre of this niche. The tongues of fire precisely radiate from this top left corner onto the assembly of thirteen men and two coiffed women. The Virgin is also placed to the left, kneeling in prayer in the foreground, below the curve of the niche. In blue with white wimple, she seems in a trance, with her mouth slightly open and her eyes looking up, to such an extent that one can nearly only see the white. Her chin and neck are covered with a translucent veil, as in the previous miniature.

To the right, the three kneeling apostles are placed along a diagonal axis which follows the lines of the flooring, leaving an empty space between them and the Virgin, and leading to the vanishing point in the niche. This arrangement greatly contributes to deepening the space. The artist subtly handles light and shade in this scene: the light comes from the top left corner, like the tongues of fire, so that the characters standing to the left cast their shadows on the chequered floor, where the lit areas are brought out by lines of gold. The grey-blue frame veined with red is also viewed from the left and the incipit is inscribed in dark red on gold at the bottom of the frame: *D[OMI]NE LABIA MEA APERIES*.

St James the Major is identifiable by his pilgrim staff and his hat decorated with a scallop shell, which he is about to remove. The older apostle in the foreground raises his

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[239] For more on the Virgin as privileged intercessor, see section on the Heavenly Court and Hell scene miniature in **Chapter I, C.3.a.**

hands in wonder, while another one beside him keeps his arms folded, both of their faces remain impassive. The apostle looking up, in profile, behind the Virgin may be St Peter with his short white beard. All faces have highly individualised features so that some have the quality of real-life portraits. The fact that none of them has a halo and the presence of the two women[240] contributes to this impression of ordinary people witnessing a miracle, even though the foreground figures with long beard and bulky draperies remind us that these are Biblical figures. The multi-coloured draperies lend the image a rich jewel-like quality that contrasts with the quite austere marble frame. The artist has played on the use of colour by contrasting the hues of cloaks and their lining, or of cloaks and tunics underneath. This off-centred composition differs from Fouquet's centralised Pentecost in the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*,[241] repeated by many of his followers.[242]

4. *Stabat Mater*: Deposition (f. 61; pl. 28)

The Deposition introduces the 'Stabat Mater' prayer. This prayer evokes the sorrow of the Virgin at the foot of the Cross and is an incentive for the reader to share her pain, ending on a plea for salvation. A Pietà was the most common introductory image for this prayer.[243] A Deposition scene is an unusual choice but is most appropriate to visually express the Virgin's deep sorrow.

Two men standing on ladders are lowering the body of Christ from the cross, while a third one receives him in a white cloth. Christ's body forms a triangle with those of the Virgin and of St John the Evangelist. Although his body is inert, it seems to embrace the three figures below him within the curve of his arms. The attitude of the Virgin, praying in the foreground, expresses her faith rather than her sorrow, she does not gesture expressively as she did in Jean Fouquet's Deposition from the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*.[244] She does not turn towards the wounded body of her son, but conveys the

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[240] Their presence certainly refers to *Acts*, I.14 in the Bible.

[241] Chantilly, Musée Condé.

[242] See in the so-called Hours in the 'Fouquet style': Avril, 2003, pp. 354-74. Pentecost inspired by Fouquet on f. 45v in *Hours for the use of Paris* (Tours, ca. 1465?; New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, ms. 662), f. 113v in *Hours for the use of Rome* (Tours, ca. 1470; Paris, BNF, Lat. 13305), f. 61v in so-called *Hours of Diane de Croy* (Tours, ca. 1470; Sheffield, Ruskin Gallery, R. 3548)…
Non-centralised Pentecost scenes were common in the late 15th century but they usually featured the Virgin to the left with the apostles grouped behind her and the Holy Spirit coming from the top right corner as in the Jesuit Library Hours (**Irish Cat. 10**).

[243] Out of the 18 occurrences of this prayer in Randall's catalogue of manuscripts at the Walters Art Gallery, 11 are not introduced by any miniature or historiated initials (one is missing its beginning lines), one by a Crucifixion (W. 285, f. 94, Cat. 126), two by a Virgin in prayer before Christ on the Cross (W. 205, f. 168, Cat. 146 and 459, f. 1v, Cat. 205), and four by a Pietà (W. 292, f. 137, Cat. 137; W. 264, f. 140, Cat. 144; W. 203, f. 42, Cat. 160; W. 424, f. 83, Cat. 205).

[244] Chantilly, Musée Condé.

same confident message as she did in the miniature of the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John (f. 57; **pl. 26**). Her pose is identical, if reversed, to that of the Virgin in the Deposition scene from the Liget triptych, painted by Jean Poyer in 1485 (**fig. 94**).[245] Christ still has his arms outstretched, and his left hand is closed on the wound while Mary Magdalen, kneeling to the left, kisses his right hand. The man on the ladder at the back, barely visible, holds Christ's elbow while the one at the front is coming down facing us, supporting Christ under his arms. A woman (possibly one of the three Marys) stands to the left at the back, with her hands crossed on her chest, a common praying gesture that a very similar figure adopts in Jean Fouquet's Deposition from the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier.*[246] The parallel between these two figures extends to their turban headdress, a characteristic feature of Fouquet. At the back, Nicodemus, carrying a jar of spices, converses with a man, with a heavy purse hanging from his waist, who has his arms folded like the apostle in the Pentecost miniature (**pl. 27**). Our artist has again excelled at depicting facial expressions: the old man supporting Christ's body opens his mouth in the effort; the man receiving him looks down, respectful and sad; St John's face is pain-stricken and his eyes reddened, and Mary's pose is solemn and pious.

The space slopes down towards the reader along the diagonal of the path, as if one was seeing the scene slightly from below. This view from below allows the artist to set the scene against the pale blue sky. With no landscape stretching into the distance, the eye focuses entirely on the action. The classical frame, featuring a Corinthian column on either side, seems to project slightly forward and lends the image the status of a retable. On the base, runs the beginning of the prayer, continuing on the verso: *STABAT MATER DOLOROSA.*

The proportions of Christ are similar to those in the scenes of Christ Nailed to the Cross (f. 56) and the Preparation for the Deposition (f. 60; **fig. 95**) in the Princeton *Hours of Marguerite de Rohan* [247] previously mentioned. The Princeton Hours artist drew on Fouquettian models[248] but, as Bouchot noted, 'Autant Fouquet semble se désintéresser des nus et les vouloir conformer à un thème préconçu, autant notre enlumineur étudie

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[245] Loches, Logis royal du Château. See **C.** in this section for more on the Liget Triptych.
[246] Chantilly, Musée Condé.
[247] Princeton University Library, Garrett ms. 55. The work of this artist is considered by L. Randall as being 'an outstanding earlier representative of an analogous stylistic admixture' as that found on a single leaf featuring a Deposition scene in the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, WAG, W.320 Lf. See Randall, 1989-92, vol. II, pt 2, Cat. 183, p. 406). The Baltimore composition, which once introduced None of the Cross, is closer to the Fouquet Deposition than to the Chester Beatty miniature.
[248] At the Sauvageot sale in 1861, Philippe Burty attributed the miniatures to Jean Fouquet himself, see *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1861, t. IX, p. 56. Hofmann recently identified him as the Master of the Della Rovere Missals (see Hofmann, 2003, pp. 39-40).

l'ossature, les muscles, les moindres plis'.[249] He thus shared this interest in the depiction of the human body with the Chester Beatty miniaturist.

The placement of the three men taking down Christ's body lying diagonally across the page was not common in French illumination but is found in miniatures by the Flemish artist Lievin van Lathem, as can be seen in the *Prayer book of Philip the Good*[250] (**fig. 96**) and in a book of hours now in Rouen.[251] In the Deposition scene in the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*[252](**fig. 97**), also mainly illustrated by Lievin van Lathem, and which had such a strong influence on the Master of the Echevinage,[253] the arms of Christ do not describe such an arch, but the Virgin is seated at the foot of the cross, and the diagonal of Christ's body also parts the composition.

5. Suffrage to the Trinity: the Three Persons of the Trinity (f. 89; pl. 31)

The Trinity is represented as three identical figures whose features and light beards are those of Christ (compare with Christ Taking Leave of his Mother on f. 30v, **pl. 17**), seen from different angles: three-quarter right, facing and three-quarter left. Each one raises his right hand in a blessing gesture and holds a crystal orb whose reflective surface is treated in an illusionistic manner, reminiscent of Flemish art. They are dressed in the same white robe shaded with mauve, but the blue wings of the middle figure identify him as the Holy Spirit.

The triple throne formed by three scallop-shell niches and decorated with alternating mauve and green marble panels and columns uses the language of the Italian Renaissance and echoes the Renaissance setting of the Pentecost miniature. Filippo Lippi (ca. 1406/7-1469) painted several Madonna and Child scenes enclosed in a scallop-shell niche, with marble panels on the sides,[254] and Jean Fouquet introduced this type of niches in French manuscript illumination in the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* (ca. 1452; see Etienne Chevalier introduced to the Virgin, and Pentecost miniatures[255]). Jean Poyer also used

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[249] Bouchot, 1903), p. 17.
[250] Paris, BNF, N.a.f. 16428, f. 85.
[251] Rouen, BM, ms. Martainville 192, f. 79. For more on this artist, see section on the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen. This type of composition also appears in a painting attributed to the workshop of Rogier van der Weyden with the arms of Christ forming a bow and the figure going down the ladder (Munich, Bayer. Staatsgemaldesamml. Pinakothek).
[252] Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 111v.
[253] See **Chapter I, D.3.**
[254] Firenze, Palazzo Medici Riccardi (1450s); Washington, National Gallery, Kress Collection (bet. 1437 and 1445).
[255] Chantilly, Musée Condé.

this setting for his Virgin and Child, a beautiful miniature from a later book of hours now lost (ca. 1500-10; **fig. 98**).[256]

The marbled frame appears like a window opening onto the Heavens, standing out against the green marbled vellum. Vivid blue appears under the thick floor slab, so that the gold throne seems to float in the heavens. The artist at work in the *Hours of Marguerite de Rohan*[257] also featured such hovering structures, harshly cutting through the blue background on fols 15, 41v, and 86 (**fig. 99**).

The *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*[258] (Tours, ca. 1452-60) was certainly the source of inspiration for this composition. The depiction of the Trinity as three identical persons sitting on a triple throne on a kind of stage hovering in the air first appeared in the Coronation of the Virgin, introducing Compline (**fig. 100**).[259] Sterling stressed that 'the religious theatre of the Middle Ages represented the Holy Trinity as three absolutely identical figures, and it was not long before French painters adopted the same convention'.[260] An elaborate Renaissance throne decorated with gems, marble panels and putti holding garlands rises between rows of multicoloured angels and cherubs. Christ is standing in the foreground, crowning his mother, while the two other persons of the Trinity have remained seated, blessing and holding an orb as in the Chester Beatty miniature. The deep blue of the Heavens appears behind the throne rather than below the floor, thus giving more gravity to the composition. Perls saw in such a composition the influence of earlier Parisian miniature painting on the art of Jean Fouquet, as the Trinity as three identical figures already featured in a Parisian *Cité de Dieu*, dating from ca. 1430.[261]

The three figures of the Trinity also appear seated side by side in the All Saints miniature, which certainly introduced the suffrage to All Saints in the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*[262] (**fig. 101**). Yet, this time, their throne is formed of three Gothic canopies and set against a pale yellow ground symbolising the light of Heaven spreading onto the holy multitude gathered before them. The crowned Virgin is seated to the left and the symbols of the Evangelists are included. One finds a close up of this scene focusing on

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256 Paris, Louvre, Dpt des Arts Graphiques, R.F. 3890; See Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 175.
257 Princeton, Univ. Lib., Garrett ms. 55. See Hofmann, 2003, pp. 39-40. See **C.** in this section for a discussion on the attribution of these hours.
258 See **C.** in **Introduction** to this chapter for location of all its folios.
259 Chantilly, Musée Condé.
260 Commentary to plate 13 in Schaefer, 1972, not paginated.
261 Paris, BNF, Fr. 21, f. 2 ; see Perls, 1940, p. 12. But these were three figures of God the Father enclosed in clouds at the top of the composition and do not seem to relate to Fouquet's miniature.
262 Chantilly, Musée Condé.

the three identical figures in the so-called *Hours of Diane de Croy*[263] (Tours, ca. 1470; **fig. 102**), painted by an artist close to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio. On f. 63v, the Holy Trinity is seated at the top of three steps under a Gothic canopy modelled after Fouquet's All Saints miniature. The format of the miniature is the traditional rounded-top compartment with decorated initial and a few lines of text surrounded by a floral border, as opposed to Fouquet's full-page treatment. In the foreground and peering from behind the throne are bright orange cherubs while the reader is the only audience in WMs 89. In the *Prayer book of Anne de Bretagne* painted by Jean Poyer[264] and dated to ca. 1492-5, the Trinity is seated under Renaissance niches in a cloud of orange cherubs (**fig. 103**). The composition in WMs 89 is simplified, but more monumental in its full-page format.

The detail of the crystal globes reflecting the light in a very Flemish manner[265] is specific to the Chester Beatty artist. All other versions feature gold globes.[266] It may be worth noting that Christ holding a crystal globe features in the so-called *Hours of St Lô*,[267] illuminated by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen, but he stands alone before a cloth of honour, introducing a prayer in French. The crystal globe often featured in the work of the Rouennais Master, as one can also see it in the hand of God the Father in the so-called *Perchart Missal*[268] (**fig. 6**).

The depiction of the Holy Spirit as a winged figure is also unusual, found only in a much later *Hours for the use of Bourges*,[269] illuminated in the style of the Master of Petrarch's Triumphs, prior to 1530[270](**fig. 104**). The three figures of the Trinity (introducing suffrages to the Trinity) are seated before a red cloth of honour thrown onto an invisible throne. Instead of the rich gold throne floating in blue clouds, the Romorantin Trinity is set in an earthlier environment, with a landscape stretching in the

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263 Sheffield, Ruskin Gallery, R. 3548, f. 63v. The original owner is not known, but these Hours belonged to Diane de Croy ca. 1572-ca. 1592. See Avril, 2003, Cat. 43.

264 New York, PML, M. 50, f. 1. I would like to thank Mara Hofmann for bringing this miniature to my attention.

265 See in the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37, f. 14; **fig. 55**).

266 The Princeton Blessing Christ (Princeton, Univ. Lib., Garrett 55, f. 114, **fig. 91b**) holds a dark globe faintly reflecting the light.

267 Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 165.

268 Rouen, BM, ms. 385 (A.11), f. 150. It is not so surprising to find this feature in the work of the Rouennais miniaturist, as we saw how much he was indebted to Flemish art. This precise rendition of crystal may have been inspired by van Lathem's miniature of the Trinity (f. 14 in the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*; **fig. 55**), as we saw it must have passed into the repertoire of the Master of the Echevinage (see **Chapter I, D.3.c.**).

269 Romorantin, BM, ms. 16, f. 92v. The Holy Spirit appears again as a winged human figure in a smaller miniature (9 lines) a few folios further, introducing a prayer to the Holy Spirit (f. 94).

270 This manuscript has to predate 1530 as it contains an annotation on f. 1 reading: *Ces presentes appartiennent a Hieronyme Duchesne, 1530.*

distance. The Master of Petrarch's Triumphs worked in a manner very close to that of Jean Pichore, to whom he was probably the main assistant.[271] Pichore was, for a long time, thought to be a Rouennais artist, but several surviving documents clearly state that he was a Parisian artist who worked in Rouen for the Cardinal d'Amboise.[272] Both Pichore and the Master of Petrarch's Triumphs[273] were artists from Paris, but their art was rooted in the 'première Renaissance française et tributaire de maîtres comme Bourdichon et Poyet'.[274] The three figures of the Trinity composition confirm this debt to Tours artists. In spite of the differences, the detail of the wings links the Romorantin composition to the Chester Beatty Trinity. In another Trinity painted in the style of Jean Pichore (Central France; ca. 1510),[275] the three figures are seated in three scallop-shell niches decorated with coloured marble, as in WMs 89, but a red and blue cloak is wrapped around them and the Holy Spirit, who is the only one with a globe, has no wings.

6. Suffrage to St John the Baptist: St John the Baptist in the Wilderness (f. 93; pl. 34)

The miniature of St John the Baptist introduces the suffrage to this saint. St John the Baptist is seated on a rocky bank, wearing a rough skin garment. Quite emaciated, he looks down at the Lamb and holds a gold cross in his left hand. The Lamb of God rests his forelegs on John's lap, in a similar position to the lamb in an earlier Parisian miniature of John the Baptist attributed to the Master of Dreux Budé or the Coëtivy Master in the *Breviary of Tours* [276](Paris, mid. 15th c.). A river with a small bridge winds behind the saint around a rocky cliff topped with grass and bushes, hills gradually turning blue punctuate the more distant landscape with the hint of a castle on the horizon. The river, as in the *Breviary of Tours*, seems to be flowing in the foreground, as the edge of the bank is visible in the bottom right corner of the miniature. The scarce foliage of the skinny tree rising behind St John is possibly the result of this rocky terrain, although the wilderness depicted here is very verdant! Fine strokes of gold and dark brown give the garment of St

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[271] On these artists, see also **Chapter I, E.4**.
[272] See discussion of this by Avril in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 411-2.
[273] He received his name from Plummer in 1982 after a manuscript dating from 1503 now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, BNF, Fr. 594), a certain number of books of hours were also attributed to him by Plummer (Plummer, 1982, p. 90).
[274] Avril, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 417.
[275] *Hours for the use of Rome* (Tours, BM, ms. 2104, f. 139). Other miniatures within the same book are painted in the style of the Master of Moulins, of the Master of the Chronique Scandaleuse, and one miniature was painted by an unknown Tours artist (f. 19v). See Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 196.
[276] Paris, BNF, Lat. 1032, f. 336v.

John the Baptist a furry look, and the pink on the inside enhances the impression that this coat is made out of an animal hide (**pl. 34**). The figure of the saint, his coat, and the lamb are painted with dabs of paint that lend a woolly texture to the surface of the page.[277]

The gold frame is jewelled with pearls, gems and coloured panels in an Italianate. Renaissance style and the beginning of the suffrage *PUER QUI NATUS E[ST] NOBIS* is inscribed on the base of this structure that turns the miniature into a retable. The gems add brilliance to it and the colours are more vibrant than in the frame of the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John (**pl. 26**). The inner side is cut off by a dark red line, and no shading is projected onto the vellum left unpainted.

Elements of comparison do not abound for this miniature, which, in spite of its Italianate frame, has Flemish overtones. The depiction of John the Baptist seated on a grassy bank with the lamb beside him occurs for instance in the work of Hans Memling, in the *Triptych of Jan Floreins*, dated to 1479,[278] and in the *Bembo Diptych*, dating from ca. 1480-3.[279]

In terms of style, one turns again for comparison to the *Hours of Marguerite de Rohan.*[280] Although these Hours do not contain any miniature with the same subject, the rendering of facial features with heavy eyelids, broad nose and salient cheekbones, as for the face of Christ or of the man standing at the back, holding an ointment jar on f. 60 (**fig. 95**) is close to the Chester Beatty St John (**pl. 34**) and to the Deposition Christ (**pl. 28**). The treatment and colour of the ochre over garment worn by the Princeton figure removing the nail from Christ's feet is also reminiscent of St John's rough tunic.[281]

C. Conclusion

The work of Hand C reflects the outstanding quality that the art of miniature painting maintained in Tours at the end of the 15th century. Jean Fouquet introduced features inspired by the Italian Renaissance and influenced a generation of painters in

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277 This texture is reinforced by the fact that this miniature was painted on the hair side of the folio, not as smooth as the flesh side. In this manuscript, all miniatures were painted on the flesh side except the Visitation (f. 40), the Annunciation to the Shepherds (f. 47v), the Adoration of the Magi (f. 49v), the Heavenly Court and Hell Scene (f. 74), St John the Baptist (f. 93), and *Ego sum* (f. 116v).
278 Reverse of left wing of a triptych centred on the Adoration of the Magi; Bruges, Sint-Janshospitaal, Memlingmuseum, inv.O.SJ173.I. See de Vos, 1994, Cat. 32 for more details on this work.
279 Left wing: Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv.652. Right wing featuring St Veronica: Washington, NGA, Samuel H.Kress Col., inv.1952.5.46. See de Vos, 1994, Cat. 50 for more details on this diptych.
280 Princeton, Univ. Lib., Garrett ms. 55. See **C.** in this section for attribution of these miniatures.
281 But this judgement is only based on examination of reproductions, as I was not able to see the Princeton manuscript.

Tours and beyond. Hand C did not content himself with repeating the Tours Master's compositions as many of his followers did;[282] he innovated, taking his inspiration from various sources, one of the most interesting being of course the Schongauer print. The Italianate elements that pervade his work, the use of classical architecture and jewelled frames, combined with the bust-length format adopted in the miniature of the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John point to a late 15th century date.

The work of Jean Poyer (active ca. 1480-ca. 1515) offers interesting parallels, the comparison between the Virgin of the Chester Beatty Deposition (**pl. 28**) and that of the Liget Entombment[283] (**fig. 94**) is especially enlightening, as the triptych is dated to 1485 by an inscription. The *Liget Triptych* was certainly commissioned for the Liget Carthusian House by Jean Béraud, its prior from 1483 to 1490.[284] It would thus have been easy for an artist from nearby Tours such as Hand C to study it first hand and take inspiration from it. One would therefore be inclined to believe that the Dublin Deposition was executed shortly after Poyer's painting.

This study has shown that the Chester Beatty artist is very close in his treatment of figures and landscapes to the miniaturist at work in the *Hours of Marguerite de Rohan.*[285] De Winter identified this talented follower of Fouquet with the Master of Charles de France,[286] while Avril[287] suggested that he may be the hand at work on the first miniature in a copy of *Style du droit français*, by Jean Masuyer,[288] and in a small Tours book of hours now in Moscow (**fig. 106**).[289] Most recently, Hofmann stressed the important influence of Poyer on this artist and offered to identify him with the Master of the Della Rovere Missals (active ca. 1469-ca.1490?). She dated the *Hours of Marguerite de Rohan* to after 1485, due to the influence of the *Liget Triptych* on certain compositions, and before 1496, when the Countess died.[290] The Master of the Della Rovere Missals was named in 1959 by Levi d'Ancona[291] after a Missal now divided between different libraries, originally executed for Cardinal Domenico della Rovere.[292] This intriguing artist active in Italy in the 1480s,[293]

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282 See the 'Fouquet style Hours', such as the so-called *Hours of Diane de Croy* (Sheffield, Ruskin Gallery, R. 3548; **fig. 102, 122**).
283 Loches, Logis royal du Château.
284 See Hofmann, 2003, pp. 39-40.
285 Hours for the use of Rome. Princeton, Univ. Lib., Garrett ms. 55.
286 In *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 20, 1996 ed., p. 647.
287 In Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 406.
288 Paris, BNF, Fr. 4368.
289 Moscow, Historical Museum of Moscow, Mus. 3688.
290 Hofmann, 2001 (unpublished thesis) and Hofmann, 2003, pp. 39-40. While Avril agreed with this attribution, he suggested the earlier date of ca. 1475 for the execution of these miniatures (Avril, 2001, p. 74. Avril, 2003, p. 395), which seems too early if one considers the date of the *Liget Triptych.*
291 Levi d'Ancona, 1959, pp. 259-63.
292 New York, PML, M.306; Turin, Archivio di Stato, J.b. II, 2-4.

subsequently worked in Tours[294] and was responsible for the Annunciation scene in *Hours for the use of Tours* [295] (ca. 1485-90; **fig. 88**), also containing work by the Master of Jean Charpentier and one miniature by Jean Bourdichon.[296] Hofmann thus stressed that 'Le livre d'heures de la Pierpont Morgan Library révèle des relations étroites entre Jean Bourdichon, le Maître des Missels della Rovere et le Maître de Jean Charpentier'.[297] The Master of the Della Rovere Missals also painted one miniature in the *Pontifical of Guillaume de Clugny*[298] otherwise illuminated by the Master of Jean Charpentier, but this was a later addition for a subsequent owner, and not a collaboration. It is clear, from the multiple stylistic links that tie Hand C to the Master of the Della Rovere Missals, that the two miniaturists were part of the same artistic circle and active at the same period in Tours. WMs 89 confirms these links between Jean Bourdichon and the Master of Jean Charpentier, and the fact that it also includes work by an artist close to the Master of the Della Rovere Missals further relates it to the New York *Hours for the use of Tours.* The Chester Beatty miniatures certainly are also contemporary with the *Hours of Marguerite de Rohan* (ca. 1485-96), even though they differ from them in their format. The type of jewelled frame used in some of them (see **pl. 26 and 34**) was used by the Master of the Della Rovere Missals ca. 1485-90 when the New York Annunciation[299] was painted (**fig. 88**). One would therefore be tempted to date the work of Hand C to ca. 1485-90.

This artist's depiction of the body, his truthful rendition of human feelings create moving images designed to emulate meditation and devotion. His representation of nature in the miniature of St John the Baptist (**pl. 34**) leaves behind the fantastic rocks so favoured by 15th century artists such as the Master of the Echevinage or the Master of Jean Charpentier.[300] This artist, very influenced by Renaissance forms, already looks towards the 16th century, while an artist like the Master of the Echevinage truly belongs to the 15th century tradition.

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293 A. Quazza suggested that he could be Johannes Ravaldi (Jean Ravault?), a French artist who lived in Rome from 1469 and whose name appears in a copy of *Statuta artis picturae,* dated to 1478 and containing a miniature by the Master of the Della Rovere Missals (see Quazza, 1990, pp. 13-40).

294 He also must have stayed for a short period in the South of France where he collaborated with George Trubert on a book of hours (New York, PML, M.348).

295 New York, PML, M.96, f. 32. In section **II.A.2** of this chapter, we also drew parallels between the frame of this miniature and the jewelled frames used by Hand C on fols 57 and 93.

296 Holy Family, on f. 21. See **I.A** and **III.A.4** in this chapter for more on this manuscript.

297 Hofmann, 2003, p. 41.

298 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1819. See **III.A.3** and **4** in this chapter for more details.

299 New York, PML, M.96, f. 32.

300 On the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen, see **Chapter I, B.4.** On the Master of Jean Charpentier, see **B.4.** in the next section.

III The Master of Jean Charpentier

The fourth miniaturist is another artist active in Tours at the end of the 15th century. He was responsible for the illustration of the whole Marian cycle and the last miniature in the Hours introducing Pope John's abbreviated account of the Passion.

A. Introduction to the Master of Jean Charpentier

1. One or two artists?

In an article on French manuscripts in the National Library of Vienna,[301] François Avril defined for the first time a group of manuscripts which he attributed to an artist active in Tours and whose compositions were often reminiscent of the work of Jean Fouquet. In addition to a Roman *Pontifical* in Vienna,[302] executed for Guillaume de Clugny, Avril listed a number of manuscripts where he could recognise the same hand: the *Hours of Philippe de Commynes* for the use of Rome,[303] books of hours for the use of Tours,[304] *Hours for the use of Rome* in Chicago,[305] Hours of the Cross and Prayers to various saints, also called *Hours of E-E* [306](**fig. 111, 120**), and a copy of St Bernard's *Lamentations* dating from ca. 1475[307] (**fig. 107**). In 1979, Gregory Clarke studied some of his work in his unpublished dissertation *A Group of Late 15th-century Illuminated Manuscripts from Tours and the shop of Jean Bourdichon* (Princeton University, 1979).[308]

In 1982, Plummer[309] saw two artists at work where Avril had seen only one. Plummer acknowledged nevertheless that they 'must have worked side-by-side at Tours, since their styles are difficult to distinguish'.[310] He thus proposed a distinction based on the study of the books of hours now in the Pierpont Morgan Library between a Master of Morgan 96 and a Master of Morgan 366. He attributed the finer work to the latter, making him the most experienced artist while he saw the Master of Morgan 96 as 'less refined, more mannered, and further removed from Jean Fouquet'.[311] He divided the works as follows:

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301 Avril, 1976, pp. 334-5.
302 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1819.
303 London, BL, Harley ms. 2863.
304 Sotheby's, 10 Dec. 1969, lot 60; Paris, BNF, Lat. 1202; New York, PML, M.96, and M.366.
305 Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. 47.
306 Formerly Dyson Perrins collection, Sotheby's London, 1st Dec. 1959, lot 85 and 10 July 1967, lot 91; Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 17 Mar. 1975, reappeared on the market at the Sotheby's auction, 29 Nov. 1990, lot 144.
307 Paris, BNF, Fr. 916.
308 Unfortunately, I have not had access to this dissertation.
309 Plummer, 1982, pp. 44-5.
310 Plummer, 1982, p. 44.
311 Idem, p. 45.

Master of Morgan 366: New York, PML, M. 366, New York Public Library, ms. 150; The Hague, KB, Ms. 74 G 28; Sotheby's, 10 Dec. 1969, lot 60.

Master of Morgan 96: New York, PML, M. 96; Chicago, Newberry Library, ms. 47; Angers auction, Maître J.-Ph. Courtois, [25?] Feb. 1977, lot A[312] (**fig. 110, 113-7**); California, private collection (ex-Frank Brewer Bemis, no. 2); Australia, private collection[313] (**fig. 109, 118, 119**).

Collaboration between the two Masters: *Hours of Philippe de Commynes*;[314] so-called *Hours of E-E* [315](**fig. 111, 120**).

The irony of this classification is that the hand in the Vienna *Pontifical*[316] was considered to be related but not identical to either of the two Morgan Masters, even though the Pontifical had been the manuscript that brought this artist or group of artists to light in Avril's article in 1976. A list of related manuscripts, which were more loosely linked to the Tours area, was also provided by Plummer[317] but the *Lamentations of St Bernard*[318] were not mentioned. The Hague Hours,[319] although painted by Tours artists, do not, in my opinion, contain any miniature by this Master.

2. A successful workshop

In 1993, Nicole Reynaud chose to assign the growing number of manuscripts in this style to a Tours artist whose art evolved between 1475 and 1490, or even more likely, to a workshop active in Tours in the last quarter of the century.[320] She called this illuminator or workshop the Master of Jean Charpentier after a well-documented book of hours[321] (**fig. 110, 113-117**), that the artist painted for Jean Charpentier (d. 1505), 'notaire et secrétaire du Roi', and leading citizen in Angers. The existence of a workshop[322] would indeed account for variations in the pictorial interpretation of this style from one

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312 These are certainly the *Hours of Jean Charpentier* now in Angers, BM, ms. 2048 (s.m. 109).

313 Certainly the Hours on loan to the Fisher Library, Sydney in 1984. See Manion and Vines, 1984, Cat. 8. For a long time in an Australian collection, they last appeared on the market at Sotheby's, 23 June 1987, lot 113 and are probably now in an American private collection. I would like to thank their former owner for kindly providing me with reproductions of these Hours.

314 London, BL, Harley ms. 2863.

315 Formerly Dyson Perrins collection, Sotheby's London, 1st Dec. 1959, lot 85 and 10 July 1967, lot 91; Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 17 Mar. 1975, reappeared on the market at the Sotheby's auction, 29 nov. 1990, lot 144.

316 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1819.

317 Plummer, 1982, p. 46.

318 Paris, BNF, Fr. 916.

319 The Hague, KB, ms. 74 G 28.

320 Avril and Reynaud, 1993, p. 288.

321 Angers, BM, ms. 2048 (likely to be formerly Angers auction, Maître J.-Ph. Courtois, [25?] Feb. 1977) lot A).

322 See our discussion of the 'workshop' in **Chapter I, A. 2.b.**

manuscript to another or within a same manuscript.

In the 1993 catalogue,[323] Reynaud added a certain number of manuscripts to the group: two *Hours for the use of Tours*,[324] and another book of hours in Syracuse[325] (**fig. 112, 126, 127, 139**). More detail was given about an *Hours for the use of Rome* (late 1480s-early 1490s) in Australia first mentioned by Plummer, which we will be calling the *Sydney Hours*, as they were on loan in the 1980s to the Fisher Library in Sydney[326] (**fig. 109, 118, 119**). Nicole Reynaud did mention the book of hours in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (WMs 89) but did not provide further details or the shelf mark.

3. Nature of the production

As one can see from the list of fifteen manuscripts provided above, the Master of Jean Charpentier specialised in the illumination of books of hours, some of them adopting a tall narrow format (see **fig. 110 and 115**).[327] Many of them were produced for local use,[328] but the workshop seems to have worked for a wider geographic area, from Anjou[329] to Poitou and Marche (region slightly south of Poitou). Reynaud even argued that the style may have originated in Poitou or Limousin which would explain its provincial overtones. The Chester Beatty manuscript, is the only one for Rouen use and extends the clientele of the workshop to Normandy. Unfortunately, it bears no owner's mark.

A few original owners are known, such as Jean Charpentier, and Philippe de Commynes, who also left many marks of ownership in the pages of his lavish book of hours now in the British Library.[330] Although born in Flanders, Philippe de Commynes (ca. 1447-1511), most famous for his *Mémoires* (written between 1489 and 1491 and from 1495 to 1498) passed in 1472 from the Burgundians into the service of Louis XI, who established him in the Poitou region. After the king's death in 1483, he went through a

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323 Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 288-90.

324 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 561. Poitiers, BM, ms. 55. An unpublished dissertation exists on this manuscript held in the Poitiers Library: L. Archambault, *Le décor du manuscrit 55 (334) de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Poitiers*, 1985. Also mentioned in Limousin, 1954, pp. 61-62.

325 Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez. X. See Ciccarelli, 2000 for reproductions of all pages bearing miniatures or historiated initials. Use not known.

326 Sydney, priv. coll., sold at Sotheby's auction, 23 June 1987, lot 113. On loan for exhibition to the Fisher Gallery, University of Sydney in 1984 and included in Manion and Vines, 1984, Cat. 81, pp. 202-3 and pl. 44, figs 229, 231.

327 Angers, BM, ms. 2048; Paris, BNF, Lat. 1202; New York, PML, M.96. The Angers Hours, for example, measures 190 x 105 mm.

328 Use of Tours: Paris, BNF, Lat. 1202; New York, PML M.96 and M.366, New York Public Library, ms. 150.

329 Use of Angers: Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 561. The *Hours of Jean Charpentier* are named after their Angevin patron (Angers, BM, ms. 2048).

330 London, BL, Harley ms. 2863.

period of disgrace and was imprisoned from 1487 to 1489. Thanks to the support of the Duke of Orléans (who would become Louis XII in 1498), he came back to the court and was subsequently sent on diplomatic missions to Italy in 1494-5.[331] Based on the study of the style of the Hours and on the events in the life of this important figure, it seems reasonable to date this manuscript to ca. 1475-83, when he was seneschal and captain of Poitiers and Chinon.

It has often been said that the lavishly illustrated so-called *Petites Heures d'Etienne Chevalier*[332](**fig. 111, 120**) were commissioned by the same Etienne Chevalier for whom Fouquet painted the famous Hours now partly in the Musée Condé in Chantilly.[333] The two letters 'E' linked by a love knot that punctuate the borders of this manuscript, as they do in the Fouquet Hours, earned the book the nickname *Hours of E-E*. Yet, according to Reynaud, this manuscript is 'abusivement réputé avoir été peint pour Etienne Chevalier à cause d'un chiffre E-E de type cependant différent du sien'.[334] Furthermore, the style of the manuscript seems slightly too late (ca. 1475-85) for Etienne Chevalier to have been its patron, as he died in 1474. Although this manuscript has been called a book of hours, it is more a prayer book than a traditional book of hours. It contains the Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit preceded by a calendar and the Gospel Lessons and followed by prayers to the Virgin and an impressive selection of suffrages. The 1967 catalogue suggested that this manuscript could have been part of a two-volume book of hours but it seems unlikely as these Hours, split in two parts, would then not have kept the traditional order of texts.[335] No other example of a two-volume book of hours exists.[336] Another hypothesis would be that the patron of this manuscript already owned a book of hours and commissioned this small book of prayers[337] as a complement. The calendar featuring St Martin is consistent with a Tours origin, but also includes a few saints from the south west of France (Fronto, Bishop of Perigueux, Licerius, Bishop of Couserans).

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331 See Jouanna, Hamon, Biloghi and Le Thiec, 2001, pp. 720-2.

332 One hundred and twenty miniatures in total, including the twenty-four calendar small border miniatures. Formerly Dyson Perrins collection, Sotheby's London, 1st Dec. 1959, lot 85 and 10 July 1967, lot 91; Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 17 Mar. 1975, reappeared on the market at the Sotheby's auction, 29 nov. 1990, lot 144. As it has been in private hands for many years, it has not been possible to check whether it is complete.

333 For the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* painted by Jean Fouquet, see **C.** in **Introduction** to this chapter.

334 Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 289.

335 The Hours of the Virgin should commonly be placed after the Gospel Lessons in this first volume.

336 Some books of hours are now split up in different volumes scattered in various libraries, as in the case of the *Hours of Simon de Varye* (divided between The Hague and Malibu), but they all were originally single volumes.

337 130 x 95 mm and 126 fols.

An *Hours for the use of Tours* now in New York[338] seems to have been commissioned by Jean Jouvenel des Ursins Le Jeune, a member of one of the most prestigious Tours families, as his arms feature on the verso of the first folio, and notes concerning his family were consigned to the end of this manuscript. The marks of ownership have unfortunately been erased in another *Hours for the use of Tours* now in Paris.[339]

To the long list of books of hours one must add a handful of manuscripts of a different nature. The *Lamentations de St Bernard*[340] is a compilation of twenty-seven short treatises of piety and morality and represents one of the earliest witnesses to the activity of the Master, dating from ca. 1475. It was copied in 1474 by Michel Gonnot:[341] this priest living in the Marche area in the small village of Crozant was scribe to Jacques d'Armagnac, Duc de Nemours, who owned a castle in the village.[342] The Duke was a book lover and owned an extensive library kept at Castres and Carlat.[343] This manuscript could thus have been one of his last commissions before his arrest for betrayal in 1476 and his execution in 1477.[344] The *Pontifical of Guillaume de Clugny*[345] was executed for Guillaume de Clugny, bishop of Poitiers from 1477 until his death in 1480, who came from a Burgundian family. The pontifical, the *Lamentations* and three fragments from a *Missal* now in the Musée Marmottan in Paris[346] are the only texts other than Horae illuminated by the Tours workshop.

4. Collaborations with Jean Bourdichon and other Tours artists

The Master of Jean Charpentier appears to have worked on a few occasions in collaboration with artists from the circle of Jean Bourdichon, including with Bourdichon himself. This is especially relevant to our study since the *Chester Beatty Hours* provide a hitherto unknown example of such collaboration.

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338 New York, PML, M.366.
339 Paris, BNF, Lat. 1202.
340 Paris, BNF, Fr. 916.
341 This manuscript contains the colophon: *Et sic est finis hujus libris per manum Michaelis Gonnoti, presbiteri, die vicesima mensis aprilis, anno Domini M CCCCLXX IIII* (transcribed by Delisle in Delisle, 1868, vol. I).
342 He copied for the Duke a *Roman de Tristan* in 1463 (Paris, BNF, Fr. 99), a copy of the *Sept Sages et Marques de Rome* in 1466 (Paris, BNF, Fr. 93) and a compilation of Arthurian works called *Lancelot* in 1466 (Paris, BNF, Fr. 112).
343 On Jacques d'Armagnac and his books, see Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 164-7 and S. Blackman, *The Manuscripts and Patronage of Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours (1433-1477)*, Ann Arbor, 1994.
344 See Delisle, 1868, vol. I, pp. 86-91; Pickford, 1965; Reynaud in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 158, pp. 288-9.
345 Vienna, Ö.N.B., Cod. 1819.
346 Paris, Musée Marmottan, ms. 181.

One of the *Hours for the use of Tours* now in the Pierpont Morgan Library[347] contains one miniature painted by Jean Bourdichon depicting the Holy Family (f. 21). Plummer stressed that 'This miniature appears to have been original, rather than a later addition, even though the armorials below have been repainted at least twice and the initials D and B were added later'.[348] We saw in the previous section that the Annunciation, on f. 32 of the same manuscript (**fig. 88**) is by a different hand close to Bourdichon, which Mara Hofmann recently identified as the Master of the Della Rovere Missals.[349] She stressed in her article that 'Ces deux miniatures [by Bourdichon and the Master of the Della Rovere Missals]… ne constituent pas des ajouts'.[350] The Master of the Della Rovere Missals painted one miniature in the *Pontifical of Guillaume de Clugny*,[351] but it was a slightly later addition commissioned by Pierre d'Amboise, successor of Clugny as bishop of Poitiers, and does not constitute a case of collaboration with the Master of Jean Charpentier.

In the *Hours for the use of Tours* now in Poitiers,[352] Limousin assigned four miniatures to Jean Bourdichon,[353] Lièvre and Molinier five,[354] and Archambault six![355] The Nativity (f. 47), the Annunciation to the Shepherds (f. 53), the Martyrdom of St Appollonia (f. 157) and God the Father (f. 159), all full-page miniatures, can be attributed to Jean Bourdichon while some doubt subsists concerning the Annunciation (f. 22) and Job on his dungheap (f. 101), which are of smaller format. Reynaud indeed did not attribute the two latter miniatures to Jean Bourdichon.[356] The Visitation and Coronation miniatures (fols 33 and 75) are of poorer quality and were painted by a different artist influenced by Bourdichon and Jean Fouquet. The rest of the manuscript (including 15 large miniatures, one smaller miniature and one historiated initial; see **fig. 108**) was painted by the Master of Jean Charpentier. A closer examination of the structure of the manuscript shows that the Bourdichon miniatures are well integrated in the rest of the book, causing no disruption in the text. The decoration (borders and initials) is consistent

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347 New York, PML, M.96.
348 Plummer, 1982, Cat. 61, p. 46.
349 Named after a Missal executed for cardinal Domenico della Rovere, now divided between New York and Turin (New York, PML, M.306 ; Turin, Archivio di Stato, J.b. II, 2-4). See Hofmann, 2003, pp. 40-2. See also **Conclusion** to **I** in this chapter.
350 Hofmann, 2003, p. 41.
351 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1819, f. 117. The borders of this folio are also by a different hand, more delicately painted.
352 Poitiers, BM, ms. 55 (334).
353 In Limousin, 1954, p. 61.
354 In *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Poitiers*, Paris, 1894, pp. 15-16.
355 See Archambault, 1985, p. 72.
356 See Avril, Reynaud, Cat. 159, p. 289.

throughout the book, except for the grotesques, which only inhabit the borders accompanying the work by the 'pseudo-Bourdichon' (fols 22 and 101) and the Fouquettian artist (fols 33 and 75). The manuscript, once written, was divided into quires, which were distributed to the various artists: they do not share quires.[357]

It has been said that the *Newberry Hours*[358] for the use of Rome (ca. 1490) also contains work by Jean Bourdichon,[359] but the coarse style of this artist cannot be compared with the hand of the 'peintre du roi', even if it follows in his footsteps[360] (**fig. 75**). Apart from the *Chester Beatty Hours*, there seems to be no other example of a collaboration of the Master of Jean Charpentier and artists outside the circle of Jean Bourdichon.

B. Stylistic characteristics of the work of the Master of Jean Charpentier in WMs 89

The Master of Jean Charpentier is responsible for nine miniatures in the Chester Beatty manuscript: the whole Marian cycle from Annunciation to Coronation (fols 35, 40, 45, 47v, 49v, 51, 53, 54v; **pl. 18-25**) and the night scene of *Ego sum* (f. 116v; **pl. 38**). These miniatures are well integrated with the rest of the manuscript and are found in quires **VII** (fols 35 and 40), **VIII** (fols 45, 47v and 49v), **IX** (fols 51, 53 and 54v) and **XVII** (f. 116v).[361] Two of them have remained in the codex: the Annunciation (f. 35) and *Ego sum* (f. 116v).

1. General

All nine miniatures are the work of a single artist. Figures, landscapes and backgrounds show the same consistent features. The figures in the Annunciation scene (f. 35, **pl. 18**) are not as close to the picture plane as those in the seven other miniatures, and they are painted on a smaller scale. The proportions of the Virgin and the angel Gabriel are more slender, their faces more elongated. The frame for this miniature, which

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357 While Archambault only counted sixteen quires, I have counted twenty-three: **I**^{12} (fols 2-13), **II**^{8} (fols 14-21), **III**$^{10-1}$ (fols 22-30), **IV**^{8} (fols 31-38), **V**^{8} (fols 39-46), **VI**^{8} (fols 47-54), **VII**^{8} (fols 55-62), **VIII**^{12} (fols 63-74), **IX**^{6} (fols 75-80), **X**^{8} (fols 81-88), **XI**^{10} (fols 89-98), **XII**^{8} (fols 99-106), **XIII**^{8} (fols 107-114), **XIV**^{8} (fols 115-122), **XV**$^{8-1}$ (fols 123-129), **XVI**^{8} (fols 130-137), **XVII**$^{8-1}$ (fols 138-144), **XVIII**$^{8-2}$ (fols 145-150), **XIX**$^{8-2}$ (fols 151-156), **XX**$^{8-2?}$ (fols 157-162), **XXI**$^{8-2?}$ (fols 163-168), **XXII**^{6} (fols 169-174), **XXIII**^{6} (fols 175-180).

358 Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. 47.

359 See Plummer, 1982, Cat. 61, p. 46.

360 See Saenger, 1989, pp. 80-2; and Kessler, 1969, Cat. 19.

361 See **Vol. II, Appendix III: Quires Diagrams**.

introduces the Hours of the Virgin, is also more elaborate, a base with gold putti and grotesques projects below the miniature. Apart from these variations due to the hierarchical importance of the miniature, the Annunciation is stylistically homogeneous with the other images in the Marian cycle.

The illumination shows a high degree of finish, the brushwork is meticulous, as for instance in the treatment of the thatched roof of the stable in the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi scenes (fols 45 and 49v; **pl. 20, 22**). A taste for symmetry can be observed in particular in the Annunciation (f. 35), and contours are clearly defined. The artist used quite muted colours (pink, white, mauve, green…) and a lot of blue, all with highlights of gold (except for white). The extensive use of gold is to be noted for all frames, some garments (see the angel in the Annunciation) and highlighting. In the Dormition scene (f. 53, **pl. 24**), the use of green and bright red for the bed contrasting with Mary's blue cloak is an exception.

2. Figures

The figures are stocky, static, with broad nose and heavy oval-shaped eyelids, which give them a sleepy look. A dot of pale blue is generally used for the eye (see Joseph in the Adoration of the Magi, **pl. 22** or even for the donkey in the Nativity, **pl. 20**). The features of the different characters are not individualised portraits, but follow various types repeated from one scene to the other. The same old man can for instance be found again and again in these miniatures: represented in three-quarter view, with a broad face, and silvery white hair and beard, he is Joseph in the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi scenes, St Peter in the Dormition of the Virgin, etc… This type can be traced to other manuscripts produced in the same workshop such as the *Lamentations of St Bernard* (see **fig. 107**) or the *Hours of Jean Charpentier* (see **fig. 114, 116, 117**). Christ in the Dormition and Coronation miniatures closely resembles the Christ type used in the *Lamentations of St Bernard*[362] (**fig. 107**). The strange balding head of St Peter in profile seizing his sword in the *Ego sum* miniature (f. 116v; **pl. 38**) is echoed in the Pentecost in the *Sydney Hours* and in the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscripts.[363]

Women, the Christ Child and angels have a very pale greyish complexion with a touch of rose on the cheeks, while men are rendered in fleshier tones, especially in the Circumcision (**pl. 23**) and Dormition scenes (**pl. 24**). The Virgin has a high forehead,

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362 Paris, BNF, Fr. 916, f. 1.

363 '*Sydney Hours*' sold at Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113, f. 44v. Paris, BNF, Lat. 1202, f. 49.

which makes her head seem unnaturally large, compared to the rest of her body. Postures and gestures are rigid and static, making the scenes hieratic and frozen, except the night scenes, where gestures and faces are more expressive, especially in the Annunciation to the Shepherds (**pl. 21**). Hands are often large, with a disproportionate thumb, as those of the two standing Magi and Joseph in the Adoration scene (**pl. 22**), or of the archangel in the Annunciation scene (**pl. 18**). This unusual characteristic is also observed in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier*[364] (see **fig. 114, 115**), in the *Lamentations of St Bernard*[365] (**fig. 107**), in the so-called *Heures of E-E*[366](**fig. 111, 120**) …

In terms of human depiction, the artist is most successful in the Dormition of the Virgin (**pl. 24**) in the person of the young apostle (probably St John), seated to the right in the foreground. His lost profile is well proportioned and beautifully coloured so that one would almost believe that this head is the work of a different artist. Other attempts at depicting figures in lost profile were not as successful, as can be judged from the shepherdess in the Annunciation to the Shepherds scene (**pl. 21**), who seems to have no eyes. The same problem was encountered in the figure of the kneeling Virgin in the *Lamentations of St Bernard.*[367]

Animals are unattractive, cross-eyed, block-headed and awkwardly proportioned, (f. 45; **pl. 20**). In the Annunciation to the Shepherds (f. 47v; **pl. 21**), sheep are an undistinguished mass in the distance, probably owing to the fact that the artist was not comfortable with depicting them in more detail. This impression is confirmed when one sees the sheep in the same scene in the *Sydney Hours*[368] (f. 26) or the *Hours of Jean Charpentier*[369] (f. 36; **fig. 115**) where they seem to have horse heads!

3. Draperies and clothes

Male figures often have a piece of fabric around their waist tied with a distinctive knot, either at the back or on the side: the priest's assistant in the Circumcision scene (**pl. 23**), the young apostle praying in the foreground of the Dormition (**pl. 24**), the elder Magus in the Adoration (**pl. 22**) all wear this knot. The same piece of fabric with blue lines along its edge is also found on St Elizabeth's head in the Visitation (**pl. 19**) and in other works attributed to this master. Female figures often wear the turban headdress

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364 Angers, BM, ms. 2048.
365 Paris, BNF, Fr. 916.
366 Sotheby's London, 29 Nov. 1990, lot 144.
367 See Paris, BNF, Fr. 916, f. 13; see Avril, 1976, fig. 3.
368 Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez. X.
369 Angers, BM, ms. 2048.

brought into fashion by Jean Fouquet, as in the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*[370](see **fig. 87**). The Virgin wears a simple long-sleeved dress (mauve, or blue in the Annunciation) under a blue cloak, which is either thrown over, or tied around her shoulders, neatly following the outline of her dress. In the Circumcision and Dormition scenes (**pl. 23-24**) she appears older and wears a blue and a white veil.

Generous use of gold is made to highlight the draperies, bringing out the colour in the depth of the folds. Gold is not used for white garments, which are shaded in grey, or ochre in the case of the kneeling Magus. Folds are tubular on short garments such as those of the shepherds or the apostles in the night scenes (fols 47v and 116v; **pl. 21 and 38**). Yet, when the draperies fall to the ground, folds gather around the figures' feet in a complicated bundle of angular creases as in the Annunciation (f. 35; **pl. 18**) or the Nativity (f. 45; **pl. 20**). This characteristic is found in many other works by the Master of Jean Charpentier (see **fig. 109, 110, 112, 114, 116, 120**).

4. Landscapes, interiors and night scenes

Landscapes are defined by horizontal lines, as Reynaud wrote, 'Les arrières-plans horizontaux sont meublés des vues de villes aux maisons alignées comme des jouets'.[371] In the distance, one can generally see the towers of a city behind walls, beyond a river lined with bushes neatly painted side by side like pearls on a necklace. This horizontality is broken at times by rocky outcrops, like the island in the Visitation (f. 40; **pl. 19**), or the rocks in the Annunciation to the shepherds (**pl. 21**) or the *Ego sum* (f. 116v; **pl. 38**). These dramatic rocks are recurrent in the work of this artist and they are especially striking in the *Hours of Philippe de Commynes*,[372] and in the Poitiers *Hours for the use of Tours*[373](**fig. 108**). This rock topped with a castle as in the Chester Beatty Visitation (f. 40) is also found in the Annunciation to the Shepherds on f. 26 of the *Sydney Hours*.[374] In the *Syracuse Hours*,[375] the strange rocky outcrops appear only in the miniature of St John on Patmos (f. 14), while in two other outdoors scenes, it was replaced by a more realistic setting (**fig. 126-7**).[376] The sky in the *Chester Beatty Hours* does not have the stormy purple hues found in a number of manuscripts attributed to the Master of Jean Charpentier, such as the *Hours of*

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370 For location of all folios, see **C. in Introduction to this chapter**.
371 Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 289.
372 London, BL, Harley ms. 2863.
373 Poitiers, BM, ms. 55 (334).
374 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113.
375 Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez. X.
376 See **D.2** in this section for further discussion

Philippe de Commynes,[377] the *Poitiers Hours*[378](**fig. 108**), the *Lamentations of St Bernard*[379] (**fig. 107**), or the *Arsenal Hours*.[380] Symmetry is a key element in the depiction of interiors: in the Nativity scene (**pl. 20**) the lines drawn by the masonry walls converge towards the centre of the window at the back, creating an impression of depth, and in the Circumcision scene (**pl. 23**), the choir pierced with a few lattice windows echoes the shape of the font and of the octagonal stage on which the scene takes place.

The Master of Jean Charpentier displays his skill at depicting night scenes in two miniatures: the Annunciation to the Shepherds (f. 47v, **pl. 21**), and the *Ego sum* (f. 116v; **pl. 38**). These two scenes seem to be set on islands or along rivers as, in both cases water and a jagged bank are visible at the bottom of the composition.[381] In both scenes the figures are in a slightly smaller scale, and thus have more space to move. Faces and gestures are more expressive: the dance of the shepherds and Peter unsheathing his sword are very well rendered. The treatment of light is subtle: gold illuminates the scene of the peasant dance. Light coming from the angel shines on the flock and on the water and city at the back. The fire in the foreground projects a warm glow onto the surrounding shepherds, an effect realised by touches of bright orange on faces and clothes. Jean Bourdichon also effectively exploited this use of orange for his night scenes as in the Annunciation to the Shepherds in the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne*.[382]

5. Frames

All miniatures painted by the Master of Jean Charpentier in this manuscript are framed with ornate composite Romanesque and Gothic arches in liquid gold on either side of which rise pinnacles with unidentifiable saints or prophets standing in niches. An inscription always runs at the bottom of the frame, containing the first words of the section the image introduces. These words are written in blue, except in the Annunciation and in the Coronation scenes where the incipit is in gold (f. 35 and 54v; **pl. 18, 25**). The incipit is given great prominence thanks to this device, which explains the absence of large decorated or historiated initials at the beginning of each hour. This system caused a few repetitions, as it is rare that the text ties in exactly with that written

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377 London, BL, Harley ms. 2863.
378 Poitiers, BM, ms. 55 (334).
379 Paris, BNF, Lat. 916.
380 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 561, see f. 69 for ex.
381 The stream in the garden of Gethsemane is mentioned in the Bible.
382 Paris, BNF, Lat. 9474, f. 58v.

by the scribe.[383]

Five of these arches (Visitation, Annunciation to the Shepherds, Adoration, Dormition, Ego Sum; **pl. 19, 21, 22, 24, 38**) are three-centred arches, ornate with cable moulding (**pl. 22**), beaded or garland and masks motifs[384] along the arcature (**pl. 24**), supported by an engaged column on either side, square or round. In the night scenes, the columns are replaced by a two-millimetre rim of lighter gold running inside the arch and joining the sill at the base of the frame (**pl. 21, 38**). In the Nativity scene (f. 45; **pl. 20**), the arch is flat with, on either side, an engaged column with a prophet standing in a niche. In the Annunciation, a three-centred arch with acanthus leaves is used, while more sophisticated arches frame the two remaining miniatures. Two angels perched on engaged columns support a pointed arch with cusps and rounded acanthus leaves, and witness the Coronation of the Virgin in Heaven (f. 54v; **pl. 25**). In the Circumcision scene (f. 51; **pl. 23**), the arch is painted illusionistically as a forward projection. It is divided into three ogee arches separated by pendants where prophets stand. The gold dais on which the scene is taking place and where the incipit is written also projects forward, creating an octagonal stage. This composition is the most ambitious achievement of this artist in terms of three-dimensionality.

These elaborate Gothic frames fulfil two different roles: some act as gateways to the space of the miniature while others serve more as actual frames, giving the image the status of a panel painting or a retable. On three occasions, the gold frame is depicted as a doorway that allows the reader to enter the space of the miniature. A set of steps leads the eye into the scene and invites the viewer to take part in it and share the intimacy of its protagonists. This device is used in the Circumcision, the Dormition and the Coronation scenes (**pl. 23-25**), where the use of the gold floor naturally links the gold frame to the inner space of the image, erasing the boundaries between frame and picture. In the Circumcision scene (**pl. 23**), the ornate Gothic archway casts a shadow on the gold floor of the Temple, reinforcing the illusion. The same continuity between frame and interior of the scene was not achieved in the Annunciation in the *Sydney Hours* (f. 13; **fig. 109**), as the tile pattern used for the sill of the base differs from that of the floor of

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383 The text is continuous for the Annunciation, Circumcision, Dormition and Coronation, repeats meum in Nativity, Visitation, Adoration and Annunciation to Shepherds (only Deus in adiutorium me/ below the miniature).

384 The classical garland and masks motif contrasts with the Romanesque shape of the arch and would have seemed more appropriate on the architrave of a flat arch, as in the St Mark miniature in the so-called *Hours of E-E* (f. 19v).

the Annunciation room, which seems to pitch upward abruptly.[385]

Panofsky assigned to the early fifteenth-century Boucicaut Master the invention of what he called the 'diaphragm': 'an archway or doorway, apparently overlapped by the frame of the picture, which seems to interpose itself between this frame and the picture space, thus cutting out a "field of vision" from the context of reality…'.[386] But, in the second half of the fifteenth century, some illuminators went further, changing the frame itself into an architectural diaphragm, inviting us, through this illusionistic doorway, into the space of the miniature.

In all other miniatures by the Master of Jean Charpentier, the Gothic frame acts more as a real frame changing the image into a devotional painting, as opposed to an extension of the reader's own space. This is especially true of the frame to the Annunciation (f. 35; **pl. 18**).[387]

Although the incipit is stressed by being written on the base of the frames, the text nevertheless assumes a secondary position on the page in relation to the image and as Toubert stressed, talking about the 15th century *Hours of Louis de Laval*:[388] '…les rôles sont renversés: l'écrit est secondaire et sa présentation dépend du parti-pris décidé, indépendamment de lui, pour la scénographie construite par l'encadrement de la page'.[389] The execution of this manuscript spanned a long period, and was probably originally entrusted ca. 1470 to the Master of the Yale Missal (active ca. 1468-75).[390] Avril credited this Fouquettian artist, also know as the Master of the Vienna Mamerot,[391] for devising this type of elaborate architectural frame ca. 1470. The earliest examples feature in the *Hours of Louis de Laval*,[392] and in a book of hours now in Epinal.[393] Jean Colombe (active ca. 1463-91), an artist from Bourges, was responsible for completing the *Hours of Louis de Laval* in two campaigns, and was still at work on its numerous miniatures until ca. 1489.[394] His collaboration with the Master of the Yale Missal on the Laval Hours led him

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385 The same occurs in the Syracuse Raising of Lazarus (Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez. 10, f. 76).
386 Panofsky, 1953, p. 58.
387 See **C. 1** in this section for discussion of this miniature
388 Paris, BNF, Lat. 920.
389 In Martin and Vezin, 1990, p. 396.
390 Named after his most important work (New Haven, Yale Univ., Beinecke Lib., ms. 425) by N. Reynaud in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 152.
391 After a copy of the *Histoire des neuf preux et des neuf preuses*, by Sebastien Mamerot (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2577-8). He is designated as Master of the Vienna Mamerot in Gagnebin, 'L'enluminure de Charlemagne à François Ier. Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève', *Genava*, 24, 1976, pp. 5-200; in Pächt and Thoss, 1977 and Plummer, 1982.
392 Paris, BNF, Lat. 920.
393 Epinal, BM, ms. 100, f. 25 (Annunciation).
394 These Hours contain 1234 miniatures in total, 'ensemble qui constitue l'un des plus riches corpus d'illustrations jamais réunis dans un livre d'heures.' (Avril, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 328).

to use similar elaborate frames, which became a recurrent feature in his work (see **fig. 125**). The frames designed by the Master of Jean Charpentier share the same idiom as those painted by the Tourangeau Master of the Yale Missal and by Jean Colombe, and make use of similar all'antica inscriptions. This is probably why Daneu Lattanzi attributed the *Syracuse Hours* [395] (**fig. 112, 126-7**) to the workshop of Jean Colombe.[396] The latter was so influenced by the art of Fouquet that Avril suggested that he was probably trained in Tours: the Master of Jean Charpentier could thus have become familiar with some of Colombe's work in Tours in the 1470s.[397] He also certainly knew the work of the Master of the Yale Missal, also based in Tours.

The Master of Jean Charpentier shows his taste for busy architectural backgrounds and frames in many other books of hours repeating in endless variations square or triangular rosettes (arranged in a frieze, column bases, spandrels),[398] statuettes in Gothic niches, fat round columns interrupted by large flat rings decorated with diagonal lines, strings of plump acanthus leaves, friezes of garlands and masks… In the *Poitiers Hours*,[399] the usual architectural characteristics are found in the Presentation in the Temple (f. 62) and behind St Laurence (f. 154v). These architectural elements are used in the background of many miniatures in the *Hours of E-E*,[400] and in a few occasions as a frame to the scene, as on f. 50 (St Peter), or in the Annunciation scene (f. 43; **fig. 111**) where the tripartite arch is similar to the arch in the Dublin Circumcision (**pl. 23**). An arch also frames the Annunciation in the Angers manuscript[401] (f. 24; **fig. 110**) and, on f. 45, David's palace is covered in gold rosette panels. But it is in the *Hours of Philippe de Commynes* that the architecture of this palace is at its most fantastic, covered in gold decorative motifs.[402] In Lat. 1202, gold architecture was only used in the Annunciation (f. 24), while the settings of the Arsenal Hours are more classical, often featuring Italianate loggias.[403]

One finds the full-page format, enclosed in an architectural frame in two other

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395 Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez. X.
396 In Daneu Lattanzi, 1984), p. 246.
397 Avril in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 329.
398 In the *Hours for the use of Angers* (Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 561), a square gold rosette forms the border on either side of the text below the wide miniature (Annunciation: f. 29), and acts as a transition with the rectangular strip of the bottom border.
399 Poitiers, BM, ms. 55 (334).
400 Sotheby's London, 29 Nov. 1990, lot 144.
401 Angers, BM, ms. 2048.
402 London, BL, Harley ms. 2863, f. 71. This manuscript also contains lavish gold borders displaying Commynes' emblems and the instruments of the Passion.
403 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 561, see Annunciation on f. 29.

manuscripts: the *Sydney Hours* [404](**fig. 109**) and the *Syracuse Hours* [405](**fig. 112, 126, 127**). In the former, the Annunciation (f. 13; **fig. 109**) is the only scene adopting this format and an architectural setting and frame. It is a highly effective way of stressing the importance of the Hours of the Virgin in the book of hours. The *Syracuse Hours* present the most lavish surviving cycle of illustrations ever realised by the Master of Jean Charpentier,[406] containing seventeen large historiated initials (see **fig. 139)** and eight full-page miniatures, six of them enclosed in a jewelled frame, and two in architectural frames very similar to the ones in WMs 89 (Annunciation on f. 28; **fig. 112** and Raising of Lazarus on f. 76). With the jewelled frames, the artist stepped into a Renaissance idiom, abandoning the Gothic pinnacles in favour of coloured panels decorated with pearls and gems, a language used by Hand C in WMs 89 (see **pl. 26 and 34**).[407]

C. Individual miniatures: iconography and stylistic context

The Master of Jean Charpentier painted the miniatures introducing each of the eight hours of the Little Office of the Virgin (**pl. 18-25**). The main events in the life of the Virgin are depicted in a chronological order, telling a story that complements rather than illustrates the prayers of the Office of the Virgin. He also painted the unusual *Ego sum* scene (**pl. 38**), the last miniature in the book.

1. Matins of the Virgin: Annunciation (f. 35, still in the book; pl. 18)

The scene takes place in a church with openings onto the countryside on either side, and the Dove of the Holy Spirit, surrounded by rays of gold has entered through a pointed window in the centre, while the rest of the architecture is classical. A vase of lilies, symbol of Marian virginity has been painted at the back between the two figures. Gabriel, appears as the heavenly messenger and his gold robe echoes the richness of the frame. He raises his hands in awe as he delivers his message to the Virgin who is kneeling to the right. Her hands are folded in prayer and an open book rests in front of her on a low table covered by her blue cloak.

This detail of the book resting on the clothe-covered table is a hallmark of the Master of Jean Charpentier's style. It is repeated in the Annunciation scene in the *Hours of*

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[404] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113.
[405] Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez. X.
[406] The largest being the *Hours of E-E* with a total of 120 miniatures.
[407] See **D. 2** in this section.

Jean Charpentier[408] (**fig. 110**), the *Sydney Hours*[409] (**fig. 109**), and the *Syracuse Hours*[410] (**fig. 112**) but not in the *Hours of Philippe de Commynes*[411] where the table is covered in a vibrant red fabric patterned with pilgrim staffs and scallop shells evocative of St James.[412] Only in the *Hours of E-E*[413] (**fig. 111**) does the angel have both hands stiffly raised as in WMs 89 (all other angels raise a pointing finger), but the scene is reversed.[414] The upright position of the Virgin's head in the Chester Beatty Annunciation (and in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier*) adds to the stiffness of the representation, while the inclined head of the Virgin in the *Sydney Hours* gives her a gentler attitude.

The background of the Chester Beatty Annunciation (**pl. 18**) is more symmetrical than that in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier* (**fig. 110**) and the converging lines of the flooring create the kind of extreme depth found in Fouquet. These two scenes are very close, but the former has a more vertical feel created by its architectural background and the proportions of the figures. The setting of the scene in a room, with three fenced openings symmetrically arranged was often used by this artist not only for Annunciation scenes,[415] but also for scenes of a different nature, as in the St Jerome miniature in the *Hours of E-E*.[416]

As this is the miniature introducing the Hours of the Virgin, it is treated differently from the other miniatures in the Marian cycle. The frame expands to such an extent that the space reserved for the depiction of the scene is reduced and the liquid gold used for the frame echoed by the archangel's robe lends richness to the surface of the page. The Annunciation is enclosed within a sophisticated framework: its large base is decorated with winged putti holding a blank shield in the centre panel and hybrid creatures in the side panels. This base seems to project forward like the front of a stage, as is often the case in Fouquet's compositions, and the use of gold camaïeu for the architecture as well as for the putti also reflects the influence of Jean Fouquet on our artist.[417]

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[408] Angers, BM, ms. 2048, f. 24.
[409] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113, f. 13.
[410] Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez. X.
[411] London, BL, Harley ms. 2863, f. 30.
[412] These emblems are omnipresent in the rich gold borders of this manuscript.
[413] Sotheby's London, 29 Nov. 1990, lot 144, f. 43.
[414] The Visitation scene is also reversed in this manuscript, see **2.** below.
[415] See *Hours of E-E*, f. 43 (**fig. 111**).
[416] Sotheby's London, 29 Nov. 1990, lot 144, f. 92.
[417] See the base with bas-reliefs and pilasters projecting below the Last Supper scene in the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, Chantilly, Musée Condé.

2. Lauds of the Virgin: Visitation (f. 40; pl. 19)

Mary and Elizabeth are greeting each other, and Elizabeth, with her mouth open, reminds us of Luke's account of the Visitation: 'And when Elisabeth heard the greeting of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit. And she spoke out with a loud voice and said 'Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb…"(Luke, 1:42). In spite of the hand gestures of the two figures, the scene is quite stiff and contrived. More movement was achieved in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier*[418] (**fig. 113**), where the draperies of the Virgin suggest she is actually walking towards Elizabeth and about to embrace her. Mary's cloak, although of a different colour, is thrown on one shoulder and on her right arm in the same way in both Hours.[419] Elizabeth is dressed differently and her headdress changes from a white veil to a brown turban.

The city and castles at the back of the Chester Beatty Visitation, with their red and blue roofs, towers with wind wanes and windows made of two or four black vertical lines, the glimpse of a stepped gabled facade and tall chimneys punctuating the cityscape are typical of this artist (compare with Christ preaching in the *Lamentations of St Bernard*,[420] **fig. 107**). This frieze of houses aligned along the bank of a river is the backdrop to many miniatures in the *Hours of E-E*. The rock topped with a castle also appears in the Sydney Annunciation to the Shepherds.[421] In the *Hours of Jean Charpentier* (**fig. 113**), the city in the background is brought close enough to see one of its gates to the left, and the rocky outcrop in the middle ground is bare, whereas it supports a fortress in the Chester Beatty manuscript.

3. Prime of the Virgin: Nativity[422] (f. 45, pl. 20)

A miniature of the Nativity introduces Prime of the Virgin. The infant Christ lies on a white cloth with his head supported by a bundle of hay to the left, the Virgin kneels before him in adoration, leaning towards him, while Joseph stands behind her with his hands raised in wonder. The ox, with horns askew, is full of curiosity for the Child. Further back, behind the ox, is the ass, looking unintelligent with a slight squint and

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[418] Angers, BM, ms. 2048.
[419] The Lauds miniature is missing in the *Hours of Philippe de Commynes* (London, BL, Harley ms. 2863) and it was painted by a different artist in the *Poitiers Hours* (Poitiers, BM, ms. 55 (334). Like for the Annunciation scene, the *Hours of E-E* Visitation (Sotheby's London, 29 Nov. 1990, lot 144, f. 44) is reversed, with the Virgin standing to the right.
[420] Paris, BNF, Fr. 916, f. 1.
[421] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113, f. 26.
[422] This scene is also sometimes referred to as the Adoration of the Child.

ridiculous ears perched wide apart. The scene is taking place in the stable, which seems to be an enclosed space.

Shepherds have come to adore Christ and look from the openings at the back, while one of them stands on the threshold, holding pipes. The composition does not follow the same model as the Nativity scenes in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier* [423] (**fig. 114**) and the *Newberry Hours.*[424] The Angers Nativity is very close to the Newberry scene, both obey the same model in the position of the characters as well as in the depiction of the distant landscape. Shepherds are absent and the infant Christ is featured in the centre between Mary and Joseph, lying on a linen-covered basket. The *Sydney Hours* [425] contain a nearly identical scene on f. 23. In these three Hours, the ceiling is seen from a low viewpoint while the point of view is frontal in the Chester Beatty Nativity.

In the Chester Beatty miniature, the lavish gold frame contrasts strikingly with the modest interior where the Infant Christ was born, even though this stable built in masonry seems more solid than the wooden structure depicted in the other Hours. In the *Hours of Philippe de Commynes,*[426] the figures are arranged differently and the stable is built using the by now characteristic pointed rocks to support the roof.[427]

4. Terce of the Virgin: Annunciation to the Shepherds (f. 47v, pl. 21)

Following St Luke's words, 'and the glory of the Lord shone around about them' (Luke, 2:9): gold light radiates from the angel down onto the shepherds, their faces, hands and clothes are lit with touches of gold and so is the rocky landscape and city beyond the river at the back. The earthly light of the fire, projects a warm glow, achieved by touches of bright orange onto the figures. These touches of gold and orange on the dark tones of the miniature are most effective. Bourdichon used the same methods to depict night scenes. The angel, painted in a gold camaïeu framed by a gold ellipse with one finger pointing up while the other points down, is a standard feature of the Master of Jean Charpentier's Annunciation to the Shepherds (**fig. 115**).[428] He is himself the star that will guide the shepherds to the newly born infant and the star in the Adoration scene is indeed depicted in the same dark blue ellipse (f. 49v; **pl. 22**).

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[423] Angers, BM, ms. 2048, f. 34v.
[424] Chicago, Newberry Library, ms. 47, f. 58v.
[425] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113.
[426] London, BL, Harley ms. 2863, f. 44.
[427] A pointed rock also partly supports the stable roof in the Sydney Adoration of the Magi (f. 29).
[428] See in *Hours of Jean Charpentier* (Angers, BM, ms. 2048, f. 36) or *Sydney Hours* (Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113, f. 26).

The composition chosen by the artist is bolder than the one he used in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier* (f. 36, **fig. 115**) where five shepherds are sitting by a fire in a field, tending their flock while the angel appears to them in the sky. The Chester Beatty miniature is much more dramatic, setting the scene at night, as specified by St Luke, with the shepherds dancing in a ring around the fire to the sound of pipes. Some shepherds have noticed the angel in the sky and show signs of surprise and faith; one on the left is joining his hands in a fervent prayer while others seem oblivious of the heavenly messenger. The shepherd blowing into his pipes is standing to the left in the Sydney Annunciation to the shepherds (f. 26) and the figure raising his hand also appears in the *Sydney Hours* [429] and in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier* [430](**fig. 115**). The Annunciation to the Shepherds in the Hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale[431] is also a night scene but the shepherds are quietly assembled around the fire, while the last rays of sun glow on the horizon.

The dance of the shepherds is an unusual subject and the surviving examples are concentrated in late 15th century manuscripts from the West of France, especially Poitou. It is especially interesting to note that this subject occurs in a book of hours for the use of Rome painted in the Loire region or Poitiers by an artist influenced by the Master of Jean Charpentier (3rd quarter of the 15th century).[432] It features below the Nativity scene,[433] unfortunately, it was not possible to see a reproduction of this page. It also appears in a late 15th century Missal executed for an abbot of Montierneuf Abbey in Poitou.[434] While the Poitevin Master of Yvon du Fou illuminated the rest of the manuscript, Robinet Testard (active ca. 1470-ca. 1531), also from Poitiers, painted the border of folio 21 featuring the Annunciation to the Shepherds with dancing shepherds.[435] The motif also appears in the border of *Hours for the use of Rouen* [436] painted by Robert Boyvin ca. 1495-1503,[437] linked to the Annunciation to the Shepherds depicted in the main miniature, as in *Hours for the use of Angers* painted in the Loire region around the same time but showing links with Rouennais compositions.[438] In all these examples,

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[429] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113, f. 26.
[430] Angers, BM, ms. 2048, f. 36.
[431] Paris, BNF, Lat. 1202, f. 58v.
[432] Baltimore, WAG, W. 223, f. 54v
[433] Miniatures in this manuscript feature two subjects, separated from each other by a jagged crevice and by the three lines of script, in a manner inspired by Jean Fouquet's *Hours of Etienne Chevalier.*
[434] Paris, BNF, Lat. 873, f. 21.
[435] This scene again combines with the Nativity in the initial.
[436] Baltimore, WAG, W. 225, f. 56v. Randall describes the scene thus: 'In panel at base, dance of shepherds (3) and shepherdesses (2) on stone-strewn road, bagpiper at the right' (Randall, 1989-92, Cat. 167).
[437] See Delaunay, 1995, no. XVI, p. 231.
[438] Baltimore, WAG, W. 245, f. 18. See Randall, 1989-92, Cat. 168.

the dancing shepherds feature in the border, or as a subsidiary scene and not as part of the iconography of the main miniature, as in WMs 89.[439] Furthermore, unlike in WMs 89, none of these scenes is set by night.

5. Sext of the Virgin: Adoration of the Magi (f. 49v; pl. 22)

In the miniature introducing Sext, the three Kings have come to pay homage to the infant Christ, bringing with them gold and incense. Like in other miniatures of the same subject by the Master of Jean Charpentier, the three Magi symbolise in traditional fashion the three Ages of Man (see **fig. 116**).[440] The kneeling Magus represents Old Age, with his long white hair and beard; he has removed his crown and is presenting a chalice full of gold to Christ. The one standing behind him seems to be a middle-aged man while the third one holding an elaborate gold piece has no beard and stands for Youth.

To the right of the composition is the Holy Family. The Virgin seated in the foreground holds the Child up in front of her so he can put his hand in the cup of gold. Joseph stands behind Mary, portrayed as a very dignified old man, with deep blue eyes. This scene is divided into equal halves by the vertical beam supporting the roof that harshly sections the middle of the miniature, forming a boundary between the Magi and the Holy Family. A cross consisting of the beams of the structure of the stable positioned exactly in the centre of the composition is thus superimposed onto the Adoration. This feature is not to be found in the other Hours (see *Hours of Jean Charpentier*,[441] **fig. 116**, *Sydney Hours*,[442] *Pierpont Morgan Library Hours*,[443] *Hours of Philippe de Commynes*,[444]...). The star surrounded by an oval gold halo is set against the frame on the side of the Magi, reminiscent of the angel in the previous scene. At the back, beyond a palisade, runs a winding river lined with pale green round bushes similar to that in the *Sydney Hours* (f. 29).

The miniature in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier* (f. 38; **fig. 116**) is the closest to the Chester Beatty Adoration as in all other Hours, the Virgin is seated to the left,[445] but the vertical beam supporting the roof has been moved to the right, along the side of the

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[439] However, the Annunciation to the dancing shepherds occurs in a Flemish book of hours illuminated by a painter of the Gold Scrolls group in the 1450s (Baltimore, WAG, W. 240, f. 198v); for reproduction, see Wieck, 1988, pl. 21.
[440] See *Hours of Jean Charpentier*, f. 38, **fig. 116**; *Sydney Hours*, f. 29; New York, PML, M. 96, f. 83v.
[441] Angers, BM, ms. 2048, f. 38.
[442] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113, f. 29.
[443] Both M.96, f. 83v and M.366, f. 59v.
[444] London, BL, Harley ms. 2863, f. 50.
[445] In Pierpont Morgan M. 366, the scene is more centralised, with the Virgin facing the reader, in the centre, but the Magi still arrive from the right (f. 59v).

miniature. This composition is not structurally sound as the stable looks awkwardly built, but it allows full view on the encounter between the Child and the kneeling Magus. Unlike in the Chester Beatty Adoration, Jesus thus retains his integrity, as the beam does not cut through his hand.

6. None of the Virgin: Circumcision (f. 51, pl. 23)

The Circumcision scene is a common introduction to None of the Virgin, but it is sometimes replaced by the Presentation to the Temple. The circumcision is usually set upon an altar, referring to Christ's sacrifice and to the shedding of his blood, but in the Chester Beatty miniature, the circumcision is taking place over a baptismal font. This font has the shape of a large gold chalice, directly alluding to the Eucharist.

In terms of composition, the Circumcision is one of the most accomplished miniatures by the Master of Jean Charpentier. The scene seems to take place on a grey-green stage, and the gold base projects forward, acting as a step that allows us into the space of the miniature.[446] The setting is articulated by a combination of octagonal and round shapes echoing each other: the shape of the hanging canopy recalls the basin of the chalice-shaped font and its round base following the curve of the 'stage'. The receding walls at the back and the Flamboyant framework projecting on three sides, decorated with pendants and pinnacles, define an octagonal space where the scene is taking place. At first, one could believe that this scene depicts a baptism.[447] The octagonal shape is furthermore often associated with baptism, as can be seen from the common octagonal shape of baptisteries and baptismal fonts. The curve of the central arch follows the curves of the hanging canopy which functions almost like a lid for the font below. A taste for symmetry pervades the whole composition.

A lady wearing a green bodice bordered with ermine holds Christ's shoulders while the priest's assistant secures his legs. A crowd of onlookers has gathered around them. The veiled Mary and Joseph only occupy secondary positions, to the left. A group of ladies stands behind them while to the right, several men with pointed hats witness the scene. The priest performing the Circumcision wears a particularly elaborate headdress with a ring of yellow cloth around it.

Similar Circumcision scenes can be found in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier*[448] (f.

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[446] See **Chapter II, III.B.5**.
[447] This scene is close in its setting to the miniature by the Master of the Echevinage representing a contemporary baptism in a Missal (Rouen, BM, ms. 380, f. 26).
[448] Angers, BM, ms. 2048.

39v, **fig. 117**), in the *Sydney Hours* [449] (f. 31v; **fig. 118**), and in Lat. 1202 (f. 68v), where the symbolism of the chalice-shaped font is also used. In the Angers Hours, the scene is raised on a three-sided marbled stage rather than a round one, this stage follows the shape of the faceted foot of the font while in the *Sydney Hours*, a simple straight step leads one into the space of the miniature. Only in the Chester Beatty Circumcision does one find an elaborate projecting frame, recalling the shape of the 'stage'. The Chester Beatty miniature is crowded with sixteen figures; the three other miniatures only contain ten. In the *Sydney Hours*, the figures move more freely, the space is less claustrophobic and this also results from the fact that the two figures attending the priest are standing instead of kneeling. The proportions of the figures are more elongated, as they are in all miniatures in these Hours. The extensive use of gold for the Gothic Flamboyant frame in the Chester Beatty miniature combined with the light dabbed treatment of some surfaces (hat of the High Priest, stage) conveys a richer, shimmering surface to the miniature. In the *Arsenal Hours* and in Sotheby's *Hours for the use of Tours*, None of the Virgin is introduced by the Presentation in the Temple,[450] and the relevant miniature is missing in the *Hours of Philippe de Commynes*.[451]

7. Vespers of the Virgin: Dormition of the Virgin (f. 53; pl. 24)

No information is given about Mary's death in the Gospels but an apocryphal text attributed to St John the Evangelist tells about the Death and Assumption of the Virgin[452] and recounts how the apostles were called from all corners of the earth to assist the Virgin in her last hour. For Vespers, the Master of Jean Charpentier has thus depicted the twelve apostles gathered around the Virgin's deathbed. The resurrected Christ raises his hand in a blessing gesture. St Peter,[453] dressed in white, stands beside him with an aspergillum and a book open before him. All other apostles pray by the Virgin's bed and the gold figure in the niches of the frame add their prayers to those in the main miniature. At the bottom, the frame is formed by three steps leading into the bedroom, the floor of which is also painted in gold.

The Virgin is lying on a red bed, dressed in blue with a white wimple. Her complexion has a grey-green tone indicating death, which contrasts with the healthy faces and rosy cheeks of the apostles. This is a very colourful scene playing on strong

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[449] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113.
[450] Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 561, f. 81v; Sotheby's London, 10 Dec. 1969, lot 60, no folio number given.
[451] London, BL, Harley ms. 2863.
[452] See Warner, 1976 (2000 ed.), esp. pp. 83-5.
[453] Recognisable thanks to his short silvery white beard and crown of hair.

contrasts: none of the other Chester Beatty miniatures by the Master makes such a use of red. Bright red only appears sporadically in the boot of one of the Magi (**pl. 22**), and in the hat of one of the Shepherds (**pl. 21**), but it triumphs here, contrasting strongly with the Virgin's robe and with the green overhanging bed curtain. The apostle standing to the left holds a palm, while the other apostles hover near the bed. Three of them kneel in the foreground, one of them prays from an open book. The fact that the head of the bed and this seated apostle are cut off by the frame reinforces the illusionistic impact of the frame acting as an actual doorway through which one gets a glimpse of the scene. The youngest apostle in the foreground is beautifully drawn with a good rendition of proportions, which gives to the figure a Renaissance feel.[454] This apostle is also found in the Paris Dormition.[455]

The *Sydney Hours* contain a very similar scene[456] with a few variations in the positions of the apostles (**fig. 119**). Most notably in the *Sydney Hours*, Christ holds the Virgin's soul in his arms whereas he appears as the resurrected Christ in WMs 89, displaying his wounds and holding the cross. St John is also given a more active part in the *Sydney Hours* as he places a palm at the head of the bed. The positions of the apostles differ in the foreground where the young seated apostle is not featured. The Sydney miniature is not full-page but it nevertheless echoes the shape of the Chester Beatty miniature framed by a flattened arch. The colours used are the same (greenish complexion of the Virgin, red bed, green curtain), but the surface of the page is not as rich in the absence of an ornate frame and gold floor. The Bibliothèque Nationale Dormition[457] is similar to the Sydney miniature except in its choice of colours: the bed is painted in a deep blue while the Virgin is dressed in gold shaded with red.

The Flight into Egypt was a more common choice to introduce Vespers than the Dormition of the Virgin. The former is indeed found in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier*,[458] in the *Poitiers Hours*,[459] in Pierpont Morgan M. 366 (f. 67v), and M. 96 (f. 98v), New York Public Library, ms. 150 (f. 49v), in the *Hours of Philippe de Commynes*,[460] and the *Hours for the use of Angers*.[461] In the *Newberry Hours*,[462] the Flight into Egypt was also chosen, but it was

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[454] See above, **B.2** in this section.
[455] Paris, BNF, Lat. 1202, f. 73.
[456] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113, f. 34.
[457] Paris, BNF, Lat. 1202, f. 73.
[458] Angers, BM, ms. 2048, f. 41.
[459] Poitiers, BM, ms. 55, f. 66.
[460] London, BL, Harley ms. 2863, f. 56.
[461] Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 561, f. 99.
[462] Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. 47, f. 87v.

painted by a different artist.[463]

8. Compline of the Virgin: Coronation of the Virgin (f. 54v; pl. 25)

The last miniature of the Marian cycle features the Virgin's apotheosis in Heaven, where she is being crowned by the Trinity. Again, this episode cannot be found in the Scriptures, but is described in apocryphal texts.[464] The palette of this miniature is reduced to three colours: white, blue and gold, with the exception of the mauve cloak of Christ, barely visible. This choice of three colours, dominated by the gold also used in the ornate Flamboyant framework and for the floor, conveys the heavenly nature of the vision.

The Virgin is kneeling to the left in the foreground, as the risen Christ standing behind her places a crown on her head. Her pose is stiff, and she seems oblivious to what is going on around her. To the right, God the Father, seated on a throne covered with gold cloth (balancing that of Christ to the left) makes a blessing gesture. Dressed in blue and white, he wears a papal tiara and holds an orb and cross on his knees. The Dove, surrounded by a gold halo hovers between the Son and God the Father. A group of angels witnesses the scene gathered in the upper quarter of the miniature. They are carefully drawn in a blue camaïeu with gold highlights, a technique which the artist employed for the angel of the Annunciation to the Shepherds (see also **fig. 115**), and which was used by Jean Fouquet, as in the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* (see **fig. 101**).[465] As in the two previous scenes from the Marian cycle, a set of steps inscribed with the beginning of the text, is incorporated into the gold frame and leads into the heavenly space paved with gold. A Flamboyant cusped arch supported by two angels frames this gateway into heaven.

Elements of comparison for this scene are to be found in the so-called *Hours of E-E*[466] (f. 37; **fig. 120**). The proportions of the E-E figures are stockier, the folds of their white cloaks are not as busy as those in the Chester Beatty miniature, and the attending angels have disappeared.[467] The figure of God the Father was reused on f. 76 to depict St Clément.

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[463] See **A.4.** in this section.
[464] See Warner, 1976 (2000 ed.), pp. 103-17.
[465] Chantilly, Musée Condé.
[466] Sotheby's London, 29 Nov. 1990, lot 144.
[467] Unfortunately, it is not possible at present to see a colour reproduction of the miniatures in the *Hours of E-E*, which have been passing from one private collection to the other and regularly reappear in Sotheby's catalogues.

Two books of hours in New York, and the Hours for the use of Tours sold at Sotheby's in 1969[468] feature a Coronation of the Virgin as introductory miniature to Compline[469] and, considering how little the Master of Jean Charpentier renewed his repertoire, one can imagine that they are close to the Dublin miniature.[470] In M.96, also in New York, the Ascension features on the same folio as the Coronation.[471] The *Newberry Hours*[472] contain a Coronation scene, but I was not able to see it, and it may have been painted by the other artist at work in this manuscript, as is the case in the *Poitiers Hours*,[473] where this scene was not painted by the Master of Jean Charpentier. In both books of hours in Paris,[474] Compline was introduced by the Assumption of the Virgin.

9. Abbreviated Passion: *Ego sum* (f. 116v; still in the book; pl. 38)

The ninth miniature painted by the Master of Jean Charpentier is also the last in the manuscript, introducing a short account of the Passion attributed in the rubric to Pope John.[475] The event depicted in this miniature is not a direct pictorial translation of the text it introduces, but the episode is described one folio later in the full version of the Passion according to St John, the only Gospel to record the episode on f. 118. As the soldiers arrive in the Garden of Gethsemane, Jesus asks them: 'Quem queritis. Responderunt ei. Ihesum Nazarenum. Dicit eis Ihesus. Ego sum [...] Ut ergo dixit eis ego sum abierunt retrorsum et ceciderunt in terram.' (John 18: 5-6; f. 118).

The scene takes place at night, the soldiers have come to arrest Jesus in the Garden, and as he says he is the one they seek, they all fall to the ground.[476] Christ stands to the right, two apostles stand behind him, possibly including the young John (to the far right). In the foreground to the right, Peter is impulsively unsheathing his sword, prepared to cut off the ear of the High Priest's servant, Malchus. Surprisingly, Judas does not appear in this scene.

The soldiers lying on the ground form a mass of armoured figures, spears and

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468 Sotheby's London, 10 December 1969, lot 60, no folio number given.
469 New York, PML, M.366, f. 74, and New York, Public Library, ms. 150, f. 56.
470 Unfortunately, I have not been able to see reproductions of these miniatures.
471 New York, PML, M.96, f. 110. In the *Sydney Hours* (Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113), in the *Hours of Philippe de Commynes* (London, BL, Harley ms. 2863), and in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier* (Angers, BM, ms. 2048), the miniature introducing Compline is missing.
472 Chicago, Newberry Library, ms. 47, f. 98.
473 Poitiers, BM, ms. 55, f. 75.
474 Paris, BNF, Lat. 1202, f. 81, and Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 561, f. 99.
475 See **Chapter III, II B.** for more details.
476 As Réau stressed, although the common pictorial translation of this passage featured the soldiers falling back, it is more likely that the soldiers 'intimidés par la majesté du Christ, reculèrent un instant' (see Réau, 1955-9, vol. 2 pt 2, p. 436).

torches in the left part of the miniature. Their faces have bewildered expressions, but there is no attempt at individualisation. The depiction of this scene features some interesting attempts at representing foreshortened figures. Two soldiers at the back seem to have lost their heads in the process of falling backwards, while the two at the front are more successfully rendered, even though their proportions are slightly flattened. The arrest takes place in the garden of which one can see the gate to the left in the background. The upright position of Christ and his disciples as opposed to the falling soldiers, their quiet determination as opposed to the disarray of the troops conveys their strength in front of the large army gathering. The rocky outcrop behind Christ also makes him look taller, and stresses the verticality of this side of the miniature. The soldiers carry a few torches but these do not project the same orange glow as the fire in the Annunciation to the Shepherds (**pl. 21**), only gold is used to highlight the faces, armour and draperies. The silhouette of a city appears in the distance under the starry sky. The river Cedron runs at the bottom of the composition (see also **pl. 21** for a similar jagged edge). None of the other manuscripts painted by the Master of Jean Charpentier features this scene.

D. Conclusion

The Master of Jean Charpentier was not a great innovator and repeated the same scenes from one book of hours to another with few variations. Most of these compositions were inspired by the repertoire of Tours artists such as Jean Fouquet, the Master of the Munich Boccaccio and Jean Poyer, and by the Bourges artist Jean Colombe.

1. Origins of some compositions

Although he worked in a completely different style, the Master of Jean Charpentier was, like all miniaturists active in the Loire Valley at the time, inspired by the outstanding creations of Jean Fouquet. Reynaud stressed that the influence of the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* on our artist may have been overestimated: 'C'est plutôt le modèle des *Heures Robertet*...qui serait à la base de son Annonciation, peut-être grâce à l'intermédiaire de Jean Colombe, de qui doit dériver l'encadrement à statues de prophètes sous des niches...'.[477] The *Hours of Jean Robertet* were begun by Jean Fouquet in Tours (ca. 1460-5), possibly for the treasurer to Charles VII Antoine Raguier (d. 1468), and completed in

[477] In Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 290.

Bourges (ca. 1465-70) by Jean Colombe for Jean Robertet, also a member of the royal administration (d. ca. 1490). Indeed, the Annunciation repeated by the Master of Jean Charpentier in most of his books of hours, including the *Chester Beatty Hours* (f. 35; **pl. 18;** see also **fig. 109-12**) shares with the Robertet Annunciation (f. 29, assigned to Fouquet; **fig. 121**) the position of the two figures and the setting in a dark interior opening out on a bright garden beyond a criss-cross fence.[478] The stiff position of the angel's hands echoes that of Gabriel in the so-called *Hours of Diane de Croy* [479] (**fig. 122**) by an artist close to the Master of the Munich Boccacio (Tours, ca. 1470), possibly one of Fouquet's sons.[480]

The Chester Beatty Dormition (**pl. 24**) springs from a composition used by many followers of Fouquet, ultimately rooted in the Dormition from the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier.*[481] A similar scene features in *Hours for the use of Rome* attributed to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio[482] (ca. 1470; **fig. 123**), but, in WMs 89, Christ holding the Virgin's soul stands by the bed, instead of hovering at the back surrounded by a vibrant mandorla inspired by the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier.*

The Dublin *Ego sum* miniature is especially interesting as it is not to be found in any other manuscript illustrated by the Master of Jean Charpentier. This scene is a rare subject only depicted in a handful of books of hours, the moment of the Betrayal being far more popular. Leroquais, in his study of books of hours in French public libraries only found this scene in one book of hours dating from the 1520s.[483] A similar night scene appeared in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*[484] (ca. 1410-6) on f. 142. Painted by the Limbourg brothers, it displays their skill in the handling of light as Christ's gold halo shines against the dark sky. Yet this composition, where Christ stands in the centre

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[478] See Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat 1202, f. 24; Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113, f. 13; Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez. X, f. 28…

[479] Sheffield, Ruskin Gallery, R. 3548, f. 18v.

[480] The influence of Fouquet is also clearly visible in the funerary procession introducing the Office of the Dead in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier* (Angers, BM, ms. 2048, f. 51). The use of circular perspective, so striking in the St Martin miniature from the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, allows the artist to depict his characters from different successive viewpoints (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, R.F 1679). The Angers procession is close to that in the so-called *Hours of Diane de Croy* (Sheffield, Ruskin Gallery, R. 3548, f. 65).

[481] Chantilly, Musée Condé. See reproduction no. 24.14 in Avril, 2003.

[482] Paris, BNF, Lat. 13305, f. 88v. See also *Hours of Louis Malet de Graville* attributed to the same artist (San Marino, Huntington Library, ms. HM 1163, f. 97).

[483] Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf, ms. 42, f. 18v. Leroquais, 1943, p. XVII. A few examples of this subject appeared in Normandy on stained glass, as in Evreux Cathedral (1467-9) and in the church of St John the Baptist in Elbeuf, dating from ca. 1460-70 (for reproduction, see Callias-Bey et al., 2001, pl. XXXVII). Yet, none of these compositions compares with the Chester Beatty miniature.

[484] Chantilly, Musée Condé. See Alexander, 1991, pp. 142-3 for the origins of this composition: already used by a Lombard artist of the late 14th c. as shown by a manuscript cutting now in the Wallace Collection (fig. 241, London Wallace Collection, M. 348), and also in a *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Munich, Bayer. Staats., Clm 146, f. 19v).

in the midst of the fallen soldiers is not directly related to that in WMs 89.

On the other hand, a comparison with the *Ego sum* scene in the so-called *Hours of Henry VIII* [485] painted by Jean Poyer in Tours (ca. 1500; **fig. 124**) shows a connection with the Master of Jean Charpentier composition in the semi-circular arrangement of the fallen soldiers to the left of Christ and his disciples, and in the motif of the soldier lying by the lit lantern in the foreground.[486] Poyer showed a better treatment of perspective with the soldiers gradually diminishing in size with the distance, and the soldier lying at the far end of this heap of bodies does not seem beheaded like his counterpart in WMs 89. Furthermore, Poyer depicted Judas whereas he does not appear in the Chester Beatty composition. The fact that the Master of Jean Charpentier was more a follower than an innovator would lead us to believe that he may have been inspired by a now lost earlier composition by Poyer featuring this scene. Mara Hofmann recognised the importance of Poyer's influence on our artist, suggesting that some designs from the *Liget Triptych* (1485; **fig. 94**) were brought to him via the Master of the Della Rovere Missals with whom she believes he collaborated on M.96 in the Pierpont Morgan Library (see **fig. 88**).[487] Yet, the triptych was then on public display in the Chartreuse du Liget in Loches, near Tours, as it was certainly commissioned by Jean Béraud, prior of the Chartreuse from 1483 to 1490, and the Master of Jean Charpentier would thus have been able to see it and study it by himself.[488]

As Reynaud also pointed out, the elaborate frames surrounding the Chester Beatty miniatures repeat designs developed by Jean Colombe,[489] who had strong ties with the school of Tours (see **fig. 125**).

Although miniatures by the Master of Jean Charpentier are found alongside those by Jean Bourdichon in two manuscripts,[490] the former does not seem to have been very influenced by the latter. The half-length Flight into Egypt in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier*[491] was inspired by that in the *Hours of François of Bourbon-Vendôme* [492] (ca. 1475-

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485 New York, PML, H.8, f. 13; see Wieck, 1998, Cat. 70 and Wieck, Voelkle, 2000, pp. 84-5.
486 However, the position of the soldier raising his bust, taking support on his elbows and throwing his head backwards in the Poyer miniature seems inspired by a similar figure in the miniature by the Limbourg brothers. The same position is not repeated in the Dublin miniature.
487 New York, PML, M.96. She suggested that the Master of the Della Rovere Missals was responsible for the Annunciation miniature. See Hofmann, 2003, p. 41. See also Hofmann, 2001 (thesis to be published by Brepols, Turnhout in 2004). See also **II.C.** in this chapter.
488 I would like to thank Patricia Stirnemann for pointing this out to me.
489 See *Hours of Louis de Laval* (Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 920), and formerly Maurice Loncle Coll. (Paris, Drouot sale, 1960, no. 14).
490 New York, PML M.96 and Poitiers, BM, ms. 55 (334).
491 Angers, BM, ms. 2048, f. 41.
492 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 417, f. 46.

80), which was originally attributed to Bourdichon. Yet, this miniature among others is now assigned to the Master of the Hours of François of Bourbon-Vendôme who, together with Bourdichon, was probably trained by Jean Fouquet and his assistant the Master of the Munich Boccaccio.[493]

It would be interesting to find later versions of the Master of Jean Charpentier compositions, but these miniatures clearly did not have the same lasting impact as those of the Master of the Echevinage on Rouen illumination, and there were more influential artists in Tours. A few later manuscripts from the Poitou area nevertheless show his stylistic influence mixed with that of the Poitou-based Master of Adelaïde de Savoie as in a book of hours for the use of Rome (Loire region, third quarter of the 15th c.) now in Baltimore.[494] The Infancy cycle in this manuscript has been attributed by Randall to an associate of the Master of Jean Charpentier.[495] Two other books of hours in Madrid and Lisbon have also been linked to the style of the Master of Jean Charpentier.[496]

2. Attempt at dating this work

In the nine miniatures he painted for the *Chester Beatty Hours* the Master of Jean Charpentier used a standard cycle common to several other books of hours by his hand. However, for the introductory miniature to the abbreviated account of the Passion, it is possible that he had no ready-made composition and was forced to innovate, taking inspiration from Jean Poyer, another Tourangeau artist and his contemporary.

In terms of style, the Chester Beatty miniatures are close to Morgan 96 [497] (ca. 1480) and to the *Hours of Jean Charpentier* (ca. 1485),[498] but the presence of the elaborate frames draws even closer parallels with the *Sydney Hours* [499] and the *Syracuse Hours.*[500] The *Hours of Jean Charpentier* were presumably commissioned on the occasion of Jean Charpentier's marriage in January 1485. While the gold framing remained quite discrete in the Angers Annunciation (f. 24; **fig. 110**), it has developed considerably in the *Sydney Hours* (f. 13; **fig. 109**), which would confirm the date of late 1480s-early 1490s given in Sotheby's catalogue. This is not to say that all miniatures adopting the traditional format have to be dated early in the artist's career. On the other hand, it seems reasonable to

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493 See Reynaud, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 75; and Avril, 2003, Cat. 39, colour illustration on p. 348.
494 Baltimore, WAG, W. 223.
495 See Randall, 1989-92, Cat.143.
496 Madrid, Bibl. Nat., Vit. 25-3; Lisbon, Fun. Gulbenkian, L.A.135.
497 New York, PML, M.96; Plummer, 1982, Cat. 61.
498 Angers, BM, ms. 2048; Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 159.
499 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113.
500 Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez. X.

think that the elaborately decorated frames were a late development of his style.

The *Syracuse Hours* contain eight full-page miniatures enclosed in elaborate frames (**fig. 112, 126-7**). Two of them are using the same architectural language as the Chester Beatty miniatures but the six other ones leave behind the Gothic language and adopt a Renaissance format with flat lintel, and panels of coloured stone decorated with pearls and gems. The artist even attempted to mix both idioms, clumsily including a few gems on the base of the Annunciation Gothic frame (**fig. 112**). We are by now familiar with this type of Renaissance jewelled frame as Hand C also used it in the pages of WMs 89 (**pl. 26, 34**). The frame of the Syracuse Pietà (f. 18v; **fig. 126**) indeed shows the same components as that of the Dublin St John the Baptist (f. 93; **pl. 34**). This comparison would appear insignificant if it were not for the puzzling similarity in the treatment of the landscape in both miniatures. Although Hand C and the Master of Jean Charpentier are at first sight far apart, it seems that the landscape at the back of the Pietà (f. 18v; **fig. 126**), and even more in the St Christopher miniature (f. 99v; **fig. 127**) in the *Syracuse Hours* could not have existed if the Master of Jean Charpentier had not seen the landscape in the Chester Beatty image of St John the Baptist (**pl. 34**). The only difference between the settings for the St Christopher and St John the Baptist is that in the former, water flows in the foreground but the rocky bank, the placement of the bushes, the cliffs and hills are all faithfully repeated. Indeed, the Syracuse landscapes[501] are substantially more realistic than the ones found in any other manuscript attributed to the Master of Jean Charpentier. His collaboration on WMs 89 with this other Tours artist, a talented follower of Fouquet, apparently opened his eyes to a novel representation of nature devoid of spectacular peaks, with bushes sprinkled haphazardly instead of being set in tightly pressed rows. It also encouraged him to adopt a full-page format for his miniatures and a Renaissance language for his frames.[502] All these elements combine as evidence of a later date for the *Syracuse Hours*, a manuscript that unfortunately does not bear any marks of ownership. This evolution in the depiction of landscape could date from ca. 1490-5. If this is the case, it means that the Chester Beatty miniatures were painted at the earliest ca. 1485 but probably later, ca. 1490.

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[501] Apart from the miniature of St John on Patmos (f. 14) where the characteristic rocks feature.
[502] The initials in the *Syracuse Hours* are also very unusual for Hours written in Tours and show a strong Rouen influence. See **Chapter III, I.D.1, fig. 139**.

IV The calendar illustrations

The calendar in the *Chester Beatty Hours* is illustrated with twelve small miniatures of varying sizes combining labour of the month and zodiacal sign (**pl. 1-13**). As we shall see, their treatment reflects a Tours origin.

A. Layout

The calendar is written in alternate lines of dark red and brown ink, with the major feasts written in blue. At the end of each month, a small rectangular panel was painted, depicting the activity appropriate to the month and the relevant zodiacal sign. Above each miniature is an ornate verse written in blue ink in a script decorated with cadels, and playfully interlocking letters in the November verse (**pl. 11**). The few lines introducing each month are also written in blue and embellished in the same way, although the most elaborate cadels are reserved for the verses. Blue cadels of this type can be found in the remaining calendar leaves of the so-called *Hours of Henry VII* [503] (see **fig. 128-9**) illuminated by Jean Bourdichon, and whose original commissioner was certainly Louis XII, in the first years of his reign (ca. 1498-9).[504]

These verses provide a biblical origin for each of the zodiacal signs. They were written before the miniatures were painted so that, in several occasions, the line defining the miniatures has to give way to the script (see on fols 6v, 7v, 10v; **pl. 6-7, 10**). On f. 11v (**pl. 11**), the word is literally enclosed within the painting. Jean Bourdichon also subordinated his calendar miniatures to the script in the so-called *Hours of Henry VII*[505](ca. 1498-9; **fig. 128-9**). On the other hand, Jean Poyer in the calendar of the *Hours of Henry VIII* [506] (ca. 1500) did not let the script interfere with his space and painted over it, as can be seen for instance on f. 1v, where the initial for February has partly been covered by the miniature (**fig. 130**). In WMs 89, although the script is ornate, it is too tightly pressed against the paintings to achieve its full decorative effect.

Indeed, the panels fill in the space left by the scribe, but do not invade the borders, they are integrated within the surface reserved to the text block. Their size thus adapts to the space available below the text, and it ranges from 5 lines (December; **pl. 12**) to 13 (February; **pl. 2**), and yet, every time, the artist slightly varied the scale of the

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503 Philadelphia, Free Lib. of Philadelphia, Rare Books Dpt, Lewis E M 11.19-22. For reproduction of all these leaves, see Tanis and Thompson, 2001, Cat. 16.
504 For more on this manuscript and the location of all its surviving folios, see **I.B.3.b.** in this chapter.
505 Philadelphia, Free Lib. of Philadelphia, Rare Books Dpt, Lewis E M 11.19-22.
506 New York, PML, ms. H.8.

figures accordingly, so that their proportions remained accurate. When the space was too restricted, as in the December miniature (**pl. 12**), the figure was depicted three-quarter length; in May (**pl. 5**), the lovers lost their feet and the top of the man's head is missing in September, October and November (**pl. 9-11**)…

B. Stylistic characteristics

1. General

Each small painting is cleverly treated as a unified space where the zodiacal sign is integrated as 'realistically' as possible into the world of peasants at work and noblemen performing the activities of the month. No partition is drawn between these two elements like in the work of the Bedford Master, who circumscribed the zodiacal sign within one medallion and the activity of the month within another one.[507] Here, they share the same world. When the activity is outdoors, the zodiacal sign stands besides the figures while, when it is indoors, a wall can conveniently act as a divider. In the case of an outdoors scene, the result can be odd as for April (**pl. 4**), where the youth seems to declare his love in the presence of a bull (Taurus), or for June (**pl. 6**) where a man is mowing hay beside a large crab (Cancer)… Yet in most cases, a dividing line runs between them: a tree can play this role as on f. 6v (**pl. 6**), or alternatively, the figure is painted on a different background from that of the zodiacal sign, as in the case of July (f. 7v; **pl. 7**) where the peasants are in the golden field while the lion sits on the grass.

Bright blue, green, orange, white, mauve, pinkish red and brown (more used for the winter and autumn scenes) dominate the palette, but the value of the colours used for garments is often changed by the extensive use of gold highlights. The white garments worn in the summer months evoke an interest of the artist in the demi-grisaille technique.[508]

2. Figures and draperies

Human proportions are convincing, although, figures are sometimes dwarfed by the animals symbolising the zodiacal signs, also painted with great care. Naked male bodies are quite muscular, as that of the male Gemini or the bust of the Centaur (**pl. 5** and **11**).

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[507] Example of this type of layout in the *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy* (**Irish Cat. 7**), fols 1-12.
[508] See **fig. 10, 26, 28** for examples by the Master of the Echevinage and **fig. 43** by the Master of Jean Rolin, see also the *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy*, painted in demi-grisaille by the Bedford Master and the Dunois Master, **Irish Cat. fig. 7.1-3**

The calendar illustrations give the artist an opportunity to depict youth (see especially April-June; **pl. 4-6**), middle-age (see for example January, February, November; **pl. 1, 2, 11**) and old age (especially March and October; **pl. 3 and 10**). It is interesting to note that youth is associated with spring and summer, while more mature men are depicted to evoke the colder months. Men working in the fields have healthy faces with broad nose, red cheeks and lips. Some figures seen in profile have an unnaturally large head and bulbous nose, as on f. 7v (**pl. 7**). The complexion of the two young noblemen in April and May is paler and thus closer to that of women, reflecting their status, which forbid them any manual work (**pl. 4-5**).

The landscape does not change according to the time of year, but the clothes worn by the figures do reflect the passing seasons. The summer peasants wear light and short white clothes, while in winter they are covered by many layers (see March; **pl. 3**).

3. Landscapes and interiors

Landscapes are punctuated with gentle blue hills in the distance and sprinkled with castles (f. 3v; **pl. 3**), often in ruins (see f. 4v, 6v…; **pl. 4, 6…**). The buildings of a fortified farm appear at the back of the October scene (f. 10v; **pl. 10**), and a half-timbered farm in the November scene (f. 11v; **pl. 11**). The December scene (f. 12v; **pl. 12**) seems to take place on a town square as it shows an alignment of half-timbered houses. This type of setting is quite common in Tours manuscript painting, reflecting the local architecture; the use of a very deep blue in the distance is also a Tours characteristic, as can be seen, for instance in miniatures by Jean Bourdichon (see **pl. 29; fig. 82, 83, 128-9**).

The trees and bushes are treated in a similar way to those in the Bathsheba miniature with dabs of different shades of green, but trees are slightly better proportioned in comparison with the figures. The knotty trunk rises with a few stumps of lopped branches, as in the May scene (**pl. 5**).

Interiors are similar in layout and include domestic details: in the February miniature (**pl. 2**), a pewter ewer, and plates are lined up on the sideboard at the back, a few vessels are also placed on the table in the January scene (**pl. 1**).

C. Description and stylistic analysis of the calendar miniatures

1. January (f. 1v; pl. 1)

The January miniature (10 lines) shows a man in profile; still wearing his hat, he has removed his shoes to warm up his feet by the fire. The blazing fire, as in the next miniature is painted in shades of yellow, orange and gold with dots of gold flying up. At the back of the room, a pewter ewer and pot are placed on a table covered with a white tablecloth under the lattice window. Outside the heavy wooden door is Aquarius, a blond putto pouring water from a ewer. The wall of the house provides the division, but one feels that the putto stands at the door.

2. February (f. 2v; pl. 2)

In this second miniature (13 lines), a man with fur hat and scarf is eating at a round table, covered with a white tablecloth, by the fire. Pewter ewer and plates are lined up on a large sideboard. On the mantelpiece runs an inscription with no apparent significance, reading: *RONE NERON RO*…. The fire is again well rendered and a subtle mixture of orange and gold touches brightens the man's cloak reflecting the glow of the fire on his thigh (an effect not found in the previous miniature). This man has a long cloak as opposed to the short tunic of the previous one, and a very large hat and a black scarf wrapped around his head and neck, while the yellow 'scarf' of the January figure looked more like a loose balaclava.

To the left, the wall, pierced by two lattice windows, seems to be interrupted by an arch onto the outside beyond which the landscape stretches. In the river that comes winding in the foreground, two large fish symbolise Pisces.

Figures wearing the same type of headdress can be found in the work of Jean Poyer, as in *Le Secret des secrets* [509](ca. 1490-5), a collection of moral advice and practical considerations for the use of princes involved in politics. On f. 85 (**fig. 131**), courtesans admonish the enthroned figure of 'Phisionomias' after he judged the character of king Ypocras from his painted portrait. One of the courtesans wears a very large black hat similar to that worn by the February man in WMs 89, and François Avril stressed that the courtesans are dressed according to the fashion of king Charles VIII's reign (1483-98). Similar hats are worn in the *Chronique martinienne* [510]also attributed to Poyer (ca. 1500).

Some facial features are quite close to those painted by Poyer, if one compares

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509 Bound together with *Le Bréviaire des nobles,* by Alain Chartier. Paris, BNF, N.a.f. 18145.
510 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibl., Thott 430-2°, see f. 47v for example.

for example the February figure with that of Phisionomias (**fig. 131**), or with the *Hours of Henry VIII*[511] February figure (**fig. 130**).

3. March (f. 3v; pl. 3)

In the March miniature (9 lines), a man is pruning the vine, under the gaze of a ram (Aries). The ram is convincingly integrated in the scene (the proportions man/animal are not as inconsistent as in the April miniature for example), and yet as often in this cycle, the artist has placed the zodiacal sign against a different background. The man stands on the brown colour of bare earth, the ram stands on grass at the foot of the hill, against a background of green bushes turning emerald green, in the distance. The peasant wears warm clothes but one can see he is not part of the same social class as the men depicted in the two first months. He looks quite old, as some grey hair peeks out from under his yellow scarf, which is wrapped around his neck and head; he wears a short tunic over leggings with white leg-warmers.

4. April (f. 4v; pl. 4)

The April miniature (11 lines) features a youth with long curly hair and a wreath of flowers, holding bouquets in each hand, one knee on the ground. He is richly dressed, with blue leggings, a striped top under a red and white cloak, with sleeves cut at elbow level and left hanging. He is surrounded by a semi-circular rose-tunnel, which clearly defines his space while, to the left a diminutive bull (Taurus) stares at him.

5. May (f. 5v; pl. 5)

In the May miniature (8 lines), richly dressed lovers stand arm in arm in the countryside, looking at each other in the eyes. The man has a hawk on his left wrist evoking the hunting activity, preserve of noblemen. The lady wears a black headdress, while he is dressed in a similar fashion to the April youth, with striped top and brocaded gold and blue cloak with white lining. To the left are a woman and a man naked, standing behind a kind of blue shield the bottom of which is hidden in bushes (Gemini). The same type of representation is found for instance in the *Hours of Simon de Varye*.[512] The zodiacal couple echoes the aristocratic lovers, as they hold each other by the waist but, as they seem further from the picture plane, they appear to be smaller. The body of the

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511 New York, PML, ms. H.8, f. 1v.
512 The Hague, KB, Ms. 74 G 37a, f. 92.

male geminus is dark, while the woman's skin is very pale.

6. June (f. 6v; pl. 6)

In the June scene (10 lines), a man is mowing hay in a field, he is dressed more lightly than in the previous months, thus reflecting the changing seasons. This man, quite young, has a white headdress to protect him from the sun, and a white short tunic. His movement is well rendered, with his naked legs wide apart in the effort, and streaks of grass are painted over the blade of his scythe. The curving movement of the scythe, enhanced by the darker lines in the grass gives depth to the composition. The man has left a garment and a keg of water hanging on a tree to the right. Cancer, to the left, is depicted as a big dark grey crab on the grass, separated from the man by a tree.

7. July (f. 7v; pl. 7)

To illustrate the month of July (9 lines), two men are reaping hay. They are dressed lightly, wearing a white scarf wrapped over their head, as in the June miniature. The other man stands in the wheat so that only his head is visible. Leo to the left, is sitting in profile, tail raised but turning his back on them and ignoring them superbly. The wheat provides a kind of golden space for the figures, and the lion, standing out on the grass, is seen separately.

8. August (f. 8v; pl. 8)

For August (8 lines), three men in various positions are threshing wheat inside a barn, with flails. One is dressed like the men in the previous miniature: one has a short tunic, no tights but leg warmers, the third one wears a short tunic over tights. Outside, to the right, a young maiden (Virgo) stands with a halo and holding the martyrs' palm against the usual green and blue landscape. She looks quite frail in comparison with the robust men at work. Again, the sign is separated from the main scene by the barn wall, but both spaces communicate by a door.

9. September (f. 9v; pl. 9)

In the September miniature (9 lines), a man is treading grapes in a vat and some red juice has stained the bottom of his white tunic, while another man enters with a basket full of grapes on his back. Barrels are lined against the back wall, under two openings. Outside, to the left, a blue hand wrapped in blue clouds and coming from

heaven is holding scales (Libra).

10. October (f. 10v; pl. 10)

For October (8 lines), a man is sowing in a ploughed field to the right, a low hedge circumscribes the field; Scorpio emerges from the bushes on the grass to the left. Perspective is given by the shape of the field and the diagonal direction of the furrows, a diagonal which lead the eye towards a rich fortified farm with a tower to the right at the end of the field. The grey-haired man is wearing warm clothes like the March peasant and carries the gold seeds in a piece of white fabric wrapped around his neck.

11. November (f. 11v; pl. 11)

The November miniature (9 lines) sees the unlikely cohabitation of a muscular centaur (Sagittarius) and a peasant beating oak trees to feed his pigs with acorns. He is dressed warmly with a short cope like a poncho. The road turning off to the left isolates the centaur. The bow also works as a division between the two, and its shape is echoed by the wavy line of his tail. The right side of his body is cut off by the frame as is the man's head and feet: a drawing below the framing line of the miniature shows the preliminary sketch for the man's right foot. At the back, rise the half-timbered buildings of a farm, surrounded by bushes.

12. December (f. 12v; pl. 12)

In the very narrow December scene (5 lines), a man with a red hat (not unlike a Phrygian hat) is roasting a hog whose legs and tail emerge from the flames, in an open space lined with half-timbered houses. Visible from the waist up, he raises one hand to protect his face against the heat and holds a bunch of branches to fan the fire. To the left, a large Capricorn symbol lies on the grass.

D. Conclusion: attribution

It is quite difficult to attribute the miniatures accompanying the pages of the calendar to one of the artists at work in the larger miniatures. One can say that they were not executed by the Master of Jean Charpentier or by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen, as the little figures do not show the features characteristic to these two artists (high forehead and elongated face with squat proportions for the Master of Jean

Charpentier and slightly worried expressions and characteristic trees for the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen). There is no sign here of the rocky outcrops so typical of the Master of the Echevinage (see for instance **pl. 15, 32**) or, of those also found in the work of the Master of Jean Charpentier (see **pl. 19, 21**). In his work on the *Playfair Hours*,[513] Rowan Watson has provided many examples of the typical calendar illustrations developed at the end of the 15th century in books of hours illuminated in Rouen by followers of the Master of the Echevinage. The subjects and treatment of the miniatures in the Chester Beatty manuscript do not correspond with the Rouennais pattern (see **fig. 132**).

Judging from the style of the miniatures, the calendar was painted in Tours by a fifth artist who will be called 'Hand E'. The treatment of the distant landscapes with gentle hills and deep blue is reminiscent of the landscape behind Bathsheba with its blue castle on a hill (**pl. 29**). However, these calendar miniatures differ from the ones painted by Jean Bourdichon, as can be seen when comparing them with the calendar of the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* [514] (ca. 1503-8) or that of the other so-called *Hours of Henry VII* [515](**fig. 128-9**). The Chester Beatty calendar is closer in the treatment of the figures and faces to the work of Jean Poyer (active ca. 1480-ca. 1515), but the compositions do not either correspond to his, as exemplified in the so-called *Hours of Henry VIII* [516] painted ca. 1500 (fols 1-6v; see **fig. 130**). These minute scenes could nevertheless be an echo of a calendar illustrated by Poyer in a manuscript now lost: indeed the interplay of light and shade, and the detail of the man in the wheat field whose head only is visible (f. 7v; **pl. 7**) betray the same sensibility as Poyer's. Although the style of these miniatures is Tourangeau, an equivalent of this layout combining labour of the month and zodiacal sign within the same space could not be found in any other surviving manuscript.

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513 London, V&A, ms. L.475-1918.
514 Paris, BNF, Lat. 9474.
515 See four surviving calendar leaves now in Philadelphia (The Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Dpt, Lewis E M 11.19-21). See Tanis, Thompson, 2001, Cat. 16, pp. 70-4.
516 New York, PML, ms. H.8.

Chapter III
Secondary decoration
and
textual contents

The study of secondary decoration in WMs 89 complements the examination of its miniatures, and provides clues on the place and date of execution of the manuscript. For the writing, the decorating and the painting of the miniatures were three successive stages in the production of a manuscript, and thus have to be considered independently from each other. The textual contents of these Hours, and localisation elements will also offer valuable information concerning the commissioner of these Hours.

I. Secondary decoration

A. Absence of painted borders

The borders of WMs 89 were left blank, lending the pages a refined simplicity, where the text does not need to struggle against swirling acanthus and marginal grotesques. Even in the calendar, the miniatures were painted within the limits reserved to the text block rather than in the margins.[1] By the end of the 15th century, full borders surrounding the text pages as in the earlier *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy*[2] were often replaced by partial borders, usually painted in the outer margin, in an oblong panel the height of the text, or 'bracket borders' on three sides. These partial borders were the common page layout in late 15th century books of hours made in Tours, Rouen and the rest of France, but also in Flanders, as can be judged from the catalogue[3]. The absence of painted borders in more modest Hours could mean that the commissioner could not afford gold and pigments. The situation is different in the Chester Beatty Hours, as the quality of the miniatures reflects the wealth of the patron.

In the standard layout, the partial painted borders echo the full borders, the latter being often reserved for the folios bearing a miniature (see **fig. 57** for ex.). But in the case of WMs 89, the use of a common border decoration with acanthus and flowers

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[1] See **Chapter II, IV.A.** in this chapter.
[2] **Irish Cat. 7.**
[3] See **Vol. IV.**

would not have combined harmoniously with the full-page miniatures surrounded by different types of frames. The unpainted borders reflect a conscious choice rather than an unfinished state. Nothing diverts the eye from the script, punctuated by the delicate decorated initials, line fillers and numerous inhabited initials.

B. Decorated initials and line fillers

The secondary decoration is consistent throughout the manuscript (type A), with the exception of two bifolia written by a different scribe (type B).[4] Initials (1 to 3 lines) of **type A** (**pl. 39-43**) have a dark red or blue body patterned with grisaille acanthus, set against a liquid gold ground with coloured gems and/or black dots (calendar initials are also of this type). The white acanthus shaded with blue is delineated with dark red ink. The smaller initials enclose flowers or strawberries while the larger ones contain bird, frog, owl, dragon, squirrel, scarab, butterfly, snail, boar, weasel… One four-line initial encloses a grotesque on f. 123 (**pl. 43**). Some line fillers are painted with white ribbon motif shaded with bluish grey, colourful gems or flowers on a gold ground in the same style as the initials (see f. 61v; **pl. 41**), and other ones are dark red and blue with gold tracings.

The numerous decorated initials lend the page a rich shimmering surface and give a certain rhythm to the reading. The bluish acanthus often extends into the margins (see especially the delicate initial I on f. 40v, **pl. 39**). One-line initials are contained within the liquid gold ground, which is delineated by a black line. In larger initials, the acanthus escapes from the liquid gold ground into the unpainted space of the margin, illustrating what Delaunay noted: 'dans le dernier quart du XV^{e}, le cadre devient définitivement rectiligne. Dorénavant, la lettre pourra s'échapper au-dessus de son cadre sans le déformer'.[5] One could argue that borders were originally planned and that the decoration of WMs 89 was unfinished, yet the fact that the acanthus leaves extend from the initials into the space of the margin contradicts this hypothesis. It confirms the view stated earlier that the borders were left blank deliberately, a choice that became more frequent at the end of the 15th century.

Initials in the calendar (for KL) are painted in the same style, on a gold ground sprinkled with a few colourful gems, but the treatment of the acanthus lacks relief. Half-tones in the acanthus are obtained by parallel white strokes on pale blue or grey, whereas

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[4] See **Chapter IV, A.2.** and **Appendix III**: Quires diagrams.
[5] Delaunay, 2000, p. 43.

in the rest of the manuscript, shades blend and hues gradually darken at the edges of the acanthus. In the rest of the codex, the acanthus is thus given a three-dimensionality enhanced by the white pigment thickly (but very precisely) applied (see **pl. 39**). The calendar miniatures were painted by a Tours artist,[6] and it is likely that this section was written and decorated separately from the rest of the manuscript, which would explain the different treatment of the initials.[7] The artist responsible for these initials harmonised his contribution with the rest of the manuscript but did not achieve the same degree of finesse.

Two initials of a different style (**type B; pl. 44, 45, 46**) appear on one of the bifolia written by scribe B.[8] They both are pink ribbon initials, with a liquid gold inner ground, the outer ground is also painted in liquid gold, but with faint red patterns. The initial encloses a flower in the same hues as the ribbon on f. 107v (**pl. 44**), and flowers painted *au naturel* on f. 112v (**pl. 45,46**). The first one introduces the Seven Prayers of St Gregory, and the second one the *O Bone Ihesu* prayer.

C. Historiated initials

The manuscript contains 28 historiated initials of varying sizes, the body of the letters is of type A, on a liquid gold ground with small blue and red dots, and sometimes gems with one or two flowers. Instead of only containing decorative elements, they enclose figures or objects related to the text they introduce.

As noted before, a section is often introduced in these Hours by a full-page miniature including the first words of the text in an inscription on the frame. This practice replaces the use of large decorated or historiated initials, as it is a different way of giving prominence to the beginning of a text. This explains why no large initials are to be found in the Hours of the Virgin, of the Cross, or of the Holy Spirit.

Among these initials, variations point to the intervention of different artists within the same workshop, and some initials such as that featuring God the Father (f. 108v; **pl. 72**) or Judas hanging himself (f. 118, **pl. 73**) do not have the finesse of some suffrage initials, or of many decorated initials. Most historiated initials contain a figure depicting the Virgin, God the Father, or the saint to whom the prayer is addressed, while in several cases the attribute replaces the depiction of the figure. Only one initial encloses a small scene (f. 118; **pl. 73**).

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[6] See **Chapter II, IV.D.**
[7] This is confirmed by the use of cadels, see **Chapter IV, A.2.**
[8] The other bifolio written by scribe B (29/34) does not contain any decorated initials.

1. Figures

On the verso of f. 28 is a very interesting initial containing the head of a man in profile with a black hat (2 lines; **pl. 49**). This representation within the Hours of the Conception has no connection with the text or any religious content. Less stylised than the other figures found in a similar position, this small head has a unique portrait quality. It seems unlikely that this should be a portrait of the patron, as patrons, when they do appear in their own books, tend to be represented in a more prominent and flattering position, kneeling before the Virgin or in the margins, richly attired (see **Irish Cat. fig. 7.2** for contrast).

The three first historiated initials in this manuscript contain the Virgin with her head covered by a blue veil, only the top quarter of her body is visible (fols 18v, 20v, 23; see **pl. 47**). It may be that the Virgin on f. 20v is by a different hand, as it seems more delicately painted, and the dots of colour on the gold ground are more readily identifiable as gems. These three depictions of the Virgin introduce prayers to the Virgin like the *O intemerata* on f. 18v, and thus depict the addressee of these prayers as opposed to their author. It is the case for most of these historiated initials.

The largest historiated initial in the manuscript (6 lines) is that of St Joseph on f. 27 (**pl. 48**), introducing the Hours of the Immaculate Conception. Finding Joseph in this position is unusual. Seen in bust, he seems to be holding a candle, protecting with his hand the flickering flame. This motif is taken from Nativity scenes.[9] The detail of the candle was inspired by St Bridget's vision of the Nativity where 'St Joseph, prior to his withdrawal, had brought a lighted candle and placed it in the cave; and [...], after the birth of the Saviour, the 'divine radiance' (splendor divinus) that emanated from the Christ Child 'totally annihilated' (totaliter adnihilaverat) the 'material light' (splendor materialis) of the flame."[10]

Suffrages consist of four elements: an antiphon, a versicle and a response, followed by a prayer (*oratio*) recalling the exemplary life of the saint, and imploring God through him. The suffrage to St Anthony (f. 102v) stresses the saints' intercessory role: 'O God, you granted the blessed Anthony, your confessor, with the power of extinguishing the diseased fire and to cool afflicted limbs, grant that through his merits

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[9] See for instance St Joseph in the *Nativity* painted ca. 1425 by the Master of Flemalle (Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts).
[10] In Panofsky, 1953, p. 126.

and prayers, we may be delivered from the fires of hell,...'[11] In WMs 89, the text of the suffrage is usually introduced by a rubricated title[12] (preceded by a full-page miniature, for more important saints, see **pl. 31-37**), and the *oratio* begins with a historiated initial evoking the saint. This section is thus where one finds the highest concentration of historiated initials. However, the suffrages to Andrew, James the Minor and Philip, Mathias, Simon and Jude, and Matthew are only introduced by decorated initials containing flowers and birds.

A historiated initial on f. 89v introduces a prayer to the Holy Trinity (2 lines; **pl. 50**). Appearing a few lines after the beginning of the suffrages section, it echoes the full-page representation of the three persons of the Trinity on the recto.[13] The Trinity is depicted here in a different way, as two old bearded men (shoulder length) on either side of the Dove of the Holy Spirit, with a minute book open between them.

St Michael is given particular prominence as two suffrages one after the other are dedicated to him. The *oratio* in the first suffrage is introduced by a depiction of the archangel with small blue wings, holding a gold cross (shoulder length, 2 lines; **pl. 50**). On the verso of the next folio, his fight with evil creatures is represented in a full-page miniature, introducing the second suffrage (f. 90v; **pl. 32**).[14] A small angel with blue and white wings (shoulder length but his hands are visible) painted in a two-line D introduces the prayer in the second suffrage to St Michael (f. 91; **pl. 51**).

The suffrage to St John the Baptist is introduced by a full-page miniature of the saint (f. 93; **pl. 34**) but the prayer itself [15] begins with a historiated initial D (2 lines, f. 93v; **pl. 52-3**). This initial contains St John the Baptist (shoulder length) pointing with his left hand at the book he holds in his right hand. On the book lies the Lamb of God, holding a cross; for one day, as Jesus was walking ahead of him, John said: 'Behold the Lamb of God' (John, 1: 36). The suffrage to St Peter begins a few lines below and the prayer is introduced by a shoulder-length depiction of St Peter (2 lines; **pl. 52**) holding the keys to the kingdom of Heaven.

A prayer to St Paul on f. 94 is introduced by a depiction of the saint with brown parted beard and a blue cloak with gold highlights (shoulder length, 2 lines; **pl. 54**). His

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[11] *Deus qui concedis obtentu beati antonii confessoris tui morbidum ignem extingui et membris egris refrigeria prestari fac nos propicius ut ipsius meritis et precibus a gehenne incendiis liberatos....* In medieval times, 'St Anthony's fire' was a skin disease (probably ergotism) which owed its name to the fact that St Anthony was believed to have the power to cure it.

[12] See **Irish Cat. 8** for full rubrics.

[13] See **Chapter II, II.B.5.** for full description of this miniature.

[14] One would have expected this miniature to introduce the first suffrage to St Michael rather than the second one as it thus features in an unusual 'middle position'.

[15] As opposed to the sequence antiphon-versicle-response that usually introduces suffrages.

attribute is most certainly a sword, the instrument of his martyrdom, but it is quite difficult to identify, given the small scale of the representation.

There are three historiated initials on f. 94v (**pl. 55-8**). The first one is St James the Major, introducing a prayer to that saint (**pl. 56**). Contained in a two-line initial E, the bearded St James holds a pilgrim's staff and wears his characteristic hat on his back. A few lines below, is St John the Evangelist, enclosed in a two-line initial D (**pl. 57**). Represented as a beardless young man, he holds a gold cup with a dark creature (snake/dragon) coming out of it. This attribute records how, according to legend, John remained miraculously unharmed after being given a poisoned drink. On the same folio is the suffrage to the Holy Innocents. Five swaddled babies evoke the episode of the Massacre of the Innocents in the two-line initial D (**pl. 58**).

St Thomas is represented in a two-line D on f. 95b (**pl. 59**), wearing a pink garment, he does not hold any attribute, and has both hands raised. For the suffrage to St Stephen (f. 95bv; **pl. 61**), a two-line initial contains the head of the saint. As usual he is represented with the tonsure of the cleric, and with a stone wounding his head.

On the next page, a two-line initial (f. 96; **pl. 63**) contains the severed head of St Denis, illustrating the *Memoire de Monseigneur saint Denis*. Again the head is integrated into a decorative ground of liquid gold and gem-like blue and red dots, whereas in some other initials, a dark background is painted in (see on f. 94, 94v and 97v; **pl. 54, 55 and 64**).

After the full-page miniature of St George by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen on f. 96v, a second depiction of the warrior saint is found on f. 97v (2 lines; **pl. 64**). Only his head and hand are visible but one can guess from this detail the rest of the scene. He seems to hold a staff, presumably the spear he is thrusting into the dragon. Dressed in full armour with helmet, he is depicted against a blue background where the artist added a green bush.

The *Memoire de Monseigneur saint Nicolas* contains a historiated initial (2 lines, f.101; **pl. 66**) with a shoulder-length representation of the bishop saint. Wearing a blue cloak over a dark pink garment, he is making a blessing gesture, as if it were to bless the reader every time he opens his Hours at this page.

On f. 108v (**pl. 72**) is depicted a bust-length figure of God between two blue flowers, on a liquid gold ground, blessing and holding the orb and cross (4 lines). Of a lower quality than most inhabited initials previously described, it introduces a prayer to Christ.

2. Attributes

In several instances, the attribute stands for the saint: this object, animal or person evokes the martyrdom or good deeds of the holy intercessor and is sufficient to designate him or her.[16] On f. 95bv (**pl. 60**), a flaying knife is painted among the flowers in this two-line initial. This detail could go unnoticed but its presence is enough to evoke the sufferings that St Bartholomew endured for his faith. Here the artist has conveyed with great pictorial economy the evocation of the saint's martyrdom. On f. 96 (2 lines; **pl. 62**), St Laurence is characterised by a gridiron, instrument of his martyrdom.[17] On the verso of the miniature of St Sebastian, it would be easy to miss the small arrow painted between two red flowers inside the initial D introducing the prayer (f. 100v; **pl. 65**).

On f. 102 (**pl. 67**), the head of a man drinking was painted within the suffrage to St Martin, certainly a depiction of the beggar with whom Martin shared his cloak (see **pl. 37**). A few lines further down, a dragon was painted in an initial introducing the unusual suffrage to St Romain (**pl. 69**). One could dismiss this initial as a decorated initial, but the legend attached to St Romain provides an explanation for the presence of the dragon. St Romain is the patron saint of Rouen where he was bishop from 626 to 638. He is credited with having freed the city from the threat of a terrible dragon called the Gargouille. The bishop valiantly went to face the dragon, with a condemned man, the only person who accepted to accompany him, and he miraculously tamed the Gargouille by placing his stole around its neck. As a commemoration of the event, a condemned person was released every year on the day of the Ascension and this practice was called 'Privilège de St Romain'.[18] It is thus no ordinary monster in the Chester Beatty initial but a representation of the Rouen Gargouille.

For the suffrage to St Anthony, a pig has been painted inside the two-line initial (f. 102v; **pl. 70**). The story of this saint was widely known through the Golden Legend. Born in the middle of the third century, he lived most of his life as a hermit in the desert

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[16] This 'attribute' initial is also found in a later *Hours for the use of Rome* painted in Tours ca. 1525 (Sotheby's London, 21 June 1998, lot 115) containing initials in shades of black and grey on gold outer ground and black inner ground, on which are painted the attributes of the saints in the suffrages section. This manuscript is particularly intriguing as its miniatures, like its initials, are marked by the absence of figures: the Annunciation for instance is evoked by an empty bedroom traversed by a ray of light (f. 20v), the Betrayal is a view of the garden by night with a lantern abandoned on the ground, and the chalice of the Agony in the distance (f. 7v). These paintings are like a stage from which all protagonists would have vanished.

[17] Although it is historically accepted that he died in 258, a few days after the Pope, during the Valerian persecutions, the gridiron is certainly legendary. The grilling episode was told in the Golden Legend, and the gridiron was commonly used as the saint's attribute.

[18] Réau points out that this miracle is a late invention intended to give a foundation to the pardon exerted annually by the archbishop of Rouen. See Réau, 1955-9, vol. 3, pt 3, pp. 1164-5.

near the Red Sea. The pig that accompanies him in almost all representations is supposed to have been left to him by one of his followers in the desert. Originally a diabolical wild boar, St Anthony tamed the beast and changed it into his most faithful companion. On the same folio, St Maur is evoked through the depiction of a small crutch within a two-line D between two flowers, on liquid gold (f. 102v; **pl. 71**). St Maur is a Benedictine monk credited with the foundation of the first Benedictine house in France in Glanfeuil, now called Saint-Maur-sur-Loire. He was invoked in the Middle Ages to cure gout, and crutches were nicknamed 'potences de St Maur'. The sick who attributed their cure to the saint's intervention left their crutches as ex-votos before his reliquary in Saint-Maur-des Fossés near Paris.[19] So, to the fifteenth-century devout, the crutch enclosed in the initial would have been associated with the saint.

3. Scenes

The last historiated initial of the book is a five-line letter I (f. 118; **pl. 73**), whose body is decorated in the same way as the other ones. On either side of the vertical axis provided by the initial I, two figures are painted: a naked figure with pink cloak to the left about to be scorched by a black winged devil to the right. The scene is continuous from right to left so that the black weapon held by the demon, interrupted by the body of the I ends on the left hand side in a hooked fork. This scene is a depiction of Judas hanging himself from a tree after having betrayed Christ, he is recognisable thanks to the detail of his entrails hanging from his belly.[20] Such a subject proves very appropriate, as Judas' fate is told in the ensuing text, the full account of Christ's Passion according to St John (John 18:1-19:42).

D.Where was WMs 89 decorated?

As WMs 89 contains work by Tours and Rouen artists, it was presumably written and decorated in one or both of these two centres. First, we will consider the possible origin of initials of type A, before turning to type B.

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19 See Réau, 1955-9, vol. 3, pt 2, p. 932.
20 *Acts of the Apostles*, 1. 18: 'Now this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity; and falling headlong he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.'

1. Tours?

Given the limited participation of Jean Bourdichon, it seems unlikely the manuscript would have been decorated in his workshop. In manuscripts illuminated by him, the motif of truncated branches was often used for line fillers, and even for initials (see **fig. 133**). Bourdichon was also renowned for his use of panel borders featuring naturalistic stems of flowers strewn on a yellow ground as in the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* [21](ca. 1503-8). Borders were left unpainted in later non-religious manuscripts such as the *Epîtres des poètes royaux* [22] (ca. 1510) or *Le Voyage de Gênes* [23](ca. 1508). Small historiated initials do not seem to have been common practice in the Bourdichon workshop.

As no other work by Hand C could be found, it is not possible to judge whether the grisaille initials were a feature commonly used in conjunction with his work, but none of the manuscripts seen in comparison with his miniatures shows secondary decoration of type A (see **fig. 134-5**, and also **88, 95, 99, 103, 106**), nor other manuscripts by Fouquettian artists (see for ex. **fig. 123**).

In the large initials that most frequently accompany the work of the Master of Jean Charpentier, the letter is formed by featherlike gold patterns on a blue and red ground, as in the *Hours of Philippe de Commynes*,[24] in the *Hours of Jean Charpentier*,[25] in the so-called *Hours of E-E*,[26]… (**fig. 136-7,** and also **110-1, 113-6, 120**). In the *Sydney Hours*,[27] the same colours are used but with a ribbon effect for the body of the letter and floral patterns in the inner ground (**fig. 138,** and also **118-9**).

Yet, in the *Syracuse Hours*,[28] the two-line initials are very close in style to the ones in the Chester Beatty Hours, with the grisaille acanthus also extending into the margin (see f. 24; **fig. 139**). They are described in the Syracuse catalogue as 'le iniziali ad acanti bianchi modellati in monocromato su azzurro o su rosso, anch'esse impreziosite dai

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21 Paris, BNF, Lat. 9474. For a reproduction of all folios from this manuscript, see the Mandragore database, accessible through the website of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (www.bnf.fr). Bourdichon used this type of borders in several of his books of hours including the so-called *Hours of Henry VII* (see London, BL, Royal ms. 2 D XL, f. 22), the *Holford Hours* (New York, PML, M.732), the *Rothschild Hours* (Waddesdon Manor, ms. 20) and the *Gardner Hours* (Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum, ms. 8), but they all are later than WMs 89.

22 St Petersburg, NLR, Fr. F.v.XIV, 8; see Avril, Reynaud, 1993, Cat. 168.

23 Paris, BNF, Fr. 5091.

24 London, BL, Harley ms. 2863.

25 Angers, BM, ms. 2048.

26 Latest appearance on the market: Sotheby's London, 29 Nov. 1990, lot 144.

27 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113.

28 Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez. X.

fondi d'oro liquido criblés di puntini di colore'.[29] The one-line initials and line-fillers, on the other hand, are in the usual style associated with the Master of Jean Charpentier (gold on blue or red).

We saw that the Master of Jean Charpentier certainly copied the background landscape of the miniature of St John the Baptist painted by Hand C (f. 93; **pl. 34**) in the Chester Beatty Hours, and repeated it in two miniatures of the *Syracuse Hours* (fols 18v and 99v; **fig. 126-7**).[30] If one accepts that working on WMs 89 had such an impact on his art, one could go further by saying that he also was seduced by the grisaille initials and incorporated them in the repertoire of his workshop. The Syracuse initials are the closest to those in WMs 89, but they are not found in surviving Hours painted by the Master of Jean Charpentier predating the Chester Beatty Hours.

The minute scale of the Chester Beatty historiated initials (mostly 2 lines) makes a stylistic analysis of their content difficult but the facial types do not have the proportions of the Master of Jean Charpentier's figures, if one compares them with the distinctive features of the Virgin (eight-line initial) on f. 24 of the *Syracuse Hours* (**fig. 139**).
As for borders, the Master of Jean Charpentier had no set rule concerning the page layout of his books of hours: in some of them, partial borders are only found to mark important sections in the text, generally accompanying a decorated initial or small miniature,[31] others have each page surrounded by a full border, as in the case of the so-called *Hours E-E* (**fig. 111**),[32] or a rich outer panel border painted with the instruments of the Passion and marks of ownership in the *Hours of Philippe de Commynes*,[33] while in *Hours for the use of Tours* in the Arsenal[34] or the *Syracuse Hours* (**fig. 139**),[35] the margins of text pages were left blank, as in WMs 89. The use of bluish white acanthus in borders and initials seems to have originated in Rouen and then spread to other illumination centres, including Paris, and nearby Tours, which would explain their presence in the *Syracuse Hours* (**fig. 139**).

2. Rouen?

Stems of grisaille acanthus strewn in the borders were a hallmark of the Master of the Echevinage workshop and initials painted in that style appear in a number of

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[29] Daneu Lattanzi, 1984, Cat. 140, p. 246.
[30] See **Chap. II. III.D.2**.
[31] Paris, BN, Lat. 1202; Sotheby's London, 23 June 1987, lot 113 (*Sydney Hours*); Poitiers, BM, ms. 55 (334).
[32] Sotheby's London, 29 Nov. 1990, lot 144; full borders except on fols 29v, 36v-37v.
[33] London, BL, Harley ms. 2863.
[34] Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 561.
[35] Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez. X.

manuscripts attributed to the Rouen workshop. Claudia Rabel noted these ubiquitous 'feuilles d'acanthes blanches modelées de bleu posées sur un fond d'or délayé assez terne'[36] in manuscripts produced ca. 1470-80 in Rouen.

The effect of the grisaille acanthus is generally enhanced by a gold ground. In the so-called *Hours of Chrétienne de France*[37] (ca. 1470-75), the miniatures are given prominence by a full border featuring flowers, fruits and grisaille acanthus on a gold ground while the rest of the Hours is decorated with partial borders on unpainted vellum where grisaille acanthus is not used. Initials below the miniatures are adorned with grisaille acanthus in harmony with the full borders (on f. 30v, 57v…) and some line fillers feature gems on a gold ground (see f. 30v), while the secondary decoration in the rest of the manuscript is painted in a more archaic style.[38]

In the demi-grisaille *Hours for the use of Rouen*[39] (**fig. 10, 26, 28**), all full borders (around the eight miniatures, and on important text pages on fols 1, 17 and 19) represent a climax in the use of grisaille in the borders by the Master of the Echevinage, echoed in the decorated initials throughout the manuscript (**fig. 142**). It is interesting to note that the rest of the manuscript has blank borders, like *Le Livre des Trois Eages*[40] (**fig. 5**), the *Hours for the use of Tours*,[41] and WMs 89.

In the so-called *Hours of St Lô*,[42] initials are mainly in blue or dark red patterned with white enclosing curvy ivy sprigs ('champie' style; **fig. 140,** and **19**), yet, on folios where the border features grisaille acanthus on gold ground, this combination is echoed by the large decorated initial as on f. 13. In these Hours for the use of Coutances, broad panel borders decorate the outer margin of each folio, as opposed to the blank borders of WMs 89.

The Chester Beatty type of decorated initials is found in the *Turin Hours*[43] (see **fig. 143**), but not systematically, possibly reflecting the intervention of different artists. A different type is used to introduce the two or three lines of text below the miniatures[44] (**fig. 59c-d** and also **15, 27, 30, 37, 41, 57**). Partial borders were painted on all folios,

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36 Rabel, 1989, p. 53.
37 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562.
38 Red or blue body patterned with white against contrasting ground enclosing ivy and variations of this style. One-line initials in gold with black penwork or blue with red penwork.
39 Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69.
40 Paris, BNF, Smith-Lesouëf ms. 70.
41 Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030.
42 Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37.
43 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
44 Blue or red letter on contrasting ground, patterned with gold and enclosing head of man, dragon or bird, God head… drawn in gold. This type may have been inspired by initials in the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37); see **Chapter I, D.3.d.** and **fig. 59a-d**.

except around the forty-six miniatures and on folios with historiated initials (f. 74 and 136v), which bear full borders (see **fig. 57**). These historiated initials are large (four-line high and partly painted in the border) and do not bear any resemblance to those in WMs 89.

In the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel*,[45] many initials are inhabited by a small figure, usually depicted shoulder length (**fig. 144-5**; decorated initials in same style on **fig. 7, 76**). St Joseph in the large initial on f. 27 (WMs 89; **pl. 48**) with his heavy eyelids adopts features not unlike those used in the Master of the Echevinage workshop (see **fig. 144-5**). Out of the ten historiated initials in the *Hours for the use of Rouen* in the Walters Art Gallery[46] (fourth quarter of 15th century), Lillian Randall describes two (on f. 10v, 13v) as 'formed of grisaille acanthus edged in mauve, inner/outer ground gold dotted in black' [47] which corresponds exactly to type A in WMs 89. On f. 10v (**fig. 146**), the half-length Virgin is close to the three first historiated initials in WMs 89 (f. 18v, 20v, 23; **pl. 47**). Another Hours in the Walters Art Gallery[48] contains decorated initials in the Chester Beatty style at the four major text divisions (fols 13, 54, 60v and 69v), 'formed of crisply modelled grisaille foliage outlined in mauve, filled with floral sprig…, inner/outer ground gold dotted in black'.[49] In these manuscripts attributed to the Master of the Echevinage workshop, nowhere does one find the variety of creatures enclosed in the Chester Beatty decorated initials, as flowers are the norm,[50] and the diversity of the historiated initials is not found in other manuscripts produced in the workshop. The grisaille initials entered the repertoire of artists of the Playfair group as can be seen for instance in the *Playfair Hours* [51](**fig. 147**, see also **fig. 21**) and in the Edinburgh *Hours for the use of Sarum* [52] (**fig. 148**, see also **fig. 35, 38**).

3. Type B

In her thesis, Isabelle Delaunay provided an interesting classification for initials, where she distinguished seven different types of initials in use in Parisian books of hours in the late-fifteenth century.[53] Following her classification, the initial on f. 107v equals to

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45 Besançon, BM, ms. 69.
46 Baltimore, WAG, W.224.
47 Randall, 1989-92, vol. II, pt 1, Cat. 165, p. 312.
48 Baltimore, WAG, W.233.
49 Randall, 1989-92, vol. II, pt 1, Cat. 164, p. 307.
50 W.233 contains a moth on f. 54.
51 London, V&A, ms. L. 475-1918.
52 Edinburg, EUL, ms. 43.
53 Delaunay, 2000, pp. 47-9, fig. 1-22.

Type 5 (**pl. 44**) and the second (f. 112v; **pl. 45**), containing flowers, to Type 6 and indeed, it is not surprising to find them side by side, as she stressed that the fashion for these two types developed simultaneously around 1470-80 in Parisian illumination. The example she reproduced from an Hours now in Ecouen and painted ca. 1500[54] provides a close parallel with the initial on f. 107v, but its outer ground is red patterned with gold and not liquid gold patterned with red, as in the Chester Beatty manuscript. This type of initials does not seem specific to one area and its use was quite widespread. Ribbon initials in shades of pink, enclosing same-colour or naturalistic flowers can be found ca. 1495 in the work of the Parisian Master of Robert Gaguin[55] and, slightly later, in manuscripts illuminated by the Paris Master of Philippe de Gueldre[56] and, in Tours by Bourdichon[57] (**fig. 149**), Poyer[58] (**fig. 150**), and by the Master of Claude de France.[59] The style of these initials does not seem to have been common in Rouen and these two bifolia could have been written and painted in Tours or Paris.

Simultaneous use of these two types of initials is found in some folios decorated by Jean Colombe in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* [60](**fig. 151-2**). The illumination of this most famous book of hours, originally commissioned by John, Duke of Berry, was interrupted in 1416 by the duke's death, and that of two of the Limbourg brothers, who were in charge of the work. The unfinished manuscript was completed in various stages,[61] and a document dating from August 1485 records a payment made by Charles I[er], Duke of Savoy, to Jean Colombe, an artist from Bourges,[62] for completing miniatures in the *Très Riches Heures*. The workshop of Jean Colombe was also responsible for a large number of initials and, among the various types of initials used, one finds elements of comparison with both type A and B present in WMs 89. A number of initials have the 'rouennais' body of the letter in blue grisaille on dark red, and the inner and outer ground

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54 Ecouen, Musée National de la Renaissance, Cl. 1251, f. 46. See Delaunay, 2000, fig. 15.
55 See Paris, S.M.A.F., ms. 92-1, non-numbered folio reproduced in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 263.
56 See Lyon, BM, ms. 5125 (dating ca. 1506), f. 162 reproduced in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 279. Unlike the Chester Beatty initials, the outer ground of the initial is red patterned with gold, as in the Ecouen manuscript.
57 See *Missal of Jacques de Beaune* (Paris, BNF, Lat. 886; dating ca. 1506-11).
58 See Lyon, BM, ms. 1558 (dating ca. 1500-5).
59 See Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 291 (dating ca. 1510-5), f. 27 reproduced in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 321.
60 Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 65.
61 For a recent outline of the various stages in the decoration of this manuscript, see the introduction by P. Stirnemann to *Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, (cd-rom, Paris, 2004).
62 Among his most prestigious patrons was the Queen Charlotte de Savoie, who may have recommended him to her nephew Charles Ier. Colombe was named official illuminator to the duke in 1486 and seems to have subsequently resided in Chambéry for a while (he died ca. 1493). On Jean Colombe, see Avril, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 326-7. See also **Chapter II, III.D.1.**

is liquid gold with sometimes dots of black ink (see f. 91v; **fig. 151**).[63] These letters are either inhabited, or contain acanthus, flower and, in a few instances, a butterfly (see f. 68v). The pink ribbon type (see f. 75v; **fig. 152**)[64] also often features in these pages. The gold ground of the Colombe initials is not sprinkled with colourful gems as in WMs 89, but both the grisaille and the ribbon types extend curvilinear acanthus leaves into the margins. These then merge with longer gold and blue acanthus sprays unlike the Chester Beatty initials, which are also more restricted in the marginal space they occupy. The comparison between the Colombe initials and the ones in WMs 89 confirms the dating of the Dublin manuscript to ca. 1485, while showing that the bluish acanthus initials were, by then, not used only in Rouen, but also in Bourges.

As in the attribution of the miniatures, one is faced with a dual origin for the secondary decoration. Even though type A was used in other centres by ca. 1485, these grisaille acanthus initials point to Rouen, especially when viewed in conjunction with the shoulder-length figures inhabiting the initials.[65] The regular rounded bâtarde script indicates that the manuscript was written in Rouen,[66] so that it must have remained there to have its decoration painted. On the other hand, the two bifolia written in a different hand and decorated in a different manner must have been executed in another centre. Type B is not found in manuscripts produced in Rouen, but was in use in Paris and the North West of France from the 1470s-1480s.

II Textual contents and localisation

This section will focus on rare texts and prayers, and on those which are useful for dating and placing the Chester Beatty Hours. WMs 89 corresponds to entry **no. 8** in the *Catalogue of Manuscript Books of Hours in Irish Collections* (**vol. IV** of the present work), where one will find listed the textual contents of the manuscript, with rubrics and incipit.

A. Textual contents

1. The calendar verses

Above each miniature in the calendar, at the end of each month, one verse is written in blue in an ornate script with cadels (see **pl. 1-13**). These Latin verses provide

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[63] A variation of this sort of initial features a different outer ground, painted in dark red with gold tracings (see f. 68v for ex.).
[64] On gold inner and outer ground, or with dark red spandrels (see previous footnote).
[65] See comparison with the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel* (**fig. 144-5**).
[66] I would like to thank Isabelle Delaunay for her precious comments on the script.

an origin for each sign of the zodiac, mainly in the Old Testament, although Aquarius, Virgo and Libra refer to the New Testament (for a full transcription of these verses with translation, see **Appendix II.2)**. Two of them (Cancer and Libra) base this relationship on a Latin pun, which, in the case of Libra is difficult to translate.[67]

It was not unusual to include verses in the calendar, but these either referred to the saints to be celebrated in the month,[68] or drew parallels between the twelve months and the ages of man like the quatrains found in the *Calendrier des Bergers*, first printed in Paris in 1491 by Guyot Marchant.[69] Such verses featured in the calendars of early printed hours and, when they did appear in manuscript books of hours, their presence betrayed an influence of the former on the latter.

The origin of most of the Chester Beatty verses is to be found in the 11th century gloss by Bridfertus Ramesiensis of Bede's *De ratione temporum.*[70] The only divergences are for the signs of Sagittarius and Capricorn. WMs 89 gives Jonah as the explanation for the Sagittarius sign, but it certainly is an error in the transcription of this name by the scribe, as Jonathan, son of Saul would seem a more likely candidate, as an Old Testament archer, to support the link with the centaur figure and his bow.[71] On the other hand, the gloss gives David fighting Goliath as the figure related to Sagittarius, but the connection is tenuous. The Capricorn sign refers to Moses' legendary horns[72] in WMs 89, while the gloss links it to Esau, elder son of Isaac, who was robbed of his father's benediction by

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[67] It plays on the double meaning of the word *staterem* in Latin, which designated both a Jewish currency (stater, stateris, m.), and Roman scales (statera, ae, f.). As for Cancer, it plays on the similarity of this word with *cancrarius*, which referred to Job being afflicted with canker.

[68] Like the common mnemonic verses: *En janvier que les rois venus sont…* which indicate, by the position of certain words, the days when to celebrate the main feasts (see in *Hours for the use of Rome* printed by Thielman Kerver for Gillet Remacle, completed on 17 July 1501, Dublin, CBL, s.n.).

[69] The earliest example of such a parallel is found in a 14th century French poem (Paris, BNF, Fr. 1728). 'A third rewriting, *Les six premiers ans que l'homme vit au monde…*, much reduced in length, twelve quatrains with the theme of the ages of man… is found in a number of breviaries, books of hours, … instead or together with other French and Latin rhymes' (Dal, 1980, p. 17). For an English version of these verses *The fyrst vi yeres of mannes byrth et aege…*, see the *Hours for the use of Sarum* published by François Regnault, 25 May 1536 (Dublin, TCD, Press C.2.16).

[70] 'Aries, Abraham, pro eo quod arietem Domino obtulit pro Isaac filio suo. Taurus, Jacob, qui quasi taurus cum angelo luctatus est in monte Bethel. Gemini, Adam et Eva, quod uno corpore facti sunt in paradiso. Cancer, Job propheta, quia cancriosus fuit. Leo, Daniel, qui in lacu leonum fuit. Virgo, Maria, quia filium genuit, et virgo permansit. Libra, Judas Scarioth, qui ad stateram pretium Salvatoris pensavit. Scorpio, Pharao, quia per concupiscentiam mersus est in mari. Sagittarius, David, qui belligerator fuit contra Goliath. Capricornus, Esau, qui per cupiditatem venationis, et per capram perdidit benedictionem. Aquarius, Joannis Baptistae, quia in alveo Jordanis Salvatorem baptizavit. Pisces, Jonas propheta, quia in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus commoravit.' (*Patrologie latine,* t. 90, col. 361). I would like to thank Jean-Baptiste Lebigue (Researcher at the Liturgy section, IRHT Orléans) for his precious help in finding the origin of these verses.

[71] See II Samuel 1: 22: 'From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty, the bow of Jonathan turned not back…'

[72] The origin of this lies in a confusion of the Hebrew verb *to beam*, with a close word meaning *horn*. St Jerome mistakenly translated in the *Vulgate* that Moses's face had horns, instead of Moses' face was beaming (Exodus, 34, 29). See Duchet-Suchaux, 1994, pp. 250-1.

his younger brother Jacob.[73] These last two verses in the Chester Beatty manuscript must therefore have come from a different source as yet unidentified. The Chester Beatty verses, written in two lines above each miniature, are extremely unusual and, at present, have not been encountered in any other manuscript.

2. Prayers

Alongside the essential texts that compose a standard book of hours,[74] WMs 89 contains a certain number of prayers in Latin, an unusual feature for hours for the use of Rouen.[75] There are no prayers in the vernacular: French was used only for some rubrics. When possible, parallels will be drawn with the textual contents of books of hours stylistically related to the workshop of the Rouen Master, especially the *Turin Hours*,[76] the *St Lô Hours*,[77] the demi-grisaille *Hours for the use of Rouen*,[78] and the Edinburgh *Hours for the use of Sarum*.[79] The group of 23 books of hours associated with the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage studied by Rabel in her unpublished 1984 dissertation also provides interesting elements of comparison.

a. Prayers to the Virgin

The prayers to the Virgin occur between the Gospel Lessons and the Hours of the Virgin (fols 16v-33),[80] with the exception of the *Stabat Mater* and *Salve Regina*, on fols 61-64. The common *Stabat Mater* prayer is given special prominence by the introductory miniature of the Deposition (f. 61) and follows the Hours of the Holy Spirit. It also features in the demi-grisaille *Hours for the use of Rouen*,[81] followed by other prayers to the Virgin concerning which, unfortunately, no details are given in the sales catalogue.

Delaunay noted that, in the group of Rouen Hours studied by Rabel, additional prayers[82] were very scarce, apart from the common *Quinze Joies de la Vierge*,[83] followed by

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[73] Isaac, having gone blind, felt that his death was approaching and wanted to give his benediction to Esau, his eldest son. He thus asked Esau to go hunting and prepare a meal to his liking with his hunt, but Jacob, with his mother's assistance, took two kids from his flock (hence the tenuous link with the Capricorn sign) and had them prepared for his father. He then pretended to be Esau, received his father's benediction and therefore gained precedence over his elder brother. See Gen. 27: 1-41.

[74] Calendar, Gospel Lessons, *Obsecro te*, and *O Intemerata*, Hours of the Virgin, of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit, Penitential Psalms, Office of the Dead and suffrages.

[75] See Rabel, 1984, pp. 38 and 42.

[76] Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.

[77] Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37.

[78] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69.

[79] Edinburgh, EUL, ms. 43.

[80] See **Irish Cat. 8** for transcription of incipits.

[81] Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69, f. 22.

[82] As opposed to the ones that always feature in books of hours such as the *Obsecro te* or *O Intemerata*.

the *Sept Requêtes à Notre Seigneur* in French.[84] It would seem that these two prayers were part of the standard speculative Hours for the use of Rouen,[85] but tended not to be included in more personalised Hours.[86] WMs 89 does not contain these two popular prayers, but shorter variations on the Joys in Latin. In addition to the usual *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata,* one finds the Five Joys of the Virgin (f. 28v), and the Seven Joys of the Virgin on Earth (f. 21v), and in Heaven (f. 26). The two latter also appear in the *Hours for the use of Sarum* now in Edinburgh University.[87]

In the midst of these prayers to the Virgin, are the Hours of the Conception (f. 27)[88] introduced by a historiated initial containing St Joseph (**pl. 48**).[89] It was only in 1476 that Pope Sixtus IV[90] sanctioned the Office which, as a result, appeared increasingly often in late 15th century French books of hours.[91] A legend linked the feast of the Immaculate Conception with William the Conqueror, and it was commonly believed in the early 16th century that the feast was celebrated for the first time in Normandy and England on his order.[92] Normandy, and especially Rouen, kept this attachment to the Immaculate Conception and, from 1486, the confraternity of the Conception organised every year a literary competition called 'Palinods de Rouen', where the contenders had to write a poem in praise of the Immaculate Conception.[93] The presence of the Office of the Conception in WMs 89, a book of hours for the use of Rouen, therefore reflects a strong local devotion,[94] and supports the late date attributed to this manuscript.

On f. 30, the only text is a rubric announcing *les cinq douleurs nostre dame contenans cinq requestes.* The theme of the Sorrows of the Virgin became increasingly frequent in the late 15th century, providing the counterpart to her Joys.[95] The Five Sorrows of Our Lady do not seem to have been a common prayer, as Leroquais only recorded the occurrence

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[83] Rabel noted that in several Rouen manuscripts, each Joy began with an initial E unconnected with the text it was introducing (Rabel, 1984, p. 42; first noted by Lafond, 1929, p. ix, in Cherbourg, BM, ms. 5)
[84] Delaunay, 1991, p. 34.
[85] As part of a quire added at the end, see **Chapter I, A.3.c.** See most of the Hours studied by Rabel, 1984.
[86] To the exception of the *St Lô Hours.* The so-called *Hours of Chrétienne de France* (Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562), the *Turin Hours*, the demi-grisaille Hours do not contain these two prayers.
[87] Edinburgh, EUL, ms. 43, fols 22 and 25v.
[88] Four occurrences in Wieck, 1988: two French Hours dating from ca. 1390 and ca. 1425-30, and two later Flemish manuscripts (Cat. 15, 33, 94 and 106).
[89] See **Chapter III, I.C.1.**
[90] See Mâle, 1908 (1995 ed.), p. 209.
[91] In our catalogue, they feature in the late fifteenth-century French Hours now in the Jesuits Library (**Irish Cat. 10**).
[92] The feast featured in the Anglo-Saxon calendar prior to the Norman Conquest and was celebrated by the Irish church in the IXth and Xth century. See Mâle, 1908 (1995 ed.), p. 208, esp. n. 1-3.
[93] See Mâle, 1908 (1995 ed.), p. 216.
[94] Probably absent from Rabel's selection of Hours because they all date from ca. 1455-ca. 1480.
[95] It is interesting to note that the Sorrows do not feature among the large number of prayers to the Virgin contained in the *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy* (**Irish Cat. 7**), dating from ca. 1443.

of Seven Sorrows in a late fifteenth-century *Hours for the use of Liège.*[96] The Seven Sorrows extended from the Prophecy of Simeon to the Entombment,[97] but these are not what one finds on f. 31 (following the miniature of Christ Taking Leave of his Mother, **pl. 17**), or an evocation of the Five Sorrows, from the imprisonment of Jesus to his burial.

Indeed it appears on close examination that the prayer that follows does not correspond to the Sorrows of the Virgin, but to Five Prayers to the Virgin traditionally attributed to St John the Evangelist. The first prayer is missing its opening words, as these were never written on the frame of the introductory miniature[98] (**pl. 17**) and, complete, it would have read: [*Mediatrix omnium et fons*] *vivus indesignanter rivos gracie copiose…* These five prayers, whose introducing initials formed the name of MARIA, praised the Virgin, but did not evoke her sorrows. Each prayer ended in a request on the part of the devout. The rubric in a late fifteenth-century French *Hours for the use of Rome*[99] provides ample information on the benefits linked with the recitation of each prayer: *S'ensuivent cinqz belles oraisons que monseigneur sainct Iehan l'évangeliste fit en lonneur et révérance de la vierge Marie, dont Nostre Seigneur donne aucuns bénéfices qui sont cy après déclairés à ceulx qui diront dévotement lesdictes oraisons. C'est assavoir. La première dit : Ie donneray rémission à tous ceulx et celles qui en feront mémoire. Et pour la seconde : Ie leur donneray autant de grâces au royaulme des cieulx comme se toute leur vie m'avoyent servy acousteméement. Et pour la tierce : Ie vous delivreray de toutes adversités. Et pour la quarte : Ie leur feray avoir avant leure de la mort vraye confession, repentence et absolution de tous leurs péchiez. Et pour la quinte : Ie ne feray d'eulx nulz jugement mais les livreray pour en faire tel jugement qu'il vous plairay. Et donc monseigneur saint Iehan, qui estoit ministrateur d'elle, en fist ces cinq oraisons qui s'ensuivent.* These prayers were not very common and appear in a few Hours mostly produced in the Northwest of France in the late 15th-early 16th century.[100]

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[96] Paris, BNF, Lat. 10535; Leroquais, 1927, vol. I, p. 336, the prayer began with the words: *O Maria Mater Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, ego indigna famula tua admoneo te maximi doloris….* In Wieck's 1988 catalogue, an Hours produced in Strassburg in the early sixteenth-century also contains the Seven Sorrows (Malibu, Getty Mus., MS Ludwig IX.16; see Wieck, 1988, Cat. 119, p. 224).

[97] The Prophecy of Simeon, the Flight into Egypt, the loss of the infant Christ in the Temple, Mary meeting Jesus carrying the Cross, the Crucifixion, Mary receiving the body of Jesus from the Cross, the body of Jesus being placed in the tomb.

[98] The same occurs for the incipit of the suffrage to St Michael and the suffrage to St Gabriel (see fols 90v and 91v).

[99] Paris, BNF, Lat. 10561, fols 93v-94; quoted by Leroquais, in Leroquais, 1927, vol. II, pp. 26-7.

[100] Leroquais only lists four French Hours containing them: Lat. 1368, f. 68v, Smith-Lesouëf 40, f. 66v (end of 15th c., Amiens?), and two early sixteenth-century Hours (Lat. 1430, f. 87v and Lat. 13268, f. 93v) in Paris. See Leroquais, 1927, vol. I, pp. 184, 280 and vol. II, p. 61 and Supp. LH., p. 39. See also Baltimore, WAG, W.230, f. 150 (for the use of Rome, 4th quarter of 15th c., Western France), W.245, f. 77v (for the use of Angers, Loire region, 4th quarter of 15th c.), W.258, f. 52 (*Prayer book*, Paris, 4th quarter of 15th c.), W.459, f. 25v (Bourges, early 16th c.), in Randall, 1992, vol. II, pt 1 and 2, Cat. 121, 168, 169 and 206.

Interestingly, while the rubric could be thought to be erroneous, a fragment of an early 16th century Hours executed in Bourges for Jean Lallemant the Elder[101] also associates the Five Sorrows of the Virgin with St John's five prayers. Its rubric, in Latin and French reads: *Salubre est honorare quinque Dolores marie virginis Quidem sanctus pater in spiritu audiuit ihesum xristum querentem a matre misericordie. qui fuissent Dolores sui maiores in mundo. Et illa ait ad xristum Quinque fuerunt maiores ceteris. Primus cum symeon te occidendum prophetauit. Secundus fuit cum te perdidi per triduum Tercius cum te captum et ligatum audiui. Quartum cum te crucifixum vidi. Quintus cum te vidi poni in sepulchrum. Cui xristus ait. Qui me ad primum tuum dolorem cum uno pater noster et cum uno Ave maria salutauerit. Dabo ei cognitionem et contritionem peccatorum suorum. Si ad secundum idem fecerit dabo ei Remissionem omnium peccatorum…Sensuivent cinq belles oraisons que monseigneur saint iehan leuangeliste fit en lonneur de la uierge…*[102] The choice of Christ Taking Leave of his Mother as the introductory miniature to this prayer provides a link with the Sorrows which are only alluded to in the rubric but not in the prayer itself.

b. Prayers to Christ and meditations on the Passion

WMs 89 contains several prayers to Christ between fols 108v and 115, and this choice of prayers is quite unusual for Hours for the use of Rouen, as Rabel noted in her study that: 'les textes proprement dits de dévotion et de méditation sur le Christ de la Passion sont rares'.[103] One of the added bifolia[104] contains the Seven Prayers of St Gregory, a common text in books of hours, introduced by a long rubric promising an indulgence of four thousand years, but it could reach greater heights as in a French Hours now in Baltimore,[105] where the indulgence is of forty thousand years for the regular recitation of this text. Indulgenced prayers became increasingly frequent in the late 15th century, especially in printed books of hours, and their promises increased dramatically. WMs 89 does not contain any other indulgenced prayer, such as the *Salve Sancta Facies*, common in books of hours of the period.

The Litany of St Peter of Luxembourg (f. 122v) is not a rare text even though it occurred less frequently than the Prayers of St Gregory.[106] WMs 89 also contains the

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[101] Baltimore, WAG, W.459, fols 25v-28; other parts in various libraries around the world, see Randall, 1989-92, vol. II, pt 2, Cat. 206.
[102] Quoted by Randall, 1989-92, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 503.
[103] Rabel, 1984, p. 44.
[104] See **Chapter IV, A.2.**
[105] Baltimore, WAG, W.245, f. 61v; see Wieck, 1988, p. 107.
[106] In Wieck, 1988, one finds only three occurrences of the litany, out of 119 manuscripts (Cat. 11, 21 and 88). In the present catalogue, it occurs in the *Hours of Prigent de Coëtivy* (**Irish Cat. 7**, f. 188).

popular Seven Last Words of Our Lord (f. 115).[107] This prayer is not common in Rouen hours and is only found in the *Hours of Jean d'Estouteville*,[108] A few prayers to be said during Mass (fols 106-7) occur after the suffrages. Again, although this was quite a common section for books of hours, it seems it was not standard for Rouen hours, as it only features in the *Edinburgh Hours.*[109] The same applies to the account of the Passion according to St John (John, 18: 1- 19, 42; fols 118-122v), not often found in Rouen hours.[110] The text preceding the full account of the Passion is announced as an abbreviated version of the Passion (fols 116v-117v), which begins with the Flagellation instead of the Taking of Christ and ends with Longinus thrusting his spear into Christ's side (John, 19: 1-35). This shorter form, although less frequent than the full account was not rare and is always, as here, followed by the versicle *Gloriosa passio* and by the prayer *Domine Jhesu Christe qui manus tuas.* The rubric on f. 116 assigns it to a certain 'Pope John',[111] who could be John III, a fanciful attribution given in the rubric to the abbreviated Passion in a manuscript now in Oxford.[112] This pope could also be John XXII, to whom rubrics often also mistakenly attributed the short Office of the Passion. The *Hours of Jean d'Estouteville* [113] contain this short Passion, introduced by a miniature of the Mass of St Gregory (no rubric), and followed by prayers linked to the Passion.

c. Suffrages

Suffrages occur in two locations in the manuscript: shortly after the Office of the Dead, and at the very end, after a selection of prayers to Christ and various accounts of the Passion. Yet, a specificity of Hours for the use of Rouen (as in the Sarum use) was that some suffrages did not feature at the end of the manuscript but came after Lauds of the Virgin when they were meant to be recited.[114] The two other Hours for the use of Rouen in our catalogue confirm this rule[115] and, out of the Hours studied by Rabel, only

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107 Wieck's 1988 catalogue shows the popularity of this prayer (see Cat. 23, 24, 34, 44, 51, 84, 89…, all manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore).
108 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 101v.
109 Edinburgh, EUL, ms. 43, f. 126.
110 Rabel only found it in Traylen Sale, Guildford, 77, 1972, lot 12, a book of hours executed in a mediocre Rouennais style, which she dated to ca. 1465-70 (see Rabel, 1984, Cat. 11, p. 151).
111 Rubric on f. 116: *Passio domini n[ost]ri ih[es]u Christi abbreviata secundum iohannem papam.*
112 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Lyell 30, f. 86v.
113 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 95.
114 A remnant of the English occupation in the first half of the century.
115 See **Irish Cat. 1** and **11.**

one does not comply with it.[116] She also noted that the suffrages often ended in a suffrage to Peace in hours for the use of Rouen, but WMs 89 does not conform.[117] It is again with the *Hours of Jean d'Estouteville* [118] that the Chester Beatty manuscript has most affinities in the distribution of the suffrages. Indeed, in the *Turin Hours*, a first group of suffrages (fols 103-127) occurs after prayers linked to the Passion and to the Trinity, and the second group at the end of the manuscript (fols 140-146v): none comes just after Lauds in the Rouen manner. The Joys of St Barbara (f. 128) were not either a common feature of books of hours and do not appear in the other Hours linked with the Rouennais Master.[119]

d. Miscellaneous

The Genealogy of Christ (Matthew, 1: 1-16; f. 24v) was not a common component of books of hours but is found in an earlier *Hours for the use of Rouen* (ca. 1465-70) attributed to the Master of the Echevinage,[120] and in the later Hours for the use of Rouen painted by Robert Boyvin.[121] In both these manuscripts, as in WMs 89, this section was introduced by a miniature featuring the Tree of Jesse.[122] Mâle pointed out that this passage from Matthew's Gospel was read as part of the Office of the Conception, and that the Tree of Jesse was considered as a symbol of the Immaculate Conception: 'au sommet de cet arbre fait de voluptueux, de parjures et d'idolâtres, une Vierge immaculée apparaissait comme un miracle souverain'.[123] This genealogy, a few folios before the Hours of the Conception (f. 27),[124] may indicate a special devotion of the owner to the Immaculate Conception. It could also have been a pretext for the miniature of the Tree of Jesse by Bourdichon to be included.

The Verses of St Bernard (f. 88) were quite common. They commemorated a medieval legend according to which the Devil, one day, appeared before St Bernard, and boasted he knew which seven verses from the psalms, if recited daily, could guarantee

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116 Paris, BNF, Lat. 1381, where suffrages are at the end. See also for suffrages after Lauds the demi-grisaille Hours for the use of Rouen (Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69) not included in Rabels' study.

117 Rabel, 1984, p. 35: 'Le Mémoire de la Paix qui conclut les suffrages dans de nombreux cas semble être une particularité rouennaise.'

118 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.

119 For another example, see Baltimore, WAG, W.170, Belgium, ca. 1430-40, f. 171v (Wieck, 1988, Cat. 84).

120 Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Douce 253, f. 18. Rabel noted that the Oxford manuscript was the only one to contain this text, out of the 23 Hours from the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage she studied in her DEA dissertation (Rabel, 1984, p. 144).

121 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 416, f. 7.

122 See **Chapter II, I.B.1.a.**

123 Mâle, 1903, p. 217.

124 See **A.2.** in this section.

salvation. When he refused to tell his secret to St Bernard, the saint then decided he would recite all psalms daily so that he would ascertain his salvation. The Devil, horrified by this perspective, revealed the seven verses to St Bernard! As here, a rubric usually introduced this prayer explaining the circumstances of the devil's revelation and giving instructions on how and when to say the prayer. This prayer was indulgenced so that it was believed that its regular recitation shortened the devout's stay in Purgatory. Only two Rouen books of hours out of the 23 studied by Claudia Rabel contained this text.[125]

Another originality of Hours for the use of Rouen according to Delaunay was that the psalms of the vespertine Hour were not written in full: they only were indicated by their incipit. As they also featured in previous hours, the reader could easily find them in full within the pages of his manuscript. Yet, he probably did not need to do so as he would have known them by heart, from reciting them daily. Delaunay stressed that 'les psaumes semblent écrits en entier dans les heures à l'usage de Rouen plus anciennes et, d'après une première enquête sur des livres d'heures de la fin du XVe siècle, heures d'usage divers, ces abréviations semblent bien particulières aux heures écrites à Rouen'.[126] WMs 89 complies with this and the psalms of Vespers are all abbreviated.

B. Localisation[127]

The calendar does not provide much information, as it is a standard Parisian calendar, as described by Perdrizet in *Le Calendrier parisien à la fin du moyen âge d'après le bréviaire et les livres d'heures* (Paris, 1933), with a saint for each day of the year.[128] A few differences need to be noted: Robert (24 April), Eutrope (30 April; bishop of Saintes), Urbain (25 May), Quentin (31 Oct.) are in gold letters in ms 89, while Estienne (3 Aug.) and Remy (1 Oct.), unlike in Perdrizet's calendar, are not feast days. Ozon (or Oron) replaces Offrant on October 15th.

Surprisingly, important Rouen feasts such as St Austreberte (10 Feb.), the Translation S. Sauveur (6th August), St Romain (23rd Oct.), St Ursin (30 Dec.) do not

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125 In the so-called *St Lô Hours* (Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37) and in Douai, BM, Ms. 184. This text also features in Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030, and in Lille, BM, ms. 163 as an added prayer.

126 Delaunay, 1991, p. 30.

127 See **Appendix II.1.** for full transcription of the calendar, litany and suffrages.

128 The Hours for the use of Rome executed for Philippe de Commynes now in the British Library (London, BL, Harley ms 2863), painted by the Master of Jean Charpentier contain the same calendar, but closer to Perdrizet's Parisian calendar.

appear in WMs 89.[129] The Feast of Our Lady of the Snow (fête de Notre Dame des Neiges), established in Rouen by archbishop Guillaume d'Estouteville in 1454 made its way into Rouen calendars in the last quarter of the 15th century but it does not feature in WMs 89, nor does the Translation of the Rouen Relics (3 Dec.). St Mellon (22 Oct.) is a Rouen feast but it is not in blue in WMs 89, and it also belonged to the Parisian calendar. Only two elements link this calendar to Rouen: Martial (3 July) does not belong to the Parisian calendar and is one of the main Rouen feasts, but it is not rubricated;[130] St Michael is given particular prominence (also in the suffrages), as he appears in gold on October 18th instead of St Luke's feast day in the Parisian calendar, St Michael is usually rubricated in Rouen calendars but on October 16th.

Calendars with a saint for each day were not common to Hours for the use of Rouen produced in the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage and his followers. Indeed, Delaunay stressed that 'Dans les livres d'Heures du Maître de l'Echevinage et ses suiveurs (vers 1460-80), les calendriers sont moins fournis' [131] and, for the late 15th-early 16th century period, she noted that, among the Hours for the use of Rouen she studied, only two (dating from ca. 1480-90) contained full calendars.[132]

In the litany, St Romain and St Mellon confirm the link with Rouen provided by the use, while the Parisian saints Denis, Germain, Lubin, Fiacre (Brie region), Geneviève and Avoye also appear among the suffrages. Martin (also present in the suffrages) could provide a link with Tours, but in the absence of other Tours saints such as Gatien or Avertin, his presence is not significant. Curiously, the list of Virgins does not include Austreberte or Honorine, female saints associated with Rouen.[133]

In the suffrages, Michael, Gabriel, St John the Baptist, George, Sebastian and Martin figure prominently in full-page miniatures while all other suffrages have only historiated or decorated initials.[134] The suffrage to St George is especially developed, beginning with a prayer in verse *Salve martir gloriose, Ave miles preciose…* St Michael is also given special prominence through two successive suffrages. The suffrages include St

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129 Rabel noted that St Austreberte and St Romain (in gold) appear in nearly all calendars of the Hours she studied (Rabel, 1984, p. 41).
130 See for example in Baltimore, WAG, W.241, W.233 and W.224, all for the use of Rouen and linked to the Master of the Echevinage workshop.
131 Delaunay, 1991, p. 36.
132 Paris, BNF, Lat. 1163 and 1177.
133 See Baltimore, WAG, W.224, 233, and 241.
134 See **I.C.** in this chapter.

Romain, with an initial depicting the gargouille he defeated (f. 102),[135] stressing again the link with Rouen, and a large number of Parisian saints.[136]

The Hours of the Virgin and the Office of the Dead are for the use of Rouen, and this link is confirmed by the fact that the manuscript was written and decorated in that city, and by the presence of eight miniatures painted by the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen. However, the selection of prayers is unusual for Rouen Hours and certainly reflects the wishes of its patron who had links with Rouen, but also with Paris, as can be judged from the presence of several Parisian saints in the litany and the suffrages.

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[135] See **I.C.2.** in this chapter.
[136] See previous paragraph.

Chapter IV

The making of the book

Although we located and, in some cases, identified the different artists, and placed the miniatures in WMs 89 in the wider context of late 15th century manuscript production, numerous questions remain unanswered. Were all the miniatures planned from the beginning? Were all the miniaturists initially hired to take part in the illustration of this manuscript? How does one explain the intervention of artists from both Rouen and Tours? How was the work organised between these two cities? Who could have commissioned such a fine piece of work?

WMs 89 has been studied from various angles, but a codicological approach is vital to understand how the book was put together. An examination of the structure of the book in relation with the study of the script, the style of the initials and the work of the different miniaturists will allow us to advance hypotheses concerning the making of the book and the origin of its commissioning.

A. Codicology

1. A few physical characteristics

As the type of script used in this manuscript and most of its secondary decoration indicate Rouen[1] it is interesting to compare some of its physical characteristics with other books of hours attributed to the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage. Among the 23 late 15th century books of hours painted in this style which were listed by Claudia Rabel,[2] the height varies between 150 and 225 mm and the width between 112 and 162 mm.[3] With folios only measuring 129 x 91 mm, the Chester Beatty Hours are small in comparison and closest to the *Hours of Jean d'Estouteville* [4] (130 x 95 mm). Rabel stressed that the average number of folios is around 150 (from 100 to 196). WMs 89

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[1] Except for bifolia written by scribe B and calendar.

[2] Rabel, 1984.

[3] Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562 (165 x 120 mm) and ms. 429 (163 x 113 mm); Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030 (150 x 112 mm). Rabel, 1984, p. 29. The so-called *Hours of St Lô* (Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 35) are unusually large: 285 x 205 mm, and Sotheby's 9 Dec. 1958, lot 30, unusually small: 96 x 74 mm.

[4] Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88. These were not included in Rabel's 1984 study, nor were the demi-grisaille *Hours for the use of Rouen* (Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69) measuring 182 x 124 mm.

contains 129 folios, but they are tightly written with 25 lines[5] forming a text block of 87 x 58 mm (against 17-18 lines for a text block of 68 x 50 in the *Hours of Jean d'Estouteville* over 150 folios).[6]

The vellum used for WMs 89 has been prepared with great care, as in the so-called *Hours of Chrétienne de France*,[7] the Paris *Hours for the use of Tours* [8]and the *Hours of Jean d'Estouteville*.[9] So thin that it becomes transparent in places, the quality of the vellum reflects the expensive nature of these commissions.[10] The manuscript has unfortunately lost its original binding, and was presumably rebound in the 18th century. Its folios were trimmed and the foredge was gilt. The binding is pink velvet with clasps decorated with heads of putti and floral motifs (see **pl. 74-76**).[11]

2. Two different scribes

The script used in WMs 89 is French bâtarde, which was characteristic of French books of hours in the late 15th century. Two hands were responsible for copying the text (excluding the calendar, which was usually written separately). **Scribe A** is responsible for the whole manuscript except for two bifolia. He wrote in brown ink, and marked the initials with a touch of yellow (a common practice). The rubrics are written in dark red ink and round initials like D or O usually have a dot in their centre (see **pl. 48, 50, 52**), this also occurs in the core of the text (see f. 91 for example). This habit of adding a dot in the belly of a letter also appears in the text of the *Hours of Jean d'Estouteville.*[12] Slightly rounded, very regular and traced in brown ink, this script is characteristic of Rouen.[13]

Scribe B used darker brown ink and a slightly brighter shade of pink for the rubrics. His letters are larger, his capitals not marked by yellow, and he often used a form of d with an ascender that markedly turns back on itself (see f. 107v, 1st and last line of rubrics, **pl. 45**). His capital O (**pl. 45**) is marked by a thick vertical stroke that is not

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5 Except for bifolio 59/64, which has 24 lines.
6 One should nevertheless keep in mind that the original ratio between size of folio and text block is now lost because WMs 89, like the Turin Hours, has been rebound (probably in the 18th century). Their folios were therefore trimmed
7 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., ms. 562.
8 Paris, BNF, Lat. 18030.
9 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88.
10 As the demi-grisaille *Hours for the use of Rouen* (Sotheby's London, 23 June 1998, lot 69) and the so-called *Hours of St Lô* (Sotheby's New York, 21 April 1998, lot 37) are in private collections, it is not possible to obtain information on the quality of the vellum used, but one can expect it to match the lavishness of these two manuscripts.
11 This is not a particularly refined work as the heads are roughly welded; one of them has even been incorporated upside down.
12 Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88; see reproductions of fols 12v, 95, 100 in Bernard, Pagella, 2003, Cat. 12.
13 I would like to thank Isabelle Delaunay for her attribution of this text to a Rouen scribe.

found in script A (see for ex. on f. 27, **pl. 48**). The intervention of scribe B can be seen on f. 29 (the other half of the bifolio is blank), and on the bifolio 107/112. These folios are ruled in the same way as the rest of the manuscript, but the change in hand is also reflected in two decorated initials (on fols 107v and 112v; no decorated initial on f. 29rv) painted in a different style from the rest of the book, which we called Type B.[14]

The textual content is continuous from f. 28v to f. 29, containing the end of the Hours of the Conception (beginning on f. 27, see **pl. 48**), and f. 29 verso has remained blank. Folio 107 contains ten lines ending a prayer to the blood of Christ, to be said in church at the elevation of the chalice (begun on f. 106v), while on f. 107v, the upper half of the folio was left blank, as if a miniature were originally intended but never completed (**pl. 45**). Ten lines in rubrics (in Latin) were written under this empty space, providing an indulgence for the recitation of the Seven Prayers of Pope Gregory that follow. This text follows on to f. 108 (written by scribe A) with no disruption. Similarly, f. 112 features the end of the prayer that began on f. 111 with no discontinuity in the text. On f. 112v, nine lines were left blank above the beginning of the prayer to Jesus Christ *(O bone ihu. O piissime ihu o dulcissime ihu…)*, as on f. 107v, suggesting that an image was originally planned.

It is difficult to understand why these two bifolia were written by a different hand. Both scripts seem contemporary. The two bifolia cannot be viewed independently. They are not, as was often the case in books of hours, a later addition required by a subsequent owner containing a few extra prayers. The most likely hypothesis is that, indeed, these two bifolia were originally written by scribe A, but then were lost. They did not include much text so another scribe was asked to write the missing lines. Yet, the original bifolio 107/112 certainly contained two half-page miniatures, one for the Prayers of St Gregory on f. 107v, and one to introduce the prayer *O bone ihu. O piissime ihu* on f. 112v. As indicated by the rubric on f. 107v, the indulgenced Prayers of St Gregory had to be recited before a representation of the Pope's vision: 'While Blessed Gregory was Pope, Our Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him in the form of the Passion; gazing at Jesus and moved to devotion, he [Gregory] granted four thousand years of true indulgence to those who are truly penitent and who, having openly confessed kneeling under a similar image, recite devoutly the following prayers and five Pater Noster and Ave Maria.'[15]

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[14] See **Chapter III, B.** and **D.3.**

[15] F. 107v: *Beatus gregorius dum esset summus pontifex apparuit ei dominus noster ihesus christus sub passionis effigie qui ipsum Ihesum intuens motus devocione vere penitentibus et confessis coram simili ymagine genibus flexis devote dicentibus infrascriptas orationes et quinquies pater nr et ave maria concessit quatuor milia annorum de vera indulgentia.*I would like to thank Pr. Roger Stalley for his help in translating this rubric.

Books of hours thus commonly introduced this text with a miniature of the Mass of St Gregory.[16] One can therefore deduce that the blank space left by the scribe on f. 107v was intended to be painted with this subject. Scribe B repeated the same page layout when he wrote the missing parts of the text but possibly for lack of time, as the loss of the two bifolia had delayed the completion of the manuscript, these two smaller miniatures were not painted and a blank space remained in their stead.

In the case of bifolio 29/34, it is nevertheless surprising that f. 34 should have been left blank, thus marking a long empty pause before the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin. A more satisfying quire would have been made of two bifolia, featuring the miniature of Christ Taking Leave of his Mother on f. 29v, dispensing altogether with the present 30/33 bifolio. As this bifolio only features work by Hand C, a rubric on f. 30 and one line of text at the top of f. 33, it could suggest that, at the time when the manuscript was written, Hand C was asked to paint the miniature on a bifolio containing no text which was then integrated within the quire by adding the rubric in French and the ending line of the prayer at the top of f. 33. From these lines alone, it is very difficult to tell whether it was written by the same scribe as f. 32. However, it seems that any scribe available at the time could have easily added the rubric and the last five words of the prayer to Virgin attributed to St John at the top of f. 33, using the same script as in the rest of the Hours. Such an arrangement would mean that the artist knew this bifolio would contain virtually no text; he thus painted the miniature on the verso of f. 30 to avoid an empty folio between the image and the beginning of the text on f. 31.

The script in the calendar is the same as in the rest of the manuscript, in alternating dark red and brown ink, with blue marking the major feasts. The KL (for Kalends) are in the same style as the decorated initials in the rest of the manuscript, but executed with less relief. The introductory line for each month and the verses written above each calendar miniature are written in a blue script ornate with cadels. There is no major difference in the script between the calendar and the rest of the manuscript except for the fact that the cadels appear only in this section. Cadels were not common in books of hours and do not appear in any of the other Rouen manuscripts studied in relation to the Chester Beatty Hours. One has to turn to the so-called *Hours of Henry VII* illuminated by Jean Bourdichon at the end of the 1490s to find a similar use of elaborate cadels in the calendar (see **fig. 128-9**).[17] As seen previously, the small miniatures in the calendar were

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[16] For miniatures of this subject, see **Irish Cat. 15**, see also **fig. 60, 62**, by the Master of the Echevinage.
[17] Philadelphia, Free Lib. of Philadelphia, Rare Books Dpt, Lewis E M 11.19.

painted by a Tours artist close to Poyer and Bourdichon:[18] the cadels also seem to have been executed in Tours, so that one could argue that the two quires containing the calendar were written, decorated and received their miniatures in Tours. The preparation of the page (number of lines, size of text block…) is nevertheless consistent with the rest of the manuscript.

3. Anomalies and discrepancies

Avril and Reynaud have stressed 'Nous avons maintes fois pu vérifier l'indépendance des trois étapes successives de l'écriture, de la décoration et des miniatures' [19] concerning literary and historical manuscripts, like those that were written for Jacques d'Armagnac in his domains of La Marche,[20] and subsequently sent to Paris for illumination. Although the intensive production of books of hours was usually attached to a region,[21] high quality hours such as WMs 89 could be written and decorated in one place while some of its bifolia were sent to different artists in nearby cities.

The study of the structure of the manuscript and of the distribution of miniatures provides precious clues. WMs 89 mostly consists of quaternions (11 quires out of 19), with the calendar written on two ternions, as was common for books of hours. However, three other quires are ternions (VI, X and XVIII),[22] and two were quinions (XIV[23] and XV).

The contributions of the Master of the Echevinage and of the Master of Jean Charpentier seem to be well integrated within the text. Indeed, the bifolia containing these miniatures never have blank pages. The text is harmoniously distributed 'on either side' of the miniatures,[24] and the other half of each bifolio fits into the textual continuity. Once the text was written and decorated,[25] the quires were distributed to the different artists, which explains why two different artists never intervened on the same bifolio.

The Master of the Echevinage was given quires IV, XII and XV and bifolia 90/95 and 91/94 from quire XIV to paint in the relevant miniatures, while the Master of

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18 See **Chapter II, IV. D**.
19 Avril and Reynaud, 1993, p. 13.
20 An area to the south of Poitou and Berry in Central France.
21 Avril and Reynaud, 1993, p. 14.
22 Two of these (VI and X) contain miniatures by Hand C.
23 This quire is actually now a quaternion but is missing one bifolio. See **4.** in this section.
24 One word is sometimes repeated between the incipit inscribed on the frame and the top of the next page, but this is not significant as it also occurs from one recto to the verso as on f. 40 and 40v.
25 Historiated initials are found indifferently on the verso of folios illuminated by the Master of the Echevinage (on fols 91, 96, 100v and 101), and by Hand C (on fols 89v and 93v). The work by the artist close to Jean Bourdichon and by the Master of Jean Charpentier is not found on the same bifolia as historiated initials, but one cannot draw any conclusion from this observation.

Jean Charpentier was given quires VII, VIII, XVII and most of quire IX except for bifolio 52/57 which was given to Hand C. This combination of the two different artists within the same quire seems to have been planned at the writing stage, as f. 52v was left blank, to allow for the intervention of the Master of Jean Charpentier on the next bifolio.[26] One could object by saying that this bifolio featuring the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John could have been added, but f. 52 features the end of None of the Virgin, written in the same hand as fols 51 or 53 and the text and script on f. 57v similarly ties in with that on f. 58.[27]

Only two quires simultaneously feature the work of two different artists: quire IX, just mentioned, and quire XIV where two bifolia were painted by the Master of the Echevinage while the two others were given to Hand C, so that the work of a Tours artist features in the same quire as that of a Rouen artist.

Several bifolia featuring work painted by Hand C contain blank pages: bifolia 30/33 (quire VI), 52/57 (quire IX), and 59/64 (quire X),[28] but this is not systematic as bifolia 61/62, 89/95b and 92/93 are well 'enclosed' by the text. All these blank pages (except for 30/33)[29] can be explained by the necessity for miniatures by other artists to feature on a different bifolio. Indeed, as previously pointed out, f. 52v had to be left blank as the bifolio could not be divided between Hand C and the Master of Jean Charpentier for him to paint his Dormition of the Virgin. Similarly, f. 64v had to be left blank so that the space for the miniature of Bathsheba Bathing at the beginning of the Penitential Psalms would start the next quire (f. 65), which could be given to a different artist: the artist whom we offered to identify with Jean Bourdichon. The miniature of Bathsheba features on the recto of f. 65 (quire XI) and the text continues from the frame to the verso without any discontinuity;[30] the text on the other half of the bifolio (f. 72) seamlessly flows into that of f. 73 (quire XII).

The bifolio in the centre of quire V (24/25) raises a number of questions: was it written at the same time as the rest of the quire? Was it part of the original plan or an afterthought? This bifolio is written in the same script[31] and ruled in the same way as the

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[26] This confirms that the Master of Jean Charpentier and Hand C were not working in the same workshop. The same remark applies to the Master of the Echevinage and Hand C, as quire XIV was divided between the two of them.

[27] Featuring the beginning of the Hours of the Cross.

[28] One should note that blank pages in this manuscript are always ruled in pink and with the same number of lines as the other folios. However, bifolio 59/64 only contains 24 lines as opposed to the 25 lines in the rest of the manuscript, but there does not seem to have been a change in hand.

[29] See **2.** in this section for a discussion of this bifolio.

[30] Beginning of Psalm 6: *Domine ne in furore/ tuas arguas me…*

[31] It does not contain any decorated initials.

rest of the manuscript. However, it is difficult to explain why the recto of the miniature of the Tree of Jesse (f. 24v; Jean Bourdichon) introducing the Genealogy of Christ according to St Matthew, was left blank. Logically, the scribe writing the rubric on f. 23v (*De nostre dame*) should have left f. 24 blank for the full-page miniature to be painted, and resumed with the text on f. 24v. The text would have ended on f. 25 and the Joys of the Virgin would have begun at the top of f. 25v. Instead of this, the scribe left an entire folio blank (f. 24rv) and the genealogy (whose incipit features on the frame of the Tree of Jesse miniature on f. 24v) starts on f. 25. This may be explained by the fact that, if the scribe had only left f. 24 for the miniature, the alternation hair side-flesh side meant that the miniature would have had to be painted on the rougher hair side of the folio. This was done by the Master of Jean Charpentier, Hand C and the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen in the pages of this manuscript,[32] but maybe for Jean Bourdichon, the scribe was informed to leave a smooth side for the miniature, as it was to be one of the best paintings in the manuscript. This arrangement also insured that the miniature faced the beginning of the text. The rubric on f. 23v announces *De nostre dame*, but what follows is the Genealogy of Christ according to St Matthew introduced by the Tree of Jesse. From the rubric, one would have expected a prayer to the Virgin to follow rather than this scriptural text.[33] But, like the Tree of Jesse, the Genealogy culminates in the birth of Christ through the Virgin, so that it is a celebration of the Virgin as much as an evocation of her son's ancestors.

4. Lacunae

The manuscript seems to be complete except for a gap between f. 95bv and f. 96 revealed by textual discontinuity. The suffrage to St Stephen is interrupted in the middle of the prayer and, as f. 96 begins with the rubric for the suffrage to St Laurence, we do not have any clues as to which other suffrages could be missing. With the exception of Anthoine de Pade and Claude (and Leonard at the end of the manuscript), all saints in the remaining suffrages also appear in the litany (fols 70v-72). The order of the suffrages follows that of the litany, as was common, beginning with the Trinity and archangels followed by the apostles and Evangelists, the martyrs, confessors and finally the virgins. Yet, within each group of saints the order can vary slightly as, for instance, St Sebastian comes before St Denis in the litany but after him in the suffrages. St Stephen is the first

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[32] Miniatures on fols 40 (Visitation), 47v (Annunciation to the Shepherds), 74 (Heavenly court and Hell scene) and 93 (St John the Baptist) were painted on the hair side.
[33] And indeed the Genealogy of Christ occurs in the middle of prayers to the Virgin.

invoked martyr both in the litany and in the suffrages, and St Laurence is part of the same group so that only a few suffrages can be missing. A closer study of the remaining folios confirms that only one folio is missing; indeed, f. 95bv is hair side while f. 96 is flesh side. If two folios were missing, hair side would again face hair side in the same opening.[34] The other martyrs that appear in the litany but fail to feature in the suffrages are: Clete, Clemens, Syxte, Vincenti, Fabiane, Maurici, Quintine, Gervasi, Prothasi, Blasi. These can only give a tentative indication of other suffrages that could have featured on the missing folio, and it does not mean that other martyrs could not have been chosen which are not listed in the litany. The fact that this folio was removed suggests that it may have been sold on its own or to be framed,[35] which would indicate that it contained a miniature. The subject of this miniature is unlikely to have been the Martyrdom of St Stephen, as it would occur in the middle of his suffrage instead of introducing it. On the other hand, the recto of the missing folio could contain the end of St Stephen's suffrage followed by a suffrage to another martyr possibly from the above list, and the verso could then bear a miniature introducing the suffrage to St Laurence.[36] In this case, it would mean that the rubric was at the top of the page facing the miniature rather than at the bottom of the page preceding it, as was more common. A similar arrangement occurs for the miniature of the Trinity on f. 89 where the frame does not bear any inscription and the rubric is written on f. 89v.

The practice of tipping in a miniature painted on a singleton was common in Flanders,[37] but was not adopted in France. Furthermore, the rest of the manuscript, even though it contains the contributions of various artists does not include any singleton, one shall thus conclude that a bifolio is missing. As previously stressed, it is unlikely that two folios are missing between f. 95bv and f. 96 so that the lost bifolio needs to be reintegrated in quire XIV or XV. In both cases, it will mean that the other half was blank, as no text is missing before f. 89 or after f. 105. These two possible locations for the other half of the bifolio coincide each time with a division in the text, so that a blank folio would not have created a major disruption (see f. 34 in quire VI for another example). For a greater regularity in the composition of the quires, one is tempted to

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[34] The rule in the matter is not to mix flesh side and hair side in the same opening for a better visual effect, as the vellum on the flesh side is whiter and smoother than on the hair side.

[35] See framed folios from a book of hours partly painted by a Rouennais artist in the Treasury of Auxerre Cathedral.

[36] The miniature would then have been painted on the flesh side of this folio, which was the most appropriate.

[37] See for instance **Irish Cat. 2, 3,** …

incorporate this bifolio to quire XIV, which would make it a quinion (quire of 10 folios), rather than to quire XV, which would become a sexternion (quire of 12).

For miniatures of St Laurence, the preferred subject was his martyrdom, grilled on a gridiron, and one finds examples of the Master of the Echevinage's interpretation of this scene in the *St Lô Hours*[38] and in the *Turin Hours*[39] (inspired by van Lathem's composition in the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*[40]). Yet, none of the miniatures painted by the Rouennais Master in this manuscript are associated with blank folios, and the same applies to the Master of Jean Charpentier, so that the lost miniature could have been painted by Jean Bourdichon, or by Hand C.

Quire I is a binion which was ruled but left blank and precedes the calendar. In such a location, these folios act as flyleaves for the first folio and do not betray any lacuna. On the other hand, the final quaternion (f. 128-ix), with its 7 blank ruled folios seems to imply that more prayers were intended at the end of the manuscript but were never written. This would support the theory according to which the hours were made over a short period of time and subjected to a certain urgency. Folio 128rv appears isolated containing the Joys of St Barbara and suffrages to St Avia and St Leonard, ending on the last line of f. 128v. However, this folio is not unfinished and contains finely executed initials, as in the rest of the manuscript.

B. The making of WMs 89

The clues gathered by the careful study of the Chester Beatty Hours allow us to offer various hypotheses as to how such an outstanding manuscript was executed and put together. The sequence could have been as follows. The text was written by scribe A and initials were painted in by several artists working in the same style in a Rouen workshop, certainly that of the Master of the Echevinage. The remaining quires were then divided up and dispatched to four different artists: three in Tours and one in Rouen. Two bifolia were lost in the meantime and had to be rewritten by a different scribe. This replacement must have been made early on and predated the final assembling of the manuscript, as the script and type of decorated initials do not point to a late date. Furthermore, a bifolio can easily be lost when a manuscript is not bound. Although space was left for two small miniatures on these bifolia, time must have been running out and they were never painted.

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[38] Sotheby's New York, Ortiz-Patiño sale, 21 April 1998, lot 37, f. 154.
[39] Turin, Bibl. Reg., Cod. Varia 88, f. 121.
[40] Los Angeles, Getty Mus., Ms. 37, f. 31v. See **Chapter I.D.3.c.**

Few books of hours can boast of displaying side by side the works of so many talented artists. It is quite common to find that two artists with different styles have collaborated to the same Hours, but the presence of four different artists is a rare exception. What could have explained such an assembly of talents?

A first hypothesis would be that the patron, having links in both Tours and Rouen was a bibliophile who, from the beginning wanted his book of hours to be illustrated by talented artists from both cities. The text and initials suggest it was written and decorated in Rouen (except for the two added bifolia[41]). It is quite difficult to envisage the execution of such a complex book without one person coordinating the contributions of the various artists. A 'libraire' may have acted as intermediary between the patron and the painters.[42] The chief activity of the libraire or 'libratier' was to sell books,[43] but he could also be the middleman organising the execution of a manuscript. Although Delaunay believed that the idea of a libraire did not apply to the production of books of hours in Rouen in the late fifteenth century, as their vast majority featured only one hand,[44] she stressed in her 1998 work that such intermediaries did exist in Paris. Pasquier Bonhomme active in Paris in the last quarter of the 15th century had links with miniaturists who did not work in his shop: a libraire and a printer, he also was a bookbinder.[45] In WMs 89, the harmonious co-existence of so many very individual artists within the same manuscript could only have been achieved with the intervention of such a person to coordinate and dispatch the bifolia between Rouen and Tours.

Another hypothesis that would solve the problem of the dual geographical origin of the artists would be that the first miniatures executed for these Hours were painted in Rouen by the Master of the Echevinage, who, by then, was at the very end of his career. For the first time,[46] he was applying the full-page format brought into fashion by Jean Fouquet in the context of a book of hours,[47] even though he was not radically renewing his repertoire… The completion of these miniatures may have been interrupted by his

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41 See **A.2** in this chapter.

42 One could suggest this 'libraire' was the Master of the Echevinage himself, yet, the scarcity of manuscripts of a similar nature containing his work alongside that of other artists does not confirm this hypothesis.

43 See Watson, 1984, p. 26.

44 Delaunay, 1991, p. 108: 'L'idée qu'un personnage extérieur, le 'libratier' distribue et regroupe le travail de différents artisans du livre manuscrit, semble peu probable. Les livres d'heures étudiés démontrent l'organisation d'un travail d'atelier suivi et, à part deux (dont les Heures Playfair), chaque manuscrit est peint par une seule main.'

45 Delaunay, 2000, p. 5.

46 Judging from surviving manuscripts.

47 *Le Livre des Trois Eages* (Paris, BNF, Smith Lesouëf 70) contained large (arched) miniatures and undecorated borders.

death: his first known works date from the early 1450s so that he may have been at least in his mid-sixties by 1485. If one proceeds with this hypothesis, the unfinished manuscript could then have been transferred to Tours where the calendar was written and the rest of the miniatures (large and small) were painted. At the death of the Master of the Echevinage, no artist of great stature would have remained in Rouen compared to the many talented miniaturists gathered in the royal city, hence the completion of the manuscript in Tours. Even though he had links with Rouen,[48] the patron may have been living in Tours, close to the King. This second hypothesis is also dependent on the existence of a person in Tours dividing the quires between the different artists. One could also imagine a change in the patronage as the manuscript moved from Rouen to Tours but, unfortunately, no ownership information is to be found in the pages of WMs 89. If the making of the manuscript was indeed interrupted and transferred from Rouen to Tours, it resumed without delay, as the Tours miniatures do not point at a much later date.

The calendar contains more links with Paris than with Rouen and does not match the type of calendars found in Hours for the use of Rouen produced in the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage. One would thus be tempted to say it was written separately from the rest of the manuscript, probably in Tours where its miniatures were also painted. This would correspond best with our second hypothesis according to which the manuscript was begun in Rouen in the workshop of the Master of the Echevinage but completed in Tours, possibly after the death of the Rouen Master or for some other unknown reason.

Delaunay's remark about some Parisian books of hours applies perfectly to our manuscript: 'la parenté des directives et le nombre de peintres intervenants suggère une commande auprès d'un libraire. Celui-ci, pour honorer rapidement l'ordonnance délègue le travail à plusieurs artistes'.[49] It could indeed reflect the fact that the patron was in a haste to get his Hours completed, so that the 'libraire' hired more people to work on its miniatures simultaneously. Yet, the finish of the miniatures shows that each artist devoted great care and time to them. The fact that all artists were required to paint in a full-page format[50] also points towards the intervention of a 'libraire', preoccupied with achieving visual consistency in spite of an unusual number of artists.

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[48] Indicated by the use of the Hours, the saints venerated and the original intervention of the Master of the Echevinage.
[49] Delaunay, 2000, p. 132.
[50] Neither the Master of Jean Charpentier nor the Master of the Echevinage was accustomed to it.

Could this manuscript have been a speculative book of hours? Rouse and Rouse recount the anecdote of Andry Le Musnier (ca. 1423-ca. 1475), a Paris libraire and illuminator who was visited by Burgundian noblemen seeking to exchange a Bible for some manuscripts in French. Failing to find any book to their liking he eventually showed them an exceptionally rich and handsome book of hours.[51] Delaunay deduced from this that speculative Hours could well be lavish,[52] yet one could argue that there is no proof that this manuscript was newly made, as books were often sold or pawned, for instance at the death of their owner. In any case, even though WMs 89 does not contain any marks of ownership, the quality and nature of the artwork in this manuscript imply that it was the product of a commission.

C. A distinguished patron

Unfortunately, the wealthy commissioner of these Hours left no marks of ownership in its pages, no shield, motto or depiction of himself. Such sobriety was not characteristic of manuscripts ordered by the new category of royal officers who rose in the late 15th century and commissioned lavish manuscripts reflecting their status and ambition, like the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*.[53] The absence of any heraldry could nevertheless argue for a patron of similar birth as Etienne Chevalier, who did not come from the old nobility and therefore did not have a coat of arms. He, on the other hand, compensated with the ubiquitous display of his monogram throughout the miniatures, mimicking actual arms.

Yet, WMs 89 is surprisingly sober in its page layout and in the discretion of its patron. The selection of highly talented artists points to a discerning taste, combining one of the best examples of late 15th century Rouen illumination and artists representative of the different trends in Tours illumination at the end of the century.

If the making of the manuscript was organised by a Rouen libraire, with, from the beginning the intention of combining the works of both Tours and Rouen artists, one has to consider the commissioner as a book-lover, eager to have the best miniaturists of his time in the pages of his book of hours.[54] Reynaud stressed that 'Dans certains cas, le mélange des mains est tel qu'on doit conclure à la volonté d'un amateur d'avoir une

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[51] Rouse and Rouse, 2000, p. 307.
[52] Delaunay, 2000, p. 128.
[53] See **C. in Introduction to Chapter II** for location of its folios.
[54] See for instance the patronage of Jean, duc de Berry in the early 15th century (see Meiss, 1967), of the Cardinal George d'Amboise in Rouen in the early 16th century (see Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 411-8).

manière d'anthologie de la production du temps'.[55] However, the presence of so many different hands could also reflect the need for the patron to have his book ready in a short space of time.

The first miniatures in a book of hours were usually the best ones, with special care given to the miniature introducing the Hours of the Virgin, the most important section of the book. It is surprising to find the introductory miniature to the Hours of the Virgin painted by the Master of Jean Charpentier, when better hands were available. Still, the Annunciation scene was painted with great care, surrounded by a frame with cherubs on its base. The high quality of the artwork in this minute manuscript certainly reflects the standards of a patron who could have been keen on having a couple of miniatures by the hand of Jean Bourdichon, painter to the king. In terms of the mixture of styles, WMs 89 belongs to the same group as the *Hours for the use of Tours* now in New York,[56] and those in Poitiers.[57] All three manuscripts contain miniatures by both the Master of Jean Charpentier and Jean Bourdichon, and Reynaud explained this strange mixture suggesting that 'peut-être [Bourdichon] devait-il relever de son prestige une production jugée un peu provinciale'.[58] The New York Hours also contain one miniature by the Master of the Della Rovere Missals (**fig. 88**), with whom Hand C shares a similar stylistic approach to the Fouquet legacy.[59]

The link with Tours demonstrated by the artists at work on most miniatures is not reflected in the text. The Hours of the Virgin, Office of the Dead, litany and suffrages all point to Rouen, suggesting that the patron may have been from Rouen, but wanted his Hours to contain miniatures painted by renowned Tours artists. The litany and suffrages also show his attachment to Parisian saints. While his position may have led him to live between Paris and Tours, he may have been born in the Rouen area, where he could have become familiar with workshops and artists.

Prayers such as *Obsecro te* and *O Intemerata* are written in male form and, although this is not always a reliable indication, one would be inclined to think the patron was a man, as the miniature of Bathsheba bathing would certainly have appealed to a male commissioner. Male saints are also pre-eminent among the suffrages, where no miniature

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[55] Avril and Reynaud, 1993, p. 13.
[56] PML, M.96.
[57] Poitiers, BM, ms. 55 (334).
[58] In Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 289.
[59] See **Chapter II, II. C.**

is dedicated to any female saint,[60] and major Rouen virgins such as Honorine or Austreberte are surprisingly absent. Ainsworth noted recently that 'It would seem that the infrequently depicted theme of Christ Taking Leave of His Mother was specifically connected to Franciscan devotional practices'.[61] The miniature of Christ Taking Leave of his Mother (f. 30v; **pl. 17**) could indicate that the patron had a connexion with a Franciscan house.

Among the manuscripts attributed to the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen, very few patrons have been identified, apart from the Echevinage itself. If the Echevinage de Rouen as a body sought the services of the Rouen Master, it would be surprising if its members, individually, did not occasionally commission some manuscripts from the local workshop, so that the patron of the Chester Beatty Hours could have been an échevin. The Master of the Echevinage received commissions from powerful men, close to the King, but linked to Normandy, such as Jean d'Estouteville, seigneur de Torcy, who was honoured with the collar of the Order of St Michael by Louis XI in 1469[62]. Pierre de Roncherolles, baron de Saint-Pierre and Heuqueville in Normandy, was chamberlain to Louis XI and Charles VIII, and his wife also had links with Normandy.[63] This no doubt explains why they hired a Rouennais artist to add a few miniatures to the book of hours she had inherited.[64]

Known patrons of the Master of Jean Charpentier include Jean Charpentier,[65] 'notaire du roi' in Angers, Philippe de Commynes,[66] who served Louis XI from 1472 and was favoured by Louis XII following a short disgrace during the reign of Charles VIII. He was based in Poitou and Touraine. The Master also illustrated a pontifical for Guillaume de Clugny,[67] bishop of Poitiers from 1477, who died in Tours in 1480. He may also have been employed by Jacques d'Armagnac, duc de Nemours, who was one of the most powerful lords in the kingdom, as the *Lamentations of St Bernard*[68] were written by Michel Gonnot, the scribe the duke regularly employed.[69]

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[60] The missing folio between fols 95b and 96 certainly featured a miniature, but it occurs in the section dedicated to martyrs in the suffrages so that the missing miniature would have featured a male saint, probably St Laurence (see **C.** in this chapter for more details).
[61] In Kren, McKendrick, 2003, p. 352.
[62] For more on the Estouteville family and the *Hours of Jean d'Estouteville* (Turin, Bibl. Regia, Cod. Varia 88), see **Chapter I.D.4.c.**
[63] See Nash, 2003, p. 95.
[64] Paris, BNF, N.a.l. 3231. It originally belonged to Jacques II de Chastillon. For more on this manuscript, see **Chapter I, A.3.c.**
[65] Angers, BM, ms. 2048.
[66] London, BL, Harley 2863.
[67] Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1819.
[68] Paris, BNF, Lat. 916.
[69] For more on Jacques d'Armagnac, see Avril, Reynaud, 1993, pp. 164-6 and **Chapter II, III.A.3.**

As for Jean Bourdichon, we have stressed his importance as 'peintre du roi' under four different kings, from Louis XI to François Ier. He received numerous commissions from the Queen Anne de Bretagne and from many powerful men and women at the court, such as Jacques de Beaune,[70] treasurer of Anne de Bretagne and, from 1509, vicar and administrator of the Tours archbishopric, Louis d'Amboise,[71] bishop of Albi, Frederic III of Aragon,[72] last king of Naples, in exile in Tours from 1501...[73] The artists at work in WMs 89 thus catered for a distinguished clientele, in the entourage of the King, and there is no doubt that the commissioner of WMs 89 belonged to this wealthy and powerful group.

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[70] Paris, BNF, Lat. 886.
[71] Naples, Bibl. naz., I B 21.
[72] Paris, BNF, Lat. 10532.
[73] For details on these patrons, see **Chapter II, I.A.**

Conclusion

A complex manuscript

The clues provided by this outstanding book of hours suggest that it was executed ca. 1485-90 (for a summary of these clues, see **Vol. II, Appendix IV**). Written and decorated in the Rouen workshop of the Master of the Echevinage, the collaboration of artists from different ateliers was envisaged from the start, as is shown by the codicological study. Bifolia were subsequently shared between different artists from both Rouen and Tours, which implies that the execution of this manuscript must have been carefully coordinated by a libraire, probably based in Rouen (the Master of the Echevinage himself?). The execution of the manuscript may have been relocated from Rouen to Tours halfway, which would explain the contribution of four Tours artists, and the fact that the calendar was most probably written and decorated in Tours.[1] This could have been caused by the death of the Master of the Echevinage, who had been active since the 1450s.

While the dating of the manuscript corresponds to the known periods of activity of the various Tours artists,[2] this is not the case with the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen whose career must now be extended by a few years; until now it was considered that he was active until ca. 1482-3.[3] The Rouennais Master, as Delaunay wrote, 'figure parmi les derniers représentants du gothique international par le caractère maniéré de ses personnages et son goût de la ligne',[4] and his style is in stark contrast with the work of the other miniaturists who exemplify the latest trends in manuscript illumination with, for instance, the use of Italianate elements by Hand C.[5]

The fact that so many skilful artists contributed to this exquisite book of hours reflects the discerning taste of its patron, who must have belonged to the royal entourage, for whom these artists usually worked. Jean Bourdichon, 'peintre du roi', painted two miniatures in this book of hours and, while an artist gained prestige through

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[1] The two added bifolia also point to Tours rather than Rouen. See **Chapter IV, A.2.**

[2] Jean Bourdichon: ca. 1457-1521; Master of Jean Charpentier: ca. 1475-90, although the *Syracuse Hours* (Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana, Prez. X) point to ca. 1495. Hand C also fits in as a follower of Jean Fouquet (1415/20-1476/81), belonging to the younger generation of Tours artists like Jean Poyer (ca. 1480-ca. 1515) and the Master of the Della Rovere Missals (ca. 1470-ca. 1490). Hand E (calendar) also belongs to this generation of miniaturists.

[3] See Avril, in Avril, Reynaud, 1993, p. 172.

[4] Delaunay, 1991, p. 9.

[5] Although one has to acknowledge the Master of Jean Charpentier was not the most innovative artist…

that of his clientele, the reverse was also true. Hiring such a distinguished artist must have acted as a status symbol, a sign that one belonged to the royal circles, sharing and enjoying the artistic tastes of the King. The making of WMs 89 comes to confirm that books made in the circle of the court and for the high aristocracy belong to an 'extra-metropolitan' realm: the city does not have as much weight as personal relations and the circles one moves in.[6]

Another piece of the jigsaw

This manuscript reveals unknown work by Jean Bourdichon, the Master of Jean Charpentier and the Master of the Echevinage, all miniatures of the highest quality. In the case of the Master of the Echevinage, these Hours are the only surviving example of a collaboration between him and Tours artists.[7] Rouen manuscript illumination has benefited in the past from the attention of Rowan Watson, Claudia Rabel and Isabelle Delaunay,[8] and WMs 89 sheds more light on the work of the Master of the Echevinage, revealing the origin of its many Flemish motifs. Paradoxically, as the borders of these hours are not decorated, the study of border patterns in other manuscripts painted by the Master has proved especially fruitful in the assessment of the impact of the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*[9] on the Rouennais repertoire. A close examination of secondary decoration and especially border motifs is indeed crucial to understand the mechanisms of workshop production and the way in which patterns were circulated.

While most artists could be identified, Hand C remains a mysterious figure whose paintings betray extraordinary skill and a strong artistic personality, sympathetic to Italianate features, and yet remaining resolutely French. Although his style and compositions find resonance in those of his contemporaries active in Tours, especially the Master of the Della Rovere Missals, other works by his hand have yet to be found, and one aim of this thesis is to provide a base for further discoveries, both in the field of manuscript illumination and large scale painting. The recent discovery by Frederic Elsig of the *Censeau Triptych* painted by Poyer shows that new elements still come to light, each

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[6] I would like to thank Patricia Stirnemann for stressing this point.
[7] The only other link with Tours is found in Lat. 18030 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, a book of hours for the use of Tours, which was written and partly decorated in Tours (filigree initials), but subsequently brought to Rouen for its miniatures to be painted by the Master of the Echevinage (the larger initials were also painted in his workshop). This, however, did not provide an example of collaboration between Tours and Rouen miniaturists.
[8] See Watson, 1984; Rabel, 1984 and 1989; Delaunay, 1991and 1995.
[9] Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37.

find providing another piece of the jigsaw.[10] Future studies will undoubtedly reveal other works by Hand C, or provide evidence of identification with a known Master.

The illustration of the calendar is unusual in the way it combines the zodiacal signs with the labours of the month within the same small miniatures, but further research may also bring new elements of comparison for these compositions.[11]

Transmission of patterns and compositions

WMs 89 not only presents a surprising mixture of styles, but features an unusual iconography. The Four Symbols of the Evangelists (f. 13, **pl. 14**), the Tree of Jesse (f. 24v, **pl. 16**), Christ Taking Leave of his Mother (f. 30v, **pl. 17**), the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John (f. 57; **pl. 26**), the Archangel Gabriel (f. 91v; **pl. 33**), *Ego sum* (f. 116v; **pl. 38**), and even St John the Baptist (f. 93, **pl. 34**) are not compositions commonly found in books of hours, and the unconventional character of WMs 89 has led us in numerous unexpected directions. One has had to cross borders and step back and forth in time to find elements of comparison in order to locate this important manuscript into the wider context of manuscript illumination in the late 15th century.

The study of these miniatures provides numerous examples of compositions travelling from one centre to another, from one artist to another. While in some cases, the artist himself travelled,[12] pattern-books, manuscripts, and prints were more often the medium through which artistic exchanges occurred.

Numerous Flemish compositions and designs thus entered the Rouennais repertoire via the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* painted in the workshop of Lievin van Lathem ca. 1469-71[13]. These had such a lasting impact on Rouen illumination that they were repeated until the early 16th century in the work of the followers of the Master of the Echevinage.[14] A few 'Lathemesque' dragons may even have entered the repertoire of Jean Colombe, in Bourges, as a dragon on f. 138 of the *Très Riches Heures of Jean de Berry* [15] looks extremely familiar. These dragons even made their way into the borders of a book

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[10] Two side panels: Censeau church (Jura) and centre panel: Lons Le Saunier, Conseil Général du Jura. On this, see F. Elsig, 'Deux panneaux de Jean Poyet conservés dans l'église de Censeau?', in *Bulletin monumental*, 158, 2000, pp. 251-2, and 'Un triptyque de Jean Poyet', in *Revue de l'art*, no. 135, 2002-1, pp. 107-16.
[11] From a textual point of view, the calendar verses are also especially interesting, as we could not find them in any other book of hours.
[12] As for instance Jean Fouquet, or the Master of the Della Rovere Missals who both spent time in Italy.
[13] Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37.
[14] See Paris, Bibl. Maz. 1581; London, SAL, ms. 13…
[15] Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 65.

of hours now in Trinity College,[16] illuminated by a Parisian miniaturist from the circle of the Master of the Chronique Scandaleuse.

A German print by Martin Schongauer featuring the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St John made its way to Tours where it inspired Hand C, a skilled follower of Fouquet who gave his own interpretation of the subject in one of the most achieved paintings of WMs 89 (f. 57, **pl. 26**).

Artistic exchanges existed across borders but also between cities within France: through the homogeneous treatment of the Chester Beatty miniatures as full-page compositions, an influence can be felt of Tours practices on Rouen illumination. No other manuscript painted by the Master of the Echevinage adopts this format with a gold frame and dark red inscription typical of the Tours manner. However, the influence went in both directions as Jean Bourdichon found inspiration in a Rouennais Tree of Jesse for his motif of the enthroned Jesse (f. 24v; **pl. 16**): had he seen such a composition on a Norman stained glass or in a pattern book used by the Master of the Echevinage?

Artists drew inspiration from works of art closer to home, like in the case of the *Liget Triptych* [17] completed by Jean Poyer in 1485. The influence of the Entombment wing is felt in the Virgin in the Deposition scene painted by Hand C (f. 61; **pl. 28**) who certainly had seen it at the Chartreuse du Liget in Loches, not far from Tours. The influence of Jean Poyer is also perceptible in the work of Hand E (calendar), and of the Master of Jean Charpentier, as in the *Ego sum* scene (f. 116v; **pl. 38**).

Patterns were also transmitted through time from one generation to the next. The major influence of Fouquet is blatant in the work of these Tours artists, from Hand C and Bourdichon to the Master of Jean Charpentier who, in spite of his very different language, adapts Fouquettian models.

The Trinity composition used by Hand C (f. 89v; **pl. 31**) originated in Fouquet's circle in Tours, and is still used in the Bourbonnais area after 1500 by an artist influenced by Tourangeaux designs, as is shown by the miniature found in *Hours for the use of Tours.*[18] However it is only in the later *Hours for the use of Bourges* [19] painted before 1530 by an artist working in the style of the Master of Petrarch's Triumphs (possibly painted in Paris), that one finds a version where the Holy Spirit is winged, as in WMs 89.

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[16] Dublin, TCD, ms. 102, **Irish Cat. 14.** See **Appendix I. 2, Dragon 3, 6 and 9.**
[17] Loches, Logis royal du château.
[18] Tours, BM, ms. 2104, f. 139.
[19] Romorantin, BM, ms. 16, f. 92v.

Both the Heavenly Court and Hell Scene and the Archangel Gabriel confirm the strong influence of the Master of the Echevinage on Robert Boyvin, already noted by Isabelle Delaunay.[20] The link with the Playfair group manuscripts studied by Rowan Watson is also exemplified by the parallels between the Chester Beatty Pietà and the same scene in the *Hours for the use of Rouen* now in the Society of Antiquaries in London.[21] In the case of the London Trinity, the composition springing from van Lathem's design in the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold* [22] is especially interesting as it suggests it came to him through the patterns of the Master of the Echevinage, even though no miniature by the Rouennais Master featuring the same composition has survived.

WMs 89 illustrates the processes by which artists adopted new models and expanded their repertoire through being exposed to the work of others. In the case of the *Prayer book of Charles the Bold*,[23] it was literally a 'chance meeting' between van Lathem's designs and the Master of the Echevinage de Rouen who was asked to paint a few more quires in this manuscript by its later owner. The Master of Jean Charpentier, after having worked on WMs 89, went on experimenting with the full-page format in the *Syracuse Hours*,[24] and even adopted a landscape setting he had seen in the St John the Baptist miniature painted by Hand C in WMs 89 (f. 93, **pl. 34**).

It was through this process of constant exchanges that manuscript illumination evolved, and the study of WMs 89 reveals how much everything is interwoven, interconnected: an artist cannot be viewed in isolation, but has to be considered immersed within a web of influences.

Sir Alfred Chester Beatty was anxious that, after his death, his collection should be accessible, known and displayed for the pleasure of all. As he explained in a letter to a collector friend: 'The problem when one is collecting a fine library is to decide as to how to dispose of it so it is of a permanent benefit to future generations'.[25] Bringing to light this outstanding book of hours, we hope, agrees with his vision…

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[20] Delaunay, 1991 and 1995.
[21] London, SAL, ms. 13, f. 20v.
[22] Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37.
[23] Los Angeles, Getty Mus., ms. 37.
[24] Syracuse, Bibl. Alagoniana Prez. X.
[25] Chester Beatty Papers; Beatty to Bodmer in Switzerland, 20 Nov. 1963. Quoted in Kennedy, 1988, p. 108.

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