

THE BOOK OF HOURS  
OF YOLANDE OF FLANDERS

*See previous page*



To A.C. Landsberg

with the friendly regards of S.C. Cochrill

Cambridge March 15 1912

















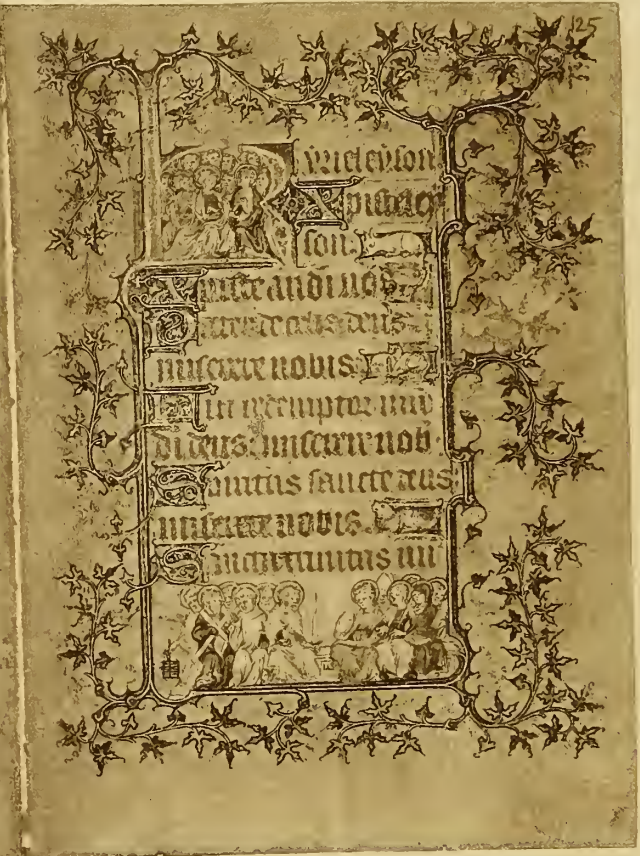
THE BOOK OF HOURS  
OF YOLANDE OF  
FLANDERS







*Book of Hours, f. 107b*



*Book of Hours, f. 125*

# THE BOOK OF HOURS OF YOLANDE OF FLANDERS

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY  
IN THE LIBRARY OF HENRY YATES THOMPSON  
WITH A DESCRIPTION BY S. C. COCKERELL  
AND PHOTOGRAVURES BY EMERY WALKER



SEAL OF YOLANDE, A.D. 1360

LONDON: PRINTED BY CHARLES WHITTINGHAM & CO. AT THE  
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## PRELIMINARY.

THIS little volume, which, in its original condition, before a Thames flood washed out much of the colouring and Mr. Ruskin deposited thirteen leaves at his school at Oxford, and either lent or gave away twenty-four others, so that thirty-seven leaves of text are now missing, must have been one of the most perfect specimens of the handiwork of the French miniaturists of the fourteenth century, was written and illuminated for Yolande de Flandre, daughter of Robert de Flandre, Seigneur de Cassel and Jeanne de Bretagne. This lady was born in 1326. At the age of fourteen she married Henri IV., Duc de Bar, and after his death, when she was twenty-seven, became the wife of Philippe de Navarre, Comte de Longueville. After the death of her second husband in 1363 without issue, she remained a widow till 1395, when she died at her Castle of Nieppe in Flanders on December 12. From this it appears that she was the daughter-in-law of Jeanne II., Queen of Navarre, who owned the Book of Hours, similarly decorated, which is numbered 75 in the second volume of my Catalogue, and that the present MS., containing the arms of her second husband, must have become her property either at the time of her marriage in 1353 or at some period before his death in 1363. Philippe de Navarre, the son of Philippe d'Evreux and Queen Jeanne II., and the brother of Charles the Bad, must have been an important personage in his day. In 1361 he was created by the King of France, Jean le Bon, Lieutenant-General of the lands that the Crown possessed in France and Normandy. The rearrangement of the leaves, all of which were separate when they came into my possession, has been accomplished, so that with a little experience of kindred volumes and a little imagination, it is now possible to form a fair idea of what this lovely book must have looked like in the hands of its first possessor. Of Yolande of Navarre herself we have no sufficient portrait. She is, however, represented in several of the initials, one of which, beneath the picture of the Annunciation, is here reproduced, as well as on her seals. I have to thank the Comte Alexandre de Laborde for photographs of one of these (see title-page) from the original in the Archives Nationales de France at Paris.

It would appear that the date of the present volume (*c.* 1353), is but a few years later than that of the Book of Hours of Jeanne II., Queen of Navarre, and of the Belleville Breviary. It is therefore not impossible that the same artist may have worked on all the three MSS. It is further noteworthy that fifteen years before the death of Yolande this book found a place in the library of Charles V., and that it figures in a catalogue of his most valued possessions.

H. Y. T.

15<sup>th</sup> January, 1905.



## THE BOOK OF HOURS OF YOLANDE OF FLANDERS



IN the foregoing note Mr. Yates Thompson has sketched the history of the remarkable little manuscript of which I am about to give some further particulars. Yolande of Flanders, for whom it was written, is described by M. Philippe Emmanuel de Smyttere on the title-page of an essay, in which nearly all that is known about her is collected,<sup>1</sup> as *Comtesse de Bar, Dame de Cassel, Dunkerque, Bourbourg, Warnéton, et d'autres châtellenies ou seigneuries de Flandre, du Barrois, de l'Auxerrois, du Perche, Baronne de Montmirail, etc.* She was born at the Castle of Alluye, near Montmirail (Eure et Loire), September 15, 1326, being the daughter of Robert of Flanders, Lord of Cassel, and of Jeanne of Brittany, who was grand-daughter of Yolande of Dreux, the second Queen (1284-5) of Alexander III. of Scotland. After the death of her brother Jean at the age of nine, in 1332, she became her father's sole heiress, and in 1340 succeeded to his wide domains. In that year or at the end of 1339, she married Henri IV., Count of Bar, by whom she had two children, Edouard and Robert. Henri of Bar died at Paris five years later, and from that period to her life's end Yolande showed recurring signs of a violent, capricious and unscrupulous nature, which often led her into the direst straits. We find her often in conflict with her husband's relations of the house of Bar, with the Countess of Artois, with her friend and protector Philippe of Valois, with Philippe le Hardi and many others. Accused of sacrilege and murder, and of forging the French coinage, she was excommunicated and threatened with other penalties; but she had good friends at the Court of France, and she usually succeeded in extricating herself from her difficulties with adroitness. Her crimes against the Church were atoned for by pieties and chapel foundations at Verdun and elsewhere, and those against the king by the marriage of her son Robert, Duke of Bar (his elder brother having died young), in October, 1364, to Marie of France, the sister of the newly crowned Charles V.

At that period Yolande had become a widow for the second time. Early in 1353 she had married Philippe of Navarre, Count of Longueville and Valois, the second son of Philippe of Evreux and of Jeanne of France, Queen of Navarre. It was doubtless on the occasion of this marriage with the son of the owner of a noble Book of Hours in Mr.

<sup>1</sup> *Essai historique sur Yolande de Flandre.* Lille, 1877. See also V. Servais, *Annales historiques du Barrois de 1352 à 1411*, Bar-le-Duc, 1865-7.

Thompson's collection that the present Book of Hours, from the same atelier, was written. On more than fifty of its pages Yolande's arms of Flanders (*or*, a lion rampant *sable* armed *gules* within a bordure engrailed of the last) are impaled with those of (1) in chief, Navarre (*gules*, a cross, saltire and double orle of chains all linked together, *or*) differenced with a label of three points *argent*, and (2) in base, Longueville (France ancient, a bend compony



COUNTER-SEAL OF YOLANDE  
OF FLANDERS AFTER HER  
SECOND MARRIAGE.

of *ermine* and *gules*). It is, however, impossible on so small a scale to show the ermine spots, and the arms of Longueville are therefore here indistinguishable from those of Evreux, borne by the father of Philippe of Navarre, in which the only difference is that *argent* takes the place of *ermine* in the bend. Philippe died at Vernon, August 30, 1363, and was buried at the great Church of the Franciscans in Paris, where so many royal and noble persons were interred. He left no legitimate children, and the rich earldom of Longueville was forthwith confiscated and re-united to the Crown, to be revived in 1364 by

Charles V. in favour of Bertrand du Guesclin, as a reward for his victory over the forces of Charles le Mauvais, Philippe's brother, at Cocherel. Another famous holder of the title was Jean Dunois, Bastard of Orleans, who was created Count of Longueville in 1443.

When her second husband died Yolande of Flanders was thirty-seven years of age, and she thenceforth exercised her signorial functions without a consort, though not without many embroilments and adversities. In 1368, her son Robert was imprisoned at Metz, and in 1370 she was obliged to raise the gigantic sum of 140,000 florins for his ransom. Part of this was obtained by giving her gold coronet and jewels in surety to certain Lombards of Bruges from whom she borrowed 11,000 florins. A year later she herself imprisons her son and only releases him on the intervention of Charles V. Shortly afterwards she arrests her kinsman, Henri of Bar, at Vincennes, within bowshot of the royal castle. This was too much for the patience of the king, who speedily gave orders for her own arrest and that of her companion ladies. Yolande was brought to repentance by a long term of detention, first in the fortress of Arrentières, then in the castle of Bar-sur-Aube, then at Sens for fifteen months, and finally in the Temple at Paris, whence she managed to escape in 1372, leaving behind her various objects, of which the king took possession. She was re-arrested, but was allowed to go free after the drawing up of a deed in which she made many promises and some concessions, including the surrender of a castle or two and of the persons of those who had been concerned in the arrest of Henri of Bar.

Many are the documents relating to Yolande which M. de Smyttere has collected at the end of his valuable essay. Some of these throw interesting light on her tastes and occupations. In 1359 she founded a chapel at Bar-le-Duc instead of presenting a silver image of St. Anne, which she had vowed to have made of the exact weight of her son Robert. We have seen that she pawned her coronet and jewels on his behalf in 1368. In 1373 we find her giving to some merchants of Lille silver images of Saints Eloy,

Nicaise and Ladre, among other things, in surety for a borrowed sum of 1,050 golden francs. After her release she was forced to sell her houses at Paris known as the Hôtel de Cassel and the Colombier, in order to meet her debts. In 1374 her son returns to her a gold signet which she delivered to his keeping on her arrest.

In 1379 she resided for a time at Clermont, whence her cook, Morant by name, was sent to Pont-à-Mousson in search of *petits saulmonney et truitelles*. The brightest of her later years were, however, spent at her castle of Motte-au-Bois, near Nieppe, and here she lived in comparative tranquillity, ordering her affairs and entertaining relations and friends. The latter included Eustace Deschamps, who composed a *ballade* in her honour, containing the following lines :

Qui veult avoir vie et joye mondaine,  
 Et selon Dieu vivre pour Paradis,  
 Sans trop ne pou avoir repos ne paine,  
 Et pour avoir des chasses les déliz,  
 Boiz et forez et assez doulz pays,  
 Plaisant manoir, fort et puissant chastel,  
 Chapeles grans et la messe toudis  
 A Nyepe voit, près du Val de Cassel.

\* \* \* \* \*

Madame y est de ce lieu souveraine,  
 Jehanne de Bar qui est des fleurs de liz  
 De Hazebrouck Yolent, ce m'est vis,  
 Et toutes ont gent corps et droit et bel ;  
 Dont qu'il d'amour voudra estre ravis,  
 A Nyepe voit, près du Val de Cassel.

In 1382 this pleasant country life was rudely interrupted by the breaking out of the popular revolt in Flanders. After the defeat and death of Philip van Artevelde at Roosbeck on November 27 of that year, the English joined the Urbanist party and began to lay waste the country. Yolande was forced to quit Nieppe in haste and to seek refuge in Paris, after sending three coffers full of jewels and precious things to Aire. In 1383 she joined her daughter-in-law, Marie of France, in the Duchy of Bar. In 1385, when peace had been made between the Duke of Burgundy and the Flemish, she returned to Paris and thence to Nieppe, where in the following year she concerned herself on behalf of her son and grandchildren, who were taking part in the projected invasion of England. It came to nothing, after huge preparations, owing to the jealousy and dilatoriness of the Duke of Berry. The remaining years of Yolande's life were only disturbed by a protracted law-suit. She died at Nieppe on December 12, 1395, aged sixty-nine, and was buried at the Church of St. Maxime, Bar-le-Duc, in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, beside her first husband, whose effigy was carved with hers upon the tomb. Her portrait was painted on the adjacent wall. Church, tomb and portrait have now vanished.

It has been mentioned that when Yolande escaped from her prison in the tower of the Temple at Paris in 1372, she was obliged to abandon certain belongings, which were

confiscated by the king. An inventory of these effects, made by Guillaume de Nevers on September 7 of that year, is preserved at Nancy, and towards the end of a list of cushions, pillows, silk coverlets, basins, plates, ivory combs, kerchiefs, scissors, scent, a purse, a draughtsboard, a silver-handled knife, a lantern, three pounds of candles, and other household articles, we come upon the following interesting entry :

*Item, unes heures de Nostre Dame à uns fermouers d'or, prisiée XLVIII s. p.*<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the low valuation, there is reason to believe that this was the present book, and the inference is supported by a more elaborate entry in another inventory, drawn up in 1380, fifteen years before Yolande's death, of the personal treasures of Charles V. of France :

*Unes très parfaitement belles heures, très noblement escriptes d'or et d'asur, et très richement ystorées et enluminées partout; et y sont les sept pseaulmes; et sont couvertes de orfrayes d'or [? gold fretwork], semé de grosses perles, à quatre arbressaulx, et sont les fermouers d'or, en façon de crochet, et a en chascun ung ballay [ruby] et quatre grosses perles; et a une très belle pippe [marker] d'or, où sont ung saphir, deux ballaiz et quatre grosses perles; et se commence le second feuillet annunciabit. Les quelles sont en ung estuy couvert de veluiau, semé de fleurs de lys d'argent dorées. En la chambre du roy à Vincennes.*<sup>2</sup>

This description applies so exactly to the present volume as to leave no doubt as to its identity. It is indeed a very perfectly beautiful Book of Hours, very nobly written in gold and azure, and very richly historiated and illuminated throughout; and beyond the Kalendar and the Hours of the Virgin it contains only the Penitential Psalms. The first word of the second leaf of the text is *annunciabit*. Of the jewelled binding and its velvet covering, done over with silver-gilt fleurs-de-lys, this record is all that remains.

The book was, then, in 1380 in the chamber of the king's favourite castle of Vincennes. It was near there that he died, the greatest of all book-lovers and one of the best of sovereigns, on September 16 of that year, two months after the death of his illustrious constable, Bertrand du Guesclin. From that time forward nothing can be told of its successive owners until the first half of the nineteenth century, when it belonged to Mr. John Boykett Jarman. This gentleman lived near the Thames, and when he left home on a certain occasion placed his valuable manuscripts in his cellar, for security against fire. By the irony of fate the Thames rose and flooded the cellar, and the majority of them were ruined by water. Among them were a combined Psalter and Horae, executed in the thirteenth century for a lady connected with St. Louis (probably his sister Isabeau), and a fine French Horae of the beginning of the fifteenth century, which, together with the

<sup>1</sup> Sous paris. See *L'inventaire des meubles que l'on trouva dans la tour du Temple après la fuite d'Yolande de Flandre, Comtesse de Bar*, printed by A. Digot in the *Journal de la Société d'Archéologie et du Comité du Musée lorrain*, April, 1857, pp. 71-76.

<sup>2</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, III., p. 127, No. 242. M. Delisle has kindly given me the above full transcript of this entry, which was No. 3306 in the original inventory, of which MS. Français 2705 at the Bib. Nationale is a slightly later copy.

present book, passed into the hands of John Ruskin in or about the year 1854. Mr. Jarman's library was sold at Sotheby's ten years later, in June, 1864.

Of these three most precious volumes the Horae of Yolande of Flanders had suffered most from its immersion. It was necessary to remove it from its binding, and to dry all the leaves separately between sheets of blotting paper, in which condition Ruskin no doubt received them from Mr. Jarman. Regarding the book as "virtually destroyed", he framed some of the least injured leaves, and from time to time lent or gave others to student friends. Thirteen were placed by him among the examples in his Drawing School at Oxford, where they still rest. The remainder were kept loose in a box, and when Mr. Yates Thompson acquired them in 1902, twenty-four leaves, besides those at Oxford, out of a total of a hundred and seventy-six, were missing. Seventeen of these are known to be in the possession of a lady, leaving only seven unaccounted for. Fortunately the Kalendar is complete, and no picture page is lacking, so that the little book, now carefully rebound in red sealskin, looks fairly perfect apart from the woeful damage it has sustained.

The collation seems to be as follows:  $a^{12} b^8-l^8 m^4 n^8-y^8 = 176$  ff. The 139 ff. now bound together, have been numbered 1-138 and 44a, this last leaf having been acquired after the leaves were numbered. The missing leaves would be 30a, 31a-d, 32a, 38a, 39a, 42a, 44b, 47a-d, 51a, 54a, 70a, 71a-b, 73a-c, 76a, 79a, 82a-b, 87a, 91a, 97a, 100a, 105a, 108a, 109a-b, 112a, 123a, 127a. Of these 31c, 32a, 38a, 47a-b, 70a, 71a-b, 100a, 105a, 109b, 112a, and 123a, are at Oxford, and photographs accompany the book.

The contents are

Kalendar, with entry for every day . . . . .	f. 1.
Hours of the Virgin matins . . . . .	f. 13 <i>b.</i>
lauds . . . . .	44 <i>A b.</i>
prime . . . . .	58 <i>b.</i>
tierce . . . . .	70 <i>b.</i>
sext . . . . .	74 <i>b.</i>
none . . . . .	80 <i>b.</i>
vespers . . . . .	86 <i>b.</i>
compline, followed by <i>Salve regina</i> . . . . .	96 <i>b.</i>
Penitential Psalms and Litany . . . . .	107 <i>b.</i>

The rectos of all the above leaves, except f. 1, are blank.

The use is of Paris, and the arrangement of the Hours of the Virgin differs but slightly from that in the Parisian Horae of the fifteenth century, numbered 86 in Mr. Yates Thompson's Catalogue. The Hymn after the capitulum at Lauds, which in MS. 86 begins *Virgo dei genetrix*, is however *O gloriosa domina* as in the Roman use, and the Collects at the end of Lauds are *Deus qui corda fidelium* and *Concede nos famulos tuos*, those in MS. 86 being *Deus qui corda fidelium*, *Deus qui de beate Marie* and *Ecclesiam tuam*. The only Collect after the Litany is *Deus cui proprium*, followed by the prayer, ascribed to St. Benedict, *Suscipere digneris domine deus omnipotens has orationes et*

*hos psalmos*, etc. In the latter the feminine forms *ego indigna misera peccatrix* and *pro misera famula tua peccatrice* occur.

A leaf of the Litany, containing the beginning of the Martyrs, a dozen or more names, is missing. The list continues: Leodegari, Sebastiane, Quintine, Gervasi, Prothasi, Georgi, *Martyrs*. Silvester, Hylari, Ambrosi, Martine, Augustine, Gregori, Nicholae, Remigi, Jeronime, Marcelle, Germane, Benedicte, Eligi, Edoalde (error for Clodoalde?), Maglori, *Confessors*. Maria Magdalena, Maria Egipciaca, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, Genovefa, Scolastica, Aurea, Oportuna, Fides, Katherina, Margareta, Ysabellis, *Virgins*. Marcellus, Germanus, Eligius, Clodoaldus, Maglorius, (of Dol) and Aurea were all held in special honour in Paris. It may be noted that all the Franciscan and Dominican saints, including the founders of these orders, are absent. Ysabellis is presumably Elizabeth of Hungary and not the beatified sister of St. Louis.

WRITING. The text is written throughout in alternate lines of blue and burnished gold, no black ink being used in any part of the volume. The rubrics are in crimson. The effect of this lavish use of gold and colour is still splendid on the pages which have suffered least from water. The writing is very good, not too much compressed, with the ascending letters, such as b and d, coming very little above the line. Both sides of two well preserved and typical leaves, showing text, initials, borders, and Yolande's coat-of-arms are reproduced in the final plate.<sup>1</sup>

LARGE INITIALS. The Psalms, Hymns, Lessons, Capitula and Prayers begin with a three-line initial in blue or pink, patterned with white, on a panel of burnished gold. All these initials are historiated, in most cases with grotesque subjects, monsters, monks, animals, etc. On f. 14 *b*, St. Peter appears with a silver key in an initial U. On ff. 17 and 18 in initials O and D the Virgin and Child are depicted. They appear again on f. 97 in an initial D, with a lady, doubtless Yolande, kneeling before them. The same lady kneels in an initial L on the verso of one of the Oxford leaves, f. 71A, and a head of Christ appears to her from clouds to R. On the recto of this leaf there is a finely-drawn beggar woman sitting on the shoulders of a terminal female figure, in whose left hand a swaddled child is held in a hammock. A small boy in tattered garments is led by the terminal figure's other hand. Like the seated woman he holds a bowl for alms. This group recalls the beggars in the beautiful Guardian Angel miniature on f. 123 *b* of the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre. On the verso of another of the Oxford leaves, f. 112 A, there is an initial M, in the two compartments of which a lady, with a pet dog on her lap, is seated

<sup>1</sup> There is at least one other fine book written in blue and gold now extant from the Library of Charles V., a Psalter executed at Peterborough at the beginning of the fourteenth century. It belonged at an early period to the Dukes of Burgundy, and is now in the Royal Library at Brussels (MSS. 9961-2). Charles V. also owned "un très petit psautier, peint d'asur sur les fueilles" (No. 39 in M. Delisle's list), but this probably refers to the decoration.



talking with a man. These figures perhaps represent Yolande and her second husband, Philippe of Navarre.

VERSAL INITIALS. These are of the same character as the three-line initials, on small gold panels occupying one line only and with a filling of one or more red or blue ivy-leaves. There are no penwork initials in the book.

LINE-ENDINGS. These are in nearly every case panels of gold, slightly concave at the ends. They bear various patterns made up of foliage, geometrical forms and occasional beasts and monsters. These latter are numerous in the Litany, ff. 125-130. Very rarely, as on ff. 99 and 100*b*, there are a series of white diamonds on a red ground.

BORDERS. Every page of the text has an ivy-leaf border of great elegance and elaboration. In most cases there are two thin lateral bars of burnished gold close to the writing. The ivy-stem, blue or pink, forms the inner edge of these, and throws off graceful branches which fill the broad margins with blue, red and gold foliage. Sometimes the lateral bars turn the corner and join at the top of the page, and when there is a coat-of-arms in the lower margin, they similarly meet below to support it. There is nothing mechanical about these borders, which are freely drawn and never repeated. In them this peculiarly French style of decoration is carried to perfection. They are, moreover, often enlivened with beautiful terminal figures of men and monsters, drawn, I think, for the most part by the same hand as the miniatures, afterwards to be described. On f. 42 there is a nude female figure which is noteworthy at this early period, on f. 51*b* a hedgehog bearing off apples on his back, on f. 52*b* a lively mermaid, on f. 109*b* a woman beating clothes by a stream, on f. 120 a hockey-player; to instance a few subjects from a great many. There is a well-drawn hawk on f. 131.

On f. 21 and on f. 28, the corresponding leaf of the section, there are tomtits and a butterfly among the ivy leaves, and there is a different treatment of the grotesques, which have thinner features, implying another hand at work on these two leaves. On these alone there is a nondescript on the bar in the lower margin which elsewhere supports Yolande's shield.

With regard to all these incidental marvels, in which the draperies especially are beyond praise, I cannot do better than quote M. Delisle's remark on the similar enrichments in a manuscript belonging to the Baroness Adolphe de Rothschild, which will be referred to later: "Tous ces minuscules hors-d'œuvre sont traités avec beaucoup d'esprit et de goût; ils dénotent une étonnante sûreté de main; ils devaient procurer d'amusantes distractions à la personne qui suivait les offices dans ce charmant petit livre."

KALENDAR. The Kalendar is a full Parisian one, with an entry for every day, containing nothing of special significance. The names are in French, and are written in

blue, crimson, red and gold, each month occupying the two sides of a leaf. On the recto pages there is an arrangement of figures and buildings, all here reproduced and corresponding so closely with the series in the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre,<sup>1</sup> MS. 75 in Mr. Thompson's collection, that it is unnecessary to describe them at length. To indicate the general scheme it will suffice to quote the following extract from the contemporary explanation of the similar series of designs in the Belleville Breviary:

*L'Escripture dit que Dieu n'est pas un homme qui puist faillir n'estre nué; car, combien que homme et toute créature puist estre mué en soi et en ses œuvres et en ses pensées, ne porquant le Créateur, le souverain ouvrier, ne puet recevoir mutation. Et, pour ce que ce est cil qui ordena et établi le Vieil Testament et le Nouvel, convient il que les deus soient acordés et ramenés à un. Et à ce s'accordent les Sains en plusieurs leus en la sainte Escripture, qui dient que le Nouvel Testament est tout figuré et baillié en figures en l'Ancien. Et cete accordance senefient les ymages qui sunt ci après.*

*Premièrement sont les Apostres qui sont exécuteurs du Nouvel Testament, qui cueillent les clauses du Viel Testament oscurément bailliées, et les descuevrent et desclairent et en font les articles de la foy; si que en chascun des XII mois a 1 des XII Apostres et 1 des XII Prophètes, en tel manière que le Prophète baille à l'Apostre une prophécie envelopée, et l'Apostre la descuevre et en fait un article. Et, pour ce que de la Synagoge, qui fu ou temps de l'Ancien Testament, et de l'Eglise qui est ou temps du Nouvel, nous parlons en deus manières, et quant au sens gros et materiel et quant au sens subtil et esperituel, met je l'un sens et l'autre; quar, au derrière de chascun, a une synagoge materiel, de quoi le Prophète trait une pierre que il baille à l'Apostre avec la prophécie, et va tous jors cele synagoge en défaillant, selonc ce que il vout plus avant, et les articles en mouteploiant, si comme vous poés veoir ès figures.*

*Et, pour ce que les articles de la foi sont la voie et les portes d'entrer en Paradis, met je les xij portes de Jérusalem de Paradis au desus des xij Apostres en la Vierge Marie, par quoi nous fu la porte ouverte, qui tient sus chacune des portes un panoncel, où est paint en ymage l'article que l'Apostre fait au desous par parole. Et respont chascun panoncel à chascun article en droit soi.*

*Et, pour ce que mesires saint Pol n'estoit uncore pas ou collègue des Apostres, quant ils firent la Credo et assemblèrent les articles de la foy, met je son ravissement comment il fu ravi et apelé, soz le premier article que la Vierge Marie li tient ou pennoncel; et puis après tantost ès autres mois, comment il preeche et monstre les articles que la Vierge tient sus la porte as onze manières de gens à qui il escrist onze Epistres.*

Comparison of the Kalendar of the present manuscript with that of the rather earlier Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre, both fortunately complete, does not, however, lead to a definite conclusion that the former was copied from the latter, or that either was copied

<sup>1</sup> See "The Book of Hours of Joan II., Queen of Navarre," with reproductions of the Kalendar, presented by Mr Yates Thompson to the Roxburghe Club, also the second volume of the Catalogue of Mr. Thompson's MSS., No. 75, pp. 161-2 and 167-8. A full transcript from the *Exposition des ymages* in the Belleville Breviary is printed as an appendix to the latter.

from the Belleville Breviary. They were more probably derived from the same original,<sup>1</sup> which may have been kept in the atelier at which the two books were decorated, though differences in the colours, the draperies and other small details show that the copying was not slavish. The buildings, representing the twelve Gates of Paradise and the gradually ruined Synagogue or Temple of the Old Law, are almost identical, stone for stone, in the two books, but the artist of Yolande's book has added a stork's nest to the eastern finial of the Synagogue in January. On the April page various birds are depicted in the trees, which in MS. 75 are untenanted. In November, Sagittarius, instead of riding from right to left and shooting backwards as in MS. 75 and in the three similar Kalendars<sup>2</sup> reproduced in Mr. Thompson's essay on that manuscript, rides from left to right and shoots forward. The names of St. Paul's listeners are placed below instead of above the groups, and the scrolls held by the prophets and apostles, though bearing the same texts, follow different curves. These small points are all of importance in view of the fact that this is one of seven known Kalendars of this remarkable design, and that others may exist that have hitherto escaped notice.

The six other recorded examples are :

(1) The Horae of Jeanne II., Queen of Navarre above mentioned, executed between 1336 and 1349.

(2) The first volume of the Belleville Breviary (Bibl. Nat. Latin 10483), executed before 1343. It unfortunately contains only the designs for November and December, the first of which is reproduced in Mr. Thompson's Roxburghe Club essay, and the second in Delisle's *Douze livres royaux*.

(3) The "Petites Heures" of Jean, Duke of Berry (Bibl. Nat. Latin 18014), executed c. 1380. Copied from No. 2. The page for November is reproduced by Mr. Thompson.<sup>3</sup>

(4) The "Grandes Heures" of Jean, Duke of Berry (Bibl. Nat. Latin 919), finished in 1409. Apparently copied from No. 3. In this book the Synagogue has become a castle. The page for November is reproduced by Mr. Thompson.

(5) A richly decorated Horae, No. 1855 in the Imperial Library at Vienna, described by Dr. Rudolf Beer in *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk*, Vienna, 1902, pp. 294-302. In this book, which is French work of the same date as the last, or possibly a few years later, the subject originally at the top of the page (St. Paul and his company of seated listeners,

<sup>1</sup> It is tempting to ascribe this to one of the most skilful and inventive artists of the three vols. of the *Life and Miracles of S. Denis*, Franç. 2090-2092, at the Bibliothèque Nationale. On f. 35<sup>b</sup> of Vol. I. there is a group of figures which recalls the group of St. Paul's listeners, and there are many suggestive similarities in the architecture, the draperies, and the quantities of figures holding scrolls.

<sup>2</sup> From the Belleville Breviary, and the Small and Great Hours of Jean, Duke of Berry.

<sup>3</sup> In the catalogue of the library of the Duke of Berry, printed by M. Delisle, there is a Horae which is described as having "*le Kalendar très richement historié des épistres de Saint Paul, de l'ancien et nouvel Testament*," which M. Delisle thinks was probably MS. 18014 and not another of this series, yet to be identified. (*Cabinet des Manuscrits*, iii. p. 179, No. 102. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1884.)

and the Virgin with her banner on the Gates of Paradise) is transferred to the foot of the page, left-hand side, and though the Apostles and Prophets with their scrolls remain, the Synagogue, an important portion of the original design, is crowded out. Dr. Beer reproduces two pages of this Kalendar in his article.

(6) The Breviary of Martin II. of Sicily, King of Aragon (1395-1410), a large and curious manuscript, apparently produced by Spanish artists under French influence, in the library of the Baroness James de Rothschild. In this volume there is also considerable divergence from the original design.

In the Catalogue of *Les Primitifs Français*, manuscript section, p. 12, Paris, 1904, the "très-beau Bréviaire de Charles V." (Bibl. Nat. Latin 1052) is inadvertently included in the list. This book has certain other designs in common with the Belleville Breviary, but not the Kalendar.<sup>1</sup>

One feature of the present manuscript which it has in common with No. 2 above, but not with the others, is a terminal figure springing from the bar of ivy-leaf foliage in the inner margin of each pictured page of the Kalendar. These figures seem in all cases to have borne some reference to the signs of the Zodiac or to the emblems of the months with which they are connected. In January there is a youth carrying a bucket in his hand and a vase on his head, no doubt containing some of the water which Aquarius is pouring out. In February there is a woman with a large fish on a gold dish. In March a man is chopping wood. In August a man in a straw hat appears to be binding a sheaf of corn. In September a woman is eating fruit (?). In December a man is killing a pig. The figures in the other months have suffered much damage and are almost obliterated. In January there is a beautiful grotesque figure in the outer margin bending down an ivy-branch.

MINIATURES. There are nine large miniatures, one to each of the Hours of the Virgin, and one to the Penitential Psalms. All these occupy the verso of a leaf of which the recto is blank, and, except the Annunciation, are enclosed in frames of elaborate Gothic canopy-work in flat gold, with pinnacles and either two or three arches above, drawn with great delicacy. Various saints appear in the outer and inner margins, and in the lower margins of the first pages to the eight Hours of the Virgin the story of Christ's Betrayal, Passion and Resurrection is depicted in a series of beautiful designs which would properly illustrate the Hours of the Cross, not contained in this little volume.<sup>2</sup> The lower margin of the first page of the Penitential Psalms is enriched with a still more elaborate picture of the Rising of the Dead, in which a large number of figures are arranged and drawn with consummate skill. The only other page with a group of figures on the lower margin is the first page of

<sup>1</sup> See Delisle's *Douze livres royaux*, pp. 89-93.

<sup>2</sup> There is a precisely similar combination of subjects in the "Heures de Pucelle" described by M. Delisle in *Douze livres royaux*, p. 69, but instead of being on the same page, they occupy opposite pages in that yet smaller volume.

the Litany (see the frontispiece), but, as stated above, there are great numbers of single figures and grotesques in the ivy-leaf borders, as well as in the three-line initials. Descriptions of the nine miniatures, all of which are reproduced of the size of the originals, here follow.

F. 13 b. HOURS OF THE VIRGIN. MATINS. *The Annunciation.* The interior of a room with brick-red walls and Gothic windows. The Virgin, seated to R. under a suspended circular canopy, inclines her head before Gabriel, who kneels, with R. hand raised, in an arched vestibule to L. A pot of lilies between them. The head of God the Father is seen through a recess above Gabriel. The Dove flying towards the Virgin is almost obliterated. Six angels look down from the roof. In the initial D of *Domine*, Yolande in a blue gown kneels at prayer. Four of her ladies are seated behind her outside the initial. (Compare the Annunciation on f. 39 of the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre, here reproduced, fig. 1.)

In lower margin, *The Betrayal*, a composition with sixteen figures; soldiers to R., seven disciples to L., Malchus on ground in front of Peter, who is sheathing his sword. (Compare Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre, f. 109.)

In outer margin, (1) St. Anne leading the Virgin; (2) St. Helena holding the Cross, a man digging beside her.

In inner margin, (1) St. John the Evangelist with the poisoned chalice; (2) St. Francis receiving the stigmata.

F. 44 A, verso. LAUDS. *The Visitation.* The Virgin and St. Elizabeth meet in a rocky place. Background of blue foliage. In the initial D Yolande again kneels before an altar on which is an apparition of the Virgin and Child. Outside the initial an attendant sits with open book behind her.

In the lower margin Christ is brought by a company of soldiers before Caiaphas, behind whose chair to R. stand five bearded elders. To L., St. Peter holding the keys, and the maid of the high priest accusing him. Above him a cock crowing. There is another cock in the opposite margin.

In outer margin, (1) St. Louis the King holding a sceptre and the Hand of Justice, as in the miniature at the beginning of his Office in the Breviary of Queen Jeanne of Evreux at Chantilly (see fig. 11). (2) St. Veronica with the Holy Face.

In inner margin; (1) St. Denis, (2) a virgin martyr with book and palm, perhaps St. Agnes. Below her, a ram looking up to her.

F. 58 b. PRIME. *The Nativity.* The Virgin reclines on a couch to L. holding the swaddled Child. Joseph seated to R. Ox and ass behind. Background of gold filigree on pink.

In lower margin, *The Flagellation.* Christ bound to a pillar is scourged by two men. To L., three others give directions. In the initial D a monster with human head and arms wields another scourge.

In outer margin, St. Margaret issuing from the dragon.

In inner margin, St. Katharine seated holding a wheel.

F. 70 b. TIERCE. *The Shepherds.* Three angels holding scrolls stand in the background. In foreground four shepherds (one playing on a pipe), their sheep, a dog and a tree. Above, on the pinnacles of the Gothic frame, six smaller angels with scrolls. In initial D two more shepherds with sheep. Outside the initial, to L., two flying angels embrace. One holds an open book.

In lower margin, *The Procession to Calvary.* The blacksmith's wife<sup>1</sup> on Golgotha to R., at the

<sup>1</sup> An early example of this apocryphal figure. She forged the nails when her husband refused to do so. Her name is Hédroit in the old French Mystery Plays. (See Émile Mâle's interesting article in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, April, 1904, pp. 290-292). I do not find the incident in the York, Chester, or Towneley Plays.

foot of which are two skulls and other bones, holds the nails and pincers. Her husband near her, with hammer in L. hand, turns and beckons to Christ, who bears His cross, which the Virgin helps to support. Four other women follow in attitudes of grief. To L., St. John and three bearded spectators. Compare the similar picture by the same hand on f. 111 of the *Horae* of Jeanne II. of Navarre.

In outer margin, (1) a monk in white Cistercian habit (? St. Bernard) holding book, and with R. hand raised in benediction, and St. Fiacre wearing a brown scapula and hood over a white tunic, and holding a book in his R. hand, and a pointed spade in his L. hand. St. Fiacre is similarly represented with brown scapula on the vaulting of the south transept of the chapel of Notre-Dame-du-Tertre, at Chatelaudren (Côtes-du-Nord), and elsewhere; (2) St. Martin on horseback, dividing his cloak with the beggar.

In inner margin, (1) St. Stephen in dalmatic, holding in L. hand a book, and in R. hand a large stone; (2) St. George on horseback spearing a blue-winged dragon.

F. 74 *b*. SEXT. *The Adoration of the Kings*. The Virgin is seated to R., with the Child standing on her knee. An old king kneels and offers Him a gold chalice. The other two kings stand behind with their offerings. One points to the star. Background, a gold diaper on pink. The picture on f. 55*b* of the *Horae* of Jeanne II. of Navarre is very similar.

In lower margin, *The Crucifixion*. To L. Longinus kneels with the spear. In foreground the Virgin, seated on the ground, is supported by the other Marys and Salome. Four other women stand behind them. To R., a man holding a blue pot of vinegar offers the sponge on a spear to Christ. St. John sits bowed in foreground. The Centurion and five other men stand behind with looks and gestures of awe. The two thieves are not shown. In the initial D a man fixes the inscription on the head of the Cross. There are two pictures in the *Horae* of Jeanne II. of Navarre, on ff. 112 and 113, that should be compared with this.

In outer and inner margin Cosmas and Damian, in blue and red doctor's robes, seated and similarly employed in anointing the head of a youth. (Compare Fitzwilliam Museum MSS., No. 74, miniature 64, in Dr. James's Catalogue.)

F. 80 *b*. NONE. *The Presentation*. Simeon stands behind the altar to R., and with humeral veil receives the Child from the Virgin. Joseph, to L., follows her with doves in a basket. In the initial D, a monster looks at them through the chinks of his fingers. Background of blue foliage.

In lower margin, *The Deposition*. Nicodemus and the Magdalene to L. support the dead body of Christ, while a man with pincers withdraws the nail from the feet. Behind the Magdalene, the Virgin and the third Mary. To R., St. John.

In outer margin, St. John the Baptist.

In inner margin, St. John the Evangelist. Below him his emblem, the eagle, holding a scroll.

F. 86 *b*. VESPER. *The Flight into Egypt*. Joseph, with his cloak on a staff over his L. shoulder, leads the ass to R. Behind the Virgin and Child a gold idol breaks and falls from its column. Background of puce foliage. Compare the picture on f. 61 of the *Horae* of Jeanne II. of Navarre.

In lower margin, a beautiful and well-preserved picture of *The Entombment*. The Virgin embraces the dead Christ as He is placed in the tomb by Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea. Behind her, a female saint with outstretched arms. To L., a group of four men. To R., another group of five persons including St. John and two female saints. In initial D St. Mary Magdalene (?) sits with bowed head. The influence of the school of Giotto or of Duccio is apparent in this composition. The similar one on f. 115 of the *Horae* of Jeanne II. of Navarre, in which the Magdalene, if it be she, is seated in the foreground instead of in the initial, is here reproduced for comparison (fig. 3).

In outer margin, a bishop in full canonicals in the act of giving the blessing. Perhaps St. Nicholas, or one of the Parisian Bishop-Saints, but without an emblem.

In inner margin, St. James the Greater, in pilgrim's attire.

F. 96 *b*. COMPLINE. *The Coronation of the Virgin*. Christ seated to R. of the Virgin on a wide Gothic throne, over the back of which six angels peep, places the crown on His mother's head. Blue background. Compare the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre, f. 65*b*.

In lower margin, *The Resurrection*. Christ, holding a long processional cross, steps from the tomb, the cover of which an angel has removed. A soldier sleeps with head resting on the tomb to R. Two others sleep on the ground to L. Two of them have wide caps over their mailed heads. Above, to R. and L., two angels fly down with their hands joined in adoration. In the initial C another angel sits swinging a censer.

In outer margin, St. Paul and St. Peter, with sword and keys.

In inner margin, St. Mary Magdalene with pot of ointment.

F. 107 *b*. PENITENTIAL PSALMS. *The Last Judgment*. The most elaborate page in the book. Christ is seated on a rainbow with hands open displaying the wounds, those in His feet and side being also shown. To L. the Virgin, to R. St. John, kneeling in prayer. Behind these, two angels holding the Cross and the Spear. The pink background is peopled with small figures, which are scarcely visible. At the feet of Christ are the towers, trees and battlements of a city. On the pinnacles of the frame, six angels blowing trumpets.

In lower margin, four larger angels blow trumpets, and the dead, including a pope, a cardinal, a bishop, an emperor and two kings, rise from their tombs; twenty-one figures in all, exclusive of the angels, grouped and drawn with consummate skill and mastery.

In the initial D, Christ enthroned, surrounded by the emblems of the four Evangelists. The D itself is composed of lions and blue monsters.

In outer margin, (1) a Benedictine abbot (perhaps St. Benedict) seated to R. Before him, to L., a man kneels showing a lacerated leg and offering a coil of lighted taper. He is accompanied by a woman who has lost her left hand. Crutches, models of hands, arms, etc., hang from a rod above, in recognition of cures wrought by the Saint. (2) St. Christopher. He holds a long staff with a leafy head, and looks back at Christ on his shoulders.

In inner margin, (1) St. Giles with the hind, and (2) St. Michael spearing the Devil.

F. 125. LITANY. In initial K of Kyrieleyson, ten seated saints in tiers of six and four.

In lower margin, twelve saints seated in two groups of six, among them St. Andrew, St. Paul, and St. Lawrence.

It now remains to add a few words on the extraordinarily gifted artist who was responsible, as I think, for nearly all the figure work in this notable volume, produced at such expense of labour and skill, with an elaborate border to every page and with the text in alternate lines of blue and burnished gold.

I am disposed to identify him with the third and most accomplished of the four hands employed on the Horae of Jeanne II., Queen of Navarre, the mother of Yolande's second husband, Philippe of Navarre. It will make the position of this artist clearer, in relation to his fellow-workers in Paris, if I give some particulars of the closely related

masterpieces which may be grouped round this precious Book of Hours, all probably decorated in the same atelier between the years 1325 and 1355.

(1) *A Bible* written by Robert de Billyng and illuminated, as stated in the colophon, by Jehan Pucelle, Anciau de Cens and Jaquet Maci in 1327 (Bibl. Nat. MS. Latin 11935).<sup>1</sup> This noble volume, of which the value and interest are so greatly enhanced by these names of the scribe (apparently an Englishman) and three illuminators whose names occur elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> has been often referred to. It is finely written in a rather compressed hand. The miniatures have backgrounds of small diapers, often patterned with fleurs-de-lys, but there are none of the backgrounds of filigree,<sup>3</sup> trellis, coloured leaves, etc., found in several of the books of rather later date that I am about to describe, nor are there any tricolor borders, although the pictures of the Creation in the long initial I to Genesis are enclosed in quatrefoils, as in a rather similar Bible destroyed in 1904 in the fire at Turin.<sup>4</sup> There is a great deal of minute penwork up the side of every column of text.

(2) The *Procès de Robert Comte d'Artois* (Bibl. Nat. MS. Français 18437), containing two pictures, which I judge from the types of faces, the gestures and the costumes, to be by the *first hand* of the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre, although the great difference in scale necessitated a somewhat larger treatment. The date is 1332 or soon after. The first and principal picture is here given, much reduced in scale (fig. 6).

(3) The *Horae ascribed to Jeanne of Savoy*, who married Jean III., Duke of Brittany, in 1329, and died at Vincennes in 1344, three years after her husband. She was daughter of Blanche of Burgundy, and cousin to Jeanne II., Queen of Navarre. Whoever was the original owner (and the ascription is a plausible one), this book, which now belongs to Madame N. Jacquemart-André of Paris, was apparently executed before that of Blanche of Burgundy which is next described. In like manner, when placed beside that of Jeanne II. of Navarre, it looks decidedly the earlier of the two, but their common origin is attested not only by the general resemblance, but by the presence of a similar and characteristic picture, divided into two compartments, before the Vigils of the Dead. In the compartment to the right there is a seated figure of a priest beside an altar, drawn identically, even to the smallest folds of drapery, in the two books. I attribute this and other miniatures to the *first hand* of the Horae of Jeanne II., from which volume the picture in question is here reproduced (fig. 5). Comparing these books I have noted as to the Horae of Jeanne of Savoy that the ivy-leaf borders are less elaborate, that there is more black ink used for the fine lines of the draperies, that there are line-endings throughout in gold and colour, and that only one miniature, representing Christ enthroned (before the Penitential

<sup>1</sup> See Delisle's *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, i., pp. 12 and 13, and *Douze livres royaux*, pp. 73-75, and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> See below, Nos. 7 and 10.

<sup>3</sup> There is an early example of this kind of background in the very fine *Life of the Virgin* at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (No. 20 in Dr. James's Catalogue). This book is dated 1323 and is probably Parisian.

<sup>4</sup> Carta, Cipolla and Frati. *Atlante Paleografico-artistico*, Pl. LIV. (Turin, 1899). In this book, which was apparently of rather later date, there were tricolor borders.



Psalms) is enclosed in a quatrefoil. There are grotesques in the margins often exquisitely drawn; but sometimes by a coarser hand, recalling Flemish work of the period.<sup>1</sup>

(4) The *Horae of Blanche of Burgundy*, who was represented as an oldish lady praying to St. Dominic in one of the principal pictures, as well as at the foot of several other pictured pages. She was aunt to Jeanne II. of Navarre, was married to Edouard, Count of Savoy in 1307, was left a widow in 1329 and died at Dijon in 1348. This precious book, of which a page showing St. Louis carrying the Crown of Thorns into Paris (fig. 10) is fortunately reproduced in Carta, Cipolla and Frati's *Atlante Palco-graphico-artistico*, Plate LVII (Turin, 1899), perished in the fire which consumed so many priceless treasures at the Turin Library in January, 1904. It contained the Hours of St. Louis of Toulouse, as well as those of St. Louis the King, and it may be noted that the series of pictures to the latter differed, as regards the majority of the subjects, both from those in the *Horae* of Jeanne II. of Navarre and from those in the "*Hecures de Pucelle*" mentioned below. St. Maurice, the patron of Savoy, was honoured by the first place in the *Memoriae*, and was drawn riding fully armed with the arms of Savoy on shield, banner and housings. The arms of France, Burgundy and Savoy occurred in many places.

The miniatures, which were by more than one hand, and were enclosed in tricolor quatrefoils, included a series of eight to the Hours of the Holy Ghost, which were, it seemed to me, by the *first hand* of the contemporary *Horae* of Jeanne II. of Navarre.

After the death of Blanche the book came into the possession of Charles V., for whom additions occupying pp. 157-210 were made. It was only in this portion that his portrait, which so many fine manuscripts have rendered familiar, appeared. His son and successor, Charles VI., gave it to Jean, Duke of Berry.

(5) The *Horae of Jeanne II., Queen of Navarre*. This manuscript, executed under Franciscan influence between 1336 and 1349, has been so fully described elsewhere<sup>2</sup> that it is unnecessary to deal with it here at any length. It is in many respects the central production of the school to which it belongs. The sixty-eight miniatures are the work of four hands, twenty-nine being assigned by me to the *first hand* (whose figures have a grave and dignified aspect, carefully modelled and strongly outlined, with square jaws and noses that are a little retroussé), four to the *second hand* (delicately drawn, but in all of them there is a Christ with a rather weak expression), eighteen to the *third hand* (an artist of the rarest excellence, in certain of whose designs there are traces of Italian influence), and seventeen to the *fourth hand* (whose work, much inferior to that of his three companions, may also be seen in the Life of St. Louis, MS. Fr. 5716 at the Bibliothèque Nationale). Most of these miniatures are enclosed in tricolor quatrefoils, and there

<sup>1</sup> There is a beautiful Dominican Kalendar, detached from a *Horae* that must have somewhat resembled this one, at the British Museum, MS. Add. 33992. The date is *c.* 1325. It is remarkable for the finely drawn birds in the ivy-leaf borders. The *Gemini* stand with a shield before them as in Nos. 5 and 6 of this list. The book was in Scotland at an early period.

<sup>2</sup> See note, p. 8.

is a great profusion of ivy-leaf borders and other marginal ornament. Characteristic miniatures by the three best hands are here reproduced (figs. 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9).

(6) The *Horae of Yolande of Flanders*, daughter-in-law of Jeanne II. of Navarre, mainly, as I suppose, by the *third hand* above mentioned.

(7) The "*Heures de Pucelle*," so named in the catalogue of Jean, Duke of Berry, where a description is given which has enabled M. Delisle to identify it with a tiny volume of Dominican use, very beautifully and delicately executed with miniatures in grisaille, in the collection of Mme. Adolphe de Rothschild. I have not had an opportunity of seeing this book, but M. Delisle has given such an exact account of it in his inestimable *Douze livres royaux*, pp. 67-75, that its very close connexion with Nos. 5 and 6 is apparent. A queen is represented in two places (pp. 16 and 102*b*) and M. Delisle has conjectured that the book was executed for Bonne of Luxembourg, the first wife of Jean le Bon. But as she died before her husband came to the throne it is uncertain that she would have been represented as a crowned personage.<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to connect the "*Heures de Pucelle*" with the second Queen (1349) of Philippe VI. of Valois, Blanche, daughter of Jeanne II. of Navarre, and sister-in-law of Yolande of Flanders, but there appears to be no armorial or other evidence in favour of such an attribution, and the problem of original ownership must for the present remain unsolved.

In addition to the Kalendar, the Hours of the Virgin and the Penitential Psalms and Litany, which are the whole contents of No. 6, it contains the same office of St. Louis as Nos. 4 and 5, but with yet another series of pictures. At the beginning of the eight Hours of the Virgin the pictures usually found there are associated, as in No. 6, with pictures of the Betrayal, Christ before Pilate, the Flagellation, the Procession to Calvary, the Crucifixion, the Deposition, the Entombment, and the Resurrection—a series which also occurs in No. 5, but in its natural connexion with the Hours of the Cross. As in Nos. 3, 4 and 5, there are subsidiary groups of figures on the lower margins of the pictured pages, and as also in No. 6, there are quantities of exquisitely drawn grotesques and animals which decorate the volume without illustrating the text. M. Delisle is silent as to the initials. He tells us, however, that the Annunciation is depicted in an unusual manner, identical with that in No. 5 (see fig. 1). This treatment, which shows marked Italian influence, is followed with sufficient closeness in No. 6, and a comparison would probably demonstrate that these three pictures are by the same artist, namely, the *third hand* of the *Horae* of Jeanne II. of Navarre.

(8) *Le livre des miracles de Notre-Dame*, a long poem or series of poems by Gautier de Coincy, Prior of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Medard at Soissons, who wrote at the beginning of the thirteenth century. This inestimable manuscript, executed in Paris in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, after many vicissitudes, including capture

<sup>1</sup> A Book of Hours that undoubtedly belonged to her appears in the Duke of Berry's Catalogue (*Cabinet des Manuscrits*, iii., pp. 178-9, No. 97), and this book, or another that belonged to the same lady, was exhibited by M. Didot at the Exposition Rétrospective in 1867 (*ibid.*, iii, p. 327, note 5).





1. From the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre, f. 39, work of the *third hand*, showing Italian influence. See pp. 11, 15 and 16.



2. From the Soissons *Miracles de Notre Dame*, f. 70b, attributed to the same hand as No. 1, showing Italian architecture. See p. 17.



3. From the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre, f. 115, work of the *third hand*, showing Italian influence. See pp. 12 and 15.



4. From the same, f. 36, work of the *second hand*. See pp. 15 and 18.



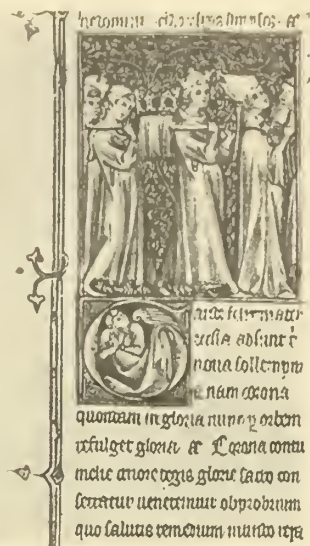
5. From the same, f. 159b, by the *first hand*. Nearly identical with a miniature in the Horae of Jeanne of Savoy. See pp. 14 and 15.



6. From the *Procès contre Robert d'Artois* (Bib. Nat., fr. 18437). By the first hand of the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre. See p. 14.



11. St. Louis the King, and the same subject as figs. 9 and 10, from the Breviary of Jeanne of Evreux at Chantilly. See pp. 11 and 20.



10. The same subject from the Horae of Blanche of Burgundy, destroyed by fire at Turin. See pp. 15 and 20.



7. From the Soissons *Miracles de Notre Dame*, f. 232b. See p. 18.



8. Composition similar to the last, from the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre, f. 121b, by the first hand. See p. 18.



9. From the same, f. 102. St. Louis and his brother Robert of Artois carrying the Crown of Thorns into Paris. By the first hand. See pp. 15 and 20.



by the English at the battle of Poitiers and re-purchase by Charles V., whose son, Charles VI. gave it to his uncle Jean, Duc de Berry, found its way in the seventeenth century, not inappropriately, to the city in which the poem was composed, and there it remains. It was exhibited in Paris in 1867, and M. Delisle elucidated its history in an article which he has reprinted for all lovers of ancient manuscripts and of masterly exposition in his *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, vol. iii., pp. 324-327. It had already been the subject of essays which I have not had an opportunity of seeing by M. l'Abbé Poquet, M. Alfred Darcel, M. Edouard Fleury, and others.

In 1904 it was again exhibited in Paris, with the wonderful series of French illuminated books which M. Delisle arranged to illustrate and supplement the pictures and other works of art which were collected under the title of *Les Primitifs français*. When the exhibition closed he kindly allowed me to examine the volume, and to verify the assumption that I had already formed from the full-page miniature exposed, in which I had recognized the characteristics of the *third hand* of the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre. My notes are as follows:

The text is in double columns of 42 lines. The capitals of the lines stand a little way from the words to which they belong, and are touched with yellow. On the left side of nearly every column there is a long thin bar of burnished gold with a thin interior strip of pink and blue, usually attached to a two-line initial, and throwing off rather modest sprays of well-drawn ivy-leaves, as in the main portion of the Belleville Breviary. There are seventy-seven miniatures, occupying the width of a column,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches, and a large full-page composition at the beginning. These miniatures are all finely drawn and coloured and the majority of them, as well as the large page, which has been damaged and retouched, are the work of the *third hand* above mentioned. Some are however by the *first hand*. They are never enclosed in quatrefoils. The backgrounds vary, being sometimes a small diaper, sometimes patterned gold and sometimes a gold trellis or filigree on blue or pink.

Perhaps the most interesting of the smaller miniatures is that on f. 70b, of which, by M. Delisle's courtesy, I am able to give a reproduction (fig. 2). It represents an attack on a castle near Orleans: .

"Cest chastiaus a non auers non  
Ou auenon ou auernon."

in which the attacking horsemen are clearly brothers in arms of the foot soldiers of Herod on the lower margin of f. 61 of the Horae of Jeanne II. The significant point is not however the men, but the castle, which has a tall thin tower leaping up flush from the angle of the battlemented wall through the frame of the drawing to the height of seven lines of text. The artist had seen such a tower, but not in France. It is almost certainly that of the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence (the Sienese tower was not yet built), and it explains the Italian influence in his work.

Two compositions of a queen kneeling before the Virgin and Child on ff. 232b and

238*b* closely resemble those on ff. 121*b* and 118*b* of the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre. The last nine pictures in the book (ff. 234-245) are all of this character; in six of them a queen kneels and in three a king, but there are no arms by which to identify them. It may be noted, however, that the king has not the pronounced nose of the Valois family, and he may be Philippe of Evreux, Jeanne II.'s husband, who died in 1343. One of the miniatures in which the kneeling queen appears is here given side by side with the same subject from No. 5 (figs. 7 and 8).

The text at present ends on f. 245*b*, but the table of contents shows that the stories of Saints Katherine, Agnes, Christina, Agatha, Lucia, Mary Magdalene, Mary of Egypt, Cecilia, Anastasia, Geneviève, Thecla, Honorina, Margaret, Justina and Cyprian, with the passion of the two last named, should conclude the volume. Perhaps this missing portion may some day be found elsewhere, and it is for this reason that the details are so fully given.

(9) A *Paris Missal* of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, written (as an entry in the Kalendar shows) for the Church of St. Louis at Poissy (Arsenal Library, 608). It contains, before the Canon of the Mass, two full-page pictures which have suffered some retouching at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They represent (1) the Crucifixion, with the Virgin to L. and St. John to R.; and (2) Christ enthroned in a pointed quatrefoil, with the symbols of the Evangelists outside.

The arrangement of the figures and draperies in the Crucifixion conforms so exactly with that of the Crucifixion at the foot of the full-page composition at the beginning of No. 8, undoubtedly by the *third hand*, as to preclude the smallest doubt of their having been copied from the same original, though there is a weakness in the faces which points in this case to the *second* rather than to the *third hand* of the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre. The Christ enthroned, with right hand raised in benediction and the left hand holding an orb, closely resembles the similar figures on ff. 25, 29*b*, and 36 of that book, all by the *second hand* (see fig. 4). This Missal is for the rest a well-written, but little ornamented volume, with only a few historiated initials, and no systematic borderwork.

(10) *The Belleville Breviary*. (Bibl. Nat., Latin 10483-4). A Dominican book, in two volumes, executed before 1343, in which year it appears to have become part of the Royal Library, owing to the confiscation of the goods of Olivier III. of Clisson and of his wife, Jeanne of Belleville.<sup>1</sup> It subsequently belonged to Charles V. and Charles VI. of France, to Jean, Duke of Berry, and to Richard II. and Henry IV. of England. It is described at length by M. Delisle in his *Douze livres royaux*, pp. 81-88, and has been often referred to not only because of the richness and beauty of its numerous decorations

<sup>1</sup> Daughter and heiress of Maurice, lord of Belleville and Montagu. She was widow of Geoffroy of Châteaubriant when she married Olivier III. of Clisson, *c.* 1328. After his execution, in August 1343, she was banished, but the confiscated goods were returned in 1362 to her famous son, Olivier IV. of Clisson. If the assumption be correct that this Breviary, and a Dominican Missal known as the Belleville Missal (No. 183 in M. Delisle's catalogue of the Royal Library) owed their names to Jeanne of Belleville as their first owner, it is evident that they were not among the goods returned.



but from the very interesting fact that M. Delisle has discerned certain memoranda on the edges of some of the lower margins, intended to be cut off by the binder, which show that artists called Mahiet, Ancelet (identified as the Jaquet Maci and Anciau de Cens of the Bible of 1327, No. 2 above) and J. Chevrier had a hand in the illumination, and that (f. 33) *J. Pucelle a baillié XX et III s. VI d.* This last entry indicates that Jean Pucelle superintended and paid for the work, without necessarily taking part in it. In all probability, as M. Delisle suggests, he was the director of the workshop in which the sheets were illuminated. It has already been mentioned (p. 9) that the designs in the Kalendar of the first volume are identical with those in Nos. 5 and 6. I have, however, been unable to recognize the same hand either in the figure subjects or in the general decoration, and there is one feature which is peculiar to this book, as compared with the other members of the group, namely the strikingly naturalesque flowers (iris, vetch, columbine, etc.), insects (dragon-fly, tortoiseshell butterfly, etc.), and birds (pheasant, owl, etc.) on the margins. There are no tricolor frames. The marginal bars and ivy-leaf decorations are thin and unelaborate, like those in Nos. 8 and 10, and unlike those in Nos. 5 and 6; in the Kalendar they are by a coarser hand. The colour of the miniatures is very gay and good. A sage green is used, as well as a light violet and a light blue. The figures are much stippled. There is no penwork decoration. In the Kalendar of the second volume the signs of the Zodiac and Labours of the Months are beautifully drawn in grisaille in cusped trefoils.

In his *Douze livres royaux*, pp. 89-93, M. Delisle calls attention to another Breviary (Bibl. Nationale, Latin 1052) which is closely related to the Belleville Breviary. It is of the use of Paris and likewise belonged to Charles V., Charles VI. and Jean, Duke of Berry, as well as to Charles VII. In an inventory of the goods of Charles V. it is described as "*très noblement escript et très noblement enlumyné et ystoriel.*" A kneeling figure on f. 261, reproduced by M. Delisle, is apparently intended for that king, whose arms do not however occur in the book. Its date is perhaps a few years anterior to his accession in 1364. It contains a great number of illuminations, and notably a series of eight in the lower margins of the Psalter, illustrating the Seven Virtues and their opposing Vices, and the Last Judgment. An identical series as to subject and arrangement, but of finer execution, and by a different hand, is found in the volumes of the Belleville Breviary, with the exception of the final design, which, though originally there, has unfortunately been removed from both volumes.

(11) *The Breviary of Jeanne of Evreux*, the third wife of Charles IV. of France and Navarre (d. 1328), and sister-in-law to Jeanne II. of Navarre. Jeanne d'Evreux lived till 1371, and this exquisite little book, of which only the second volume is in the Musée Condé at Chantilly (the first being lost) was probably executed about 1340. Both volumes belonged to Charles V. in 1380. M. Delisle has described the surviving one in *Notices des Manuscrits*, t. xxxi. p. 16, and in *Douze livres royaux*, pp. 65-66. My notes, taken in 1899, are as follows:

A Franciscan book, of which the side ornaments, initials, and line endings recall the

Belleville Breviary, as do the pictures throughout, although the figures are in grisaille. The backgrounds are diapered gold and red, blue leaves, red leaves, green leaves on red, light yellow trellis, plain blue, etc. Tracery sometimes above the figures. Pointed helmets. Architecture very much like that in the Belleville Breviary and in the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre, and a picture of St. Louis carrying the Crown of Thorns certainly derived from the same original as the similar pictures in the latter book and in the Horae of Blanche of Burgundy (No. 4); but it looks rather later in date (figs. 9-11). The Kalendar has the Signs of the Zodiac and the Labours of the Months in two cusped trefoils, as in the second volume of the Belleville Breviary, the figures being beautifully drawn in grisaille on alternate grounds of blue and red. Compare also the picture of Judith and Holofernes on f. 194<sup>b</sup> with the same subject in both volumes of the Belleville Breviary. All initials are on gold backgrounds with ornament branching up and down both columns, similar in style to the slender side bars in the two volumes of that book; incipient ivy-leaf with full leaf only at the end of the branch. The initials contain shields of France, Navarre and Evreux in great numbers, as well as grotesques, as in the Horae of Jeanne II. of Navarre. There are no penwork initials, and no marginal figure subjects.

It will be seen that of these books No. 3 was probably made for a cousin, No. 4 for an aunt, No. 6 for a daughter-in-law, and No. 11 for a sister-in-law of Jeanne of France, Queen of Navarre, for whom No. 5 was made, and that the original owners of Nos. 1, 2, 7, and 8 are unidentified, though they may well have been royal personages to whom she was more or less closely akin.

If my ascriptions be correct, of the three important hands employed upon her Horae (No. 5), the work of the *first* is also found in Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 8, that of the *second* in No. 9, and that of the *third* in Nos. 6 and 8.

Whether the work of the *third hand* is also found, as seems likely from M. Delisle's remarks, in the *Heures de Pucelle* (No. 7), it would be of the utmost interest to know, as it would probably enable us to identify him with Jehan Pucelle, who was partly responsible for Nos. 1 and 10, and who is also known, thanks to the researches of M. Marcel Poëte, as the designer, between the years 1319 and 1324, of the seal of the confraternity of Saint Jacques-aux-Pèlerins at Paris. But until an opportunity occurs for comparing these three books, the name of the great artist whose genius brightened the pages of the Book of Hours of Yolande of Flanders must remain a matter of conjecture.

**A** laa uonauon.  
 y...  
 viii...  
**S**o samr uacn.  
 id samr guillaume.  
 id samr dilauc.  
 id...

The page features a large initial 'A' at the top right, decorated with a crown and floral motifs. The text is written in Gothic script. The left margin contains a vertical decorative border with a figure. The bottom of the page is decorated with a miniature of a church and figures, and a circular seal.

...  
**S**o samr uacn.  
 id samr guillaume.  
 id samr dilauc.  
 id...

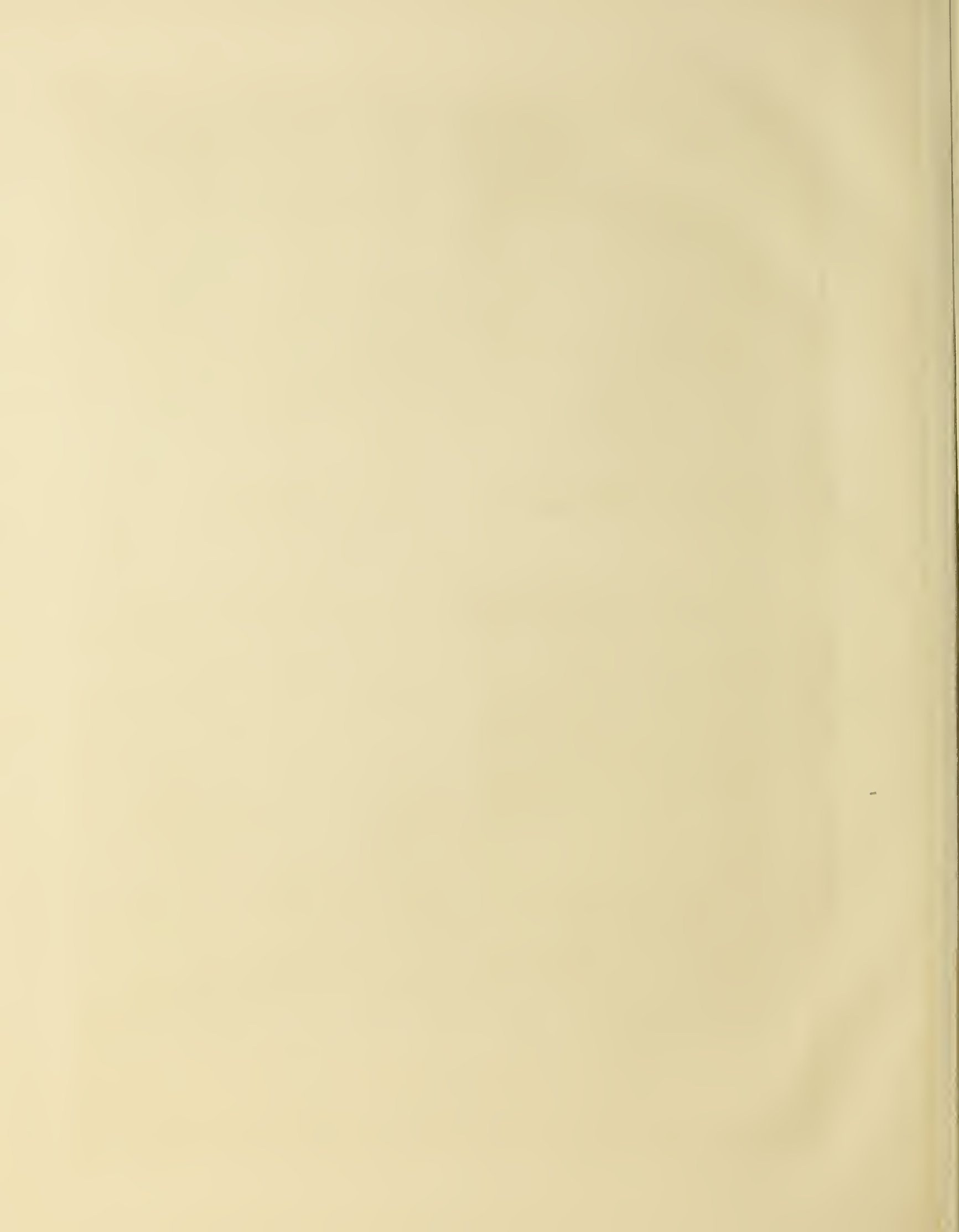
This page is similar to the first, featuring a large initial 'S' at the top right. The text continues in Gothic script. The left margin has a vertical decorative border. The bottom is decorated with a miniature of a church and figures, and a circular seal.

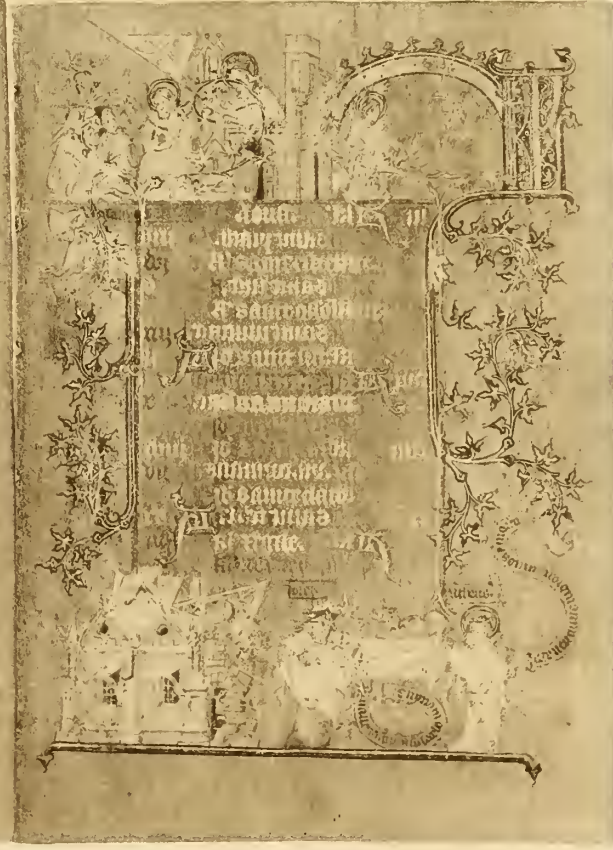
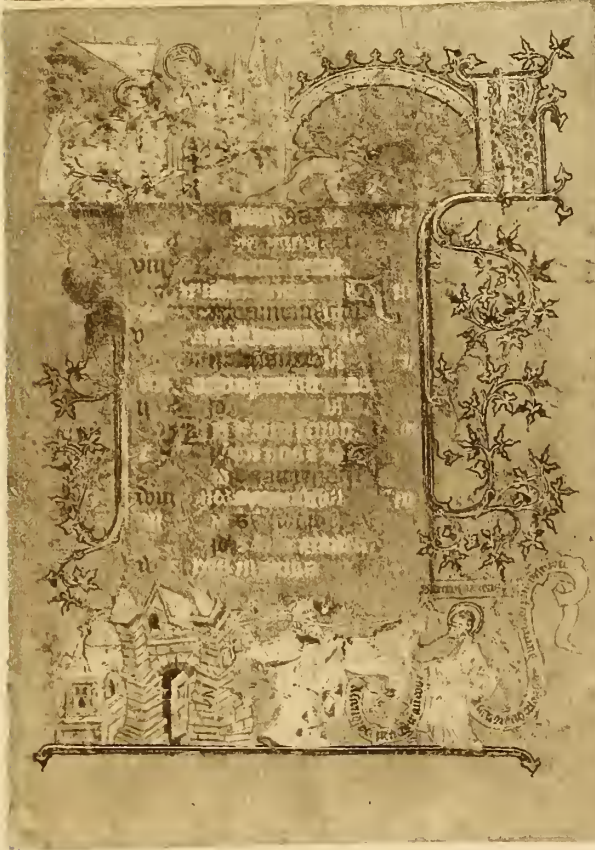
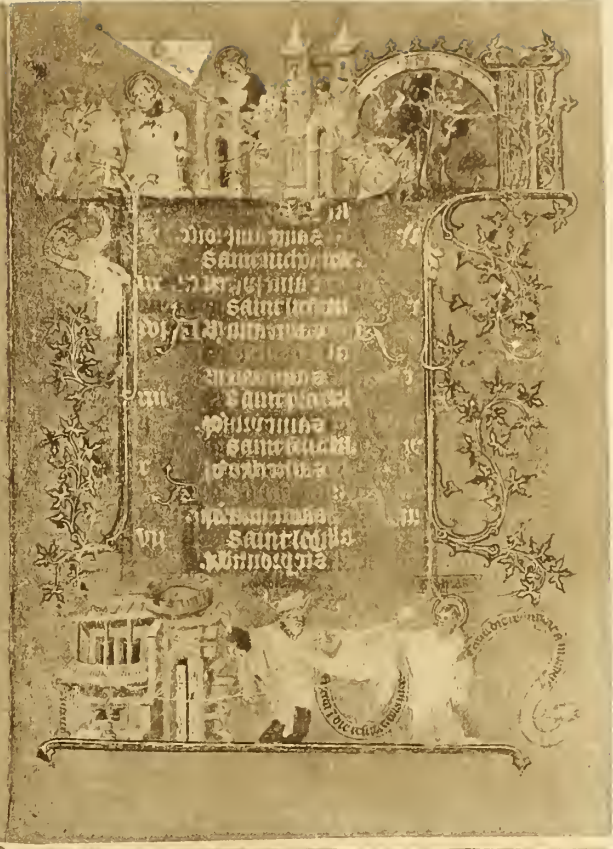
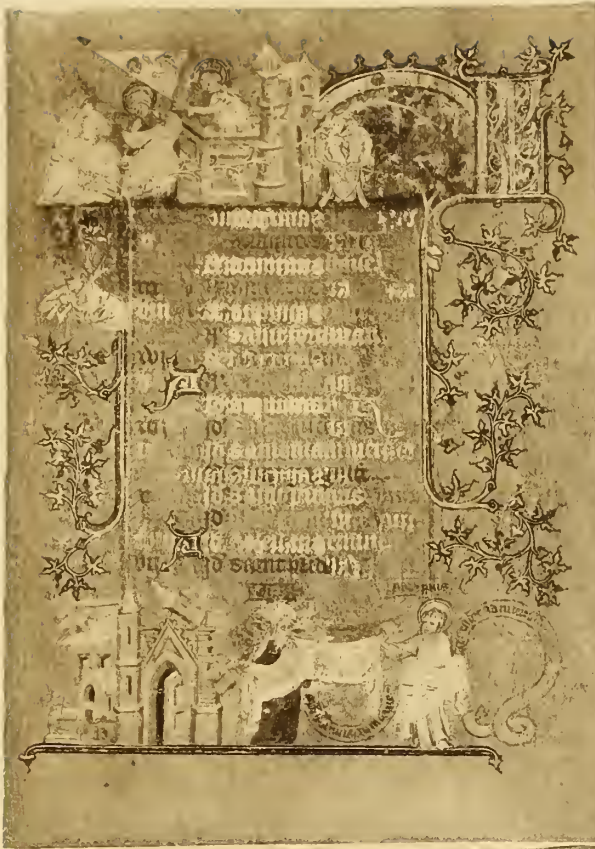
...  
**S**o samr uacn.  
 id samr guillaume.  
 id samr dilauc.  
 id...

This page features a large initial 'S' at the top right. The text is written in Gothic script. The left margin contains a vertical decorative border with a figure. The bottom of the page is decorated with a miniature of a church and figures, and a circular seal.

...  
**S**o samr uacn.  
 id samr guillaume.  
 id samr dilauc.  
 id...

This page features a large initial 'S' at the top right. The text is written in Gothic script. The left margin contains a vertical decorative border with a figure. The bottom of the page is decorated with a miniature of a church and figures, and a circular seal.





*Book of the May - 14*



**M**onday  
Tuesday  
Wednesday  
Thursday  
Friday  
Saturday  
Sunday

Decorative border with floral motifs and a miniature scene at the bottom.

**M**onday  
Tuesday  
Wednesday  
Thursday  
Friday  
Saturday  
Sunday

Decorative border with floral motifs and a miniature scene at the bottom.

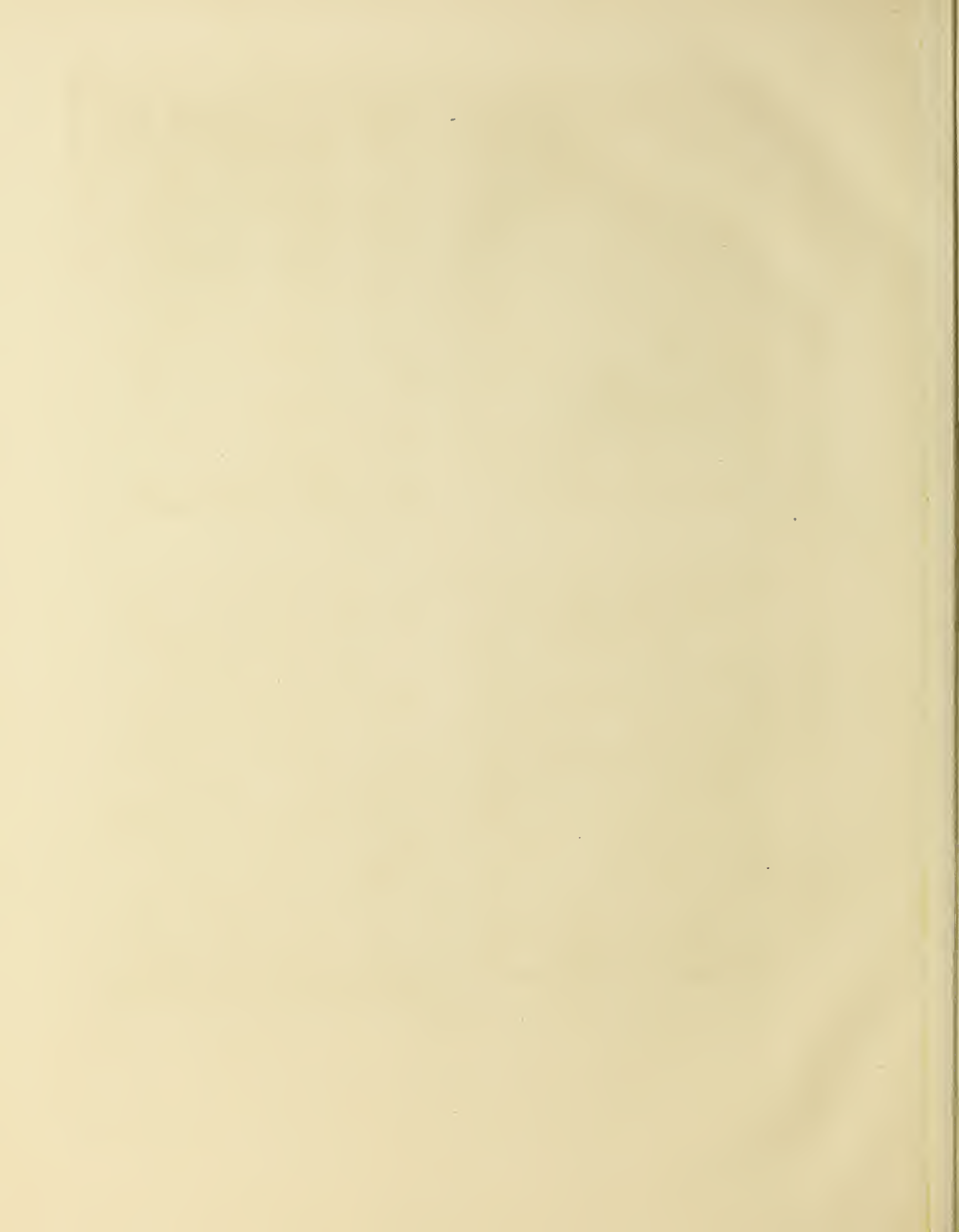
**M**onday  
Tuesday  
Wednesday  
Thursday  
Friday  
Saturday  
Sunday

Decorative border with floral motifs and a miniature scene at the bottom.

**M**onday  
Tuesday  
Wednesday  
Thursday  
Friday  
Saturday  
Sunday

Decorative border with floral motifs and a miniature scene at the bottom.

*Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or date.*







Hours of the Virgin. Matins, Lauds, Prime, and Terce.  
 folio 13<sup>b</sup> 44A<sup>b</sup> 52<sup>b</sup> 70<sup>b</sup>





Scenes of the Visitation. From the Book of Hours of the Emperor Maximilian I.



p[ro]p[ri]am[m]es r[ati]o[n]e s[er]v[er]e  
 viles ara p[ro]p[ri]a u[er]u[m]  
 nem p[ro]cedo n[on] d[omi]n[u]m p[ro]  
 t[er]re[m] d[omi]n[u]m co[n]s[er]v[er]e  
 t[er]re[m] d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m l[ib]er[ati]  
 men qui d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 n[on] d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 Ad d[omi]n[u]m p[ro]p[ri]a n[on] d[omi]n[u]m  
 t[er]re[m] d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 bus op[er]am d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 S[er]v[er]e d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m

eor[um] p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o d[omi]n[u]m q[ui]  
 que d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 man[er]e s[er]v[er]e d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
**P**er d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 m[er]ita d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 solut[ur]ae d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
**S**ia p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m

p[ro] d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 a[nt]u[m] l[ib]er[ati]o[n]e[m] q[ui] d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
**G**loria d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 tu[m] s[er]v[er]e d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
**L**audamus te d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m

40  
**S**alve com uas op[er]at u[er]  
 n[on] d[omi]n[u]m que cum s[er]v[er]e d[omi]n[u]m  
 an est ungo. Gaude d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
**S**alve domne lene d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
**S**ancta in x[rist]o d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m  
 d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m

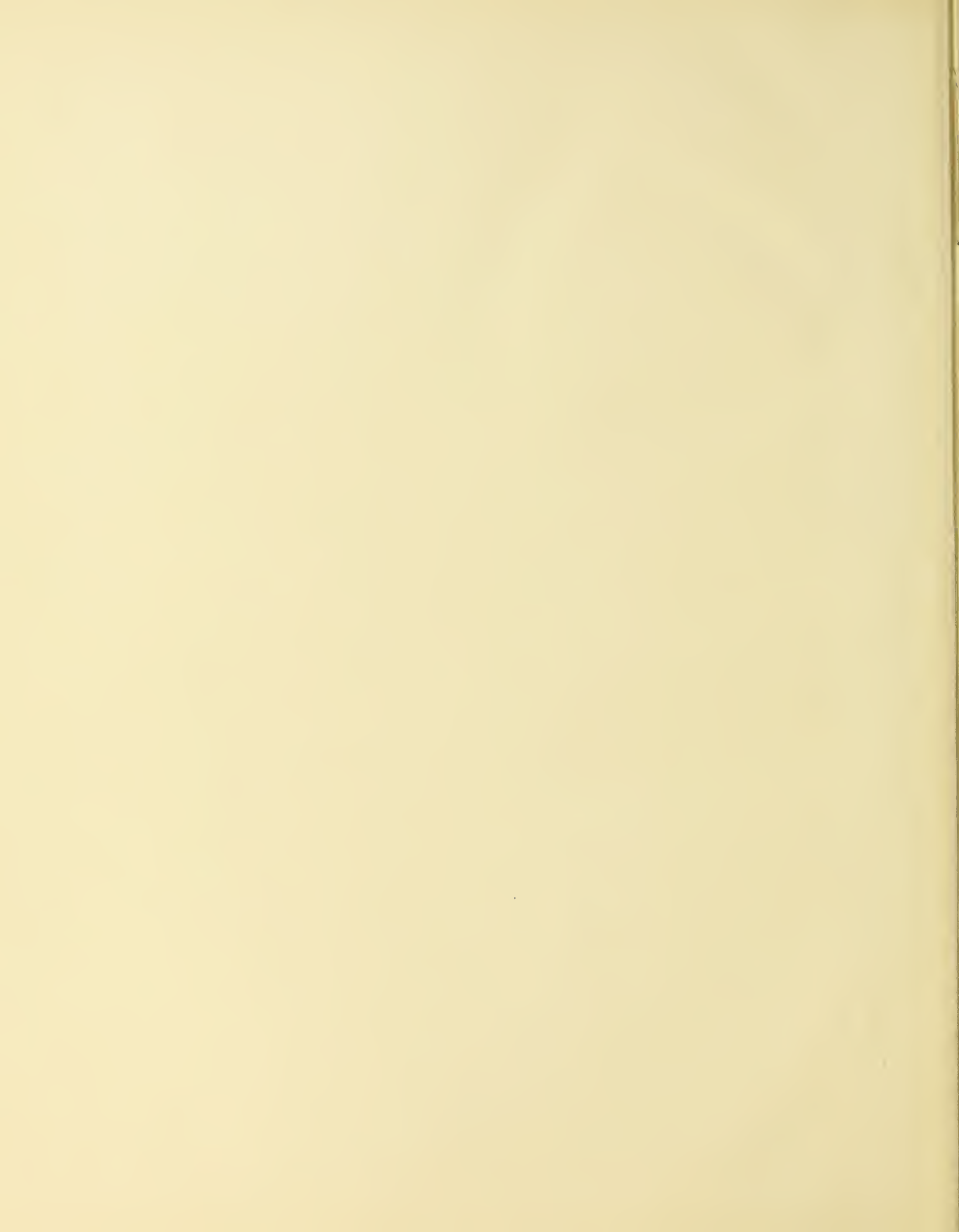














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