

French and Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts
from Chicago Collections

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David in Prayer, from a French Book of Hours
(Catalogue entry No. 13)

French and Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts from Chicago Collections

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An exhibition in honor of the 44th annual meeting
of the Mediaeval Academy of America held at
The University of Chicago, April 17, 18, and 19

The Division of the Humanities of the University of Chicago
and The Newberry Library

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Foreword

Manuscript illumination, the principal form of artistic expression throughout the Middle Ages, is virtually unknown to the American public. Preserved in libraries rather than museums and, in general, unsuitable for open display, illuminations remain, as they were originally intended, a personal experience for a limited number of collectors and scholars. Like all books, medieval manuscripts were designed for private use and enjoyment. They should be selected to meet the mood of the individual reader, their pages should be turned at leisure, and the text should be read and considered together with the unfolding series of illustrations. To display these illuminations in closed cases, then, sacrifices many of their unique qualities, but this sacrifice is necessary if the public is to have even a glimpse of the delights contained in these rare books. It is hoped that the descriptions and accompanying plates in this catalogue will provide a sense for the variety of each work and that something of the experience of handling these manuscripts can be restored by the visitor's imagination.

In preparing this exhibition, I reluctantly omitted the Rockefeller-McCormick Byzantine manuscripts of the University of Chicago Library, the German and English pages at the Art Institute, and numerous Italian books, all of which are generally known. I chose, instead, to focus on an area that is currently attracting the attention of many scholars and that is well represented in Chicago collections—fifteenth-century illumination from northern Europe.

It is, of course, only because generous collectors have been willing to share the enjoyment of their precious books with a wider audience that this exhibition could be assembled. In particular, I am indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Chester D. Tripp, who welcomed me into their home to study their manuscripts and who graciously consented to have them exhibited, and to Mr. and Mrs. Everett McNear, who have contributed not only their books but also their time and energy to this catalogue and show. Robert Rosenthal, Curator of Special Collections, and Margaret McFadden, Assistant

Curator for Manuscripts and Archives, of the University of Chicago Library; Harold Joachim, Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Art Institute; and James Wells, Associate Director, and Matt P. Lowman II, Head of the Special Collections Department, of The Newberry Library have supported this exhibition with the enthusiasm that I have come to take for granted from the members of these institutions.

Robert Streeter, Dean of the Division of the Humanities of the University of Chicago, Lawrence W. Towner, Director of The Newberry Library and the Associates of The Newberry Library contributed generously to this enterprise. Professor Jerome Taylor, despite his other responsibilities as chairman of the meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America, found time to advise and assist in this work.

Exhibition catalogues must be prepared long before the objects are displayed. I am most grateful, therefore, to Greer Allen of the University of Chicago Printing Department for his understanding and for the handsome design of this catalogue. I also want to thank Mrs. Emma Pitcher and Mrs. Sylvia Cato, secretaries in the Department of Art, for helping me in many ways.

The engagement of students in research and discovery was considered a major aspect of this enterprise from the start, and many of my students at the University of Chicago—J. Douglas Farquhar, Lynn Jacobson, Barbara Morgan, Michael Sherman, and Susan Sobel—made significant contributions to our knowledge of these manuscripts. Most important was the work of Peter W. Parshall, who participated in all facets of this undertaking, preparing nearly half the entries and doing many of the less interesting chores. I trust that for these students the close, personal contact with these rare and fascinating manuscripts was a reward in itself; I hope that they will continue to work creatively in this field and will share their experiences and knowledge with others.

Most of the manuscripts included in this exhibition are inventoried in the *Census of Medieval and*

Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, by S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson (3 vols., New York, 1935–40; Supplement, 1962), hereinafter referred to as “De Ricci.” Notable exceptions are the William J. Blum Collection, bequeathed to the University of Chicago in 1967, and the Tripp and McNear manuscripts.

An asterisk in the text refers the reader to an accompanying illustration.

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Introduction

Simultaneous with the emergence in northern Europe of panel painting, printing, and printmaking, manuscript illumination entered its last creative period. In many ways the character of this final phase was determined by the same forces that engendered the new modes of expression and that eventually grew to overwhelm the hand-decorated book. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the production of illuminated manuscripts shifted from monastic or court scriptoria, fulfilling primarily local requirements, to secular ateliers, supplying the new demands of nobility and wealthy laymen. Service books and complex theological treatises were largely superseded by philosophical, moralizing, and other secular treatises, and most notably by what Erwin Panofsky has called "one of the most characteristic innovations of the fourteenth century"—the *Horae*, or Book of Hours. Varying in contents and style according to locale and individual preference, these personal prayer books, organized for private devotion during the canonical hours of the day, bear witness to the more intimate and personal Christianity of the later Middle Ages. The programs of illustration in these *Horae* also differ widely; in addition to portraits of special saints, normally it consists of scenes from the lives of Mary and Christ, intended to support the devotional texts by eliciting sympathy for the tender relationship of the Madonna and Child and compassion for the

cruelly tortured Christ. The complex schemata accompanying the didactic theological texts of earlier medieval manuscripts are now replaced by a more direct, more empathetic art aimed at the heart, not the mind. This new, more naturalistic mode gave expression to the physical and psychological rather than to the doctrinal aspects of the Christian narrative, and it has long been recognized that this phenomenon in manuscript art contributed fundamentally to the extraordinary development in fifteenth-century panel painting and prints.

Largely through the recent investigations of Erwin Panofsky (*Early Netherlandish Painting* [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953]), Millard Meiss (*French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry* [London, 1967 ff.], and L. M. J. Delaissé (*La miniature flamande* [Brussels, 1959] and *A Century of Dutch Manuscript Illumination* [Berkeley, 1968]), the final flowering of manuscript illumination and its contribution to contemporary culture have been receiving due attention. It is hoped that by introducing these handsome but little-known manuscripts to the members of the Mediaeval Academy of America, to the Associates of The Newberry Library, and to the visitors to this exhibition, a still wider audience will become acquainted with the interest and beauty of these golden books.

I. Pre-Burgundian Illumination

Around the turn of the fifteenth century, artists of the Valois courts and in the guild ateliers of Paris radically reinterpreted the art of manuscript illumination and ushered in the final major period of what had been the principal form of artistic expression throughout the Middle Ages. In the High Gothic page (cat. 1), text, initials, border ornament, and illustrations had been organized into a consistent, two-dimensional system of decoration. Now the illustration—frequently painted separately and inserted into the finished manuscript—gained importance as an independent picture, distinguished from the flat text page by the illusion of depth created through modeling in light and dark, rudimentary perspective, and atmosphere (cat. 2). In a familiar world of stagelike interiors and real landscape settings, believable little figures act out stories from the Scriptures with a directness and simplicity that make them immediately comprehensible.

The great innovators of the new style—Bondol, Jacquemart de Hesdin, the Limbourg brothers, and the Boucicaut Master (cf. cat. 13 and 14)—the majority of them from Flanders, had come to France because of the advantageous patronage situation, unequaled in the Netherlands; but theirs was a heritage quite different from the sophisticated, ceremonial style of France. It is in the repeated encounters of these artists trained in the simple, forthright naturalism of Dutch art with the artificial, calligraphic stylizations they found in French Gothic that the origins of the new style are to be found.

Agincourt and the subsequent turmoil in France brought to an end the first phase of the Franco-Flemish style. During the second quarter of the century the Netherlands grew in importance as a

center of manuscript production, but considerable heterogeneity is evident in the books that survive. Alongside the inventive fantasy of the Master of Otto van Moerdrecht (cat. 3), for instance, exists the homely naturalism from which such artists as the Master of Catherine of Cleves (cat. 3) and the illuminator of Queen Mary's Hours (cat. 6) were to emerge by the middle of the century. In his cogent and provocative essay, Professor Delaissé has described the political and religious circumstances that engendered what he terms the deep sensibility to the visible aspects of nature and the penetrating understanding of man characteristic of Dutch art. Certainly the popular spiritual movement known as the *Devotio moderna* contributed fundamentally to the sincere piety we find expressed in these illuminations.

In Flanders and northern France local workshops preserved the traditions and continued the experiments of their more accomplished and famous Franco-Flemish predecessors. Representative of the products of these local ateliers are the innumerable Books of Hours of the "Golden Scrolls" group (cat. 3 and 4), in which the elegant, courtly mannerisms of the Paris style are tempered by the humble humanity of the Dutch outlook. Panofsky has argued that it was the modest products of these regional ateliers that "paved the way for the great synthesis of naturalism and sophistication that was to be achieved by Jan van Eyck." Of equal importance is the contribution of these workshops to the formation of what might be regarded as the second flourishing of the Franco-Flemish manuscript style under the patronage of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, who revived the bibliophilic activity of his ancestors shortly before 1450 (see Section II).



1

JACQUES DE CESSOLES, *LIVRE DES
ÉCHECS MORALISÉS* (COMPOSITE OF VIGNAY,
AND FERRON TRANSLATIONS)

Paris, ca. 1370.

39 parchment leaves, 265 × 185 mm. 2 columns
of 39 lines. Binding: red morocco by Katherine
Adams, 1907. 4 folios missing. Two sets of pagi-
nation; formerly bound with a *Roman de la
rose*.

Decoration: 13 miniatures.

The *Solatium ludi scacchorum*, composed around
1275 by the North Italian Dominican Jacques de
Cessoles, became so popular that it was quickly
translated into the vernacular and produced in
hundreds of copies illustrated with exempla. The

Chicago text is a composite of the French transla-
tions of Jean Ferron (1347) (cf. cat. 10) and Jean
de Vignay (1350) made in 1357 by an anonymous
author. Cessoles' *Livre des échecs moralisés* owes
its popularity to the witty, allegorical use of the
game of chess to expose the virtues and failings of
the medieval social hierarchy.

The Chicago manuscript was produced shortly
after the composite translation was prepared. The
straight borders that brace the columns of text of
the opening page* and that sprout into regular
sprigs of gold, blue, and magenta ivy leaves are
characteristic of Parisian manuscripts of about
1370, such as the *Roman de la rose* in Vienna
(N.B. MS 2592). Similarly framed and set within
the text, the illustration (of Cessoles with the
Translator) scarcely interrupts the two-dimen-
sional structure of text and border embellishment.
Backgrounds are patterned with gold spirals, and
diaper and plaid designs, providing little space for
the fragile figures that stand precariously on the
edge of the frame. Thin washes of color block out
the basic forms of the slender, flat figures; details
are indicated with delicate, somewhat hesitant,
black pen strokes (cf. Queen Conversing with a
Doctor*). Rather like puppets, these conventional
figures are manipulated into a series of poses and
gestures that schematically illustrate the text while
contributing to the over-all decoration of the
page.

Provenance: Jehan Gendron of Cintre, Brit-
tany, ca. 1502; Jehan Garnier, 1551; Thomas
Crofts of Peterborough (sale by Paterson of
King Street, London, 1783, no. 8299); Capt.
Douglas (sale by Sotheby, 16 March 1907, no.
382); Sidney Cockerell; Shirley Farr Collection,
1931.

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Et comence le livre des eschies mo-
ralize translate de latin en francois

Noble home et d'atour
v'auz autres eschier
de maison fier ieha
de vignay de lordre des
fieres de haut pas son par a lui
ble chapellain soit tunc. La la-
mir elapant dit que dieu no
a fait a chalam et mandement
de p'diaer atour nos prochiez
leur sagement. Or est il ainsi q
nos p'diaer ne sont pas tunc vng.
Jms sont de d'uites condiaons e
suz et maneres si me il app-
car les vns sont nobles les aut-
non. les vns deus. les autres no.
les autres de der enqui. les autres
non. les vns sont enquis. aduo
aon. les autres no. Et poce cu
celle fin que le s'mendier de di-
cu soit nys. et encaou et come
nablenent. Et comenc anou
plusis vns et unier achala ce
qui n'est plus convenable et ainsi
p'voit le s'mendier de dieu a

complir autem no. Et ne p-
fiteroit un p'scheur en latin a
celuy qui ne n' s'avoit et s'avo-
lit a celuy qui s'avoit tunc et ple-
roit de noblesce a celuy qui no-
ble ne s'avoit. Et ces neant man-
se chalam ha selon son estat siq-
le deus latin et le noble les ames
et ainsi les autres con si p'voit
il p'fiter. Et comenc ap'nt li
s'ant esp'it sur les ap'ntes et leu-
fist p'ier conz langages a celle
fin qui p'schallent touz selon
la langue qui entendent. Et
s' p'ol dit en les ep'itres. Et
vous ne plus deventent siq-
vous entendent. Et me s'ant leu-
ce q' vous d'it. Et p'ant si
d'ont. Cher s'ant que ie reguie
que w' estez p'some noble et de
ws aucesseus se'dement q' vie
noblesce et vus de nate et de forte
que dieu vus a p'fiter. w' en un
lez a son honneur et deustment que
alame et honnestent que al'ones
meus user. Et pour tant le vie
p'nt chapellain a vie requeste
q'ie tunc p' s'mendement w' ay
vntu t'istat de latin en francois.
le greu de eschier moralize q'ie
un de nos fiers. si de astoles
maistre en d'ant si q' w' leu-
plus legier. Et me am
de de hystones de noblesce q'
sont nocces w' vntu maite
ur que a w' honnestent et que
ant autres maite. Et p'nt
conz ceux et celles q' ceite p'ite n'it
l'acon suent q' iay faite ague



2

BOOK OF HOURS (USE OF CHÂLONS-SUR-MARNE) IN LATIN AND FRENCH

Northeastern France, ca. 1400–1410.

126 vellum folios, 120 × 90 mm. 14 lines. Binding: green tooled morocco by Mountenay.

Contents: Calendar of Châlons-sur-Marne in French; Hours of the Virgin; Seven Penitential Psalms; Litany; Office of the Dead; Prayers and Antiphons in Latin and French; O Intemerata.

Decoration: 10 miniatures.

The confluence of styles found in the finest French manuscripts of the early fifteenth century is also evident in this modest *Horae*. From the conservative Paris tradition come the decorative elaborations of tessellated backgrounds, rhythmic drapery folds, and linear detailing, as well as the tectonic borders of stylized ivy; from Flanders comes the predilection to incorporate into art details of observed nature and to conceive the sacred narrative in human terms. In the Nativity* Mary kisses the infant Christ while old Joseph dozes at the side of the bed; in the Visitation* Elizabeth and Mary greet each other in tender embrace. The subtle turn of Mary in response to the angel, her raised hand, and the expression on her face convey the quiet drama of the Annunciation.* Space, required by this action and interaction, is suggested by pieces of furniture set at angles to the picture plane and by figures placed in the receding ground surface. In two outdoor scenes, the Annunciation to the Shepherds* and the Flight into Egypt, the illuminator even replaces the patterned background with a real landscape of overlapping hill-ocks, little trees, and a gradated blue sky. The figures have acquired weight, and, even though poorly articulated, they now move and twist in an implied space.

Paleographic and liturgical evidence suggests that this *Horae* comes from Châlons-sur-Marne in northeastern France; compared to closely related Parisian works, such as those by the Master of 1402 and the Egerton Master, the illuminations are distinctly provincial and a little clumsy. Closest in

style are detached miniatures, formerly in the collection of E. M. Ranshaw, of which four are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and four are in the Fielding Marshall Collection, Duke University.

The formation of this style is the product of diverse stylistic currents, and, whereas the naturalistic impulse is to dominate during the remainder of the fifteenth century, the comfortable balance of text, ornament, and representation found in this manuscript will not be recovered easily.

Provenance: The dealer Calvary in 1891.

Bibliography: E. J. Goodspeed and M. Sprengling, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, 1912), pp. 25 ff.; De Ricci, I, 557; M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean of Berry* (London, 1967), I, 359; J. D. Farquhar, "A Book of Hours from Châlons-sur-Marne," *Scriptorium*, XXII (1968), 13 ff.

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BOOK OF HOURS

(ROME USE) IN LATIN AND FLEMISH

Composite of two manuscripts and inserted miniatures. *A*, style of Master of Otto van Moerdrecht and "Golden Scrolls" group, South Netherlands, *ca.* 1430. *B*, style of the Master of Catherine of Cleves, Holland, *ca.* 1450.

212 vellum folios, 180 × 127 mm. 19 lines. Binding: brown calf with intricate gold-tooled scrollwork and foliage; late 16th century.

Contents: Calendar; Six Inserted Illustrations of Christ's Passion; Mass of the Virgin; Gospel Lessons; Hours of the Holy Cross; Hours of the Holy Spirit; Hours of the Virgin; Seven Penitential Psalms; Litany; Vigil of the Dead; Prayers in Latin and Flemish.

Decoration: 22 large miniatures and 38 historiated initials.

Portions of two manuscripts bound together with a number of separate miniatures comprise the heterogeneous contents of this manuscript. Following the calendar, which features saints venerated especially in Flanders and northern France, are six detached miniatures. Five of these, including the Entombment of Christ,* may be identified as the work of a collaborator of the Utrecht artist known as the Master of Otto van Moerdrecht, an illustrator of the Dutch Bible of 1431 (Brussels, B.R. 9018-10). Like the Moerdrecht Master, this collaborator, who also contributed to Flemish manuscripts in Oxford (Bod. Canon. Liturg. 17) and Copenhagen (Thott 533 4), painted sharply delineated flowing forms in acerbic, unreal colors. As Delaissé reminds us, it was probably because of the impressive importation of illuminations like these that Bruges forbade, in 1427, the sale of detached miniatures made in Utrecht.

Within the text of the first book are miniatures in two styles. The artist of David in Prayer* betrays the influence of the Master of Otto van Moerdrecht in his unusual tonalities of gold, pink, and blue but is close in style to the Dutch illuminator of the Brussels Apocalypse of 1431 (B.R.

9029-23) in the sharply marked eyes, mouths, and hair on the broad and curiously soft faces. The painter of the Pentecost,* on the other hand, is transitional between this master and the more linear style of the "Golden Scrolls" group (cf. cat. 4) as represented, for example, by *Horae* in Baltimore (Walters 246), where, in fact, the Pentecost composition is repeated precisely. All three groups of miniatures seem to be by Netherlanders working in Flanders around 1430.

The second book, written by a different scribe, contains two large miniatures and thirty-eight historiated initials. In one, a lady of the Montfoort-Croy family kneels in prayer before a Pietà.* The delicately individualized faces and careful rendering of details—such as the woodgrain of the cross, the anatomy of the dead Christ, and the spill of garment folds on the ground—reflect a concern for observed facts that is quite different from the earlier styles and more like that of the brilliant Dutch artist responsible for the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (New York, Morgan Library and Guennol Coll.) and other manuscripts produced in Holland at mid-century. Christ's broad, tubular chest, protruding abdomen, narrow waist, and stunted legs, the delicate gold filigree on a magenta background, and the borders are typical of the Cleves Master. Characteristic, too, is the devotional sentiment that results from the remarkable humanization of Mary and Christ, intended to engender deep pity and religious feeling by appealing to human compassion for the cruelly mangled Christ and his stoical mother. As Delaissé has stressed, the sources of the artistic and human qualities of illuminations like these must be sought in the contemporary Dutch spiritual movement known as the *Devotio moderna*.

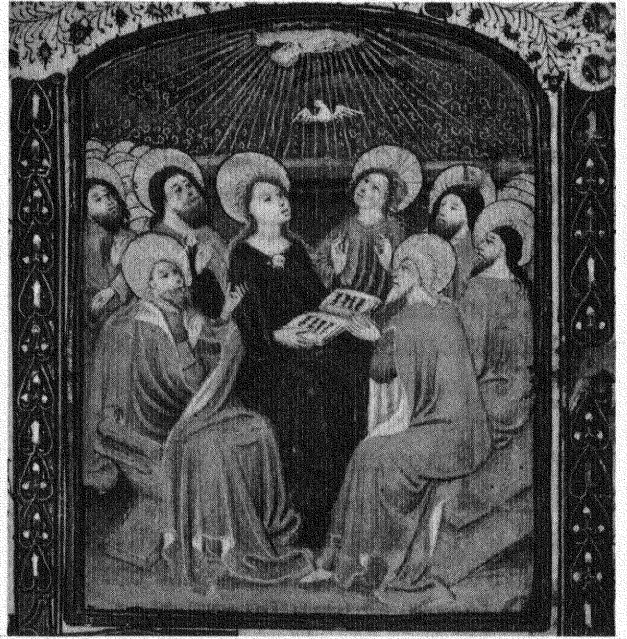
Provenance: Lady of the Montfoort-Croy family; E. E. Ayer, 1920.

Bibliography: De Ricci, I, 537; E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953), p. 407.

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Putemurata et in eternum
benedicta singularis atq;
incomparabilis uirgo dei ge-
nitrix maria gratissimu
dei templum spiritus sancti sacrariu.



BOOK OF HOURS (ROME USE) IN LATIN

South Netherlands? "Golden Scrolls" group, second quarter of the 15th century.

169 vellum folios, 123 × 91 mm. 14 lines. Binding: 19th-century, gold-tooled brown calf.

Contents: Office of the Holy Cross; Hours of the Holy Spirit; Mass of the Virgin; Seven Penitential Psalms; Vigil of the Dead; Prayers.

Decoration: 14 miniatures.

Representative of a legion of manuscripts produced in the southern Netherlands during the second quarter of the fifteenth century and known as the "Golden Scrolls" group, the illuminations of this fine prayer book are provincial variations of the inventions of the previous generation of Parisian illuminators. The Flight into Egypt,* for example, recalls the innovative composition by Jacquemart de Hesdin in the Brussels Hours of the Duke of Berry (B.R. 11060-61), but the figures are heavier and less refined than those of the court painter. Whereas in the Flight the artist paints a rich landscape setting with the repoussé foreground coulisse, a copse in the middle distance, and the curious sugar-loaf hills, in other miniatures, such as the Virgin of Humility in a Garden,* the more archaic tessellated background is retained. Although manuscripts of the "Golden Scrolls" group are notoriously difficult to date and localize, close stylistic and compositional similarities may be noted among the Chicago manuscript and Books of Hours in Brussels (B.R. 9798) and Baltimore (Walters 246).

Provenance: Lady of the Vianden family; Sotheby sale, 5 July 1965, lot 218; W. Blum.

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II. The Vrelant Atelier

Two important exhibitions held at the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels during the last decade, *Le siècle d'or de la miniature flamande; Le mécénat de Philippe le Bon* (1959) and *La librairie de Philippe le Bon* (1967), have greatly clarified the second "golden age" of Franco-Flemish illumination, associated with the patronage activities of Philip the Good. Systematic study of the manuscripts produced during this period, particularly by Professor Delaissé, has revealed a highly complicated situation in Flanders. Ateliers in diverse centers rather than a single court workshop produced a vast array of religious and secular manuscripts for the duke and other wealthy patrons. These "publishing houses" can be distinguished and manuscripts may be assigned to them on the basis of technical peculiarities, such as the methods employed in preparing the vellum leaves or the types of border ornament and line endings used. The illustrations, on the other hand, often were furnished by roving illuminators or were supplied as detached leaves (cat. 3). As a result, the work of a single artist can be found in manuscripts produced in a wide variety of centers.

To meet the new demand for illuminated manuscripts, stimulated largely by Philip's patronage after *ca.* 1445, artists traveled to the Flemish ateliers from France, the Netherlands, and elsewhere. It is not surprising, therefore, that in many manuscripts, even in those produced for the duke, artistic homogeneity is lacking (cat. 6). As the Flemish workshops grew, a thriving export trade developed; and Flanders remained the major cen-

ter of manuscript illumination well into the sixteenth century, when, for example, Cardinal Grimani of Venice sent a breviary, written in Italy, to Bruges to be illuminated.

Willem Vrelant was a leading illuminator from shortly after 1450 until his death in 1481/82, and the problems that surround his production may be regarded as typical. Vrelant began his career in Utrecht, but a few years before 1454 when he enrolled as one of the first members of the Bruges illuminators guild, he settled in Flanders. The origins of Vrelant's style are difficult to discern. Certain works associated with his name resemble the more linear Dutch trend that is exemplified, for instance, in the miniature of the Trinity in Newberry 56 (cat. 3); others depend on the simplified style of the "Golden Scrolls" group (cat. 5). By far the most interesting aspect of Vrelant's early career, however, is his apparent collaboration with a group of illuminators familiar with the style and designs of Jan van Eyck (cat. 6). His importance in this connection has only received notice recently but must be considered in any evaluation of Vrelant's early activity.

From the mid-1450's, the so-called Vrelant style—consisting of awkward, spindly figures described by hard, linear contours and bright color areas—may be recognized in hundreds of manuscripts, principally in Books of Hours of varying aspects and quality and far too numerous to be products of a single illuminator. Delaissé has suggested that "Vrelant's presence in Bruges is equivalent to that of Malouel in Paris: he introduced

his compatriots to the Flemish harbor," although his relatively minor participation in the magnificent *Miroir de l'humaine salvation* (cat. 6) may indicate that he, in turn, was brought there by the Utrecht master who supervised this manuscript. Perhaps the best way to consider Vrelant is as an enterprising entrepreneur who assembled artists from France, Flanders, and Holland and perhaps even scribes and border designers from Italy, Spain, and England (cat. 5-7). Initially these artists would have retained qualities of their native traditions even when adapting to Vrelant's style, and the illuminations issuing from the atelier thus would have acquired considerable heterogeneity. Vrelant trained assistants in his shop, and these anonymous masters are certainly responsible for the hundreds of routine products attached to the master (cat. 8 and 9). That illuminators working in the Vrelant manner established independent ateliers in other countries is probable, but just as likely is the presence in the Bruges workshop of foreigners who assisted in the production of manuscripts intended for export.

With a few notable exceptions, we are justified in attributing Vrelant's enormous success more to the efficiency of his manufacturing procedures than to the quality of his art. His reduced, linear style could easily be imitated by assistants copying shop patterns in his large atelier established to supply a growing market, already too large for anything but mass-production or mechanical techniques.

BOOK OF HOURS (SARUM USE) IN LATIN

Bruges? Atelier of Willem Vrelant? *ca.* 1450.

167 vellum folios, 204 × 139 mm. 19 lines. Binding: original brown calf, blind-stamped, rebacked, 15th-century Bruges.

Contents: Calendar; Suffrages to Various Saints; Hours of the Virgin; Prayers to Christ's Passion; Seven Penitential Psalms; Litany; Vigil of the Dead; Commendation of Souls; Psalter of the Passion; Psalter of St. Jerome.

Decoration: 27 miniatures and 9 historiated initials.

Records of the family of William Gonson of Shrewsbury inscribed in the front of this prayer book prove that it was in use in England as early as 1508 and throughout the sixteenth century. This is confirmed by the erasure of all references to the pope and to Thomas à Becket in accord with the pronouncement by Henry VIII in 1538. That the manuscript was destined for England from the start is indicated by its contents: the calendar and litany featuring such saints as Wulfstan of Worcester, Augustine of England, Dunstan, Maclovius, Kenelm, Hugo, and Cedd; the Hours of Sarum (i.e., Salisbury) use; and prayers to Becket and the Venerable Bede. Furthermore, the angular paleography and several borders displaying at the corners thick clusters of pastel acanthus over burnished gold, like those around the scene of Christ at Gethsemane,* are characteristically English. On the other hand, the calendar features also Flemish saints, and most of the borders of acanthus sprigs interspersed with flowers and fruit recall Bruges products. The original blind-stamped binding is also from Bruges, suggesting that the *Horae* was produced in Flanders for export to England.

Although his style resembles that of Vrelant, the artist shows a greater interest in surface elements of pattern and color and less concern for constructing solid forms in space. The Fall of Adam and Eve,* used as a symbolic frontispiece to the Psalter of the Passion, presents paper-doll

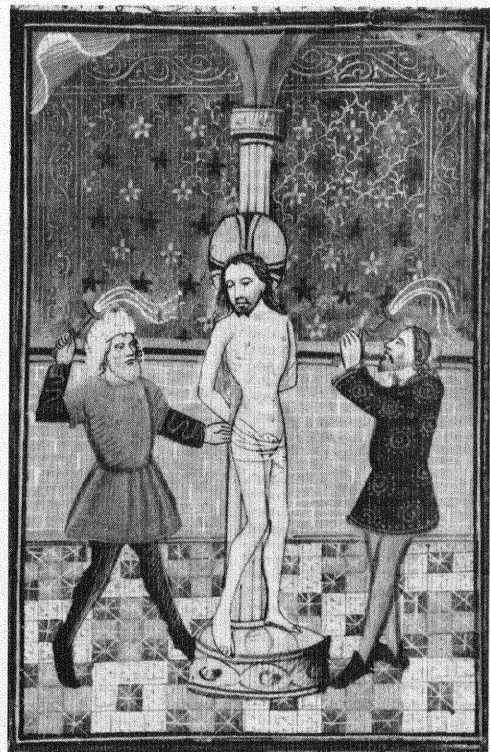
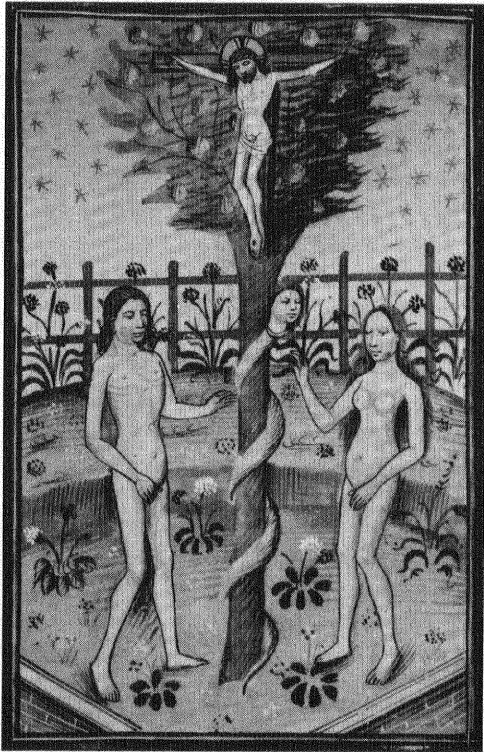
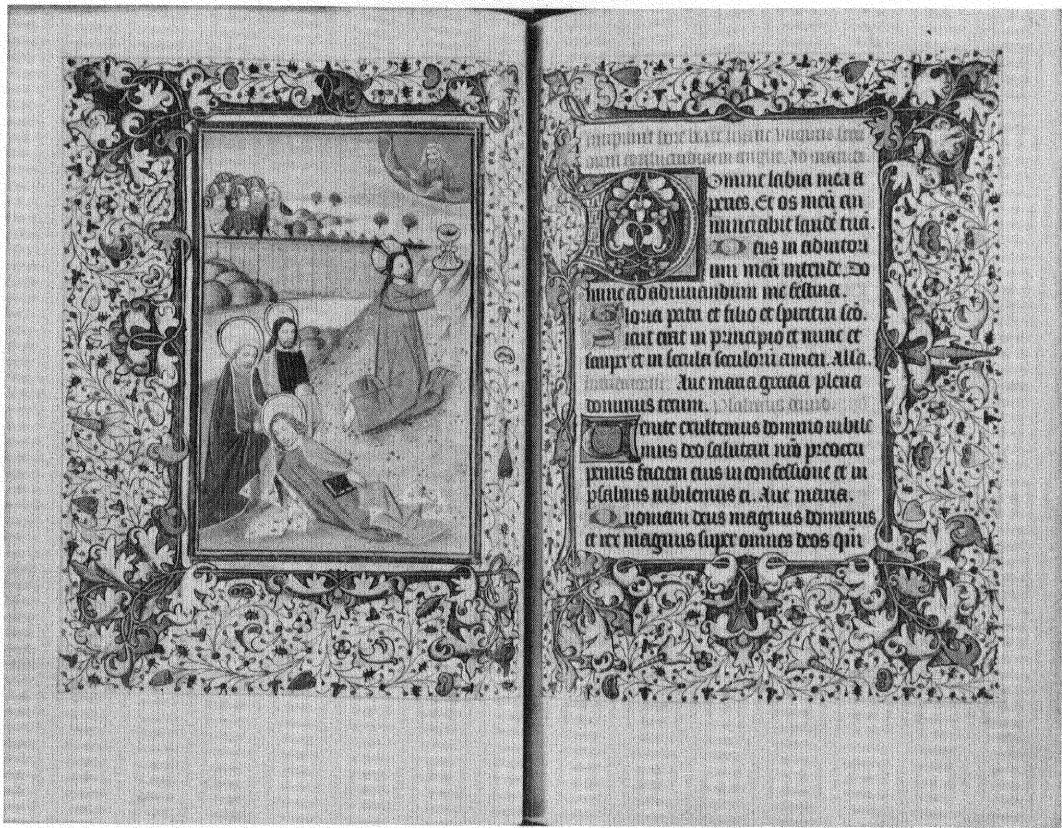
figures completely outlined in black and a summary garden landscape established with washes of mauve, green, and blue decorated with opaque stars and plants. In such indoor scenes as the Flagellation,* the decorative sense is even more dominant. The illuminator delights in the varicolored floor tiles and the designs on the garments and retains the archaic diapered background; the figures remain flat and awkward and the suggestion of space is unconvincing. The style recalls the archaic "Maître aux yeux bridés," a perpetrator of the "Golden Scrolls" style (cf. cat. 4 and 6), as much as Vrelant.

Certainly derived from mid-century Bruges art, nevertheless, the Newberry *Horae* is a member of a family of manuscripts all intended for English use. These include the De Grey Hours in Aberystwyth, a product of the same atelier; Queen Mary's Hours in Oxford (Bod. Auct. D. Inf. 2.13), where similar borders occur and where the master of the Newberry Hours painted the historiated initials; and a *Horae* in The Hague (76 F.7), also of Sarum use. Although the Bruges binding seems to tip the balance of judgment in favor of Flanders, it is possible that this Book of Hours, and perhaps the others as well, was produced by an artist trained on the Continent but working in England.

Provenance: W. Gonson; Anna (Gonson), wife of Thomas Mildmay of Moulsham; Thomas Mildmay, Baron Fitzwalter (d. 1608); E. E. Ayer, 1920.

Bibliography: De Ricci, I, 536; *Le siècle d'or de la miniature flamande* (cat. of an exhibition; Brussels and Amsterdam), 1959, p. 164.

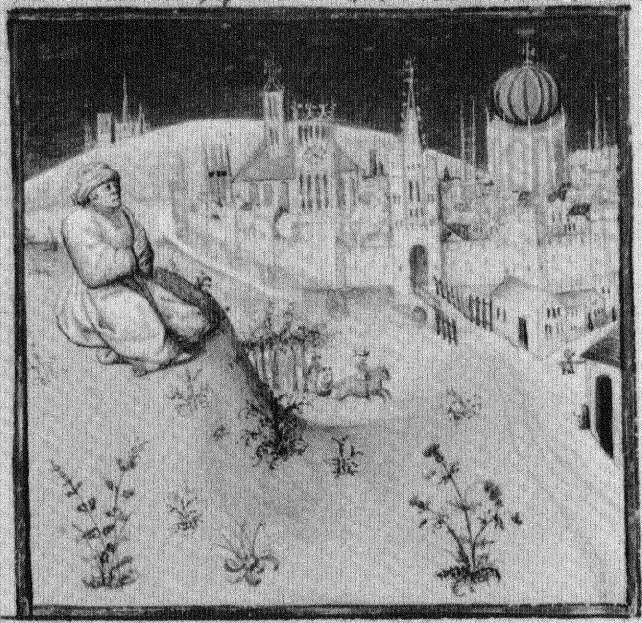
The Newberry Library 35.



Ihesus regens in iherosolimis videns cum flentibus.



Iherimus defleuit desolatione iherosolime.



6

LUDOLF OF SAXONY, *LE MIROIR DE L'HUMAINE SALVATION*

Bruges? Master of Queen Mary's Hours, Willem Vrelant, and a follower of Jean le Tavernier, ca. 1450–55.

44 vellum folios, 382 × 283 mm. 2 columns of 28 lines. Binding: gold-tooled red morocco by Niédree, Paris, ca. 1845.

Decoration: 168 miniatures.

A few years before 1324, Ludolf of Saxony, a Dominican monk in Strasbourg, composed the *Speculum humanae Salvationis* "for the glory of God and for the instruction of those who, being ignorant, should be taught with pictures." Ludolf's *Speculum* considers all history prior to Christ's incarnation as a mystical allegory of Christianity in which Old Testament and even

pagan events are treated as prefigurations or types of the Gospels. The system of illustration is usually quite simple. Each chapter, except the preface, which traces man's fall from grace, has four miniatures—a Christian antitype and three supporting types. For example, Christ's Entry into Jerusalem,* which commences the Passion, is followed by Jeremiah Lamenting the Sins of Jerusalem,* the Victorious David Greeted as the King of Israel at the Gates of Jerusalem,* and Heliodorus Beaten in the Temple* (a type for Christ's first action, the expulsion of the money-changers). More than three hundred fifty copies of Ludolf's *Speculum* survive to attest its great popularity. Most of these, however, are utilitarian books on paper, illustrated, if at all, only with crude sketches. The Newberry manuscript is one of the few luxury editions. On forty-three folios of fine vellum, a French translation is written so that each opening displays four miniatures and four columns of explanatory text. The antitype at the left is always

David suscep' est cum laudib; post necē goliath.



Heleodis' flutelliar' est q; voluit foliare tep'li



in full color, while the three symbolic types are in delicate grisaille.

Although not the translation which was prepared for Philip the Good by Jean Mielot in 1449, the Newberry text, an abbreviated prose edition in which Ludolf's prologue and concluding devotional chapters were omitted, was in the Burgundian library; and the inventories of 1467 and 1485 provide strong evidence that the Newberry *Miroir de l'humaine salvation* is the ducal copy. This receives confirmation from the fact that the Chicago book was copied in Bruges between 1470 and 1480 for a member of the court circle (Chantilly, MS 1363).

Though planned and written in a single undertaking, the *Miroir* was illustrated by three distinct artists. In the first three gatherings, which comprise the major part of the manuscript, the homely naturalism of Utrecht illumination may be recognized. With minute, soft strokes of the brush, never confined by line, the artist constructs

a complex but hardly beautiful image of reality; the apostles following Christ into Jerusalem are a motley crowd of squat men individualized almost into caricature; and in the David scene the artist creates a grisly effect by allowing the red paint representing Goliath's blood to flow freely on the page. Like many of his compatriots, however, this artist's specialty is landscape. In Jeremiah's Jerusalem, the domed sepulcher, several Gothic spires, countless houses, and even reflections on the surface of the moat are suggested with light touches of the brush, while a few beautifully rendered thistles in the foreground contribute to the feeling of Jeremiah's desolation. In the Adoration of the Magi* only Mary, with her flowing robes, noble bearing, and embellished halo, is elevated above our world. For all the richness of their garments, the magi are humble human beings, tired from their journey and somewhat bewildered by what they find in the stable. The brilliant, almost harsh colors of this miniature contrast with the pastel

Trius magi adorant xpm in bethleem offerentes



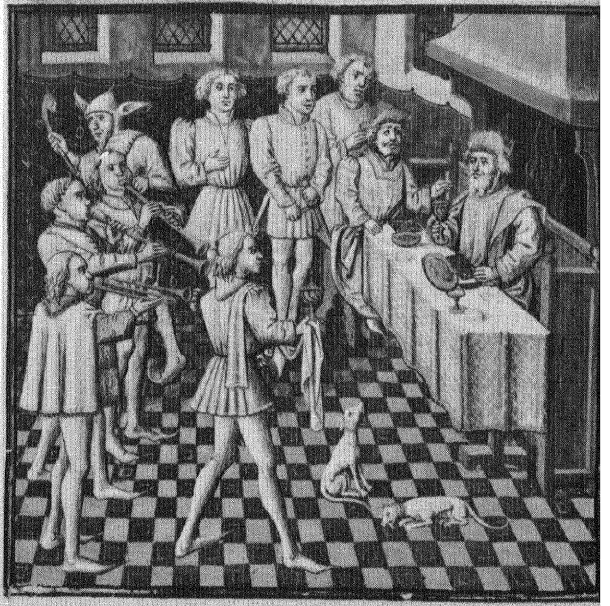
Trius magi ammonentur a stella querere xpm



Denique damnatorum in inferno



Comitum regis afflicti



grisailles of the adjoining depiction of the Magi Following the Star.* With an amazing efficiency, the artist's brush conveys the impression of the mounted bands prancing across a broad landscape, two walled cities alive with activity, and the distant harbor and sea. Miniatures by this illuminator are also found in Queen Mary's Hours in Oxford (Bod. Auct. D. Inf. 2. 13) of 1450-55, which, though perhaps by itinerant artists working in England, is rightly regarded as a Dutch work.

Folios of the fourth gathering were divided between two artists. One painted all the full-color miniatures and grisailles on folios 37 and 38; the other painted the grisailles of folios 39-41. The former is to be identified as Willem Vrelant, like the first master, a Dutchman. Stylistic connections with certain of the Vrelant miniatures in the Llangatock Hours (private collection, Aachen) are particularly close and indicate a date of 1450-55. Significant is Vrelant's use, in both these manuscripts, of designs originating in the circle of Jan van Eyck. The Punishment of the Damned in Hell,* for instance, is the earliest surviving replica of the Eyckian design previously known only from copies by Dirk Bouts and Peter Bruegel. Vrelant's characteristic facial types, his more linear technique, and his reliance on pure hues show through even in the copy.

The distinct technique, figure style, and conception of space of a third artist appear in twelve miniatures, all of them, like the Feast of Ahasuerus,* *en grisaille*. With nervous, sensitive strokes of the brush, this artist models his forms in white, gold, and black from a gray base. The puffed cheeks of the musicians, the carving of the king's bench, and the planes of the table, floor, and walls are all established with this chiaroscuro technique. At the same time, the searching brush suggests an infinite amount of detail—the textures of fur and satin, wood and metal; the flicker of flames; and the tense grip of the assassin's hand. Most importantly, it captures the variety of individual reactions—Ahasuerus' sudden awareness, Mordecai's humility, Haman's hopelessness. In these compositions the figures are distinguished in face and gesture, and they have grown to fill the space which now appears to extend beyond the area framed by the miniature. Certainly this painter knew the

style of the roving artist from Audenarde, Jean le Tavernier; and striking similarities are found in certain miniatures in the Prayer Book of Philip the Good in The Hague (76 F.2) for which Le Tavernier was paid in 1454 and in which Vrelant's hand may also be detected. Like Vrelant, Le Tavernier was a member of the Bruges illuminators guild; and, although the Newberry miniatures lack the spontaneity of Le Tavernier's finest style, his was the determining artistic influence.

To be dated between 1450 and 1455, the Newberry *Miroir de l'humaine salvation* displays a heterogeneity that is characteristic of manuscripts produced early in Philip's career as patron.

Provenance: Philip the Good of Burgundy; Burgundian library until after 1577; J. Crozet of Paris (sale at Techener, 25 December 1841); Jules Gallois (sale at Techener, 13 May 1844); R. and G. Holford; A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, 1925-52; Louis Silver, Chicago, until 1964.

Bibliography: J. B. J. Barrois, *Bibliothèque prototypographique* (Paris, 1830), pp. 129, 229; Brussels, Bibliothèque royal de Belgique, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1862), Vol. I; G. F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Britain . . .* (London, 1854), II, 221; Chantilly, Musée Condé, *Le cabinet des livres: Manuscrits* (Paris, 1900), p. 130; J. Meurgey, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures du Musée Condé* (Paris, 1930), p. 144; *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (cat. of an exhibition; Baltimore, 1949), p. 40; unpublished brochure of Rosenbach and Company; E. Wolf and J. Flemming, *Rosenbach* (Cleveland, 1960), p. 572; De Ricci, Suppl., p. 176; *Books and Manuscripts Selected from the Louis H. Silver Collection* (cat. of an exhibition; Chicago, 1965), no. 43.

NOTE.—A thorough study of the Newberry *Miroir* is being prepared by H. Kessler and R. Koch. In writing this entry, I have drawn upon Professor Koch's findings. [H. K.]

The Newberry Library 40.

BOOK OF HOURS

(ROME USE) IN LATIN AND CATALAN

Bruges atelier of Willem Vrelant, *ca.* 1455–65.

94 vellum folios, 178 × 124 mm. 14 lines. Binding: early 19th-century, gold-tooled red morocco.

Contents: Prayer before the Mass; Mass “*Salve sancta parens*”; Large and Small Offices of the Holy Cross; Small Hours of the Holy Spirit; Prayers.

The original Book of Hours, of which Newberry 39 was a part, has been reconstructed by Gilissen from fragments preserved in Brussels (B.R. IV. 35 and MS IV.375). Several features—the writing, a number of rubrics in Catalan, and the calendar—indicate that the manuscript was written by a Spanish scribe for a patron in Spain or southern France; but the miniatures and ornamental borders are typical of the finest products of the Bruges atelier of Willem Vrelant. Delaissé’s suggestion that this prayer book was manufactured in the Lowlands for export south is supported by the close affinities with a group of manuscripts that emanated from Vrelant’s shop around 1460. The finely shaped spherical heads, fragile gestures, and dramatic composition of figures, the stage-like architecture, and the pure, bright hues find precise parallels in the *Traité sur la salutation angelique* produced for Philip the Good in 1461 (Brussels, B.R. 9270), Philip’s Breviary (Brussels, B.R. 9511 and 9026) of *ca.* 1455, certain folios of the Hours of Charles the Bold (Vienna, 1857) *ca.* 1466, and *Horae* in Madrid (Vit. 24–2) and Vienna (N.B. MS 1987). Thus the Newberry manuscript is representative of the finest production of the Vrelant workshop before the dramatic compositions and vivid detail had hardened into the routine conventions of later works.

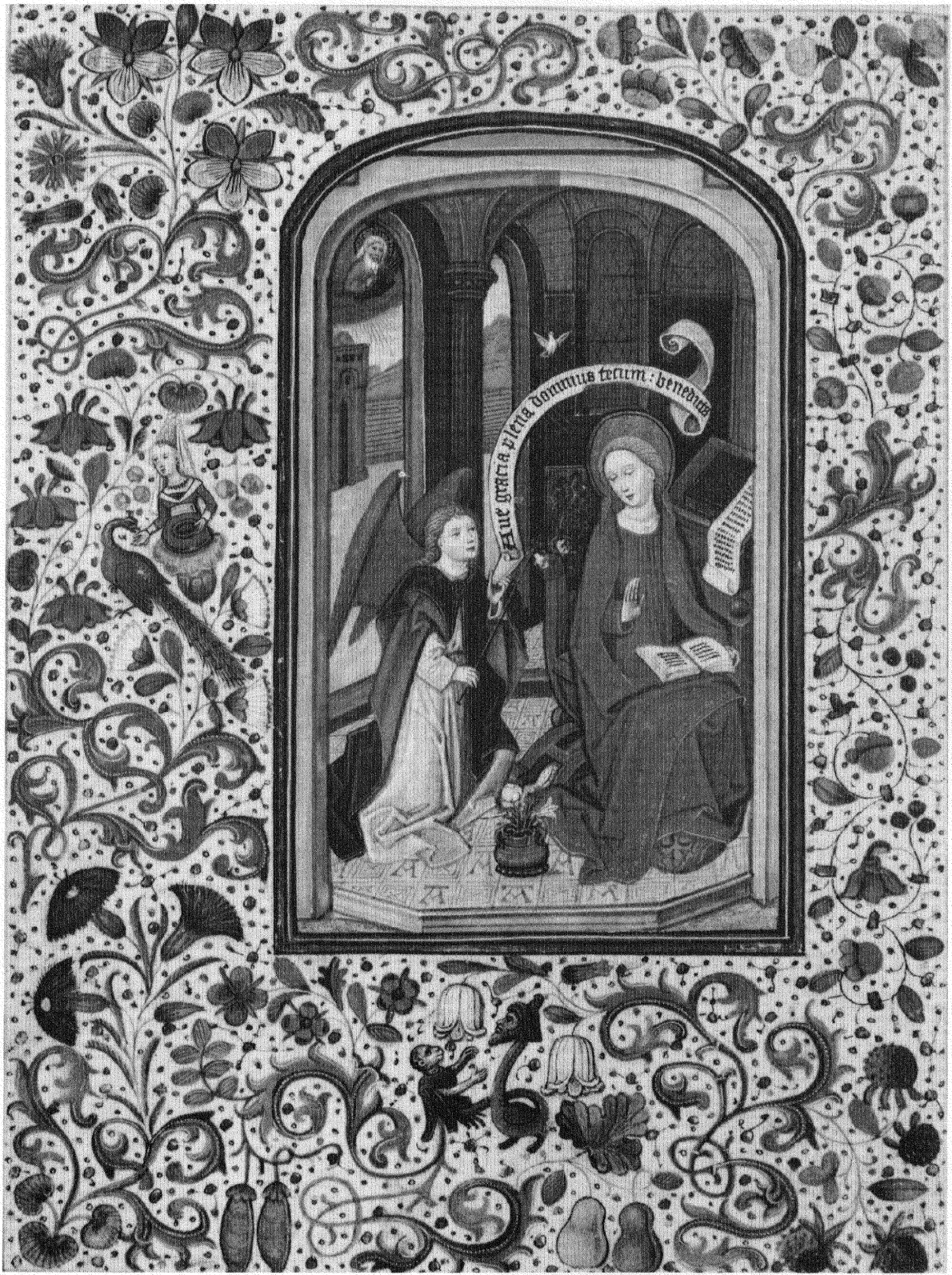
Ultimately the composition of the Annunciation* derives from Jan van Eyck, who also influenced the miniaturist’s use of “disguised symbolism.” The apple behind the Virgin refers to Adam’s sin, redeemed by Christ’s incarnation, and

the book and scroll may refer to the Old Testament, superseded by Christ’s coming. The lilies in the foreground are traditional symbols of Mary’s virginity, as is the *hortus conclusus* in the background. Less certain is the symbolic meaning of the flowers in the margins, but several are mentioned by Bernard of Clairvaux—“Mary is the violet of humility, the lily of chastity, the rose of charity”—while columbines and carnations are symbols of Mary’s sorrow and the strawberries are references to her purity. The playful, hybrid beasts, on the other hand, are amusing distractions intended only to catch the wandering attention of the user of this book.

Provenance: “Queen of Naples”; H. Probasco.

Bibliography: De Ricci, I, 529; L. M. J. Delaissé, “A Spanish Scribe, a Dutch Miniaturist, and a Flemish Manuscript in the Newberry Library,” *The Newberry Library Bulletin*, IV (1957), 139 ff.; *Idem*, “Un copista español, un miniaturista holandés y un manuscrito flamenco en la Newberry Library” (trans. A. Matosas), *Biblioteconomia*, XV (1958), 2 ff.; *Le siècle d’or de la miniature flamande* (cat. of an exhibition; Brussels and Amsterdam, 1959), p. 165; L. Gilissen, “Membra disjecta d’un Livre d’Heures en Latin et Catalan,” *Scriptorium*, XIV (1960), 326 ff.; *Cinquantenaire de la Société des Bibliophiles et Iconophiles de Belgique* (cat. of an exhibition; Brussels, 1960), pp. 7 ff.; H. L. Kessler, “A Book of Hours from the Atelier of Willem Vrelant,” *Scriptorium*, XVIII (1964), 94 ff.; *Vingt livres de la Bibliothèque de feu M. Fernard J. Nyssen* (cat. of an exhibition; Brussels, 1967), p. 3.

The Newberry Library 39.



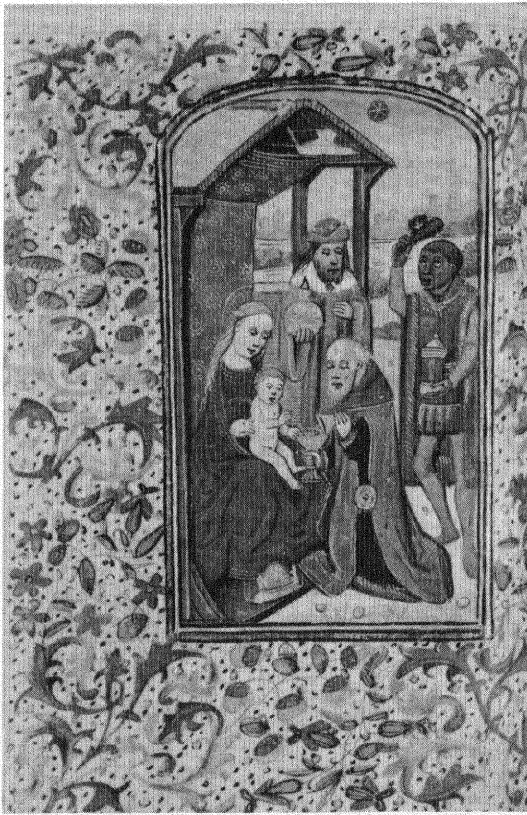
BOOK OF HOURS (ROME USE) IN LATIN

Bruges atelier of Willem Vrelant, ca. 1475.

251 vellum folios, 94 × 64 mm. 14 lines. Binding: brown calf by Lakeside Press, Chicago, 1964.

Contents: Calendar of Ghent; Gospel Lessons; Morning Hours; Hours of the Holy Spirit; Mass and Confession; Mass and Prayers to the Virgin; Hours of the Virgin; Seven Penitential Psalms; Litany; Vigil and Office of the Dead.

Decoration: 21 full-page miniatures and 9 historiated initials.



Two conventionalized portraits of members of the Berlaere family of Ghent and their coat of arms are the only personal elements in this otherwise routine representative of the hundreds of mass-produced prayer books from Vrelant's atelier. The miniatures reveal the simplification and hardening of Vrelant's style through the copying of workshop models by assistants. Compositions such as the Adoration of the Magi* are repeated in other Vrelant products, and many, including the Madonna and Child with Angels,* can be traced to paintings by Van der Weyden and Memling.

Provenance: Paschasius Berlaere of Ghent; H. Sotheran, London; Shirley Farr, 1926.

Bibliography: De Ricci, I, 575; H. Kessler, "A Book of Hours from the Atelier of Willem Vrelant," *Scriptorium*, XVIII (1964), 94 ff.; *Idem*, "A Fifteenth-Century Book of Hours from Flanders," *Bulletin of the Allen Memorial Art Museum*, XXIII (1966), 113 ff.

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BOOK OF HOURS (ROME USE) IN LATIN

Bruges, follower of Willem Vrelant, third quarter of the 15th century.

234 vellum folios, 108 × 75 mm. 15 lines. Binding: red velvet with enamel medallions in rococo settings.

Contents: Calendar of Ghent; Hours and Prayers of the Virgin; Vigil of the Dead; Psalter of St. Jerome; Seven Penitential Psalms; Office of the Holy Cross; Office of the Holy Spirit; Mass of the Virgin; Prayers to Various Saints.

Decoration: 13 miniatures.

Although they are replicas of compositions found in numerous *Horae* from the Vrelant circle, the miniatures, such as the Presentation of Christ,* in this tiny prayer book are painted in a modified grisaille technique that softens the hard, linear effect of many Vrelant manuscripts. Flesh, architecture, and landscape are presented in tints of pink and gray; clothing and furniture are of gold or gray highlighted in white; and magenta and blue are applied sparingly as accents. The borders contain the traditional acanthus and fruit, but these, too, have been translated into gold and gray and, together with the text of red and black ink with initials of blue, red, and gold, they create a handsome unity with the miniatures.

Provenance: member of the Blaeu family of Amsterdam, E. E. Ayer, 1920.

Bibliography: De Ricci, I, 536.

The Newberry Library 53.



III. Later Flemish Manuscripts

The death of Duke Philip the Good in 1467 had little discernible effect on manuscript production in Flanders. This was partly due to the fact that even his venturesome heir, Charles the Bold, and his natural son, Anthony of Burgundy, continued the bibliophilic activities of their father. More important, however, were the diversification and independent strength of the manuscript ateliers, which could continue to function despite a reduction in ducal patronage.

Philip's death did coincide with the emergence of new stylistic trends, however. In Bruges, the Master of Anthony of Burgundy (cat. 10) departed from the linear conventions of Vrelant toward bolder use of color and light effects. His most famous manuscripts are two *Horae* painted in silver and gold on black vellum (Vienna, N.B. 1856 and New York, Morgan 493) in which the reversal of normal value relationships creates curiously dematerialized forms. Nearly as inventive are his illustrations of literary texts in which the Master of Anthony of Burgundy employs contrasting hues and abrupt changes in value for dramatic effects.

In manuscripts by the Master of Edward IV (cat. 11), a different direction is followed. With minute brush strokes, the artist carefully characterizes individual faces, describes the effect of

light on various textures, and constructs deep landscape and interior settings. At the same time, the nuances of silvery washes distinguish this refined naturalism from the homely manner of the earlier Dutch tradition with which it has clear affinities.

It was in Ghent rather than in Bruges, however, that the illusionistic devices of panel painting were applied to the entire system of the manuscript page. Even the margins were treated as scenes or as supports for still lifes, and the text was either suspended against the illusionistic space or eliminated altogether. Panel paintings were copied precisely in some of these manuscripts; and in certain instances illuminators worked from drawings furnished by major painters, such as Hugo van der Goes and Gerard David.

Neither the output nor the technical quality of the Ghent-Bruges ateliers declined from 1475 to 1525 (cf. cat. 12), but the Flemish workshops now monopolized a dwindling market of specialty products. Skilled craftsmen copied workshop patterns, some of them more than fifty years old. Manuscript illumination had lost its originality and progressiveness; more significantly, it had compromised its unique function as the illustration and decoration of a text.



Ques orgueilleux
 se veulent a Dieu
 comptez entant quilz se
 glorifient en eulx mesmes
 des biens quilz ont. Des
 quelles choses la gloire
 est duee a Dieu principa-
 lement. Et est grant
 abus sion quant creature
 prent orgueil en soy mes-
 mes pour les biens que
 Dieu lui envoie pour lesquelz
 elle deueroit estre plus hūil-
 le envers Dieu et meulx le
 recongnostre z le seruir
 plus deuotement pour
 tant dist le prophete que
 Dieu resiste aux orgueil-
 leux. lesquelz sont deche-
 uss dillanement.





10

JACQUES LEGRAND
LIVRE DE BONNES MŒURS

JACQUES DE CESSOLES
JEU DES ÉCHECS (FERRON TRANSLATION)

Bruges atelier of the Master of Anthony of Burgundy, ca. 1465.

163 parchment leaves, 338 × 242. Two columns of 31 lines. Binding: 16th-century roll stamped brown calf, English?

Decoration: 3 large and 17 small miniatures.

Two moralizing treatises which enjoyed enormous popularity during the fifteenth century comprise this handsome luxury volume. The first, the *Livre de bonnes mœurs* (1410), is a condensation and translation by the author, Jacques Legrand, of his *Sophilogium* (ca. 1404), a moral handbook in which classical sources, as well as Scriptures, are used to demonstrate Christian teaching on virtue and vice and the special duties of the various social classes. The second text is the

Jeu des échecs of Jacques de Cessoles, translated by Jean de Ferron (cf. cat. 1), in which the author uses the game of chess as the point of departure for an elaborate allegory of human life and in so doing, like Legrand, discusses the nobility, clergy, and common people. Heading the treatises are large miniatures, respectively, the Fall of the Rebel Angels* and Ferron Presenting His Book to Bertrand Aubert. Another large illustration presents the King of Chess,* and seventeen smaller miniatures, interspersed in the text, depict various exempla, such as the figure of the Fourth Pawn.*

Sacrificing precise detail to dramatic color effects, the artist has enlivened what otherwise would have been a monotonous series of diagrams. In the Fall of the Angels he uses brilliant tones of vermilion, gold, and green to establish God the Father as the center of activity. The divine radiation bleaches out most of the color from St. Michael and the Prayerful Angels, but it fails to lighten the gray figures of Lucifer and the other prideful rebels, who are transformed into demons as they pass through the clouds into the fiery abyss. Nowhere is the artist constrained by outline. The cliffs of Hades are afire with vivid red, yellow, and blue flames against the inky black rocks. In other miniatures, such as the King of Chess and the Fourth Pawn, this "impressionistic" technique is applied most effectively to suggest, with a few, cursory brush strokes, the foliage and hills and the movement of figures, birds, and animals in the distant landscape. At the same time, the application of accents of pure color in compositions that are generally light in tone unites well with the marginal decoration.

Winkler correctly identified the illuminator as the anonymous artist who worked in Bruges during the 1460's and 1470's and who, because of his continuous association with Philip's son Anthony, "le grand bâtard de Bourgogne," is called the "Master of Anthony of Burgundy." The stiff angular figures with broad shoulders and narrow waists, the generally bright palette and free brushwork typical of Newberry miniatures, such as The King with His Attendants,* are characteristic of the master's early style as exemplified by the *Histoire de Troie* of Raoul Lefèvre (Brussels,

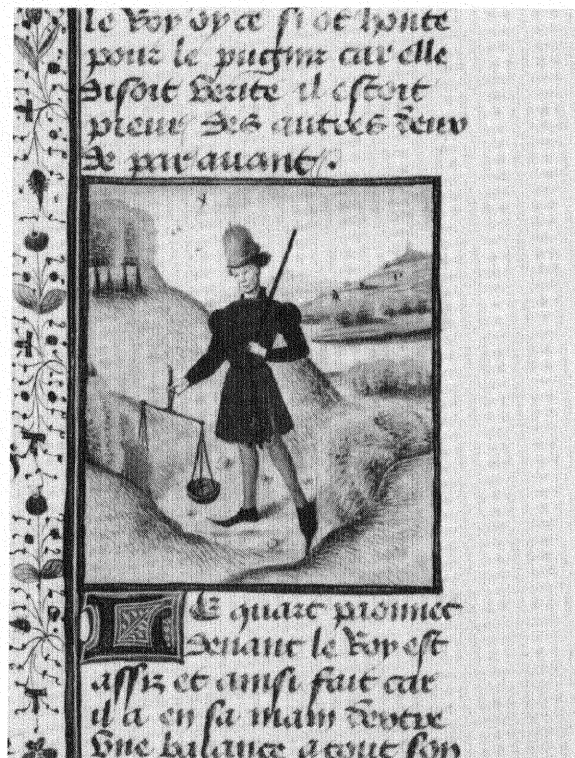
B.R. 9263), written for Philip in 1464 and mentioned in the ducal inventory of 1467. Nearly identical in size to the Newberry manuscript and containing large miniatures framed by arched gold bands that enclose initials and two columns of clear, bastard script, the Brussels Lefèvre, it is certain, was produced in the same workshop; the patterns of blue and gold acanthus sprigs precisely repeated in the margins of the two manuscripts allow us to assign to the Newberry Legrand-Cessoles the date 1464–67. The composition of the Fall of the Rebel Angels occurs in a *Livre de bonnes mœurs* illuminated about 1470 for “le grand bâtard” in the later style of the Master of Anthony of Burgundy.

That the Newberry manuscript presents such close affinities with Valois works is not surprising, because it was produced for a member of the court circle, Wolfart V van Borsellen, Count of Grandpré, Marshall of France, Governor of Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland, and in 1478 Knight of the Golden Fleece. Borsellen’s coat of arms, which appears quartered with that of the earldom of Buchan (Scotland) in two margins, confirms the date of *ca.* 1465 suggested above. Borsellen had received the Scottish title through his marriage to Mary, the fifth daughter of James I of Scotland, but upon her death in 1467 the Buchan lands were returned to the crown, and in 1469 James II restored Buchan to the Stuarts.

Provenance: Wolfart V van Borsellen; Ex libris Baliar [Bauchain], 1526; Berlin dealer, 1918; H. P. Kraus, 1950’s; Louis Silver by 1959.

Bibliography: F. Winkler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei* (Leipzig, 1925), p. 161; “Illuminated Treasures (A Portfolio),” *Fortune* [magazine], LX (1959), 116 ff.; De Ricci, Suppl. 1962, p. 176.

The Newberry Library 55.5.



BOOK OF HOURS IN DUTCH (GEERT GROOTE
TRANSLATION)

Bruges atelier of the Master of Edward IV, *ca.* 1480.

222 vellum folios, 162 × 117 mm. 24 lines.
Binding: 17th-century, gold-tooled red leather.

Contents: Calendar of Utrecht; Prayers to the Virgin; Prayer to the Holy Cross; Prayers to Eternal Wisdom; Prayers to the Holy Spirit; Vigil of the Dead; Seven Penitential Psalms; Litany; the One Hundred Articles.

Decoration: 7 miniatures.

A love for observed facts of nature is recorded in the miniatures of this richly decorated prayer book. Eschewing suave, linear conventions, the artist fashions from washes of paint and innumerable tiny brush strokes a diversity of human types, the glitter of light on armor and chain mail, reflections on the surface of distant ponds, the texture of stone masonry, and a sense of atmosphere. The sacred narrative is made real and familiar. Christ looks down pathetically as the soldiers debate the significance of the Crucifixion,* and Mary swoons into the arms of St. John. In the Burial of the Dead,* which takes place in the yard of a Romanesque church, a gnome-like man strains under the weight of the casket, the procession led by a priest chants the liturgy, and in the middle ground one monk says the rosary while two of his companions chat with one another. Even at the solemn moment of the Descent of the Holy Spirit* one apostle absent-mindedly rubs one foot against the other.

The sincere, human flavor of the illuminations seems characteristically Dutch and strikingly appropriate for a prayer book in the Dutch translation of Geert Groote, the founder of the popular reform movement the *Devotio moderna*, which took a humane approach to religion, using the vernacular instead of Latin and drawing upon everyday experience to explain sacred themes. Nevertheless, Parshall has argued convincingly

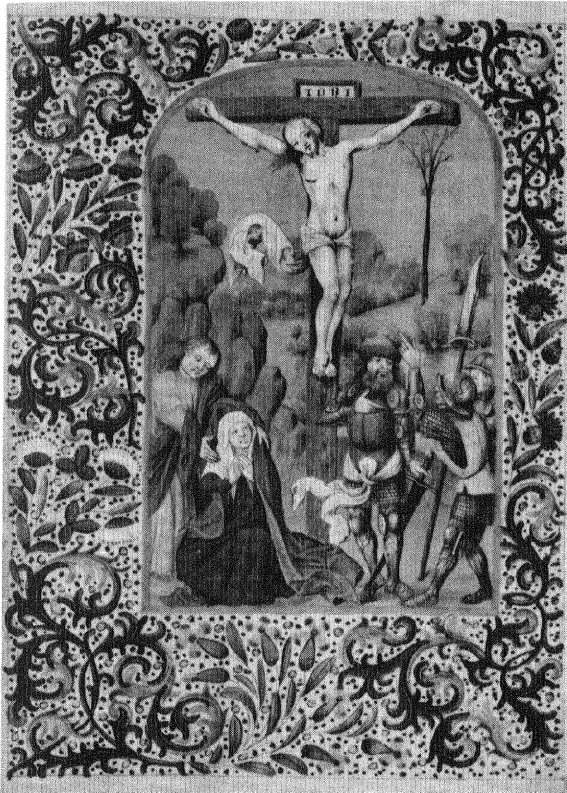
that the illuminator is to be identified with the anonymous Bruges artist known as the Master of Edward IV because of the number of manuscripts he produced for the exiled English king who sojourned in Flanders after 1470. The fluid, “painterly” technique, the homely figure types, the complex spatial groupings, and the soft, silvery tonalities are characteristic of manuscripts produced by this artist around 1480.

The borders of tight blue and gold acanthus, flowers, and berries that frame the manuscript recall works by Vrelant (cf. cat. 5–9); while the margins of three-dimensional acanthus vines peopled with cowered apes, animals, and amusing grotesques around the text pages are closer to later Bruges manuscripts. Like the paleography, the style of initials—burnished gold and acanthus coiled around pistil-like cones—is Dutch and suggests the presence of Dutch workmen in the Bruges atelier.

Provenance: Ludwig Freude; W. Blum.

Bibliography: P. W. Parshall, “A Dutch Manuscript of c. 1480 from an Atelier in Bruges,” *Scriptorium*, XXIII (in press).

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Hier begint dat laugheghe ende vande
 heilige ende
 ecrliche v
 leuende gods
 sonre handie
 ende louc die
 wies ganc
 icben dael
 dat ic bin
 wies ontf
Herticheit ic louc beoerit wortte ende
 ontfene. Oh waerdige mitre louc die
 ende dinc herten goden rader in nac
 vogherticheit louc te singhen ende
 ghif mi teghen dinc vante craft
 ende die mine die louc die in regner
 te bono allen herten der neder werlt.
O here du selte mij wieren die
 ruppen op doen ende mi wort
 set vonth in dighen dincen lof. God
 wirt den die in mijn lippen. Die
 saken vander werlt ende dincen
 sacous vander gheninghen gheselt
 helpor mit gheentult aen beken.



SINGLE LEAF

Bruges or Ghent follower of Simon Bening and Gerart Horenbout, first quarter of the 16th century.

Vellum, 91 × 62 mm.

St. Agatha.

Flemish book illumination underwent its final major transformation at the close of the fifteenth century under the strong influence of Hugo van der Goes and Gerard David. In books by the Bruges illuminators Simon Bening and Gerart Horenbout, even the borders and initials are treated illusionistically as little scenes or still lifes. The miniatures, in assimilating all the spatial and textural refinements of contemporary panel paintings, lose the distinctive quality of book illustration.

Indeed, the portrait of St. Agatha does not strike one as a fragment even though it has been cut from its manuscript and border. Before a deep space the figure stands like a statue, holding a book and her severed breast. The gold brocade, the pearl diadem, and the detailed plants in the little garden are remarkable technical achievements; and the architectural background, though somewhat spoiled by repainting, preserves a fascinating wealth of detail and an atmospheric effect that contrasts with the precise rendering of the saint.

More an accomplished technician than an original artist, the illuminator simply adjusted a workshop pattern that had served other painters for St. Barbara (Vienna, N.B. 2706) and St. Catherine (Kassel). The small format and stylistic details resemble a Book of Hours in Baltimore (Walters 426).

Provenance: Sir Bruce Ingram (sale at Sotheby's, London, 6 July 1964).

Collection of Everett and Ann McNear.



IV. France

Political disruptions, in particular the removal of the Burgundian court to Flanders, resulted in a decentralization and decline in French illumination after the disaster of Agincourt in 1415. In Paris a workshop active in the service of John of Bedford, regent for Henry VI of England, perpetuated many designs and continued to work in the soft, delicate manner of the Boucicaut Master but did not extend the exploration of naturalistic effects that had distinguished the achievement of the earlier illuminator. Despite the conservative approach of this atelier, which was active well into the third quarter of the century, the high quality and much of the technical subtlety of early Parisian art were preserved (cat. 13); a full assessment of the contribution of this shop to French illumination is now being made by Eleanor Spencer.

Even outside Paris the influence of the Boucicaut Master and the Bedford atelier was immediate and ubiquitous. The fine *Horae* from the Tripp Collection (cat. 14), produced in Rouen about 1435, repeats compositions from the Boucicaut atelier but translates them into more precise contours and stronger colors. Boucicaut and Bedford Master motifs persist in Rouen manuscripts even during the third quarter of the century (cat. 15 and 16), and, whereas the influence of Flemish panel painting may also be noted in these manuscripts, this was essentially a closed and *retardataire* tradition.

Jean Fouquet, a panel painter and illuminator from Paris, redirected French art at mid-century. Supported in Tours by Charles VII and Louis XI, Fouquet assimilated in his paintings elements of Renaissance art, which he knew from a journey to Italy during the 1440's. Echoes of Filarete, Piero della Francesca, and Fra Angelico are detectable in his systematic space constructions, in his luminous color, and in the plasticity of his forms. The theatrical narratives that take place in the deep and consistently lighted spaces of his miniatures owe more to Italian panel painting than to the tradition of Gothic illumination. Decoration is subordinated to illusionism, and reference to the

book is reduced to an initial and brief text passage included like a billboard within the picture space.

Fouquet's innovations influenced Maître François (cat. 17), whose attachments to the earlier Parisian tradition appear in his greater insistence on the plane and in his more calligraphic technique but whose dependence on Fouquet is evident in his conception of the miniature as an illusionistic space, in his carefully modeled, plastic forms, and in his milky tonalities. A contemporary of Maître François, the so-called Master of Adélaïde of Savoy (cat. 18) gave a more personal interpretation to Fouquet's style by recasting spatial devices, such as the receding arches, into ornamental designs; creating extraordinary, mannered figures by manipulating the idealized and plastic forms; and reintroducing elements from earlier French manuscripts, such as the borders of acanthus and narrative medallions.

In the Loire region, Fouquet's heritage was preserved with greater purity by Jean Bourdichon, whose long career spanned the reigns of four French kings. The replication of Fouquet's inventions and a banal reduction of Italian Renaissance conventions characterize hundreds of Books of Hours that issued from Bourdichon's atelier, although a softness and intimacy may be appreciated in the better manuscripts (cat. 19). Continued contact with Italy may be noted in the *putti* holding swags, the classical architecture, and the idealized figures introduced into Bourdichon's miniatures; and the influence of late Flemish manuscript illumination may be recognized in the half-length compositions and the three-dimensional treatment of the borders. The Bourdichon style was transplanted to Normandy shortly after 1500, when one of the statesmen of Louis XII, Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, became Archbishop of Rouen. The gaudy, eclectic style of these late manuscripts (cat. 21 and 22) evidences considerable virtuosity but little taste. Derivative from a wide variety of sources, even from printed books, these illuminations mark the end of original creation in French manuscript art.

Limoges in southern France, famous for its

painted enamels, also produced illuminated manuscripts (cat. 20). Once again, however, even though the technical quality is high, the miniature painting in these books is dependent upon another medium.

By the end of the fifteenth century, then, the decline in the importance of manuscript illumination was virtually complete. Printed books were now filling the requirements of a vast market that the most efficient manuscript ateliers could not supply. To meet even the specialty demands for handmade books, the replication of existing patterns in mass-production fashion, rather than individual and original creation, was necessary. At first, of course, printed books imitated manu-

scripts, not only in appearance but in procedures of production. Initially, the printer replaced only the scribe; rubrication, marginal decoration, and illumination were hand-painted, as in manuscripts. Because of technical difficulties and the taste for colored prints, illustration was the last element to free itself completely from the manuscript tradition (cat. 23 and 24). Increasingly, however, artists of real talent adjourned to the printing houses, and by the turn of the sixteenth century illustrated books were flourishing on their own. The great tradition of manuscript illumination, which even at the beginning of the century still nourished so many of the other arts, had all but vanished.

BOOK OF HOURS (UNDETERMINED USE) IN
LATIN AND FRENCH

Paris, Associate of the Bedford Master's atelier, second quarter of the 15th century; finished *ca.* 1465 by a Flemish illuminator.

207 vellum folios, 180 × 140 mm. 15 lines.
Binding: modern blue morocco.

Contents: Calendar in French; Gospel Lessons; Hours of the Virgin; Hours of the Holy Cross; Hours of the Holy Spirit; Seven Penitential Psalms; Litany Featuring Saints of Lyon; Vigil of the Dead; *Obscero te* and *O Intemerata*; the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin and the Seven Petitions in French.

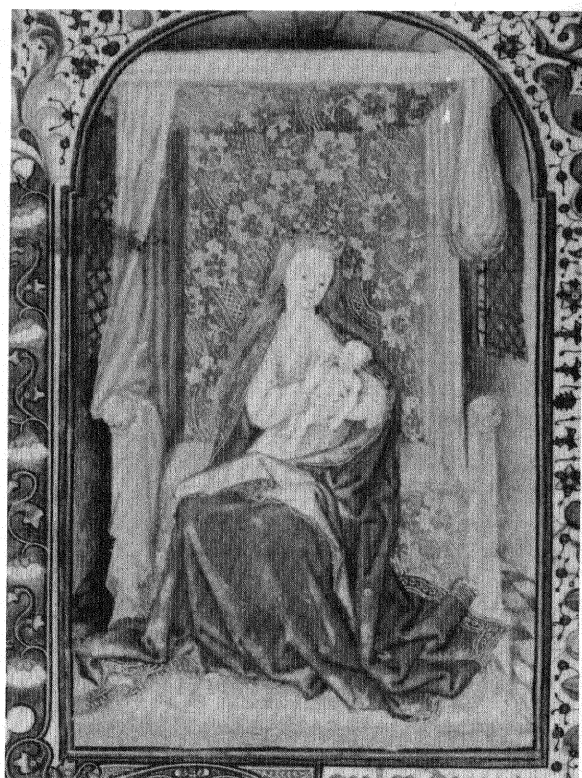
Decoration: 15 large miniatures and 2 border medallions.

Like many fifteenth-century manuscripts, this luxury *Horae* never was finished, even though two attempts to complete the illuminations were made. In accord with workshop procedures, the text, initials, and borders were provided first, and these are consistent throughout the manuscript. Most of the illustrations were designed, and many were finished before the work was interrupted. In a number of scenes, however, the underdrawing is visible, and in many the final working-up of detail by the *chef d'atelier* was never accomplished. During a second campaign certain details were finished, others were added, and new compositions were introduced; but the book was not completed.

Although slightly overpainted, the Annunciation* and the Adoration of the Magi* are good representatives of the original plan and style. Both compositions are based on designs by the Boucicaut Master and retain the refined elegance if not the idealized forms of the earlier illuminator. Mary turns with gentleness and humility from the *prie-dieu* to receive the salutation of the angel alighting behind her; Joseph politely removes his hat before the magi; and the eldest magus humbly kneels to receive the blessing of the tiny Infant. A ceremonial grace, blending with a new interest

in spatial complexity (e.g., the triple-arched opening onto a vaulted chapel) and the consistent introduction of observed details, such as the weather-beaten roof of the stable, find their source in the Boucicaut tradition. The soft, indistinct rendering of faces, puffy beards and hair, and the general dreamlike vagueness of effect, however, contrast with the precision of the Boucicaut Master's style and resemble the works of later practitioners of the tradition, particularly those of a group of illuminators responsible for the Salisbury Breviary in Paris (B.N. lat. 17294), usually attributed to the Bedford Master. The rather awkward stance and clumsy handling of the facial features of the youngest magus in the Adoration and the faint, almost tentative rendering of the other figures recall the later work of this group (which recently has been studied by Eleanor Spencer), such as the Paris *Arbre de bataille* (B.N. fr. 1276) of 1460 and an undated *Horae* in London (B.M. Add. 35312). The system of marginal ornamentation, consisting of a narrow inner band of stylized vegetal patterns on burnished gold leaf that sprouts flowers and twisting vines which fill the corners of an outer frame of delicate penwork and ivy-leaf scrolls, is also characteristic of the Bedford Master's shop. The initial campaign of illumination of the Lloyd-McNear *Horae*, therefore, may be assigned to this Paris atelier during the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

Precise identification of the artist who undertook to finish this prayer book is impossible, but he may well have been a Fleming. The beautiful landscape behind David in Prayer (frontispiece), for instance, although relying upon an earlier design for the stunted, bushy trees and overlapping hills crested by spired towns, introduces boldly painted and physically assertive rocks that resemble Flemish painting of the 1460's. The artist who painted these rocks and added the bronze pitcher and basin to the Adoration, in contrast to the pictorial conception and amorphous style of the first illuminator, loved tangible substances and painted them firmly and precisely, modeling in light and dark to bring out the volume and texture of distinct objects. It may have been this master who introduced such Flemish compositions as the copy of Campin's *Trinity* into the manuscript, although



Panofsky and Spencer have noted other early examples of the adaptation of Campinesque ideas by the Bedford atelier. Nevertheless, certain miniatures, like the Rogerian Madonna Nursing Christ,* which contain monumental, physical forms operating in broadly conceived spaces, are characteristically Flemish.

Fortunately, the two illuminators generally complement one another, the later master bringing a certain assuredness and precision to the delicate, sometimes hesitant painting of the first artist. In the unfinished pages of this *Horae* we can study the successive stages of workshop procedure, while in the other miniatures we may

trace much of the history of fifteenth-century illumination: the classic, stylized page system; the graceful elegance of the Boucicaut tradition; the remarkable delicacy of landscape painting at mid-century; and the influence of factual naturalism from Flemish panel painting. Whatever its historic interest, however, the lasting fascination of this *Horae* derives from an enjoyment of the subtlety and beauty of its painting.

Provenance: Christies, London (sale of 19 June 1968, lot 115).

Owned by William and Mary Lloyd and Everett and Ann McNear.



BOOK OF HOURS

(ROUEN USE) IN LATIN AND FRENCH

Rouen, *ca.* 1435.

156 vellum folios, 185 × 128 mm. 16 lines.
Binding: heavily worn red velvet applied over
tooled calf.

Contents: Calendar of Rouen; Gospel Lessons;
Hours of the Virgin; Prayers to Various Saints;
Seven Penitential Psalms; Litany; Hours of the
Holy Cross; Hours of the Holy Spirit; Vigil of
the Dead; Prayers in French.

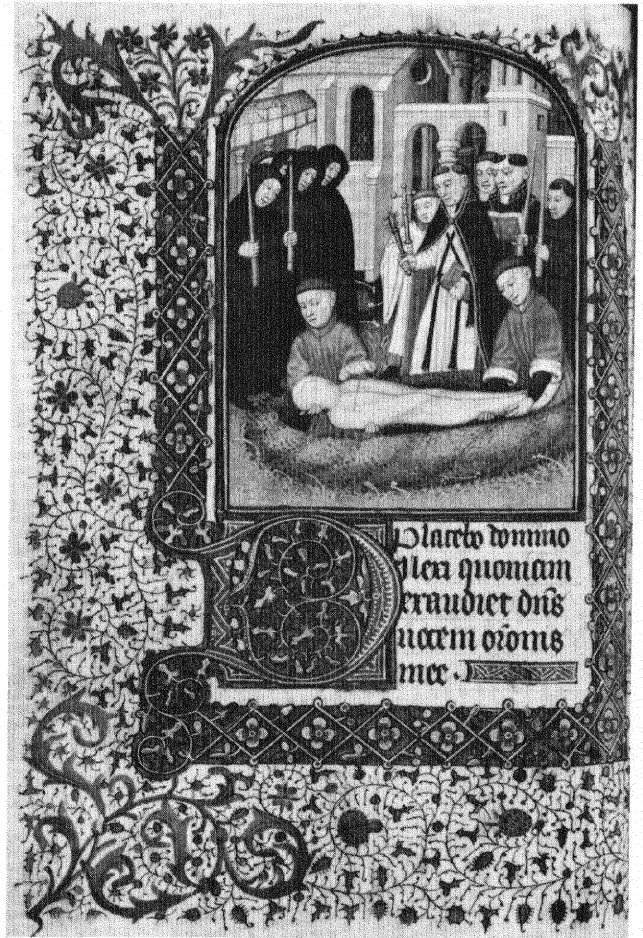
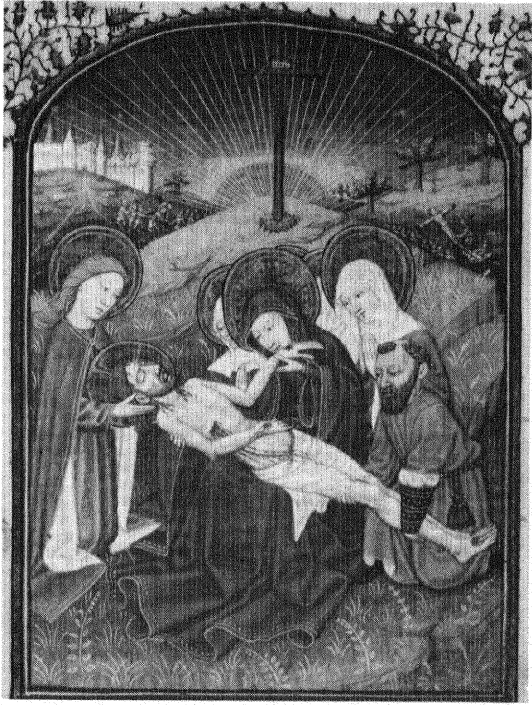
Decoration: 13 miniatures (Annunciation is
lacking).

The influence of the Boucicaut Master, that "great pioneer of naturalism" who worked in Paris during the first two decades of the fifteenth century, dominates the illuminations of this lavishly decorated Book of Hours. With restraint and tenderness, characteristic of the Parisian illuminator, fully modeled figures enact the sacred drama of the Lamentation of Christ*; and, as in many Boucicaut Master products, minute scenes in the background—Christ bearing the cross from Jerusalem and the nailing to the cross—supplement the more formal, devotional foreground theme with a narrative, historical dimension. The great, hot, sunburst, individualized plants, and atmospheric perspective also are innovations traceable to the Boucicaut Master. The Burial Service,* like the Visitation, David in Prayer, and Flight into Egypt, is based on a composition known from Boucicaut workshop manuscripts, such as a *Horae* in Paris (B.N. lat. 1161). The officiating priest sprinkles holy water on the corpse, whose eye sockets, nose, mouth, and crossed arms are visible beneath the shroud! Two acolytes lower the body into a freshly dug grave, while other monks, holding tapers, look on. The burial takes place in the yard of a monastery; its cloister attic is stuffed with bones, and its church, entry gate, and belfry are rendered as a corner view that implies space beyond.

The text, litany, and calendar, which includes Saints Ausbert, Hugh, Gildardus, Romanus, and Mello, are for use in Rouen. Stylistic connections with manuscripts in Paris (B.N. lat. 13283 and Arsenal 560 and 575) and New York (Morgan 105), also for use in Rouen or neighboring towns, suggest that the Tripp *Horae* was produced in that city of northwest France. The stocky figure style, tight modeling, vivid coloring, and especially the hills with strongly marked ledges are characteristic of this group of manuscripts and are the result of a hardening of conventions invented by the Boucicaut Master.

Provenance: A. Brölemann.

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Chester Tripp.



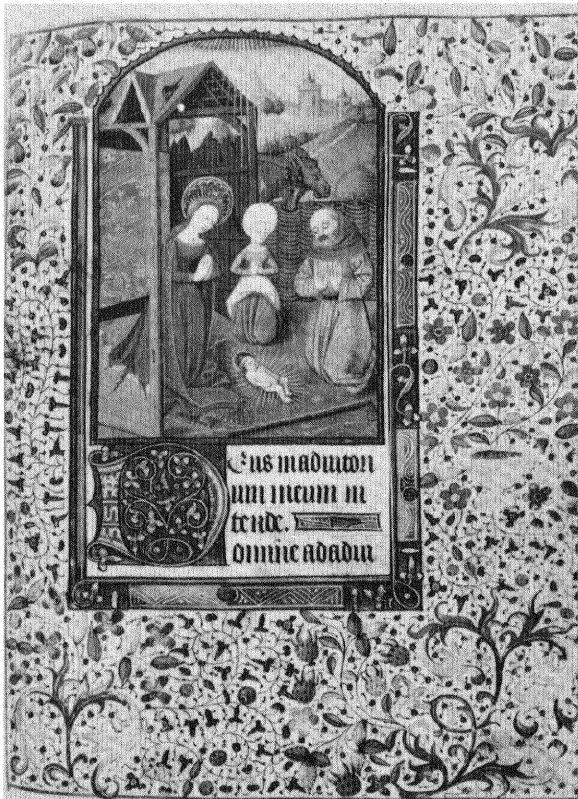
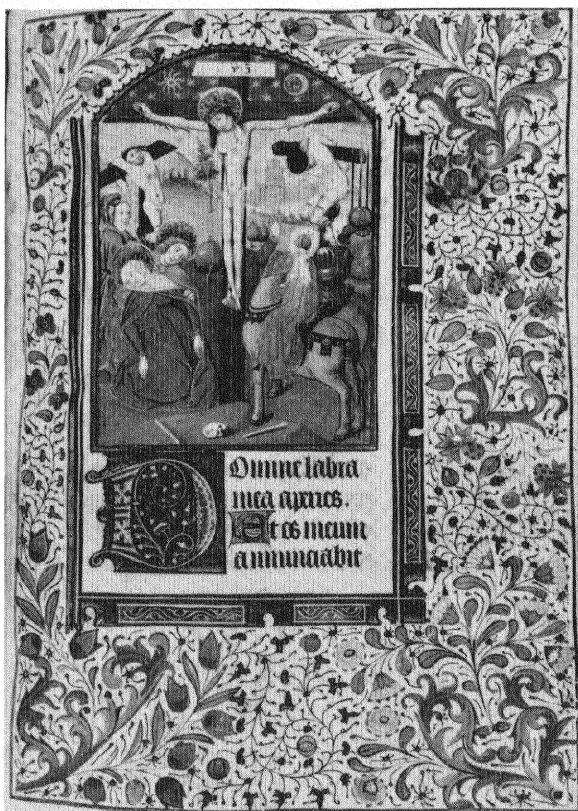
BOOK OF HOURS

(ROUEN USE) IN LATIN AND FRENCH

Rouen? *ca.* 1450–60.158 parchment folios, 210 × 150 mm. 15 lines.
Binding: red morocco by the Lakeside Press.

Contents: Calendar; Gospel Lessons; Hours of the Virgin; Hours of the Holy Cross; Hours of the Holy Spirit; Seven Penitential Psalms; Litany; Vigil of the Dead; Prayers in French.

Decoration: 14 miniatures.



Internal evidence and comparisons with other manuscripts, such as a Book of Hours in Paris (B.N. fr. 2629) of 1460, indicate that this fine *Horae* was produced in Rouen around the middle of the century. Nevertheless, a number of compositions, including the Crucifixion* and the Mass of the Dead, resemble works from the Bedford Master's atelier; and many details, the schematized skies, brocaded cloths of honor, and even the page layout, occur fifty years earlier.

Somewhat *retardataire*, too, is the conception of the narrative. In the Crucifixion, the artist emphasizes the lifeless, bleeding Christ, the wracked and twisted bodies of the thieves, and the emotional, swooning Mary. In the Nativity* the kneeling Mary and Joseph emphasize the divine nature of the resplendent Child, and the inclusion of the midwife Salome, who, according to legend had doubted Mary's virginity but was converted, is a physical reminder of the miraculous nature of Christ's birth. Thus the illuminator sought to incorporate evocative or doctrinal references without interrupting the narrative consistency.

Provenance: François Potocki; H. Probasco.

Bibliography: *Catalogue of the Collection of . . . Mr. Henry Probasco* (Cincinnati, 1873), p. 379; De Ricci, I, 527; E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953), p. 409.

The Newberry Library 42.

BOOK OF HOURS

(PARIS USE) IN LATIN AND FRENCH

Northern France, ca. 1470.

208 vellum leaves, 160 × 112 mm. 16 lines.
Binding: 19th-century red morocco.

Contents: Calendar of Northern France; Gospel Lessons; Prayers to the Virgin; Hours of the Virgin; Seven Penitential Psalms; Litany; Hours of the Holy Cross; Hours of the Holy Spirit; Vigil of the Dead; Prayers to the Virgin and to the Trinity in French.

Decoration: 14 large and 19 small miniatures.

Although rustic details, such as the woman shearing sheep and the piping shepherd in the Annunciation to the Shepherds,* are included, the illustration of this *Horae* is delicate and rather precious. The small figures are minutely detailed; and individual plants, leaves, and masonry courses of the buildings are described. In the miniature of the Holy Trinity,* God the Father, Christ, and the Dove of the Holy Spirit are regally presented beneath a canopy and are surrounded by red seraphim; but the benign faces and tiny details reduce the monumentality and majesty of the depiction. Even the borders are reduced to small compartments of mat gold containing flowers. Close in style is a Book of Hours in Paris (B.N. fr. 2629) that Porcher considers to be a very late continuation of Bedford Master traditions. The Newberry *Horae* also draws upon ideas from the Bedford Master, but no direct connection with the early workshop is evident.

Provenance: Pieter de Hubert of Bûrgt, Zeeland; Anna Elizabeth van Panhuis; Elizabeth de Hochepped (to 1842); A. D. Schinkel (1842–64); H. Probasco.

Bibliography: *Catalogue of the Collection of Books, Manuscripts, and Works of Art Belonging to Mr. Henry Probasco* (Cincinnati, 1873), p. 379; De Ricci, I, 527.

The Newberry Library 45.



SINGLE LEAF FROM JEAN CHAPUIS
SEPT ARTICLES DE LA FOI

North France, atelier of the "egregius pictor Franciscus," ca. 1470.

Vellum, 273 × 172 mm.

The Last Judgment.

Christ, flanked by saints—Mary and the virgins at the left and the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and the male martyrs at the right—and assisted by angels, separates the blessed from the damned. In conceiving the apocalyptic judgment, the artist displays great restraint. He uses minute stippling and crosshatching to construct solid, sculptural figures and to study the faces and individual reactions of each; and he paints in a soft grisaille tinted with blue and gold. Action is minimized, and the tortures of Hell, which intrigued most fifteenth-century artists, are only suggested. In its general groupings, the composition recalls Roger van der Weyden's great altarpiece in Beaune, and the influence of panel painting also is felt in the spatial conception of the miniature. The border, like a window frame, cuts arbitrarily into the picture space; and the text is suspended in the middle ground.

On the basis of stylistic similarities with manuscripts of Augustine's *Cité de dieu* in Paris (B.N. fr. 18 and 19), the large folio in the Art Institute may be assigned to an artist who worked for Charles d'Anjou, comte du Maine, and who is identified in a letter of 1473 from the French humanist Robert Gaguin to Charles de Gaucourt as the "egregius pictor Franciscus," now generally referred to as "Maître François." Another *Cité de dieu* in The Hague (Meermanno-Westreenianum, 10.A.11) is also by the same artist as the Chicago leaf.

In his cool, opaque tones, his use of light to model weighty figures in an illusionistic space, and his delight in weaving a fine net of highlights over the voluminous garments, Maître François betrays the influence of Jean Fouquet's style. Because of this, some scholars have attempted to identify him

with one of Fouquet's assistants and even as his son. The evidence, however, is not conclusive.

Like Fouquet and his Flemish contemporaries, Maître François no longer conceives of the page as a flat surface to be decorated. For him it is a small panel painting and the text, which in earlier illumination had been an integrated element, is treated as an intrusion into the space.

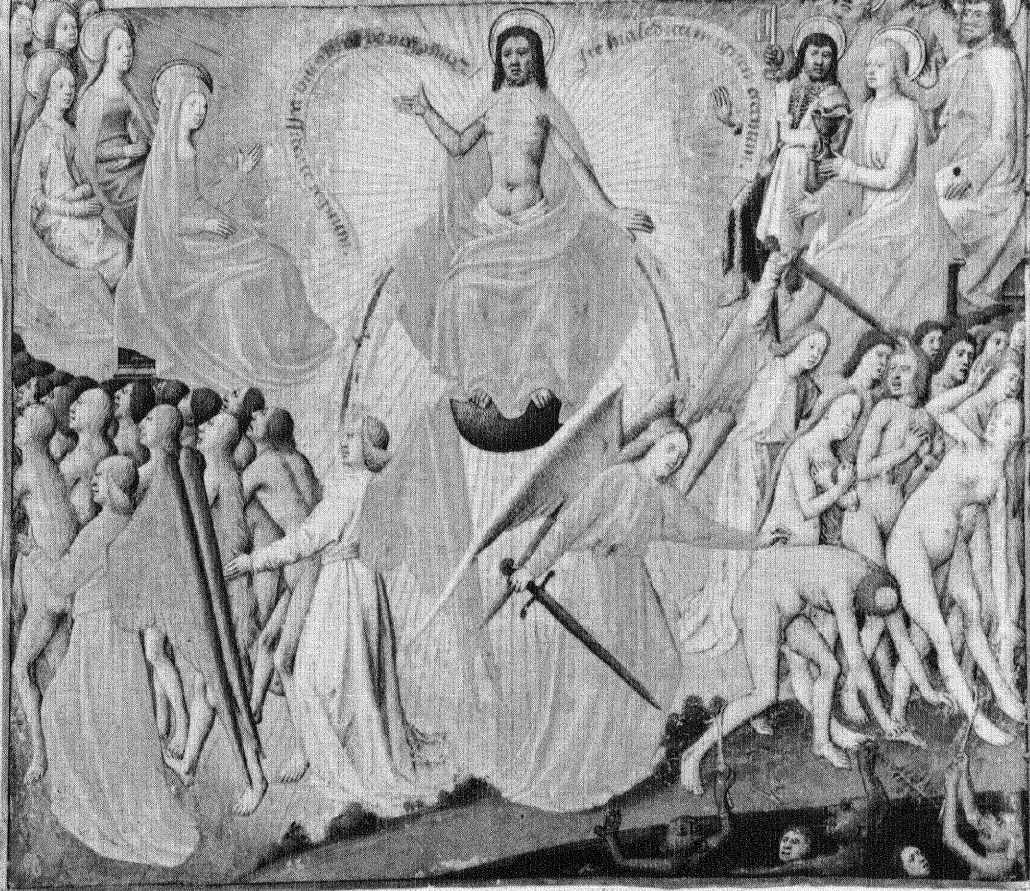
Although the page has been repainted, the figures are well preserved.

Provenance: Sold at Sotheby's, London (16 June 1897, lot 550); Robson; S. Cockerell, 1906; sold at Sotheby's (3 April 1957, lot 15).

Bibliography: *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1908), p. 110, n. 225; Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, XII, 368; F. de Mely, *Les primitifs et leurs signatures* (Paris, 1913), p. 244 and fig. 214; *Exhibition of French Art, 1200-1900, Royal Academy of Arts* (London, 1932), no. 621; *Chefs d'œuvre de l'art française* (Paris, 1937), no. 777.

The Art Institute of Chicago.

Donc est oron que no te due, due
Due de toy due: ainsi fin
Vient ce de quoy nous te plaiſons
Mais pour que le cuer me me
A venir dire autre matie
Il est bien d'hermine faifons
Que de ceste y nous taifons
Et que nous mencion faifons
Du seraphine autie plain due
Dont tout se voit manigie
L'adoration due a moy, que
Dont t'admirer, adde te due.



DETACHED MINIATURES FROM A BOOK OF
HOURS IN LATIN

Paris? Atelier of the Master of Adélaïde of Savoy, *ca.* 1470.

9 vellum folios, 103 × 60 mm. 15 lines. Matted and bound by Zaehnsdorf.

Contents: Portions of Prayers to Various Saints.

Decoration: 9 miniatures and historiated borders.

Nine detached leaves from a Book of Hours present portraits of saints in large miniatures and scenes related to their lives in medallions entered, along with the usual flowers and grotesques, into the borders. St. Catherine,* a delightfully mannered figure with a slender, bulbous head but tiny facial features and a narrow waist but massive lap and legs, sits reading in an extraordinary, vaulted chapel. The sword and wheel of her martyrdom, depicted in marginal roundels, are displayed at her side. The illuminator's intrigue with spatial devices is evident in the multiple receding arches and tiles and the opened door of the lectern. The wooden figure style is even more exaggerated in the protruding shoulders and knotted muscles of the nearly nude Sebastian,* and a similar tendency to reduce all elements to basic, geometric shapes is evident in the conical hills and scalloped trees of the landscape.

The illuminator of the McNear leaves, named after a Book of Hours in Chantilly which once belonged to Adélaïde of Savoy, duchess of Burgundy (Chantilly Musée Condé, 1362), worked in Paris around 1470. Eleanor Spencer has documented his association with Maître François (cat. 17), but the odd proportions of his figures and his expressive use of line are distinct from the Italianate restraint of the follower of Fouquet. As in the St. Christopher,* the Master of Adélaïde of Savoy again reasserted the importance of surface design over three-dimensional illusionism. The saint, turning on his great staff, occupies the center of the plane, and his cape fills the space between him and the edge of the miniature framed by angular cliffs.



The waves and gold stars also function as decorative patterns at top and bottom. Thus, even late in the century, miniaturists continued to struggle with the reconciliation of two-dimensional design and illusionism in manuscript art.

Provenance: Virtue and Cahill Library at the Cathedral Chapter of the Diocese of Portsmouth (sale at Christies, London, 5 July 1967).

Collection of Everett and Ann McNear.



BOOK OF HOURS (ROME USE) IN LATIN

Tours, Atelier of Jean Bourdichon, late 15th century.

203 vellum folios, 155 × 115 mm. 17 lines.
Binding: 18th-century red velvet.

Contents: Calendar; Gospel Lessons; Prayers to the Virgin; Hours of the Virgin; Hours of the Holy Cross; Hours of the Holy Spirit; Seven Penitential Psalms; Litany; Vigil of the Dead; Prayers to Various Saints.

Decoration: 31 miniatures.

Despite the stylistic heterogeneity resulting from workshop procedures, the illuminations of this prayer book are all within the tradition of Jean Bourdichon. It was Bourdichon, for instance, who created the half-length composition of the Flight into Egypt* (cf. Paris, B. N. Smith-Lesouff 34) as a means for increasing the intimacy of the presentation. We are allowed to observe a tender family moment as Christ, holding onto Joseph's neck, bends to reach for a piece of fruit offered by Mary. Behind, tiny John the Baptist sleeps in Elizabeth's arms.

The ascetic, tubular figures of the Nailing to the Cross* are very different from the soft, full forms of the Flight; and the insistence on outline and precise detail results in a rigidity of action and gesture. The somber miniature of Christ's Arrest* is conceived as a night scene rendered in deep blue and black and lighted by lanterns and torches that spread a net of gold across the surface. The nocturnal Gethsemane, both naturalistic and expressive, is found earlier in the *Très Riches Heures* by the Limbourg brothers; but the Chicago composition seems to have been invented by Fouquet and is frequently repeated in Bourdichon workshop products, such as a *Horae* in Frankfurt (Kunstgewerbe Museum L.M. 48).

The systems of border decoration present as much variation as do the miniature styles. The Crucifixion page displays the more usual fifteenth-century frames of acanthus and fruit, while other margins are divided into little compartments of



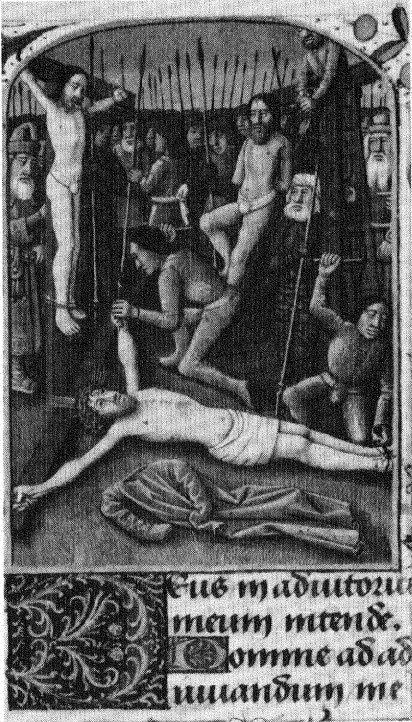
color and gold, each containing plants or grotesques.

Similarities with the Paris and Frankfurt manuscripts that may be assigned to Bourdichon's workshop in Tours between 1485 and 1495 indicate that the Newberry *Horae* was also produced in Tours shortly before the Bourdichon workshop transferred production to Rouen at the end of the century.

Provenance: C. G. Schwarz of Altdorf (1751); H. Probasco.

Bibliography: *Catalogue of the Collection of Books, Manuscripts, and Works of Art Belonging to Mr. Henry Probasco* (Cincinnati, 1873), p. 379; De Ricci, I, 526.

The Newberry Library 47.



BOOK OF HOURS

(LIMOGES USE) IN LATIN AND FRENCH

Limoges, Master of the Orléans Triptych, end of the 15th century.

182 vellum folios, 215 × 146 mm. 16 lines.
Binding: 15th-century French brown calf.

Contents: Calendar of Limoges; Gospel Lessons; Prayers to the Virgin; Hours of the Virgin; Seven Penitential Psalms; Vigil of the Dead; Short Prayers of the Holy Cross; Hours of the Holy Spirit; Long Prayer of the Holy Cross; Prayer in French.

Decoration: 11 miniatures and 15 historiated initials.



An angel holding the Deubost and Gentille coat of arms* and an inscription identifying the original owner as Katherine Gentille Mohl(er) de Marsau Deubost of Limoges, the calendar which features among other Limousine feasts the “Dedicatio ecclesii Limorreiensis,” and the Hours of the Virgin for Limoges Use enable us to localize this elegant prayer book with complete certainty. The Deubost Hours is interesting, not only because it is one of the few manuscripts that may be connected with Limoges but also because it betrays the influence of the more famous art product of that southern French city—painted enamels.

The metallic precision of the border decorations and initials and the weighty figure types—women with pallid, bulbous heads; men with square jaws and dark, hollowed eyes (cf. *Nativity** and *Christ Bearing the Cross**)—are characteristic of enamels produced in Limoges at mid-century, as are the sharply sculpted garments highlighted with hatchings of gold lines and the fluid landscape treatment. So close, in fact, are the Chicago miniatures to enamels by the Master of the Orléans Triptych, that Marvin Ross’s conclusion that this Limoges enameler actually was responsible for the illuminations should be accepted. Unfortunately, manuscript specialists have not yet heeded Ross’s advice, for which the Deubost Hours remains a reminder, that the study of



manuscripts such as this one “may be productive of much data useful both for the history of illumination and the history of decorative arts.”

Provenance: Katherine Gentile Mohl(er) Deubost; A. Voynich.

Bibliography: *Bulletin of the Chicago Art Institute*, IX (1915), 96 ff.; De Ricci, I, 515; M. C. Ross, “The Master of the Orléans Triptych,” *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IV (1941), 9 ff.

The Art Institute of Chicago 15.540.

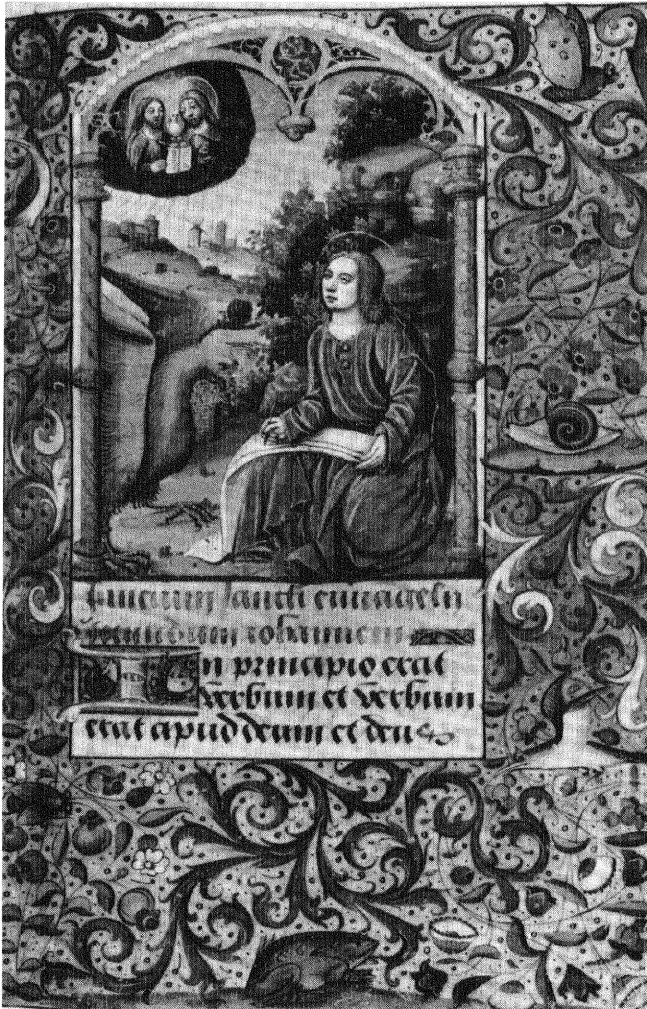
BOOK OF HOURS IN LATIN

Rouen, first decade of the 16th century.

93 parchment folios, 199 × 130 mm. 19 lines.
Binding: crushed brown morocco by Capé.

Contents: Gospel Lessons; Hours of the Holy Cross; Hours of the Holy Spirit; Seven Penitential Psalms; Litany; Office of the Dead; Prayer to the Holy Trinity.

Decoration: 8 full-page miniatures and 7 historiated initials.



A virtuosity and flamboyance are declared throughout the miniatures and borders of this prayer book. As is true of the miniature of St. John on Patmos Inspired by the Holy Trinity,* the illuminator paints softly modeled, idealized figures, clothed in voluminous garments and set in atmospheric landscapes established with broad washes and a few accents of paint. The effect of the Italian Renaissance, everywhere evident in the miniatures, now extends even to the borders, which contain only “real” creatures, insects and birds, either flying in an implied space or given physical support.

Close in style, the *Cyropédie* of Xenophon, produced for Louis XII around 1504 (Paris, B.N., fr. 701/2), helps date the Chicago *Horae*.

Provenance: member of the Chasseigne family of Nevers; Christophe de la Chasseigne (1809); M. de Sainte Marie (19th century); C. Bemens; W. Blum.

The University of Chicago 348.

BOOK OF HOURS

(ROUEN USE) IN LATIN AND FRENCH

Rouen, first decade of the 16th century.

95 vellum folios, 177 × 123 mm. 20 lines.
Binding: 19th-century blue leather.

Contents: Calendar in French; Gospel Lessons; Prayers to the Virgin; Hours of the Virgin; Hours of the Holy Cross; Hours of the Holy Spirit; Litany; Office of the Dead; Prayers in French.

Decoration: 14 miniatures.

Artists attracted to Rouen by the patronage of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, minister to Louis XII, created a style of illumination from elements of contemporary French, Flemish, and Italian art. The squarish proportions and smooth, expressionless faces of the figures in the Annunciation,* for example, are banal reductions of Renaissance ideal types that had been introduced into French illumination by Jean Fouquet and Jean Bourdichon. The border of Corinthian columns, arches, and carved *putti*, also borrowed from Italy, is thought of not just as a frame but as an architectural setting for the scene and, hence, is supported on a plinth and grassy plane. Other compositions, such as the Three Living and Three Dead,* are taken from printed *Horae* (cf. Jean Du Pré's Besançon Hours of 1495); woodcut models may account for the heavy, linear quality of these miniatures.

Close parallels to the borders and illuminations in the Gratian *Decretals* in Rouen (MS E.1), produced shortly after 1502, help to date the Chicago prayer book.

Provenance: Le Moyne, 1593; J. Lyons, 1900; W. Blum.

The University of Chicago 343.



SINGLE LEAF FROM A PRINTED MISSAL

Paris, *ca.* 1485–1500.

Parchment, 300 × 182 mm.

Christ in Majesty and the Crucifixion.



Woodcuts of the Crucifixion* and of Christ in Majesty,* printed on two sides of a large parchment leaf and hand-colored in imitation of manuscript illumination, are replicas of compositions found in Jean Du Pré's Verdun Missal of 1481 and in Simon Vostre's 1497 Paris Missal. They are among the finest examples of the early "Paris style" of illustration. In the Majesty, Christ, attended by ministering angels, occupies the center of the page, and the four evangelist symbols fill the corners. The firm, regular woodcut line clarifies and unifies the stark composition. Even the ornamental frame harmonizes with the throne, vestments, and figural forms. In the Crucifixion, the designer distributed the major elements to fill the rectangular format and again used the heavy, even, woodcut line to assert the plane of the page. The hills and distant towns support and frame the foreground figures as well as suggest spatial recession.

In works such as this, the woodcut technique has imposed a discipline on the artist that was lacking in manuscript illumination. Artist-printers were forced to reconsider the flat surface and to adjust their design principles to it. Increasingly, printed illustrations freed themselves from painted models, became a distinct and independent art form, and, in turn, became a source for miniature painters (cf. cat. 22).

Provenance: Parma dealer, 1962.

Anonymous lender.

BOOK OF HOURS

(ROME USE) IN LATIN AND FRENCH

Printed in Paris by Guillaume Anabat, ca. 1507.

103 vellum folios, 227 × 140 mm. Binding: contemporary brown calf.

Decoration: 15 large and numerous small woodcut miniatures and historiated borders.

A printed book on vellum, this *Horae* was intended to approximate the appearance of an illuminated manuscript. All the frontispiece illustrations and small miniatures within the text are woodcuts crudely colored by hand. The borders are composed of interchangeable units combined in various ways before printing.

The colophon informs us that the book was printed by Guillaume Anabat for the Parisian booksellers Gillet and Germain Hardouyn; the almanac suggests 1507 as the date of publication. Hardouyn's device, Hercules and the Rape of Dejanira,* was elaborated into a full miniature and serves as the frontispiece to the volume. The elongated, pallid figures and the Renaissance frame closely resemble contemporary miniature painting (cf. cat. 22). The variable metalcut borders,* depicting prophets, hunting scenes, and grotesques, derive from the earlier printed *Horae* of Simon Vostre and Thielmann Kerver.

Provenance: A. Beurdeley; Russian Imperial Library, Leningrad.

Bibliography: "Illuminated Treasures (A Portfolio)," *Fortune* [magazine], LX (1959), 122.

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Chester Tripp.

