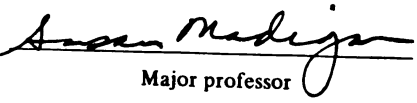


This is to certify that the
thesis entitled
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS. 2:
A LATE-FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOK OF HOURS
presented by

Mary Haynes LaPonsey

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for
Master's degree in History of Art


Major professor

Date May 10, 1991

PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.

DATE DUE DATE DUE DATE DUE		
APR 09 2010 0 1 1 1 0	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

MSU Is An Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Institution

c:\circ\datedue.pm3-p.1

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS. 2:
A LATE-FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOK OF HOURS

By
Mary Haynes LaPonsey

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ART

Department of Art

1991

ABSTRACT

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS. 2:
A LATE-FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOK OF HOURS

By

Mary Haynes LaPonsey

Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, an unpublished Book of Hours acquired by the Michigan State University Library in 1963, was thought to be a mid-fifteenth century French manuscript by an artist of the school of the Master of the Hours of the Duke of Bedford. Examination of the manuscript's style and iconography reveals the influence of other early-century French masters as well as artists who collaborated with or were associates of the Bedford Master and who carried the Bedford traditions into mid- and late-century workshops. Comparisons are made with the work of these artists and with several late-century Rouen manuscripts. Evidence suggests a late-1480s dating.

Copyright by

MARY HAYNES LAPONSEY

1991

In loving memory of three great ladies who
shared their lives and their wisdom with me:

ELIZABETH GROUNDS HAYNES

NETTIE BEYETTE LAPONSEY

MOLLY TEASDALE SMITH

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are a number of people I would like to thank for their help and support. The members of my Committee, Susan Pinto Madigan, Webster Smith, and Eldon van Liere have been especially helpful. I appreciate the co-operation of the librarians and staff of the Michigan State University Art Library and Special Collections Library, the British Library, the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Courtauld Library of London. I am deeply indebted to the men and women who authored the books that are the basis of this study.

I appreciate the support and patience of my family and friends. For all the miles traveled, pictures glued, advice given, papers sorted, materials copied, innumerable computer questions answered, books loaned, and hours and hours of listening, I am especially grateful to my husband, Leonard LaPonsey, my sister-in-law Gloria Haynes, and my dear friends, Ellen Gibson, and Shirley and Jerry Hemmye.

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	ix
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. STYLE	7
Figure Style, Hand A	8
Figure Style, Hand B	11
The Enlarged Figure	13
Figural Design	14
Backgrounds	16
Ornament	21
Summary	24
III. ICONOGRAPHY	26
Calendar Pages	26
Descriptions of the Calendar Pages	28
Iconography of the Calendar Miniatures	33
Gospel Sequences	38
Descriptions of the Gospel Sequences	39
Iconography of the Gospel Sequences	43
Prayers to the Virgin	46
Descriptions of the Prayers to the Virgin	47
Iconography of the Prayers to the Virgin	49

III. ICONOGRAPHY (Continued)

Hours of the Virgin	50
Descriptions of the Hours of the Virgin	52
Iconography of the Hours of the Virgin	64
The Penitential Psalms	76
Description of Introductory Miniature to Penitential Psalms: <u>David and Goliath</u>	77
Iconography of Introductory Miniature to Penitential Psalms: <u>David and Goliath</u>	78
Short Hours of the Cross Hours of the Holy Spirit	80
Description of the Introductory Miniature to Short Hours of the Cross: <u>Crucifixion</u>	81
Iconography of the Introductory Miniature to Hours of the Cross: <u>Crucifixion</u>	83
Description of the Introductory Miniature to Hours of the Holy Spirit: <u>Pentecost</u>	85
Iconography of the Introductory Miniature to Hours of the Holy Spirit: <u>Pentecost</u>	87
Office of the Dead	89
Description of the Introductory Miniature to Office of the Dead: <u>Job and His Comforters</u>	89
Iconography of Introductory Miniature to Office of the Dead: <u>Job and His Comforters</u>	91
The Fifteen Joys of the Virgin	92
Seven Requests of Our Lord	92
Description of the Introductory Miniature to Seven Requests of Our Lord: <u>Man of Sorrows</u>	93
Iconography of the Introductory Miniature to Seven Requests of Our Lord: <u>Man of Sorrows</u>	94
Memorials and Suffrages	96

III. ICONOGRAPHY (Continued)	
Descriptions of the Memorials and Suffrages	96
Iconography of the Memorials and Suffrages	102
IV. CONCLUSION	103
Notes	107
References	116
Illustrations	118

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 2, January: Feasting.
2. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 2v, February: Sitting by the Fire.
3. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 3, March: Pruning.
4. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 3v, April: Garden Scene.
5. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 4, May: Man on Horseback.
6. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 4v, June: Harvesting the Hay.
7. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 5, July: Reaping the Grain.
8. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 5v, August: Threshing.
9. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 6, September: Treading the Grape.
10. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 6v, October: Sowing.
11. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 7, November: Gathering Acorns.
12. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 7v, December: Butchering.
13. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 9, St. John.
14. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 11, St. Luke.

15. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 13, St. Matthew.
16. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 15, St. Mark.
17. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 16v, Virgin and Child.
18. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 20v, Virgin at Prayer.
19. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 25, Annunciation.
20. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 51, Visitation.
21. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 63, Nativity.
22. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 69, Annunciation to the Shepherds.
23. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 74, Adoration of the Magi.
24. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 79, Presentation at the Temple.
25. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 84, Massacre of the Innocents.
26. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 91, Coronation of the Virgin.
27. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 97, David and Goliath.
28. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 115, Crucifixion.
29. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 119, Pentecost.
30. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 123, Job and his Comforters.
31. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 172v, Man of Sorrows.

32. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 176, Trinity.
33. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 176v, St. Michael.
34. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 177, St. John the Baptist.
35. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 177v, St. Christopher.
36. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 178v, St. Sebastian.
37. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 180, St. Stephen.
38. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 180v, St. Lawrence.
39. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 181, Sts. Cosmas and Damian.
40. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 182, St. Nicholas.
41. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 182v, St. Anthony.
42. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 183, St. Fiacre.
43. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 184, St. Maurus.
44. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 184v, St. Catherine.
45. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 185, St. Genevieve.
46. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 185v, St. Margaret.
47. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 186v, St. Avia (Hedwig).
48. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 187, St. Mary Magdalen.

49. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2,
folio 187v, All Saints.
50. London, British Library Egerton 2019, folio 13,
St. John.
51. London, British Library Add. Ms. 11865, folio 7,
St. John.
52. London, British Library Add. Ms. 11865, folio 37v,
Presentation.
53. London, British Library Add. Ms. 11865, folio 53,
David.
54. London, British Library Egerton 2045, folio 138,
David.
55. London, British Library Add. Ms. 11865, folio 51,
Pentecost.
56. London, British Library Add. Ms. 11865, folio 63,
Job.
57. London, British Library Egerton 2045, folio 106,
Flight/Massacre.
58. London, British Library Egerton 2045, folio 172v,
Crucifixion.

I

INTRODUCTION

The Michigan State University Library Ms. 2 Hours is a richly illuminated manuscript with over eighty miniatures of various sizes, illuminated borders, many large and small initials, and hundreds of illuminated line endings.

On the front end leaf is an inscription of ownership by one Claude Moyne whose handwriting is identified by H. P. Kraus, Rare Books and Manuscripts, New York, as being that of a person who lived during the seventeenth century and may have been the person responsible for having the book "placed in its present fine Parisian binding of that period", a binding of seventeenth-century red morocco leather with gilt tooled designs (1). Pasted inside the front cover is an inscription written in 1791 recording the presentation of the manuscript by Carolus Noetinger, Dean of a monastery of Stuertzelbronn, in Lorraine, to Gerard Fuhreus (?), Prior of a monastery in Bavaria (2).

The manuscript is composed of 192 leaves on vellum written in a Gothic liturgical script using fifteen lines of text per page. There are nineteen large miniatures each measuring approximately 100 by 60 millimeters, eighteen small miniatures of saints approximately 40 millimeters

square, twenty-four calendar miniatures approximately 55 by 30 millimeters and, in the borders of five of the most important miniatures, there are twenty-five roundels approximately 40 millimeters in diameter, a few smaller. The book measures 225 by 155 millimeters.

Ms. 2 is identified by the bookseller as being from the school of the Master of the Hours of the Duke of Bedford, Use of Paris, and dated mid-fifteenth century. Cited for this attribution is the appearance of the rondels or medallions painted in the margins of five of the major miniatures: folio 25, Annunciation; folio 97, David and Goliath; folio 115, Crucifixion; folio 119, Pentecost; and folio 123, Job and his Comforters. In a more recent unpublished and undated paper in the Michigan State University Library Special Collections, John Plummer attributed the manuscript to "the artist who painted a Book of Hours offered by Olschki in 1910, item 40 (inventory no. 29795) present whereabouts unknown." The attribution appears to be based on one of two miniatures from the Olschki manuscript: a half-length Virgin at Prayer or a Massacre of the Innocents (folios unknown). A photocopy of these folios (from Planche XXIV) is included in Plummer's Paper. The use is listed as "Paris? (possibly Angers)" and dated ca. 1475. In the chapter on Style, I examine both opinions in greater detail and argue an attribution for the manuscript.

The Michigan State University Library manuscript

contains the following miniatures:

The Calendar:

2	January	<u>Feasting. Aquarius</u>
2v	February	<u>Sitting by the fire. Pisces</u>
3	March	<u>Pruning. Aries</u>
3v	April	<u>Garden scene. Taurus</u>
4	May	<u>Man on horseback. Gemini</u>
4v	June	<u>Harvesting hay. Cancer</u>
5	July	<u>Reaping the grain. Leo</u>
5v	August	<u>Threshing. Virgo</u>
6	September	<u>Treading the grape. Libra</u>
6v	October	<u>Sowing. Scorpio</u>
7	November	<u>Gathering acorns. Sagittarius</u>
7v	December	<u>Butchering. Capricorn</u>

The Gospel Sequences:

9	<u>St. John</u>
11	<u>St. Luke</u>
13	<u>St. Matthew</u>
15	<u>St. Mark</u>

The Prayers to the Virgin:

16v	<u>Virgin and Child (Obsecro te)</u>
20v	<u>Virgin at Prayer (O intemerata)</u>

The Hours of the Virgin:

25	<u>The Annunciation (with five border roundels: Joachim; Meeting at the Golden Gate; Birth of the Virgin; Virgin in the Temple; Marriage of the Virgin)</u>
----	---

- 51 The Visitation
- 63 The Nativity
- 69 The Annunciation to the Shepherds
- 74 The Adoration of the Magi
- 79 The Presentation in the Temple
- 84 The Massacre of the Innocents
- 91 The Coronation of the Virgin

The Penitential Psalms:

- 97 David and Goliath (with five border
roundels: Christ
at Prayer; David Killing Goliath; David with
Goliath's Head; David Spying on Bathesheba;
David at Prayer)

The Short Hours of the Cross:

- 115 Crucifixion (with five border roundels:
Agony in the Garden; Betrayal; Flagellation;
Christ before Pilate; Christ Carrying the
Cross)

The Short Hours of the Holy Spirit:

- 119 Pentecost (with five border roundels: Dove
of the Holy Spirit; Resurrection; Christ
Appears to Mary Magdalen; Road to Emmaus;
Baptism of Christ)

The Office of the Dead:

- 123 Job and His Comforters (with five border
roundels: Three Skulls; Job with Family;
Job's Home Destroyed; Job on Dungheap with

Shepherd; Job Attacked by a devil)

The Fifteen Joys of the Virgin:

Lacks first portion of the text and probably
one miniature

The Seven Requests of Our Lord:

172v Man of Sorrows

The Suffrages or Memorials:

176 Trinity

176v St. Michael

177 St. John the Baptist

177v St. Christopher

178v St. Sebastian

180 St. Stephen

180v St. Lawrence

181 Sts. Cosmas and Damian

182 St. Nicholas

182v St. Anthony

183 St. Fiacre

184 St. Maurus

184v St. Catherine

185 St. Genevieve

185v St. Margaret

186v St. Avia (Hedwig)

187 St. Mary Magdalen

187v All Saints

It will be shown that Ms. 2 is an important manuscript
in that the stylistic and iconographic influences it

contains illustrate the development of fifteenth-century French illumination from the early to the late years of the century. These influences extend from the greatest schools of illumination, the Limbourg circle and the Boucicaut and Bedford Masters (schools that dominated the early decades of fifteenth-century Paris) to those mid-century French Masters who kept the early styles alive well into the late decades when manuscript painting declined at the time of the coming of the Renaissance in the North in Rouen and Tours.

II

STYLE

Often, as is the case with Ms. 2, very little is known about a manuscript's artists, patrons, date, or place of origin. One method of identification is through an analysis of style. The present study gleans information about the manuscript by comparing stylistic similarities between it and other manuscripts which have already been identified and dated.

Establishing similarities entails analyzing the manuscript from the general page layout to specific illustrations, borders, and text. The design of the miniature, the ornament, and the painting style are studied with special attention given to the representation of the human figure. Since ornament has its own stylistic chronology, attention must also be paid to the borders, frames, initials, and letter endings that surround and ornament the miniatures.

The aspects of style, then, which serve as the foundation of this chapter are: 1) the physical and emotional attributes of the figure including size and scale, placement on the page, proportion, facial features and expressions, pose, mood, costume, and the "dramatization" of figural arrangement; 2) landscapes and interiors in which the figures are placed; 3) painting techniques; and 4)

ornament. These stylistic attributes are compared with those in similar manuscripts of early- mid- and late-fifteenth century France.

Stylistic differences in figures, landscape, and painting techniques make it apparent that two artists divided the labor of Ms. 2. The work of the principal artist, Hand A, is seen in all the major miniatures except folio 172v, Man of Sorrows (fig. 31). The secondary artist, Hand B, painted the Calendar, the Suffrages or Memorial pages and the aforementioned folio 172v.

Figure Style, Hand A

In all of Ms. 2's miniatures, the human figure is of greatest importance and in all instances is central to the design. Size and arrangement of the figure dominate the page. Hand A uses a believable figure style with figures that are rounded and graceful and yet appear sturdy and robust. They are characteristically drawn with large heads on bodies that have narrow shoulders and short waists. The lower legs are somewhat shortened; this peculiarity is more pronounced when the figure is positioned to kneel or sit. Arm movements are limited to bending at the elbow, folding at the waist, or extending slightly up or down. When these simple movements are exceeded, as when Goliath raises his arm over his head in folio 97 (fig. 27), the raised arm is then disproportionately shortened. Poses are kept simple and straightforward. No attempt is made to twist bodies or

cross legs as in the Calendar of the British Library Hours of the Master of the Duke of Bedford (1), folios 1, 2, 11 (figs. 50, 51, 60). The head of a figure in Ms. 2 will occasionally be turned too far for comfort in what appears to be an effort to avoid the use of a profile as with the kneeling figure in the Adoration of the Magi, folio 74 (fig. 23).

The faces of Hand A are oval in shape with plump cheeks and a warm glow to the skin. They have prominent noses drawn straight across the bridge, delicate narrow chins, and tiny mouths indicated by two lines. Eyes are heavy-lidded under arched brows drawn pencil-thin. The Virgin's eyes turn up under the eyelids, as in folios 16v, 20v, 25 etc. (figs. 17, 18, 19), and she appears to be in a spiritual trance. Profiles are avoided in the manuscript with the use of only one in the major miniatures, the youngest Magus in folio 74 (fig. 23), and five in the roundels in folios 25, 115, 123 (figs. 19, 28, 30). The faces show little modeling and a dark line is often needed to outline forms. Coarse faces are differentiated from spiritual ones by furrowing the eyebrows, pinching in the chins, and broadening the cheek bones (f. 69; fig. 22). Mature male identities vary with the color and style of the beard and hair (f. 119; fig. 29). The angels, the Virgin, the youthful John the Evangelist, and Elizabeth have a similar facial style (ff. 9, 51; figs. 13, 20). The faces of Goliath and Christ (in the first roundel) (f. 97; fig. 27) are nearly

interchangeable. Despite this lack of individualization, characters are recognizable in their various roles and accomplish their tasks with dignity. They communicate through glances and gestures and by their proximity to one and another. The use of the glance is an effective technique in the telling of the sacred story. It also enhances the space where the story takes place by making it "more vivid by the glances that carry through it" (2).

The gentle sway of the figures of the Boucicaut Master's Visitation, folio 65v, in the Hours of Marshal Jean de Boucicaut (1405-08) (3), is missing from the major miniatures of Ms. 2 where the stance is noticeably erect, even stiff (ff. 51, 79, 115; figs. 20, 24, 28).

This artist, Hand A, is unusually consistent in rendering the figure. Even the appearance of the two half-length Madonnas in folios 16v and 20v (figs. 17, 18) where the distortions are magnified in the close-up, is one of dignity and grace. Under the most stressful circumstances the figures remain sedate and without strong emotion.

A figure style similar to that of Hand A in Ms. 2 is found in the work of an artist identified by James Farquhar as the Arsenal 575 Master, a mid-century artist working as early as 1440 and as late as 1468 (4). The Arsenal 575 Master was a collaborator of the Fastolf Master (1420-1450?), a follower in the traditions of the Bedford and Boucicaut Masters (5). He was an artist who was held in

high esteem in mid-century France. He worked in Paris and Rouen and was a third generation follower of the great Parisian traditions of the early decades of the century. His figures, like those of Ms. 2, have large heads placed on small bodies which are shown in similar interior spaces believably drawn with passable linear perspective. Both artists create a mood of quiet dignity in which the figures interact through gestures, tilting of heads, and inclination of bodies (6). The Arsenal 575 Master's St. Matthew miniature, folio 17 (7), corresponds (although the image is reversed) to the Matthew design of Ms. 2, folio 13 (fig. 15). In both scenes the saint's chair is placed at an angle leading into the room where the action is stopped by a large red drape hanging on the back wall. Round-headed windows appear above the drape. The face of Matthew is copied by the Ms. 2 artist who uses the same three-quarter view and facial expression. Both Matthews are attended by a blue-winged angel, enlarged in Ms. 2, as is the figure of Matthew, and moved forward on the page. The ornate ceiling, furniture, and floor designs are eliminated in Ms. 2 and the space is taken up by the figures. The Arsenal 575 Master and Hand A of Ms. 2 use the same rounded and full-bodied figures with warm, glowing skin.

Figure Style, Hand B

These forms are quite different from Ms. 2's Calendar and Memorial pages where Hand B depicts people other than

the laborers of the fields as having slender bodies with tapered limbs and gaunt faces shadowed with washes of gray. The eyes of these figures have a characteristic bulge and hairlines are set high on the forehead; faces have long, slender noses and wide mouths. The figure style of Hand B is similar to that of an artist known as the French Master (8). This artist is linked to a collaborator of the Bedford Master who worked on the Bedford Master's Salisbury Breviary (9). He is the artist who "keeps the [Bedford] shop designs in use as late as 1465" (10). The French Master's distinctive figure style uses a tall, willowy figure with a small head and eyes that appear to bulge. The curve of the forehead is exposed where the hair is plucked to about an inch above the hairline. In a Visitation scene folio 62v, in a tiny Book of Hours in the British Library, Egerton MS 2045, dated about 1470 (11), the French Master uses a page design much like that of Ms. 2. He places his figures close to the picture plane and backs them up with a large triangular-shaped hill (as in Ms. 2's ff. 51, 69, 97, 115; figs. 20, 22, 27, 28). The gruff old man of the French Master's Visitation page, folio 62v (11), could be the feasting figure of Ms. 2's January Calendar page (fig. 1) or the old man of February who warms himself by the fire (fig. 2). There are many other similarities of face and costume of Egerton 2045 with those of Ms. 2: the faces of the young David and Goliath, folio 138v (fig. 54), those of the soldiers in the Flight/Massacre scene, folio 106 (fig. 57),

and those of the Crucifixion scene, folio 172v (fig. 58) (12).

The Enlarged Figure

Enlargement of the figure is consistent throughout the manuscript. The full-length figures of the major miniatures (figs. 13-16, 19-31), the two half-length Madonnas (figs. 17 and 18), and the three-quarter length figures of the Suffrages and Memorials (figs. 32-49) and border roundels (figs. 19, 27, 28, 29, 30) all use the close-up view which fills the page and leaves little room for background. This technique reflects the then-current trend in manuscript illumination which was taking place toward the end of the fifteenth century (13). At the time emphasis was placed on the human figure to "conform more with the spirit of the Renaissance" (14) that was taking place at the time in France. This change was felt especially in Rouen where Jean Bourdichon, a student and follower of Fouquet (15), was influential in establishing a new style which was to bring about a revival in the city making it once again a leading art center (16). A manuscript that illustrates this is Waddesdon, MS 21, c.1485-1500 (17), where figures are enlarged and many half- and three-quarter length figures are included. Full page miniatures appear showing half-length figures set within a gold frame such as the Jean Bourdichon miniature of the Virgin Mary Receiving the Annunciation, folio V (detached leaf), British Library Add. Ms. 35254,

h
v
v
a
e
m
t
t
2
h
M
h
M
s
o
a
f
Ar
Ac
m
ru

Hours of Henry VIII, c.1500 (18). These miniatures were treated as small scale paintings (19).

Figural Design

The figures in Ms. 2, except for the Calendar pages where they "stalk about" like those of the Bedford Hours (20), are characteristically motionless. Nothing ripples with these figures, nothing flows. In the major miniatures a figure may appear to hover or float, or one may raise or extend an arm, but only three figures indicate real body movement. These three are constructed of large-based triangles which fit into solid triangular background forms that make them extremely stable. Goliath, folio 97 (fig. 27), doesn't fall from the blow delivered by David, but hangs firmly suspended in mid-air. The soldier in the Massacre of the Innocents, folio 84 (fig. 25), is frozen in his stride as is the youngest Magus in the Adoration of the Magi, folio 74 (fig. 23). In the Adoration the figure supposedly walks into the picture, but with his feet obscured by the kneeling figure in front of him, he becomes a part of that stable arrangement. By contrast, the same figural arrangement in related manuscripts in the Walters Art Museum, W. 220, folio 89 (21), and the British Library Add. Ms. 35311, folio 199 (22), develops a feeling of movement by the step of a foot and the sweep of garments running across the foreground area (23).

There is movement in the scenes of Ms. 2, but the

movement is not created by the figures. It is the eye of the viewer which moves from clue to clue, triggering the action of the narrative. The sacred story is activated anew by these devices at each viewing. In the Adoration of the Magi, folio 74 (fig. 23), the forms of Mary, the Magi, and the Child fill the picture plane leaving no room for Joseph or the camels or retainers of the Magi. The space is filled with the four large figures which bend and nod and point toward each other. Each frozen figure, by a gesture or glance, moves the eye on to the next figure enabling us to read the narrative.

Few animals appear in the miniatures of Ms. 2 and none appear in the margins. Only those required by the narrative, as symbols for the person represented or as needed for the labors and zodiacal signs of the Calendar pages, are included. The obligatory beasts of the Evangelists are, like the human figures, drawn large and close to the picture plane. Here, too, the animal forms bear resemblance to those in the Bedford Hours. St. Mark's lion, folio 15 (fig. 16), partially hidden behind the saint, has the same humanoid face, broad smile, doughnut-shaped ear, and shoulder-length mane as the lion of the Bedford Hours' July Calendar page, folio 7 (1). He sits in the same position and holds his head at the same angle.

Backgrounds

In all miniatures except the Man of Sorrows, folio 172v (fig. 31), and the two half-length Madonnas, folios 16v and 20v (figs. 17, 18), there is either a painted interior or landscape background. These background paintings reveal the excellence in depicting landscape demonstrated by the Ms. 2 artist, Hand A. His landscapes not only decorate the miniature, they are believable scenes with vast distances which enhance the figures and give them a dramatic, larger-than-life feeling. The artist uses the perspective techniques demonstrated in the work of Jean Colombe in the Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, 1416-1485? (24), where distant forms are blurred by atmospheric haze (as seen in ff. 95 and 152v).

The ability of Hand A to paint realistic landscapes is demonstrated in the Visitation page, folio 51 (fig. 20). Blue skies, darker overhead, become lighter at the horizon and warm colors soften and gray into the near distance. Mountains and castle towers in the far distance are reduced in size and painted blue with details limited to a darker blue. Roofs and naturalistic trees are grouped and overlapped forming diagonals that converge at the horizon at approximately the correct angle. Closer, middle-ground buildings are painted gray, with crenelated walls, bulbous towers, arched windows and doors, and red gable roofs. Close up, the artist uses a soft mauve-colored path with small stones that appear to cast shadows while the figures

on the path sometimes do not. The path appears in all but two miniatures, folios 9 and 123 (figs. 13, 30), where the edge of John's island and the side of Job's dunghill substitute for it. This path may be an idea borrowed from the Boucicaut Master (before 1420) who "introduced a curved strip of earth or pasture...in the immediate foreground which sets the action back as if it were taking place on a raised platform" (25). It appears in the Visitation, folio 65v, and the Flight into Egypt, folio 90v, in the Hours of Marshal Jean de Boucicaut (26).

The characteristic soft, yellow-green grassy areas that extend into the distance allow Hand A to use blue-green trees, strong clothing colors, and dull gray architecture without losing the sunny environment of the scene. On nearly every horizon is a skillfully painted castle atop a blue mountain. Each castle has its shadowed towers, windows, and walls. Tree forms have trunks, individual limb systems, and leaf details overpainted in dabs of brown, green, and gold. Hand A painted realistic rocks and rock formations as seen in the Magi page, folio 74 (fig. 23), and the John page, folio 9 (fig. 13), and always buttressed his figures with a large, triangular hill or building arrangement. His blue skies sparkle with gold, and all the grassy areas are decorated with a stemmed-plant design in a grayish-green.

Hand B (the painter of the Calendar and Suffrages or Memorial scenes) uses a forest green for the grass and

costumes his figures in dark colors resulting in a heavy, cheerless aspect. The architecture, far less realistically represented than those of the major miniature pages by Hand A, are simple patterns of darker blue against the lighter blue of the sky. Landscapes seem heavy and monotonous with their round hills, circular trees, and dark colors. The sun doesn't shine there as it does in the major miniatures.

Interiors in both the major miniatures and the Calendar pages have gray stone walls and wooden ceilings, drab backgrounds that are relieved with a large, brightly-colored cloth wall-hanging embroidered with gold as in folios 11, 13, 15, 79 (figs. 14, 15, 16, 24). These screens of cloth act as the hills in the landscapes to buttress the figures and keep them close to the viewer while at the same time maintaining the surface of the page. These hangings may derive from the "cloth of honor" of the French kings (27). The only interior without a cloth hanging is that of the Massacre of the Innocents, folio 84 (fig. 25), where Herod, who is undoubtedly thought to be unworthy of such a symbol, presides over the events. In the Bedford Hours' miniature of The Duchess of Bedford with her patron, St. Anne, folio 257b (28), a shoulder-high cloth screen is hung across the major miniature and four of the five border vignettes in a manner similar to Ms. 2. Unlike the cloth partitions of the Boucicaut Master, folios 38v, 53v (29), which hang straight and act as a partition creating (implying) believable space beyond the screen, the Bedford Master's drapes (30) sag in

the center and appear to limit the spatial cavity in the foreground as well as the space beyond the screen. The drapes of Ms. 2, for the earthly rooms, hang straight against a back wall. In the half-length Madonna pages, folios 16v and 20v (figs. 17, 18), celestial space appears behind the drape and in the exterior scenes of the Nativity, folio 63 (fig. 21), and the Adoration of the Magi, folio 74 (fig. 23), the drape hangs on the front wall of the shed.

In the major miniature interiors of Ms. 2 by Hand A, the wall above the head of the figure is broken either with a round-headed window open to the sky or by a shelf or cupboard full of colorfully bound books. A writing desk (lectern), tall-backed chair (throne), altar, or bench furnishes the rooms. Believable space is created for these interior scenes by placing furniture and figures at an angle designed to lead the eye into the room and by inclining the floors to suggest spatial recession. The floors in all of the large miniatures and roundels are painted a soft yellow-green, somewhat on the turquoise side, with a gold line that traces delicate tile-like circles on the floor. These fanciful shapes are large in the near ground, smaller, and drawn more obliquely, toward the back of the room. Occasionally the design is varied by infilling the circles with a diagonally-drawn gold line. In the Calendar interiors by Hand B, the floor design is a much heavier, dark-green color with a monotonous circle traced thickly and evenly on the floor. This same floor design in a soft tan

color is found in the Playfair Hours a Rouen manuscript in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1480s?) (31). It is not consistent throughout the manuscript but this is not surprising since the Playfair Hours is the result of several different hands (32). The floor tile design is not a common design, and it was not taken from the Bedford Hours.

A limited number of colors, primarily red, blue, gold, gray, various greens, brown, soft pink, violet, and mauve, are used and repeated to balance and unify the compositions. Fine, gold-texture lines are applied on top of colors, a technique "in current use" toward the end of the fifteenth century (33). These lines brighten and add a rich glaze to the miniatures. Effective use is also made of soft, silky areas of white that enliven and accent scenes needing relief from the abundant use of color.

In summary, the human figure dominates the miniatures of Ms. 2 and the hands of two artists are clearly recognizable. Their artistic styles are seen to stem from masterworks of the early decades of the century perpetuated by the work of known mid-century artists who were followers of the Bedford style. The Bedford influence is also evident in the roundels, and in certain interior devices. Late-century influences are seen in the naturalism of the landscape, the painting style, the enlargement of the figure, the half-length portrait, and various interior designs.

Ornament

The style of the borders appears consistent for all the miniatures with the only variation being the degree of lavishness which appears to correspond with the importance of the miniature. Those with the least ornamentation use a basic design of gold hairspray lines with gold ivy leaves, gold buds, and various flowers, fruits and berries of pink, red, blue, violet, and mauve, and leaves of several shades of green. On the text pages, as well as the Suffrages or Memorials, the borders are three-quarters (top, bottom, and outer edge), quite sparse, and without acanthus leaves.

In the Calendar, blue and gold acanthus leaves appear in the corners and sometimes between the smaller miniatures. The Calendar borders are full (four borders) but not as richly decorated as the large miniature pages. The decoration on the major miniatures pages is full, much more dense, and especially lavish on the five medallion miniatures where grapes, strawberries, cherries, various flowers and leaf designs augment the major motif of the blue and gold acanthus leaf. On the major miniature pages these decorations appear to have been added in layers rather than in a continuous or repetitive design around the border.

The everpresent acanthus operate here much as they do in the Bedford Hours: holding down corners and decorating the ends of the script frames. They insert themselves from the corners of the page and emerge from around the edges of the medallions and from the ends of the baguettes.

Som

Bed

med

Vin

gol

97;

sma

be

as

out.

of t

are

Othe

the

16,

63 (

mand

This

manus

W. 22

of W.

in a

of us;

latera

stemme

Like M

Sometimes they sprout spontaneously from nowhere. As in the Bedford Hours, as noted by Eleanor Spencer (34), the medallions of Ms.2 are formed by interlacing acanthus stems. Vines and acanthus grow from small plots of grass and from golden pots of irregular shapes (ff. 11, 15, 25, 63, 69, 91, 97; figs.14, 16, 19, 21, 22, 26, 27). On occasion, other small geometric ornaments appear in the borders. These may be circlets of overlapping lines in a rounded wave design, as in folios 16v, 115 (figs. 17, 28), or one made of four outward loops. Sometimes these are set on a circular field of burnished gold (f. 123; fig. 30).

Occasionally foliage will overlap and form spaces which are filled with stemmed flowers (ff. 11, 119; fig. 14, 29). Other stems with flowers, grapes, nuts, and pods grow out of the center of branched acanthus leaves (ff. 15, 20v; fig. 16, 18). On certain miniatures such as the Nativity, folio 63 (fig. 21), stems of the acanthus overlap forming a mandorla-shaped area which is infilled with pen designs. This style of border decoration is like that of another manuscript by the Arsenal 575 Master, Walters Art Museum W. 220 (35) (ff. 148, 113, and 94). The border decorations of W. 220, like those of Ms. 2, appear in layers rather than in a continuous design. The artist of W. 220 was also fond of using small golden pots in the lower center margin and lateral margins to support an arrangement of several long stemmed flowers as in folio 148, St. John the Baptist (36). Like Ms. 2, the Walters' manuscript has connections with the

Bedford Hours. According to Farquhar, L. M. J. Delaisse commented upon the "relationship of the borders [of Walters 220] to the tradition of the Master of the Duke of Bedford" (37).

The initials of the Ms. 2 are consistent in their execution. Appearing on all the major miniature pages, the large initials are decorated with variations on a three-lobed leaf in blue and red touched with white on a burnished gold field. Curving tendrils, some plain and others with a diamond network, support infill of leaves. Voids in the letter design and in the width of the letter itself are decorated with blue and white geometric designs called dentelle. The initials in two of the five roundel or medallion pages, the Annunciation, folio 25 (fig. 19), and the David page, folio 97 (fig. 27), differ in that the center of the letter of the Annunciation page is filled with a pot holding long-stemmed flowers and that of the David page shows flowers growing from a small plot of green turf. The red and blue leaf design is used in all but four baguettes on the major miniature pages. The Nativity, folio 63 (fig. 21), the Virgin in Prayer, folio 20v (fig. 18), and the Presentation, folio 79 (fig. 24), use blue and white flowers. The last two combine the flower design used on two sides with the leaf design on the third. The Man of Sorrows, folio 172v (fig. 31), uses a strawberry motif. The medallion miniatures do not use the baguette.

The design and motifs of the baguettes of Ms. 2's St.

John, folio 9 (fig. 13), relate to those of Arsenal 575 (38). The burnished gold of the baguettes and the fields of the major initials institute "a fundamental category of color" as the ornament of the Boucicaut Hours is described by Millard Meiss (39). The gold of these areas, together with the textured high lights of the miniatures and the gold in the border decorations, creates an immediacy and a fullness which brings the colors to life in relationships too subtle to be seen in a color reproduction.

Hand B, the artist of folio 172v (fig. 31), Man of Sorrows, painted a frame of unfaceted jewels around the top and sides of the miniature, a motif unique in the manuscript. This miniature is the only one that does not have a serrated edge around the top of the arched frame.

Summary

Stylistically the borders and ornament of Ms. 2 follow the designs attributed to the Bedford Master. The ornament of the manuscript as well as the figure and miniature designs relate to mid-century workshops known to have been associated with the Bedford Master. Enlarged figures, naturalistic backgrounds, and gold texturing indicate a late-century manuscript dating that is perhaps too late and contains too many other influences for the manuscript to be included in what H. P. Kraus (cited in the Introduction to this paper) calls the "school of the Master of Hours of the Duke of Bedford." John Plummer's attribution of the

manuscript (also cited in the Introduction) to "the artist who painted a Book of Hours offered by Olschki in 1910, item 40," does not seem likely in that, although "Olschki, item 40" may reflect the Bedford influence and it may have been patterned after a manuscript such as Ms. 2, it appears to be too much of a degenerate nature to have served as its model.

Certainly the Bedford influence and that of other artists of the Limbourg circle is present, but of equal interest is the other end of the time line and the significance of Ms. 2 as a late-century Northern Renaissance manuscript. The activities of related artists and stylistic similarities suggest a possible Rouen connection. Consistency and quality are evident in the manuscript's production.

III

ICONOGRAPHY

It is the purpose of this chapter to provide a description of the iconographic components of the miniature pages of Ms. 2, to identify the images, and to compare the iconological similarities between it and other related manuscripts of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in order to investigate the influences that affect its composition.

Calendar Pages (ff. 2-7v)

Unless it has been lost due to damage or theft, a Book of Hours will begin with a Calendar section. The Calendar typically contains two leaves for each month, the first for the illustration of the seasonal occupation or labor of the month, the second for the corresponding sign of the zodiac. By the fifteenth century a standardized sequence of Occupations for Books of Hours had evolved:

JANUARY	Feasting
FEBRUARY	Sitting by the fire
MARCH	Pruning
APRIL	Garden scene
MAY	Hawking or boating

JUNE	The hay harvest
JULY	Reaping the corn
AUGUST	Threshing
SEPTEMBER	Treading the grape
OCTOBER	Ploughing and Sowing
NOVEMBER	Gathering acorns for pigs
DECEMBER	Killing the pig or baking bread (1)

Within these established subjects artists were apparently free to choose how they would depict a particular labor or zodiacal sign (2).

The Calendar of Ms. 2 follows the standardized sequence with each labor and sign of the zodiac appearing on the same page rather than on a separate one. The miniatures appear on the outer margin with the labor above the zodiacal sign.

All the calendar pictures are seen through an architectural opening, a door or large window with columns made of gilded wood decorated with geometric designs. Above the columns is a flattened arch with floral designs and a vine and leaf motif carved into its corners. At the top of each of the calendar scenes golden lines stream down from a large, blue half-circle inside an outer, blue half-circle. Golden dots sprinkle confetti-like from above indicating the presence of God in heaven rather than the representation of sunshine. Within this basic format they have numerous iconographic variants discussed below.

Descriptions of the Calendar Pages

January: Man feasting; Aquarius

(The Water-carrier), folio 2 (fig. 1)

A young manservant brings food to the lord of the castle who is seated before a wall-size fireplace in a low-ceilinged room. He faces into the room, his back to the fire. A table with a white cloth is set at an angle in front of him. The walls are gray stone, the floor is covered with green tile, and a window looks out to a blue sky. In the zodiacal scene below, Aquarius, the water-bearer, stands in a stream. A sturdy figure in a loin cloth, he holds a container in each hand. The landscape is laid out in a series of triangles: the near bank of the stream, the stream itself, the hill in the middle ground, the mountain in the far ground, and the sky in the distance. The figure with its outstretched arms forms a counterbalancing triangle overlapping the background forms. Landscape colors are limited to a single green varied with gold overlays or deep brown texture lines, a soft brown, and blue with black or white added. Gold texturing is used to brighten the grass in the foreground; distant hills are painted with a blue wash and topped with a castle or a tree.

February: Man warming himself by the fire; Pisces

(The Fishes), folio 2v (fig. 2)

A gruff, old man sits on a chest near a roaring fire protecting his face from the heat with a hand-held fire screen. At the bottom of the page is the zodiacal sign of

the month, Pisces, the fishes. They appear, not in a winter landscape of February, but in one of summer with green grass and rippling blue water. The fish color matches the water and their faces are amusingly human.

March: Man pruning vines; Aries

(The Ram), folio 3 (fig. 3)

A necessary labor of the season is the pruning of grape vines to control their growth and produce larger fruit. The canes are cut in late winter before the sap starts to run to minimize bleeding. A large male figure working with a curved cutting tool stands knee-high in a brown field of vines. The hill in the distance has the green grass and fully-leaved trees of summer. The workman wears a red head-covering and breeches and a short blue tunic and white hose. Gold cross-hatchings decorate his garments and the grape vines. The ram at the bottom of the page walks along a brown path, and, like the figure above him, appears round and full-bodied.

April: Couple in a garden; Taurus

(The Bull), folio 3v (fig. 4)

Lovers holding hands in a trellised rose garden illustrate the arrival of spring. The elegance of their garments, his pleated tunic and her gown tucked up under her arm to reveal the contrasting undergarment, indicate their high station in life. The brown path on which they stand is repeated in the zodiacal scene below where an agitated bull lashes his tail and lifts his head to confront the

landscape.

May: Young man on horseback; Gemini

(The Twins), folio 4 (fig. 5)

A young man riding a prancing white horse is accompanied by a page boy who walks the path beside him. The rider wears a red cap and hip-length tunic, long blue hose, and boots with spurs. His horse is decked out in a harness of red and gold. The horse is too large for the picture and its head, legs, and rump are cut off by the frame. Nude male and female figures, the sign of the Twins, hide the lower half of their bodies behind a gold-embroidered, blue drape that is set out in a green field. As in the other scenes, the sky is blue and distant objects on hillsides are painted in dark blue over light blue.

June: Man cutting hay; Cancer

(The Crab), folio 4v (fig. 6)

A peasant, dressed for the heat of summer in a straw hat and white shirt and hose, swings a scythe in a field of hay that nearly engulfs him. Painted a solid green and textured with gold, the hay fills the foreground and rises up in two haystacks, one on either side. The lower landscape is planned in ovals as a background for a giant red crab. A bald hill with a leafless tree gives a feeling of distance to the scene.

July: Man harvesting grain; Leo

(The Lion), folio 5 (fig. 7)

With his sickle lying on the ground, a peasant grasps the golden grain to be bound into a sheaf. He wears a broad-brimmed hat, white shirt and leg covering for his mid-summer labor. In the scene below a seated lion dominates a landscape of green grass, hills, and blue sky.

August: Man flailing grain; Virgo

(The Virgin), folio 5v (fig. 8)

The peasant flailing grain steps into the picture from behind the left side of the frame. The sheaves are stacked up along the back wall under a window. The dark brown grain and gray wall are brightened by the man's red and blue costume. In the zodiac below, an unidentified virgin saint stands in a room with a green-tiled floor, a large blue drape with gold decorations, and two round-headed windows high up on the wall. Her figure sways slightly. She wears a red gown with a corner of the skirt held under her arm to reveal the soft, gray-violet garment beneath. She holds the palm of the martyr and an open book.

September: Man treading grapes; Libra

(The Scales), folio 6 (fig. 9)

A single human figure and a minimum of large objects fill the scene. A peasant, naked from the hips down, treads the grapes in a large vat. Behind him are several more barrels. The back wall of the room is very dark except for a window which is open to the blue sky. For the zodiacal

scene below, the artist portrays the same female figure and interior as seen in the August calendar page. The artist adds a set of balance scales.

October: Man sowing; Scorpio

(The Scorpion), folio 6v (fig. 10)

A peasant stands in the furrows of a ploughed field and casts seed from a bib-like cloth tied behind his neck. Holding it out in front of him, he moves across the field. An open-mouthed bag of seed rests on the ground. His hand touches the frame on one side of the miniature while the bag of seed is partially hidden behind the frame on the other. On the left, behind the field, is a green hill with a brown top and a large tree; on the right is a blue hill and small buildings from which columns of smoke rise. In a similar landscape below, a large creature representing Scorpio lies stretched out on the grass. The hybrid has a body of a fish, eight legs, a long, curving tail, and a dog-like head with a sharp nose and short ears. The artist has painted it brown with gold highlights. Black lines circle its body from the back of its neck to the base of its tail.

November: Man harvesting acorns; Sagittarius

(The Archer), folio 7 (fig. 11)

A gray-bearded old swineherd swings a stick back over his shoulder to strike the oak trees hard enough to shake down acorns for his animals. He and his three pigs stand at the forest's edge on a path strewn with acorns. Behind him is a hill and a starry blue sky. Gold textures decorate his

clothing and stick, the pigs, and the trees. In the zodiac below, Sagittarius, the archer, has the torso of a man and the four legs and body of an animal. The lower body is not exactly a centaur, half man and half horse, nor a satyr with the hind quarters of a goat. It appears more like that of a large brown dog. A stream flows in front of a landscape typical of those found in this manuscript. The archer leaps forward, turning to shoot an arrow back over its shoulder.

December: Man butchering a pig; Capricorn

(The Goat), folio 7v (fig. 12)

A young man wearing a white apron over his clothing dresses out a large white pig which hangs on a wall in front of him. The zodiacal sign of Capricorn, the goat, rests on the edge of a stream in the landscape below. Its head and front quarters are not the domestic variety goat, but rather those of the mountain Ibex with its great, scimitar-shaped horns transversely ridged in front. The rest of the brown-ringed body ends in a curving tail something like that of a scorpion.

Iconography of the Calendar Miniatures

It can be shown that the iconography of the labors and the zodiac of Ms. 2 is very close to that of the Bedford Hours (3) and the Belles Heures of the Duke de Berry (4). The first similarity is in the February pages where all three miniatures, the Bedford Hours, folio 2 (3), the Belles Heures, folio 3 (4), and Ms. 2, folio 2v (fig. 2), take

place in a narrow castle room in which a man is seated in front of a blazing fire in a wall-sized fireplace. In each of the three scenes the man wears a long robe and a hat with a cowl to warm the back of his neck. He sits on a bench set into the room at an angle. There are windows, one or more, behind and above his head. The three zodiacal miniatures show two large fish facing in opposite directions.

With the harsh winter over, the March page of Ms. 2, folio 3 (fig. 3), finds the peasant pruning the vines. The scene relates to the March laborer of the Bedford Hours, folio 3 (3). Both figures wear a blue tunic, red breeches and red hat, and assume a pose with legs apart, hands outstretched, and body slightly bent at the waist. Spring has really arrived in May when, in all three manuscripts, a male rider rides out on a spirited horse and the Twins of the zodiac embrace and hide the lower parts of their bodies, behind a golden shield in the Bedford Hours, folio 5 (3) and the Belles Heures, folio 6 (4), and behind a blue drape in Ms. 2, folio 4 (fig. 5).

June and July find the peasant harvesting the hay and the grain. In all three June miniatures, the lone laborer faces the viewer as he swings a scythe to the right side of his body. The zodiacal sign is a large crab, red in Ms. 2, folio 4v (fig. 6), and the Bedford Hours, folio 6 (3), and brown in the Belles Heures, folio 7 (4). In July the laborer of the Bedford Hours, folio 7 (3), and Ms. 2, folio 5 (fig. 7), bends to the right as he cuts the grain.

The lion of the zodiac on these pages is seated, his cape-like mane falls over his shoulders.

All three laborers in August, Bedford Hours, folio 8 (3), Belles Heures, folio 9 (4), and Ms. 2, folio 5v (fig. 8), lift their flails over their heads while bracing themselves, legs spread apart.

In September the miniatures show a man standing knee-deep in a large vat of grapes. The figures of the Bedford Hours, folio 9 (3), and Ms. 2, folio 6 (fig. 9), grip the sides of the vat, lifting their feet to work the grapes. The Belles Heures worker of folio 10 (4) treads the grapes while helping a fellow worker empty a basket of fruit into the vat.

An examination of the October page of the three manuscripts reveals startling similarities. In each manuscript the male figure representing Sowing assumes the same pose, wears the same garments and hat, and stands in the same furrow-lined field casting seed from a cloth tied up behind his neck and held out in front as he walks. A large bag of seed, round and open-mouthed, rests on the ground of the Belles Heures, folio 11 (4), and Ms. 2, folio 6v (fig. 10), and a harrow appears in the Bedford folio 10 (3) and Belles Heures.

In November the swineherds in the Bedford Hours, folio 11 (3), and Ms. 2, folio 7 (fig. 11), step away from the trees before knocking down the acorns with their sticks. The pigs in the background hold identical poses, one holds

its head down, the other looks up. The pose of Sagittarius is similar in all three manuscripts, but the clothing is not: in the Belles Heures, folio 12 (4), and Ms. 2 the upper body is unclothed; in the Bedford Hours he wears a dashing red costume and hat.

The December laborers engage in different aspects of butchering the pig: the Bedford Hours, folio 12 (3), and Belles Heures, folio 13 (4), workers are engaged in the act of killing the animal while the Ms. 2 folio 7v (fig. 12) figure dresses the carcass. Capricornus in the Bedford Hours and Ms. 2 lounges on a green hillside while the Belles Heures animal sits upright.

Throughout the Calendar pages of the Bedford Hours the skies sparkle with a variety of cloud, star, and rincaux designs. On the April page, folio 4 (3), rays stream down from a golden burst at the top of the miniature. This theme of heavenly light is repeated in the Ms. 2 Calendar on every page but November, folio 7 (fig. 11). Sometimes the streamers are underscored with arcs of blue at the miniature top. The golden streamers represent a presence in the heavens from which not only light but grace is bestowed upon the earth.

The iconography of the January page reflects a variation in the manuscripts that is attributable to the change of fashion from the early decades of the Bedford and Belles Heures to the late century realism of Ms. 2. The symbolic feasting man of January in the Belles Heures, folio

2 (4), appears as two figures, one old, one young, seated back to back, each drinking from a cup. He becomes mythical in the Bedford Hours, folio 1 (3), where he has one body with three faces. One face eats, one drinks, the third faces the viewer. January's feasting man in Ms. 2, folio 2 (fig. 1), abandons the idea of Janus, the two-faced Roman deity of portals, and becomes a believable figure of a gray-bearded older man, cup in hand, waiting for his servant to put food on the table.

Another slight difference in iconography appears in the month of April where the Bedford Hours, folio 4 (3), and the Belles Heures, folio 5 (4), represent the activity of springtime as a young man carrying a tree branch while Ms. 2, folio 3v (fig. 4), has a courting scene with lovers in a rose garden. Once again, the artist of Ms. 2 chooses reality over symbolism, a consistent choice for an artist such as himself, who followed the stylistic trend of the time.

Backgrounds in the miniatures of the manuscripts also reflect the style of the age in their dissimilarities: diapered in the Belles Heures, blue with gold rincaux in the Bedford Hours, and a naturalistic landscape in the Michigan State University Library manuscript. The Belles Heures uses no realistic sky and only a flat greensward on which to position its figures. The Bedford Hours introduces naturalistic land forms and architectural themes but continues with rincaux and stylistic sky patterns of clouds

and stars. Ms. 2 backgrounds are three-dimensional landscapes with distant scenes affected by aerial perspective.

The iconography of the Calendar pages of Ms. 2 can be recognized in the Calendar pages of the Belles Heures and the Bedford Hours, two of the great manuscripts of the early decades of the fifteenth century. Although the artists of Ms. 2 interpreted the ideas of the Bedford Master and the Limbourgs in the light of the late years of the century, the influence of these artists on the Michigan State University manuscript is evident. Both the Belles Heures and the Bedford Hours compare well in iconography with Ms. 2, with the greater correlation between Ms. 2 and the Bedford Hours.

Gospel Sequences (ff. 9-16)

The Gospel Sequences, represented by portraits of the Four Evangelists, begin with St. John the Evangelist, folio 9 (fig. 13), followed by St. Luke, folio 11 (fig. 14), St. Matthew, folio 13 (fig. 15), and St. Mark, folio 15 (fig. 16).

In Books of Hours the Evangelists appear in the order of their content and are usually accompanied by their attribute: Matthew, a man; Mark, a lion; Luke, an ox; and John, an eagle (Ezekiel 1:5 etc.; Revelations 4:6-10). John, whose opening passages proclaims the godhead of Christ: "In the beginning was the Word" (John 1:1), often appears on the Isle of Patmos receiving his apocalyptic

vision or in his study occupied with his writing. Luke's Gospel continues the Christmas story with the Annunciation (Luke 1:28-31), and Matthew's Gospel with the story of the Magi (Matthew 2:1-12). Mark's Gospel deals with the time of Christ after the Resurrection (Mark 16:1-20).

Descriptions of the Gospel Sequences

St. John the Evangelist, folio 9 (fig. 13)

A large, triangular-shaped figure of the seated St. John on the Island of Patmos dominates the first large miniature in the manuscript. John is shown as a young man with long, golden-blond hair, seated with pen in hand and a book lying open across his knees. Leaning slightly backward and looking up, he is confronted by two images: from the left, a large, golden eagle raises its head and shoulders above a row of dwarfed trees and looks apologetically into the face of the saint. Above, a half-length figure of God the Father looks down from a red, star-studded arc with blue-ruffled edges. Both faces are shown three-quarter view with heavily-lidded eyes, large noses, and mouths indicated by two short lines. The figures have solid gold haloes. One wears a tunic of blue under a gold robe, the other a white tunic under a red cloak. God has a white-beard and holds a cross-topped, golden orb in his left hand and blesses with his right.

The composition is geometrical with parallel and opposing triangles receding into the background. One side

forms a rocky wall behind the saint, the other, a blue-green grassy slope behind the eagle. The space between the two is filled with a castle in the near background and another on a high mountain in the far distance. Blue sky is overlaid with dots of gold, and the trees, rocks, and clothing of the figures are etched with fine gold lines giving texture and modeling to the forms. The island rises sharply above the water, its vertical edges cracked with 'Y'-shaped marks to indicate height, and it, along with other landscape features, appears disproportionately smaller than the figures. Rock details are outlined on the hills behind the figure of John.

The miniature is round-headed and framed by a narrow gold band outlined on both sides with a black line; a serrated edge trims around the top. From the shoulder of the arch downward is a baguette over which is painted a stylized design of red and blue leaves and tendrils. It runs below the script and connects with the slightly indented initial decorated in the same manner. The miniature border is completely filled with decoration consisting primarily of gold tendrils and ivy leaf designs, red and blue acanthus leaves, and irregular assortments of flowers, leaves, nuts, pods and a four-lobed design in gold with serrated edges. Gold is used primarily, together with deep blue, red, a soft blue-green, and pink. The tendrils curve and loop forming heart and inverted-heart designs; there are no defined diagonal shapes or tendencies. The

initial, very aptly executed, is five lines high and decorated with stylized leaf forms of red, blue, and white, set in three panels, two with gold backgrounds and one with blue.

St. Luke, folio 11 (fig. 14)

Luke and his ox occupy a handsome room with a green-tiled floor. Behind the figures, hanging on a golden rod, is a blue drape decorated in gold with a pattern consisting of an 'X' with a circle set in each quadrant. In the arch of the miniature just above the rod is a bookshelf flanked by two square doors that open inward. Across the very top of the arch is a nail-studded ceiling. In front of the drape on the left is a large, triangular bookstand with its base hidden beyond the miniature's frame. The seated saint and an ox with half-shut eyes and curving horns fill the center of the miniature close to the picture plane. Shown in an almost frontal position, Luke wears a bifurcated brown beard, a grey head covering, and a bright red tunic. A scroll is draped across his knees and he sharpens his pen while his ox rests at his side.

The border is similiar to that of the John page with the additional introduction of a thistle-like flower in the outer border and a small, gold-colored pot on a green patch of ground in the bottom left corner. The four-line initial is skillfully designed with two circles and a vertical containing the stylized leaf and tendril forms and colors of the John initial.

St. Matthew, folio 13 (fig. 15)

The figures of Matthew and his attending angel dominate the interior of a richly-draped castle room. Seated in a canopied chair, Matthew compares the writing in the book held by the angel standing in front of him with that of the scroll draped over his knees. Large, geometric areas of bright color decorated with gold unify and ornament the background space. A red cloth embroidered with gold hangs on the wall beneath two round-headed windows. The color is repeated in the chair canopy and in Matthew's hat. The saint's extended arm links his figure with that of the sleepy-eyed angel and the green of his tunic reflects the color of the floor. Blue is repeated in the angel's wings, the chair, and the cloak; white in the angel's tunic, the book, the scroll, and in Matthew's beard. Although the walls and ceilings of the room are somber, the room is brightened by light blue sky from the windows and the brightly colored green floor tile.

The frame of the Matthew miniature encloses the sides and bottom of the script without an indentation at the capital. Its leaf design overlaps the gold frame giving a fretted, decorative effect. The initial is only two lines high, of red and blue leaf and tendril, and the border design now includes strawberries and a little patch of green earth for the growing of acanthus on the outer margin.

St. Mark, folio 15 (fig. 16)

Mark, looking a great deal like John with his long blond hair and youthful face, is seated in an elegant room similiar to that of Luke. A large cone-topped bookstand on a round pedestal base rises higher than the head and upraised arm of the saint as he lifts his hand to the light to examine the tip of his pen. His beast, a great smiling lion, rests at his side. A third of the miniature space is designated as floor area and is covered with green tile. Above this the wall is hidden by a drape of blue with a gold, four-leaved floral design. In the arcuated portion of the miniature the gray wall holds a book-filled cupboard, its doors open to the room. Mark wears a tunic of blue under a red robe fastened at the neck. A solid gold halo encircles his head.

The frame of the miniature and the borders of the page are similiar to the Matthew page with the addition of a golden pot with two spouts or handles. In it grow five red-tipped white flowers. The initial is four lines high and has three vertical areas. The outer ones are filled with three circles which contain red and blue stylized leaf and flower designs.

Iconography of the Gospel Sequences

Ms. 2's representation of John on Patmos has similarities with other fifteenth-century manuscripts. One example is the St. John the Evangelist miniature of the

Bedford Hours, folio 19 (5). In both miniatures figures are seated in the center of the page on a narrow section of land that rises sharply out of the surrounding water. Behind each figure is a triangular-shaped hill separating it from a walled city in the distance. In Ms. 2 the clutter of shapes and figures behind the feverishly occupied saint of the Bedford Hours is organized into a serene, three-dimensional landscape where John pauses to look up at God the Father overhead.

The iconography and composition of the St. John scene of Ms. 2 has parallels in that of British Library Egerton 2019, folio 13, (fig. 50), (6), a mid-fifteenth century manuscript with the same figural arrangement and three-dimensional landscape. The border uses the same ornament including the vases at the foot of the frame.

A St. John miniature, strikingly similar to Ms. 2, appears in a late fifteenth-century British Library manuscript Add. MS. 11865, folio 7 (fig. 51) (7), where the position of the saint's body and his facial appearance are recognizable. There are also similarities in the manuscript's style of buildings and architectural details with those of Ms. 2's Visitation, folio 51 (fig. 20). The artists of both manuscripts show a heavy reliance on black outlining and use the same organizational techniques of enlarging figures and simplifying backgrounds although Add. MS. 11865 is far more detailed. The work of the artist of Add. MS. 11865 displays characteristics of Fouquet and his

followers, especially the Master of the Tilliot Hours in his "strong sense of the dramatic" (8), a noticeable trait of Ms. 2.

There are design similarities between the Ms. 2 St. Luke, folio 11 (fig. 14), and the beautifully detailed miniature of Luke, folio 15v, in the Hours of Juana Enríquez (9) by the Arsenal 575 Master. Both figures, with their doll-like bodies and enlarged heads, sit to one side of their miniature with hands held together examining their writing tools. Each is being observed by his attribute, a very similar ox. The Ms. 2 artist eliminated details of the Enríquez miniature: the ornate throne, the writing desk, and the portrait of God the Father in an oriel above a mantle. To the general design and placement of the figure, the Ms. 2 artist added the furnishings standardized in the manuscript's other interiors; a brightly-colored drape decorated with gold, a bookshelf above the saint's head, an abbreviated lectern to one side, and a floor of green tile drawn with circles of gold. The ox is greatly enlarged and moved to the front of the miniature filling the space opposite Luke.

Ms. 2's St. Matthew, folio 13 (fig. 15), and St. Mark, folio 15 (fig. 16), are similar to the figures and the page design of another manuscript by the Arsenal 575 Master, the manuscript for which he is named (10). The Matthew page of Arsenal 575, folio 17 (11), relates to Ms. 2's figure pose, drape, golden rod, and roundheaded windows while the Mark miniature, folio 19v (12), has a similar bookshelf and tall

bookstand.

Another interesting connection exists between Ms. 2, the Bedford Hours, and a Rouen Horae, the Playfair Hours (13). The Bedford St. John miniature, folio 19 (5), has five subsidiary miniatures in the borders with one of them showing John's martyrdom in a vat of boiling oil. The large miniature is divided in half with the lower scene on the island and the upper one in his study. In late fifteenth-century Rouen manuscripts the Evangelists appear on a single page divided in four with each saint occupying one space. An example of this type of miniature is the Evangelist page, folio 13, of the Playfair Hours, a Rouen manuscript of 1480 (14). The miniature of John bears a strong resemblance to that of Ms. 2 in the general position of the figure, the tunic with its vertical folds textured in golden bands, and, especially, in the form of the eagle which confronts the saint. The miniature also resembles the Bedford miniature in its border which has two subsidiary miniatures, one depicting the same martyrdom scene complete with John in a similar pose standing in the vat of boiling oil.

Prayers to the Virgin (ff. 16v-24v)

At this point in Books of Hours we find the two most commonly used prayers to the Virgin, Obsecro te and O intemerata. These are usually introduced by a picture of the Virgin and Child or by a Pieta. It is common practice

for the second prayer to be unillustrated (15). Ms. 2 uses two illustrations for the prayers with the Virgin and Child for the first miniature and the Virgin at Prayer for the second.

Descriptions of the Prayers to the Virgin

Virgin and Child, folio 16v (fig. 17)

This, the first of two half-length Madonnas, shows the Virgin, holding the unclothed Child, seated before a cloth of honor. Above her is a large, red circle flanked on either side by two pink-robed angels, their tunics bloused at the waist, their arms folded, and their hands hidden in the sleeves of their garments. Mary wears a gold crown and her blonde hair falls long over her shoulders. The Child is also blond and has a solid gold halo. Behind the Virgin's head and above the red cloth, the aureole shades upward from red to a golden-orange and is topped by a blue ruffle. The blue is reflected in the angel's wings and in the cloak that covers the Virgin's shoulders and is tucked up at her waist under the Child. All the faces have prominent noses and heavily-lidded eyes. The skin is china white with a touch of color at the lips and little or no modeling except around the eyes. The features are outlined in black. The head of the Virgin is disproportionately large while the body under the huge cloak appears small and stiff. The viewer's attention is drawn to her face and to the body of the child that is encircled, but not covered, by the Virgin's arms and

cloak.

The miniature frame and page border are similar to previous pages. There are in addition a great many gold leaves and one circlet of overlapping wavy lines in the outer middle margin. The initial is four lines high and set in a golden square. In the corners of the square are four red circles. The initial is filled with red and blue leaf and tendril designs.

Virgin at Prayer, folio 20v (fig. 18)

This, the second half-length, close-up view of the Madonna, portrays her as a vulnerable, sorrowing figure bending slightly, arms crossed in front of her body, hands open, fingers pointing outward. Her book rests on a ledge in front of her, and, on a cloth-covered shelf behind her kneel two angels with dark blue wings. Their arms are folded and their hands are covered by their pink gowns. Behind them, at the same level as Mary's head, a red drape hangs curving slightly higher at the edges. Mary's halo extends outward becoming a magnificent red aureole trimmed in gold and blue and extending to the very edge of the miniature. This mass of gold and red thrusts her image even closer to the viewer. A gold ruffle representing heaven is overpainted on the surrounding blue, and stars of crossed-gold lines form rows that radiate outward above her head.

The red drape and lighter-colored shelf is trimmed with a rose design of petals around a circle. Mary's gold gown

is decorated in the same fashion. She wears a white wimple under a blue veil which covers her head and hangs down her shoulders and back. These same garments are worn by Elizabeth in the Visitation miniature, folio 51 (fig. 20), and indicate that the Virgin is older here than she was in the miniature of the Virgin and Child, folio 16v (fig. 17). Here her shoulders are narrowed and she appears smaller and seems to be weighed down by her garments.

The painting of the face is damaged and has been partially restored. The nose, detailed in black like the rest of the features, is much too large and somewhat distorted, and her other features are not as finely drawn. The paint appears to be very heavy, perhaps the result of corrections.

White and blue thistle-like flowers are painted in the outer and lower border around the miniature and grapes appear in the border. The initial is four lines high and of a similar design as the previous one.

Iconography of the Prayers to the Virgin

Prayers to the Virgin, Obsecro te (I implore thee), and O intemerata (O matchless one), illustrated by two half-length Madonnas, precede the Hours of the Virgin and focus the reader's attention on Mary, the center of devotions.

The half-length Madonna as a representation of the Virgin has been studied before (16). The form is called a

dramatic close-up or half-length narrative and was not common in Northern Europe until the last half of the fifteenth-century (17). Erwin Panofsky tells us that the half-length Madonna was "an innovation of the Byzantine Middle Ages which invaded Western panel painting through the intermediary of the Italian Dugento and Trecento. In the north the type occurs throughout the fourteenth century but seems to have lost its popularity in the first half of the fifteenth...and it was chiefly through Roger's [van der Weyden] personal influence that from the seventh decade of the fifteenth century, half-length Madonnas became as frequent in the Lowlands as they had always been in Italy" (18). According to a discussion by Stephen Ringbom it wasn't until the 1480's that the half-length composition appeared in the Ghent-Bruges school of illumination and it was during the later years of the eighties before it became the "vogue" in book painting (19). Witness a contemporary example in a manuscript in the James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor, MS 21, (1485-1500) folio 19v (20), where a similar half-length Madonna illustrates the Virgin and Child in Glory.

Hours of the Virgin (ff. 25-96v)

Following the Prayers of the Virgin are the Hours of the Virgin, a series of short services to be recited at different times of the day and night. This section of the book is the heart of Books of Hours and it is from these

services that the codices acquire their name. The eight services (Hours) which make up the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary share the same names (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline) as the fuller services of the Divine Office which is contained in the Breviary and is said daily by the clergy. The Little Office contains psalms, scriptural readings, and non-scriptural material such as hymns. Texts of the Little Office for Books of Hours vary according to practices in different localities. These variations indicate the "use" for which the manuscript was made (such as that of Paris, Rome, or Sarum) and aid in the identification of the manuscript (21).

The miniatures that illustrate the Hours of the Virgin in Ms. 2 follow the traditional cycle of miniatures found in French Books of Hours: The Annunciation, The Visitation, The Nativity, The Annunciation to the Shepherds, The Adoration of the Magi, The Presentation in the Temple, The Flight into Egypt and/or the Massacre of the Innocents, and The Coronation of the Virgin (22). There is another cycle of miniatures that is found in some English and Dutch Books of Hours which derives from Psalter illustrations. This consists of a Passion sequence. Some Books of Hours include both cycles together. The Passion sequence is usually: Matins, The Betrayal of Judas; Lauds, Christ before Pilate; Prime, The Scourging; Tierce, Christ carrying the Cross; Sext, The Crucifixion; None, The Deposition; Vespers, The

Entombment; Compline, The Resurrection (23).

Mary appears in all but two of Ms. 2's Hours of the Virgin: The Annunciation to the Shepherds, folio 69 (fig. 24), and The Massacre of the Innocents, folio 84 (fig. 25).

Descriptions of the Hours of the Virgin

The Annunciation, folio 25 (fig. 19) (Matins)

This is the first of five miniatures which have roundels in the borders and which have other changes in their border design.

Mary kneels behind a prie-dieu on the left while the angel Gabriel enters on the right. Above her is a cloth of honor and canopy. Above him, the white-haired, white-bearded figure of God the Father, orb in hand, appears at a window before a blue sky. Between the two major figures is a vase containing white lilies, and above the vase floats the white Dove of the Holy Spirit.

This interior, as with all interiors in the miniatures, is a gray-walled castle. The green floor tile is slightly different in that the circles are larger and filled with parallel lines of gold and there is a somewhat greater distance between the tiles. The colors, other than those in the background, are limited to gold, blue, red, and white, with white used to accent the important elements of the painting: the faces and hands, the Dove, the garments of God and Gabriel, and Mary's book.

Other than the narrow, black-outlined gold band, there

is no frame around this miniature and the script is left unbordered with no line to separate it from the rest of the page. The borders are richly decorated with larger floral and acanthus designs densely crowding into the spaces between the roundels. This is especially so in the space between the painting edge and the binding side of the page. The gold ivy of the previous miniature pages is reduced to golden dots with two or more protruding lines.

A change has taken place in the golden tendrils which had only curved round in previous borders as on folios 9, 11, 13, 15, 16v, and 20v. Now for the first time they cross each other and subsequently break up the space in a diagonal fashion.

The roundels tell the story of Mary. The scenes are: Joachim in a Landscape (before a blue, castle-topped mountain); Anna and Joachim Embrace (beneath the golden gate at Jerusalem); Anna in Bed (while the newborn Mary is cared for by a servant); (the child) Mary Appears at the Temple; and the Wedding of Mary and Joseph. The roundels are executed in the same colors as the large miniatures and are outlined with two lines of color: gold and blue, gold and red, gold and brown. Border decorations are attached to them.

The four-line high initial is set in a golden box and is filled with six long-stemmed blue flowers growing out of a pink-pedestaled vase standing on grass. The flowers are painted in a naturalistic style.

The Visitation, folio 51 (fig. 20) (Lauds)

Two women, one attended by two angels, meet in the countryside near a walled city. Elizabeth greets Mary, her cousin, with a touch and is in turn touched by her in recognition of the significance of their respective pregnancies. The Virgin's exalted position is indicated by her heavenly attendants as well as her manner of dress: the high collar of her blue robe forms a regal frame behind her head and neck, and her long, blonde hair, worn in the fashion of the virgin saints, falls loosely over her shoulders. Elizabeth wears a red mantle over a brown dress with a wide white collar, and on her head is the veil of a married woman. Each woman has the solid gold halo reserved for the Virgin and saints of the late Middle Ages.

Mary and the two slightly smaller angels who stand in prayerful attendance behind her form a triangle which fills the left side of the painting. Behind them is a tree-edged hill and a distant mountain with a castle on the top. Overhead the sky sparkles with gold. Behind Elizabeth is a walled city with arches and bulbous towers.

The figures in this miniature, as in the others, dominate a scene held tightly together with the repetition of shape and color. Even the roofs of some of the castle buildings are, by repeating the gold of the Virgin's and the angels' gowns, pulled toward the center of the action.

Except in the faces of the foreground figures, there is a lack of modeling, a flatness of the colors, and a neglect

of shadow detail. This is contrasted with the relatively realistic treatment of trees and bushes and the use of aerial perspective in the distant hills and sky. The miniature borders and page decoration return to those seen on the John and Luke pages, folios 9 and 11 (figs. 13, 14). The blue and white initial is four lines high and contains red and blue leaf and tendril designs.

The Nativity, folio 63 (fig. 21) (Prime)

In front of an open-ended shed with a simple gable roof, four figures kneel around an infant lying upon the ground. Mary is on the left and Joseph on the right, and between them and slightly higher on the page kneel two angels with heads and wings tilting inward. Behind the Child an avenue passes between the encircling figures to the far wall of the shed. The wall is made of wattle, a kind of woven work of sticks intertwined with twigs or branches, a humble method for the construction of walls, fences, and roofs. The wattle wall is open along the top where two men in peasant dress are framed against a landscape of trees and distant sky.

The figure of Mary is larger than the other figures in the composition. She neither stands nor kneels, but appears to float, her body filling the left side of the miniature. Her cloak spreads out on the ground at the bottom of the page and the halo behind her head reaches to the shoulder of the arch of the miniature frame. The near wall of the stable behind her is hung with a red and gold cloth of honor

indicating the presence of a person of very high rank.

On the right, holding a candle with an orange flame, the bulky figure of Joseph bends low over the Child. Behind his head is a landscape of open fields with rows of ball-like trees leading upward to a blue castle on top of a blue mountain. Background details are few, the colors reduced to darker blue over lighter blue. Fields are light green with blue-green details used for trees and to indicate distance. The sky is lighter at the horizon and softly blue above. The sky above the stable is darkened with blue horizontal lines.

Attention is focused on the foreground where the newborn Child lies on the gray earth. Naked and bald, unlike folio 16v (fig. 17) where he has a head of blond hair, he looks up alertly at everyone. Mary and Joseph's eyes are mystical, turned upward under almost closed lids; the angels look at the Child.

The faces and hands of all the figures and the body of the Child are painted with the same flesh tones modeled with gray, their lips and cheeks blushed, their features outlined in black. Garments have solidity and are draped and spread upon the ground with folds outlined in red and gold with fine gold cross-hatching.

The gray foreground of the painting is overlaid with gold, and fine gold lines accent the roof, the shepherds' staves, the trees and grass, and the clothing.

The composition is strongly geometric with the six

figures set in a receding triangle with the stable closing off the top. A cone is formed by the slightly curved horizontal of the Child's body and the path leading between the foreground figures to the shepherds at the top. This, and the reduction in size of the angel figures, carries the eye back into the composition while the details of the encircling figures offset this powerful inward movement.

Red, blue, and gold alternate between the figures and fill the scene with contrasts. Mary's blue robe stands out against the red drape, Joseph wears blue and red, one angel has red wings, the other blue. The figures appear flat and motionless, stacked one behind the other receding in space with their reduction in size. Only the peasants engage in animated conversation.

The frame around the miniature is filled with realistic flowers, a blue, four-leaved flower and a white bud with pink edges. The border decoration is more dense, and at the base of the page there is a golden pot with five red flowers with yellow centers and a stem with three golden leaves. The initial is four lines high and it is similar to the next two initials which are all executed by a very sure hand.

The Annunciation to the Shepherds, folio 69 (fig. 22)

(Tierce)

Three shepherds appear in the foreground with their flocks lined up behind them. Overhead a half-length angel holding a banderole floats on a deep blue cloud. The

shepherd nearest the picture plane sits on the left with feet outstretched across the front of the miniature. He wears a hooded cloak over a tunic and long hose with boots. He holds a staff with one hand and shields his eyes from the vision above with the other. A second shepherd faces him. Resting on one knee and leaning on his staff, he folds his arms across his breast warming his hands inside his sleeves. Tied at the waist of his tunic is a food pouch. Behind the seated figure a third shepherd lifts himself to his knees and points toward the angel in the sky. A small wooden keg with a spout on the top rests on the path in front of the men.

By assembling the figures in sitting and kneeling positions, the artist is able to bring them to the front of the picture filling the space with their forms and the bright colors of their garments. Tunics, cloaks, and hose are red, blue, and dusky blue-gray. Their belt-pouches and the angel's banderole are bluish-white. Gold is reserved for the angel's gown, the stars, the lines radiating from the angel, and the texture lines on clothing.

The humble status of the shepherds is established by their costumes, facial features, and by their body positions. Chins and beards are pinched and one face is broad and dull looking. They slouch and lean in an attempt to make themselves comfortable.

Beyond the shepherds is the familiar green hill to the right and a castle-topped blue hill to the left. Three

naturalistic trees grow on the hill and rows of scrub appear on the slope. Light blue sky is spangled with gold stars and rays of gold emanate from behind the deeper blue cloud of the angel.

The design of the border is becoming more dense than previous borders. Acanthus leaves are larger and there are more red and blue flowers and green leaves among the gold ivy.

The Adoration of the Magi, folio 74 (fig. 23) (Sext)

On the left side of the page, in front of an open stable, Mary, with the Child on her lap, sits before a brocaded cloth of honor. Golden rays from the Star stream down upon the Child. The Magi fill the rest of the picture. A white-haired Caspar kneels before Mary. He wears a long, sleeveless fur-lined tunic with an opening at the sides revealing a green undertunic. A short blue cape covers his shoulders. Behind him stands Balthazar who points toward the Mother and Child. He is dressed in a blue-gray tunic with a white collar. On the right, Melchoir, the youngest, with his back toward us, strides to the rear of the picture. He wears a short red tunic with a fur collar and blue hose. The two standing Magi wear crowns and carry golden vessels. The kneeling figure is without crown, his gift rests upon the ground.

The Virgin's high-collared cloak is worn over a golden dress. The unclothed Child is bald-headed, as in folio 63 (fig. 21), and sits on Mary's lap raising one hand in

be

Th

mi

ra

so

th

s

i

p

t

i

h

t

l

o

b

t

c

t

C

o

s

e

benediction. Both Mother and Child have solid gold haloes. The four protagonists nearly fill the space of the miniature. In the background is a starry sky and the blue castle-topped mountain. Joseph does not appear in the scene.

There are only four acanthus designs in the border and the four line initial is skillfully balanced with only a slight flattening of the inner circle. There are several ink smudges on the bottom border decoration.

The Presentation in the Temple, folio 79 (fig. 24) (None)

Above a long pink altar set diagonally into the picture, Simeon holds the Christ Child who has been brought to the Temple in Jerusalem to be presented to the Lord. He is about to be returned to his Mother and reaches out for her as she, still kneeling in prayer, rests her hands upon the altar. Behind Mary are Joseph, a youth holding a lighted candle, and Anna, the prophetess who is shown as an older woman with her hair covered by a veil. Joseph holds a basket with the two sacrificial turtle doves required for the ceremony of the purification of the mother. The lighted candle held by the youth refers to the procession of candles traditionally held for this feast day which is called Candlemas.

A baldachin hangs from the ceiling above the Child, and on the dark-gray wall behind the altar is a single, spiral-carved pillar. To the left hangs a blue drape embroidered in gold, and on the right are two round-headed

windows open to a starry sky. These elements form a series of verticals which add height to a rather crowded composition. The clothing and the color scheme are consistent with previous miniatures. The blue cloak Mary wears over her gold gown is pulled up to cover the back of her head, the attendants wear red and blue. The undertunic of St. Simeon is green, and the color is repeated in the little green basket holding the turtle doves. Gray walls and green tiled floor repeat the earlier interior colors and designs. Now the tiles in the floor are drawn with much more space between the rough circles.

Blue flowers appear in the upper border, and the frame around the miniature has the same flowers as the Nativity, folio 63 (fig. 21) except they appear on only two of the three sides. The initial for this and the next page are less surely executed and rather shallow in form.

The Massacre of the Innocents, folio 84 (fig. 25)

(Vespers)

The scene is the throne room of a castle. A large, surly-faced soldier dressed in armor strides in from the left. Holding an infant out in front of him, he stabs it with a large gray sword. His stride carries him to the middle of the page where the severed head of another child lies on the floor facing us. Blood spurts profusely from this head and from a tiny body wrapped in white cloth that lies between the soldier's red boots. The mother kneels at the right in apparent resignation. To the upper right Herod

sits upon a throne dressed in robes of ermine and gold and wearing a crown. He holds a large sword, its tip rests upon his shoulder, its handle points downward toward the action. Herod frowns, a slightly pained look crosses his face, but he gestures for the proceedings to continue. Behind the advancing figure, two soldiers hold lances that point toward the infants. While the heads of these men incline toward the action in the center of the room, their eyes turn upward toward the king. Behind the king a retainer holding a scroll points accusingly toward the king. These gestures and glances clearly indicate Herod as being the one responsible for the slaughter. Even the body of the child held in the soldier's grasp creates a line that directs the viewer's eye back toward the king.

This drama is set upon a stage where the action of the figures circle the center leaving it empty except for the body of the child. Diagonal lines from the weapons form a large 'V' that converges at the point where the sword enters the child's body. Around this 'V' the area is filled with the passive figures of the mother at the right and the king and his attendant at the top. Two infants symbolize the slaughter of all the Innocents, and Herod, who is directing the activity himself, establishes his guilt.

The ceiling of the room is beamed and nail-studded and a round-headed window is cut through a thick wall at the left. Brown panels resembling tooled leather are set in carved frames on the gray walls. The low ceiling is

overlapped by the head of the retainer who stands at the king's side. From the window at the upper left we catch a glimpse of the blue sky outside.

The decorations on this page seem quite sparse, and the designs in the frame around the miniature are not well drawn. There is some smudging of the ink in the upper right border. The initial is a four-line letter with the gold behind it slightly smeared.

The Coronation of the Virgin, folio 91 (fig. 26)

(Compline)

A youthful Virgin with one attending angel kneels before God the Father. Two angels bearing her crown hover above her head. The two main figures fill the foreground of the picture as the blue clouds of heaven boil up in the right corner. Carved wood and cushions behind the Virgin indicate a wide bench awaiting her. The remaining areas are covered with a blue gold-embroidered cloth of honor which covers the canopied chair where God sits. He wears a crown similar to that of the Virgin, but with a golden superstructure to indicate the wearer's supremacy. He blesses with his right hand while holding a cross-topped orb in his left. The white hair, beard, and tunic of God are accented by a great red cloak lined in green. Behind the floating angels is a star-studded sky ranging in color from blue to red.

The border displays some rather tortured acanthus designs that are introduced into the corners where one

escapes over the ruled edge. A pedestal vase, its top like the four petals of a flower and with scallops under the bowl, appears in the outer border. The frame around the miniature and the initial contains very tightly controlled leaf and tendril designs in red, blue, and gold.

Iconography of the Hours of the Virgin

The Annunciation

The first Hour, the Hour of Matins, is illustrated by The Annunciation, folio 25 (fig. 19). The Virgin kneels at her reading desk approached by the angel Gabriel who announces to her that she will conceive and bear a son whom she will name Jesus (Luke 1:26-38). The dove of the Holy Spirit descends upon her from above. A vase of lilies rests on the floor in the Northern manner rather than in the hand of the angel in Italian fashion (24).

An important connection can be shown with Ms. 2 and a similar Annunciation page found in Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore) manuscript w. 251, folio 26, dated late fifteenth-century (25). As in Ms. 2, the Walter's manuscript has five roundels in the border containing four scenes from the Virgin's life and one of God the Father. Four of the five roundels correspond with the positions of the figures and the interior arrangements of Ms. 2: God the Father, the Virgin in the Temple, the Birth of Mary, and the Marriage of the Virgin. In the large miniature the positions of the figures, the furniture, and the

architectural openings are those of Ms. 2 although in the latter the figures are enlarged and simplified with much of the background decoration eliminated.

The artist of Walters 251 is an important link between the masters of the early years of the century and Ms.2. Eleanor Spencer names the artist of Walters 251 as a member of the French Master's atelier, Master of the Brussels Horloge de Sapience who collaborated with the last of the Bedford Master's associates (26).

In another miniature related to Ms. 2, the Annunciation scene in the Belles Heures, folio 30 (4), Mary appears in a similar pose with a slender column separating her from the archangel. As the Virgin turns to face Gabriel she inclines her head in the same distinctive manner as in Walters 251. Millard Meiss discusses the Belles Heures pose: "The kneeling Virgin turns as she does in a miniature by Jacquemart in the Duke's Brussels Hours, a book that the Limbourgs certainly knew" (27).

The Annunciation page of Walters 251 is related, as is Ms. 2, in figure style and interior arrangement to that of another early fifteenth-century manuscript in the British Library, Add. Ms. 30899, folio 1, which Janet Backhouse calls "typical of the best Parisian work of the early fifteenth century....[It is] painted in a style close to that found in manuscripts produced by the Boucicaut and Egerton Masters. These illuminators, with the Master of the Bedford Hours, were leading figures in the Parisian book

trade during the first quarter of the fifteenth century" (28).

In another manuscript, the Hours of Juana Enríquez, folio 89v (29), the Annunciation scene and that of Ms. 2 are nearly identical in the position of the figures, the depiction of God the Father, the vase of lilies, and even a golden rod held in the hand of the Enríquez angel. The architectural details of the Enríquez miniature have been changed in Ms. 2 to a cloth covered canopy, but the rest of the Ms. 2 design, although simplified, is essentially the same. The Arsenal 575 Master used the Annunciation composition, folio 19v from the Seilern Hours (30), a Book of Hours that "appears to date from the second decade of the fifteenth century, and it too contains ideas for compositions which are found in the miniatures of the Arsenal 575 Master" (31).

The angel in an Annunciation scene, folio 30, in a manuscript by the French Master, Walters Art Gallery, w. 252 (32) is perhaps the closest to the pose of the angel of Ms. 2. Their right hands are raised with the index fingers pointing up and over the angels' shoulders toward God the Father who looks through a window in the top right corner.

The Visitation

The Hour of Lauds which is said at dawn is illustrated with the scene of the Visitation, folio 51 (fig. 20). The iconography derives from the Boucicaut Master's Visitation page, folio 65v, in the Hours of Marshal Jean de Boucicaut

(33). In both miniatures there are four figures: Mary, attended by two angels, and Elizabeth. Their poses, placement on the page, and clothing of the Boucicaut figures are nearly identical with those of Ms. 2. The women face each other with their hands extended in greetings. The angels, smaller in size, stand to the left behind Mary. The Ms. 2 figures are greatly enlarged leaving little room for landscape. In both scenes Mary is dressed as a princess: the regal design of her collar rises up behind her head and her robe encapsulates her figure keeping her separate from the rest of the scene. Two heavenly attendants wait upon her. John Harthan tells us that Mary of the Boucicaut Hours has become a princess. "By giving her a train and attendants the simplicity of the brief Gospel narrative is replaced by a transcendental meaning" (34).

The Nativity

The Hour of Prime in Ms. 2 is represented by the Nativity scene, folio 63 (fig. 21). In front of an open-ended shed, Mary, Joseph, and three angels kneel around the figure of the newborn Child. To the modern eye a tiny baby lying naked upon the ground is a shocking representation of the Nativity. This version, which is meant to arouse the emotions, became popular in Northern Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It replaces the traditional Nativity scene which shows Mary resting on a bed with the Child being cared for by servant women. This new representation resulted from the writings

of St. Bridget whose works contributed a new emotionalism to the representation of medieval art (35). The scene contrasts Christ's heavenly kingship with his humble life on earth: the backdrop of the cloth of honor with the wattle on the stable walls; the regal figure of Mary, the angels, and Joseph adoring the unclothed Child lying on the bare ground; the shepherds chattering behind the shed wall while the sacred figures kneel in silence in the foreground. Nativity designs, similar to Ms. 2, that illustrate the desire for increased naturalism and emotionalism appear in manuscripts from the early decades of the fifteenth century: the Très Riches Heures, folio 44v, the Seilern Hours, folio 23, and a manuscript by the Boucicaut Master, the Chevalier Hours, folio 57 (36).

While the Limbourg miniature is basically the same design as that of Ms. 2, it has a more expansive feeling in that the shed is pushed off the page to the left leaving the background open to the hills and landscape beyond. The design of the Seilern Hours (37) opens up the scene even more with the removal of the hill and the flattening out of the ground. In the Boucicaut miniature the space becomes intimate. With the shed directly overhead, the back wall closes in the "room" and the animals block off the view to the rear. Even Joseph is pushed outside the low wall leaving only Mary, the Child, and the angels inside the enclosure. There is an emotional context in these spatial relationships which was introduced by the Boucicaut Master,

"the great pioneer of naturalism" (38) in that we are made to "feel the contrast between sheltered intimacy and the great outdoors" (39). The warmth and intimacy of the arrangement has been continued in Ms. 2. Although the figures are moved outside the shed, a feeling of shelter is maintained by the circling figures and the shed's placement directly behind the main figures. This, in effect, limits the openness and leaves only a small space for landscape. This same Nativity design which conveys the humanism and emotionalism of the period is repeated over and over again in late-century manuscripts of Rouen and other areas. The Nativity of the Playfair Hours, folio 59v, uses it as do four other related Rouen manuscripts: Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce 253, folio 50; Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 4099, folio 50; National Library of Scotland, MS.6131, folio 26; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS.Buchanan e 3, folio 29 (40). Three manuscripts in the Waddesdon Collection, Mss. 9, 10, 12, on folios 87v, 56v, and 49 respectively, utilize this Nativity design. They are identified as being from Bruges, Northern France, and from Rouen (41).

The Annunciation to the Shepherds

For the Hour of Tierce the Ms. 2 artist provides the Annunciation to the Shepherds on folio 69 (fig. 22). The figures of three shepherds are brought close to the picture plane with the nearest shepherd seated in the foreground stretching his legs across the front of the miniature. A

manuscript in the Waddesdon Collection, MS 23, folio 62v (42), has a scene of this subject with its large figures placed in a similar foreground arrangement. The manuscript was influenced by Jean Bourdichon of Tours and is dated early-sixteenth century (43). Another miniature of the same subject using figures that lie across the front of the page is folio 68v of the Grandes Heures of Anne of Brittany, Queen of France (1500-1508) (44).

The Adoration of the Magi

The Hour of Sext, folio 74 (fig. 23), is illustrated by the scene of the Adoration of the Magi. In the Michigan State University Library manuscript the Magi, Mary, and the Child are shown outside an open-ended shed. The figures are enlarged, filling the available space and making unnecessary any of the possible inclusions of other figures such as Joseph, the ox and the ass, shepherds, the retainers and animals of the Magi, elaborate landscape or background architecture.

Significant to the derivation of the miniature design is the position of the figures and especially that of the third Magus who, with his back partially turned toward the viewer, steps into the scene from the right. This figure design was used by the Arsenal 575 Master for the Adoration miniatures in two manuscripts: Walters Art Gallery, w. 220, folio 89, and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 575, folio 86 (45). The iconography for the Adoration scene for these two manuscripts derives from one used in the British Library

manuscript, the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, Add. Ms. 35311, folio 199 (46). The Adoration scene for Ms. 2 follows this same rather unusual figure arrangement with the third Magus, his back to the viewer, striding deeper into the picture. Once again, the influence of the Arsenal 575 Master on our Michigan State University manuscript is evident.

The work of the Arsenal 575 Master has been traced to both the Bedford and Boucicaut Masters through his border design and page layout. "The Arsenal 575 Master was exposed to the ideas of these two masters in the Fastolf workshop and he may have become acquainted with the page layout and border style used in Walters 220 through manuscripts of the Fastolf Master such as Lat. 13269....The localization of Walters 220 cannot be ascribed with certainty to either Rouen or Paris. Its make-up, however, suggests that it was composed with techniques...that were found in these regions, as for example, in the circle of illuminators related to the Fastolf Master. Collectively, this evidence, which supports the French qualities of script, penwork, borders, and iconography pointed out by Professor Delaisse, indicates that the Arsenal 575 Master worked in the Paris/Rouen region....[He] was still associated with models and techniques to which he had been exposed earlier: models such as those from the Boucicaut Master; techniques such as page ruling, initials, and line-endings from the Fastolf workshop" (47). The Arsenal 575 Master become acquainted

with the ideas of these two masters through the Fastolf Master with whom he collaborated. These artists form an important connection between the Bedford and Boucicaut Masters of the first two decades of the fifteenth century and the manuscripts of late fifteenth-century Rouen which closely follow the same designs as those of the Michigan State University Library manuscript. Farquhar describes the Fastolf Master as an artist who was influenced by the art of an earlier generation (late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century) than the Arsenal 575 Master and, therefore, became somewhat of an "older master" to the more "modern" Arsenal 575 Master. In this way he "provided a bridge between the early masters of the century and the third generation of artists" (48). The Master of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur is another link with the Belles Heures as Farquhar tells us that it can be placed "within the environs of the Limbourg circle" (49).

The Presentation at the Temple

The Hour of None is depicted with the scene of the Presentation in the Temple, folio 79 (fig. 24). Acting in accordance with Mosaic law, Mary and Joseph brought the Christ Child to the temple in Jerusalem forty days after the Nativity. The rite was a commemoration of the slaying of the first-born in Egypt when the Jews were spared (Ex. 13:11-15). The Law required the sacrifice of the first-born of all living things to the Lord. Children were spared by the payment of five shekels. The rite of purification of

the mother was performed at the same time and it required the sacrifice of a pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons (lev. 12). The purification was celebrated by a procession of candles symbolized in the Presentation scene by a candle being held by one or more of the main figures. The turtle doves to be sacrificed for the Purification are carried by Joseph or an attendant and Joseph is often seen counting the five shekels. Simeon is present at the altar fulfilling the prophecy of God that he would not die until he beheld the Messiah (Luke 2:25, 26). A constant in scenes of the Presentation is an altar which is set at an angle leading into the room. The figures are arranged around or to one side of it.

A miniature of the Presentation (fig.64) in the late fifteenth-century British Library Add. Ms. 11865, folio 37v (50), has a similar but more elaborate group of figures. The forms and positions of the Child, Mary, and Joseph are related to those of Ms. 2 as are the colors of their garments and the baldachin which hangs above their heads. The baldachin of Ms. 2 is somewhat smaller. Late-century Rouen manuscripts such as Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 4099, folio 60 (51), use the same designs while enlarging the figures to simplify the compositions as did the artist of Ms.2.

The floor design of the Ms. 2 miniature of the Presentation is circular as is that of the Presentation of the Rouen Playfair Hours, folio 69 (52). Floors appear as

an important area of design in Books of Hours. The inclined plane of the floor, iconographically significant as representing the cavity of interior space upon which the actors of the various religious dramas carry out their sacred narrative, is carefully executed in complex and colorful designs in mid- to late-fifteenth century manuscripts as seen in the British Library Bedford Hours, folio 288v (53); British Library Add. Ms. 35313, folio 37 (54); Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 575, folio 17 (55); Boucicaut Hours, folio 31v (56). As are all other time consuming aspects of finer miniatures, complex tile patterns are simplified in Ms. 2 where the artist uses irregular circles on top of a single undersurface color. These distinctive circular floor tiles appear in miniatures of the Playfair Hours in folios 1, 2, 9, 13, 36, 69, 74, 80, 139 (57). Although this pattern is not common in manuscripts following the Bedford style, the pattern appears to be much used by Rouen manuscripts late in the century: Edinburgh University Library MS. 306, folio 23; National Library of Scotland, MS. 6129, folio 92; Bodleian Library Oxford, MS. Buchanane e 3, folio 29 (58).

The Massacre of the Innocents

The Massacre of the Innocents, folio 84, (fig. 25) illustrates the Hour of Vespers in Ms. 2. Usually an illustration of the Flight into Egypt appears here as in British Library Add. MS 25695, folio 114 (59); British Library Egerton 1149, folio 99v (60); Bibliothèque de

l'Arsenal Ms. 575 folio 98 (61); and Musée Jacquemart-André ms. 2, folio 65v (62). Northern artists often substituted the Massacre of the Innocents (63) or included both on the same page as in London's Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting Collection, folio 1222 (64); and British Library, Yates Thompson MS 5, folio 54v (65).

The Ms. 2 Massacre of the Innocents is a dramatic scene. Herod, learning that a child was to become "king of the Jews" and fearing for his own power, decreed that the infants of Bethlehem were to be killed. The Holy Family, forewarned by Joseph's dream, fled to Egypt (Matt. 2:16).

In a Book of Hours in London, British Library, Add. MS 25695, which is related stylistically to the French Master (66)), we find a Flight scene, folio 114, whose page layout and border design are similar to those of Ms. 2. Marginal scenes in this miniature depict a far more active group of soldiers, and King Herod, although he too sits on a throne and holds a large gray sword, appears much younger than Ms. 2's Herod. But a triangular hill backing up the figures and a curving path in the foreground together with the miniature's background, border design, and vignettes strike a familiar chord. The soldiers wear the same football-like helmets and tight metal uniforms. The unusual frame around the miniature, a narrow border of jewels, is like the frame around the last major miniature of Ms. 2, Man of Sorrows, folio 172v (fig. 31). This jeweled frame often appears in panel painting at the end of the fifteenth century as in a

work in the Budapest Museum by the Master of the Bartholmäus Altar(?) entitled the Holy Family (67).

The Coronation of the Virgin

The Coronation of the Virgin, folio 91 (fig. 26), is the subject of the last of the Hours of the Virgin, the Hour of Compline. Like the two half-length Madonnas of Ms. 2, the Coronation is purely a devotional subject. The miniature is very close to the Coronation miniature of the Playfair Hours, folio 74v (68), as Mary, on the left, kneels before the enthroned figure of God the Father on the right. The position of the their bodies is identical. Two angels in each scene place the crown on the Virgin's head while a third stands behind her to the left. The background of the Ms. 2 room is spangled with stars and blue clouds boil up in the corner under the throne. The figures of Ms. 2 are larger than those of the Playfair Hours leaving little room for furniture and other details. In the Playfair Hours the third angel plays a harp and the room is an earthly chamber with a landscape beyond an arched doorway.

The Penitential Psalms (ff. 97-114v)

The seven Penitential Psalms are a standard feature in most Books of Hours. An incident from the life of King David, the traditional author of the Penitential Psalms, is the favorite subject to introduce this section. In Books of Hours of the first half of the fifteenth century, David is shown as an old man kneeling in penitence before God (69).

In the latter half of the century, a new theme of David and Bathsheba became popular, especially in France (70).

Description of Introductory Miniature to Penitential

Psalms: David and Goliath, folio 97 (fig. 27)

The stone from David's sling has reached its mark and the huge body of Goliath falls backward filling most of the space of the David page. This is the second of five major pages having roundels in the margin. Dressed in a magnificent suit of golden armor topped with a blue doublet and skirt, Goliath's body creates a large triangle in the left side of the painting. This triangular form is repeated by that of a hill edged by a line of dark green trees directly behind the falling body. Blood streams down from the wound on his forehead tracing a line parallel to edge of the painting while behind him on the right is the young David, his sling still swinging in this moment of victory. Beyond the boy is a soft, green landscape fading to the customary blue, castle-topped mountain and starry sky. Goliath's giant sword remains strapped to his side and his shield lies on the ground in the path before him. The blade of the sword crosses with the line of the body accenting its painful angle. The horizontals of the shield and the dark green bushes behind the figure give stability to the page.

David wears the costume of a shepherd, a red tunic over blue breeches and white hose with a pouch belt tied about the waist. Goliath's armour is exceedingly form fitting,

without bulk, as if it were painted on his body.

The first of the five roundels on the David page, folio 97 (fig. 27) begins in the upper left corner with a portrait of Christ against a background of violet with gold stars, a cruciform halo behind his head. He wears a bifurcated beard and his long brown hair falls behind his shoulders. In the second roundel, in a landscape similar to the large miniature, David kills Goliath by plunging the giant's sword into his side. In the third scene David stands before the city gates carrying Goliath's sword and his severed head. In the fourth roundel King David peers out of his castle window at Bathsheba who sits on the edge of a stean, her dress rolled up over her knees. The last roundel shows David, now an old man, at prayer inside a castle room with his harp next to him; a window is open to a landscape with distant castle on a mountain top.

The border is rich with natural flowers, tiny red-petaled flowers, strawberries, grapes, and red and blue stylized acanthus leaves with their tendrils painted in blue and crossing each other on the right border. Strong lines issue from a vase at the bottom border, and the four-line high initial is filled with six white, thistle-like flowers.

Iconography of Introductory Miniature to Penitential

Psalms: David and Goliath

The David and Goliath page, folio 97 (fig. 27), marks the beginning of the Penitential Psalms. The story of David

is told in Ms. 2's miniature and roundels. David, the shepherd boy and the son of Jesse, was chosen by Samuel to be the successor to King Saul. After David killed Goliath, the champion of the Philistines, the Israelites went on to defeat their army (I Sam. 17:38-51). The Ms. 2 miniature captures the moment Goliath falls to the ground from a blow to the forehead by a stone from David's sling.

The border roundels begin with a portrait of Christ which refers to David's prefiguration of Christ as well to his being Christ's ancestor (Isa. 11:1-3). The roundels continue with scenes from David's life: David Drawing Goliath's Sword (before cutting off the Philistine's head), David Spying on Bathsheba (as she bathes), and David at Prayer.

The appearance of David spying on Bathsheba is significant in the dating of Ms. 2. The theme is based on the Biblical account of David taking the beautiful Bathsheba for his mistress after he had observed her in her bath. Later, by sending her soldier-husband to his certain death at the forefront of a fierce battle, he was able to marry her (II Sam. 11:2-17). Manuscripts from the first half of the fifteenth century typically used the theme of David at Prayer as seen in manuscripts such as the Paris, Bibliotheque Mazarine, ms. 569, folio 83, David before the Lord (71). David is shown praying before an impressively rendered figure of God the Father in a gold robe and triple-tiered crown. The theme of David spying on Bathsheba

in her bath did not appear until the last half of the fifteenth century (72). It is seen in such manuscripts as British Library, Add. MS. 21235, folio 78v, by the French Master (73) where we see David spying on Bathsheba as she bathes. She is attended by her ladies in waiting when she is handed a note by the king's messenger. In British Library Add. MS 11865, folio 53 (fig. 65), four Davids watch three Bathshebas in various activities (74). This is a miniature similar to Ms. 2 with its gray castle walls, arches, windows, and architectural details.

In a manuscript mentioned before in connection with Ms. 2, a tiny Book of Hours by the French Master, British Library, Egerton MS 2045 (75), the David page, folio 138v (fig. 66), provides similarities in the costumes of the soldiers and the young David (76). Other related images are those of the dying Goliath, architectural forms, and floor designs.

Short Hours of the Cross (ff. 115-118v)

Hours of the Holy Spirit (ff. 119-122v)

The Short Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit consist of a hymn, antiphon, and prayer. They are brief in length and are introduced in Ms. 2 by a miniature of the Crucifixion for the Hours of the Cross and one of the Pentecost for the Hours of the Holy Spirit. These Hours usually appear after the Hours of the Virgin but they may appear alternately with them in which case they are called

"mixed Hours" (77).

Description of the Introductory Miniature to the Short Hours of the Cross: Crucifixion, folio 115 (fig. 28)

Centered, and nearly as high as the painting itself, a single Cross upon which the figure of Christ hangs bleeding, is wedged into the path in the foreground. It rises to the sky above the heads of the people at either side. The Cross and the figure on it dominate the scene, and, as in the other miniatures from this manuscript, figures nearly fill the picture space. On the left side of the miniature (to Christ's right), the Virgin Mary, John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalen, and Mary Cleopas, half-sister of the Virgin, crowd in so closely that the figure of Christ overlaps the robes of the holy women. Conversely, on the other side of the miniature, a clearly defined space separates Christ from the Roman officer and his soldiers who are pushed back behind a line created by the vertically-held flagstaff.

The painting is geometrical: bisected by the Cross, the upper part of the scene is a large triangle formed by Christ's arms reaching upward to the crossbar. The heads of the onlookers are grouped to repeat the diagonals of this triangle and the group of holy persons is emphasized by the green hill edged with dark green trees behind them. Beyond the figures, the remaining space in the background triangle is filled with the blue, castle-topped mountain beneath a starry sky.

Christ is alive and endures great suffering. He closes his eyes and clenches his teeth as blood streams down his arms and chest, under his loin cloth, and down his legs to the very base of the Cross. Blood appears on his forehead from the crown of golden thorns, and rays of light stream from behind his head. In the holy group to the left, Mary stands in a prayerful pose, her head covered with her cloak, while Mary Magdalen points with an open hand toward the figure on the Cross. Standing at the front of his troop on the right is an officer dressed in armor similar to that of Goliath. Holding a black sword in one hand, he points toward the crucified figure with the other. The soldiers behind him hold their lances upright and the flagbearer's banner swirls about its staff in a familiar manner.

The roundels in the margin begin with the Agony in the Garden showing a profile view of Christ at prayer in a green landscape. The second roundel portrays the Arrest of Christ. As the soldiers crowd around, Christ receives the kiss from Judas as he holds the severed ear of the High Priest's servant who has fallen in front of him. Simon Peter stands at the rear, sword in hand. In the third roundel of the Flagellation, Christ is shown facing outward, tied to a column while a man on either side beats him with a rod. The fourth roundel depicts Christ crowned with thorns, hands bound, standing before Pontius Pilate. One of a group of soldiers standing behind him grasps Christ by his shoulder as a servant pours water over Pilate's hands. In

the last roundel Christ, surrounded by soldiers and followed by the Virgin Mary and St. Veronica, bends under the weight of the Cross on the road to Calvary. The figures in the roundels are shown three-quarter length except for the Agony in the Garden which is shown half-length. The interiors all use the gray castle walls and green tiled floor of the miniatures; the landscapes are the distant blue mountain and castle.

The initial contains a rather awkward swirling of stylized leaves and tendrils instead of naturalistic flowers. The border does not seem as filled with acanthus leaves and flowers as the previous borders. The tendrils do cross each other, but this does not seem as prominent as in previous pages.

Iconography of the Introductory Miniature to the

Hours of the Cross: Crucifixion

The Crucifixion, with scenes from the Passion of Christ, folio 115 (fig. 28), is the third of the five major miniatures with roundels; it introduces the Short Hours of the Cross (folios 115-118v). The Crucifixion consists of a single Cross placed high on the page with figures standing at either side.

The Ms. 2 Crucifixion and that of the Bedford Hours, folio 240 (78), have design similarities. The figures that stand below the Cross are arranged in the same manner with the holy women and St. John on the right and the soldiers on

the left. In both miniatures there is a distinctive space between the Cross and the figures. The Bedford figures strain to look up at Christ while the Ms. 2 figures which are twice their size barely need to lift their heads. The area above the Ms. 2 figures is filled with a triangular green hill and a soft blue background but also with a great number of banners and lances held by soldiers. Shadowy hills and sky exist in the Bedford miniature, but the banners and lances do not. These additions are taken perhaps from the Très Riches Heures where similar banners fly across the whole manuscript background. Although the Très Riches Heures' Crucifixion miniature, folio 152v (79), was completed by Jean Colombe (1485-89?), the miniature's plan was believed to have been laid out by the Limbourgs (80). Facing the Crucifixion miniature is folio 153 (81), the Death of Christ, which was completed by the Limbourgs. It shows a more sparing use of the same banners and lances. Like Ms. 2, the Limbourg Death of Christ has vignettes in the margins. It appears to be the only miniature by the Limbourgs in the Très Riches Heures with related subsidiary border miniatures.

In Ms. 2 the instruments of the Passion which appear in other Crucifixion scenes, nails, crown of thorns, sponge, lance, scourge, and pillar, have been eliminated. There is only the column to which Christ was tied and a glimpse of whips in the hands of the soldiers. Roundels of Ms. 2 are very close to compositions of the major miniature scenes of

the same subject in the Belles Heures. The head of Christ in the Ms. 2 roundel appears in the upper left corner of Belles Heures Agony in the Garden, folio 123 (4); the placement and poses of the figures of the Ms. 2 Betrayal roundel correspond with the Belles Heures Betrayal scene, folio 123v (4); the roundel of the Ms. 2 Flagellation and the Flagellation of the Belles Heures, folio 132 (4), both place Christ in the center with a major figure to either side. The closest similarities are found between Belles Heures' Pilate washing his hands, folio 138 (4) and Ms. 2's roundel of the same subject. The positions of the figures, the pitcher, the basin, indeed the whole composition indicates that these miniatures are related. In order to accommodate the limited space of the Ms. 2 roundel, the servant was moved to the background.

Description of the Introductory Miniature to Short Hours of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecost, folio 119 (fig. 29)

The Descent of the Holy Ghost (Acts 2:1-4), is the subject of the fourth miniature with roundels in its borders. In the center of the room the kneeling Virgin is surrounded by the twelve Apostles who are arranged in two rows on either side of her. Descending from above, the Dove of the Holy Spirit emits golden rays and flames which stream down upon their heads. Each figure wears a solid gold halo and presents a prayerful attitude in response to the miraculous occasion. Simon Peter appears on the Virgin's

right, his white hair and beard are trimmed short as they were in the second roundel of the Crucifixion, folio 115 (fig. 28). The other Apostles wear simple tunics, clasp their hands together, and kneel on both knees. Peter alone wears a tunic of gold covered by a red cloak, appears to kneel on one knee, and holds his hands open, palms outward. John is on the Virgin's left, recognizable by his beardless face and long, golden hair. The position of the Virgin is emphasized by Apostles wearing tunics of soft purple on either side of her. Interest is created by alternating Apostles having brown hair and bifurcated beards with those having white hair and pointed beards. The composition is pulled together by repeating the floor color in a green tunic in the back row where another garment echoes the blue of Mary's mantle.

Mary, now an older woman, wears a dress of gold with a white collar like that of Elizabeth in the Visitation, folio 51 (fig. 20). In the traditional manner, a long, blue mantle covers her hair and falls to the floor, one side spreading out in front of her, the other caught up by her hands. An unusually dark background appears behind the Dove.

In the roundels are: the Dove of the Holy Spirit shown against a background of gold floral design on dark blue; the Resurrection at the Tomb, Christ's appearance to the soldiers; Noli me tangere, Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen who kneels with hands crossed before her breast in front of

a wattle fence; The Journey to Emmaus showing the meeting between Christ and the two Apostles, Cleopas and Peter, in front of a walled city; and, in the fifth roundel, the Baptism of Christ in the river Jordan by John the Baptist.

As with the other four miniatures with roundels, this miniature is bordered only by a black-outlined gold band, and the script is not set off from the border by any line. The initial is filled with stylized vines and leaves, and the tendrils make strongly crossed diagonals in the lower and side borders.

Iconography of the Introductory Miniature to the Hours of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecost

The scene of the Pentecost, folio 119 (fig. 29), introduces the Short Hours of the Holy Spirit (ff. 119-122v). The twelve Apostles (Matthais took the place of Judas) kneel with Mary before a darkened apse. After the Ascension of Christ the Apostles gathered in a room in Jerusalem where the Holy Spirit descended upon them in tongues of fire. (Acts 2:1-4). The occasion marks the birth of the Church, and Mary, who "personifies the Church" (82), is usually shown in the center of the group. Several slightly different versions of the Pentecost are to be seen in the manuscripts of this period. The Pentecost of the Belles Heures, folio 84 (4), takes place in a building with an "ecclesiastical form" (83) rather than a private dwelling. The Apostles crowd into spaces on either side of

a central area with a raised apse where the Virgin sits. A Boucicaut Workshop Pentecost, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 80, folio 127 (84), arranges the figures in similar positions but seats them all in handsome chairs. The figures of the Pentecost of Pierpont Morgan Library, M96, folio 64v (85), circle the Virgin while Peter and John kneel in front of her. The mid-fifteenth century manuscript, British Library Egerton Ms 2019, folio 135 (86), shows the Virgin seated on a raised dais holding an open book. Around her are the eleven Apostles, behind her is the apse of a church with an open window through which the Dove of the Holy Spirit descends. This miniature has five roundels in the border depicting the story of creation and scenes of the sacraments of Baptism and Penance.

The Mary of Ms. 2 appears in the Pentecost scene, folio 51 (fig. 55), of British Library manuscript Add. MS. 11865 (87). The Apostles appear in a more complex design with figures arranged both inside and outside the room and a Baptism scene in the lower border.

All of these miniatures use the same general figure grouping with Mary in the center, her hands pressed together or folded in front of her. In some scenes she holds a book. The Apostles group around her and either sit, stand, or kneel. The interiors appear to be a church rather than the room mentioned in the Bible. Border vignettes picture the sacraments of the Church.

Office of the Dead (ff. 123-170v)

The Office of the Dead is one of the longer sections in Books of Hours and there appears to be a wide choice of subjects for the miniature that introduces it (88). It is one of the most important sections for it reflects the fascination of the subjects of "death, doom, and disaster" which was prevalent at this time (89). Subjects having to do with funeral rites and mourners, processions to the graveyard, interment, illustrations of the dying as well as Biblical subjects such as the Raising of Lazarus, and Job on his dunghill are common subjects. Job was chosen because passages from the Book of Job appear in the Office of the Dead (90). A miniature of Job and his Comforters introduces the Office of the Dead in Ms. 2.

Description of the Introductory Miniature to the Office of the Dead: Job and His Comforters, folio 123 (fig. 30)

In this, the last of the five major miniatures with roundels, Job sits on a huge, brown dunghill which is elegantly textured with fine gold lines. Job fills the foreground of the picture, his back close to the left frame, his legs extending the full width of the miniature. A crowd of his friends fill the upper right side and a half-length figure of God the Father is suspended in an aureole in the heavens above. Crowned and haloed, God holds an orb in one hand and blesses with the other. Job wears only a tattered loin cloth while the others are dressed in robes and hats of

red, gold, purple, and blue. Job's hands are folded in prayer as his well-dressed friends lecture and mock him. Behind Job is a row of dark green shrubs and appearing above them is the roof of a house. The roof is red, edged in gold and has two very small windows that look out over the scene below. Beyond the house and above a distant blue building on a hilltop, the sky is blue and starry.

The roundels depict the following ideas: The transience of life on earth (three skulls separated by three bones form a triangle on a red background outlined in blue); The wealth of Job (Job with his wife and six children in a richly decorated house); The destruction of Job's house and the death of his children (a pillar of his house topples under the stress of the hurricane as five of his children sit around a table); Job on the dung heap (hearing of the loss of his animals); Job scourged by Satan.

This is another richly decorated border filled with green and gold vines, pink and blue flowers, red berries, and gold and green pods. Filling every empty space are golden dots with three lines that swirl outward ending in circlets. Blue and gold acanthus leaves curve around the roundels, in places becoming part of their borders. A green hill at the bottom border provides a place for two tall stems to grow, one supporting green and gold leaves and blue flowers, the other, green and gold ferns and red berries. Between the three roundels on the outside border are two golden circles overlaid with blue and pink geometric designs

and circlets. Both of these circles are bisected by diagonals of green vines which form quadripartite sections in the border, their angles repeat those of the two stems at the bottom of the page.

The initial is strongly designed and has much depth. It overlaps its gold background and is filled with a stylized leaf design with an unusual loop around the body of the initial.

Iconography of Introductory Miniature to the Office of the Dead: Job and His Comforters

The story of Job, portrayed on folio 123 (fig. 30), introduces the Office of the Dead (ff. 123-170v). Job, confronted by his friends, sits on his dunghheap, his legs stretching across the lower front of the page. The painting illustrates the story of a man who retained his faith while being tested by suffering (Book of Job). His house was destroyed and his children were killed by a terrible storm; his livestock and servants died and he was afflicted with a disease that covered his body with boils; he was derided by his wife and friends and beaten by Satan. He survived all of his trials and lived to prosper. The theme attests to the ultimate salvation of the faithful. Its inclusion aids in the dating of Ms. 2 as it is a theme that did not make an appearance until the end of the fifteenth century (91). It can be seen in manuscripts such as Waddesdon MS 13, folio 104v (92), and British Library Add. MS 11865, folio 63 (fig. 68)

(93), and Yates Thompson 5, folio 75v (94). These miniatures bear close comparisons with Ms. 2. Job, white-haired, white-bearded, and wearing only a tattered loin cloth, sits at the front of the miniature while the other figures, dressed in garments and hats of Ms. 2, take similar positions. The dunghill behind Job is the same triangular shape in all the scenes, but the backgrounds differ. Ms. 2 has a landscape with God the Father in the heavens while the other miniatures have various architectural motifs.

The Fifteen Joys of the Virgin (ff. 171-172)

The Fifteen Joys of the Virgin follow the Office of the Dead and "restore the element of gladness" to the manuscript (95). This text is introduced with a miniature of the Virgin holding the Child, and the prayers are usually written in a vernacular language rather than in Latin (96). The Fifteen Joys of the Virgin of Ms. 2 is written in French. It is not marked by a miniature and the first portion of text is missing.

Seven Requests of Our Lord (ff. 172v-175v)

The Seven Requests of Our Lord is considered one of the "secondary" texts according to the basic classification of the contents of Books of Hours which was established by the Abbe Leroquais in 1927 (97). The "essential" texts being: the Calendar, the Little Office or Hours of the Virgin, the

Penitential Psalms, the Litany (which was usually not illustrated), the Office of the Dead, and the Memorials and Suffrages. Other secondary texts are: the Gospel Sequences, two special prayers to the Virgin, Obsecro te and O intemerata, and a number of shorter alternative Offices, the Hours of the Cross, of the Holy Spirit, and (less often) of the Holy Trinity, the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, and the Seven Request of Our Lord. Other "accessory" texts could be included in a Book of Hours (98). In Ms. 2 The Seven Request of Our Lord is introduced by a miniature of the Man of Sorrows.

Description of the Introductory Miniature to the Seven Requests of Our Lord: Man of Sorrows, folio 172v (fig. 31)

The full-length figure of Christ suspended in a blue sky is surrounded by an aureole of dark blue overlaid with golden rays. Two full-length angels less than his shoulder height and dressed in gowns of gold hold his robe open to display his wounds. Above, two half-length angels in dark blue clouds adore him. Christ's robe is red, his loin cloth is white, and on his head is the crown of thorns. Bloody scratches cover his forehead and body and his eyes are cast downward. The bonds have begun to fall away from his hands which are crossed before him; he holds the palm of the martyr, the Christian symbol of victory over death.

This painting differs from all the others in that its frame, except for the lower edge, is decorated with

unfaceted jewels. A heavy outer border of strawberries and leaves frames the sides of the miniature and the script beneath. The border design is similar to the early miniature pages in that it has no crossing tendrils to form the beginning of diagonals. The border decorations are somewhat sparse, and the initial is decorated in the stylized leaf and tendril pattern.

Iconography of the Introductory Miniature to the
Seven Requests of Our Lord: Man of Sorrows

The final large miniature of the manuscript, Imago Piëtatis, Man of Sorrows, folio 172v (fig. 31), introduces the Seven Requests of Our Lord (ff. 172v-175v). "This image was intended to invoke the full impact of the suffering and sacrifice of Christ, the subject of the following devotions" (99). Examples of the Man of Sorrows can be found in both early and late fifteenth-century manuscripts such as the Hours of Isabella Stuart, Duchess of Brittany, (c.1417-1418) ms. 62, folio 199 (100) and the Très Riches Heures, folio 75 (c.1411-16 and 1485-90) (101). The latter, a late-century example, is one of the first of the miniatures in the Limbourg manuscript to be decorated by Jean Colombe seventy years after the deaths of the original artists (102). Colombe was a follower of Jean Fouquet of Tours. "A clear line of descent runs from Fouquet to the generation of Colombe, Bourdichon, and the Master of the Tilliot Hours, all of whom were probably in some degree his pupils" (103).

Although the style of the earlier Fitzwilliam manuscript with its swaying figure, flowing robes, and rinceaux background differs from that of the later Très Riches Heures' Man of Sorrows, the pose of the figure closely resembles that of another Très Riches Heures' miniature, the Resurrection, folio 182v (104). In both of these miniatures Christ gestures with his right arm and looks down as if he were speaking to someone. Although the Ms. 2 figure of Christ and that of Colombe's Man of Sorrows appear to be of the same period, they are dissimilar in body style, coloration, and background treatment. There are, however, strong similarities in the appearance and demeanor of the figures as well as the shape of the face, the design of the beard, and the style of the crown of thorns with its placement just at the hairline. The most striking similarity is in the attitude of the figure. In both miniatures, Christ, facing outward, holds his hands crossed at the wrists, turns his head slightly to his right, and looks downward.

The facial features and body style of the Ms. 2 Man of Sorrows resembles the Crucifixion figure of Christ in a National Gallery of Victoria, Australia manuscript, the Wharnccliffe Hours, MS Felton 1072/3, by the French Master, folio 73 (105). The crown of thorns, the halo, the folds of the garments and especially the figure style and face of Christ is recognizably the same. The resemblance of the French Master's work and the illustrations of the Calendar

pages of Ms. 2 has already been noted (106). Margaret Manion, in discussing the French Master, dates the height of his career as c.1475-1480 and states that "his style, as well as drawing on Parisian traditions, especially those of the Bedford Master's atelier, was also markedly influenced by Jean Fouquet and the school of Tours" (107). In both manuscripts, the head of Christ turns to his right and the eyes look downward away from the viewer. The pose is both distinctive and expressive.

Memorials and Suffrages (ff. 176-188)

The Memorials and Suffrages are short devotions to the saints. They usually begin with the Trinity and continue with prayers to the Virgin, St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, the Apostles, and a series of saints revered locally or universally. The number of inclusions may vary from as few as six to as many as a hundred or more (108).

Descriptions of the Memorials and Suffrages

The Trinity, folio 176 (fig. 32)

Two half-length male figures, one young the other old, share a common robe and hold an open book between them; a dove rests upon their shoulders. Christ on the left bleeds from a crown of thorns and from his hand; God the Father on the right holds an orb; the Dove of the Holy Spirit raises its wings. The figures are arranged in front of a circular field of blue with golden rays emanating from behind.

St. Michael, folio 176v (fig. 33)

According to the book of Revelations (12:7-9), Michael and his angels waged war upon and defeated the dragon. Here Michael wears a suit of armor and is armed with a sword. He wears a pair of red wings. Heaven is portrayed as a green and blue-green landscape.

John the Baptist, folio 177 (fig. 34)

The saint appears in a tunic of animal skins and a red robe. He stands in a wilderness of tall deciduous trees rather than a desert wilderness. He holds a book upon which rests a Lamb, the Agnus Dei, which is derived from the time when John referred to Jesus as the Lamb of God (John 1:36). The Lamb holds a staff topped with a crucifix and banner, a symbol of victory over death.

St. Christopher, folio 177v (fig. 35)

According to the Golden Legend, Christopher, the huge man from Canaan, sought to serve the most powerful person in the land and was guided by a hermit to carry the poor and weak across a great river. Here he finds himself between the riverbanks bearing the Christ Child, 'the weight of the world upon his shoulders', while the hermit holds a lamp on the shore behind them.

St. Sebastian, folio 178v (fig. 36)

The legend of St. Sebastian places him in the third century as an officer in the Roman army who, upon having declared himself a Christian, was shot with arrows and left for dead. He survived the ordeal and was able to return to

reaffirm his faith and subsequently be killed by the emperor's soldiers. Here he is shown in a landscape clothed in a white loin cloth and tied to a tree. Two archers aim their arrows at his body which is already pierced by five arrows.

St. Stephen, folio 180 (fig. 37)

St. Stephen was one of the seven deacons appointed by the Apostles and was the first Christian martyr. He was stoned to death after delivering a sermon (Acts 7:2-56) in which he accused the legislative council in Jerusalem of having murdered Jesus. He wears a deacon's garment called a dalmatic. He holds stones, his attribute, and a martyr's palm.

St. Lawrence, folio 180v (fig. 38)

St. Lawrence died in Rome in 258 shortly after the martyrdom of Pope Sixtus II. When the Pope was arrested, he told St. Lawrence, who had charge of the treasures of the church, to give the treasure to the poor. This he did, and when ordered to turn the treasure over to the Roman high official he said that the poor were the treasures of the Church. He was, subsequently, condemned to death by being roasted on a gridiron. He, like St. Stephen, wears the deacon's dalmatic and carries a martyr's palm.

Sts. Cosmas and Damian, folio 181 (fig. 39)

These early Christian martyrs were twin brothers who were physicians. They ministered to the sick without charge. Here they hold a jar of ointment in their hands and

wear the garments of the physician: long, dark red gowns trimmed and lined in fur and on their heads a round, red cap. They survived several attempts on their lives under the persecution of the Roman Emperor Diocletian until they were finally beheaded in northern Syria.

St. Nicholas (as bishop with three youths in tub),

folio 182 (fig. 40)

These three children were miraculously restored to life by St. Nicholas after having been murdered by a wicked inn keeper. They appear naked and in a tub where their bodies were being preserved.

St. Anthony (Abbot), folio 182v (fig. 41)

He was born in the third century A.D. and is believed to have been the founder of monasticism. After the death of his parents, St. Anthony gave away all of his possessions and become a hermit in the desert of Egypt. He is shown here in a forest wearing the brown robes of a monk and holding a bell. He is accompanied by a boar.

St. Fiacre, folio 183 (fig. 42)

He was the patron saint of horticulturalists and appears holding a book and a spade. He wears the dalmatic and his hair is tonsured.

St. Maurus, folio 184 (fig. 43)

Sts. Maurus and Placidus were sons of patrician Roman families who were sent as children to St. Benedict to be educated. They became closely attached to the saint. As missionaries, Placidus went to Sicily and Maurus to France.

Here St. Maurus is shown dressed in black, holding a book and a crosier.

St. Catherine, folio 184v (fig. 44)

She is shown with the sword of her execution, a martyr's palm and the broken wheel symbolizing the four wheels studded with iron spikes that, according to the Golden Legend, the Emperor Maxentius employed in her torture because she refused his advances. A thunderbolt shattered the wheels of torture before they could harm her.

St. Genevieve, folio 185 (fig. 45)

She is shown dressed as a nun holding a book and a candle which a demon attempts to blow out while an angel protects the flame. As the patron saint of Paris, she had the gift of prophecy and traveled the dark roads to the city to warn the people of attack by invaders. Her candle which lighted her way was constantly blown out only to be miraculously rekindled.

St. Margaret (of Antioch), folio 185v (fig. 46)

Margaret refused to marry the prefect of Antioch because she was a Christian virgin and was, consequently, thrown into a dungeon where Satan appeared to her as a dragon and swallowed her. At the time she was holding a cross in her hand and it caused the dragon to burst open and release Margaret unharmed. She was later beheaded. She became the patron saint of women in labor who wanted to be safely delivered in childbirth as she was delivered from the belly of the dragon. Her attribute is the dragon. She

appears here in an interior before a brocaded blue drape. She holds a small cross, and her three-quarter length figure rises out of the back of an animal which lies on the floor. The creature has the head and body of a lion with a snake-like striped tail. Part of her red robe protudes from its mouth.

St. Avia (Hedwig), folio 186v (fig. 47)

She was the Duchess of Silesia who devoted her life to the alleviation of the suffering of others and was prominent in the founding of religious houses. She appears at the window of a castle being given Communion by the Virgin Mary. She wears a red tunic and her head is uncovered. She wears a halo. A similiarly attired figure without a halo stands behind the Virgin. There is a landscape in the background.

St. Mary Magdalene, folio 187 (fig. 48)

In western art it is Mary Magdalene, the repentent sinner, who washed Christ's feet with her tears, dried them with her hair, and annointed them with precious ointment (Luke 7:36). She is shown here in an interior holding her attribute, the jar of ointment, and a book. Usually she wears a red cloak as she does here.

All Saints, folio 187v (fig. 49)

Three recognizable figures appear in front of a large group of male, half-length saints. They are St. Stephen with the stone on his head, St. Lawrence with his grid, and St. Denis, a bishop and martyr of the third century, who was said to have been beheaded in Paris by orders of the Roman

prefect, and who then rose to his feet and carried his severed head to the place where he was buried. This place was later to be known as the Mount of Martyrs or Montmartre. He appears wearing his bishop's robes and carrying his severed head.

Iconography of the Memorials and Suffrages

The iconography of the Memorials and Suffrages of Ms. 2 corresponds with other manuscripts of the period. Generally the miniatures are a standard representation of the saints. No obscure or unfamiliar saint appears to signify anything unusual or individual about the book.

The figures all appear in a three-quarter length pose with simplified interiors or landscape backgrounds and are identified by their attribute or the situation in which they are depicted.

Unfinished pages

188v A blank page, ruled, and with border

189-192v Blank pages, ruled

IV

CONCLUSION

From the masters of what Millard Meiss called "the two best workshops in Paris during the first twenty years of the fifteenth century", come the traditional patterns for the miniatures and borders of Michigan State University Library Ms. 2. Figure and miniature designs also relate to mid-century masters, the Arsenal 575 Master and the Fastolf Master and late-century French Master, all known to have been associated with the Bedford workshop.

The manuscript cannot be dated from the early decades of the century because it contains elements that do not appear in Books of Hours until some sixty or more years later. A mid-to late-1480s dating of Ms. 2 allows for such late-century influences as: 1) late-century figure style: solid, rounded figures, portrait-like Madonnas, kneeling, seated, and three-quarter length close-ups, domination of the page by the enlarged figure; 2) color: aerial perspective in the blue landscapes, gold texturing overlaying flat color; 4) perspective: naturalistic landscapes, geometricity and stability of the miniature, believable interior space; 5) themes: Bathsheba on the David page, and Job on his dunghill.

Masters of the first two decades of the century and the workshop that produced Ms. 2 appear to be connected through mid-century artists who collaborated with and inherited the patterns of the early masters. The patterns were kept alive in these workshops, not only by the workshop masters themselves but by assistants whose work continued into the late years of the century. This is not to say that the Arsenal 575 Master, the Fastolf or French Masters worked on the Michigan State University Library manuscript. Rather it must be as Marrow and deWit stated of a similar manuscript attribution, "There can be no suggestion that these Hours were made in [the Master's] workshop, but they might have been painted by an assistant who had acquired his skill from that inspiring Master and, having left him, could not maintain the live tradition but simply retained certain habits" (1). Ms. 2 shows the influence, if not the genius, of these masters.

Economy is an important aspect of manuscripts of this type. The miniatures of Ms. 2 are abbreviations of complex patterns used in earlier more expensive manuscripts by artists of superior ability. Figures and objects of Ms. 2 are limited in number, simplified, and enlarged to obviate the need for finely detailed backgrounds. In the 1480s when hand-made books were competing with printed books, money-saving measures were necessary for manuscripts in the mid-range market for which Ms. 2 was produced. These economies did not result in the Michigan State University

Library manuscript becoming, as one writer put it, a careless product; on the contrary, Ms. 2 is very carefully executed, a manuscript of high consistency and quality. Consistency denotes an attitude toward standards and an atelier under tight control: "The degree of uniformity depended on the amount of control exercised by the person in charge" (2). Late-century style as well as economy appears to be a motivation for the larger figures. The then-current trend toward monumentality is seen in the portrait-like miniatures of the Madonna pages.

There are more borders in the manuscript than there are miniatures which indicates that the borders were produced first. With the borders more in the early style, one is tempted to suggest that the miniatures could have been added at a much later date and perhaps originated in a location different from that of the borders.

A significant aspect of the manuscript is that it closely follows the patterns of the Calendar miniatures of the Belles and Bedford Hours, the borders of the Bedford Hours, and the miniature design and iconography of the mid-century collaborators of the Bedford Master who had direct access to the earlier models. It is possible that the miniatures of Ms. 2 may have been influential in the continuance of these styles.

Similarities between Ms. 2 and numbers of late-century Rouen manuscripts and the knowledge that Bedford collaborators and associates worked in Rouen, invite

consideration of a possible Paris-Rouen connection for Ms. 2. The use of particular patterns in both Paris and Rouen show the proliferation of these models and the influence of late-century ideas on what had become a staple industry.

The monumentality and stability of Ms. 2's figures place them in the mainstream of Renaissance influence which was transforming the art of France in the last half of the fifteenth century. There is no great newness about the Ms. 2 Horae and its figures lack the individuality and quality of fine painting, but the emphasis is placed on the human figure and the viewer is a spectator of events portrayed by the figure. Each roundel with portrait-like half-length figures and the kneeling, sitting, and close-up figures of the major miniatures are quite at home with early sixteenth-century manuscripts.

The Book of Hours is a most instructive institution and our manuscript is a very fine example of the changes taking place in the world of the fifteenth century.

END NOTES

I

INTRODUCTION

1. H. P. Kraus, Unpublished Typescript, Michigan State University Library, Special Collections.
2. The inscription reads: Hoc manuscriptum Pignus amoris et Gratitudinis, consurat amicus F. Carolus de Notinger, resignatus abbas Monasterii B. M. Virginis de Freistroff, decanus Vallis B. M. V. vulgo de Sturtzelbrunn, ordinis Cisterciensis, amico suo Gerardo Fuzreo?, Pro tempore Priore et Professori Monasterii B. M. V. de Campo Principum in Bavaria. Anno 1791. Gemeute regi, flero, nobile. Vniterroque Populo Aristoratico gallicoruo, Epuli Supro nominato cis .?.enum, for Villa Zurtzel, diticone Bavaria. Ex libris f. Claudii Moyne.

I

STYLE

1. London, British Library Add. MS. 18850, Hours of the Master of the Duke of Bedford, c.1423. See E. P. Spencer, "The Master of the Duke of Bedford: the Bedford Hours," Burlington Magazine, CVII, 1965: 495-502. J. Backhouse, "A Reappraisal of the Bedford Hours," British Library Journal, VIII (Spring, 1981) 47-69. E. P. Spencer, "The Master of the Duke of Bedford: the Salisbury Breviary," Burlington Magazine CVIII (1966) 607-612. E. P. Spencer, The Sobieski Hours, a Manuscript in the Royal Library in Windsor Castle, London: Roxburgher Club, 1977. Illustrations of the Bedford Calendar pages are available from the British Museum Shop in the form of postal cards.
2. Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master (London and New York: Phaidon, 1968) 19.

3. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, ms.2, Hours of Marshal Jean de Boucicaut, 1405-08. See Meiss, Boucicaut Master, Chapters I and V; and E. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting (New York: Harper & Row, 1953) 1:53-61. Illustrated in Meiss, Plate 30.
4. J. D. Farquhar, Creation and Imitation: The Work of a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator (Fort Lauderdale: Nova/NYIT University Press, 1976) 127, 129.
5. Ibid., 132.
6. Ibid., 36, for a style description of Arsenal 575.
7. Illustrated in Farquhar, Plate 1.
8. E. P. Spencer, "Dom Louis de Busco's Psalter," in Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1974) 227-240.
9. Spencer, "Salisbury Breviary," 607-612.
10. Ibid., 612.
11. London, The British Library, Egerton MS 2045, c.1470, f.62v, Visitation. Illustrated in J. Backhouse, Books of Hours (London: The British Library, 1985) 27.
12. There are also similar designs of architecture, woodwork, and floors. See f.138v, fig. 63.
13. For examples of this trend see British Library Harley MS 2877, folio 44v, Christ carrying the Cross, end of the 15th century (illustrated in Backhouse, Books of Hours, 46); MS 23, folio 125, Job on the Dung-hill, early sixteenth-century, (illustrated in L. M. J. Delaisse, J. Marrow, & J. de Wit, The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Illuminated Manuscripts (Fribourg, Switzerland: for The National Trust, 1977) 509; MS 13, folio 104v, Job on the Dunghill, late fifteenth-century (illustrated in Waddesdon, 281).
14. Waddesdon, 262.
15. J. Backhouse, The Illuminated Manuscript (Oxford, England: Phaidon, 1979) 77.
16. Waddesdon, 262.
17. Ibid., p. 460. Other manuscripts of this trend are Waddesdon MS 24 (1510), folio 48v, Visitation; and MS 25, (1510) folio 14, Annunciation, (in Waddesdon,

529, 553 respectively).

18. Illustrated in J. Backhouse, (Kren, Evans, and Backhouse), "French Manuscript Illumination, 1450-1530," Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1983) 166.
19. Backhouse, Illuminated Manuscript, 74.
20. C. D. Cuttler, Northern Painting (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968) 34.
21. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 220, f.89, Adoration of the Magi. Illustrated in Farquhar, Creation and Imitation, 89.
22. The Breviary of Jean sans Peur, British Library Add.Ms. 35311, f.199, Adoration of the Magi. Illustrated in Farquhar, Plates 24 and 25. M. Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library and George Brazillier, 1974), 1:232-237. M. Meiss, The Breviary of Jean sans Peur and the Limbourgs (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1971) 1-19.
23. For a discussion of iconographical relationships between Ms. 2 and these manuscripts see Chapter 3, 40-42.
24. Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, Musée Condé, Chantilly, France 1416-1485? J. Longnon, R. Cazelles, Les Très Riche Heures du Duc de Berry (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969).
25. J. Harthan, Books of Hours and Their Owners (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 72.
26. Illustrated in M. Meiss, Boucicaut Master, Plates 30, 35.
27. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, 1:61.
28. Illustrated in Backhouse, Illuminated Manuscript, 62.
29. Illustrated in Meiss, Boucicaut Master, Plates 23, 31.
30. Illustrated in Meiss, The Limbourgs, vol. 2, Plate 777.
31. The Playfair Hours, Victoria and Albert Museum, V&A, L.475-1918, (1480s?). R. The Playfair Hours (London: The Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984). For a further discussion of iconographical similarities see

Chapter III, 44.

32. Ibid., 76.
33. M. M. Manion, V. F. Vines, Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian Collections (Melbourne: Thames and Hudson, 1984), 199.
34. Spencer, "The Bedford Hours," 498. Illustrated in Backhouse, "A Reappraisal of the Bedford Hours," 51.
35. Farquhar, Creation and Imitation, 101 and Plates 14, 12, 13.
36. Illustrated in Farquhar, Plate 11.
37. Ibid., 101.
38. Illustrated in Farquhar, Plate 4.
39. Meiss, Boucicaut Master, 15.

III

ICONOGRAPHY

1. Harthan, 24.
2. Ibid.
3. Bedford Hours Calendar miniatures available from the British Museum Shop in the form of postal cards.
4. New York, The Cloisters Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry, 1405-1408/9. M. Meiss and E. H. Beatson, The Belles Heures of Jean Duke of Berry (New York: George Braziller, 1974). Illustration listed by folio number.
5. Illustrated in Backhouse, Books of Hours, 17.
6. Ibid., 51. London, British Library Egerton 2019, f. 13, St. John. British Library photograph.
7. Ibid., 73, 75. London, British Library Add. Ms. 11865, British Library photograph.
8. Ibid., Backhouse, 73.
9. Hours of Juana Enríquez, Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio. Farquhar, 33-40, 103-112, Plate 45.

10. Farquhar, Creation and Imitation, 33.
11. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 575. Illustrated in Farquhar.
12. Ibid., Plate 2.
13. For stylistic similarities with Ms.2, see Chapter II, 18, note 30.
14. Illustrated in Watson, 89.
15. Harthan, 26.
16. S. Ringbom, Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth Century Devotional Painting (Turku: Åbo Akademi Åbo, 1965).
17. Ibid., 5, 93.
18. Panofsky, 1:297.
19. Ringbom, 100-101.
20. Illustrated in Waddesdon, 454.
21. Backhouse, Books of Hours, 31.
22. Harthan, 28.
23. Ibid. 26, 28.
24. Ibid., 64.
25. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.251, f.26, Annunciation. Spencer, Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner, 238.
26. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS.IV.III, Master of the Brussels Horloge de Sapience. Ibid., 237.
27. Meiss, French Painting...The Limbourgs, 1:30.
28. London, The British Library, Add.Ms. 30899 f. 1, Annunciation. Backhouse, Books of Hours, 16, 18. Illustrated on 21.
29. Farquhar, 48, Plates 26, 27.
30. London, Count Seilern Collection, The Seilern Hours. Illustrated in Farquhar, 48-49, Plate 26.
31. Ibid., 47.

32. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.252, f.30, Annunciation. Illustrated in Spencer, Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner, 235, Plate 3.
33. Illustrated in Meiss, French Painting...The Boucicaut Master, Plate 30.
34. Harthan, 72.
35. Panofsky, I:46, 377 note 3; and Meiss, French Painting ...The Limbourgs, 1:195.
36. Illustrated in: Longnon, Très Riches Heures, 40; Meiss, French Painting...The Limbourgs, Plate 627; and for London, British Library Add. Ms. 16997, Chevalier Hours, f.57, Nativity see Backhouse, Books of Hours, 28.
37. A "manuscript which is related to the Limbourgs as much in style as in compositions...." Farquhar, 46.
38. Panofsky, 1:61.
39. Ibid., 59.
40. Illustrated in Watson, The Playfair Hours, 25, 27, 29, 33 respectively.
41. Illustrated in Waddesdon, MS. 9, 181; Ms. 10, 215; MS. 12, 247.
42. Ibid., illustrated 503.
43. Ibid., 515.
44. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 9474 f. 68v, Annunciation to the Shepherds. Illustrated in Harthan, 132.
45. Illustrated in Farquhar, Plates 22, 24.
46. Ibid., 45 and Plate 25.
47. Ibid., 102-103.
48. Ibid., 85.
49. Ibid., 46.
50. London, The British Library, Add. MS. 11865, f. 37v, Presentation. British Library photograph.
51. Illustrated in Watson, 23.

52. Ibid., illustrated 98.
53. Illustrated in Backhouse, Books of Hours, 7.
54. Ibid., illustrated 22.
55. Illustrated in Farquhar, Plate 1.
56. Illustrated in Meiss, French Painting...Boucicaut Master, Plate 16.
57. Illustrated in Watson, 81, 82, 87, 89, 93, 98, 100, 101.
58. Illustrated in Watson, 65, 59, 33 respectively.
59. Illustrated in Backhouse, Books of Hours, 38.
60. Ibid., illustrated 39.
61. Illustrated in Farquhar, Plate 68.
62. Illustrated in Harthan, 72.
63. Manion and Vines, 206.
64. Illustrated in Harthan, 126.
65. Illustrated in Backhouse, Books of Hours, 40.
66. Ibid., 32, 38.
67. Ringbom, 1984, Plate 47.
68. Illustrated in Watson, 100.
69. Harthan, 29.
70. Backhouse, Books of Hours, 58.
71. Calkins, 1983, 261, attributed to Leroquais and Delaisse. Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 569, f. 83 illustrated in Meiss, French Painting...The Boucicaut Master, Plate 269.
72. Calkins, 261.
73. Illustrated in Backhouse, "French Manuscript Illumination 1450-1530," in Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts, 149.
74. London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 11865, f. 53, David and Bathsheba. British Library photograph.

75. This master was discussed in Chapter II, p. 8.
76. London, The British Library, Egerton MS 2045, f. 138v, David. British Library photograph.
77. Harthan, 17.
78. Bedford Crucifixion, illustrated in Spencer, "The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Bedford Hours," 499.
79. Illustrated in Longnon, Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, 114.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., 115.
82. Panofsky, 1:145.
83. Meiss, French Painting...The Limbourgs, 84.
84. Illustrated in Meiss, The Boucicaut Master, fig. 330.
85. Illustrated in Manion and Vines, 218, fig.230.
86. Illustrated in Backhouse, Books of Hours, 51.
87. London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 11865, f. 51, Pentecost. British Library photograph.
88. Harthan, 30-31.
89. Backhouse, Books of Hours, 51.
90. Harthan, 29.
91. Calkins, Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages, 273.
92. Illustrated in Waddesdon, 281.
93. London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 11865, f. 63, Job and his Comforters. British Library photograph.
94. Illustrated in Backhouse, Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts, 176.
95. Harthan, 18.
96. Ibid., 31.
97. Ibid., 14.
98. Ibid., 14.

99. Calkins, Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages, 261.
100. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, ms.62, f.199.
Illustrated in Harthan, 115.
101. Illustrated in Longnon, 75.
102. Harthan, 63, 65.
103. Backhouse, "French Manuscript Illumination 1450-1530,"
Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts, 150.
104. Illustrated in Longnon, Très Riches Heures, 127.
105. Illustrated in Manion and Vines, 189, Plate 41.
106. For a stylistic comparison in Ms.2, see Chapter II,
12.
107. Manion and Vines, 197.
108. Harthan, 18.

IV

CONCLUSION

1. Waddesdon, 227.
2. Farquhar, 42.

REFERENCES

- Backhouse, J. 1979. The Illuminated Manuscript. Oxford: Phaidon Press Limited.
- _____. 1982. "A Reappraisal of the Bedford Hours," British Library Journal. 8:47-69.
- _____. 1983. "French Manuscript Illumination, 1450-1530," Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library, ed. T.Kren. New York: Hudson Hills Press.
- _____. 1985. Books of Hours. London: The British Library Reference Division Publications.
- Calkins, Robert. 1983. Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Cuttler, Charles. 1968. Northern Painting. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Delaissie, L. M. J., J. Marrow, J. de Wit. 1977. The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Illuminated Manuscripts. London and Fribourg: Published for the National Trust by Office du Livre.
- Farquhar, J. D. 1976. Creation and Imitation: The Work of a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator. Fort Lauderdale, Florida: Nova/NYIT University Press.
- Harthan, John. 1977. Books of Hours. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Longnon, Jean, and Raymond Cazelles. 1969. Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Manion, Margaret, and Vera F. Vines. 1984. Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian Collections. Melbourne, London, New York: Thames and Hudson.

Meiss, Millard. 1968. French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master. National Gallery of Art Kress Foundation Studies in the History of Art, nr. 3. London: Phaidon Press Ltd.

_____. 1974. French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries. New York: George Braziller and the Pierpont Morgan Library.

Meiss, Millard, and Elizabeth H. Beatson. 1974. The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry. New York: George Braziller.

Panofsky, Erwin. 1953. Early Netherlandish Painting. 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ringbom, Sixten. 1965. Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth Century Devotional Painting. Turku: Åbo Akademi Åbo.

Spencer, Eleanor. 1965. "The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Bedford Hours." The Burlington Magazine, No. 751, 8:495-502.

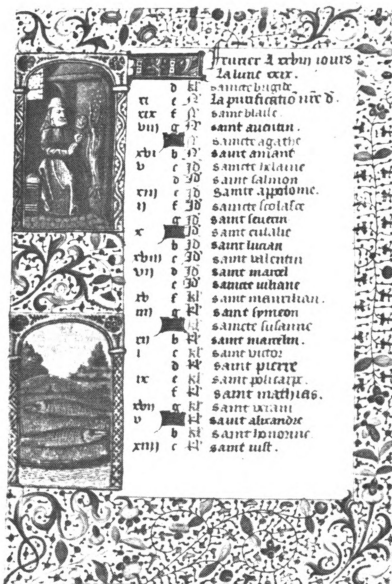
_____. 1974. "Dom Louis de Busco's Psalter," in Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner. McCracken, Randall, and Randall, eds. Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery.

Watson, Rowan. 1984. The Playfair Hours. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.

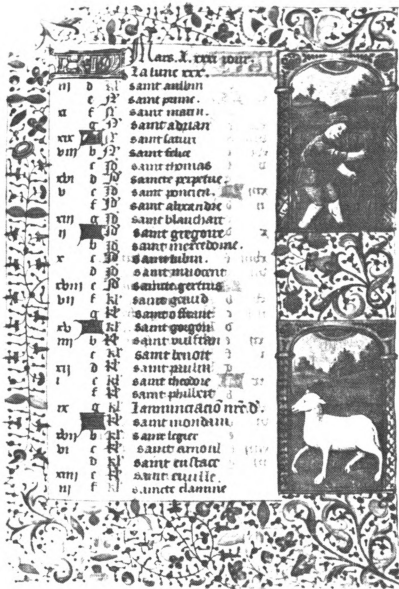
ILLUSTRATIONS



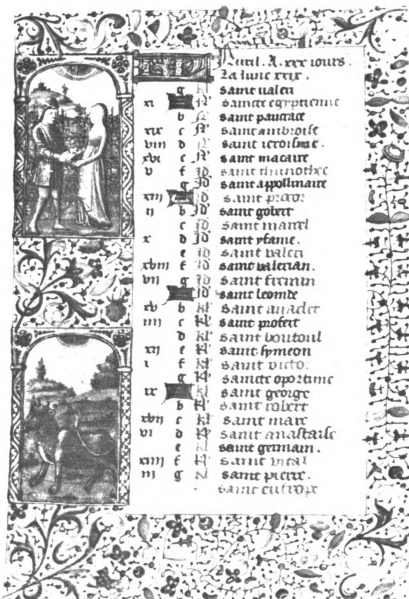
1. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2,
 folio 2, January: Feasting. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



2. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2,
 folio 2v, February: Sitting by the Fire.
 (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



3. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 3, March: Pruning. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



4. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 3v, April: Garden Scene. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



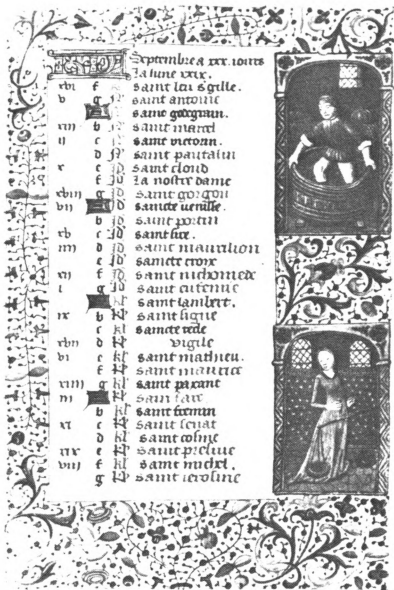
5. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2,
 folio 4, May: Man on Horseback. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



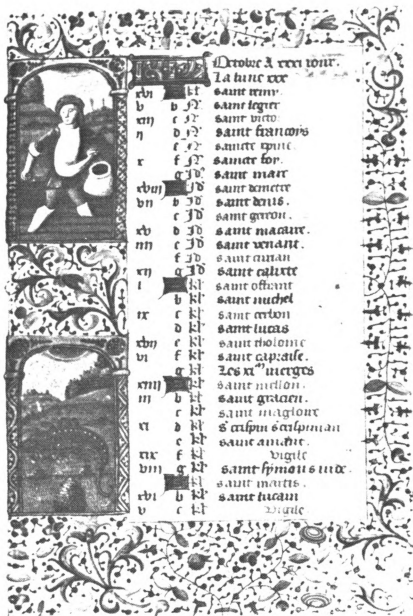
7. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 5, July: Reaping the Grain.
 (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



8. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 5v, August: Threshing. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)




9. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 6, September: Treading the Grape.
(Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



10. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 6v, October: Sowing. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)

LESTRE **N**ouembre a xxx iors.
 La luma xix.
 La feste de tous sains
 le iour des mois.
 saint maurel.
 saint der
 saint he
 saint leonard
 saint eculam.
 les m^{es} ouines.
 saint mattheu.
 saint vrain.
 saint martin.
 saint leon.
 saint luc.
 saint machou.
 saint eugene.
 saint augustin.
 saint eulice.
 saint ende.
 sainte elisabeth.
 saint columba.
 sainte cecile.
 saint michone.
 saint demet.
 saint leuean.
 sainte katherine.
 sainte genouue.
 sainte virel.
 saint euseu.
 sainte sigle.
 saint andree.



11. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2,
 folio 7, November: Gathering Acorns.
 (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



12. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 7v, December: Butchering.
 (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



13. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 9, St. John. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



14. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 11, St. Luke. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



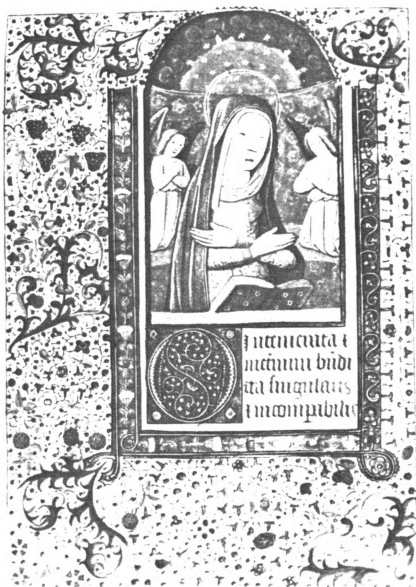
15. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2,
 folio 13, St. Matthew. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



16. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 15, St. Mark. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



17. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 16v, Virgin and Child. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



18. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 20v, Virgin at Prayer. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



19. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 25, Annunciation. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



20. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 51, Visitation. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



21. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 63, Nativity. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



22. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2,
folio 69, Annunciation to the Shepherds.
(Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



23. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 74, Adoration of the Magi.
(Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



24. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2, folio 79, Presentation at the Temple.
 (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



25. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library, Ms. 2,
 folio 84, Massacre of the Innocents.
 (Photo: M. H. LaFonse)



26. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2,
 folio 91, Coronation of the Virgin.
 (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



27. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 97, David and Goliath. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



28. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 115, Crucifixion. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



29. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2,
folio 119, Pentecost. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



30. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2,
 folio 123, Job and his Comforters.
 (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



31. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 172v, Man of Sorrows. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



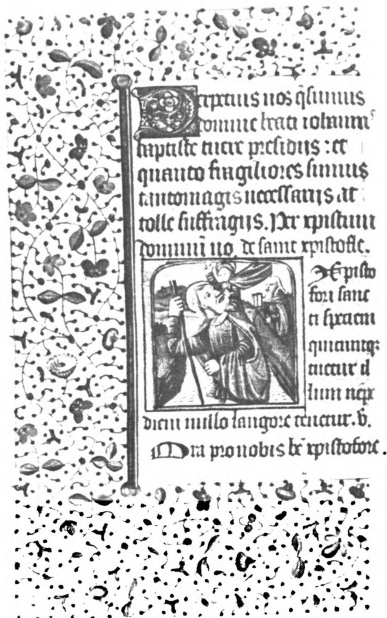
32. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 176, Trinity. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



33. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 176v, St. Michael. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



34. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 177, St. John the Baptist.
(Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



35. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 177v, St. Christopher. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



36. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2,
 folio 178v, St. Sebastian. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



37. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 180, St. Stephen. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



38. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 180v, St. Lawrence. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



39. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2,
 folio 181, Sts. Cosmas and Damian.
 (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



macerulat corpus. b. Ora p
nobis be nicholat. ut digni et
fiamur pmissiombz xpi. etc.

Nicholaus qui beatum oio.
nicholaum pontificem
tuum innumeris deorasti
miraculis: tribue nobis q
sumus: ut eius meritis et
preibus. agetur in macti



41. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 182v, St. Anthony. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)

igitur erant qui. et natiuitatem
 regis utinam prebati. fac
 nos ppius ipius natiuitas
 precibus a getraue uncdy
 luctuos integros q; mactat
 et corpore tibi felicitate nglia
 pcedunt. .i. xx. De sanctis his
 ce. ant.



natiuitas fa
 bricasti:
 qui deco
 rent cor
 nati: contellorem hactum.
 fac nos lic utam fuer: ut



43. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 184, St. Maurus. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



44. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 184v, St. Catherine. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



45. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2,
 folio 185, St. Genevieve. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



46. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 185v, St. Margaret. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



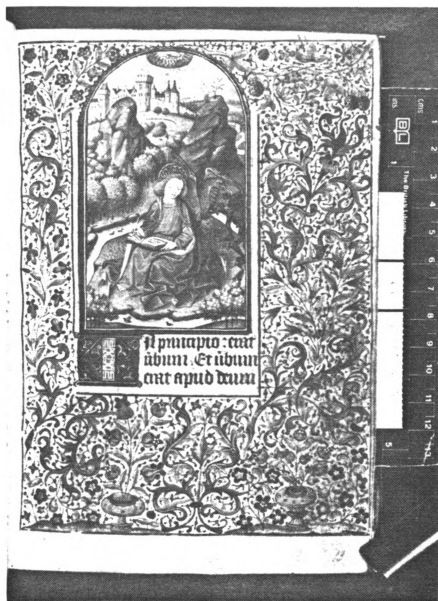
47. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 186v, St. Avia (Hedwig). (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



48. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 187, St. Mary Magdalen. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



49. East Lansing, Michigan State University Library Ms. 2, folio 187v, All Saints. (Photo: M. H. LaPonsey)



50. London, British Library Egerton 2019, folio 13,
St. John. (Photo: British Library)



51. London, British Library Add. Ms. 11865, folio 7,
St. John. (Photo: British Library)



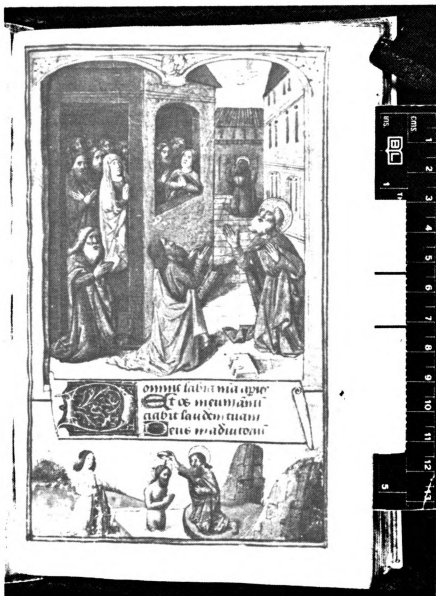
52. London, British Library Add. Ms. 11865, folio 37v, Presentation. (Photo: British Library)



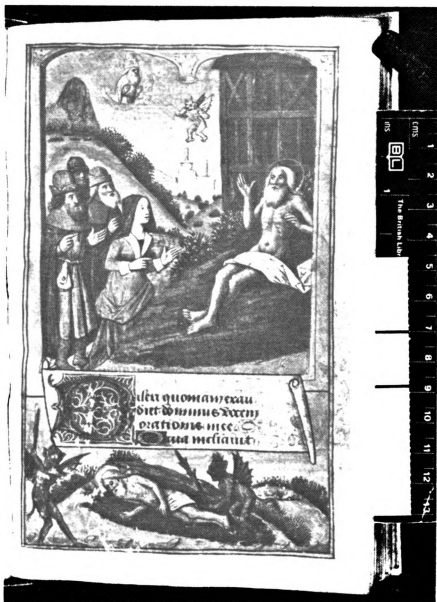
53. London, British Library Add. Ms. 11865, folio 53,
David. (Photo: British Library)



54. London, British Library Egerton 2045, folio 138,
David. (Photo: British Library)



55. London, British Library Add. Ms. 11865, folio 51, Pentecost. (Photo: British Library)



56. London, British Library Add. Ms. 11865, folio 63, Job. (Photo: British Library)



57. London, British Library Egerton 2045, folio 106,
Flight/Massacre. (Photo: British Library)



58. London, British Library Egerton 2045, folio 172v,
Crucifixion. (Photo: British Library)