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**Text and Image in the Salisbury Breviary  
(Paris, BN ms lat 17294)**

**The Decorative Cycle and its Paris Precursors**

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian National University.

November 1987

## Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated  
this thesis is my own work.

*Judith Pearce*

Judith M. Pearce  
November 1987

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## Abstract

The main aim of this thesis is to examine the Salisbury Breviary from the point of view of "the picture in service of text and patron". The breviary is defined as a text, and the Salisbury Breviary identified as an exceptionally richly decorated example of the genre, made in Paris during the second quarter of the fifteenth century, but written for the use of Sarum, and intended for the personal use of the Duke of Bedford, then regent in France for the infant king of England, Henry VI. In terms of the elements contributing to the hierarchy of decoration of its sanctoral, communal and temporal (the psalter is missing), the Salisbury Breviary is shown to be the culminating example of a well-established tradition in Paris for the decoration and illumination of breviaries, represented by such major precursors as the Breviary of Charles V, the Châteauroux and Orgemont Breviaries, and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur. By contrast, the decorative forms used in the Salisbury Breviary are shown to reflect experiments conducted by the Bedford, Boucicaut and Rohan workshops in luxury books of hours rather than breviaries, in order pictorially to enhance their function as manuscripts for lay devotional use. The use of such devices in the Salisbury Breviary, which resulted in a unique series of visual glosses to the text of the divine office, is explained with particular reference to the cross-cultural nature of the commission.

## Abbreviations

Amiens 114	Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms <del>114</del> .
Arsenal	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, ms.
BEC	<i>Bibliothèque de l' Ecole des Chartes.</i>
Bodleian	Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms.
Châteauroux	Châteauroux, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms.
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d' Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie.</i>
Fitzwilliam	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms.
BL	London, British Library, ms.
BN	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.
BR	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms.
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique.</i>
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.</i>
Lambeth	London, Lambeth Palace Library, ms.
Mazarine	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms.
ONB	Vienna, Osterreich Nationalbibliothek, cod.
Pierpont Morgan	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms.
Rylands	Manchester, John Rylands University Library of Manchester, ms.
Ste-Geneviève	Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms.

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## Introduction

The Salisbury Breviary (BN lat 17294) has long been familiar to historians as an example of the artistic patronage of John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford and regent of France from 1422-36, during the minority of his nephew, King Henry VI of England. To art historians it has had special significance as one of the manuscripts attributed to the so-called Bedford workshop, a group of artists working in a related style in Paris before, during and after the English occupation of the city. The extraordinary richness of the decoration has also attracted attention. The text has an extensive figurative cycle, including forty-six half-page miniatures and four smaller miniatures incorporated into the border design of every finished folio. The size of the commission, the length of time the manuscript spent in the workshop, and the number of artists involved in its production, make it a work of major importance in the study of Parisian manuscript illumination of the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, although the Salisbury Breviary is mentioned briefly in most surveys of manuscript illumination of the period, Victor Leroquais' 1934 catalogue entry, and Eleanor Spencer's 1966 working list of attributions to the four illuminators responsible for the half-page miniatures, remain the authorities on the manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

There are several reasons for this neglect of the Salisbury Breviary by researchers. Erwin Panofsky had legitimized the scholarly study of fourteenth and early fifteenth century manuscript illumination in Paris, but only as a precursor to Flemish panel painting.<sup>2</sup> Millard Meiss's *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*<sup>3</sup> reinforced the notion of a "Golden Age" of Parisian manuscript illumination which was in its dying stages by ca. 1420. The diminution of Paris as an artistic centre in the second quarter of the fifteenth century was equated with the reduction of manuscript illumination to a minor art form. As a manuscript illuminated by artists active during and beyond the closing years of the Parisian cultural hegemony, the Salisbury Breviary was seen as a post-climactic product in which evidence of decline was already visible in its retention of archaic forms.

Both Panofsky and Meiss also practised what L.M.J. Delaissé called the "aristocratic" approach to art.<sup>4</sup> By this Delaissé meant the concentration of scholarly effort on the best artists and most luxurious manuscripts of the period to the exclusion of the majority of commissions which were not of the first rank. Talking of the difficulties of pinpointing the origins of the Bedford Master, Meiss wrote that "a solution of the question would require lengthy and close study of the manuscripts which does not seem to

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<sup>1</sup>Victor Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 5 vols and pls (Paris, 1934), III, 271-348 and pls liv-lxv; Eleanor Spencer, "The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Salisbury Breviary," *Burlington Magazine*, 108 (1966), 607-12.

<sup>2</sup>*Early Netherlandish Painting: its Origin and Character*, 2 vols (1953, rpt New York, 1971).

<sup>3</sup>5 vols (New York, 1967-74).

<sup>4</sup>See particularly his "Enluminure et peinture dans les Pays-Bas: A propos du livre de E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*," *Scriptorium*, 11 (1957), 109-18; and his review of the first two volumes of *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, subtitled *The Late XIV Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (1967, 2nd ed. 1969), in *Art Bulletin*, 52 (1970), 206-12. For a more recent synopsis see also Sandra Hindman, "The illustrated book: an addendum to the state of research in Northern European art," *Art Bulletin*, 68 (1986), 536-42.

me warranted by the importance of the historical issues involved".<sup>5</sup> Perhaps to avert such criticism Spencer qualified her interest in the style and iconography of the Salisbury Breviary by saying that:

If the quality of the illumination as a whole is inferior to that of very fine books produced for Charles VI or for the Dukes of Berry and of Burgundy, [it] is none the less an important book which would have cost the Duke of Bedford a great deal of money.<sup>6</sup>

This bias was also manifested in the ways in which individual manuscripts were studied. Only the stylistically and iconographically most innovative of the illuminations in the manuscripts were brought to the attention of researchers. These were often reproduced as isolated works of art, divorced from the text which they accompanied and the decorative programme as a whole. Even now, such a well-known manuscript as the Belleville Breviary (BN lat 10483-84) is represented in reproduction almost exclusively by a small number of folios from the extraordinary psalter and calendar cycles. On the basis of these examples Panofsky reported that "the whole marginal decoration is fraught with a symbolism so elaborate that its inventor...found it necessary to preface the whole work by a circumstantial Commentary".<sup>7</sup> The greater part of the decoration of the Belleville Breviary, however, closely follows traditions in fourteenth century Parisian breviary illumination.

There is considerable historical justification for the aristocratic approach as a means of isolating the peaks of artistic achievement in a particular society. Recent research, however, has been directed by methodologies which give a fuller and more accurate view of the place occupied by exceptional works of art in the history of late medieval book production. There has been a renewal of interest in distinguishing the various hands and styles involved in the execution of manuscripts hitherto assigned to catch-all workshop labels.<sup>8</sup> This has gone hand in hand with a recognition of the contribution made to the dating and localization of a manuscript by a study of all the secondary aspects of its production.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, a knowledge of the function and organization of the manuscript has been acknowledged as an important prerequisite to understanding its form.<sup>10</sup> Amongst the many groups of manuscripts to have been re-examined in the last decade or so, the products of the Bedford workshop have not gone unnoticed. In particular, the numerous hands involved in the painting of the figurative cycle and border decoration of the Salisbury Breviary have been analysed by Catherine Reynolds in an as yet unpublished study.<sup>11</sup>

The contribution of Reynolds' research to the enrichment of our understanding of the Salisbury Breviary and its position stylistically in the sequence of manuscripts illuminated in Paris in the first half of the fifteenth century will be great. The main focus of her research on the analysis of hands, however,

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<sup>5</sup>French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: the Boucicaut Master (1968), p. 35. In *The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, 2 vols (1974), however, he did make some preliminary distinctions between hands in manuscripts formerly attributed to the youthful Bedford Master.

<sup>6</sup>"Salisbury Breviary," p. 608.

<sup>7</sup>*Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, 32-33.

<sup>8</sup>For example, the studies by John Douglas Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation: the Work of a Fifteenth Century Manuscript Illuminator* (Fort Lauderdale, Fla, 1976); and Eberhard König, *Französische Buchmalerei um 1450: Der Jouvenal-Maler, der Maler des Genfer Boccaccio und die Anfänge Jean Fouquets* (Berlin, 1982).

<sup>9</sup>The codicological approach to the book was first made a public issue by François Masai, "Paléographie et codicologie," *Scriptorium*, 4 (1950), 279-93. Its most influential proponent, as part of a wider approach to the book as an archaeological object, was Delaissé, whose position is stated in numerous publications: see especially his "Towards a history of the medieval book," in *Codicologica*, (Leiden, 1976), pp. 75-83 (a reprint with revisions from *Miscellanea Andre Combes*, 2, *Divinitas*, 12 (1967), 423-35).

<sup>10</sup>To this end there have been a number of genre-related studies, including Robert G. Calkin's *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (London, 1983); and such specific projects as Sharon Dunlap Smith's "New themes for the *City of God* around 1400: the illustration of Raoul de Presles' translation," *Scriptorium*, 36 (1982), 68-82.

<sup>11</sup>"The Salisbury Breviary (Paris BN ms lat 17294) and some related manuscripts," Diss. Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1986. For a recent published study involving the Salisbury Breviary, see Donal Byrne, "Manuscript ruling and pictorial design in the work of the Limbourgs, the Bedford Master and the Boucicaut Master," *Art Bulletin*, 66 (1984), 118-35.

leaves largely unexplored the question of how the miniatures relate to the text. Apart from Spencer's general comments on the half-page miniatures, the iconography of the Salisbury Breviary has been the subject of only a handful of specifically directed studies.<sup>12</sup> Although Leroquais painstakingly itemized the more than four thousand pictorial items in the manuscript, he made no attempt to distinguish the various elements contributing to the decorative programme. The large miniatures are listed separately, but the figurative elements belonging to the border programme are not even isolated from the historiated initials and column miniatures. This is in spite of the fact that Leroquais himself suggested that a complete study of breviary illustration should examine two questions: how the illuminators conceived and realised the decoration of the different divisions of the breviary; and what the different subjects treated in each of the divisions were.<sup>13</sup>

Although the size of the decorative programme of the Salisbury Breviary is intimidating, it nevertheless lends itself to analysis in terms of its appropriateness to the illustration of a manuscript breviary. Breviaries were not often the target for copious illustration, but there were well-established conventions in Paris for their decoration which incorporated a canon of visual themes for the most important divisions. Amongst the small group of surviving breviaries produced in Paris in the fifty years or so before the Salisbury Breviary was commissioned in 1423-24, about half have figurative cycles of varying quality and size. A handful of breviaries made for members of the French nobility have extensive cycles demonstrating a rich variety of approaches to the illustration of the text. At first glance, the Salisbury Breviary does not appear to fit into this tradition for the illumination of luxury breviaries. When the border cycle is treated where it belongs as part of the ancillary decoration of the manuscript, however, the Salisbury Breviary emerges as a recognizable member of the group, albeit the most fully illustrated and luxurious example.

As the culminating product of a long tradition of breviary illumination in Paris, the Salisbury Breviary is a particularly appropriate focal point for the study of a manuscript genre which has been neglected in the art historical literature to date. Calkin's brief review of the Breviary of Charles V (BN lat 1052) was effectively the first general introduction to the illustration of the breviary in English.<sup>14</sup> The length of breviaries and the complexity of their texts have made them less accessible than books of hours to art historical researchers. There has also been a tendency to assume that, because the contents of books of hours were less strictly controlled by ecclesiastical authority, they were more important as carriers of iconographic and stylistic change than the official books of the church. Although this may prove to be true, it is important to remember that the liturgical conventions of books of hours were directly derived from the breviary and missal. The size and two-column format of the Duke of Berry's *Très Riches Heures* reflects a dependence on liturgical antecedents which may also be found in the iconography of the extensive series of memorials in the *Belles Heures*. A study of the decorative cycle of the Salisbury Breviary thus has broader implications, since it should contribute to a fuller understanding of the place of breviaries in Parisian manuscript illumination.

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<sup>12</sup>Namely, those of M. Baker, "Medieval illustrations of Bede's *Life of St Cuthbert*: Appendix C: The Salisbury Breviary and the illustration of St Cuthbert's Vision of St Aidan," *JWCI*, 41 (1978), 44-49; and J. Courcelles-Ladmirant, "Les Deux Augustin dans une miniature inédite du XVe siècle," *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes*, 8 (1962), 169-75.

<sup>13</sup>"Comment les miniaturistes ont-ils conçu et réalisé la décoration des différentes divisions du bréviaire...? Quels sont les différents sujets traités dans chacune de ces divisions?": *Bréviaires*, I, cxix.

<sup>14</sup>*Illuminated Books*, pp. 226-34, 302-04. See also the catalogue of an exhibition held in New York at the Pierpont Morgan Library, John Plummer, ed., *Liturgical Manuscripts for the Mass and Divine Office* (New York, 1964). Andrew Hughes' invaluable *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: a Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982) does not deal with pictorial material.

Apart from its representative nature as a breviary, the Salisbury Breviary is also of interest because it is a manuscript for alien use produced for a foreign patron under extraordinary political circumstances. The unusual nature of the commission raises important questions about differences between aristocratic cultural patronage, tastes and workshop practices in England and France and the effect that these differences may have had on the design of the manuscript. It also raises questions about the degree to which Bedford's specific concerns as politician, connoisseur or pious layman are identifiable through a study of the illuminations. In addition, it provides opportunities, if not for a detailed comparative study of the Sarum and Paris liturgies, which must remain the task of a liturgist, then at least for some working observations about the effects of textual differences on the repertoire of themes considered appropriate for the illustration of the breviary in England and France.

Although classed with the secondary decoration in order to isolate the traditional elements of the decorative programme, the border cycle of the Salisbury Breviary also deserves study in its own right. The decorative cycles assigned to late medieval manuscripts normally have a specific function with regard to the organization of the text. Except for the frontispiece the historiated initials and miniatures are restricted in subject by the demands of the relatively small group of emphasized texts. Although analogues exist for the border cycle of the Salisbury Breviary, it is unique in the way it provides a visual gloss for the text folio by folio. If the manuscript had been finished, the full sequence of border miniatures would have provided as encyclopedic a view of the world of Christian belief encapsulated in the liturgy as the programmes in sculpture and stained glass of the cathedrals.

The purpose of this study will thus be to conduct a systematic analysis of the decorative cycle of the Salisbury Breviary, in terms not only of how the text relates to the image, but in the broader historical sense envisaged by Delaissé in his concept of the archaeology of the book and summarized by Anne van Buren as "the Picture in Service of Text and Patron".<sup>15</sup> In tackling such a project the first task was to select the core of comparative material. The Breviary of Charles V, which dates from the years 1364-70, was chosen as the earliest manuscript to be examined in detail: the important group of breviaries produced in Paris before 1370 by followers of Jean Pucelle merits separate study. The survey was also restricted to breviaries identifiable from the catalogues of selected European public collections.<sup>16</sup> Manuscripts in the United States such as Pierpont Morgan 75, and the two-volume breviary for Paris use sold by Bernard Quaritch in 1931, were thus excluded from the sample.<sup>17</sup> Again, for the purposes of this project only breviaries attributed to Paris workshops were examined in depth, although a number of exceptional breviaries were illuminated outside Paris in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the detailed study of which should reveal the extent of stylistic and iconographic exchange between regions.<sup>18</sup> Other liturgical manuscripts, including missals, were also excluded from the sample. In the course of research for the project, however, a number of manuscripts, such as the Missal of Sainte-

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<sup>15</sup>"The Master of Mary of Burgundy and his colleagues: the state of research and questions of method," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 38 (1975), 305.

<sup>16</sup>Leroquais' *Bréviaires* for those in France; plus the catalogues of the British Museum in London, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, and the Biblioteca Vaticana in Rome. M.R. James' catalogues of British collections, and a range of other readily available catalogues were also scanned.

<sup>17</sup>Plummer, *Liturgical Manuscripts*, no. 40; Bernard Quaritch, Ltd, *A Catalogue of Illuminated and Other Manuscripts together with some Works on Palaeography* (London, 1931), p. 15, pl. 21.

<sup>18</sup>See especially the Breviary of Benedict XIII (ONB 1254): Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Osterreich*, pt VII, 3, *Französische und iberische Handschriften der ersten Hälfte des XV Jahrhunderts*, ed. H.J. Hermann (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 1-8, pls I, II; the Breviary of Martin of Aragon (BN Rothschild 2529): Jean Porcher, "Le Bréviaire de Martin d'Aragon," *France Illustration*, special Christmas number, 268 (1950), passim; the Breviary of Reinald IV, Duke of Guelders (Pierpont Morgan M.87): Plummer, *Liturgical Manuscripts*, no. 41; and Walters 300: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, *The Arts in Europe around 1400: the International Style* (Baltimore, 1962), no. 64.



Magloire (Arsenal 623), and Mazarine 406, an unfinished and dismembered missal for the use of Sainte-Chapelle with the arms of the dauphin, were noted for further study.<sup>19</sup>

Within the limits outlined above, a wide range of breviaries produced in Paris in the last quarter of the fourteenth and the first quarter of the fifteenth century has been analysed, and their decorative cycles compared with that of the Salisbury Breviary. Breviaries were included in the survey even when they were not illustrated, since, in studying the more numerous, average manuscripts, one can document the kinds of enrichment to the decorative repertoire of breviaries in Paris resulting from exceptional acts of patronage and the employment of highly-skilled artists.<sup>20</sup> The Salisbury Breviary itself is described in detail in Appendix A. This is followed by a second appendix, comprising a lengthy descriptive catalogue of the twenty-two breviaries which form the core comparative sample. The bias of this catalogue towards the documentation and itemisation of the elements contributing to the decorative programme of each manuscript is explained in a separate introduction. An index of the visual themes found in each of the catalogued breviaries is given in Appendix C, excluding those in the border cycle of the Salisbury Breviary, for which the reader is referred to Leroquais. The fourth appendix, comprising a model of the Paris calendar and litany for the period 1370-1425, is included to supplement the material presented by Paul Perdrizet's 1933 monograph.<sup>21</sup>

The edition of the 1531 Printed Sarum breviary by Francis Proctor and Christopher Wordsworth<sup>22</sup> has been used for assistance in expanding abbreviations in the text of the Salisbury Breviary and for checking and classifying the inscriptions transcribed by Leroquais in his catalogue entry. The Paris use has not been so well served by published editions, nor even the late medieval Roman use of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (BL Add 35311 and Harley 2897), which differs in many respects from the modern Roman rite. Conclusions about differences between uses are thus based on the texts of the manuscript breviaries included in the comparative sample. All translations of non-scriptural texts are my own, unless otherwise noted. For translations into English of scriptural texts, the Douay-Rheims version of the Holy Bible, as revised and amended by the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in 1957, has routinely been used.

The study of the decorative programmes of the Salisbury Breviary and its Parisian precursors was restricted to the collection of essential codicological data about the manuscript, an analysis of the hierarchy of decoration and the detailed description of the subjects of the pictorial material. Data base software was used on a microcomputer to generate questionnaires for the collection of data on each picture. Information already known from the published catalogue entries was pre-recorded in the relevant fields and spaces left for new information and additional comments.<sup>23</sup> During the collection of data no attempt was made systematically to gather stylistic evidence which might alter published judgements concerning the date of the manuscripts or the analysis of hands. An attempt was made when writing up the results of the research, however, to make it clear where such evidence might be important to arguments concerning traditions and developments in Parisian breviary illumination and, in the case of

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<sup>19</sup>Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols and pls (Paris, 1924), III, nos 558, 562.

<sup>20</sup>A point made firmly by Delaissé on p. 210 of his review of *The Late XIV Century*.

<sup>21</sup>*Le Calendrier Parisien à la fin du moyen-âge d'après le bréviaire et les livres d'heures*, Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 63 (Paris, 1933).

<sup>22</sup>*Breviarium ad Usus Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1879-86, rpt Farnborough, 1970); hereinafter called the Printed Sarum Breviary.

<sup>23</sup>This methodological approach was essential to the successful analysis of the border miniatures of the Salisbury Breviary because of the size of the task and the impossibility of returning to view the manuscript.

the Salisbury Breviary, where the working attributions published by Spencer might be modified by Reynolds' conclusions.

In the first chapter of this thesis, evidence concerning the details of the commission is reviewed in the context of the political, social, cultural and artistic background, and Bedford's motives for initiating the project is explored. In each of the succeeding chapters, the decorative programme is examined from a number of viewpoints, in order to determine the extent to which the decoration follows Paris traditions, the ways in which its English use affected the programme, and the degree to which the patron or his agents actively intervened in its design. The second chapter deals specifically with the overall appearance of the manuscript and how this reflects Paris workshop practices. Chapters 3 and 4, excluding the border cycle, look closely at the figurative cycle of the text as it compares with its Parisian precursors. The relationship between text and image in the border cycle is dealt with separately in chapter five. In the conclusion the points at issue are re-examined in the light of the evidence contributed by each chapter, and questions arising from the study requiring further research are indicated.

## Chapter 1

### The Commission

#### I

That the Salisbury Breviary was illuminated in Paris for the Duke of Bedford is certain, although the exact circumstances of the commission are unknown. The manuscript's connection with Bedford is firmly based on the anniversaries of births and deaths of members of his family entered in the hand of the original scribe in the calendar, as well as on the large number of armorial devices and portraits incorporated into the decorative programme. His coat of arms, "France and England quarterly, a label of five points, the two dexter ermine, the three sinister azure, charged with three fleurs-de-lis or," appears on the opening folio of the main text, supported on each side by his devices of an eagle and yale standing on a gilded tree-root (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The manuscript's connection with Paris is manifest in the style of the decoration and illumination, which is characteristic of the work of a closely associated group of artists already active in the city in the second decade of the fifteenth century. The team employed to work on the Salisbury Breviary was directed by one of the leading artists of this group, an illuminator known as the Master of the Duke of Bedford (or Bedford Master) after his most well-known patron. The project was ~~certainly begun before 1424, and the calendar, although it may have been copied later than the rest of the manuscript, must have been written after the death of the French king, Charles VI, on 21 October 1422, since a notice of the event has been entered against the appropriate date.~~<sup>2</sup> *probably begun no earlier than 1425 and no later than 1427.*<sup>2</sup>

At the time of the commission, Paris had been a city under foreign occupation, ostensibly since the death of Charles VI, but in fact since the signing of the Treaty of Troyes in May 1420. In this document the future Charles VII had been dispossessed by his own father, and Henry V of England made heir to the French throne. Such an anomalous position was the interim result of a long struggle by the English for the sovereignty of certain territories in France, legitimized by the claim of the king to the French throne through Edward III's mother, Isabel of France, sister and heiress of Charles IV. When Charles IV died with no direct male heir in 1328 he was succeeded by his cousin, Philippe de Valois. In defence of this succession the French *Parlement* quoted Salic law forbidding inheritance of the crown through the female line.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For a full description of the evidence of ownership in the Salisbury Breviary, see Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup>On f. 6v. ~~The terminus ante quem of 1424 is~~ <sup>The dates are</sup> provided by a note on f. 2v which reads "Regula pro anno bissextili et incipit secundum computationem romane curie anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo quarto. Et fuit littera dominicalis a". The rule provides the dominical letter for 1424, the ~~nearest~~ <sup>most recent</sup> leap year, so that the user of the calendar will know without further reference which days of the year will be Sundays in 1424 and subsequent years, and when to account for the delay caused by the extra day in leap years. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, pp. 275-79.

<sup>3</sup>There are numerous commentaries on the Hundred Years War and the Treaty of Troyes from the French and English point of view. The essays in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII (1932) and VIII (1936), by A. Coville, B.L. Manning, J. Calmette and K.B. McFarlane are still standard works. For a more recent synthesis see Jean Favier, *La Guerre de cent ans* (Paris, 1980). The English occupation is discussed in detail in C.T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy 1415-50* (Oxford, 1983), with an excellent bibliography on pp. 312-31.

The second decade of the fifteenth century was marked in England by the accession to the throne in 1413 of an exceptional leader in Henry V, and by a period of relative internal political stability. On the northern border the continual drain on manpower and resources resulting from disputes with the Scots had been temporarily alleviated by the capture of the youthful King James of Scotland by the English in 1406. In France, on the other hand, the mental instability of Charles VI had essentially placed power in the hands of the French dukes. The king's uncle, Louis d'Orléans, and his cousin, Jean sans Peur of Burgundy, became bitter enemies in their struggle for control over the throne. When Louis was assassinated on the order of Jean sans Peur in November 1407, the Count of Armagnac took up arms in support of his son-in-law, the new duke, Charles d'Orléans. Outright civil war between the Burgundians and Armagnacs broke out in 1411. Attempts at a settlement between the two French powers after the disastrous defeat of Armagnac troops by the English at Agincourt in 1415 were frustrated by the unexpected murder of Jean sans Peur during a meeting with the dauphin at Montereau on 10 September 1419. The new Duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Bon, hastened to ratify the Treaty of Troyes a year later.

Because of his role as guardian of England during Henry V's absences from England,<sup>4</sup> the Duke of Bedford's first visit to France, apart from a military engagement at Harfleur, did not occur until early in May 1420. He came to participate in the signing of the treaty of Troyes and to attend the betrothal of his brother, Henry V, to Catherine of France. Louis III, Duke of Bavaria and husband of Bedford's sister, Blanche, was also present, and took the opportunity later that year, while assisting Henry V against the Dauphinists at the siege of Melun, to buy twenty-five manuscripts at a reduced price from a Paris bookseller.<sup>5</sup> Bedford was also at Melun, not returning to England until February of the following year, and may likewise have seized the opportunity of purchasing cheap, probably secondhand, books in Paris. It is unlikely, however, that he would have commissioned the Salisbury Breviary during this visit. Although he had already given evidence of an interest in richly illuminated manuscripts through his acquisition of a combined psalter and book of hours from the London illuminator, Herman Scheerre,<sup>6</sup> the armorials in the Salisbury Breviary <sup>support</sup> suggest a ~~slightly~~ later date for the design of the decorative programme.

In the Salisbury Breviary the Duke's tree-root device is of prime importance, appearing not only beneath the supporters of Bedford's arms, but as part of the circular frames of many of the miniatures in the lower margins of the first eighty folios, as well as in a number of other gatherings containing large miniatures (Fig. 25). The tree-root does not appear amongst the armorials of the Duke in his psalter and hours, but may be found on a wax seal in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which is still attached to an original act of the Paris *Parlement* dated 12 April 1424.<sup>7</sup> During his years as regent Bedford used this badge on

<sup>4</sup>In 1415 and 1417-21 (he officially remained guardian until early February 1421): *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed., ed. E.B. Fryde et al (London, 1986), p. 37.

<sup>5</sup>Colette Jeudy, "Manuscrits achetés à Paris en 1420 par Louis III, Comte Palatin du Rhin," *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, 16 (1982), 31-40.

<sup>6</sup>BL Add 42131: D.H. Turner, "The Bedford Hours and Psalter," *Apollo*, 76 (1962), 265-70; Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting* (London, 1981), pp. 104-07, pls 33-34. The manuscript must postdate 1414, the year Bedford was created duke, because of an inscription on f. 21. None of the feasts of SS. David, Chad and Winifred appear in the calendar. A mandate ordering their observance was issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury on 4 January 1416: E.F. Jacob, ed., *Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*, III (Oxford, 1947), 8-10. Allowing for some delay in the adoption of these feasts outside the official books of the church, work on the manuscript was still probably begun well before 1420, even if the subject of the historiated initial on f. 95 does refer to the marriage of Henry V to Catherine de Valois.

<sup>7</sup>Bibliothèque Imperiale, Cabinet des titres, *Sceaux*, V (A.R.), 181; cited in A. Vallet (de Viriville), "Notice de quelques manuscrits précieux sous le rapport de l'art (XVe siècle): II. Le Bréviaire de Salisbury, ayant appartenu à Jean duc de Bedford (écrit vers 1424)," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, ser. 1, 20 (1866), 463, n. 1.

banners and hangings, and it appeared on the stone epitaph above his tomb in Rouen Cathedral.<sup>8</sup> The tree-root was also one of the badges adopted by Henry V.<sup>9</sup> It seems safe to assume, therefore, that the breviary was conceived as a work of art after the death of Henry V at Vincennes on 31 August 1422 and the assumption by Bedford from that time until his own death in 1435 of the role of regent of France.

Bedford had been recalled to France by his brother in May 1422, and was in Paris to attend the funeral of Charles V and the opening session of the *Parlement* in November of that year.<sup>10</sup> The first few months of his regency, however, were busy ones during which Bedford spent little time in Paris. As well as having to deal with numerous Dauphinist attacks on English strongholds, he was involved in negotiations for an alliance with the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany. A treaty between the three powers was signed in Amiens on 13 April 1423. To further the alliance Bedford was married to Anne de Bourgogne, the sister of Philippe le Bon, first by proxy on 17 April and then in person on 13 May.<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, there are no anniversaries in the calendar of the Salisbury Breviary for members of his new wife's family. Nor do her coat of arms and badges appear on any of the folios, not excepting the folio showing Anne de Bourgogne in prayer in the initial below the half-page miniature of the holy family which accompanies the office dedicated to St Anne (Fig. 33).

The arms of Bedford impaled by Burgundy which were adopted by Anne on her marriage do occur in the Bedford Hours (BL Add 18850), a manuscript owned by Bedford and his wife and illuminated by the Bedford workshop in the 1420's (Fig. 100). In addition, the Duke's "A souhait" motto found on numerous folios in the Salisbury Breviary has been replaced by the paired mottoes of the Duke and Duchess, "A vous entier" and "J'en suis contente". Because of this, Vallet de Viriville thought that the Bedford Hours had been commissioned by Bedford as a wedding present for Anne.<sup>12</sup> His theory was taken as evidence of the couple's shared interest in illuminated manuscripts by writers such as Bedford's 1963 biographer.<sup>13</sup> A close examination of the structure of the manuscript itself, however, shows that the armorials may have been added, and that the mottoes occur only on two portrait folios in gatherings demonstrably separate from the main sequence. The border decoration of some of the folios also clearly belongs to the previous decade. Janet Backhouse has proposed with strong supporting evidence that the manuscript was commissioned by Philip the Good after the death of his father in 1419, and hastily adapted while still at the workshop as a wedding gift to Bedford and Anne after the arrangements for the

<sup>8</sup>For examples of the tree-root as an embroidered device on wall hangings see ff. 93v, 94, 228v and 241v of the Salisbury Breviary; also the payment made by Bedford to Thomas Brydon for embroidering 918 tree roots in gold: *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VI, king of England*, Roll Series, 22, ed. J. Stevenson, 2 vols in 3 (London, 1861-4), II (2), 558. In his 1429 will Bedford leaves chapel cloths "brodez de racines d'or sur veloux vermeil" and a golden chalice "esmaillé de blanc et vermeil à racines d'or" to the church where he is to be buried: Arch. Côte d'Or, B. 309; transcribed in B.-A. Poquet de Haut-Jusse, "Anne de Bourgogne et le testament de Bedford 1429," *BEC*, 92 (1934), 320-21. Bedford's epitaph in Rouen Cathedral no longer survives but is recorded in an engraving: H. Bouchot, *Inventaire des dessins exécutés pour Roger de Gaignières et conservés aux départements des estampes et des manuscrits* (Paris, 1891), II, 426, no. 7259. A reproduction of the engraving may be found in J.H. and R.V. Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England* (London, 1974), p. 92, fig. 96.

<sup>9</sup>Pinches, p. 96, fig. 100. The Lancastrian gilded tree root was possibly adapted from the wood stock used as a badge by Edward III and his sons Edward, the Black Prince, and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester: Pinches, p. 69, fig. 74; R.F. Williams, *Lives of Edward the Black Prince, Edward of Carnarvon and Edward of Windsor* (London, 1845), pp. 306-07, 513; cited in Janet Backhouse, "A reappraisal of the Bedford Hours," *British Library Journal*, 7 (1981), n. 48.

<sup>10</sup>Bedford was the chief mourner: Janet Shirley, trans., *A Parisian Journal 1405-1449* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 179-83. The record of the opening of the *Parlement* on 19 November survives in BN fr 8427, f. 76: *Letters and Papers*, I, lxxvii-lxxx.

<sup>11</sup>L. Douet-D'Arceq, ed., *La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet*, 6 vols (Paris, 1857-62), IV, 147-51.

<sup>12</sup>"Notice de quelques manuscrits précieux sous le rapport de l'art XVe siècle: Deuxième article: Livre d'heures de Jean, duc de Bedford, exécuté de 1423 à 1430," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1st ser., 21 (1866), 280.

<sup>13</sup>E. Carleton Williams, *My Lord of Bedford (1389-1435)* (London, 1963), p. 103.

marriage had been finalized.<sup>14</sup> In either case, the absence of the Duchess's arms in the Salisbury Breviary <sup>does not imply</sup> ~~implies~~ that work on the breviary had been begun before the marriage was arranged. The inclusion in the programme of the Salisbury Breviary of a large miniature for the office of St Anne and several border miniatures of the Duchess in prayer ~~does, however,~~ suggests that, even if the project had been authorized as one of Bedford's first acts as regent, the work was still at a stage where the original design could be adapted to include references to the new Duchess. No attempt was made to <sup>include her</sup> ~~alter the~~ coats of arms, perhaps because the Salisbury Breviary was essentially the Duke's possession, written for the English use of Sarum rather than for the Paris use familiar to Anne de Bourgogne and for which the Bedford Hours is written.

On the other hand, the paired mottoes "A vous entier" and "J'en suis contente" which appear in the Bedford Hours are reported to have occurred on numerous folios of another liturgical manuscript for English use painted by the Bedford workshop, a so-called pontifical lost in the fire which destroyed the Paris Hôtel de Ville in 1866. Some observations about its content and appearance were made by its former owner, Ambroise Firmin-Didot, and chromolithographs of three historiated initials showing scenes of Paris were published in a volume of the *Histoire Generale de Paris*; but Vallet de Viriville was the first to notice Bedford's armorials in the manuscript, to point out that the pontifical occupying the first 116 folios was for English use, and to establish that the missal extracts which followed had been adapted for the use of Poitiers by its subsequent owner, Jacques Juvénal des Ursins, bishop of Poitiers from 1449-57.<sup>15</sup> The Hôtel de Ville manuscript was clearly made for Bedford during his regency. Like the Salisbury Breviary it was a liturgical manuscript for English use. An explanation for the presence of the devices of both the Duke and the Duchess in the destroyed manuscript, therefore, cannot be found in the use of the manuscript, but must be sought in further differences between the liturgical function of the two books.

A pontifical is a manuscript containing ceremonies such as ordination, confirmation, dedication and blessing which were the responsibility of the bishop or pope. Some pontificals also included the principal masses, prefaces and canon of the mass. From the recorded subjects of its historiated initials and miniatures, however, the Hôtel de Ville manuscript was probably a combined pontifical-missal like the Bayeux manuscript made for Etienne de Loyseau, bishop of Luçon (1388-1407),<sup>16</sup> for use at high masses and other ceremonies performed by the bishop. In size Bedford's pontifical-missal measured 500 x 340 mm compared to the Salisbury Breviary's 255 x 170 mm, thus resembling the large surviving pulpit breviary for Paris use made in 1417 for Gérard de Montaigu, bishop of Paris from 1410-20.<sup>17</sup> Since

<sup>14</sup>"A reappraisal of the Bedford Hours," pp. 47-69. This still does not explain the improvised nature of the medallion programme as it is superimposed on the traditional gilded baguettes and double-line ivy branches, particularly on those folios where the bars end in dragon motifs. I suspect that the manuscript was conceived as a conventional book of hours and that its decorative programme was modified several times after 1419. Eleanor Spencer's proposal that some of the added large miniatures were painted as late as 1430 when the manuscript was given to Henry VI as a Christmas present during his stay at Rouen (as we know from an inscription on f. 256) is convincing, given their advanced style: "The Master of the Duke of Bedford: the Bedford Hours," *Burlington Magazine*, 107 (1965), 495-502. For the later history of the manuscript, see A.N.L. Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures 1750-1850* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 1-13.

<sup>15</sup>Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Missel de Jacques Juvénal des Ursins cédé à la ville de Paris le 3 mai 1861* (Paris, 1861); A.J.V. Le Roux de Lincy and L.M. Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles: documents et écrits originaux*, *Histoire Generale de Paris*, 3 (Paris, 1867), pp. 197, 537, 585; A. Vallet (de Viriville), "Notice de quelques manuscrits précieux sous le rapport de l'art XVe siècle: IV. Pontifical dit de Poitiers ou de Jacques Juvénal des Ursins," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1st ser., 21 (1866), 471-78. The manuscript is also mentioned (inaccurately) by Alfred de Champeaux and Paul Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France duc de Berry* (Paris, 1894), p. 162, and by Paul Durrieu, *Les Souvenirs Historiques dans les manuscrits à miniatures de la domination anglaise en France au temps de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1905), p. 15.

<sup>16</sup>Bayeux, Bibliothèque du chapitre, ms 61: Victor Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1937), I, xi, 69-75.

<sup>17</sup>The winter volume survives as Mazarine 345 and the summer volume as Arsenal 582: see Catalogue, no. 12.

the Paris liturgy continued to be celebrated at the Cathedral of Notre Dame, the pontifical-missal was possibly made for the treasury of Sainte-Chapelle, or for the *Capella Regis*, to be used in ceremonies and masses attended by the regent.<sup>18</sup> The Salisbury Breviary, by contrast, has all the appearance of a portable breviary made for private use. Its format is similar to the breviary made in London by the workshop of Herman Scheerre for Henry Chichele soon after his installation as archbishop of Canterbury in 1414.<sup>19</sup>

The Salisbury Breviary was not the only portable breviary owned by Bedford. A small surviving manuscript for Sarum use illuminated by an English workshop before the general introduction of the feasts of SS David, Chad and Winifred promulgated in 1416, also bears his arms.<sup>20</sup> His possession of several copies of this text, ostensibly a cleric's book, was in fact typical of his lay peers in both France and England, as the evidence of wills and inventories make clear.<sup>21</sup>

In Bedford's time, there was an obligation on all clerics, whether chaplains, parish priests, canons attached as residents to cathedrals and collegiate churches, or one of the large number of royal officials and advisers, scholars and diocesan clerks who held prebends, to recite privately those parts of the divine office which they were unable to attend in church.<sup>22</sup> Unnoted portable breviaries assisted them in this duty. The laity had also inherited the belief of the early Christian writers that some kind of communal daily prayer was essential for the Christian.<sup>23</sup> The recitation of the full divine office was perceived as the ultimate expression of the contemplative life to which particularly pious lay individuals like St Louis of France might aspire.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, it was usually out of the question for those involved in an active life. Church regulations and directives thus compromised by prescribing the attendance of the laity at high mass on Sundays and special holy days, which were reserved as holidays for the purpose, and encouraging them also to attend matins and vespers on these days.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>As suggested by Vallet de Viriville, "Pontifical dit de Poitiers," pp. 476-78. Henry VI was consecrated king at Notre Dame on 16 December 1431 by Cardinal Beaufort (presumably using the Sarum liturgy) much to the anger of the Bishop of Paris: Douet-D'Arcq, *Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet*, V, 5. For the difference between Sainte-Chapelle and the *Capella Regis*, see Robert Branner, "The Sainte-Chapelle and the *Capella Regis* in the thirteenth century," *Gesta*, 10 (1971), 19-22.

<sup>19</sup>Lambeth 69: M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 109-12.

<sup>20</sup>London, Sotheby Parke Bernet, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures...19 May 1958*, lot 97. The manuscript is now in the collection of William Foyle, of Beeleigh Abbey, Essex. Foyle also owns a psalter-hours for the use of Sarum painted for Bedford in France after 1423: E.F. Bosanquet, "The personal prayerbook of John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, K.G.," *The Library*, 4th ser., 13 (1932-33), 148-54.

<sup>21</sup>Françoise Autrand, "Culture et mentalité: les librairies des gens du parlement au temps de Charles VI," *Annales* 28, (1973), 1219-41; Susan H. Cavanaugh, "A study of books privately owned in England 1300-1450," 2 vols, Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania 1980; Joel T. Rosenthal, "Aristocratic cultural patronage and book bequests, 1350-1500," *Bull. John Rylands Univ. Libr. of Manchester*, 64 (1982), 532, 535-42.

<sup>22</sup>Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedral in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Manchester, 1967), pp. 56-59, 83-96, explains the choir duties of residential and non-residential canons in English cathedrals, while the situation at the Cathedral of Paris is outlined in J. Emmanuel des Graviers, "'Messeigneurs du chapitre' de l'église de Paris à l'époque de la guerre de cent ans," in *Huitième centenaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, Congrès des 30 mai-3 juin 1964 (Paris, 1967), pp. 211-13. The obligation to say the offices privately was not codified until 1918, by canon 135 of the Code of Canon Law: Cheslyn Jones et al, eds, *The Study of Liturgy* (New York, 1980), p. 384, n. 4. That it was an onus on the secular clergy in the late medieval period is indicated by the elimination of many of the choir texts from Cardinal Quinonez' revised version of the breviary of 1535: J.A. Jungmann, *Pastoral Liturgy* (London, 1962), pp. 200-14.

<sup>23</sup>Especially Tertullian, *de orat.*, 25, but the idea is also to be found in the writings of Origen, Cyprian, and others: Jones et al, *The Study of Liturgy*, pp. 361-62.

<sup>24</sup>For the exemplary piety of St Louis of France see L.S. Crist, "The Breviary of Saint Louis: the development of a legendary miracle," *JWCI*, 28 (1965), 319-23. It is also a breviary which the Virgin reads in Jan van Eyck's Virgin Annunciate in the Washington National Gallery of Art and other Flemish panel paintings.

<sup>25</sup>The doors of Notre Dame de Paris were left open at midnight so that members of the public could attend matins: des Graviers, "L'Eglise de Paris," p. 213.

The mass had a special function in Christian life because of its sacramental nature. High mass was celebrated in association with events like coronations, knightly vigils, funerals, weddings, treaty signing and political gatherings, as well as with the usual liturgical feast days. The laity also had a vested interest in private masses. Trade confraternities employed chaplains, clerks and vergers as servants of the mass and paid for chapel furnishings, including missals. Wealthier members of society maintained private chapels and bequeathed considerable sums of money to finance the establishment of chantries and altars in secular and monastic churches, where masses might be said perpetually for the dead.<sup>26</sup> In spite of this close association with the Eucharist, however, the mass was not performed by the laity, but rather in their presence.<sup>27</sup> A layperson might therefore initiate the production of a missal, but had little motive to own a copy for their personal use.<sup>28</sup>

As with the celebration of the mass, in many cases the laity during public recitation of the divine office "busied themselves at best with their individual meditation and prayers or listened to the complicated choral singing that covered the real action,"<sup>29</sup> while in private they used alternative texts to the breviary for their devotions. In the thirteenth century the psalter was used as a book of devotion. During the fourteenth century short texts devoted to the Virgin and selected saints, and prayers for the Dead, which had been added to the psalter as an aid to devotion, developed a life of their own, particularly in France, as books of hours. By the early fifteenth century this genre of manuscript had achieved an unprecedented popularity. In England a demand for books of hours was slower to develop and combined psalter-hours like the two owned by Bedford were made well into the fifteenth century.<sup>30</sup> The portraits of Bedford and Anne of Burgundy in the Bedford Hours show them suitably performing their devotions with the aid of such books (Figs 99, 100). The words "Domine labia mea" which begin the hours of the Virgin may be read in the open pages on each prie-dieu.

The distinction between psalters, books of hours and breviaries as books of devotion is not, however, as simple as it first appears. A two volume breviary for the use of Paris in Philippe le Hardi's chapel was reserved specifically for his use.<sup>31</sup> He owned numerous books of hours, but followed the texts with the help of his own breviary, no doubt set out and marked for use by his chaplains, when attending the recitation of the divine office in his chapel. Apart from his own sense of obligation towards prayer as a Christian, the outward display of exemplary pious observance was part of the public image of a lay

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<sup>26</sup>Paul Adam, *La Vie paroissiale en France au XIVe siècle*, Histoire et Sociologie de l'Eglise, 3 (Paris, 1964); Joel T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: The Social Function of Aristocratic Benevolence 1307-1485* (London, 1972).

<sup>27</sup>The lack of active participation of the laity in the mass in the late medieval period has been seen as evidence of decline: Jungmann, *Pastoral Liturgy*, pp. 64-80; B.L. Manning, *The People's Faith in the Time of Wyclif* (Cambridge, 1919); Etienne Delaruelle, *La piété populaire au moyen âge* (Turin, 1975), pp. 401-66; but see John Bossy, "The mass as a social institution 1200-1700," *Past and Present*, 100 (1983), 29-61 for a more complex view.

<sup>28</sup>Although see Keble College, Oxford, ms 38, a missal in French painted by the Fastolf Master for a member of the French royal court in the mid-fifteenth century: M.B. Parkes, *The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College, Oxford*, (London, 1979), pp. 155-65; L.M.J. Delaissé, "A liturgical problem at the end of the middle ages: the 'Missale Gallicanum'," in *Essays presented to G.I. Lieftinck*, ed. J.P. Gumbert and M.J.M. de Haan, Litterae Textuales, IV (Amsterdam, 1976), pp. 16-27.

<sup>29</sup>Jones, *Study of Liturgy*, p. 36. See also Paul Saenger, "Books of hours and the reading habits of the later middle ages," *Scriptura e Civiltà*, 9 (1985), 239-69, esp. pp. 263-66.

<sup>30</sup>For a general introduction to books of hours see Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London, 1985); John Harthan, *Books of Hours and their Owners* (London, 1977). For French books of hours see Victor Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale*, 2 vols plus pls and suppl. (Paris, 1927-43); Calkins, *Illuminated Books*, pp. 243-82, 308-13. For English books of hours the most useful recent study is Nicholas Rogers, "Books of Hours produced in the Low Countries for the English Market in the Fifteenth Century," Diss. Cambridge, Engl. 1984.

<sup>31</sup>"ou [ove] quel mon seigneur disoit ses heures". Mentioned in a list of service books and books of hours, including seven other noted summer and winter breviaries for Paris use made after the Duke's death and dated 23 June 1409: Dijon, ADCO B309, Acquis: Pierre Cockshaw, "Mentions d'auteurs, de copistes, d'enlumineurs et de libraires dans les comptes généraux de l'état bourguignon (1384-1419)," *Scriptorium*, 23 (1969), item 75.



prince. There is also considerable evidence that the use of the breviary by the laity extended outside the nobility. Roger Flore, an English lawyer who served as speaker in the House of Commons four times before his death in 1427, left his breviary, or *portuos*, to his son on the condition that he "kepe hit, terme of his lif, so that god well her-after sende him deuocion to sey his service ther-on, as I haue done, that thenne he may haue such a good honest boke of his owne".<sup>32</sup>

Breviaries were clearly used interchangeably with other books of devotion in various combinations depending on the degree of personal commitment to the recitation of the office. The nobility, however, had a special obligation to use breviaries, at least on occasions of public worship, as a gesture befitting their rank. This applied particularly to Bedford in his new role as regent of France. The Salisbury Breviary differed from the destroyed pontifical-missal, therefore, in being a manuscript intended for Bedford's personal use on public and private occasions, while the pontifical-missal was a book publicly donated by the Duke and Duchess to the Royal Chapel for use by high church officials. Nevertheless, because of the magnificence of their decoration and illumination, both manuscripts were intended, above and beyond their separate functions as service books, to be visible manifestations of the wealth and power of the regent.

The more recent armorials in the Bedford sections of the pontifical-missal date its commencement after that of the Salisbury Breviary. It was in itself a large project, with 138 historiated initials, many of which were as large as the half-page miniatures in the breviary. Because of its official function it took priority over the earlier commission for, in spite of the vigour with which the project was initially tackled, the Salisbury Breviary was never finished. As it stands now, only 492 of the 713 surviving folios have been completed. The calendar has received no decoration or illumination, and from f. 643 onwards nothing has been added to the text and rubrics except for some preparatory gilding and pen-line drawing of rinceaux on ff. 679-82v and 685-88v. The rest of the manuscript is about three-quarters complete, with unfinished gatherings or bifolios found from f. 183 onwards. The arms of Bedford-Luxembourg appear on f. 106, and on several other folios the arms have been left unfinished, indicating that the workshop was still hopeful of Bedford's continuing patronage as late as April 1433, when he married his second wife, Jacquetta de Luxembourg.<sup>33</sup> These 1433 additions are so desultory, however, that the workshop must at this stage have given up hope of receiving payment for further work. There is no evidence that Bedford ever even saw the manuscript. The fact that it remained in France after his death in September 1435 suggests that it was not considered one of his possessions by his executors.

Of the manuscript's subsequent history, a note on the first folio tells us that it belonged for a time to Pierre de Morvilliers, chancellor of France under Louis XI, and that it was given by Monsieur de Saint-Germain to Camille de Neufville, Abbot of Ainay and later Archbishop of Lyon, in 1625.<sup>34</sup> Most commentators have assumed from this that the manuscript was left in its present unfinished state on Bedford's death in September 1435, and that it was acquired by Pierre de Morvilliers through his father, Philippe, who was president of the Paris *Parlement* during the English occupation and thus well-

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<sup>32</sup>Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London, A.D. 1387-1439*, Early English Text Society, OS 78 (London, 1882), pp. 55-64.

<sup>33</sup>Unfinished shields occur on ff. 375, 387v and 404v. Anne had died in 1432. The early second marriage in spite of Bedford's recorded grief was politically expedient: Jacquetta was the niece of Bedford's chancellor in Paris, Louis de Luxembourg.

<sup>34</sup>The note reads "Bréviaire appartenant jadis à Monsieur de Morvilliers garde des seaux (sic) de France, doné à Messire Camille de Neufville, abbé d'Ainé et conte de Laigny, par M. de Saint-Germain, le XVe decembre mil six cent XXV, à l'hostel de Villeroy, à Paris". It is on an added parchment leaf and possibly records an original note (or two separate notes) lost in the rebinding mentioned below.

acquainted with Bedford. Spencer wondered as early as 1965, however, whether the Bedford Master's chief associate in the project might not have continued to work on the manuscript after 1435.<sup>35</sup> This is confirmed by Reynolds, who establishes on stylistic grounds, particularly with reference to the border decoration, that there were two further campaigns of work on the manuscript after 1435, initiated by the workshop itself in the hope of attracting a patron.<sup>36</sup> In support of her theory, she argues from the unfinished state of a copy of Raoul de Presle's *Bible historique* in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fr 20065-6), begun by the workshop in ca. 1435 and reworked until as late as 1460, that the shop was prepared to act as *libraire* or middleman and to finance a project in advance of a confirmed patron.

It was not until sometime in the 1450's that the breviary was acquired by Pierre de Morvilliers. He must have been a keen collector of illuminated manuscripts, since he would have had no use for it as a liturgical book because of its foreign use. A link between Pierre de Morvilliers and Monsieur de Saint-Germain or the de Neufvilles has yet to be traced. We know, however, that Camille de Neufville left the breviary to the Jesuits of Lyon. It was later acquired by the Duc de La Vallière, who had it rebound and the title *Breviarium Sarisburiense* embossed on the spine. After La Vallière's death in 1780, his library was dispersed. The Salisbury Breviary was bought for the royal library in 1784 for the sum of 5,000 livres, and passed thence as ms Lat 17294 into the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>37</sup>

## II

The artists employed by Bedford to work on the Salisbury Breviary had established their reputation as painters in a city with a large workforce actively engaged on the production of illuminated manuscripts. Paris had emerged as a centre of book production at the end of the twelfth century, fostered by the presence of the court and the university in the same city and the proliferation of colleges, churches and other religious institutions.<sup>38</sup> In the decades around the year 1400 it served an important role as a cultural centre, attracting scholars and artists from all over Western Europe. While frequently involved in factional intrigues, rivalry and, on occasions, civil war, the king, the dauphins and the great Dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Orléans and Anjou also ensured, by their interest in books and taste for luxury and display, a wide-ranging system of patronage which nurtured humanists centred at the College of Navarre, and the employment of dozens of booksellers, scribes, decorators and illuminators.<sup>39</sup>

Both Jean le Bon and Charles V le Sage were patrons of manuscript illumination. The latter's love of

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<sup>35</sup>Gerson, Ciboule and the Bedford Master's shop (Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale, ms IV.III, part II)," *Scriptorium*, 19 (1965), 107.

<sup>36</sup>In her dissertation she distinguishes the sections of the manuscript painted in the first, pre-1435, campaign by the presence of Bedford's emblems within the gathering or bifolio.

<sup>37</sup>Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, III, 347.

<sup>38</sup>Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles* (London, 1977); Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 107-30.

<sup>39</sup>Meiss, *French Painting*, covers the patronage of Jean de Berry and much else besides; see also Marcel Thomas, *The Golden Age: Manuscript Painting at the Time of Jean, Duc de Berry* (London, 1979); Gilbert Ouy, "Paris: l'un des principaux foyers de l'humanisme en Europe au début du XVe siècle," *Bull. de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 94-5 (1967-8 [1970]), 71-98.

books was reflected in the library of over twelve hundred volumes which he left on his death in 1380.<sup>40</sup> Although Charles VI was not known for his patronage of the arts, and in the later years of his reign allowed his father's library to suffer numerous depredations by members of the royal family, his uncles, Jean de Berry and Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, devoted considerable time to the augmentation of their libraries, and employed some of the best known illuminators of the period in their own households.<sup>41</sup> The male members of the royal family were not the only ones to be interested in books. The queen, Isabel of Bavaria, had a relatively large number of books of her own, and participated in the system of patronage of the court, accepting, for instance, several illuminated works of Christine de Pizan offered to her by the author, who in return received various gifts and liberalities from the queen.<sup>42</sup> Officials of the court and members of the *Parlement* also patronised the book trade, seeing manuscripts not only as instruments of education, trade and piety, but as investments which could be pawned, sold, or bequeathed as a material part of their private fortune on their death.<sup>43</sup>

Under the impetus of this favourable environment artists of the calibre of the Limbourg brothers and the Boucicaut Master, and also of less renown, like the Coronation Master and the Master of Jean de Berry's *Cleres femmes*, came to the city looking for work. Many of them, including the Bedford Master, originated from provincial centres in the Netherlands. Once established in Paris they continued, as had their fellow countrymen Jean Bondol and Jacquemart de Hesdin a generation before, to infuse the Parisian style of manuscript illumination with a vigorous naturalism, while absorbing the greater elegance and discipline inherited by the city workshops from masters working in the tradition of Jean Pucelle. Artistic exchanges between Paris and Bohemia, Lombardy and Tuscany also contributed to the new elements emerging in manuscripts produced in Paris at this time, especially as they were manifested in experiments in the depiction of pictorial space and the modelling of form. Amongst other developments, the Boucicaut Master's achievements from within the constraints of a busy workshop in representing the effect of atmosphere and light on colour and form, and the advances made by Paul Limbourg in the structuring of landscape under the extraordinary patronage of Jean de Berry, transcend conventional notions of an International Style for Parisian art of this period.<sup>44</sup> Many of these stylistic developments took place within the relative confines of books of hours, but the whole range of religious and secular manuscripts received cycles of decoration and illumination.

Employment on the production of a breviary requiring a substantial cycle of illumination was a less usual task for a Paris workshop, but not outside its range of experience. For over a hundred years the French royal family had exhibited a taste for richly illuminated breviaries, although they were expensive

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<sup>40</sup>Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France 1337-1380*, 2 vols (Paris, 1907; rpt Amsterdam, 1967). See also the manuscript entries by François Avril in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *La Librairie de Charles V* (Paris, 1968); and Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, *Les Fastes du Gothique: le siècle de Charles V* (Paris, 1981), pp. 276-372. Avril has also re-established Jean le Bon as a patron of manuscript illumination in his own right: see in particular his "Un Chef d'oeuvre de l'enluminure sous le règne de Jean le Bon: la Bible moralisée, manuscrit français 167 de la Bibliothèque Nationale," *Monuments et mémoires de la fondation Eugene Piot*, 58 (1972), 91-125; and his "Les Manuscrits Enluminés de Guillaume de Machaut: Essai de chronologie," in *Guillaume de Machaut, Actes et Colloques*, 23 (Paris, 1982), pp. 117-33.

<sup>41</sup>Patrick de Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404)*, Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Paris, 1985); Muriel J. Hughes, "The library of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders, first Valois Duke and Duchess of Burgundy," *Journal of Medieval History*, 4(1978), 145-88; Meiss, *Late XIV Century*; and *Limbourgs*.

<sup>42</sup>A. Vallet (de Virville), "La Bibliothèque d'Isabeau de Bavière, reine de France," *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, (1858), 663-87; Sandra Hindman, "The composition of the manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's collected works in the British Library: a reassessment," *British Library Journal*, 9 (1983), 93-123.

<sup>43</sup>Autrand, "Culture et mentalité".

<sup>44</sup>Meiss, *Limbourgs; Boucicaut Master*.

manuscripts to produce because of their size. By the time of his death in 1380, Charles V had accumulated a relatively large number of breviaries, both for the royal collection and for his own use.<sup>45</sup> Amongst the manuscripts which the king kept at the castle of Vincennes, just outside Paris, were the Belleville Breviary and the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux.<sup>46</sup> The former is a two-volume manuscript for Dominican use dating from before 1326. It was probably acquired by the crown when the goods of Jeanne de Belleville and her husband, Olivier de Clisson, were confiscated in 1343. The latter survives as the summer volume only of a breviary for Franciscan use made shortly before 1334 for the third wife of Charles IV le Bel.<sup>47</sup> Both belong to a substantial group of manuscripts for mendicant use originally produced for female members of the nobility by Jean Pucelle and his associates. In the first half of the fourteenth century there was an unprecedented demand for richly illuminated breviaries for the use of noblewomen, stimulated by the use of friars as confessors and the relatively recent establishment of two richly endowed mendicant convents in the region of Paris.<sup>48</sup>

These manuscripts were not only considered valuable heirlooms by Charles V, but served as models for the artistic projects which engaged the artists employed by the court. A relatively complex and detailed cycle of illumination had been developed for Paris breviaries by the end of the thirteenth century in the workshop of Master Honoré.<sup>49</sup> The Pucellian breviaries, however, incorporated stylistic advances, also found in other manuscripts assigned to the workshop, which had a major influence on the artists working in Paris under the patronage of both Jean le Bon and Charles V.<sup>50</sup> Pucelle had also introduced into the Belleville Breviary two extraordinary cycles for the calendar and the psalter which were to be repeated on numerous occasions in manuscripts produced in Paris during the following hundred years.<sup>51</sup> Towards 1370 Charles V himself probably commissioned the luxury breviary for Paris use with a copy of the

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<sup>45</sup>Only fifteen of the thirty-six breviaries listed by Delisle, *Recherches*, II, 23-29, nos 119-55, were kept in the royal library in the Louvre. The rest were recorded in the 1380 inventory of Charles V's goods preserved as BN fr 2705, transcribed in full by J. Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V roi de France* (Paris, 1879). Delisle collates inventory entries by manuscript genre, while Labarte retains the inventory order.

<sup>46</sup>BN lat 10483-84 and Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms 1887 (Delisle, *Recherches*, nos 152-53; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, I, 271-74, II, 198-210). Three of the other breviaries kept by Charles V at Vincennes still survive: BN mss lat 13233, lat 1023 and lat 1052 (*Recherches*, nos 127-28 and 142; *Bréviaires*, III, 235-39 (lat 13233) and II, 465-75 (lat 1023). For BN lat 1052 (the Breviary of Charles V) see below.

<sup>47</sup>The dating for the Belleville Breviary is provided by the absence of the office of St Thomas Aquinas, which was introduced by the Dominicans in 1326. The Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux is probably dated before 1334 because of the absence of the office of Trinity Sunday, which was adopted by the Universal Church in that year.

<sup>48</sup>Two other Dominican breviaries dated after 1330, Arsenal 107 and 602-03 (Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, II, 317-19 and 348-50), may be associated with the convent of Poissy founded by Philippe le Bel in 1304. A breviary for Franciscan use (Biblioteca Vaticana, cod: Urb. lat 603) was made for Blanche de France, one of the four daughters of Philippe le Long, who entered the convent of Longchamp, another royal foundation, in 1315: Pierre Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol 1 (Vatican City, 1968), pp. 168-9; Kathleen Morand, *Jean Pucelle* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 47-48. The Franciscan breviary now in the Cividale Museo Archaeologico belonged to Mahaut de Chatillon (d. 1358), third wife of Charles, Comte de Valois: *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità in Italia* (Cividale, 1936), X, 156-57.

<sup>49</sup>Two of the manuscripts at Vincennes in 1380, BN lat 13233 and BN lat 1023 (Delisle, *Recherches*, nos 127-28; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, II, 235-39, 465-75), are both late thirteenth century breviaries with substantial cycles of illumination. The latter is thought to have been illuminated for Philippe le Bel in 1296 by Master Honoré. Leroquais doubted the attribution, but see D.H. Turner, "The development of Maître Honoré," in London, British Museum, *The Eric George Millar Bequest of Manuscripts and Drawings 1967* (London, 1968).

<sup>50</sup>A substantially illuminated breviary now preserved in pieces as BN nouv. acq. lat 887 (Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, III, 411-12) was painted in ca. 1350-56 by a group of artists who also collaborated on a moralized Bible (BN fr 167) and other works made for Jean le Bon or his court at about the same time. Avril, "Un chef d'oeuvre de l'enluminure," attributes work in three other breviaries to members of this group, including the Breviary of Mahaut de Chatillon. The other two are a Franciscan breviary (Morgan 75) cited in Avril's note 1 to p. 110, and a breviary for the use of Laon (Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 254) cited in Avril's note 1 to p. 104. The artists painted in a range of styles which still owe much to Pucelle but demonstrate the combination of mannerist and naturalistic currents present in Parisian manuscript illumination by the middle of the fourteenth century.

<sup>51</sup>Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, pp. 32-34 and n. 2 to p. 34; Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Jean Pucelle and the lost miniatures of the Belleville Breviary," *Art Bulletin*, 66 (1984), 73-96.

psalter programme of the Belleville Breviary, which survives under the name of the Breviary of Charles V (Catalogue, no. 16).

Jean de Berry owned almost as many breviaries as Charles V, keeping four in his chapel at the Hôtel de Nesle in Paris. A further twenty separate one or two-volume breviaries were recorded in the surviving inventories of his library.<sup>52</sup> Of these, several had been received from and given as gifts to the dauphin, Louis de Guyenne, while others were acquired as bequests from Louis d'Orléans and Louis d'Evreux, Comte d'Etampes. One of these probably survives as Fitzwilliam 306, a winter breviary with grisaille miniatures bearing the arms of Louis d'Evreux (Catalogue, no. 2). Another group of breviaries was acquired only to be delivered to the treasurer of the Sainte-Chapelle which Berry had founded in Bourges.<sup>53</sup> Although he had acquired by various means both the Belleville Breviary and the Breviary of Charles V,<sup>54</sup> Berry was apparently not sufficiently interested in the genre as a text capable of receiving historiation to have one especially illuminated.

From the years leading up to the occupation of Paris by the English and the Duke of Bedford's commissioning of the Salisbury Breviary, however, three luxury breviaries have survived. Jean sans Peur is associated with the production of a magnificent two-volume breviary (Catalogue, no. 4) painted under the direction of the anonymous Breviary Master, an artist who had worked closely with the Limbourg brothers on projects for Jean de Berry. The breviary, which is written for the use of Rome, was probably made for Jean sans Peur's wife, Margaret of Bavaria. Another breviary with a beautiful and substantial cycle of miniatures, surviving only in its winter volume (Catalogue, no. 8), was illuminated for Guillaume d'Orgemont, *tresorier des guerres* and younger brother of Pierre d'Orgemont, bishop of Paris from 1384-1409. It is one of the richer examples of a large number of breviaries illuminated for lesser members of the French nobility and important court officials most of which have failed to survive.<sup>55</sup>

The Bedford workshop was itself the leading collaborator on the Châteauroux Breviary (Catalogue, no. 3), the summer volume of a breviary possibly made for Louis de Guyenne before his death in December 1415, but in any case dating no later than 1418.<sup>56</sup> The Bedford Master's main collaborator on the Châteauroux Breviary was the Boucicaut Master.<sup>57</sup> The other artist independently engaged on the project was the Orosius Master, an illuminator possibly of Bohemian origin, who had already painted a series of historiated initials in ONB 1254, the breviary produced in Avignon for Benedict XIII soon after his

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<sup>52</sup>For full transcriptions of these inventories, see Delisle, *Recherches*, II, 223-70. Breviaries are collated as nos 45-63 on pp. 230-33. A transcription preserving inventory order is given by Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean duc de Berry (1401-1416)*, 2 vols (Paris, 1894-6). The Hôtel de Nesle breviaries are listed in the inventory of Berry's possessions made after his death on 26 May 1416: Archives du cher, 8 G 1452; cited in Meiss, *Limbourgs*, p. 445, n. 26.

<sup>53</sup>For this group, see also Delisle, "Notes sur la bibliothèque de la Sainte Chapelle de Bourges," *BEC*, 5th ser., 2 (1856), 152-54.

<sup>54</sup>A note on f. 444v of BN lat 10483 says in part: "Et le donna le roy Charles le Vie au roy Richart d'Angleterre. Et quant il fut mort, le roy Henry, son successeur, l'envoya à son oncle le duc de Berry auquel il est à présent". The breviary appears in Robinet d'Estampe's 1413 inventory of Berry's library (AN KK258): Delisle, *Recherches*, no. 55; Guiffrey, *Inventaires*, I, 254-5, no. 963. The Breviary of Charles V was in the possession of Louis d'Orléans, possibly as a gift from his brother, until his widow, Valentine Visconti, gave it to Berry in 1408.

<sup>55</sup>Another example survives in two volumes as BN lat 1024 and Rylands 136 (Catalogue, no. 14), hereinafter called the Paris/Manchester Breviary.

<sup>56</sup>The dauphin's arms appear on f. 430 (Fig. 49). There were three dauphins during the reign of Charles VI: Louis, the eldest; Jean of France, who was dauphin for only five months; and the future Charles VII, who was in exile after 1418. Louis, although not yet nineteen when he died, was a connoisseur of objets d'art and spent large sums of money on the furnishings of his private chapel: Léopold Pannier, *Les Joyaux du duc de Guyenne*, Extrait de la Revue Archéologique (Paris, 1873), p. 8.

<sup>57</sup>For Meiss's attributions of the miniatures in the Châteauroux Breviary, see *Boucicaut Master*, pp. 25-27, 81-85.

election as Pope in 1394.<sup>58</sup> In his early years in Paris the Orosius Master had specialized in classical and historical works for members of the royal family. By contrast, the Bedford Master and his associates, like the Boucicaut Master, were to become specialists in books of hours.

In the years around 1420 members of the Bedford group painted single miniatures, and possibly borders, in several manuscripts executed mainly by artists working in an independent style.<sup>59</sup> The workshop is better known, however, for the leading role it played in a series of books of hours produced before and after the English occupation, beginning with the De Lévis Hours in ca. 1417, and continuing until at least the mid 1440's with manuscripts like the Dunois and Coëtivy Hours.<sup>60</sup> The Bedford Master was not directly involved in the execution of the Bedford style miniatures in the De Lévis Hours, which was painted in collaboration with the Luçon workshop. His hand may be found, however, in the Lamoignon, Bedford, Vienna and <sup>La</sup>Sarraz Hours, manuscripts all painted in the five year period before the Salisbury Breviary was commissioned.<sup>61</sup> After 1424-25 he participated in the execution of miniatures in the Hours of Anne de Neufville (New York, Coll. Alexandre P. Rosenberg, ms 10) and in Morgan m.359, both of which show the influence of designs from the first part of the Salisbury Breviary.<sup>62</sup> The miniatures in the Sobieski Hours in Windsor Castle and the Keble College Hours (Oxford, Keble College, ms 39) attributed to him are more advanced stylistically, and probably date from the early 1430's.<sup>63</sup>

It is notable that none of these examples of the work of the Bedford Master are dated earlier than the Châteauroux Breviary. Manuscripts like the *Livre de la Chasse* of ca. 1407 (BN fr 616),<sup>64</sup> which were formerly attributed to the youthful style of the Bedford Master, are now seen to have been painted by a diverse group of artists working in the style of the "Bedford trend". The artists of this group combined "stocky, bulbous-nosed figures derived from the Netherlandish tradition with the sinuously draped figures of Simone Martini" in designs imbued by "an intense though generalized vitality and expressiveness".<sup>65</sup> While recognizing that they shared models as well as forms with the firmly attributed paintings of the Bedford Master in the Châteauroux and Salisbury Breviaries and the Bedford Hours, Meiss hesitated to group these artists as members of a single workshop. Martha Wolff, however, traces a common repertory of border emblems from the BN fr 616 *Livre de la chasse* through the Vienna and Keble College Hours, which "underscores the connection of the earlier manuscripts with the mature products of the Bedford

<sup>58</sup>Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *Französische und iberische Handschriften*, pp. 1-18, pls. I, II; Meiss, *Limbourgs*, pp. 398-400.

<sup>59</sup>for example, BL Add 16997, with the Boucicaut workshop in ca. 1418: *Boucicaut Master*, p. 92; and the Hours of Charlotte of Savoy (Morgan m. 1004; formerly Fort Worth [Texas], Coll. of Arthur Haddaway) with the Guise Master, the Master of Morgan 453, the Master of the Spitz Hours and a follower of the Boucicaut Master in ca. 1420-25: John Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530 from American Collections* (New York, 1982), no. 2.

<sup>60</sup>New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, ms 400: Meiss, *The De Lévis Hours and the Bedford Workshop* (New Haven, Conn., 1972); BL Yates Thomson 3 and Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, ms 82: Donal Byrne, "The hours of the Admiral Prigent de Coëtivy," *Scriptorium*, 28 (1974), 248-61. Missing leaves from the De Lévis Hours were recently sold in London by Sotheby Parke Bernet, 22 June 1982, as lot 75.

<sup>61</sup>The Lamoignon Hours (Lisbon, Gulbenkian Foundation) is dated ca. 1419-22 by Meiss: *Limbourgs*, p. 364 (with additional references); the Hours in the Château Sarraz 1421 by a colophon: Hans Hahnloser, "Sur l'identité du maître du duc de Bedford," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, (1965): 56-8; and the Vienna Hours (ONB 1855) ca. 1420-22 by Meiss: *Limbourgs*, p. 365 (with additional references). \* and "les heures de Jean de gings," *Château du milieu du monde* (Lausanne, 1972), 60-73

<sup>62</sup>Spencer, "The Hours of Anne de Neufville," *Burlington Magazine*, 119 (1977), 704-07; Plummer, *Last Flowering*, nos 3, 4.

<sup>63</sup>Spencer, *The Sobieski Hours: a Manuscript in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle* (London, 1977); Parkes, *Keble College*, pp. 167-80. The Sobieski Hours were painted in collaboration with the Fastolf Master and the Master of the Munich Golden Legend.

<sup>64</sup>Gaston Phoebus, *Le livre de la chasse, French ms. 616 in the Bibliothèque Nationale*, facs., intr. and comm. Marcel Thomas, François Avril and the Duc de Brisac, mod. fr. trans. R. and A. Bossuat (Paris and Graz, 1976).

<sup>65</sup>Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, pp. 35, 36.

group".<sup>66</sup>

It is not clear whether the Bedford Master had an early role to play in the development of the trend named after him. He may have been in Paris as early as 1403 if the evidence linking him with the painter and illuminator Haincelin de Haguenot mentioned in surviving documents can be accepted.<sup>67</sup> There is considerable reason, however, to question the connection. Accepting as fact the twin hypotheses that the Boucicaut Master was Jacques Coene and that the Châteauroux Breviary was made for Louis de Guyenne, the main evidence linking the two artists is still circumstantial: the Bedford Master and Haincelin de Haguenot both had working connections with the Boucicaut Master; both worked under the patronage of the dauphin; and both remained at work in Paris during the troubled second quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>68</sup> The possible connection of the mature style of the Bedford Master with "Maître Jacquet Lescuyer" in the still unpublished book of hours in the Château La Sarraz<sup>69</sup> also raises questions about the Haincelin de Haguenot identification. All that can be said at this stage of research is that in the second decade of the fifteenth century the Bedford Master emerged as head of a workshop and a leading proponent of the Bedford style.

If the documents have little to say about the origins of the Bedford Master, attempts to identify his hand in manuscripts dated earlier than the Châteauroux Breviary have yielded even less information. At least three surviving manuscripts painted in Paris in the five or six years prior to 1415 contain miniatures exhibiting the stylistic features of the Bedford trend. In 1409 an artist working in the style of the Bedford trend painted a column miniature in the *Grandes Heures* of Jean de Berry showing the Duke being received by St Peter in Paradise (Fig. 102). In around 1412 miniatures in the same style were also painted for the Missal of Saint-Magloire and for a Guiart des Moulins *Bible historique* illuminated mainly by the *Cité des dames* workshop.<sup>70</sup> The attribution of this group of miniatures to the Bedford Master was affirmed by Meiss in a 1956 exhibition review.<sup>71</sup> Subsequently, however, he agreed with Spencer that the Bedford Master's hand is first "indubitably identifiable" in the Châteauroux Breviary.<sup>72</sup>

When the St Peter miniature in the *Grandes Heures* is compared with the Bedford style miniatures in the Châteauroux Breviary (Figs 41-2, 44 and 47), the problems with assigning the earlier miniatures to the Bedford Master become apparent. In the Châteauroux Breviary the sinuous drapery characteristic of the

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<sup>66</sup>Some manuscript sources for the Playing Card Master number cards," *Art Bulletin*, 64(1982), 595, n. 29. The original working connection between artists working in the style of the Bedford trend possibly needs to be sought in a group specializing in borders and backgrounds.

<sup>67</sup>In that year "Haincelin peintre demeurant à Paris" painted arms and devices on two leather book containers for the Queen: Champeaux and Gauchery, *Travaux*, p. 127, n. 1. For a summary of other references to this artist in the documents, see Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, p. 62, nn. 20-25.

<sup>68</sup>Haincelin de Haguenot, Jacques Coene and Ymbert Stanier were paid for work on a *Bible moralisée* for Philippe le Hardi in 1407: Cockshaw, "Mentions d'auteurs," p. 138, item 66; "Lancelin de Haguenoe, enlumineur," was also one of Louis de Guyenne's *vallés de chambre* from 1409 to 1415: see p. 70 of BN fr 7853, a seventeenth century copy of Louis de Guyenne's *Estat de l'hostel*: cited in Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, p. 62, n. 21; and a "Jehan Haincelin, enlumineur" was still working in Paris in 1448, when an artist of this name received payments from the Duke of Orléans: Champeaux and Gauchery, *Travaux*, p. 127, n. 1; Klaus Perls, "Le tableau de la famille des Juvénal des Ursins: le 'maître du duc de Bedford' et Haincelin de Hagenau," *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, 68 (1935), 173-80.

<sup>69</sup>Hahnloser, "Sur l'identité du maître du duc de Bedford".

<sup>70</sup>Arsenal 623, ff. 213A (Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, fig. 481), 213B and initial on f.1; and BN fr 9-10, I, f. 283. The missal was presented to the church of Saint-Magloire by Jean de la Croix and his wife in 1412. Members of the Bedford group shared a large part in ca. 1420 with the *Cité des dames* workshop in the illumination of another *Bible historique*, BL Add 18856-57: *Limbourg*, p. 364.

<sup>71</sup>"The exhibition of French manuscripts of the XIV-XVI centuries at the Bibliothèque Nationale," *Art Bulletin*, 38 (1956), 194.

<sup>72</sup>Meiss, *Limbourg*, p. 363; Spencer, "Salisbury Breviary," p. 612.

Bedford trend is more voluminous, the thicker cloth falling in more angular folds. The head of St Peter in the Assumption miniature (Fig. 44) is almost identical to that of the St Peter in the *Grandes Heures*, but the facial features are built up with a softer and more friable brush so that in a black and white reproduction they look blurred. The *pointilliste* technique used by the *Grandes Heures* artist for the delicate graduation of hair and sky, is eschewed in the Assumption miniature in favour of short brushstrokes for hair and a cloud-streaked sky. Although in the St Peter miniature the blue mantle of St Peter and the scarlet cloak of the Duke are juxtaposed directly against areas of contrasting colour, line is still used to separate most of the forms. On the other hand, particularly in the three large miniatures in the Châteauroux Breviary, colour is already being used in the manner defined by Spencer for the mature work of the Bedford Master,<sup>73</sup> not only to define and separate form but to unite foreground and background elements into an integral surface design. The red mass of the counterpane in the Assumption miniature is picked up by the heavenly chorus behind the enthroned Virgin and Christ, while at the same time being balanced by the blue of the foreground musical angels and the starry sky. Accents provided by the gilded halos, yellow-ochre vaulting and green, blue-green and pink hangings, mantles and robes connect the three spaces delineated by the foreground architectural plane. White also has its own value as a colour, linking the three figures of the assumed Virgin in each of the episodes where she appears.

Such stylistic differences might be explained by reference to the later date of the Châteauroux Breviary. It is more useful, however, to presume that the Bedford trend miniatures in the *Grandes Heures*, the Missal of Saint-Magloire and the BN fr 9-10 *Bible historiale*, like those in the BN fr 616 *Livre de la chasse*, were painted by one or more independent illuminators sharing the stylistic and iconographic features later to characterize the work of the Bedford Master.<sup>74</sup> The Bedford Master himself was probably a newer arrival in Paris, bringing to the models and forms of the Bedford trend the skills of an excellent colourist and draughtsman, and the more recent infusion of Netherlandish pictorial techniques demonstrated in the Châteauroux Breviary. Artists from the same background were subsequently to work in close association with the Bedford Master on most of the projects with which he was concerned, including the Salisbury Breviary.

Four artists were involved in the execution of the large miniatures in the Salisbury Breviary, and a number of others worked at various times on the border miniatures.<sup>75</sup> The artist Spencer calls Hand B painted in a style as distinctive, if not more sophisticated than the Bedford Master himself. Although he adapted his style to the Bedford Master's designs, his work demonstrates an independence of approach and a knowledge of elements from the paintings of the Master of Flémalle (Fig. 16). The Bedford Master's chief associate in the Salisbury Breviary project, however, was Spencer's Hand C, a competent but generally uninspired and sometimes careless illuminator who continued to use the group's fund of patterns until as late as 1465.<sup>76</sup> The fourth artist, Hand D, painted only one of the large miniatures (f. 529v) but had an important role to play in the execution of the border miniatures. Another of the border painters may have been the youthful Master of Jean Rolin II, an artist active from around 1449 to 1460,

<sup>73</sup>"Bedford Hours," pp. 498-502; "Salisbury Breviary," pp. 611-12.

<sup>74</sup>In *The De Lévis Hours*, p. 25, Meiss suggested that the Bedford trend artist in BN fr 9 was closely related to the one who painted the frontispiece in BL Add 18856 (see n. 7); and that the other Bedford associate on this Bible possibly worked on fr 616.

<sup>75</sup>For a working list of attributions see Spencer, "Salisbury Breviary," pp. 611-12. Reynold's dissertation will provide a more comprehensive analysis of the number of hands involved in the border decoration and the execution of the smaller pictorial items, as well as a detailed analysis of the division of labour over the three campaigns.

<sup>76</sup>For a list of attributions to this artist, see Eleanor Spencer, "Gerson, Ciboule and the Bedford Master's shop," pp. 106-07; Donal Byrne, "The Hours of the Admiral Prigent de Coëtivy," p. 254, n. 16.



who collaborated with the Bedford Master on at least five occasions.<sup>77</sup>

Of the surviving manuscripts illuminated by the Bedford Master and his associates, the Salisbury Breviary is the most remarkable, both in conception and execution. Even in its present state it has over 4,300 pictorial items, not counting the forty-six half-page miniatures, which themselves are sufficiently complex stylistically and iconographically to have attracted study away from the smaller pictorial items. The Bedford Master was not inexperienced in the supervision of large commissions. The Châteauroux Breviary, for instance, has over three hundred pictorial items, including the three large miniatures painted by the Bedford Master. The decorative programme designed for the Bedford Hours was even more ambitious, with thirty-eight large miniatures and almost 1,250 marginal roundels.<sup>78</sup> The border miniatures in the Bedford Hours were emulated in the Salisbury Breviary. The commission compares in size, however, with the series of costly and rare moralized Bibles which had been made for members of the French royal family over the previous hundred years, each folio of which required eight separate scenes.<sup>79</sup> The Duke of Bedford's request for an illuminated breviary requiring work on a similar scale was thus a commission of major importance for the Bedford workshop, even when compared with the large projects, many requiring the development of new cycles of illumination, which had engaged other Paris workshops over the previous fifty years.

### III

During the first two decades of the fifteenth century the opportunities for artists to obtain employment in the decoration and illumination of manuscripts in Paris were manifold. Coincidentally, patrons seeking commissions were offered a choice, in quality and kind, of styles and specializations. When the Duke of Bedford arrived in Paris to take up the regency at the end of 1422, this state of affairs had changed. The French court, such as it was, had removed itself to Bourges, accompanied by an entourage of Dauphinist knights severely reduced in numbers by the defeat at Agincourt in 1415. The Duke of Berry had died of the same plague which presumably killed the Limbourg brothers in 1416,<sup>80</sup> and Charles d'Orléans was a prisoner of war in England. Philippe le Bon had withdrawn the Burgundian court from Dijon to Flanders, soon to become an important artistic centre in its own right, encouraging the more talented of its artists to stay at home. The queen was left after the death of Charles VI to live out the rest of her life alone in Paris, deprived of the previous luxuries of the court.<sup>81</sup> Intellectual activity in the city had virtually ceased. Jean Gerson had already fled Paris to Bruges in 1415, and Gontier Col, Jean de Montreuil and Laurent de Premierfait, three well-known humanist writers, were killed during the riot and massacre of May 1418, after the Burgundians had seized Paris from the Armagnacs.<sup>82</sup> The Boucicaut Master's workshop also appears to cease activity around 1420. Like many of the other artists working in Paris, its members may have left the city seeking work elsewhere. Few books of hours, the mainstay of the Paris book trade, can be localized in Paris after the first quarter of the fifteenth century, while there is a proliferation of books

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<sup>77</sup>Eleanor Spencer, "L'Horloge de Sapience: Bruxelles, Bib. Roy., Ms IV.III, part I," *Scriptorium*, 17(1963), 277-99. She attributes the borders on ff. 199v, 200, 203v and 206 of the Salisbury Breviary to this hand.

<sup>78</sup>Backhouse, "Reappraisal of the Bedford Hours," p. 47.

<sup>79</sup>BN fr 167, a moralized bible made for Jean le Bon in 1349-53 has 5112 illustrations painted by at least fifteen separate artists: Avril, "Un chef d'oeuvre de l'enluminure".

<sup>80</sup>All three brothers were dead by September or October 1416, when an executor was appointed to identify and collect their goods: Meiss, *Limbourgs*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>81</sup>Shirley, *Parisian Journal*, p. 193.

<sup>82</sup>Meiss, *Limbourgs*, p. 22.

for regional uses.<sup>83</sup>

Bedford thus inherited as his capital a city with a book trade already in decline. The English occupation of Paris was the culmination of a series of events which were sufficient conditions in themselves for a diminution of patronage and reduction of trained artisans willing and able to continue their profession in the city. On the other hand, in many ways, because Paris was under English control, it fared better than it would have during the English offensive if it had remained in the hands of the Dauphinists. Trade routes with territories in the north and west controlled by the English and Burgundians remained open, and the cut off regions of Touraine, Poitou and Berry controlled by the Dauphinists had not previously been major suppliers of goods to the Paris region.<sup>84</sup>

Believing as he did that the English claim to the French throne was a legal one, Bedford was keen to remove any idea of the city's being under foreign control. He retained French officials in positions of government and administration, and tried to win the support of influential interests through the restoration of studies at the university of Paris. In 1424 he commissioned a treatise by Roland de Lisbon, master of the medical faculty of Paris from 1424-39 and canon of Sainte-Chapelle, in which the dedication praises him for his attempt to revive learning.<sup>85</sup> As legal representative of the heir to Charles VI, he exercised his immediate authority by having inventories taken of the king's tapestries and the library of Charles V which was still kept in the tower of the Louvre. He subsequently bought rather than commandeered the library, although for a very low price.<sup>86</sup> As becoming his position as regent, he initiated extensions and improvements to his residence in Paris, the Hôtel de Tournelles, which had previously belonged to Jean de Berry and Charles d'Orléans.<sup>87</sup> He also commissioned at least two magnificently illuminated manuscripts, thus ensuring the economic survival in Paris of the Bedford group of illuminators throughout the period of the English occupation.

Several commentators have assigned political motives to Bedford's involvement in the illumination of a breviary in Paris specifically at this time. M.J. Barber, for instance, states that:

the splendour of the Courts and households of the great French Dukes, like Burgundy or Berry or Anjou, had set a pattern of patronage which it was all the more necessary that Bedford should emulate if he was to establish the reputation of the English authority in France.<sup>88</sup>

Nevertheless, Bedford came from a family known for its interest in books. His maternal grandfather, Humphrey de Bohun, seventh earl of Hereford, had a number of fine psalters made for his personal use,

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<sup>83</sup>de Hamel, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 168-69; Plummer, *The Last Flowering*, esp. p. xi.

<sup>84</sup>Favier, *La guerre de cent ans*, pp. 462-4; *Paris au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Nouvelle Histoire de Paris (Paris, 1974).

<sup>85</sup>*Scientia de Numero et Iutate Numeri* (New York, Columbia University, Plimpton Ms 13): M.J. Barber, "The Books and Patronage of Learning of a Fifteenth Century Prince," *The Book Collector*, 12 (1963), 311 and n. 15.

<sup>86</sup>Jules Guiffrey, ed., "Inventaire des tapisseries du roi Charles VI vendues par les anglais en 1422," *BEC*, 48 (1887), 59-110, 396-444; L. Douet d'Arco, ed., *Inventaire de la bibliothèque du roi Charles VI fait au Louvre en 1423 par ordre du Régent duc de Bedford* (Paris, 1867); Delisle, *Recherches*, I, 138-41. The 1424 inventory of the Library was ordered by Bedford in 1423 and made by commissioners of the Chambre des Comtes in the presence of Garnier de Saint-Yon, the librarian, and with the advice of officials from the University of Paris. The 853 volumes were assessed at 2323 livres 4 sous "parisis," although Bedford only paid 1200 francs to Charles VI's executors in 1425.

<sup>87</sup>Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1724, rpt. n.d.), II, 185-6, 281-4.

<sup>88</sup>"Books and patronage of learning," p. 315. Barber might also have mentioned Louis d'Orléans, whose role as patron needs to be re-evaluated: Sue-Ann Wallace, "Louis, Duke of Orléans, as a patron of tapestry makers," (forthcoming). See also J.J.G. Alexander, "Painting and manuscript illumination for royal patrons in the later middle ages," in V.J. Scattergood and J.W. Sherborne, eds, *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983), p. 161; and Rosenthal, "Aristocratic cultural patronage," pp. 219-48. Rosenthal does not distinguish the peculiar circumstances of Bedford's patronage, but wonders if it is atypical.

including two finished for Bedford's mother Mary Bohun after her father's death.<sup>89</sup> Both Henry IV and Henry V showed an interest in scholarship and literary patronage, and Henry IV had a costly two-volume breviary illuminated in 1408-9, which he subsequently bequeathed to his eldest son.<sup>90</sup> Bedford's younger brother, Humphrey of Gloucester, was the founding benefactor of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and is well-known amongst historians of renaissance England for his interest in Italian humanist works in the 1430's.<sup>91</sup>

The literary and artistic patronage exercised by members of the English nobility did not differ substantially in kind from that practised by the French. Both groups requested or graciously accepted dedication copies of new works and translations. Both also used illuminated manuscripts as gifts of friendship and diplomacy, as a means of displaying their wealth and status, and as an expression of, and aid to, religious devotion in the case of liturgical works and books of hours. Apart from patronizing the work of Roland de Lisbon, Bedford authorized a number of other translations, including a latin prose version of Guillaume de Degulleville's *Pélerinage de l'âme* by one of his chaplains, Jean Galopes.<sup>92</sup> Acts of patronage like these, in combination with the survival of four richly illuminated manuscripts bearing his armorials, and his purchase of the library of Charles V, serve to establish beyond doubt Bedford's interest in books.<sup>93</sup>

On the other hand, there is a demonstrable difference in the nature of the interest typically taken in manuscripts by the French and English nobility which makes Bedford's desire to invest large sums in their illumination unusual.<sup>94</sup> While some English men and women amassed relatively large personal libraries during their lifetime, French connoisseurs and collectors of illuminated manuscripts like Charles V and Jean de Berry had no parallel in England. Although Richard II is frequently characterized by an interest in architecture, painting and illuminated books at the expense of feats of arms, the number of

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<sup>89</sup>BL Egerton 3277 and Bodleian Auct. D.4.4. She also owned a combined psalter and hours which was taken to Denmark in 1406 by Bedford's sister, Philippa, when she went to marry Eric of Pomerania (Kongliche Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Thotts Saml. ms 547). The Bohun group of psalters is discussed in M.R. James, *The Bohun Manuscripts: A Group of Five Manuscripts Executed in England about 1370 for Members of the Bohun Family* (Oxford, 1936); and more recently in Lucy Freeman Sandler, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1986), I, 34-37.

<sup>90</sup>London, Public Record Office, Duchy of Lancaster Records, 11/16/113 and 28/4/6; cited in Cavanaugh, *Books Privately Owned in England*, I, 409. Richard Frampton was paid ten pounds on 17 July 1408, and £25 14s. 6d. from 2 February 1408 to 2 February 1409 for writing and decorating the breviary, although he probably sub-contracted the decoration to specialist illuminators. Henry V bequeathed the manuscript to his uncle, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester: Patrick Strong and Felicity Strong, "The last will and codicils of Henry V," *English Historical Review*, 96 (1981), 94.

<sup>91</sup>Alfonso Sammut, *Unfredo duca di Gloucester e gli umanisti italiani* (Padua, 1980).

<sup>92</sup>Lambeth 326: James, *Lambeth Palace*, pp. 421-31. An inscription at the beginning states that it was dedicated to Bedford and a dedication frontispiece shows Jean Galopes presenting the book to him. John Thomas, clerk of Paris, received a receipt for twenty-two livres "tournois" for transcribing the *Pélerinage de l'âme* as well as a copy of *Le Vif tablet de confession*: BL Add. Charter 104, *Letters and Papers*, II (2), 415-6. Another unfinished copy survives as BN fr 602: Barber, "Books and patronage of learning", p. 10. Jean Galopes also translated the *Meditationes Vite Christi* from Latin into French and presented it to Henry V while he was in France. The presentation copy survives as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms 213: M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1912), I, 510-11.

<sup>93</sup>Cavanaugh, *Books Privately Owned in England*, I, 468-73, provides a detailed list of the books connected with Bedford, although the commentary is not always up-to-date with art historical research. She also omits mention of the Roland de Lisbon manuscript in Lambeth Palace, and neither Cavanaugh nor Barber mention another treatise, a *Physionomie* dedicated to Bedford by Roland de Lisbon in the Biblioteca Ajuda in Lisbon: *Bulletin de la Société Française pour la Reproduction des Manuscrits à Peinture*, 14e année, 1930 (Paris, 1932), pl. xvi. This reference was brought to my attention through Jenny Stratford, who is preparing a new study on Bedford's patronage.

<sup>94</sup>The most useful review of the cultural differences between England and France in the later medieval period is to be found in Kenneth Fowler, "Court patronage and the arts," ch 5 of *The Age of Plantagenet and Valois: The Struggle for Supremacy 1328-1498* (London, 1967), pp. 182-200.

books which can be assigned to his active patronage has been considerably reduced by recent research.<sup>95</sup> Henry IV has left no surviving manuscripts and, apart from his purchase of a richly illuminated breviary, his reputation for a love of books hinges mainly on the thorough early education he gave his children, and on his continuation of John of Gaunt's patronage of Chaucer and Richard II's of Gower after 1399.<sup>96</sup> Henry V probably owned no more books than would be expected of a well-educated king subject to the dedications of writers and the exchange of gifts. His own gifts of books to various institutions were made from collections confiscated or taken as booty, and he seems to have been more inclined to borrow books that interested him than to have purchased them.<sup>97</sup> There is no evidence of a royal library of any size in England.

Although there was a general need, for financial reasons as well as for purposes of conspicuous display, to invest wealth in luxury possessions in both France and England, the French nobility were more inclined to see tapestries and richly illuminated manuscripts as symbols of prestige. In France the royal court was only one of a number of wealthy private courts, each of which competed as centres of culture, particularly after the death of Charles V. The French dukes had greater financial resources for indulging their tastes and were more personally interested, not only in books and learning, but in the stylistic and iconographic subtleties of artistic representations of religious and secular themes in various media. In Paris Laurent de Premierfait was able to attract the patronage of a number of highly-positioned court officials, as well as Jean de Berry, specifically in order to translate works of Boccaccio, Cicero and Aristotle. For the presentation copies new cycles of illumination were commissioned from Paris artists, which in turn served as models for subsequent copies.<sup>98</sup>

Laurent de Premierfait was never able to attract one of the coveted positions attached directly to the royal or ducal households. Such positions, however, provided numerous opportunities to acquire prestige and official standing for talented scholars and artists working in France.<sup>99</sup> It was much harder for writers like Chaucer or Gower to obtain direct patronage for their work in England, and London artists were less well-prepared to handle the production of multiple illuminated copies of completed works.<sup>100</sup> The loosely based system of entrepreneur, bookseller or scribe accepting the responsibility for the production of a manuscript and distributing the tasks of transcription, decoration, illumination and binding to specialist artisans working independently in a geographically close area was similar in both centres. The difference lay in the quantity and nature of the projects tackled. Although Henry IV invited Christine de Pizan to visit the English court, she could not have found there the kind of back-up system by the local book trade

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<sup>95</sup>See Cavanaugh, *Books Privately Owned in England*, II, 726 for a review of the debate about Richard II as a connoisseur of books.

<sup>96</sup>Cavanaugh, II, 410-11.

<sup>97</sup>The eleven books given by him to the royal collegiate chapel of St George, Windsor, had belonged to Richard le Scrope: N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books* (London, 1964), p. 202. The 110 books he took possession of after the surrender of Meaux on May 10, 1422 were probably intended as a gift to one of his foundations: London, Public Record Office, Exchequer KR, Various accounts E 101/335/17: transcribed in K.B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford, 1972), Appendix C. Even the book he was reading on his deathbed belonged to his aunt Joan Neville. She petitioned to have it returned two years after his death: T. Rymer, ed., *Foedera*, 1st ed. (London, 1704-35), X, 317.

<sup>98</sup>R.C. Famiglietti, "Laurent de Premierfait: the career of a humanist in early fifteenth century Paris," *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983), 25-42; Carla Bozzolo, *Manuscrits des traductions françaises d'oeuvres de Boccace: XVe siècle* (Padua, 1973).

<sup>99</sup>Fowler, "Court patronage," pp. 195-6.

<sup>100</sup>A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes, "The production of copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the early fifteenth century," in M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson, eds, *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker* (London, 1978), pp. 163-210; Margaret Rickert, "Illumination," in J.M. Manly and E. Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1940), I, 561-605.

which in Paris helped her complete four illuminated manuscripts of the *Cité des dames* in 1405.<sup>101</sup>

Neither Paris nor London had a large reservoir of local talent to draw upon, but large numbers of provincial artists trained in a range of styles had been drawn to Paris as an artistic centre for over a hundred years, reinforcing and reinvigorating the native industry.<sup>102</sup> In England the production of illuminated manuscripts had grown as a small secular industry in the thirteenth and fourteenth century in regional centres, particularly the University and cathedral towns and the areas visited by the itinerant court. London did emerge as an important centre during the fourteenth century, but locally trained illuminators, stimulated by a small number of foreign artists like Herman Scheerre, were sufficient to satisfy the demands made on the trade by the church, government and nobility.<sup>103</sup>

The same set of tastes and circumstances limited the production of historiated breviaries in England as had restricted the growth of book illumination in other areas. The demand for handsome work-a-day copies of breviaries in England was as great as on the Continent but, apart from the Chichele Breviary, the only other surviving English breviaries with substantial figurative cycles belong to the early decades of the fourteenth century.<sup>104</sup> Henry IV's lost two-volume breviary was an exceptional commission possibly stimulated by the presence of the Belleville Breviary in London at the turn of the century. The non-standard programmes of decoration of the several surviving richly illuminated missals from the second half of the century serve only to underline the absence of a continuous tradition for the illumination of liturgical manuscripts.<sup>105</sup> Late fourteenth and early fifteenth century English illuminators worked under difficult circumstances because each new cycle of illumination had in a sense to be re-invented. This resulted in a number of unique and fascinating manuscripts which merit detailed study, but prevented the proliferation of designs and models to be found in use by Paris workshops.

In commissioning a manuscript as richly decorated as the Salisbury Breviary so early in his regency, therefore, Bedford was, consciously or unconsciously, entering into a kind of rivalry with the absent French court. It would be wrong to deny him at least some appreciation for illuminated manuscripts, yet the reassignment of the patronage of the Bedford Hours to Philippe le Bon greatly influences the balance of evidence for any stronger claim. His assumption of the prestige symbols of the French dukes, through

<sup>101</sup>Patrick M. de Winter, "Christine de Pizan: Ses enlumineurs et ses rapports avec le milieu bourguignon," *L'Aquitaine: Etudes archéologiques*, Actes du 104e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes (Paris, 1982), pp. 335-76; Hindman, "Composition of the manuscript of Christine de Pizan's collected works"; Meiss, *Limburgs*, p. 9.

<sup>102</sup>Françoise Baron, "Enlumineurs, peintres et sculpteurs parisiens des XIVe et XVe siècles, d'après les archives de l'Hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pélerins," *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, n.s. 6 (1970-71), 77-115; Patrick M. de Winter, "Copistes, éditeurs et enlumineurs de la fin du XIVe siècle: la production à Paris de manuscrits à miniatures," *Actes du 100e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes* (Paris, 1977), pp. 27-62, 186.

<sup>103</sup>C. Paul Christianson, "A century of the manuscript book trade in late medieval London," *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, n.s. 12 (1984), 143-65. For a review of Herman Scheerre's career, see C.L. Kuhn, "Herman Scheerre and English illumination of the early fifteenth century," *Art Bulletin*, 22 (1940), 138-56; Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, pp. 113-18; G.M. Spriggs, "The Nevill Hours and the school of Herman Scheerre," *JWCI*, 37 (1974), 104-30; etc.

<sup>104</sup>Only two of these are Sarum books: the Longleat Breviary described by Lucy Freeman Sandler, "An early fourteenth century English breviary at Longleat," *JWCI*, 39 (1976), 1-19; and the Stowe Breviary (BL Stowe 12): Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 79. The Hyde Abbey Breviary (Bodleian Gough Liturg 8 and Rawl Liturg e.1\*) and the Chertsey Breviary (Bodleian lat liturg e.6, e.37. e.39 and d.42; and University of San Francisco, ms BX 2033 A2) are Benedictine: *Gothic Manuscripts*, nos 62a, 62b, 64a and 64b. The Guisborough Priory Breviary discussed by D.D. Egbert, *The Tisikhill Psalter and Related Manuscripts* (New York, 1940), pp. 109-11, 205-08, is for the use of Augustinian canons in the York diocese.

<sup>105</sup>The most important of these are the Carmelite Missal (BL Add 29704-5, 44892): Margaret Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* (London, 1952); the Sherborne Missal (Alnwick Castle, Coll. of the Duke of Northumberland): J.A. Herbert, *The Sherborne Missal* (London, 1920); Marks and Morgan, *Golden Age*, pls 28-30; and the Lytlington Missal (London, Westminster Abbey, ms 37): Marks and Morgan, pl. 25; Anne Simpson, "The connections between English and Bohemian painting during the second half of the fourteenth century," *Diss. Univ. of London* 1978, pp. 119-35.

his purchase of the royal library and the employment of a Paris workshop on a costly and time-consuming project like the Salisbury Breviary, served a political purpose, together with his patronage of members of the University, in demonstrating a continuity of traditions between the two regimes. The different historical and cultural circumstances of Bedford's rule, however, bore the seeds of failure. The Salisbury Breviary was left unfinished and the royal library was dispersed on Bedford's death.<sup>106</sup>

At the same time, Bedford's choice of a strictly liturgical manuscript as his earliest commission from the workshop, far from being overtly political, duplicated the major recorded act of artistic patronage of his own father. He made no attempt to choose a text which would provide opportunities for underlining the English claims to the French throne as had Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques de France* for those of the Valois.<sup>107</sup> Neither are the subjects of any of the large miniatures obviously treated so as to be relevant to contemporary political events in the manner of the Clovis miniature in the para-liturgical Bedford Hours.<sup>108</sup>

Clearly, Bedford had a range of complex motives for wanting a richly illuminated breviary at this time, of which the achievement of direct political advantage was only a part. Firstly and foremostly, he needed a new breviary. The Sarum office had recently been augmented and copies based on the pre-1415 version were out of date. In addition, both he and his father saw the illuminated breviary as an important visible sign of the exemplary devotional practices of Christians of the highest rank, in a society where the support of the church was essential for the effective control of government. When Bedford became regent he acted at once to acquire a breviary befitting his new rank. It was only later that he perceived the need for richly illuminated service books for use by the clergy on those occasions when the Sarum rite was performed at Sainte-Chapelle.

Bedford's presence in Paris also gave him the opportunity to have a breviary illuminated in the Paris style, a taste for which he may have acquired from his perusal of the library of Charles V. Whether or not this was the case, he was quick to take advantage of the availability of a talented group of artists with a broad repertoire of workshop designs, to commission what for him was the "ideal" breviary. The decoration of liturgical and para-liturgical manuscripts not only acted as an indication of the wealth or prestige of the owner, but enhanced and beautified the prayers, psalms, antiphons and lessons; while the miniatures and historiated initials conveyed the meaning of the offices to the readers and aided them in the process of devotion. The more complete the degree of enrichment of the words of the liturgy in the breviary, therefore, the more effectively the reader was aided in the act of worship.

It is ironic that the ambitious decorative programme of the Salisbury Breviary should have been designed and executed during the second quarter of the fifteenth century, when Paris had lost its monopoly as an artistic centre. It was because of the peculiar circumstances behind the commission, however, that the Bedford group of artists and the theological advisers working on the programme were

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<sup>106</sup>The evidence that he had a library built to house it at Rouen is slight: Barber, "Books and patronage of learning," p. 313, n. 22. There is some evidence, however, that the collection was taken to England. In BN fr 437, a *Rational des divins offices*, is inscribed "cest livre est à Jehan conte dengolesme lequel lacheta à londres en engleterre lan de grace 1441": cited in Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque imperiale*, 2 vols (Paris, 1868, rpt Hildesheim, 1978), I, 53. A *Faits des romans*, BN fr 295, which was in London in 1471, has also been connected with an entry in the 1423 and earlier inventories of the library of Charles V: François Avril, "Trois manuscrits napolitains des collections de Charles V et de Jean de Berry," *BEC*, 127 (1969), 299.

<sup>107</sup>Anne D. Hedeman, "Valois legitimacy: editorial changes in Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques de France*," *Art Bulletin*, 66 (1984), 97-117.

<sup>108</sup>Benedicta J.H. Rowe, "Notes on the Clovis miniature and the Bedford portrait in the Bedford Book of Hours," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., 25 (1962), 56-65.

given virtual carte blanche by the patron to design the ultimate breviary as they saw it. The end result, unfinished though it is, differs considerably in nature and style from the manuscript Bedford would have received from an English workshop.

## Chapter 2

### The Text and its Decoration

#### I

The breviary designed and partly completed for the Duke of Bedford in Paris is in all practical aspects of its production indisputably the product of Paris artisans. The text was written by two scribes whose hands may also be found in other manuscripts illuminated by the Bedford group.<sup>1</sup> The artists employed to execute the large number of decorative initials in the Salisbury Breviary worked entirely within the Paris tradition, while the Bedford group itself was composed of illuminators who, if not initially trained in Paris, had lived there for a sufficient number of years to be considered Paris artists. The Bedford Master had already helped to illuminate a luxury breviary for Paris use, and he and his associates shared a background of experience in the development of large decorative cycles for books of hours.

As a consequence, the Salisbury Breviary would have been a very different manuscript from the English-made Breviary of Henry IV.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, it was still a manuscript for alien use produced at the request of a foreign patron. The provision by Bedford or his agents of exemplars for the text as well as specific directions for the execution of the manuscript may have influenced parts of the decorative programme even when firm traditions existed in Paris for the decoration and illumination of the texts involved. How far this was the case will only emerge after a careful examination of the ways in which the manuscript does follow the Paris tradition, at least as it is represented in a cross-section of surviving breviaries made in Paris in the fifty years or so before the Salisbury Breviary was commissioned. Such a comparison must necessarily begin with an outline of the structure and organization of the breviary and of the ways in which the text of the Salisbury Breviary, because of its English use, differs from the texts of other breviaries likely to have been illuminated in Paris before the end of 1422.

The divine office as it is represented in the late medieval secular breviary is essentially a compromise between the organized form of devotion engaged in by monastic communities, and the non-eucharistic public devotions of the early Christian church. The monastic system, developed from Jewish practices, of dividing the day into seven devotional hours together with an evening office had become superimposed on the simpler ritual of the cathedral by the sixth century, if not earlier in some churches.<sup>3</sup> The difference

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<sup>1</sup>Spencer, "Salisbury Breviary," p. 607, n. 5: "The first scribe wrote folios 1-374v and 548-670v [the calendar, temporal and last half of the sanctoral], using a relatively flexible pointed quill and diluted ink. He marked his catchwords with the two dots of a colon linked by a reversed S. The second scribe wrote folios 375-547v and 671-711v [the first half of the sanctoral and the communal], using a blunt and stiffer quill and darker ink, and marked his catchwords with the two dots linked by an S".

<sup>2</sup>The latter has failed to survive, but would have been sumptuous in its decoration given its cost, which compares with that of the much larger Lytlington Missal: Marks and Morgan, *Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting*, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup>Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, I, xxxv-lxii; Jones, *Study of Liturgy*, pp. 350ff; Pierre Salmon, *L'Office Divin: histoire de la formation du bréviaire*, Lex Orandi, 27 (Paris, 1959). There are numerous other works devoted to the early history of the liturgy: See Richard W. Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto, 1982), and the bibliography in Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, pp. 382-89.



between monastic and secular worship lay mainly in the length of the offices. On Sundays and feastdays the monastic office had twelve lessons at matins and the secular office nine. In either case the long office of matins, performed in the early hours of the morning, was followed by lauds; the shorter hours of prime, terce, sext and none were celebrated at intervals throughout the day; and the relatively standardized office of compline followed vespers and preceded bed.

The main purpose of the offices was to recite the whole book of psalms weekly. In the secular uses psalms 1 to 108 were assigned mainly to matins and the rest mainly to vespers. Eighteen psalms were sung at matins on Sunday and twelve on each of the other days of the week, with five every day at vespers. Psalm 94, "Venite exultemus", was used for the additional opening or invitatory psalm at matins. The long psalm 118 was divided amongst the small hours (prime to none). Psalms 50, 62, 66 and 148 to 150 were chanted at lauds, and psalms 4, 90 and 113 at compline.<sup>4</sup> A whole web of opening and closing formulas, liturgical greetings, benedictions, readings, prayers and hymns, partly the natural accretions of an active and developing religion and partly the result of developments in the choral performance of the office, were arranged around this pattern of chanted psalms to form the office proper. Each psalm or group of psalms was "covered" by an antiphon, or short chanted refrain, and by a doxology, a simple formula which converts the originally Jewish psalms into a Christian text. A hymn, prayer and short reading or chapter from the scriptures accompanied the psalms assigned to each of the daily offices. In addition, the psalms chanted at matins were divided into three nocturns, and passages from the Old and New Testament, sermons, homilies, glosses, martyrologies and saints' lives were read after the chanting of each group of psalms. Versicles, responsories and other liturgical dialogues between the soloist and choir or the two halves of the choir opened and closed each office and accompanied hymns and lessons.

Although many of the liturgical items recited or sung in the divine office were ancient texts by the time the decorative programme of the Salisbury Breviary was being devised for Bedford in 1422-23, the breviary as a manuscript containing the complete text of the divine office was relatively late to develop as a genre. No breviaries survive dated before the eleventh century. Their proliferation as single sources combining the role of antiphonals, responsories, capitularies, hymnaries, collectories and lectionaries dates from the thirteenth century, a period during which the issue of a simplified and abridged ordinal by Innocent III in 1213-16, and the adoption and subsequent further revision of the new breviary of the Papal court by the Franciscans after 1220, had a considerable influence on the codification of secular uses throughout Western Europe.<sup>5</sup>

The Sarum use for which the Salisbury Breviary is written (and after which it was named by the Duke de La Vallière's binders) was a variant of the Roman rite first brought to England in 597 by St Augustine of Canterbury, but considerably modified by local customs during the Anglo-Saxon period and by Norman practices after 1066. Originally the liturgy performed in the cathedral and diocese of Salisbury, by the fifteenth century the Sarum use was preferred throughout the British Isles, prevailing over the other surviving secular uses of York, <sup>and</sup> Hereford and Bangor except in their own dioceses and even eventually replacing such ancient uses as the one celebrated until 1414 at the old church of Saint Paul in London.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup>The distribution of the psalms over the week was different for monastic uses: see Hughes, p. 52, fig. 4.2.

<sup>5</sup>Stephen J.P. Van Dijk and Joan Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1960); Pierre Salmon, *L'Office Divin au moyen âge: histoire de la formation du bréviaire du IXe au XVIe siècle*, Lex Orandi, 43 (Paris, 1967).

<sup>6</sup>Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Past* (London, 1959), pp. 276-374. Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy*, pp. 104-05, gives a list of the large range of published editions of Sarum service books, including the Printed Sarum Breviary.

In France, on the other hand, there was a multiplicity of uses. Bedford was installed as a canon of Rouen Cathedral on 23 October 1430 by the Bishop of Beauvais, using the Rouen ceremonial forms.<sup>7</sup> This mixture of liturgical conventions was common. The Paris use was specifically linked with the performance of the liturgy in the cathedral of Notre-Dame, and had no influence outside the Paris diocese. Members of the royal family, however, although often required to attend services and ceremonies in churches outside the capital, still preferred the Paris liturgy in their private chapels and kept sufficient numbers of Paris service books for the use of themselves and their chaplains.<sup>8</sup> The Paris use, like the other French uses, had inherited its basic structure and organization from the version of the Roman rite promulgated by Pepin in the eighth century, and expanded by Benedict of Aniane in the ninth.<sup>9</sup>

The variants of the Roman rite inherited by the Sarum and Paris uses were thus initially at different stages of development and had received numerous subsequent local and regional modifications which manifested themselves not only in minor variations in the order of the offices, or in preferences for locally venerated saints and relics, but in many of the shorter texts and musical forms in offices common to both uses. The late medieval Roman rite itself, and the Franciscan and Dominican uses adapted from it, also varied in many respects from the Paris use.<sup>10</sup> Such differences had an effect in detail on the nature of the decorative programmes of breviaries for individual uses. Notwithstanding this, Paris artists had already handled cycles of decoration and illumination for breviaries for Roman and mendicant use, as well as being employed by provincial patrons for the production of service books in the Paris style.<sup>11</sup> The basic arrangement of the texts in late medieval breviaries, regardless of use, was essentially similar.

Like other breviaries, the Salisbury Breviary was originally divided into five main sections.<sup>12</sup> Its calendar, occupying the first, six-leaf gathering, is a full list of the fixed feasts observed by the Sarum use with information about the rank of the feast and the number of lessons to be said at matins. The ferial psalter, missing in the Salisbury Breviary but traditionally the heart of the breviary, would have been a text presenting the psalms arranged in eight groups corresponding to those said at matins on each of the seven weekdays and those said at vespers throughout the week. That the manuscript was designed to have a psalter is made apparent by catchwords and signatures indicating that a further fifteen gatherings

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<sup>7</sup>*Registre du Chapitre de Rouen*, Arch. Seine Inférieure, G. 2126, f. 60; summarized in Williams, *My Lord of Bedford*, p. 190.

<sup>8</sup>Of the seventeen breviaries in Charles V's inventories for which the use is specified, nine are for Paris, four for Roman, two for English and two (the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux and the Belleville Breviary) for mendicant use: Delisle, *Recherches*, II, 23-9. Nine of the twenty breviaries in Jean de Berry's library were for Paris use: *Recherches*, II, 230-3; and Philippe le Hardi owned seven Paris "demi-bréviaires notéz": Cockshaw, "Mentions d'auteurs", item 75. Although the use is often not mentioned in the inventories and accounts cited, none of them specify that a breviary is written for a French use other than Paris.

<sup>9</sup>Leroquais' discussion of the Paris liturgy in his *Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon* (Paris, 1929), pp. 30ff, remains the best introduction to date. No modern edition of the Paris breviary has been published. The earliest printed edition is the *Breviarium parisiense* issued in Paris in 1480: M. Pellechet, *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1905, rpt 1970), II, 216. For a list of surviving Paris liturgical manuscripts up to the thirteenth century, see *DACL*, 13 (1938), cols 2074-160. Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, lists seventy-five breviaries for Paris use in public libraries in France, of which one dates from the twelfth century and seventeen from the thirteenth.

<sup>10</sup>The standardization of the present day Roman Catholic breviary is a direct result of the promulgation of the bull "Quo primum tempore" of 14 July 1570, which commanded all churches and monasteries of Western Christendom to use the new Roman breviary and missal issued in 1568 and 1570 respectively unless they could demonstrate a liturgy in continuous use for at least two hundred years: King, *Liturgies of the Past*, p. 277.

<sup>11</sup>The Breviary of Jean sans Peur is for Roman, and the Belleville Breviary Dominican, use. The breviary for Laon use (Laon 254) painted by one of the artists of BN fr 167 (Avril, "Chef d'oeuvre," p. 104, n. 1) must be one of a number of surviving breviaries for provincial use illuminated in Paris which have yet to be assigned to a Paris workshop on the basis of such a detailed study of hands as that made for BN fr 167.

<sup>12</sup>Individual manuscripts may contain other texts and offices. The ordo for Advent is often a separate section in manuscripts for Paris use. Other candidates for inclusion are the Office of the Dead and Commendation of Souls, the Little Office of the Virgin, recently introduced offices which have yet to be inserted in the temporal or sanctoral, Easter tables, lists of benedictions, collections of prayers or hymns and, more rarely, the canon of the mass.

were to have followed the calendar.<sup>13</sup> Its absence prevents the manuscript from fully functioning as a liturgical text, since in a complete breviary it is a major reference tool for the temporal and sanctoral, where the psalms are given in *incipit* only. The section of the Salisbury Breviary which now follows the calendar, occupying over seven hundred folios, contains the offices for each day of the year divided into three separate groups. The temporal (ff. 8-374v) contains the offices related to the events of Christ's life, arranged in order of the liturgical year. The offices of the saints venerated by the Sarum use are given in the sanctoral (ff. 375-668v), while non-specific texts proper to the four classes of saints (apostles and evangelists, martyrs, confessors and female saints) appear in the communal (ff. 671-711).

The internal structure of the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary differs from the Paris use in only a small number of ways. The feasts of SS Felix, Maurus, Marcellus, Sulpicius and Prisca on 14 to 18 January respectively are included in the temporal rather than the sanctoral, between the Epiphany octave and the offices for the subsequent week (ff. 120-24). Following the Roman, but not the Paris or Dominican uses, the feasts of St Stephen Martyr, St John the Evangelist, the Holy Innocents, St Thomas of Canterbury and St Sylvester, which fall on consecutive days from 26 to 31 December, may also be found in the temporal. In addition, the texts for the office of the Virgin during Advent are interspersed with the texts for the first Sunday in Advent; and a second set of variations on the office of the Virgin is located after the octave of St Stephen on 2 January (ff. 93-100), interrupting the sequence of octaves for the saints venerated during the Christmas week.<sup>14</sup> Apart from these differences, the temporal is organized almost identically with that of the Paris use, even to the inclusion of the Dedication of a Church and its octave as the closing office on ff. 360v-74v.

In the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary the offices for specifically English saints provide whole sections unique to the Sarum use. Nevertheless, the majority of the feasts in the sanctoral are common to all the continental uses, since the Roman, Carolingian and Norman liturgies were all dependent for their hagiographical traditions on the Gregorian and Gelasian calendars.<sup>15</sup> The offices associated with the Virgin (her Conception, Birth, Purification and Assumption, as well as the combined Christological and Marian feast of the Annunciation) were also universally included in the sanctoral as feasts additional to the strict sequence of events related to the life of Christ. The last section of the Salisbury Breviary, the communal, was an important if short part of the breviary for all uses, because it functioned as a reference source for feasts which drew all or part of their texts from the general office.

The Paris scribes would have had little trouble, therefore, in transcribing the text of the Salisbury Breviary with the help of an exemplar. The sequential arrangement and internal structure of the offices within each section would also have been sufficiently familiar to the Bedford group for its members to treat the manuscript as they would a French one, even when the subject matter of specific offices varied. That this was indeed the case is indicated by the original order of the five sections in the Salisbury Breviary. The arrangement of calendar followed by psalter, temporal, sanctoral and communal was the one commonly used in breviaries for Paris use. Manuscripts for Roman or Franciscan use tend equally to preserve this order or to place the psalter between the temporal and sanctoral, while English breviaries are almost unique in preferring to open with the temporal, followed by the calendar and psalter, and ending

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<sup>13</sup>The first to notice this was Spencer, "Salisbury Breviary", p. 607.

<sup>14</sup>In the Printed Sarum Breviary the second set of texts are located after the communal.

<sup>15</sup>W.H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy I: the Kalendar* (Oxford, 1930).

with the sanctoral and communal in either order.<sup>16</sup>

Although, in arrangement, the Salisbury Breviary follows Paris rather than English usage, limitations imposed by the nature of the commission were to affect several minor aspects of its production. With the missing psalter, the manuscript would have had over 830 folios.<sup>17</sup> This was a cumbersome length even for a breviary. Because of its size and the absence of a catchword at the end of the temporal, Spencer proposed that the manuscript was designed to be divided into two volumes, with the calendar, psalter and temporal in the first volume, and the sanctoral and communal in the second. Such a division would have reflected English rather than Paris usage. In Paris when breviaries were divided into two volumes the division was usually a seasonal one. In Arsenal 582, the winter volume of the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu, the temporal ends before the office of Trinity Sunday with the rubric "Hic finit tempus hyemale" (f. 354), and the sanctoral closes with the feast of SS Basilides, Cyrinus, Nabor, Nazarius and Celsus on 12 June.<sup>18</sup> This type of division required the duplication of cycles of decoration for the calendar, psalter and communal, copies of which were included in each volume so that it might function as a complete manuscript for part of the year.<sup>19</sup> English breviaries surviving as partial texts, however, are typically divided by section in the way Spencer suggests.<sup>20</sup>

Differences in length between full breviaries were influenced mainly by the size and quality of the manuscript, the extent to which the lessons were abbreviated and the degree of decoration the text received. The small breviary made in England for the Duke of Bedford is only 387 folios long. Although the first part of the temporal is missing, it would never have been as long as the Salisbury Breviary and clearly could not have served as a model to the Paris scribes for the layout of the page in the larger manuscript. Its decorative programme is modest, with nineteen folios having full borders and large decorated initials, two of which are historiated (Fig. 83).<sup>21</sup> The lessons in the Salisbury Breviary closely follow those in the standard Sarum version adopted for the Printed Sarum Breviary.<sup>22</sup> The full text, together with the large number of miniatures and decorated or historiated initials, and the requirement in a luxury manuscript for wide, balanced margins and a large well-formed script, added considerably to the number of folios needed to complete the manuscript. Some system of division was clearly required.

<sup>16</sup>Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, pp.238-42. Amiens 114 and the Breviary of Charles V are the only Paris breviaries known to me with the arrangement KTPSC. Mazarine 341, BN Lat 745, BN Lat 1263 and BN Lat 1264 follow the English order. Ste-Geneviève 2646 is arranged PKTSC but the order of texts may have been changed when it was rebound.

<sup>17</sup>The surviving folios are numbered 1-711 (178 and 643 have been used twice in the pagination). The estimated length of the psalter is based on gatherings of eight, which are used, with a few exceptions, throughout the surviving breviary, apart from the calendar and short gatherings at the end of the sanctoral and communal (gatherings 85 and 90). Gathering 63 in the first half of the sanctoral only has six folios and is of added interest because its border miniatures are painted by an artist from a different workshop. Gathering 59 is one folio short because of a lacuna between folios 462 and 463. There is one gathering of ten folios early in the communal (gathering 87).

<sup>18</sup>The winter sanctoral more usually ends before the office of St Germanus of Paris on 28 May. Numerous single Paris "demi-bréviaires" are extant, as well as two breviaries from the period under survey (the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu and the Paris/Manchester Breviary) for which both volumes survive. The two-volume breviary sold in 1931 (Quaritch, *Catalogue*, p. 15) is the only example identified where the division is made by section.

<sup>19</sup>A motivation for the development of alternative decorative cycles for the calendar and psalter in the Belleville Breviary.

<sup>20</sup>Although the surviving examples may have been divided during rebinding, I know of only one seasonally divided Sarum breviary, BL Harley 2785, a winter manuscript 436 x 300 mm in size: London, British Library, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1808-1812, rpt Hildesheim, 1973), II, 711.

<sup>21</sup>Although the manuscript is in a private collection and not available for study, photographs of the calendar folios and the two folios with historiated initials are held in the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London. The other historiated initial on f. 227 shows the martyrdom of St Andrew and opens the sanctoral.

<sup>22</sup>With the exception of the offices of SS David and Chad on 1 March and 2 March respectively, for which the Salisbury Breviary gives nine lessons rather than three, and the office of St Winifred on 3 November which has nine lessons in both versions. In the Salisbury Breviary, however, the office has more musical proprs. These were the three offices introduced into the Sarum use in 1416 as feasts of nine lessons: Jacob, *Register of Henry Chichele*, III, 8-10.

The Châteauroux Breviary, with its 454 folios, achieved the convenience of being one of two functional volumes of reasonable length at the cost of the duplication of large sections of text. Originally conceived as a single volume, the temporal and sanctoral of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur were later roughly divided and second copies of the calendar, psalter and communal made by a different workshop, because of the inconvenience of its length as a single volume. The single volume Breviary of Charles V was kept as short as 617 folios in length only by the inclusion of remarkably short lessons for many of its offices. There was certainly no thought that a reduced office would serve the purpose for which Bedford required the manuscript. At the same time, because of the fullness of the decorative programme, duplication of texts would have strained the inventive resources even of the Bedford workshop if the seasonal solution had been attempted. The English solution chosen was therefore expedient for the Paris workshop as well. The unusual idea, at least within the Paris tradition, of dividing the manuscript after the temporal, may have been specified by Bedford's agents when the contract was drawn up or, equally, suggested by the format of the exemplar provided.

Whether or not the exemplar used for the Salisbury Breviary was divided into two volumes, its format certainly had an impact on the layout of the folio of Bedford's new manuscript. In spite of the diversity in quality and size of the breviaries produced in Paris in the second half of the fourteenth and the first quarter of the fifteenth century, several patterns emerge when their formats are analysed and compared with English examples. In particular it is clear that certain rules of thumb in Paris concerning the relationship between script size and column width in manuscripts ruled for two columns of text differed from English scribal practices. Relevant data on the column width, number of text lines and ruling unit of a range of breviaries copied in Paris from 1370 to 1425 are given in Table 2-1.<sup>23</sup>

This group of breviaries is mainly composed of small-format manuscripts for use by the secular clergy or laity. The only noted breviary in the sample, Mazarine 344 (Catalogue, no. 11), which is actually dated slightly earlier than the Breviary of Charles V, also has a small format and must have been intended as a reference work.<sup>24</sup> Two manuscripts present themselves as exceptions to this rule. The Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu (Figs 57-58) is a massive two-volume work with a single-column format, intended to be used by the Bishop of Paris during the public performance of the office at the Cathedral of Notre Dame. BN lat 14279 (Fig. 75),<sup>25</sup> a large winter breviary made for the use of the Church of St Victor of Paris in 1392, was also probably intended to be read at the lectern by the parish priest. The survival of such examples hints at the number of breviaries produced in Paris for monastic, ecclesiastical or parish use which have been lost. On the other hand, the bias towards portable breviaries in the sample may reflect a large demand for such manuscripts in Paris.<sup>26</sup>

Within the Paris tradition several different ruling systems and parchment sizes were adopted for the smaller-format breviaries. Large portable breviaries, including those with luxurious cycles of decoration like the Breviary of Charles V, the Breviary of Jean sans Peur and the Châteauroux and Orgemont

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<sup>23</sup>The manuscripts in Table 2-1 are ordered by the ruling unit; that is, the height of the column divided by the number of text lines: Léon Gilissen, "Un élément codicologique trop peu exploité: la règle," *Scriptorium*, 22 (1969), 150-61.

<sup>24</sup>This is one of the solutions proposed by Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, p. 123, for the existence of noted breviaries, regardless of format, but a number of English noted breviaries clearly used as pulpit books survive: see below, n. <sup>29</sup>.

<sup>25</sup>Catalogue, no. 20.

<sup>26</sup>A smaller demand for manuscripts containing the offices of the day only, excluding matins and compline, may also be reflected in the survival of Ste-Geneviève 2646 (Catalogue, no. 22), a tiny diurnal with a single-column format closer to that of a book of hours than a breviary.

Breviaries, have 44-50 mm wide text columns and relatively large ruling units.<sup>27</sup> The majority of more modest commissions, ranging in quality from BN lat 1264 (Catalogue, no. 18), a small Paris breviary without a figurative cycle, to the Breviary of Louis d'Evreux, have 26-40 mm wide text columns and proportionally smaller ruling units to sustain the 28-32 lines of text preferred for either group.

Table 2-1: Format of Paris Breviaries ca. 1370-1425

Manuscript	Size (mm)	Column Width	No of Lines	Ruling Unit
Ste-Geneviève 2646	83 x 60	36	22	2.6
BN lat 1264	132 x 100	26, 26	30	3.2
Arsenal 277	152 x 110	34, 34	30	3.4
<b>Paris/ Manchester Breviary</b>				
BN lat 1024	194 x 141	36, 35	32	3.7
Rylands 136	182 x 133	36, 36	32	3.7
<b>Breviary of Louis d'Evreux</b>				
BN lat 1263	165 x 115	31, 31	28	3.8
BN lat 1263	182 x 133	39, 39	31	3.9
Amiens 114	185 x 136	36, 35	32	4
Arsenal 134	178 x 120	35, 35	32	4
Mazarine 342	174 x 117	36, 36	33	4
BN lat 745	255 x 175	46, 45	42	4
BL Harley 2927	165 x 118	31, 30	27	4.3
BN lat 1025	186 x 135	40, 40	30	4.3
BN lat 10485	210 x 142	38, 38	32	4.3
<b>Salisbury Breviary</b>	<b>255 x 173</b>	<b>45, 44</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>4.3</b>
Mazarine 344	241 x 160	48, 48	36	4.6
<b>Breviary of Charles V</b>	<b>233 x 175</b>	<b>44, 44</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>4.9</b>
Mazarine 341	251 x 179	47, 48	32	4.9
<b>Breviary of Jean sans Peur</b>				
BL Add 35311	244 x 178	45, 45	28	5.2
BL Harley 2897	250 x 132	44, 43	28	5.4
<b>Châteauroux Breviary</b>	<b>280 x 195</b>	<b>50, 50</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>5.8</b>
<b>Orgemont Breviary</b>	<b>277 x 197</b>	<b>51, 51</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>5.8</b>
BN lat 14279	365 x 273	59, 59	34	6.4
<b>Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu</b>				
Mazarine 345	392 x 288	173	24	11.4
Arsenal 582	455 x 327	173	24	11.4

In England a different pattern emerges, both for the format and for the survival to the present day of breviaries of different kinds. Portable breviaries for Sarum use survive in relatively few numbers.<sup>28</sup> The bias in the large English public collections is towards larger noted or unnoted breviaries meant for clerical use in churches or chapels.<sup>29</sup> The more modest small-format Sarum breviaries are similar in size to their

<sup>27</sup>The identical folio formats of the Châteauroux and Orgemont Breviaries suggest a close relationship in the production of the two manuscripts, which both date from the second decade of the fifteenth century. The ruling unit for the Harley 2897 volume of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur reflects the different circumstances behind the production of its psalter, from which the measurements were taken. BN Lat 745 has an unprecedented 42 text lines per column, but other aspects of its production also place it outside the usual Paris scheme: see Catalogue, no. 13.

<sup>28</sup>Examples include BL Harley 587 and BL Harley 1797-98, both dating from the fifteenth century: *Harleian Manuscripts*, I, 355, II, 228; and the fourteenth century breviary for Sarum use now divided between the Baillieu Library at the University of Melbourne and Oxford (Bodleian Laud Misc 3a): Margaret M. Manion and Vera F. Vines, *Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian Collections* (Melbourne, 1984), no. 43; hereinafter called the Oxford/ Melbourne Breviary.

<sup>29</sup>Bl Add 32427 is a huge noted Sarum breviary measuring 560 x 420 mm, while Bodleian Laud Misc 299 (745) is still large at 405 x 290 mm. Unnoted examples include BL Harley 1512-13 and BL Harley 2785, measuring 415 x 280 and 436 x 300 mm respectively. For a full list of Sarum breviaries in the British Library, see the 1976 typescript by Andrew Hughes, "Forty-seven Medieval Office Manuscripts in the British Museum: A Provisional Inventory of Antiphonals and Breviaries", on deposit in the Students' Room, British Library. Stephen Van Dijk produced a similar list in 1951, "Handlist of the Latin Liturgical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford," on deposit in the Bodleian Library.

Paris counterparts but have a greater number of lines of text in each column.<sup>30</sup> The Chichele Breviary has the ruling unit of the more luxurious Paris breviaries, but is considerably larger, with a column width of 60 mm ruled for 40 lines of text (Fig. 85). The English preference for a more compact text column may also be seen in the group of surviving pulpit breviaries.<sup>31</sup>

Within the Paris tradition the Salisbury Breviary falls naturally into the luxury group in size and text column width, but has the smaller ruling unit of the more modest breviaries and a resultingly larger number of lines per text column. This is uncharacteristic of Paris breviaries of either size and more typical of the English *portiforium*. The exemplar used to copy the text of the Salisbury Breviary has clearly influenced the relationship between column width and script size usually adopted by the Paris scribes.

Differences in book production methods between English and Paris manuscripts did not stop with the number of lines per folio but may also be observed in the ruling of the page. The Chichele Breviary is ruled faintly in purple ink, with the main lines defining the text columns continued to the edge of the folio. The lines second from the top and bottom are also ruled from edge to edge. The Bedford Psalter and Hours is also ruled in purple ink with double lines to left and right of the single text column as well as across the top and bottom of the folio (Fig. 94). The use of purple ink by English scribes extended to the flourishes of the initials and the decoration of catchwords. This kind of ruling system impinges on the layout of the page, particularly when the lines are heavily ruled as is the case in the later gatherings of the Bedford Psalter and Hours. In combination with the preference in English decoration for dentelle initials, with the letter in gold against a field divided into large blue and pink zones outlined freely in black ink, English decorative work often lacks the attention to detail of Paris work of the same quality. The Salisbury Breviary, however, is ruled in the Paris way in red ink, without the double ruling of the English system.<sup>32</sup>

In fact, the only technical concession to English taste in the preparation of the parchment and text of the Salisbury Breviary, apart from the marginal difference in page format dictated by the exemplar, and the probable decision to divide the manuscript into two volumes after the temporal, can be seen in the use of red ink for all rubrics. The longer rubrics in breviaries produced in Paris are routinely written in black ink underlined in red (Fig. 75). The opening folios of Advent in the Salisbury Breviary are striking, not only because of the richness of the decoration, but because the lengthy rubric preceding the text of the office in breviaries for Sarum use is in red, giving the folio an uncharacteristic appearance when compared with other Parisian examples (Fig. 1).

In all other respects, Parisian methods of production are paramount in the Salisbury Breviary. Nevertheless, the specific decorative forms used to order and visually to enrich the text do not always match contemporary workshop practices in Paris or England for the illumination of a manuscript breviary, at least as they are revealed by a study of the surviving examples. The ways in which the decorative

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<sup>30</sup>BL Harley 587, for instance, is ruled for two 36 mm wide columns of 36 lines, with a ruling unit of 3.5. Although tiny, the Oxford/Melbourne Breviary is mainly ruled for 35 lines, with a resulting ruling unit of 2.3. BL Harley 1797-98, however, is closer to the Paris format for small breviaries.

<sup>31</sup>The 136 mm wide text columns of BL Add 32427 are ruled for 49 lines, with a ruling unit of 7.9. BL Harley 1512-13 has 78 mm wide columns ruled for 47 lines, with a ruling unit of 5.9, while BL Harley 2785 has 91 mm wide text columns ruled for 43 lines with a ruling unit of 7.2.

<sup>32</sup>Leadpoint was also used, but red ink became more popular in the early fifteenth century. The Breviary of Charles V is ruled in leadpoint while the Châteauroux and Orgemont Breviaries are ruled in red.

programme of the Salisbury Breviary differs in its forms from those of its precursors should provide valuable insights into the responses of the Bedford group to the peculiar nature of the commission, as well as the patron's own preferences in this regard. An important prerequisite to such a discussion is an analysis of the main features of the Parisian tradition.

## II

In all genres of medieval manuscript the elements of the text are distinguished by decorative enhancements to their opening initials following a strict hierarchy dependent on the kind and relative importance of the text being emphasized. The hierarchy of decoration has an ordering function within the manuscript, acting as the equivalent of modern conventions of paragraphing and headings for the medieval reader.<sup>33</sup> Liturgical books in particular, because of the number and variety of sections and text types, required a multi-level scheme of decoration incorporating numerous decorative initials at each level. The conventions used in books of hours for the identification of each of the canonical hours within the office of the Virgin, as well as the individual liturgical items and the verse structure of hymns and psalms, have been well documented.<sup>34</sup> In breviaries and missals, although a different set of emphases were required to identify new sections and the major offices or divisions within them, the hierarchy of decoration followed similar conventions to those used in books of hours.

Simple text capitals were used routinely in breviaries to open invitatories, antiphons, psalm *incipits*, responsories and versicles. Each of these items was prefaced by an abbreviated label in red ink, and groups of these items were made to stand out against the rest of the text by being written in a smaller script. One-line initials were used to open verses of hymns, psalms and canticles, the invocations in the litany, and *incipits* of texts usually assigned two-line initials. They were also used for liturgical greetings, benedictions, and the rubric sign, an initial like a reversed "D" which was used to indicate the beginning of a short rubric or new sections in long rubrics. Two-line initials were used in the hierarchy for all other major textual items: hymns, chapters, prayers and lessons, including both the gospel reading and the accompanying homily which were routinely part of the seventh lesson of nine lesson offices. Lists of antiphons and responsories proper to a season were also headed by a two-line initial. The only other antiphon routinely to be given a two-line initial was the one opening lauds, because it was always proper. The other canonical hours received no emphasis.<sup>35</sup> One-line initials were usually placed anywhere within the text column, whereas larger initials were routinely placed against the left hand margin. Except in the litany, where each invocation opened on a new line, line fillers were used sparingly throughout the breviary to retain a cohesive text block.

As in books of hours, this relatively simple method of labelling and distinguishing individual liturgical items through the use of rubrics and one- and two-line initials was supplemented by a range of larger initials, miniatures and decorative borders. The burden of such additional decoration was born by one or more of a number of texts, depending on the nature of the office and the decorative scheme being followed. All high ranking offices were provided with texts to be said at vespers on the vigil as well as

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<sup>33</sup>M.B. Parkes, "The influence of the concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* on the development of the book," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976).

<sup>34</sup>L.M.J. Delaissé was the pioneer in this field: see in particular his "The importance of books of hours for the history of the medieval book," *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner*, ed. I.E. McCracken et al (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 203-25. His method for describing manuscripts extended, however, to other genres.

<sup>35</sup>BN Lat 1264 adheres strictly to this basic model for ranking texts. In most breviaries, however, more complex distinctions are made between texts proper or common to a week or season.



on the day of the feast. The first vespers antiphon or chapter opening the office was a strong candidate for emphasis, in competition with the prayer for the day, the invitatory, and the first lesson of matins or its responsory. In fifteenth century French and English breviaries attempts at standardization are reflected in a preference for the first lesson. Established traditions for the illustration of the more important offices in the temporal, however, tended to link the decorative emphasis in these offices to specific texts even in manuscripts otherwise schematic in their approach. The newness of the office also had an effect on the placement of the emphasis, because of the tendency to decorate the opening initial in the promulgated copies.

Although the potential for variation and experiment in the execution of the figurative material in breviaries produced in Paris in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century was great, the vocabulary of secondary decoration followed conventions practised by most centres of manuscript production in Northern Europe from about the mid-thirteenth century onwards. One-line initials took the form of alternately blue and red, or blue and gold, penwork initials, usually accompanied by flourished designs in red or black ink respectively. The use of penwork decoration, at least for one-line initials, was characteristic not only of inexpensive commissions like BN lat 1025, a winter Paris breviary dated after 1386 which was produced entirely by the scribe and rubricator (Figs 73-74),<sup>36</sup> but also of manuscripts with substantial and costly cycles of decoration.

Several exceptional liturgical manuscripts illuminated by the Pucelle group of artists in the 1320's and 30's, including the Belleville Breviary, not only used single-colour one-line foliate initials and gilded line-endings in place of flourished work, but assigned such initials even to the minor texts like psalm *incipits* and antiphons (Fig. 88).<sup>37</sup> The expense of this kind of decoration is indicated by the marginal note on f. 33 of the winter volume of the Belleville Breviary, in which we are told that Pucelle paid the decorator Mahiet 23s. 6d. for his work on the gathering.<sup>38</sup> The decoration of the noted Paris breviary Mazarine 344 clearly imitates the more expensive folios of manuscripts belonging to this select group. The unusual placement in its psalter of the one-line initials opening the psalm verses against the left hand margin, and the resultingly large number of gilded line endings required to achieve a balanced column of text, is strongly reminiscent of the Belleville Breviary, even though flourished initials are used on all but the first folio.<sup>39</sup> After about 1350, however, even in breviaries as richly illuminated as the Breviary of Charles V, one-line initials were drawn in with a pen (Fig. 75).<sup>40</sup> Although one-line foliate initials and gilded line endings were often used in books of hours of good quality, including the Bedford Hours, the proliferation of short liturgical items of low rank in the decorative hierarchy of the breviary discouraged their decoration in gold and colours.

Most of the breviaries produced in Paris and England in the late medieval period for daily use had flourished initials for both of the basic levels of the hierarchy of decoration. The two-line flourished initial took the same form as the smaller one, although the flourishes were more developed, with extensions into the margin. English flourished two-line initials had lengthy extensions paralleling the text

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<sup>36</sup>Catalogue, no. 15.

<sup>37</sup>The other manuscripts include the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux and Waddesdon Manor, James A. de Rothschild Collection, ms 2, a noted liturgical psalter for Dominican use probably made for the priory of Poissy-Saint-Louis around 1326: L.M.J. Delaissé et al, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1977), pp. 37-58.

<sup>38</sup>Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, p. 31. The gathering is part of the psalter.

<sup>39</sup>For this reason I have queried Leroquais' dating of Mazarine 344 to the second half or end of the fourteenth century.

<sup>40</sup>Red ink was substituted for gold in less expensive manuscripts, and the flourishes were sometimes omitted, as in BN lat 1025.

column and often joining to form a sketchy pen-line border (Fig. 85). The Parisian late fourteenth and early fifteenth century version was more discrete with limited play in the margin.<sup>41</sup>

A large number of inexpensive, work-a-day breviaries made for clerics requiring a portable copy of the divine office were decorated entirely with the pen.<sup>42</sup> The full range of hierarchical variations in BN lat 1025, for instance, is indicated by three different kinds of penwork initial. Simple red or blue one-line initials without flourishes and two-line blue and red flourished initials are supplemented by a range of initials from three to eight lines high, in which the letter is divided into two colours (blue and red) separated by thin lines of bare parchment, and the field is flourished in black (Fig. 73). In Arsenal 134, a possibly earlier summer Paris breviary,<sup>43</sup> the fields of the larger flourished initials are decorated in black and red ink.

These "three-" and "four-colour" flourished initials were part of the conventional repertoire for manuscripts like BN lat 1025 and Arsenal 134 receiving no painted decoration. Conventions also existed for penwork borders on folios containing texts to be given the highest degree of decorative emphasis. In BN lat 1025 the borders are composed of alternately blue and red demi fleurs-de-lis with red and black penwork flourishes, while Arsenal 134 has blue and red slanted "I" penwork borders.<sup>44</sup> Other breviaries of similar quality, like BN lat 1264 or Arsenal 277 (Catalogue, no. 7), a portable breviary for the use of St Victor of Paris, have a small number of foliate initials and gilded borders to supplement programmes of flourished initials without borders.

Both kinds of decoration were also combined in more expensive manuscripts like the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu and the Breviary of Louis d'Evreux, where flourished initials of considerable beauty are used for the larger initials emphasizing lesser offices as well as for the two-line initials. Their use in the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu, which has no historiated initials or miniatures, reflects the preferences of a patron who, as a high-ranking cleric, required a functional manuscript of large size which emphasized his rank in its decoration without being unduly ostentatious.<sup>45</sup> The penwork initials and borders in the Breviary of Louis d'Evreux are allied stylistically with the understated effect of its grisaille historiated initials and gilded borders, which are enhanced by the simple blue and gold penwork of the other decorated folios.<sup>46</sup>

In most luxury Parisian breviaries of the second half of the fourteenth and the first quarter of the fifteenth century, however, all initials greater than one line in size were executed by specialist decorators

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<sup>41</sup>In the Breviary of Louis d'Evreux the two-line initials are enhanced by additional penwork dots and flourishes in the alternate field colour (Fig. 39), a technique used in the 1350's in, for instance, the Missal of St Denis (Victoria and Albert Museum, AL 1346-1891) and the moralized Bible of Jean le Bon (BN fr 167): Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France* (London, 1978), pls 19-22.

<sup>42</sup>Whether by the scribe or copyist, or by an artist like Jacobus Mathey specializing in decorative penwork: François Avril, "Un enlumineur ornementaliste parisien de la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Jacobus Mathey (Jaquet Maci?)," *Bulletin Monumental*, 129 (1971), 249-64.

<sup>43</sup>Catalogue, no. 6. The flourished initials in Arsenal 134 are in lower case with elongated stems, suggesting a date in the middle rather than towards the end of the fourteenth century.

<sup>44</sup>Both kinds of borders appear in a wide range of manuscripts written in Paris in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century: for a discussion of the origins of fleurs-de-lis borders, see Avril, "Enlumineur ornementaliste parisien". For early fifteenth century modifications of this motif, see his earlier article, "Un pontifical de Gérard de Montaigu, évêque de Paris (1409-1420)," *BEC*, 125 (1967), 436-37.

<sup>45</sup>A pontifical (BN lat 961) and a two-volume missal (Mazarine 409 and Arsenal 583) belonging to Gérard de Montaigu also survive with similarly restrained decorative programmes: Avril, "Pontifical"; Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, III, nos 559-60.

<sup>46</sup>The same system of decoration may be found in the *Bible historique* of Charles V (Arsenal 5212): Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France*, pl. 38.

using gold leaf and tempera. Such initials in the Paris repertoire were typically either larger versions of the single-colour one-line foliate initial used in the Belleville Breviary, with the ivy leaf infill and white filigree designs on the alternately pink or blue stems of the initial having a more developed form; or they were painted in pink or blue against a field in the alternate colour set in a slender gold frame edged in black. The initial was lodged into the text space, with its irregular left hand edge extending in the larger versions into tendrils of ivy in the margin. In the Breviary of Charles V the lower-case, long-stemmed gilded letters inherited from Parisian decoration of the thirteenth century are still retained, in this case terminating in stiff, attenuated double-line ivy leaf branches which match the extensions of the gilded bars edging the text columns (Fig. 75). Almost fifty years later, in the Orgemont Breviary, the stems of the two-line foliate initials have lost their propensity for extension and the initials themselves terminate in fine pen-line ivy tendrils which serve as the only form of marginal decoration, even on folios with larger initials or miniatures (Fig. 59).<sup>47</sup>

The secondary decoration of the Salisbury Breviary (Figs 6-7) is exceptional in its adherence to these conventions only in the use of three-line alternately foliate or figurative initials to open the longer textual items instead of two-line foliate initials. Although certain hymns and psalms in the Orgemont and Châteauroux Breviaries are accentuated by three-line initials (Figs 48, 58), the three-line initials in the Salisbury Breviary are used throughout the manuscript for the whole range of liturgical items conventionally receiving two-line initials. The intention was thus to increase the richness of the appearance of the manuscript, rather than to indicate the additional importance in the liturgy of the texts opened by the initials, as was the case in the Orgemont and Châteauroux Breviaries.

Precedents for such a step may be found in both English and French work. In the Sherborne Missal, for instance, three- and even four-line initials were sometimes used at this level in the hierarchy of decoration.<sup>48</sup> Their idiosyncratic distribution, however, reflects more the unique collaboration of the missal's monk copyist and Dominican artist than English secular workshop standards for the hierarchy of decoration of a liturgical manuscript. Possibly a more useful analogue may be found in the Belleville Breviary where, with similarly extensive financial backing, the foliate decoration was extended to one-line-initials and capitals to enrich the visual effect. The method used in the Salisbury Breviary was a considerably less costly alternative, since the total number of initials requiring painted decoration was not altered, enabling additional resources to be directed to the larger decorative items.

At the same time, it is equally possible that Bedford or his agents authorized the increase in the size of initials routinely accompanying the major liturgical items in the breviary, specifically in order to accommodate the small heads and busts which characterize about half of them. Bedford already owned a manuscript, the Bedford Psalter and Hours, with an extensive series of two-line initials containing heads executed by the workshop of Herman Scheerre (Fig. 94). The smaller ruling unit of the Salisbury Breviary made impracticable the inclusion of such motifs in an initial only two lines high.

Regardless of whether the initials were adjusted in size to provide room for the heads, or whether figurative material was introduced because the size of the initial had been increased, it was characteristic of late medieval Parisian breviary illumination to vary the infill of the larger decorative initials. In the Breviary of Charles V pieces of filigree work in the alternate colour to the initial, and pale blue or pink

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<sup>47</sup>The Châteauroux Breviary, with an otherwise identical scheme, retains the lower-case form in the calendar and for some of the larger initials (Figs 40, 43).

<sup>48</sup>Herbert, *Sherborne Missal*, passim; Marks and Morgan, *Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting*, pls 28-30.

flowers or faces made of flowers (Fig. 75) are used as infill for three- and four-line initials throughout the manuscript. Animals and human or grotesque heads were also painted in some of the initials by the main illuminator in spaces left by the artist employed to paint the secondary decoration.<sup>49</sup> This kind of playful enhancement of the decorative scheme, rarely serving an iconographic function, echoed the variety of marginalia found in the Breviary of Charles V and other Paris manuscripts of the same period dependent on the Pucelle tradition.

By the second decade of the fifteenth century, these motifs were *retardaire*. Nevertheless, the idea of experimenting with the infill of the decorative initial was retained. The Orgemont Breviary varies the foliate infill of its three and four-line initials with different versions of the owner's heraldic insignia (Fig. 59), while in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur a selection of beautiful foliate and diaper infills extends the range of the available repertoire (Fig. 55). The return in the Châteauroux Breviary (Fig. 48) to a more colouristic version of the motifs used as infill in the fourteenth century may be attributed to the celebration of Jean de Berry's rediscovery of Pucelle and his later followers in the *Grandes Heures*.<sup>50</sup>

The *Grandes Heures*, which was finished in 1409, brought numerous fourteenth century devices to the attention of Paris artists during the first two decades of the fifteenth century. Many of the motifs used as infill for the two-line initials in Berry's new manuscript were adapted from motifs found in the Breviary of Charles V and the Belleville Breviary, both of which had recently been acquired by Berry.<sup>51</sup> Amongst other illuminators employed to work on the *Grandes Heures* were members of the Boucicaut workshop, and the artist working in the style of the Bedford trend who painted the miniature of St Peter receiving Berry in Paradise on f. 96 (Fig. 102). The three-line initials in the Châteauroux Breviary so resemble some of the two-line initials in the *Grandes Heures* (Figs 43, 101) that direct influence on the breviary through one or both of these collaborators on the book of hours seems likely.

There were thus precedents for the inhabited three-line initials of the Salisbury Breviary, not only in earlier breviaries produced in Paris, but in a manuscript with which the Bedford Master himself was actively involved. In addition, although the two-line initials in the Bedford Psalter and Hours probably influenced the specific nature of the infill motifs used in the Salisbury Breviary, particularly since Bedford was intimately acquainted with the manuscript, the decision to increase the size of the two-line initials and to extend the historiation to the lowest painted level in the hierarchy of decoration was also predicated in Paris work on other luxury devotional manuscripts.

Costly early fifteenth century Parisian books of Hours like the *Grandes Heures*, and including the manuscripts painted by the Bedford workshop in the years immediately preceding the commencement of the Salisbury Breviary, demonstrate in their decorative programmes an enhancement of the two-line initials which is formally different from but analogous to that of the Bedford Psalter and Hours. The practical advantages of a larger sized initial for the incorporation of additional decoration in the more compact text column format of breviaries had also been demonstrated by the three-line inhabited initials found in the Châteauroux Breviary, although the increase in the size of the initials lent an additional and unprecedented emphasis to the texts they opened. Even in a breviary as luxuriously decorated as the

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<sup>49</sup>For example, 20v (squirrel), 22v (head), 32 (grotesque), 59 (queen). The inhabited initials occur most frequently in the first half of the temporal.

<sup>50</sup>BN lat 919: Marcel Thomas, *Les Grandes Heures de Jean de France duc de Berry*, partial facsimile (Paris, 1971).

<sup>51</sup>See chapter 1, p. 17. The calendar of the *Grandes Heures* duplicates the programme devised for the summer volume of the Belleville Breviary. Close parallels between the *Grandes Heures* and the two breviaries may also be seen in the use of Pucellian marginalia.

Châteauroux manuscript, the number of discrete textual items requiring two-line initials prohibited their routine expansion in size to accommodate historiation. It took a commission as exceptional as the Belleville Breviary in the first half of the fourteenth century, or the Salisbury Breviary in the fifteenth, to match the richness of secondary decoration of a luxury book of hours or devotional psalter in a strictly liturgical manuscript for private use.

The ambitious nature of the decorative programme of the Salisbury Breviary is also apparent from the figurative items accompanying the text. Although work on the decoration of the manuscript ceases completely after f. 643, and considerable parts of the temporal and sanctoral are unfinished, the full text of the temporal, sanctoral and communal survives with spaces left within the columns of text for the unfinished historiated initials and miniatures. A clear idea of the size and structure of the figurative cycle may thus be obtained. In total, 139 historiated initials, fifty-seven column miniatures and forty-seven half-page miniatures were planned by the designers of the programme to place additional emphasis on selected texts within the manuscript (Table 2-2).<sup>52</sup> The total number of pictorial items contributing to the decorative hierarchy of the text places Bedford's manuscript firmly at the head of the small group of luxury breviaries made for members of the French nobility. Nevertheless, it is not in terms of size that the figurative cycle of the Salisbury Breviary differs from its luxury precursors. The full programme of the Breviary of Charles V is almost as extensive, and even the cycle of the Châteauroux Breviary is not a great deal smaller, although it only illustrates the winter portion of the office.

**Table 2-2: Pictorial Items (excluding the calendar) in Breviaries Produced in Paris 1370-1425**

Manuscript	Historiated Initials	Column Miniatures	Half-page Miniatures	Total
Amiens 114	7	-	-	7
BL Harley 2927 (winter)	[11]	2	-	[13]
BN lat 10485	13	-	-	13
BN lat 14279 (winter)	3	-	-	3
Breviary of Charles V	152	60	-	212
Breviary of Jean sans Peur (winter)	[16]	42	[3]	[61]
Breviary of Jean sans Peur (summer)	14	[63]	[6]	[83]
Breviary of Louis d'Evreux (winter)	-	[24]	-	[24]
Châteauroux Breviary (summer)	131	44	3	178
Mazarine 342 (winter)	[10]	-	-	[10]
Mazarine 344 (summer)	35	-	-	35
Orgemont Breviary (winter)	-	[45]	[7]	[52]
Paris/ Manchester Breviary (summer)	48	9	-	57
Paris/ Manchester Breviary (winter)	30	4	-	34
Salisbury Breviary	[139]	[61]	[47]	[247]
Ste-Geneviève 2646	[24]	-	-	[24]

Numbers in square brackets include unfinished or missing items.

The formal means by which the more important offices and divisions are emphasized in the decorative programme of the Salisbury Breviary also follow traditions for the illumination of breviaries in Paris. The historiated initial and the column miniature were both standard devices for incorporating figurative material into the decorative programme. The historiated initials in the Salisbury Breviary (Figs 24, 31) adhere in form to the convention adopted in the thirteenth century by the Paris workshops of replacing the

<sup>52</sup>These figures include spaces left in the text for initials and miniatures in the uncompleted sections of the breviary. They do not include the numerous inhabited three- and four-line initials, which are also excluded from the comparative material for the Châteauroux Breviary in the table.

foliate infill of one or two-colour decorative initials with pictorial material. The column miniatures (Figs 7, 37) were first used routinely as an alternative to historiated initials by artists working in the style of Jean Pucelle in manuscripts like the Belleville Breviary. In the Breviary of Charles V the developmental link between the two kinds of historiation is demonstrated by the form of the 152 historiated initials, in fact small miniatures set within the text column above a foliate initial sharing part of the miniature frame (Fig. 79). The association of the column miniature with the decorative initial remained a close one, although the former was sometimes separated from the latter by the rubric introducing the emphasized text (Fig. 75). Column miniatures may be found in all the surviving breviaries with large figurative cycles produced in Paris in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, taking over the role of the historiated initial completely in the Orgemont Breviary (Figs 59-63), and except in the sanctoral in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (Figs 51, 56).

Only a handful of the historiated initials accompanying the half-page miniatures depart from these conventions. The letter "D" of the five-line initial of the Virgin reading below the miniature opening Advent on f. 8 is composed of scrolling green acanthus leaves set against a gold field (Fig. 1). This kind of decorative form may also be found, however, in a related position in the hierarchy of decoration of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (Fig. 50). The use of Italianate coiled or scrolled acanthus leaves for the letters of important initials is a characteristic of Parisian manuscript illumination of the first and second decades of the fifteenth century. The adoption of such motifs may be attributed to the influence of Italian artists working in Paris like the Master of the Brussels Initials.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, similar elements appear in Bohemian illumination of the 1390's, also strongly characterized by Italian influences.<sup>54</sup> Artists trained in the Bohemian style, like the Orosius Master, may equally have contributed to the repertoire of decorative motifs through their activities in Paris during the first two decades of the fifteenth century.<sup>55</sup>

Under the impetus of this movement away from the standard repertoire for painted initials, the Bedford workshop participated in experiments with the form of the initial in the Châteauroux Breviary. The extraordinary historiated initials heading the eight divisions of the psalter (Fig. 41) and the office of the Virgin are painted with such delicacy of colour and brushwork, and lend the folio such a balanced and yet austere effect, that, as examples of surviving Paris work, they are comparable only with certain folios of the *Très Riches Heures* (Fig. 103),<sup>56</sup> and seem quite distinct in conception from the crowded folios of the Salisbury Breviary. A close parallel for the psalter initials in the Châteauroux Breviary, however, may be found in the Breviary of Pope Benedict XIII.<sup>57</sup> Although the psalter initials in the Châteauroux Breviary were painted in the Bedford workshop, the collaboration of the Orosius Master in some of the miniatures and historiated initials in the Châteauroux Breviary can hardly be a coincidence.<sup>58</sup> The restriction of the initials mainly to the psalter of the Châteauroux Breviary, the section of the breviary most likely to receive decoration, and already the medium for experiment in the Belleville Breviary, demonstrates their novelty within the Paris tradition.

<sup>53</sup>Robert G. Calkins, "An Italian in Paris: the Master of the Brussels Initials and his participation in the French book industry," *Gesta*, 20 (1981), 223-32.

<sup>54</sup>See, for example, the Golden Bull of Emperor Charles VI (ONB ms 338): Thomas, *Golden Age*, pl. 9.

<sup>55</sup>Meiss, *Limbourg*, pp. 398-400.

<sup>56</sup>Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms 65: Jean Longnon et al, *The Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry*, partial facsimile (New York, 1969).

<sup>57</sup>Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *Französische und iberische handschriften*, pls I, II; Meiss, *Limbourg*, pp. 398-400, fig. 515. The calendars of both manuscripts also share an unusual iconographic approach. Patrick de Winter, "French Gothic and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts in Vienna," *Scriptorium*, 34 (1980), 289-94, was the first to point out the connection.

<sup>58</sup>Meiss assigns sixty-nine of the figurative items in the text of the Châteauroux Breviary to the Orosius Master, as well as portions of the calendar cycle: *Boucicaud Master*, pp. 82-5.

The Bedford workshop later explored the possibilities of initial stem and field design for the Duke of Bedford in his destroyed pontifical-missal. According to Firmin Didot, twenty-six of the 138 historiated initials in the pontifical-missal were 160 x 180 mm in size. The three chromolithographs published in 1867 all show initials composed of scrolls of acanthus leaves against a field divided into spandrels, each of which carries additional figurative material.<sup>59</sup> In this case, the format of the manuscript and the resultingly huge size of the initials was sufficient to elicit an innovative approach to the commission. All of the historiated initials in the Salisbury Breviary, however, are conservative in their external forms, except on half-page miniature folios.

Precedents for the half-page miniatures in the Salisbury Breviary and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur also exist in other Parisian breviaries, although their use<sup>directly to open passages of text</sup> in Parisian manuscript illumination was a relatively recent development. Large miniatures occupying the full folio<sup>without accompanying text</sup> had long been used for the decoration of religious manuscripts. The two-level miniature showing the anointing of David and the killing of Goliath which is the most frequently reproduced folio from the Breviary of Philippe le Bel (Fig. 86), is a prime example. Nonetheless, ~~although such~~<sup>Such</sup> miniatures often had fixed subjects and positions within the manuscript, like the Crucifixion and Christ in Majesty miniatures preceding the prefaces and canon of the mass in missals, <sup>but</sup> they were still <sup>functionally independent of</sup> adjuncts to the text. The Christological cycles of full-page miniatures attached to twelfth and thirteenth century psalters were <sup>also</sup> only related to the text by a tradition of association.<sup>60</sup> In the case of the Breviary of Philippe le Bel, the text is structured by means of a system of historiated and decorated initials of various sizes in which the full-page miniature plays no more than a prefacing role.

During the first half of the fourteenth century, single-column manuscripts like the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux<sup>61</sup> began to receive cycles of half-page miniatures to open major sections of text beginning on the same folio. Large miniatures extending across the whole ruled portion of the folio were also increasingly used to head major texts in fourteenth century manuscripts having more than one column.<sup>62</sup> Possibly because of the strong influence of the Belleville Breviary on the programmes of decoration of breviaries made for the French royal family in the second half of the fourteenth century, however, the earliest surviving Paris-made breviaries to have half-page miniatures are all dated to the fifteenth. The Breviary of Jean sans Peur has three surviving half-page miniatures and lacunae for the opening of Advent in BL Add 35311, and of the psalter, Easter Sunday, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday and All Saints in BL Harley 2897.<sup>63</sup> The Orgemont Breviary originally had seven half-page miniatures, all of which have been lost. Its programme of decoration would thus once have been richer than, if not as extensive as, that of the Châteauroux Breviary, which has one half-page miniature opening its summer temporal and two assigned to the sanctoral, all painted by the Bedford workshop.

<sup>59</sup>Le Roux de Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens*, pp. 197, 537, 585. The initials reproduced were chosen for their views of Paris. They showed the Annunciation to the Shepherds with the city in the background on f. 26 (p. 585), the procession of Corpus Christi leaving the "maison aux piliers" on f. 55 (p. 197) and the Ostentation of the relics at Sainte-Chapelle on f. 83v (p. 537).

<sup>60</sup>Leroquais, *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols and pls (Mâcon, 1940-41).

<sup>61</sup>New York, Cloisters Museum of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France*, pp. 44-59, pls 3-10.

<sup>62</sup>As in Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, ms fr 2, a *Bible historique* painted by Jean le Noir: Avril, *Manuscript painting at the Court of France*, pl. 14.

<sup>63</sup>The faint imprint of a full rinceaux border may be seen on f. 428 of BL Harley 2897, providing definite evidence that the missing All Saints miniature was a half-page one. The text on the folio preceding the missing miniature for Easter Sunday ends before the beginning of the first lesson, halfway down the first column. The existence of half-page miniatures for the other offices may be surmised by the amount of text missing. There are lacunae in BL Harley 2897 for the opening of the Offices of the Virgin and the Dead in BL Add 35311 (ff. 413/14 and 435/36), but it is less probable that the missing folios contained half-page miniatures.

Where the Salisbury Breviary departs from traditions for the illumination of breviaries in Paris is not in having half-page miniatures for the most important offices and divisions, but in having forty-six (once forty-seven) of them. In luxury books of hours of the same period, cycles of eight large miniatures had long been standard for each of the Hours of the Virgin and the Hours of the Passion, and there were conventions for the provision of miniatures to accompany subsidiary devotions and memorials.<sup>64</sup> The programme of thirty-one miniatures in the Bedford Hours, not counting the seven probably added after 1422,<sup>65</sup> is big, but not unexpected for a book of hours with such a diversity of texts. As with the three-line initials, the inclusion of so many half-page miniatures in the Salisbury Breviary imitates traditions in the illumination of luxury para-liturgical manuscripts rather than breviaries.

The influence of such traditions on the decorative programme of the Salisbury Breviary is manifested even more fully when the sources for the border decoration are examined. In fourteenth and early fifteenth century Paris breviaries, as in other manuscript genres, the more important sections were signposted not only through the size of the decorative initial opening the text but by the degree to which the stem of the initial was extended into the margin to form a frame paralleling or surrounding the text columns. In the Breviary of Charles V, for example, folios with larger initials or miniatures are accompanied by gilded "u" or double-"u" shaped bar frames terminating in double-line branches of ivy leaves, and leaving a narrow bas-de-page space into which small subsidiary scenes, animals and grotesques might be introduced (Figs 75-81).

While gilded bars and ivy branches, together with the ubiquitous dragon motif which punctuates the folios of manuscripts like the Paris/ Manchester Breviary (Figs 67-72), continued to be used until well into the second decade of the fifteenth century, Paris artists gradually abandoned such motifs on half-page miniature folios in exchange for a partial or full rectangular frame about text and miniature. In manuscripts like the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, the conventional gilded bar was retained for all the other folios given emphasis in the hierarchy of decoration (Figs 50-56). By contrast, in the Orgemont and Châteauroux Breviaries, the traditional rigid vertical and horizontal framing elements were eschewed in favour of light clouds of pen-line rinceaux emerging directly from the initials (Figs 42-49, 59-63). In spite of such differences, all of these breviaries have one thing in common. The majority of the text folios have no border decoration. Of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century precursors to the Salisbury Breviary, only the Belleville Breviary has decorative borders on every folio. In books of hours of the same quality it was normal for every folio to be given some kind of border decoration. It was the latter scheme which was adopted for the Salisbury Breviary.

Every folio in the Salisbury Breviary was designed to have a border comprising four miniatures in the outer and lower margins, linked by acanthus leaf and floral clusters, so that each opening of the manuscript presents four columns of text surrounded by a "u"-shaped frame of eight miniatures (Figs 6-7). The Bedford group had already used this type of border to gloss the themes of the main miniatures in manuscripts like the Bedford and Vienna Hours through the incorporation of pictorial medallions into the decorative scheme (Figs 96-97).<sup>66</sup> Its origins, however, must be sought in the same set of influences which had inspired the absorption into the Paris repertoire of other Italianate decorative forms.

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<sup>64</sup>The same was the case for luxury psalters: see in particular the psalter painted by André Beauneveu for Jean de Berry in ca. 1399 (BL fr 13091): Meiss, *Late XIV Century*, pls 78-82.

<sup>65</sup>That is, the four full-page miniatures on ff. 14, 15v, 16v and 17v, the miniatures of Bedford and Anne de Bourgogne on ff. 256v and 257v, and the Clovis miniature on f. 288v: Backhouse, "Reappraisal of the Bedford Hours," pp. 65-66.

<sup>66</sup>For colour reproductions of all the large miniature folios in the Vienna Hours see E. Trenkler, *Livre d'Heures Handschrift 1855 der Osterreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna, 1948).



The acanthus leaf first appears in borders painted solely by Paris artists in Bodleian Douce 144, a book of hours finished in 1407 which was decorated mainly by the Boucicaut workshop, although one of the early folios is painted by an artist working in the style of the Bedford trend.<sup>67</sup> It was at about this time that the Master of the Brussels Initials was working in Paris on the London Hours (BL Add 29433) and related manuscripts.<sup>68</sup> The Master of the Brussels Initials specialized in the rich borders comprising luxuriant acanthus leaf scrolls, forming pockets of burnished gold for the display of marginal figures, which the Boucicaut Master was increasingly to use in the second decade of the fifteenth century,<sup>69</sup> and which is first associated with the work of the Bedford group in the De Lévis Hours.

A developed form of this type of border was used by the Boucicaut Master and a close follower of the Breviary Master for the large miniature folios in Mazarine 469, an exceptional book of hours dated on stylistic grounds to ca. 1415 (Figs 104-05).<sup>70</sup> The small medallion format used widely in Italian, Bohemian and English manuscript illumination had already been popularized for calendar cycles, heraldic insignia, musical angels and the playful marginal motifs inherited from fourteenth century Parisian border decoration. Its development within the Paris tradition into a workable space for the depiction of complex narrative scenes may be observed within Mazarine 469 itself.<sup>71</sup> It is also in Mazarine 469 that architectural and landscape forms are first found, set unframed against the bare parchment in a manner characteristic of the early gatherings of the Salisbury Breviary (Figs 2, 105).

Although much work has still to be done on the sources for Mazarine 469 and the working relationship between the Boucicaut and Bedford workshops, by 1422-23 the decorative forms used for the borders of the Salisbury Breviary were a standard part of the repertoire of the Bedford workshop for large miniature folios. The application of a similar scheme to text folios was extremely rare. Only in the Bedford Hours, and in two manuscripts painted by the Rohan Master, the Rohan Hours (BN lat 9421) and the Hours of Isabella Stuart (Fitzwilliam 62), can precursors be found for extensive figurative border programmes in Parisian manuscripts.<sup>72</sup> In the manuscripts painted by the Rohan Master a single rectangular miniature abuts the gilded bar in the outer margin of each folio, but otherwise the borders follow a conventional scheme.<sup>73</sup> A closer analogue for the appearance of the text folios in the Salisbury Breviary may be found in the Bedford Hours, although even in the latter manuscript a distinction is still retained between the main miniature and text folios. It is clear in fact, when the stages of execution of the Bedford Hours are investigated, that the two tiny figurative medallions in the borders of the text folios have been superimposed on a standard scheme for their decoration (Fig. 98).

Apart from the border decoration of the principal folios, two main formats may be distinguished for the medallion cycle in the Bedford Hours. In its earliest form (contiguous, nevertheless, with the main

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<sup>67</sup>Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, pp. 106-08.

<sup>68</sup>Calkins, "An Italian in Paris".

<sup>69</sup>In, for instance, the Corsini Hours in Florence dated by Meiss to ca. 1415: Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, fig. 128. For a list of other works of the Boucicaut Master showing the influence of the Master of the Brussels Initials, see Calkins' review of Meiss, *The De Lévis Hours* in *Speculum*, 50 (1975), 520-22.

<sup>70</sup>Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, pp. 113-14.

<sup>71</sup>By comparing, for example, the St Luke folio (f. 7: Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, fig. 259) with that of the Annunciation to the Shepherds (Fig. 105).

<sup>72</sup>Millard Meiss and Marcel Thomas, *The Rohan Master: A Book of Hours*, partial facsimile (New York, 1973); M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 156-74.

<sup>73</sup>It was this approach which was used for the incorporation of a subsidiary scene in one of the half-page miniature folios in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (Fig. 52).

miniature borders) medallions, painted foliage and pen-line rinceaux have been added to an archaic gilded bar, dragon and double-line ivy design. On most of the text folios, however, the ivy rinceaux are integral to the design, and the knotted lower and right hand centrepieces of the "u"-shaped gilded bar frame around the text have been modified to accommodate the medallions (Fig. 98). One gathering was completed, using the pen-line rinceaux and gilded bar format, before the idea for the medallion cycle was conceived.<sup>74</sup> This gathering was skipped when subjects were assigned to the medallions, and was subsequently given a separate cycle to conform with the new format.<sup>75</sup> The circular frames on all the folios are painted carelessly, and the clumsy way in which they are linked to the gilded bars around the text shows the improvisatory nature of the exercise, as well as the haste with which the project was completed.

The extension of the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary to folios other than the ones containing the forty-seven half-page miniatures was thus unusual even in luxury books of hours, where there was at least a tradition for providing text folios with a decorative border. In a breviary, the size of such a task was daunting. Only in the Belleville Breviary had any attempt been made to have borders on every folio, yet the designer of the Salisbury Breviary chose to make no distinction even between principal and text folios in the manuscript, adopting the format of the folios of the Bedford Hours containing texts at the highest level of the hierarchy of decoration for every folio of the breviary. Ironically, the trend towards the minimal decoration of borders demonstrated in the Orgemont and Châteauroux Breviaries made possible the treatment of every folio as an equal unit by eliminating the traditional function of the border as a differentiating element in the hierarchy of decoration.

The extraordinary nature of the Salisbury Breviary programme, when viewed in the context of Paris traditions of decoration and illumination of breviaries, is reflected in a number of ways. Although the effect of differences between texts on the figurative cycle has yet to be examined, the English use of the manuscript clearly influenced some aspects of its production because of the format of the exemplar provided to transcribe the text. The personal preferences of the English patron also probably influenced the decorative conventions at the lower levels of the hierarchy of decoration, through the use of heads and busts as alternatives to the foliate infill of the smaller gilded initials. Even in this case, there were parallels to be found in Parisian manuscripts, and in most other respects, the Salisbury Breviary closely follows Paris conventions for the decoration and illumination of luxury breviaries.

In Paris, as elsewhere, scribes, decorators and illuminators drew upon a repertoire of designs and motifs and applied them in accordance with a long-established but fluid system for the layout of the folio, depending on the nature of the project. A person wishing to purchase a new breviary was able to choose from a range of scripts and initial types for each level in the hierarchy of decoration, according to his or her needs and purse. The scribal specimen sheet written by Hermannus Strepel of Münster in 1447<sup>76</sup> must be typical of large numbers of similar samples offered to customers of Paris workshops which, because of their ephemeral nature, have failed to survive. Unusual though some of the decorative features are in the Salisbury Breviary, the vocabulary of decoration is drawn from the range commercially available in Paris, departing from traditional programmes of decoration for breviaries only in the substitution of three-line initials for two-line initials in the hierarchy of decoration, and in the range of

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<sup>74</sup>On ff. 160-67, the rinceaux have been partially erased to make spaces for the medallions.

<sup>75</sup>For an alternative explanation, however, see Backhouse, pp. 52-54.

<sup>76</sup>Reproduced by Christopher de Hamel in *The History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, pl. 173.

half-page miniatures included in the programme as a whole. The most unusual feature of the Salisbury Breviary, the border programme, has precedents within the work of the Bedford Master. The application, however, of a border format previously restricted to the highest levels in the hierarchy of decoration, to every folio of a manuscript of breviary length, is a product of the extraordinary nature of the commission.

## Chapter 3

### The Figurative Cycle of the Sanctoral and Communal

#### I

Regardless of the final appearance of the Salisbury Breviary and the size of its decorative programme, the manuscript was designed above all to be a functional liturgical book. Although the scope provided to the Bedford workshop by the commission resulted in an unprecedented number of half-page miniatures, the figurative cycle of the text still operates from within established traditions for the illumination of a breviary in Paris. The size and location of the miniatures and historiated initials were determined before the scribes began copying the exemplar, and their subjects were limited by the repertoire of themes associated with the text they accompanied. The border programme, by contrast, was superimposed upon the completed folio, and has no function in the hierarchy of decoration. It was thus free from the iconographic constraints imposed by the breviary as a genre, and had to be developed as an entirely new programme. Because of this differentiation in function, and because the border miniatures far outweigh in number the pictorial items carrying the main decorative function of structuring the text, it is imperative to examine the latter group separately, in terms of precursors in Parisian and English manuscript illumination, before turning to analyse the border programme in detail.

In any comparative study of the programmes of decoration accorded manuscript breviaries for Paris and Sarum use during this period, it must be stressed that from one manuscript to another, depending on the forms chosen, decorative and figurative elements may have interchangeable roles. A manuscript without a figurative cycle can, like the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu, have as complex a decorative programme as the Paris/ Manchester Breviary, with its extensive range of pictorial images. Comparison of the Salisbury Breviary only with its illustrated precursors may falsely suggest, because of the rareness with which certain offices are illustrated, that precedents for their emphasis in Paris breviaries are lacking. For the same reason it is important to take into consideration the role of the larger decorated initials in the hierarchy of decoration of manuscripts with figurative cycles.

When we look at a breakdown by section of the total number of figurative items in a cross-section of breviaries produced in Paris and England in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (Table 3-1), it is clear that there was considerable variation in the way in which pictorial material was used in combination with decorative initials to organize the text. In almost all illustrated breviaries, for instance, each of the eight liturgical divisions of the psalter (column 1) was emphasized in the hierarchy of decoration by a miniature or historiated initial. In Amiens 114, BN lat 14279 and Mazarine 342, however, although the eight divisions are still emphasized by decorative initials, as in a wholly unillustrated manuscript, historiation is either eschewed or restricted to the opening "Beatus vir" folio. By contrast, in manuscripts like the Belleville Breviary and the Paris/ Manchester Breviary, the pictorial emphasis was duplicated for the first office, and in the Breviary of Philippe le Bel further internal divisions were marked by historiation. This kind of extension of the decorative scheme was unusual but not unique. Nineteen three-

or four-line initials in the Châteauroux Breviary, some with iconographically related heads or busts, mark the hymns and canticles associated with the eight main divisions and the psalms heading some of the lesser divisions.<sup>1</sup>

**Table 3-1: Breviaries produced in Paris and England 1297-1425:  
Reconstructed Figurative Cycles.**

Manuscript	psalter	temporal	sanctoral	communal	other	Total
Amiens 114	0	6	1	0	-	7
Belleville Breviary (winter)	9	17	24	1	1	[52]
Belleville Breviary (summer)	[9]	[2]	[30]	[1]	1	[43]
BL Harley 2927 (winter)	8	2	2	0	-	12
BN lat 10485	8	3	0	0	2	13
BN lat 14279 (winter)	1	1	0	0	1	3
Breviary of Charles V	8	18	184	2	-	212
Breviary of Jean sans Peur (winter)	8	[20]	24	0	[9]	[61]
Breviary of Jean sans Peur (summer)	[8]	[25]	[49]	0	-	[82]
Breviary of Louis d'Evreux (winter)	[8]	[9]	[7]	-	[1]	[26]
Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux (summer)	8	37	43	-	2	90
Breviary of Philippe le Bel	12	11	135	8	-	166
Châteauroux Breviary (summer)	8	14	146	4	2	174
Chichele Breviary	8	10	9	2	-	29
Mazarine 342	1	[5]	[4]	0	1	[10]
Mazarine 344 (summer)	8	12	9	5	1	35
Orgemont Breviary (winter)	8	[10]	[29]	[5]	-	[52]
Paris/ Manchester Breviary (winter)	9	9	8	5	3	34
Paris/ Manchester Breviary (summer)	9	14	27	5	2	57
Ste-Geneviève 2646	[8]	[7]	[8]	[1]	0	[24]
Salisbury Breviary	-	[82]	[158]	[7]	-	[247]
Stowe Breviary	[8]	21]	[17]	-	-	[46]
Sotheby 58/97	0	[2]	1	0	-	[3]

Figures in square brackets include missing or unfinished items. Marginal scenes are excluded.

One can only guess from such analogues at the extent of the decoration planned for the text of the missing psalter of the Salisbury Breviary. The figures for the surviving sections of the manuscript in columns two to four of Table 3-1, however, provide rich opportunities for comparison. The text for the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary was designed to be accompanied by ten half-page miniatures, thirty-two column miniatures and forty historiated initials. In addition, numerous three- or four-line foliate or inhabited initials were given an emphatic function in the hierarchy of decoration, independent of the column or half-page miniatures. The text of the sanctoral was to have thirty-seven half-page miniatures, twenty-three column miniatures and ninety-eight historiated initials. Large foliate or inhabited initials, however, were used independently only in four gatherings of the sanctoral. In the completely unfinished communal, spaces were left for six column miniatures and one historiated initial.

When the total number of figurative items assigned to each of these sections of the Salisbury Breviary is compared with the same data for the other breviaries in the sample, several interesting questions are raised. Ignoring for the moment differences between individual manuscripts produced for members of the French nobility over this period, the number of items assigned to the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary seems low compared with the Châteauroux Breviary, given that the latter manuscript only includes the summer feasts. Conversely, the text of the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary is illustrated by eighty-two items, compared to the next highest number of forty-five for the two volumes of the Breviary of Jean sans

<sup>1</sup>For a review of psalter decoration in Paris breviaries, see the introduction to the Catalogue and specific entries.

Peur, a manuscript which itself needs to be examined for differences generated by its Roman use. A detailed study of the relationship to the text of the full cycle of miniatures, historiated and purely decorative initials assigned to the surviving portions of the Salisbury Breviary, and to the related sections in its major luxury precursors, is thus necessary for a number of reasons. Specifically, it should reveal the degree to which such differences are due to the alien use of the manuscript, the influence of the border programme on the traditional function of the figurative material, the political nature of the commission, or the natural response of the Bedford workshop and its advisers to the challenge of providing a truly full cycle of illumination for the text of a manuscript breviary. Since the sanctoral and communal are relatively straightforward sections of the breviary in terms of organization, they will be treated first.

The sanctoral or proper of saints in the breviary is composed of a series of chronologically sequential offices thematically unrelated to the texts of the following or preceding day, except in the few cases where the octave is observed.<sup>2</sup> The day of the week on which the office falls is also unimportant in terms of the organization of the texts within the manuscript. Occasional short or lengthy rubrics within the office advise which texts to use for second vespers when fixed and movable feasts fall on the same day, or on consecutive days. The main distinction between offices is one of length, depending on the rank of the office and whether its texts are drawn all or in part from the communal. Three-lesson feasts or simple feasts of nine lessons usually consist of the full text of the memorial prayer to be recited at vespers on the previous day, followed by the lessons or a rubric referring the reader to the communal, while feasts worthy of a vigil service open with the first antiphon of first vespers.<sup>3</sup>

In England during the second quarter of the fifteenth century, approximately 185 days of the year were devoted to saints' feasts by institutions observing the Sarum use. In Paris the figure was closer to 195.<sup>4</sup> Of the days devoted to feasts in the Sarum use, about forty percent were celebrated, nominally at least, as feasts of nine lessons. The proportion was considerably higher for the Paris use. The Paris use also observed a larger number of memorials: only six extra days were assigned memorials in the Sarum calendar, compared to over thirty in the Paris one. The same difference may be seen in the number of memorials sharing days with another feast. The Sarum use is sparse in this regard, while the Paris calendar bristles with two or even three feasts on a single day in the summer months.<sup>5</sup> Feasts observed as memorials only do not have a separate office, but the text of the memorial prayer to be said at first vespers and matins is usually given after the prayer for the main feast with which it occurs or concurs. In the Sarum use the second nocturn may also be given over to a secondary feast, distinguished in the calendar and rubrics by the label "medie lectiones," so that it effectively has three lessons of its own

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<sup>2</sup>In the Sarum use, these were the octaves of the Birth of St John the Baptist (1 Jul), SS Peter and Paul (6 Jul), the Assumption (22 Aug), the Birth of the Virgin (15 Sep) and St Martin (18 Nov). In the Paris use the Christmas week saints and their octaves were also included in the sanctoral, although the octave of St John the Evangelist was a memorial because of the feast of St Geneviève, and the octave of St Thomas of Canterbury was not observed. In both uses the octaves of SS Lawrence (17 Aug) and Andrew (7 Dec) were observed as memorials only. The Paris use observed, in addition, the octaves of SS Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius (16 Oct) and Marcellus (8 Nov). Whether the full week of the octave was observed, or just the seventh day, the texts were usually given straight after the office for the day of the feast itself.

<sup>3</sup>The Roman church classifies these feasts as duplex or semi-duplex, depending on whether the antiphons for matins are sung in their entirety both before and after the psalm, or whether they are intoned once only, in *incipit*, before the psalm. In calendars dating before 1568, however, the terminology to rank feasts varies considerably from use to use: *DTC*, 5 (2), col. 2190.

<sup>4</sup>For a model of the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century Paris calendar, see Appendix D. For a model of the Sarum calendar of the same period, see the calendar of the Printed Sarum Breviary, excluding the feasts marked non-Sarum, and the later feasts of the Visitation (2 Jul), Transfiguration (6 Aug), Name of Jesus (7 Aug), Translation of St Etheldreda (17 Oct), St Fredeswida (19 Oct) and Deposition of St Osmund (4 Dec).

<sup>5</sup>The proliferation of feasts in the late medieval period was a subject of concern within the church. Gerson argued against the introduction of new feasts at the Provincial Council at Reims in 1408 and Nicholas of Clamanges wrote a treatise entitled *De Novis Festivitatibus Non Instituendis* in 1413. Wyclif's views closely resembled those of Gerson: *DACL*, 5 (1), 1437; Jonathan Sumpton, *Pilgrimage: an Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London, 1975), pp. 272-73.

within the other office.<sup>6</sup> The Paris sanctoral was thus slightly larger than the Sarum one, and also included the feasts of the Christmas week saints, and of Sts Felix, Maurus, Marcellus, Sulpicius and Prisca on 14 to 18 January respectively, which were assigned to the temporal in the Sarum use.

Because of the number and relative uniformity of each of its offices, the sanctoral lent itself to an extensive range of decorative possibilities, depending on the time or money the owners were prepared to commit to the project. The simplest scheme was to make no distinction between the offices in the hierarchy of decoration. This is the case with BN lat 1264, where the offices can be visually differentiated only by the large blocks of text marking the lessons for matins, and ranked only into broad groups indicated by the presence of three or nine lessons and texts for first vespers. It was extremely unusual, nonetheless, for some distinction between offices not to be made, even in manuscripts receiving little or no additional decoration. At the extreme end of the spectrum, every office in the sanctoral might be emphasized. Each first lesson in the sanctoral of the Breviary of Philippe le Bel opens with a foliate or historiated initial and bar. In addition, eight historiated initials have been assigned to the communal.<sup>7</sup>

A similar system was not adopted for the luxury breviaries produced in Paris in the first half of the fourteenth century for mendicant use.<sup>8</sup> Charles V, however, recognized the usefulness, given the resources, of applying decoration liberally to enhance the visual organization of the sanctoral. Although his artisans borrowed the psalter iconography from the Belleville Breviary for the Breviary of Charles V, it was the earlier manuscript in his collection at Vincennes which influenced the extent of the sanctoral programme. The Breviary of Charles V has a pseudo-historiated initial or column miniature for every office in the sanctoral, and for the first two offices of the communal.<sup>9</sup> The lesser offices are emphasized through either the first lesson or the memorial prayer, while the texts chosen for emphasis in feasts with a first vespers office vary depending on whether the opening first vespers antiphon is proper.<sup>10</sup>

Each of the three surviving breviaries produced for members of the French court in the early fifteenth century exhibits similar exhaustive proclivities. The first lesson of every full winter office in the sanctoral of the Orgemont Breviary opens at the very least with a three- or four-line initial. Twenty-nine of the sanctoral offices are historiated, and also the four main offices of the communal. The Breviary of Jean sans Peur, although written for the use of Rome, and therefore with a different calendar,<sup>11</sup> resembles its Paris counterparts in the size of the decorative programme devised for the sanctoral, as well as in the forms used. The figurative items opening the first lessons of seventy-three offices are backed up by foliate initials for a large proportion, although not all, of the remaining offices.

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<sup>6</sup>St Urban, for instance, has three lessons within the office of St Aldelm on 25 May. The length of the office as a whole is not affected.

<sup>7</sup>These open the first lessons of the offices dedicated to one or more apostles, one martyr, several martyrs, one or more confessors, confessors who were not bishops, bishop confessors, virgins and virgin martyrs.

<sup>8</sup>In the Belleville Breviary only fifty-four items were originally included in the decorative programme of the sanctoral, and only the first office of the communal in each volume is emphasized. Forty-three offices were emphasized in the summer sanctoral of the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux, thirty-nine in the Breviary of Blanche de France, and eighteen in BN lat 1288 (Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, III, 131-32). It was also unusual for a late thirteenth century breviary to have received such an extensive cycle: BN lat 13233 has twenty-six historiated initials for the sanctoral, and Metz 1244 (*Bréviaires*, II, 257-60) seven.

<sup>9</sup>A small number of memorials in the Breviary of Charles V have also received initials: namely, those to SS Euphemia (13 Apr), Alexander, Eventius & Theodolus (3 May), Cyricus & Julitta (16 Jun), Christopher & Cucuphas (25 Jul), Germanus & Julian (also 25 Jul), Cyriacus, Largus & Smaragdus (8 Aug) and Sergius & Bacchus (7 Oct).

<sup>10</sup>The system of emphasizing every office was also used for the sanctoral and communal of the Breviary of Louis d'Evreux, although the emphasis was provided by three or four-line flourished initials for the first lessons of all but the eight offices originally with column miniatures.

<sup>11</sup>Apart from the numerous feasts and memorials unique to the Roman use, the Roman calendar tends to give higher rank than the Paris or Sarum uses to the shared feasts of the early Christian Popes and martyrs.

Both of these manuscripts depend to some extent on foliate initials for the lesser offices. The programme of decoration most comparable, in terms of the number of figurative items, to that of the Breviary of Charles V was commissioned for the sanctoral of the Châteauroux Breviary. In this manuscript not only is every office in the sanctoral and communal illustrated; even the prayers for the memorials have been given pictorial emphasis, resulting in the use of nearly one hundred and fifty figurative items for the illustration of the surviving summer portion only of a two-volume breviary (not counting the numerous foliate, acanthus-leaf and inhabited three-line initials which have no independent emphatic function). Each memorial or three-lesson office in the sanctoral has a historiated initial for its first vespers prayer, while nine-lesson offices are mainly emphasized through the first lesson or invitatory.<sup>12</sup> In the communal the traditional emphasis on the first vespers antiphon or chapter is followed. The opening office has been given a column miniature (Fig. 49) and the others have received historiated initials.

Whilst no breviary for Sarum use, apart from the Salisbury Breviary itself, survives with a figurative cycle for the sanctoral comparable to that of the Châteauroux Breviary,<sup>13</sup> the existence of more extensively illuminated Sarum breviaries dating from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century may be surmised from the programme of decoration given to the Stowe Breviary in the early fourteenth century. The sanctoral of the Stowe Breviary has a substantial figurative cycle of six-line historiated initials, together with four- or five-line foliate or inhabited initials for the opening rubric or prayer of every other office. The inhabited initials are occupied by small heads thematically related to the office, so that the figurative cycle is more extensive than it first appears.<sup>14</sup> The system of emphasizing every office may also be found in the late fourteenth century sanctoral of the Carmelite Missal.<sup>15</sup>

Such schemes, particularly when they involved large cycles of figurative decoration, were so expensive in time and labour that they could have been conceived only for manuscripts of the highest class. Even in luxury breviaries, however, the main aim of the uppermost levels of the hierarchy is to identify those offices of most importance in the liturgical year, and to glorify certain texts within them. In spite of its huge programme of figurative items, the decoration of the sanctoral of the Châteauroux Breviary, for instance, were it not for the difference in emphasis provided by the substitution of column miniatures for historiated initials in some offices, would provide no further hierarchical distinction between feasts than BN lat 1264. Although unique as a pictorial gloss to the office, the value of the historiated initials in the upper levels of the hierarchy of decoration is cancelled by their use throughout the sanctoral. Only the forty-two column miniatures and the two half-page miniatures in the sanctoral have a true hierarchic role.

The feasts emphasized in the sanctoral of the Châteauroux Breviary are almost exactly those one would

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<sup>12</sup>The invitatory takes the emphasis for the Chains of St Peter (1 Aug), St Martin (11 Nov) and St Katherine (25 Nov), while the rubric falls between the miniature and invitatory initial for the Translation of the Crown of Thorns (11 Aug), the Birth of the Virgin (8 Sep) and St Michael (29 Sep). The sanctoral opens with a column miniature for the rubric opening the office of St Germanus (28 May). The following offices are emphasized through the first vespers antiphon: Birth of St John the Baptist (24 Jun), Translation of St Benedict (11 Jul) and SS Mary Magdalene (22 Jul), Anne (28 Jul) and Martha (29 Jul).

<sup>13</sup>The Chichele Breviary belongs to the group of Paris manuscripts like the Paris/ Manchester Breviary with limited programmes of historiated initials or column miniatures supplemented by a secondary tier of emphasis, in this case within the basic levels of the hierarchy of decoration.

<sup>14</sup>The Guisborough Priory Breviary operates on a similar principle: Egbert, *Tickhill Psalter*, pp. 109-11, 205-08. The Longleat Breviary, however, has a smaller and more diversified programme, reflecting "a still-experimental stage in the creation of a format for English breviary illustration": Sandler, "An early fourteenth century English breviary at Longleat", pp. 9-10. Twenty-four offices have marginal miniatures, historiated initials or half-length figures in the upper margin. The programme for the Chertsey Abbey Breviary more closely follows those of the breviaries produced in Paris for mendicant use.

<sup>15</sup>Rickert, *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, pp. 59-60, 65, pls XXVI, XXVIII-IX, XXXVI. Forty-two historiated initials have been identified as part of the sanctoral, and seventy-six foliate initials three to five lines in size.



expect to find so treated in the missing summer volume of the Orgemont Breviary, which was written in the same scribal workshop. The texts chosen for emphasis in the Orgemont Breviary follow the same scheme, including the use of invitatories for the major feasts of the Purification (2 Feb), Chair of St Peter (22 Feb) and Annunciation (25 Mar). Twenty-eight offices in the sanctoral of the Orgemont Breviary have column miniatures for their first lessons or invitatories, and the office of St Andrew once opened with a half-page miniature. Since less than forty percent of the feasts occur during the winter months, the effective size of the two programmes is identical. In both manuscripts half-page miniatures are used for the highest level in the hierarchy of decoration, and in both the column miniatures vary in size, providing further degrees of differentiation between feasts.<sup>16</sup> The difference between the two manuscripts lies in the comparative richness of their decorative programmes, rather than in the complexity of their liturgical content or the formal means used to express this.

When this method of analysis is applied to the heretofore undifferentiated bulk of figurative items illustrating the sanctorals of the Breviary of Philippe le Bel and the Breviary of Charles V, two independent schemes for ranking the offices may be detected. In the Breviary of Philippe le Bel each of the three-lesson offices and octaves has been assigned historiated or foliate four-line initials.<sup>17</sup> The remaining feasts, numbering over one hundred in all, each have nine- or ten-line historiated initials. The hierarchy works mainly, therefore, to identify offices of nine lessons, with no further discrimination. This kind of scheme, partly because of its liturgical naivety, partly because of the large number of nine-lesson offices in the Paris sanctoral, found little favour during the fourteenth and early fifteenth century. In the Breviary of Charles V, discounting the pseudo-historiated initials, forty-two offices are illustrated by ten-line column miniatures,<sup>18</sup> placing the hierarchy of emphasis of the manuscript on a par functionally with those of manuscripts like the Belleville Breviary. In terms of the number of feasts chosen for emphasis at the uppermost levels of the hierarchy of decoration, the combined programmes of the Châteauroux and Orgemont Breviaries belong to a class of their own somewhere between the two French schemes.

Regardless of the technical means used, the nucleus of offices given greatest emphasis in the sanctorals of Paris and Sarum breviaries consisted partly of feasts having an organizational function and partly of those to be observed with the greatest solemnity during the year. As one of the main sections of the breviary, the sanctoral was usually opened by a large decorative initial for the opening office of St Andrew (30 Nov), or of St Germanus of Paris (28 May) in the summer volumes of Paris breviaries.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the communal, although a much shorter section of the breviary, usually received at least one large decorative initial, for the antiphon opening the office of one or more apostles (Fig. 49). The imperative to emphasize new sections by decoration is well illustrated by the scribal enhancement of the opening initial of the winter sanctoral in BN lat 1025 (Fig. 74), even though only the offices for the Conception and Purification of the Virgin on 8 December and 2 February were officially assigned large decorative initials in the hierarchy of decoration. The feast of St Andrew itself, while highly ranked, was

<sup>16</sup>Feasts like those of St Blaise on 3 February or St Victor on 21 July tend to be assigned eight or nine lines of space, while the most important duplex feasts have miniatures occupying as many as thirteen lines.

<sup>17</sup>Although the more important octaves have historiated initials, the distinction between the two types of four-line initial for the other minor feasts is not clear.

<sup>18</sup>The miniatures for All Saints and All Souls on 1-2 November (ff. 553v, 556v) are nine-line.

<sup>19</sup>The Breviary of Jean sans Peur opens with an initial for the office of SS Saturninus and Sisinus on 29 November (Add. 35311, f. 341) because this is a nine-lesson feast, not just a memorial, in the Roman use. The enforced division of the sanctoral occurs after the office of St Anicetus on 17 April. In the Belleville Breviary the sanctoral in the first volume ends after the office of St Barnabas on 11 June, but the sanctoral in the second volume opens with a duplicate office for the Translation of St Dominic on 24 May.

one of a group dedicated to the apostles not otherwise likely to be emphasized in a small programme. In a more extensive programme like the one given to the winter sanctoral of the Orgemont Breviary, where all the apostles and evangelists have received column miniatures, the extra significance accorded the office of St Andrew as the first in the liturgical year was acknowledged by a half-page miniature.

The offices dedicated to the Virgin in the sanctoral were judged of prime importance in all uses, not only because of the role of the Virgin as the mother of Christ, but because of the veneration accorded her as a person in her own right. She heads the litany of saints as "Dei genitrix" and "Virgo virginum". In the calendar of the Châteauroux Breviary each of her feasts (except the Annunciation) is annotated as a "festum duplum episcopale et annuale".<sup>20</sup> In the calendar of the Salisbury Breviary further distinctions are made. The Assumption is ranked highest as a principal duplex feast, while the Purification (2 Feb) and the Birth of the Virgin (8 Sep) are major, and the Annunciation (25 Mar) and Conception (8 Dec) minor duplex feasts, out-ranking the inferior duplex feasts of the apostles and church fathers.<sup>21</sup> In both manuscripts the Assumption and the Birth of the Virgin are given additional pre-eminence with full octaves. The Assumption, however, was the office most often given the highest emphasis in the decorative programmes of Paris or Sarum breviaries.<sup>22</sup> It is still a holy day of obligation in the modern Roman Catholic church, equal in solemnity of observation to the feasts of the Nativity, Epiphany, Easter Sunday, Pentecost and Ascension in the temporal.<sup>23</sup>

Of the mariological feasts, the Assumption was considered the most important because it celebrated the triumphant conclusion of the Virgin's life. Although a range of feasts dedicated to the invention, translation and veneration of relics may be found in the sanctoral, the main feasts devoted to the saints celebrate their *natalitium*, the anniversary of their death on Earth but, more importantly, of their birth in Heaven. Martyrs in particular, but also saints dying a natural death after a life of supreme virtue, were witnesses and examples of the possibility of salvation through faith in Christ. Moreover, they were Christ-like in the purity of their lives and triumph of their deaths. Like Sundays, each anniversary of a saint's death in the liturgical year echoes the joyous and victorious nature of Christ's passion and resurrection.<sup>24</sup>

The joint feast of SS Peter and Paul (29 Jun), with its full octave, and the feast of All Saints (1 Nov) were also strong candidates for emphasis in the late medieval breviary. The former commemorates the glorious martyrdoms of the two apostles central to the foundation of the Christian church.<sup>25</sup> Together, the

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<sup>20</sup>The other episcopal or annual feasts in the calendar of the Châteauroux Breviary are: Nativity (25 Dec), St Stephen Martyr (26 Dec), Circumcision (1 Jan), Epiphany (6 Jan), Translation of St Marcellus (26 Jul), All Saints (1 Nov), St Marcellus (3 Nov), and SS Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius (9 Oct). A second group of duplex feasts are classed as *antiquum*: St Martin (11 Nov), St Gendulphus (13 Nov), Relics (4 Dec), St Nicholas (6 Dec), Conversion of St Paul (25 Jan), St Julian (27 Jan), Birth of St John the Baptist (24 Jun), SS Peter and Paul (29 Jun), St Mary Magdalene (22 Jul), St Anne (28 Jul), octave of the Assumption (22 Aug), octave of the Birth of the Virgin (15 Sep), St Ouen (17 Sep) and octave of St Dionysius (16 Oct).

<sup>21</sup>This agrees with the list of Sarum feasts in the Printed Sarum Breviary, III, xli-ii.

<sup>22</sup>In the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu the Purification is given a five-line foliate initial, ranking it equally with the Assumption. This is because it has been selected as the representative mariological feast for the winter volume, giving it a distinction that it would not usually have received in a single-volume manuscript.

<sup>23</sup>"De diebus festis", *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 2nd ed., 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879-81, rpt Graz, 1959) canons 1247-49.

<sup>24</sup>Jean Hild, "Fêtes," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire*, V, 221-47, esp. pp. 236-39, 245-46. For the liturgical significance of Sundays, see A. Allan McArthur, *The Evolution of the Christian Year* (London, 1953), pp. 17-22.

<sup>25</sup>There are alternative feasts for both of these saints in the sanctoral: namely, the Conversion of St Paul (25 Jan), Chair of St Peter (22 Feb), Commemoration of St Paul (30 Jun) and Chains of St Peter (1 Aug). The 25 January and 22 February feasts, in particular, were sometimes emphasized as alternatives or additions to the main feast and its octave on 29 June, depending on the size of the programme.

feasts of the Assumption and of SS Peter and Paul celebrate the mystery of salvation through the example of the leading figures of a large group of virtuous men and women represented in the sanctoral of any individual use. By contrast, the generalized feast of All Saints synthesizes the theological meaning of the sanctoral in one office.

Any programme of decoration based on these three feasts alone was sufficiently comprehensive to summarize the importance of the saints in the liturgical year, and hence of the sanctoral in the breviary. A range of other offices, however, might enrich the meaning of the decorative programme. In the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu, which might be expected to provide an early fifteenth century model for the Paris use since it was made for the Bishop of Paris, the Assumption and the feasts of St Andrew, the Purification, SS Peter and Paul and All Saints have five-line foliate initials for their first lessons. The four other feasts dedicated to the Virgin and the feasts of the Birth of St John the Baptist, the Translation of St Marcellus (26 Jul) and the Martyrdom of St Dionysius and his companions are each emphasized by three- or four-line foliate initials (Fig. 58). All Souls on 2 November also has a three-line initial.<sup>26</sup> In addition, the thirty-two offices marked by three-line flourished initials form themselves into small groups of duplex feasts representative of the main divisions of the celestial hierarchy as they are reflected in the organization of the litany, together with the feasts devoted to the relics of the passion.<sup>27</sup>

The effect of this kind of decorative scheme as a whole is to particularize the general function of each type of office in the liturgical year through a number of important and representative examples, rather than to introduce a parochial or personal element into an otherwise standard text. Apart from the core set of offices dedicated to St Andrew, the Virgin, the Birth of St John the Baptist, SS Peter and Paul, and All Saints, however, the offices actually selected for emphasis in Paris breviaries varied considerably from manuscript to manuscript. Automatic schema, such as the emphasis of all offices with octave texts, a proper first vespers antiphon or matins responsory, operated in parallel with practical considerations of expense for the larger decorative items and the provision of models by the local clergy, entrepreneur or customer.

By far the greater number of feasts emphasized in Paris breviaries were drawn from the core of feasts shared with the Roman use, and inherited from the Gregorian and Gelasian calendars, traditionally ranked highest in the official calendars of all uses.<sup>28</sup> This group was supplemented by the diocesan feasts of most importance: specifically, those celebrated with octaves or ranked as duplex feasts in the calendar.<sup>29</sup> Altogether, approximately seventy offices were available for emphasis. Even in luxury Paris manuscripts with functional cycles of forty to fifty items, like the Breviary of Charles V or the Belleville Breviary, therefore, the decorative scheme was only representative of the combined group of most highly ranking universal and local feasts. In the sanctoral of the Châteauroux Breviary, however, this whole group of feasts was given functional emphasis, as well as a handful of additional feasts possibly of particular

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<sup>26</sup>The texts for All Souls were those of the office of the Dead, an item often appearing as an appendix to the Paris breviary, with the hierarchical emphasis due to a separate section.

<sup>27</sup>That is, the Invention (3 May) and Exaltation (14 Sep) of the Cross, and the Translation of the Crown of Thorns (11 Aug).

<sup>28</sup>A list of these feasts is given by Leroquais in *Bréviaires*, I, cxxx-cxxxii.

<sup>29</sup>In the Paris use the latter group comprised Relics (4 Dec), SS Geneviève (3 Jan), Julian (27 Jan) and Blaise (3 Feb), Translation of St Louis IX (17 May), St Ivo (19 May), St Martial (2 Jul), Translation of St Marcellus (26 Jul), Translation of the Crown of Thorns (11 Aug) and SS Louis IX (25 Aug), Fiacre (30 Aug), Marcellus (3 Nov) and Gendulphus (13 Nov). SS Germanus of Paris (28 May) and Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius (9 Oct) were universal feasts as well as being given special emphasis in the Paris liturgy. The duplex feasts of SS Martha (29 Jul) and Gerald (13 Oct) were added to the Paris calendar around 1400: see Appendix D.

relevance to the dauphin.<sup>30</sup> The sanctoral of the Orgemont Breviary exhibits the same degree of comprehensiveness in the selection of offices for emphasis. The duplex feasts specific to the Paris use in the sanctorals of the Orgemont and Châteauroux Breviaries are treated on an equal basis in the hierarchy of decoration with the universal feasts, resulting in a combined cycle of seventy-three miniatures. Because of the different structure of the Roman calendar, an alternative scheme was used for the equally huge functional programme of the sanctoral of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur. A similar core of fifty universal offices are emphasized by miniatures, while the twenty-two nine-lesson feasts specific to the Roman use have been provided with historiated initials, forming a secondary level of functional decorative emphasis.<sup>31</sup>

In breviaries for Sarum use the nucleus of offices likely to be given functional emphasis in the sanctoral was potentially smaller than in their Paris counterparts because of the smaller number of specifically Sarum feasts of high rank, as well as the inclusion of some of the December and January feasts in the temporal.<sup>32</sup> There was also a greater adherence to the official model for the decoration of the sanctoral, represented for the first quarter of the fifteenth century by the Chichele Breviary. In the sanctoral of the Chichele Breviary the feasts of the Virgin (excepting the Conception), St Andrew (Fig. 85), the Birth of the Baptist, SS Peter and Paul and All Saints are joined by the feast of the Sarum Relics to make up the nine offices given historiated initials, while twenty-five other offices are given emphasis within the basic hierarchy of decoration.<sup>33</sup> The general nature of the Sarum use, the texts for which had to be relevant to more than one diocese, is reflected in the absence of local feasts or their octaves from the latter group, which mainly comprises feasts of apostles, evangelists and early Christian martyrs. This scheme is indicative of the number and kind of offices which might be chosen for emphasis at least in breviaries of the middle rank.<sup>34</sup>

The system of decoration in English manuscripts of the highest class was less codified. Fourteenth or early fifteenth century manuscripts like the Stowe or Chichele Breviaries, under French influence, have simple decorative schemes, with historiated initials extending into borders for the more important offices. In the more extensively illuminated liturgical works which were one-off products of the English workshops, like the Carmelite and Sherborne Missals, the importance of a feast is conveyed through elaborate folios where the historiation of the main initial flows into the secondary initials and framed or unframed marginal or border vignettes (Fig. 90). Column and half-page miniatures are therefore

<sup>30</sup>Translation of St Eligius (25 Jun), St Victor (21 Jul), Translation of the Holy Cross (first Sunday in August), and Relics of Sainte-Chapelle (30 Sep).

<sup>31</sup>Some of these, like the joint office of SS Christopher and Cucuphas, appear in the Paris and Sarum calendars as feasts of three lessons or memorials.

<sup>32</sup>Of the specifically Sarum feasts, only those of St Augustine of Canterbury (26 May) and the Translation of St Edward the Confessor (13 Oct) were observed as duplex feasts in the Sarum calendar.

<sup>33</sup>Mainly through a two-line initial for the first nocturn antiphon or first lesson responsory. The offices are: St Nicholas (6 Dec), Conception (8 Dec), SS Wulstan (19 Jan), Agnes (21 Jan) and Vincent (22 Jan), Conversion of St Paul (25 Jan), St Agatha (5 Feb), Chair of St Peter (22 Feb), Invention of the Cross (3 May), SS John and Paul (26 Jun), Commemoration of St Paul (30 Jun), Translation of St Benedict (11 Jul), SS Mary Magdalene (22 Jul) and Anne (26 Jul), Chains of St Peter (1 Aug), Invention of St Stephen Martyr (3 Aug), St Lawrence (10 Aug), St John the Baptist (24 Aug), Exaltation of the Cross (14 Sep), SS Matthew (21 Sep), Michael (29 Sep) and Dionysius (9 Oct), All Souls (2 Nov) and SS Martin (11 Nov), Cecilia (22 Nov) and Katherine (25 Nov).

<sup>34</sup>For example, BL Add 32427 assigns large initials to St Andrew, Conception, Assumption and All Saints, together with variations within the basic hierarchy of decoration. In the Oxford/Melbourne Breviary Sts Lawrence, Michael and Katherine are added to the most highly emphasized group and twenty-seven other offices receive three- to five-line initials. There is more variation in the early fourteenth century examples. The Stowe Breviary programme includes inhabited or historiated initials for many of the English saints and the Longleat Breviary emphasizes the offices of the Translation of St Edward the Confessor, St Cuthbert (20 Mar) and St Richard (3 Apr).

eschewed in favour of an individualistic interpretation of the folio. The complexity of the treatment rather than a consistently observed hierarchical principle serves to rank the mass. Similarly, the distinction between inhabited and historiated initials is blurred, so that relatively minor masses may have figurative emphasis. The major pictorial effort, however, is restricted to a limited number of virtuoso folios. In France, a well-established workshop tradition for luxury breviaries and missals with extensive, but iconographically and formally limited pictorial cycles, precluded such diversity.

## II

There is no doubt that in terms of the upper levels of the hierarchy of decoration the Salisbury Breviary is firmly placed within the Paris tradition for the illumination of luxury liturgical manuscripts. Surprisingly, however, when the decoration of the text of each office in the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary is extracted from the border programme and analysed, two distinct patterns emerge, demonstrating that a major change in the design of the programme governed by economic considerations took place while the text was still being written. The first and fullest programme was applied to gatherings 48-69 (ff. 375-547v). Nearly every office in this section, from the feast of St Andrew on f. 375 to the Assumption on f. 544, opens with a historiated initial for its rubric.<sup>35</sup> In addition, thirty-four offices are accompanied by a half-page miniature (Table 3-2). The feasts of St Vincent and St Edward Martyr on 22 January and 18 March exceptionally combine half-page miniatures with rubric initials (Figs 25-26). Four other offices have no rubric initial, opening directly instead with half-page miniatures and historiated initials for their first vespers antiphon (or hymn in the case of St Anne). The remaining twenty-eight have both a historiated initial for the opening rubric and a half-page miniature within the office. Another miniature, originally accompanying the office of St Germanus of Paris between ff. 462v and 463, was probably removed by the Monsieur de Saint-Germain who owned the breviary before 1625.<sup>36</sup>

The scheme applied to this part of the Salisbury Breviary is thus similar to the one used for the sanctoral of the Breviary of Charles V. The historiated initials are extrinsic to the hierarchy of decoration, while the half-page miniatures are equivalent in emphatic value to the column miniatures of the earlier manuscript. New to the Salisbury Breviary, however, is the association of the historiated initials directly with the opening rubric, as in BN lat 14279 and, to a certain extent, the Stowe Breviary, rather than with one of the liturgical items within the office. Also new is the duplication of figurative material for all but six of the offices receiving half-page miniatures. The former innovation serves to underline the true role of such historiation as a visual reference device for the reader. In the thirty-five most highly ranked offices, the emphasis is additionally carried by the kinds of texts one would expect of the Paris or Sarum tradition: the first antiphon of first vespers, when it is proper, and the first lesson of matins. The duplication of emphasis demonstrates the enormous difficulties involved for the scribe in organizing the text so that the half-page miniature can open on a new folio. Although considerable care was taken with the first eight miniatures in the sanctoral to correlate the opening of the office with the position of the miniature, in most of the later offices, the miniature appears above texts which have already begun on the previous folio (Fig. 27).

In addition to the half-page miniatures, four column miniatures were also planned for the first section of

<sup>35</sup>Memorials are not illustrated. The initial for the office of Apollinaris (23 Jul) exceptionally opens the first lesson.

<sup>36</sup>The miniature would have accompanied the end of the third lesson (as does the following one for Barnabas) leaving space on the verso for the short three-lesson office of Petronilla, the rubric and prayer for Nicomedis and the opening of the office of SS Marcellinus and Peter.

Table 3-2: Half-page miniatures in the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary.

Folio	Date	Feast	Text	Initial	Rubric Initial
375	Nov 29	St Andrew	first vespers antiphon	7-line	-
381	Dec 6	St Nicholas	first lesson	5-line	7-line
386v	Dec 8	Conception of the Virgin	first vespers antiphon	8-line	-
387v	Dec 13	St Lucy	first vespers antiphon	6-line	-
391	Dec 21	St Thomas Apostle	first lesson	5-line	6-line
394v	Jan 20	SS Fabian & Sebastian	first lesson	6-line	7-line
398	Jan 21	St Agnes	first lesson	4-line	7-line
401	Jan 22	St Vincent	opening rubric	7-line	-
404v	Jan 25	Conversion of St Paul	first vespers chapter	-	7-line
411	Feb 2	Purification of the Virgin	first vespers hymn	-	9-line
416	Feb 5	St Agatha	first vespers antiphon	-	8-line
422	Feb 22	Chair of St Peter	invitatory	-	8-line
425	Feb 24	St Mathias	second lesson	-	8-line
432v	Mar 18	St Edward martyr	opening rubric	4-line	-
435	Mar 20	St Cuthbert	first lesson	-	8-line
438	Mar 21	St Benedict	second lesson	-	8-line
440	Mar 25	Annunciation	invitatory	-	8-line
444v	Apr 4	St Ambrose	first lesson	-	8-line
448	Apr 23	St George	first lesson	-	8-line
449v	Apr 25	St Mark	first lesson	-	8-line
451v	May 1	SS Philip & James	first lesson	-	8-line
454	May 3	Invention of the Cross	third lesson	-	8-line
455v	May 6	St John before the Latin Gate	first lesson	-	8-line
458	May 19	St Dunstan	second lesson	-	8-line
461v	May 26	St Augustine of Canterbury	first lesson	-	8-line
462/3	May 28	St Germanus of Paris	third lesson	-	8-line
465	Jun 11	St Barnabas	third lesson	-	8-line
469v	Jun 22	St Alban	first vespers antiphon	-	7-line
473	Jun 24	Birth of St John the Baptist	matins hymn	-	8-line
497	Jul ..	Relics	first vespers antiphon	-	7-line
515v	Jul 25	St James the Greater	first lesson	-	8-line
518	Jul 26	St Anne	first vespers hymn	7-line	-
525v	Aug 1	Chains of St Peter	first vespers antiphon	-	8-line
529v	Aug 3	St Stephen Martyr	first vespers antiphon	-	7-line
544	Aug 15	Assumption	first vespers antiphon	-	9-line
566v	Sep 8	Birth of the Virgin	first vespers antiphon	6-line	-
618	Nov 1	All Saints	first vespers antiphon	6-line	-

the sanctoral. The two octaves in this section, those of the Birth of St John the Baptist and of SS Peter and Paul, were given extra emphasis by such means (Table 3-3: ff. 478v and 491v). Four of the days during the week following the feast of the Birth of St John the Baptist were free for the full observance of the octave, including the day of the octave itself on 1 July, which opens with a historiated initial like any other office. On the other days the octave was observed as a memorial, and the texts for 25 June directly follow those of the 24th, and have received no emphasis. The legenda for 27-28 June, however, open with a space for a nine-line column miniature.<sup>37</sup> The octave of SS Peter and Paul follows a similar pattern, except that on 4 July it has been given the second nocturn within the office of St Martin. The legenda for 5 July open with an eight-line column miniature. The day of the octave has no further emphasis, since it follows immediately afterward. The column miniatures for the two octaves thus have an important role to play in this part of the sanctoral. They serve to differentiate the scattered texts of the octave from the other offices in the same week as well as to indicate the importance of the office itself.

<sup>37</sup>The decoration of ff. 478-85 is incomplete. The folios have only received text and rubrics.

Table 3-3: Column Miniatures in the Sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary  
[Bracketed miniatures are unfinished]

Folio	Date	Feast	Text	Size
478v	Jun 27	octave of St John the Baptist	first lesson	[8-line]
491v	Jul 5	octave of SS Peter & Paul	first lesson	8-line
508v	Jul 22	St Mary Magdalene	first vespers hymn	16-line
537	Aug 10	St Lawrence	first lesson	[23-line]
555	Aug 24	St Audoenus	opening rubric	8-line
557v	Aug 28	St Augustine	first lesson	8-line
560	Aug 29	St John the Baptist	first lesson	[10-line]
566	Sep 8	Birth of the Virgin	opening rubric	10-line
576v	Sep 14	Exaltation of the Cross	first lesson	[10-line]
584v	Sep 21	St Matthew	first lesson	10-line
592	Sep 29	St Michael	opening rubric	10-line
596	Sep 30	St Jerome	opening rubric	8-line
600	Oct 9	St Dionysius & companions	opening rubric	10-line
604v	Oct 13	Translation of St Edward Confessor	first lesson	10-line
607	Oct 16	St Michael in the Mountain Tomb	opening rubric	10-line
610	Oct 18	St Luke	opening rubric	9-line
614	Oct 28	Sts Simon & Jude	first lesson	10-line
637v	Nov 11	St Martin	opening rubric	10-line
647	Nov 16	St Edmund of Canterbury	opening rubric	[10-line]
654	Nov 20	St Edmund martyr	first lesson	[10-line]
656	Nov 22	St Cecilia	first nocturn antiphon	[10-line]
660	Nov 23	St Clement	first lesson	[10-line]
663	Nov 25	St Katherine	first vespers antiphon	[10-line]

Apart from the octave examples, space was left by the scribe for two other column miniatures in the first section of the sanctoral. The sixteen-line miniature painted for the office of St Mary Magdalene on f. 508v (Fig. 32) is exceptional not only in form but in size. It is the largest column miniature in the breviary, almost too large effectively to frame the subject, given the width of the column.<sup>38</sup> In addition, like the other miniatures in this section of the Salisbury Breviary, it duplicates the emphasis already given to the office by the historiated initial for the rubric. Indeed, one would have expected the office to have received a half-page miniature. The Magdalene was venerated in England by means of a simple feast of nine lessons with triple invitatory.<sup>39</sup> Of such feasts in the Sarum calendar, only the office of St Lawrence has not been assigned a half-page miniature in the first section of the sanctoral. The feast of the Magdalene was also a popular choice for emphasis in breviaries, receiving column miniatures with the theme *Noli me tangere* for the antiphon "Surgens ihesus mane prima sabbati" in both the Breviary of Charles V and the Châteauroux Breviary.<sup>40</sup>

A detailed study of the position of the column miniature in the Salisbury Breviary in fact suggests that a

<sup>38</sup>The largest column miniatures in the sanctoral of the Châteauroux Breviary do not exceed thirteen lines in height.

<sup>39</sup>In the Paris calendar it is labelled simply as a duplex feast, using the Roman terminology. The Sarum system of classifying feasts, reserved the term "duplex" for a limited number of high-ranking feasts and did not use the term "semi-duplex" at all. Lesser feasts of nine lessons were ranked according to the method of chanting the invitatory. The modes for simple, double and triple invitatories are described in the index to the temporal volume of the Printed Sarum Breviary in columns mdxiv-v. A fourth mode not mentioned by the editors, "invitorium quadruplex", is used in the calendar of BL Harley 2785 for the highest ranking feasts. A chart ranking the feasts in the Printed Sarum Breviary is given at the end of the sanctoral volume on pp. xl-xliv.

<sup>40</sup>Ff. 425 and 238 respectively. In the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (Harley 2897, f. 336) and Rylands 136 (f. 219v), the first lesson of the office is illustrated by a votive image. The antiphon is emphasized by decorative initials in BN lat 10485 and Ste-Geneviève 2646; and the first lesson in the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu, BN lat 1263 and Arsenal 277. As one of the offices in both the Paris and Sarum sanctorals with musical propers, the feast was a candidate for emphasis in any substantial cycle. It is given a secondary emphasis in the Chichele Breviary and the Oxford/Melbourne Breviary.

half-page miniature was initially planned for the office. The first vespers first antiphon in the Sarum use differed from the one in the Paris use. Its text, "Recumbente iesu in domo pharisei symonis" referred to the meal at Simon the leper's house, the theme chosen for the miniature in the Salisbury Breviary. Although the space for the miniature was left before the hymn ("Collaudemus magdalene lachrymas et gaudium"), the scroll text is taken from the antiphon. In the artist's plan for this section, therefore, the antiphon had been specified as the text to be illustrated, following the more usual model. This kind of anomaly indicates that the scribe had encountered some difficulty in organizing the text and figurative material on the folio at this point. Indeed, any attempt to incorporate a half-page miniature and historiated initial at the beginning of the office would have been hindered by the spatial requirements of the third lesson of the previous office of St Praxedis. Because of the specific illustrative link with the first vespers antiphon, the scribe could not have delayed placing the half-page miniature until after the lessons had begun, an expedient used elsewhere in the sanctoral on numerous occasions. The solution, possibly in consultation with the programme designers, was a compromise one, alleviated by the fact that the Magdalene had already been the subject of a half-page miniature in the temporal.<sup>41</sup>

A second column miniature was also planned for the office of St Lawrence on f. 537. An unprecedented twenty-three-line space has been left before the first lesson (Fig. 34), even though the rest of the decoration on the folio has been completed.<sup>42</sup> The office is otherwise unillustrated, missing even a historiated initial for the opening rubric. By analogy with other feasts of equal or higher rank, and because of the popularity of St Lawrence himself as a martyr,<sup>43</sup> one would equally have expected his office to have received a half-page miniature. The folio falls, however, in the second last gathering of the first section of the sanctoral. One suspects that the designers were already faltering at this stage in the production of the manuscript, fearing the loss of Bedford's patronage, but pushing the scribe to finish the text as far as the office of the Assumption on f. 544, so that the important half-page miniature on this folio could be painted as part of the first campaign.<sup>44</sup>

The task of transcribing the text of the sanctoral and communal after f. 547v was taken over by the same scribe who had copied the temporal and calendar, using a completely different set of directions regarding the spaces to be left for primary and secondary decoration. Half-page miniatures were abandoned for all but two feasts: the Birth of the Virgin on 8 September and All Saints on 1 November. Offices no longer routinely received opening historiated initials. Instead, selected offices were assigned column miniatures ranging in size from eight to ten lines for their opening rubrics or internal texts (Table 3-3; ff. 555-663; Figs 36-37).<sup>45</sup> The opening rubric of the office of the Birth of the Virgin was also

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<sup>41</sup>As one of the three Maries at the tomb in the Easter Sunday miniature (Fig. 16).

<sup>42</sup>On f. 566 eleven lines have been left blank above the ten-line miniature for the rubric opening the office of the Birth of the Virgin, but the foliate line filler at the end of the previous office makes it clear that this was a device to ensure the placement of the half-page miniature before the first vespers antiphon on the next folio.

<sup>43</sup>The first lesson of the office is emphasized by scenes of the martyrdom of St Lawrence in the Breviary of Charles V (f. 448), the Châteauroux Breviary (f. 270v) and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (Harley 2897, f. 358; and by a votive image, exceptionally for the first lesson responsory, in Rylands 136 (f. 249). BN lat 1263 and BN lat 10485 each have large decorative initials for the first lesson. Votive images may also be found in the Longleat and Stowe Breviaries, while the office is given a secondary emphasis in the Chichele Breviary and a primary one in the Oxford/Melbourne Breviary.

<sup>44</sup>The text of the sanctoral was certainly completed as far as f. 518 during the first campaign, so that the St Anne miniature could be painted.

<sup>45</sup>The variation in size of the column miniatures is random and does not have the same subtle emphatic effect as is found in the Châteauroux and Orgemont Breviaries.



assigned a column miniature, the only case after f. 547v where the figurative emphasis is duplicated.<sup>46</sup> In the unfinished communal space was left so that each main office could be given a column miniature for the first vespers antiphon or chapter.

As part of the diminution of the size of the decorative programme for the second section of the sanctoral, octave texts were not emphasized. The octave of the Assumption, which begins on f. 548v, occupies the full week: the day of the octave of St Lawrence on 17 August and the feasts of SS Agapitus and Magnus on the following two days are observed as memorials only. The octave of the Birth of the Virgin is interrupted by the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, with *medie lectiones* for SS Cornelius and Cyprian on 14 September. The texts for 9-13 September, however, are in a consecutive block following the main office, and the day of the octave is treated as a normal office, with no further emphasis. On the other hand, even when the texts are more scattered, as are those for the last octave in the sanctoral, that of St Martin for the week 12-18 November, they are not differentiated from the other offices. Since the opening rubric was not routinely emphasized, there was no temptation to indulge in the subtle distinction created by the use of column miniatures for the octave texts in the first part of the sanctoral.

The scheme for the second part of the sanctoral, by reducing the number of half-page miniatures, giving column miniatures a different and more extensive role and eliminating historiated initials, had a major effect on the size of the figurative cycle as a whole, but a minor one on the hierarchy of decoration. The historiated initials in the first part of the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary are equivalent in emphatic value to the text capitals routinely opening the rubrics of offices in the second. Similarly, the column miniatures in the second part substitute for the half-page miniatures in the first. Only the two half-page miniatures retained for the offices of the Birth of the Virgin and All Saints have an additional emphatic role. Their greater size sets up a two-level hierarchy of decoration in this part of the sanctoral similar to that in the summer volume of the Paris/ Manchester Breviary. Apart from this, the selection of offices to be illustrated by half-page miniatures in the first section, or column miniatures in the second, was made using the same criteria. The distribution of miniatures over both sections is liberal, with almost every nine-lesson feast not drawing its lessons from the communal, or not duplicating the subject matter of another feast, receiving the enhanced form of decoration.<sup>47</sup> Although the change in format had an impact on the complexity of the theme of the miniature because of its reduced size, the half-page miniatures and column miniatures may thus be treated as having a similar hierarchical function in any discussion of the sanctoral programme.

If Bedford's motives in commissioning the Salisbury Breviary were in part political, the group of fifty-eight offices chosen for emphasis in the sanctoral nevertheless reflects a conservative and orthodox approach to the illustration of this section of a luxury breviary. The only thing unusual about the group is its size. The comprehensive nature of the selection process is comparable to that of the Orgemont and Châteauroux Breviaries. The number of feasts emphasized is smaller only because of the smaller number of non-duplicated local feasts in the Sarum calendar and the transposition of the Christmas feasts to the temporal. The offices of each of the feasts dedicated to the Virgin have been emphasized, as have those of each of the apostles and evangelists, except St Bartholomew. The office of SS Peter and Paul on 29

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<sup>46</sup>The first lesson also opens with a five-line foliate initial. Four-line initials were also used for most first lessons within gatherings 74 to 77 and after gathering 82.

<sup>47</sup>The exceptions are the offices of David (1 Mar), Chad (2 Mar), Gregory (12 Mar), Aldelm (25 May) and Margaret (20 Jul) in the first section and Giles (1 Sep), Edith (16 Sep), Maurice (22 Sep) and Winifred (3 Nov) in the second.

June has not itself received a half-page miniature, but the octave has been given special emphasis, as have the three lesser feasts of the Conversion of St Paul (25 Jan), the Chair of St Peter (22 Feb) and the Chains of St Peter (1 Aug). The office of St John before the Latin Gate (6 May), although of lesser rank than the main feast on 26 December,<sup>48</sup> assumes the role of the temporal feast in the sanctoral. The two feasts of St John the Baptist (24 Jun, 29 Aug) and of St Michael (30 Sep, 16 Oct) are emphasized, as well as the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the cross (3 May, 14 Sep), All Saints (1 Nov), and the veneration of the Sarum relics. The remaining feasts fall into three groups representative of the church fathers and confessors, martyrs and female saints. Eight of these are specifically Sarum feasts.<sup>49</sup>

Because of the comprehensiveness of the rest of the programme, the exclusion of the early Roman office of St Gregory from the group of feasts with functional emphasis must be ascribed to an error of omission, possibly reflecting a similar omission in the hierarchy of emphasis of the Sarum exemplar. On the other hand, the selection of feasts for emphasis was neither totally automatic nor exhaustive. The exclusion of the feasts of SS David, Chad and Winifred, in spite of the prominence given to St Winifred in the calendar of the Salisbury Breviary and the length of her office,<sup>50</sup> indicates an awareness on the part of the designers of the programme of their novelty in the Sarum use.<sup>51</sup> The newly introduced duplex feasts of SS Martha and Gerald were similarly excluded from functional emphasis in Paris breviaries. The designers were also aware of the significance in the Sarum use, independent of the main feast of St Michael on 30 September, of the feast of St Michael in the Mountain Tomb on 16 October. In the Paris use, the latter feast was not observed. The scheme developed for the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary was thus liturgically appropriate to its alien use.

Only two feasts of less than nine lessons receive functional emphasis in the decorative programme. The first, the feast of St Germanus of Paris, is a three-lesson office in the Sarum calendar. Its pre-eminence in the Paris breviary, both as a duplex feast and as the office opening the summer section of the sanctoral, can be the only explanation for its emphasis in the programme of decoration of a Sarum breviary. The other minor feast given a miniature is, surprisingly, the memorial to St Ouen (Audoenus) within the office of St Bartholomew on 24 August (Fig. 36). St Ouen was the Bishop of Rouen from 641 until his death in 683. The presence of his memorial in the Sarum calendar was due to tenth century claims by the monks of Canterbury Cathedral to possess his relics, backed up by several recorded miracles. The more plausible claims of Rouen are reflected in the handsome abbey church dedicated to him in the city itself and the forty church dedications in the diocese.<sup>52</sup> Bedford's own attachment to Rouen has been

<sup>48</sup>The latter is a minor duplex feast, the former a simple feast of nine lessons with triple invitatory.

<sup>49</sup>SS Edward martyr (1 Mar), Cuthbert (20 Mar), Dunstan (19 May), Augustine of Canterbury (26 May), Alban (22 Jun), Translation of St Edward the Confessor (13 Oct), and SS Edmund of Canterbury (16 Nov) and Edmund martyr (20 Nov). The second last feast is observed as a memorial in some Paris calendars on 16 November: namely, BN lat 745, BN lat 1025, BN lat 1263 (added), Mazarine 341 and BN lat 1052 (on the 20th).

<sup>50</sup>The non-Sarum nine-lesson feast of Winifred's Decollation and Resuscitation on 22 June appears in the calendar in red, but not in the sanctoral. Her main office on 3 November, with full musical propers, occupies ff. 630-35.

<sup>51</sup>Their observance as full feasts was, in fact, transient. In the Printed Sarum Breviary, the offices of SS David and Chad are annotated as "non-Sarum (al. de Communi)" in the calendar. The lessons for all three offices are already quite short and restricted to six in number in BL Add. 32427, while a different set of nine-lesson offices are used in BL Harley 2785. Of the other nine-lesson offices in the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary without half-page miniatures, that of St Aldelm (25 May) has its second nocturn devoted to St Urban, while that of St Margaret (20 Jul) is unusual in both the Paris and Sarum uses in being observed as a three-lesson feast in the calendar with lessons long enough to be divided into nine in the sanctoral. SS Giles (1 Sep), and Maurice (22 Sep) were saints rarely receiving emphasis in Paris sanctorals, while the office of St Edith, the only other nine-lesson Sarum feast dedicated to a woman, was possibly excluded on those grounds.

<sup>52</sup>David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1978), p. 308.

well-documented.<sup>53</sup> The emphasis given to St Ouen is the only obvious evidence of the intervention of the patron's personal interests in the design of the programme. It is of significance that the miniature is not imposed on the programme of decoration, but falls on the same folio as the opening rubric of an office which was already a strong candidate for emphasis because of its rank.

The solutions found in the Salisbury Breviary to the problem of developing a fully representative figurative programme for the Sarum sanctoral operated wholly from within Paris traditions for the decoration and illumination of a luxury breviary. How closely the range and extent of the programme of functional emphasis might have resembled the schemes developed for other luxuriously illuminated English manuscripts like the lost Breviary of Henry IV is a matter of speculation. There are no elements in the decorative programme of the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary, however, which could not have been developed by a Paris workshop with the help of theological advisers familiar with the Sarum liturgy. Sources for the iconography of the figurative programme may also be sought within the same set of traditions.

### III

Until this point in the discussion figurative and non-figurative items have been deliberately treated merely as different elements in the hierarchy of decoration of individual manuscripts. It is indeed the case that the foliate initials opening the first lessons of the majority of offices in the Orgemont Breviary serve the same organizational role within the manuscript as the historiated initials in the Châteauroux Breviary. In the Châteauroux Breviary, however, the figurative items act not only to rank the feasts they accompany, but to provide a visual reference to the subject of the office. At a further level, they function as devotional aids, in combination with the liturgical chants, readings and prayers, to invoke a spiritual state through the senses of sight and hearing during the performance of the office.<sup>54</sup>

The number of iconographic themes available to the designer of an illustrated sanctoral was enormous, particularly if the full life of the saint was drawn upon to choose scenes to illustrate the office. In practice, however, several factors operated in Paris in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries to keep the images used relatively simple. The size of the sanctoral, the shortness of each office, and the adherence to Parisian conventions concerning the hierarchy of decoration, precluded the multiplication of figurative items for a single feast.<sup>55</sup> Although in the Belleville Breviary a number of offices in the sanctoral were illuminated with both a column miniature and a bas-de-page illustration, such diversity was not attempted for the bulk of the sanctoral, in which the tradition established already in the thirteenth

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<sup>53</sup>Williams, *My Lord of Bedford*, esp. pp. 184-93; C.M.R. Beaurepaire, "Fondations pieuses du Duc de Bedford à Rouen," *B.E.C.*, 34 (1873), 343-58.

<sup>54</sup>For the function of the image in medieval art see J. Russell-Smith, "Walter Hilton and a tract in defence of the veneration of images," *Dominican Studies*, 7 (1954), 180-214. Rubrics in books of hours also make this function clear.

<sup>55</sup>The same applied to the development of figurative programmes for the sanctoral of the missal and for the *Legenda Aurea*, which was in effect an expanded legendary: Jean Marden Caswell, "The Morgan-Mâcon Golden Legend and related manuscripts," Diss., University of Maryland, 1978; Hilary Maddocks, "Illuminated manuscripts of Jean de Vignay's *Légende Dorée*," Diss. in progress, University of Melbourne.

century of a single figurative item for each illustrated office is generally upheld.<sup>56</sup> In figurative programmes as exhaustive as the ones given to the Breviary of Philippe le Bel, the Breviary of Charles V and the Châteauroux Breviary, this principle of decoration was even more imperative. The historiated initial or column miniature therefore assumed the responsibility of representing the subject of the office through a single set of images.<sup>57</sup>

For the feasts venerating the day of the saint's death and rebirth in Heaven, there were three kinds of themes considered appropriate to the illustration of the office. For martyrs, the scene of martyrdom itself captured perfectly the moment of death and subsequent salvation which was being celebrated by the office. The saints could be shown in an exemplary attitude of acceptance and faith in spite of the pain being inflicted or about to be inflicted upon them (Fig. 63). Alternatively, a votive image of the saint with the general attributes appropriate to his or her position in the celestial hierarchy was sufficient to convey the subject of the office immediately to the reader and to provide an iconic gloss to the invocatory prayer, antiphon or first lesson (Fig. 43). Each of these themes was used in its purest and most general form to illustrate the relevant offices of the communal (Fig. 49). For the sanctoral offices, the figures of the saints could be placed in the context of important or representative events from their lives by the use of identifiable attributes such as St Katherine's sword and wheel (Fig. 48). The votive image overlapped with a third method of illustrating the office. As a votive image, St Geneviève is almost always shown holding a candle which is being simultaneously extinguished by a devil and relit by an angel,<sup>58</sup> while St Julian is depicted in a landscape making a spring flow.<sup>59</sup> This kind of image is only one step from narrative illustrations like the column miniature of St Katherine burning books in the Breviary of Charles V (Fig. 81).

Although, during the first half of the fourteenth century, there was considerable freedom of choice in the use of strictly votive images or scenes from the life of the saint to illustrate the office, the feasts devoted to martyrs in the sanctoral and communal were usually emphasized pictorially by a scene of martyrdom. Such a system is already prescribed in the sanctoral of the Breviary of Philippe le Bel where, in addition, there is a dichotomy between votive images and narrative scenes related to the size of the historiated initial. The four-line historiated initials were too limited in size to accommodate more than one or two figures against a simple background, while the numerous nine-line initials, which are almost as large as column miniatures, provided a pictorial space within which relatively complex themes could be developed. In the Belleville Breviary the column and bas-de-page miniatures are divided between scenes of martyrdom and other narrative scenes. The only surviving votive image is for the office of St

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<sup>56</sup>The offices in the Belleville Breviary receiving multiple illustrations are St Thomas apostle, St Agnes, Purification, Annunciation, St Ambrose, SS Philip and James, Invention of the Holy Cross, Translation of St Dominic, St Barnabas (BN lat 10483); Translation of St Dominic, Commemoration of St Paul, St Mary Magdalene, St Dominic (BN lat 10484). For details, see Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, III, 206-09. The noted breviary Mazarine 344 continues its dependence on the Belleville Breviary tradition by having historiated initials for the first vespers antiphons and the first lessons of the offices of St Germanus of Paris, St Louis IX and the Birth of the Virgin. The Breviary of Louis d'Evreux also has a bas-de-page scene associated with its only surviving column miniature (Fig. 39).

<sup>57</sup>Octaves, however, often received a separate image, and in the first quarter of the fifteenth century there was limited experimentation with extending the illustrative field. The initials below six miniatures in the Châteauroux Breviary exceptionally bear an additional image related to the main theme: see ff. 226v (St Thomas of Canterbury), 282v (Fig. 44), 311 (Fig. 45), 373v (St Luke), 376 (11,000 Virgins), 387v (Fig. 47), 395v (All Souls). In the Breviary of Jean sans Peur the half-page miniature of the Crucifixion is also accompanied by a smaller one of the Flagellation (Fig. 52).

<sup>58</sup>For examples, see the Breviary of Charles V (f. 313v) and the Orgemont Breviary (f. 395). In the Breviary of Philippe le Bel (f. 284v), however, she is shown healing a sick person.

<sup>59</sup>Breviary of Philippe le Bel (f. 300), Breviary of Charles V (f. 333), Orgemont Breviary (f. 435v).

Katherine,<sup>60</sup> reflecting the absence of smaller figurative items requiring condensed subjects, as well as the overall complexity of the iconographic programme. The same dichotomy may be found in the Breviary of Charles V, where about a quarter of the pseudo-historiated initials contain votive images, but only a handful of the column miniatures. The remaining pseudo-historiated initials are devoted mainly to scenes of martyrdom or to the translation or invention of relics in association with the appropriate feast, while the column miniatures cover a variety of subjects.

It is not the aim of this chapter to document the rich variety of iconographic themes transmitted by artists through manuscripts like the Breviary of Philippe le Bel and the Belleville Breviary to the breviaries produced in the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>61</sup> If any pattern emerges, however, it is that the designers of sanctoral programmes painted under the influence first of artists working in the style of Master Honoré and then of the Pucelle workshop preferred scenes of martyrdom to any other. Artists trained in the Court of Charles V became adept at using small and restrictive spaces for the depiction of multiple decapitations for the offices dedicated to several martyrs (Figs 71, 79). During the early decades of the fifteenth century, however, there was a trend to a more static and monumental image which found its best expression in the standing full or half-length figure. The three major surviving breviaries of this period all exhibit a similar stylistic and iconographic change in this direction, particularly in the smaller figurative items, but also in the column miniatures, where the votive image set within a narrow interior space or landscape background is often preferred to a more complex narrative scene (Fig 49). The same trend may be observed in the half-page miniatures illustrating memorials in books of hours.<sup>62</sup>

The offices most frequently emphasized in the hierarchy of decoration of Paris breviaries, however, exhibit a consistency of iconographic treatment throughout the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, which reflects the frequency of illustration of the associated theme in breviaries as well as other manuscript genres. The Purification of the Virgin was almost always illustrated by the scene of the Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple,<sup>63</sup> while the Annunciation and Birth were each

<sup>60</sup>BN lat 10484, f. 395v. The votive image is replaced by a narrative scene in the Breviary of Charles V (Fig. 81).

<sup>61</sup>Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, passim, has already looked briefly at this important subject in documenting Pucelle's stylistic development. Links between late thirteenth and early fourteenth century workshops may be demonstrated by the re-use and development of themes from the Breviary of Philippe le Bel in manuscripts like the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux: see, for example, the Single Combat between Heraclius and the Son of Chosroes for the office of the Exaltation of the Cross in BN lat 1023, f. 426v and Chantilly 1887, f. 356v (Morand's pl. XVIIa). Motifs were also transmitted via workshop models from fourteenth century manuscripts painted as early as the Breviary of Blanche of France, through the Belleville Breviary to the Breviary of Charles V: see, for example, the continuous presence of the prophet figure in the Martyrdom of St Stephen in BV Urb lat 603, f. 130 (Morand's pl. IIIc), BN lat 10483, f. 108 (Morand's pl. XXVc) and BN lat 1052, f. 301v. Because of the smaller programmes of the Pucelle breviaries, the artists of the Breviary of Charles V also referred directly to the Breviary of Philippe le Bel for the overall iconographic scheme for the lesser offices and for specific models: see, for example, the Baptism of Constantine for the office of St Sylvester in BN lat 1023, f. 283 and BN lat 1052, f. 311v, and the image of St Julian making a spring flow, which is re-used again in the large cycles of the early fifteenth century.

<sup>62</sup>The development of cycles of half-page miniatures for the memorials in luxury books of hours coincides with and influences this trend. Early fifteenth century memorial cycles consisted of a group of popular (not necessarily liturgically important) saints arranged according to their order in the litany rather than the sanctoral. A typical early fifteenth century model for the Paris use may be found in BL Add 29433: Calkins, *Illuminated Books*, p. 312. The group chosen for the *Belles Heures* is still relatively conventional compared to the strongly personal choice of saints in the Boucicaut Hours (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, ms 2): Millard Meiss and Elizabeth H. Beatson, *Les Belles Heures de Jean Duc de Berry*, partial facsimile (London, 1974), pp. 255-65; Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, figs 1-27. In BL Egerton 1070, an *horae* for Paris use dated about 1410, the memorial section (ff. 80v-109v) includes miniatures for all the major temporal and sanctoral feasts in one sequence, indicating the sometimes confusing relationship between the book of hours and the breviary or missal in abbreviated form: Meiss, *Limbourgs*, p. 329.

<sup>63</sup>The miniature in the Orgemont Breviary is unusually literal in showing the Virgin kneeling in prayer at the altar after Simeon has received the child (Fig. 62).

accompanied by the appropriate narrative scene.<sup>64</sup> The Conception was usually, but not always, associated with the scene of the Meeting of Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate.<sup>65</sup>

Of the feasts devoted to the Virgin in the sanctoral, the Assumption received the most varied range of illustrations because of the number of subsidiary scenes associated with it. The Death of the Virgin, her funeral procession, her Assumption, her Coronation and her Reception as Queen of Heaven, were all treated as separate themes.<sup>66</sup> The most complex visual interpretation of the meaning of the office in the liturgical year had to wait until the adoption of a half-page miniature for the theme by the Bedford Master in the Châteauroux Breviary (Fig. 44). The increased size of the miniature was used to depict four separate episodes within one logically consistent pictorial space. The deathbed scene occupies the lower part of the miniature, but the step-down roof-line of the building permits the incorporation of the scene of the Assumption itself on the right. In the arched top of the miniature the Virgin is shown again seated by Christ as Queen of Heaven. The theme of the Virgin's belt falling from Heaven is also depicted.<sup>67</sup>

Innovative treatment was also given by the Bedford Master to the large All Saints miniature in the Châteauroux Breviary (Fig. 47). Although there are no architectural elements to define and divide the pictorial space, the separate levels impose a hieratic structure, within which the theme of the office is presented in a particularly comprehensive form, usually only capable of being suggested by the figures of a handful of representative saints in the smaller format of the column miniature or historiated initial. The heavenly hierarchy described in the office, from the Virgin at the right hand of Christ being crowned by an angel, through the angels, archangels, patriarchs, prophets and St John the Baptist, to the apostles and evangelists, martyrs, confessors and female saints, are all represented. In addition, the position of the earth relative to the heavenly sphere is expressed by the extraordinary night time panorama below, which extends into the historiated initial.<sup>68</sup>

In spite of the success of such experiments with large miniatures in the Châteauroux Breviary, the half-page format was still restricted in this manuscript to the offices of the Assumption and All Saints, both considerably more complex in their pictorial requirements than the other offices eligible for primary emphasis in the hierarchy of decoration. The use of the half-page miniature in the sanctoral of surviving Paris breviaries in the first quarter of the fifteenth century does not penetrate beyond these two offices and the opening office of St Andrew, the miniature for which is missing from the Orgemont Breviary (lacuna:

<sup>64</sup>For examples of the theme of the Annunciation, which usually received the most spatially developed treatment because of its ubiquity as an experimental workshop model, see Figs 59, 77. In the Paris/ Manchester Breviary the office of the Annunciation has an initial of David and Isaiah (Fig. 68), referring to the Advent-like subject of the first lesson "Ecce ex qua tribu" which differs from the usual text for the Paris use.

<sup>65</sup>The first lesson text and initial theme again differ in the Paris/ Manchester Breviary (BN lat 1024, f. 308). The opening words of the lesson, "Anselmus cantuariensis archiepiscopus", are illustrated by a bishop preaching to a group of five people. In the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, the first lesson is accompanied by a miniature of Helsinus being saved from drowning by the Virgin (Add. 35311, f. 348v), an episode from Gautier de Coincy's *Miracles de la vierge*.

<sup>66</sup>Amiens 114 (f. 398) and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (Harley 2897, f. 366v) show the Death of the Virgin, The Paris/ Manchester Breviary (Rylands 136, f. 260v) and Mazarine 344 (f. 233) her Death and Assumption. The Belleville Breviary (BN lat 10484, f. 290v) and Mazarine 342 (f. 385v) show her Coronation. The Breviary of Charles V (Fig. 73) adopts the unusual theme found earlier in the Breviary of Blanche of France (f. 439v) of the episode of the two men trying to touch the coffin during the funeral procession.

<sup>67</sup>As narrated in the *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Th. Graesse, 3rd ed. (1890, rpt Osnabruck, 1965), Cap. CXIX, p. 509: "Thomas autem cum abesset et rediens credere recusaret, subito zonam, qua corpus eius praecinctum fuerat, ab aere recepit illaesam, ut vel sic intelligeret, quod totaliter fuisset assumpta".

<sup>68</sup>The relationship of this image to Northern ideas about geography and the cosmos is pointed out by Charles Sterling, "La Mappemonde de Jan van Eyck," *Revue de l'Art*, 33 (1976), 72 and fig. 107.

ff. 337/38).<sup>69</sup> There is also evidence to suggest that the mainstream of early fifteenth century Paris artists were conservative in their use of pictorial forms in the small number of half-page miniatures given to liturgical manuscripts. In the Breviary of Philippe le Bon, a manuscript executed in Flanders in the 1440's but heavily dependent in its conventions on a Paris model from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the relatively simple spatial arrangement of the two half-page miniatures painted for the offices of St Andrew and All Saints in the sanctoral highlight the experimental nature of the miniatures in the Châteauroux Breviary.<sup>70</sup> Both miniatures use the monumental format established for the votive image in column miniatures, and in half-page memorial miniatures in books of hours. St Andrew is shown standing in a tabernacle-like structure with Philippe le Bon kneeling at the door of a pavillion on the right.<sup>71</sup> A similarly conventional interior space with low viewpoint and diaper ground forms the setting for the All Saints miniature, with its all-male group of saints.

Of the remaining offices in the sanctoral likely to receive primary emphasis in the hierarchy of decoration, a small group of martyrs became so associated visually with the scene of the martyrdom itself that the martyrdom is used to illustrate the office even in programmes drawing mostly on votive images for their illustrative material.<sup>72</sup> The office of St Martin was also almost invariably illuminated by the scene of the saint dividing his cloak with a beggar (Fig 72).<sup>73</sup> The iconic content of the image in each of these cases was as powerful as the narrative one. This applied even more to offices like the Conversion of St Paul (always illustrated by the scene of St Paul falling from his horse on the road to Damascus), the subjects of which were intrinsically related to a particular iconographic theme.<sup>74</sup> The feast of the relics was usually illustrated by a scene of reliquaries on an altar, either alone or being venerated by the faithful (Figs 46, 61). Translation and invention feasts were illustrated by an appropriate scene or, on occasion, by a votive image or scene of martyrdom, particularly if the main feast was not emphasized in the same volume or the initial was too small for a complex image.

In the cases where several iconographic themes were popular choices for the illustration of the office, the relationship of the image to the text it accompanied was likely to be a direct one. The feast of St Mary Magdalene, for instance, is associated with the theme *Noli me tangere* when the antiphon is emphasized, while the votive image tends to be used in manuscripts emphasizing the first lesson.<sup>75</sup> Again, the first lesson for the office of St James the Greater is illustrated in the Châteauroux Breviary by the scene of the

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<sup>69</sup>All Saints was the only office in the sanctoral of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur to receive a half-page miniature, which is also now missing (BL Harley 2897, lacuna: ff. 427/28). In the missal large miniatures were used even more sparingly, with the major effort concentrated on the traditional full-page miniatures preceding the prefaces and canon in the temporal. None of the early fifteenth century missals for Paris use in Leroquais' *Sacramentaires* use the half-page miniature format for masses in the sanctoral, although there was some experimentation within the temporal.

<sup>70</sup>BR 9511, f. 398 and BR 9026, f. 485: Leroquais, *Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon*, II, pls 6, 9.

<sup>71</sup>The tabernacle is also used in the illustration of the memorial in the *Belles Heures* to St James the Greater (f. 160v): Meiss and Beatson, *Belles Heures*, p. 258.

<sup>72</sup>Notably, St Stephen martyr, the Holy Innocents and St Thomas of Canterbury, but also Sts Bartholomew and Lawrence, and St John the Baptist for his August 29 feast (Fig. 45).

<sup>73</sup>The votive image of St Martin in the Châteauroux Breviary on f. 414v accompanies the octave, not the main office, which uses the standard iconography.

<sup>74</sup>Other such themes are the Chair of St Peter (Peter enthroned as Pope), the Invention of the Cross (Fig. 79), the Birth of St John the Baptist (Fig. 56), and the Chains of St Peter (St Peter being released from prison by an angel), although variants may be found for each office.

<sup>75</sup>Both the Breviary of Charles V (f. 425) and the Châteauroux Breviary (f. 238) are antiphon examples, while in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (Harley 2897, f. 336) and the Paris/ Manchester Breviary (Rylands 136, f. 219v), the first lesson of the office is illustrated by a votive image.

bound Hermogenes being led before the saint by two demons.<sup>76</sup> The votive image of St James as a pilgrim is used in the near contemporary Breviary of Jean sans Peur (Harley 2897, f. 338v), where the first lesson "Accessit ad ihesum mater" differs from the "Iacobus apostolus" lesson adapted from the *Legenda Aurea* for the Paris use. The direct influence of other models, both contemporary and earlier, however, also played a part in the choice of themes, particularly when a degree of freedom of choice between narrative scene and votive image was already allowed by convention in the decorative programme of the manuscript. In the Breviary of Jean sans Peur the well-documented use of models from the *Belles Heures* and the *Très Riches Heures* by the Breviary Master is no better manifested than in the scene of the martyrdom of St Mark, whose office in the Paris breviary is usually illustrated by an evangelist image.<sup>77</sup> There was also tremendous scope for the development of new versions of existing themes. In particular, the work of the Boucicaut Master in the Châteauroux Breviary referring specifically to scenes of contemporary Paris may be noted.<sup>78</sup> The illustration of octaves and octave legenda also provided opportunities for invention and variation in order to avoid the duplication of themes.

Any attempt to review the kind of iconographic themes assigned to the sanctoral in Sarum breviaries in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is even more hindered than in the case of the decorative programme as a whole by the lack of examples. Again, the most that can be said is that similar principles applied to the illustration of the office in manuscripts like the Stowe and Chichele Breviaries, and of the lesser masses in manuscripts like the Carmelite and Sherborne missals. Nevertheless, there are three historiated initials in the sanctoral of the Chichele Breviary with unexpected themes. The Birth of John the Baptist is illustrated by a beautifully executed votive image of the Baptist in a landscape (f. 329v) instead of the birth itself. The theme of the Tree of Jesse replaces the Birth of the Virgin for the 8 September office (f. 373v), effectively glossing the Sarum first vespers antiphon "Dei genitrix virgo". For the office of All Saints, a scene of the Heavenly Court has been cleverly packed into the six-line initial, together with a monk lying asleep on the pavement before the group (f. 394v). This is an allusion to the Vision of the Sacristan recounted in the *Legenda Aurea*, but not in the lessons for the office.<sup>79</sup> These variations from the Paris repertoire serve to indicate a less well-established, commercially-based tradition in England for the illustration of the offices. For the more highly ranked masses in the Sherborne and Carmelite Missals (Fig. 90) multiple scenes have been incorporated into the larger initials and borders in a manner alien to French work, although anticipating the expansive iconography made possible, within the Paris tradition, through experiments in the use of border medallions and the large miniature format conducted by the Boucicaut and Bedford workshops in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

<sup>76</sup>f. 243v. The same theme for this office, not commonly illustrated except in substantial cycles, is found in the Breviary of Blanche of France (f. 420), indicating a continuity of tradition assisted by the renewed interest in fourteenth century models exhibited by artists in the first decade of the fifteenth century. The miniature in the Breviary of Charles V (f. 429) depicts the martyrdom of St James.

<sup>77</sup>Harley 2897, f. 282v and the *Très Riches Heures*, f. 19v. For direct borrowings from the *Belles Heures* for the sanctoral of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur of whole themes, as well as compositional devices and figure and drapery conventions, from the Limbourgs, see Millard Meiss, *The Master of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur and the Limbourgs* (London, 1970), pp. 3, 9. Interestingly, the miniature of St Vincent in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (Add. 35311, f. 364v) and in the *Belles Heures* (f. 163) both refer to the incident, narrated in the *Legenda Aurea*, and repeated in the breviary text, where the saint's body is protected from animals of prey by a crow.

<sup>78</sup>See ff. 265, 274, 350 (Fig. 46), 364 and 367v, and Jean Hubert, "Quelques vues de la cité au XVe siècle dans un bréviaire parisien conservé à la Bibliothèque Municipale de Châteauroux," *Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France. Mémoires*, 77 (1928), 25-42.

<sup>79</sup>*Legenda Aurea*, cap. CLXII, p. 727. The lessons for the first two nocturns in the Paris and Sarum use were extracted from a latin sermon composed in the second quarter of the ninth century: J.E. Cross, "Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis: a sermon for All Saints, and its use in Old English prose," *Traditio*, 33 (1977), 101-35.



The dependence of the decorative programme of the Salisbury Breviary on the more restrictive Paris repertoire for the illustration of the sanctoral is most easily demonstrated by the treatment of the smaller pictorial items. The six- to eight-line historiated initials which make up the larger proportion of the figurative cycle generally contain a standing or seated votive image of the saint or saints venerated by the office they open, identifiable in each case at least by the general attribute, costume or posture most appropriate to the position of the saint in the celestial hierarchy. Martyrs hold a palm and sometimes a book. Bishops or archbishops in episcopal robes hold a crozier or cross in one hand and bless with the other. Virgins, usually with books or in the act of reading, wear the gowns of young women of fashion and have long unbound hair, while matrons wear a wimple to indicate their marital status and advanced age. The evangelists are in the act of writing and the apostles hold books and wear long robes covered by a mantle. Monks, nuns and friars are distinguishable by their garb and tonsure (Figs 24, 31). Specific attributes or symbols identify the more well-known saints like St Mary Magdalene, who carries the ubiquitous oil jar in the historiated initial opening her office (Fig. 32). Abbreviated scenes from the life of the saint are also used to provide attributes. St Gregory is shown reading, with a dove, his source of inspiration, at his shoulder (f. 430v), while St Apollinaris is depicted being made bishop by St Peter (f. 513). The historiated initials below the half-page miniatures in the first section of the sanctoral follow the same pattern.<sup>80</sup> In most of the column miniatures in the second section, the votive image is also retained, the additional space being used for more effective settings for the figures, rather than to develop a more complex approach to the theme.

As we have seen, this kind of image is not only appropriate to the invocatory text of the rubric in the first section of the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary, and simple enough to accommodate inside the opening initial "S", but was also the standard way of illustrating the offices of the sanctoral in early fifteenth century Parisian breviaries with extensive figurative cycles. In the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary only five historiated initials contain scenes of martyrdom.<sup>81</sup> Even in these examples, the fourteenth century predilection for depicting the act of martyrdom, with the executioner, usually a swordsman, grasping the hair of the victim and swinging his arm back to make the blow, is replaced by the more passive if no less violent scene of beheaded bodies.

Although the visual impact of the half-page miniatures in the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary is strikingly different from the effect produced on the page by the column miniatures in its Paris precursors, they also may be seen in terms of subject matter as an end product of Paris iconographic traditions for the illumination of breviaries, and in terms of pictorial expression as falling well within the range of the developing style of the Bedford workshop. The Assumption and All Saints miniatures in particular derive their treatment directly from their analogues in the Châteauroux Breviary (Figs 44, 47). The Assumption miniature in the Salisbury Breviary uses the same form of pictorial organization to combine several scenes relevant to the office, although there are numerous differences in detail. Christ is not shown in the deathbed scene holding the Virgin's soul, and the subsidiary scene of the Virgin's belt falling from Heaven is replaced by the inclusion amongst the mourners of the three women who later wash the

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<sup>80</sup>Seven of the twelve initials below half-page miniatures contain votive images, including the initial for the office of St Andrew which shows St Andrew with St John the Baptist, illustrating the opening antiphon "Unus ex duobus qui secuti sunt dominum". The theme of the incredulity of Thomas below the half-page miniature for St Thomas apostle is also appropriate as a representative image: see the Breviary of Charles V, f. 300v. The four-line initial below the miniature for the office of St Edward martyr contains an angel with an empty scroll, while the initial below the St Anne miniature has been reserved for a portrait of Anne de Bourgogne. The initial for the Birth of the Virgin depicts the seated Joachim. The All Saints miniature has the least typical initial, showing a cantor at a lectern singing the opening antiphon.

<sup>81</sup>F. 429 SS Perpetua and Felicitas, 446v St Tiburtius and companions, 447v St Alphegius (about to be beheaded), 456v SS Gordian and Epimachus, 463 St Boniface and companions.

Virgin's body. In the arch of the miniature the Virgin is shown, not sitting by Christ as Queen of Heaven, but in the act of being crowned by the Trinity. A similar miniature combining the themes of the Death, Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin was also used by the Bedford workshop to open compline of the hours of the Virgin in the Vienna Hours (Fig. 107). The influence of the decorative programmes given to books of hours on breviary illustration was thus in this case reciprocal, since the single theme of the Coronation of the Virgin traditionally opened compline in books of hours. The central scene of the Virgin on her deathbed is repeated in all three examples, as are studies for the seated and reading apostles, the seraphim-edged Heaven and the Assumption group, demonstrating not only the existence of workshop models for each set of motifs, but considerable flexibility in their use and combination.

The All Saints miniature in the Salisbury Breviary (Fig. 38) also differs in detail from its analogue in the Châteauroux Breviary. The later example is more generalized, with fewer saints and identifying attributes. The archangels, patriarchs and prophets of the miniature in the Châteauroux Breviary are omitted, as is the night time panorama below. The end result is less imaginative as an illustration of the office, and stiffer and more stereotyped in its treatment of forms, confirming the attribution of the miniature to Spencer's hand C.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, the hieratic arrangement of space and enrichment of the pictorial surface with detail, shared by both examples, suggest a continuous workshop tradition for the illustration of the theme in this form, which preceded the date of the Salisbury Breviary commission.

In spite of the absence of direct precursors in Parisian breviary illumination for the thirty-four other half-page miniatures in the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary, the themes of over a third of them in fact adhere strictly to Paris conventions for the illustration of the offices they accompany. The miniatures for the four other offices dedicated to the Virgin each have standard themes, as do those for the offices of SS Fabian and Sebastian, the Conversion of St Paul, the Chair of St Peter, St Mathias, the Invention of the Holy Cross, the Veneration of the Sarum Relics, St Anne, the Chains of St Peter, the Invention of St Stephen Martyr and All Saints. Each open offices traditionally illustrated in Paris breviaries by complex votive images or narrative scenes which lent themselves to pictorial development in the larger space. The miniatures for the Purification and Birth of the Virgin (ff. 411 and 566v) and the Conversion of St Paul (f. 404v) are simple expansions of the usual theme within a convincing and well-detailed architectural or exterior space. Similarly, the miniature for the office of the Chair of St Peter shows St Peter enthroned as Pope. The theme is developed, however, by placing the throne in the central aisle of an enormous circular domed chapel within a moated and walled city, meant to resemble the church of St Peter in Rome (f. 422). People stand within the city walls, St Peter himself is surrounded by bishops, and a priest and canon stand in the left and right aisles. The addition of such subsidiary details, which is also demonstrated in the St Andrew miniature in the Breviary of Philippe le Bon, was characteristic of half-page miniatures in books of hours. The memorial miniatures in particular provided useful analogues to the Bedford workshop for solving the problem of adapting standard hagiographical themes directly to the larger format.

The decorative cycles of books of hours also provided direct models for several mariological themes traditionally shared with the breviary, namely the Annunciation and the Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple, the theme used to illustrate the office of the Purification of the Virgin. At least for the

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<sup>82</sup>"The Salisbury Breviary," p. 611. Spencer attributed only the incomplete St Anne miniature in the sanctoral to Hand A, the Bedford Master himself. To Hand B, she attributed the miniatures for St Andrew, St Nicholas, the Conception, St Lucy (with C), St Vincent and the Conversion of St Paul. Hand C was responsible, partly under B's supervision, for all of the other half-page miniatures in the sanctoral with the exception of the Invention of St Stephen Martyr, which was painted by Hand D, who also worked on some of the border medallions.

Annunciation, however, the large miniature format was used in the Salisbury Breviary to link the theme more specifically to the office than in books of hours, where it was only related by convention to the text it accompanied. Compositionally, the Annunciation miniature in the Salisbury Breviary (Fig. 29) is clearly a product of the Bedford workshop with its centrally-positioned prie-dieu and attendant angel, although the scene has been set half outside the three-aisled church-like building, in the manner of the Broederlam Annunciation panel, so that the cityscape may be viewed.<sup>83</sup> The view of God the father in Heaven despatching the dove is standard. New to the Annunciation in the Salisbury Breviary, however, is the expanded view into Heaven which allows us to see Gabriel being sent on his mission. Although there is no direct explanation for the addition in the text of the *ix*itatory being illustrated, it has a strong thematic relationship with the vignette in the historiated initial below the Advent miniature in the Salisbury Breviary (Fig. 1). The position of the miniature within a chronologically arranged sequence of texts complementing the events of Christ's life in the liturgical year has thus influenced the traditional iconography for the theme.

Although the cycle of themes given to the hours of the Virgin in books of hours had more models to offer the illustrator of the temporal than the sanctoral, contemporary experiments within books of hours to introduce subsidiary scenes to such miniature folios as that of the Annunciation, are reflected within the space of the half-page miniatures in the Salisbury Breviary, as well as in the border cycle. The Annunciation was not only the opening miniature for the little hours of the Virgin in books of hours, but representative, in the absence of a full Mariological cycle, of the early life of the Virgin up to her impregnation. For the Annunciation folio in the De Lévis Hours (Fig. 106), the Bedford group followed ~~used a strictly decorative border. It was the Boucicaut Master who established an innovative lead~~ the early lead of the Boucicaut Master in manuscripts like Mazarine 469 (Fig. 104), by using border medallions to add scenes of the Virgin's Conception, Birth and Childhood to the central one of the Annunciation. In the slightly later Bedford Hours, however, the Bedford group ~~used~~ <sup>had already perfected</sup> another pictorial device adumbrated in the work of the Boucicaut Master.<sup>84</sup> An architectural structure replaces the border decoration completely, forming a frame around the central scene of the Annunciation and the text below it (Fig. 95). The subsidiary scenes are located in separate rooms within the building or just outside it against the bare parchment.<sup>85</sup>

Neither of these schemes was adopted for the Annunciation miniature in the Salisbury Breviary, but they both clearly influenced the treatment of related offices such as the Conception and Birth of the Virgin, the Birth of St John the Baptist (ff. 386v, 473, and 566v), and St Anne (Fig. 33). The imposition of a separate border programme closely related to the text on each folio of the Salisbury Breviary generally precluded the use of the marginal space for subsidiary scenes. For both the Birth of the Virgin and St Anne, however, the borders of the half-page miniature folios contain medallions depicting the two scenes of angels directing Joachim and St Anne in French to go to Jerusalem, and the third scene of the Meeting at the Golden Gate, which were major components of the expanded Annunciation miniature in books of hours. This approach was used on only one other half-page miniature folio. On the folio

<sup>83</sup>Now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon: James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art* (New York, 1985), colour pl. 12. The Boucicaut Master uses this device as early as 1405-08 in the Boucicaut Hours (f. 53v), and his workshop returns to it towards 1420 in Chantilly 64 (f. 25), and a book of hours in a New York private collection (f. 33): Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, figs 29, 132, 133.

<sup>84</sup>It was used, for instance, in BN lat 10538 for the Annunciation miniature on f. 13: Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, fig. 129.

<sup>85</sup>The miniatures in the Gulbenkian and Vienna Hours omit the text, reverse the architectural structure and arrange the minor scenes in a slightly different order: Meiss, *De Lévis Hours*, figs 18, 19. The example in the Sobieski Hours includes text but is more advanced compositionally. The central scene is not framed and the text forms part of an exterior wall of the building. The scenes of the angels appearing to Joachim and Anna are omitted; the narrative sequence is clockwise, not in pairs down the page; and there are other differences in detail, particularly in the central scene: Spencer, *Sobieski Hours*, p. 24. The miniature in the Keble College Hours is similar: Parkes, *Keble College*, pl. VII.

opening the office of the Chains of St Peter (f. 525v) two of the border miniatures are related to the theme of the main miniature.<sup>86</sup> Subsidiary scenes were incorporated within a number of the half-page miniatures themselves, however, by following the precedent of Italian-influenced compositional devices like the one used in 1409 or a little later by the Boucicaut Master for the frontispiece of Pierre Salmon's *Réponses à Charles VI et lamentation au roi sur son état* (Fig. 108). Such *trecento* devices probably entered Parisian illumination through manuscripts like BN fr 9561, a Neopolitan *Bible moralisée* owned by Louis I d'Anjou.<sup>87</sup> Another Anjou-owned Neopolitan manuscript, one of the copies of the *Histoire ancienne* of Orosius (BL Royal 20 D I) was definitely in Paris in ca 1402.<sup>88</sup>

Of the other miniatures given subsidiary scenes in the Salisbury Breviary, those of the Conception (f. 386v) and the Birth of St John the Baptist (f. 473) most closely follow the treatment, if not the format, of the Annunciation folio in the Bedford Hours. The Conception miniature has in fact inherited all the scenes related to St Anne and Joachim from the group of scenes subsidiary to the Annunciation in books of hours. The traditional theme for the office of the Meeting at the Golden Gate is used as the central image, and the minor scenes take place within the main architectural structure occupying the pictorial space or in the surrounding landscape. The importance of St John the Baptist as the precursor of Christ, and the iconographic parallels between his birth and that of both the Virgin and Christ, made the adaptation of a similar set of subsidiary scenes appropriate to the illustration of the office of the Birth of the Baptist. The central scene of the Birth is accompanied by a scene in another room of Elizabeth and Zachariah embracing, which is closely modelled on the Meeting at the Golden Gate. Outside the building the youthful John the Baptist stands holding the "Agnus Dei", while a group of Jews and prophets anticipate his visit to the wilderness.

The themes of the Invention of the Cross (f. 454), the Chains of St Peter (f. 525v) and the Invention of St Stephen Martyr (f. 529v), all use architectural or landscape settings to incorporate a series of extended narrative scenes related to the main theme of the office. An equally complex setting was used for the joint office of SS Fabian and Sebastian on f. 394v, but in this case to solve a major problem intrinsic to the illustration of the office. The martyrdom of St Sebastian takes place in the lower story of a two-story structure, while in the upper story the miracle of St Fabian's election as Pope is shown. St Fabian was usually omitted as a subject for the office because all nine lessons were devoted to St Sebastian. The opening scene from chapter 22 of the *Legenda Aurea* was used in the Salisbury Breviary satisfactorily to illustrate the celebration of the feasts of both saints within the one miniature. The miniature is divided in half to isolate the separate subjects, but it retains its compositional unity through the use of a single architectural space.<sup>89</sup>

A second group of miniatures in the Salisbury Breviary, all accompanying offices for the main feast days of specific saints, use a cityscape or panoramic landscape composition to replace the conventional votive image or simple narrative scene with a series of scenes from the life of the saint. Usually loosely associated on the folio with the texts for matins rather than being placed directly above an initial opening

<sup>86</sup>They in fact draw their texts from the responses for the eighth lesson, possibly because the lessons for the office narrate the apocryphal story of the miracles produced by St Peter's chains and not the imprisonment itself.

<sup>87</sup>Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, p. 37 and figs 490, 489.

<sup>88</sup>Meiss, *Limbourgs*, pp. 62-63 and figs 274-77; Francois Avril, "Trois manuscrits napolitains des collections de Charles V et de Jean de Berry," *BEC*, 127 (1969), 291-328.

<sup>89</sup>Only in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur is any attempt made to reconcile the separate subject matter of joint offices; in this case through the use of column miniatures opening both the first and the fourth lessons.

a specific liturgical item, the miniatures draw material from the full set of lessons to illustrate the office. Although unprecedented even in the lengthy cycles of memorials in luxury books of hours, where the simple or extended votive image is preferred, this kind of thematic development for the illustration of the sanctoral is predicated by the complexity of the first group of miniatures in the Salisbury Breviary. Compositional precedents may also be found in several other manuscripts of the second decade of the fifteenth century where the aim of the half-page miniatures is to illustrate successive scenes from the text they accompany. The panoramic landscape device was used, for instance, in about 1415 for the two miniatures painted by the Josephus Master for the Duke of Berry's unfinished copy of *Les Antiquités Judaïques* (Fig. 109). The closest analogue, however, is to be found in a full-page miniature containing scenes from the life of St John (Fig. 110) which opens BN néerl 3, a Flemish manuscript of the Apocalypse painted in the first decade of the fifteenth century.<sup>90</sup>

The miniature for the office of St Thomas the apostle early in the sanctoral is a good example of what could be accomplished by this kind of miniature (Fig. 23). It synthesizes the important events in the life of St Thomas in a series of images ending with the martyrdom of the saint and the reception of his soul in Heaven. Less satisfactory is the miniature for SS Philip and James, where the scenes illustrated are all drawn from the second and third lessons of matins (f.451v). Although the images relate well to the associated text, they are delimited by the fact that the miniature itself is positioned half way through the second lesson. Technical factors have thus influenced the pictorial treatment of the office. In the nearby office of St Dunstan the miniature, located above the last part of the first lesson and the beginning of the second on f. 458, illustrates two scenes from the saint's life. On the left his mother's candle is being relit by an angel, an episode described in the first lesson. The scene of his birth, which is announced in the first words of the second lesson, is depicted on the right. The simplicity of the approach is in direct contrast to the complexity of the St Thomas miniature, and demonstrates the paucity of models available to the workshop for the lives of some of the English saints. Quite serious errors were also made in two of the miniatures for the offices of English saints. St Cuthbert is repeatedly labelled "St Turbert" in the half-page miniature for his office (Fig. 27), and scenes from the lives of the two Augustines have been transposed in the miniature for the office of St Augustine of Canterbury (f. 461v).<sup>91</sup> Effective though some of the miniatures of this kind are, their additional contribution to the iconographic programme of the manuscript as a whole was perhaps not worth the effort required on the part of the workshop to devise new themes. A simpler image would have functioned as effectively to symbolize the contents of the office, while the narrative details of the saint's life abbreviate rather than enhance the text.

Five other miniatures in the sanctoral depict a single theme which is unusual iconographically in the context of Parisian breviary illumination. The miniatures for the offices of St Lucy and St Agatha, however, are both direct illustrations of subjects referred to in the first vespers antiphons. They are, in effect, expanded versions of relatively simple scenes from the life of the saint, designed at an early stage in the production of the manuscript, when the miniature was most likely to occur in association with the opening text of the office. The first vespers antiphon for the office of St Lucy refers specifically to the illness of her mother, Euticia, which is the subject of the miniature (f. 387v). Although Leroquais labels the St Agatha miniature "Agatha before Quintianus", its subject is also closely related to the text. The second antiphon (the first is in *incipit* only) for the office, "Agatha virgo sacra nobili orta genere", is written on a scroll held by a clerical observer within the miniature. St Agatha is shown as a woman of

<sup>90</sup>Frederick Van der Meer, *Apocalypse: Visions from the Book of Revelation in Western Art* (London, 1978), pp. 203-35.

<sup>91</sup>Courcelles-Ladmirant, "Les Deux Augustin".

noble birth engaged in the service of the Lord (f. 416). In their close relationship to the texts they open both miniatures imitate the treatment of the half-page miniatures in the temporal to be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

By contrast, the miniature of the baptism of a nimbed infant by a bishop on f. 381 (Fig. 22) is apparently unrelated to the text of the first lesson which it accompanies. The ecclesiastic writing in the subsidiary building on the left has a scroll with the opening words of the lesson, "Sanctus Nicolaus ex illustri," but the text of the lesson is not concerned with baptism, a theme which is rarely depicted in cycles and not mentioned in the standard *Vitae*.<sup>92</sup> In Paris breviaries, the office of St Nicholas was usually illustrated by a votive image or by the episode of the three virgins about to be sold into prostitution.<sup>93</sup> Early in the fifteenth century, however, a third theme depicting St Nicholas blessing three boys standing naked in a wooden tub became popular.<sup>94</sup> This textually unsubstantiated image arose from a twelfth century French misinterpretation of images of the three officers imprisoned in a tower whom St Nicholas saves from execution in the *Legenda Aurea*. The three boys were said to be three students regenerated by the saint after having been killed and pickled by a butcher.<sup>95</sup> That the new theme came to be associated with baptism is clear from a miniature depicting a bishop saint baptising three boys in a tub painted for a memorial in the *Belles Heures* (f. 172).<sup>96</sup> Nonetheless, the scene of baptism in the Salisbury Breviary still cannot be explained either with reference to the text or to contemporary conventions for illustrating the office. Spencer suggested that the miniature may refer to the baptism of the infant Henry VI, who was born on St Nicholas' day 1422.<sup>97</sup> <sup>Because it is so exceptional to find a miniature</sup> ~~Given the workshop's general adherence~~ in the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary <sup>not adhering</sup> either to traditional imagery, albeit in expanded form, or to new interpretations based on a strict interpretation of the text, it is possible that <sup>Bedford's agents intervened directly in the design</sup> ~~a parallel was meant to be drawn between the~~ baptism of St Nicholas himself and the infant king. <sup>of St Nicholas himself and the infant king.</sup>

Certainly the two most liturgically complex images for the main feasts of saints in the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary are the two miniatures opening the offices of St Andrew and St Vincent. The St Andrew miniature (Fig. 21) shows a group of prelates, canons and laymen about to begin celebrating the office. An apparition of the saint himself, holding a book and the saltire cross on which he was crucified, is seated on the altar. This is the method used throughout the manuscript to specify the dedication of an altar to the Virgin or a saint. The simple votive image has thus been expanded, not only to show the veneration of the image by one or more of the faithful, but the communal act of veneration through the office. The link between the subject of the feast and its relationship to the performance of the office is

<sup>92</sup>Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* (Freiburg, 1976), VIII, 45-58; Louis Reau, *L'Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, III (2), 976-88; Nancy Sevcenko, "Cycles of the Life of St Nicholas in Byzantine Art", Diss. Columbia University 1973.

<sup>93</sup>For the former, see the Paris/ Manchester Breviary (BN lat 1024, f. 304v) and the Breviary of Charles V (f. 292); for the latter, see the Breviary of Philippe le Bel (f. 269v), the Belleville Breviary (BN lat 10483, f. 100v) and the Breviary of Blanche of France (f. 349v).

<sup>94</sup>Orgemont Breviary (f. 348), Breviary of Jean sans Peur (Add. 35311, f. 345). Also the Boucicaut Hours (f. 18).

<sup>95</sup>Reau, *L'Iconographie*, III (2), 977.

<sup>96</sup>Meiss and Beatson, *Belles Heures*, pp. 260-61. The rubric, possibly added, refers to St Ambrose, but the accompanying prayer does not name the saint, and the miniature is inappropriate for St Ambrose, whose feast was celebrated in the Roman use on 7 December, the day after the feast of St Nicholas.

<sup>97</sup>Spencer, "Salisbury Breviary," p. 608.

thus made explicit in the miniature opening the sanctoral.<sup>98</sup> In the St Vincent miniature (Fig. 25), the saint is shown at the moment of his glorification. The altar on which he kneels serves as a means for the praying clerics momentarily to transcend through faith the division between the earthly environment of the cathedral and the seraphim edged glory of Heaven, as God the father leans down to crown the martyr. Again, and even more powerfully, the connection between the act of worship and the resulting spiritual insight into the truth of the Christian dogma of salvation is represented in the miniature. Both of these miniatures thus have themes which make explicit the liturgical role of the office, a considerable development in complexity from the simple votive image.<sup>99</sup>

The programme of decoration devised for the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary thus works, with one exception, within demonstrable Paris traditions for the illumination of breviaries, to extend the set of complex images already developed by the use of the half-page format for the offices of the Assumption and All Saints in the Châteauroux Breviary to the whole set of offices receiving functional emphasis. The result in a number of cases is equally to augment the main theme, either through an increased complexity in the imagery, or through the addition of subsidiary scenes in a way which expands the symbolism inherent in the simplified image of lesser cycles. In other cases, the multiplication of narrative scenes makes no addition to the liturgical function of the miniature; and, for some of the specifically Sarum feasts requiring a half-page miniature, the task tested the resources of the workshop. The absence of specific models for the alien feasts was not as big a problem as it might have been, however, because the designers of the miniatures had direct access to a textual source for the lives of the saints in the lessons for the office. The effect of the patron on the design of the programme was also minimal. If the seated canon in the St Andrew miniature is Bedford,<sup>100</sup> his presence is innocuous to the meaning of the theme as a whole. The same may be said of the presence of Anne de Bourgogne in the St Anne miniature (Fig. 33). Clerics from Bedford's entourage may have played a part in the design of the miniatures, but they imposed no visual claims for the political patronage of any of the saints. The unusual theme for the office of St Nicholas depends for its topical reference, if one exists, on information possessed by the viewer about the coincidence of dates rather than on overt symbols.

The influence of the border programme on the cycle of half-page miniatures in the sanctoral was also small. It was not the intention of the designers to use the half-page miniatures, or the column miniatures and historiated initials, to extend the range of subjects treated by the border miniatures. All the figurative items in the text obey the traditional precepts concerning the function of the image as a visual gloss to the office. Similarly, only a few attempts were made to commandeer the border medallion space for subsidiary scenes related to the main miniature on half-page miniature folios. Particularly in the first section, great care was taken to keep the functions of the two programmes separate.<sup>101</sup> There is evidence,

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<sup>98</sup>The canon sitting with his back to the viewer has been identified tentatively with Bedford himself. When he was inaugurated as a canon of Rouen Cathedral, the chapter archives record that he was obliged to remain seated during the service which followed because of a recent illness: Williams, *My Lord of Bedford*, p. 190; Spencer, "The Salisbury Breviary," p. 610. A similar figure may be found in the miniature illustrating the office of the feast of the Relics (Fig. 30). If true, this would date the design and execution of these miniatures after 23 October 1430.

<sup>99</sup>The prominence given to St Vincent, both iconographically and through the decorated band used as a frame for the miniature, the only one in the manuscript apart from the one used for the Baptism miniature on f. 278v of the temporal, needs further explanation.

<sup>100</sup>See above, n. <sup>98</sup>.

<sup>101</sup>The rubric opening the octave of the Birth of St John the Baptist is illustrated by a column miniature showing two clerics at a lectern and a priest celebrating the office (f. 487), while the feast of the Relics is opened by an initial of a cleric holding a scroll bearing the opening words of the rubric (496v). In addition, the initial for the rubric opening the feast of the Assumption (f. 543v) shows a cleric performing the office. In each of these cases, however, the primary pictorial emphasis for the office is the traditional one.

however, of a lack of such strict supervisory control in the second part of the sanctoral. The column miniature for the office of St Michael in the Mountain Tomb on f. 607 is painted in that position in error. It continues the narrative from the previous office by showing St Calixtus being beaten. In addition, the column miniatures for the feasts of the Birth of the Virgin (f. 566) and St Martin (f. 637v) each show clerical scenes. The subject of the latter miniature, which replaces the almost invariable scene of St Martin dividing his cloak with a beggar, demonstrates not only a lack of understanding of the underlying plan on the part of the artist, but also the truly traditional nature of the figurative programme of the text as a whole. The designers had clearly not thought it necessary to leave detailed instructions for such a standard theme.

Although the functions of the two programmes were clearly meant to be kept separate, the unusual nature of the project did have an influence on the complexity of approach of the designers to the traditional figurative elements in the manuscript. Scrolls are used extensively in both the figurative cycle of the text and the border programme to make the relationship between text and image specific. In addition, the special nature of those miniatures linking the votive image to the performance of the office reflect an interest in the breviary, both as text and as the record of a spoken or chanted liturgy, which informs the overall figurative programme.<sup>102</sup> The votive images of ecclesiastical saints in the historiated initials also benefit from the context of the border programme on a number of occasions to underline the function of the breviary as the text of the divine office. St Blaise and St Cuthbert are shown engaged in the public performance of the mass or office while St Chad and St Richard are depicted before lecterns (ff. 415, 434v, 427v and 444). Moreover, on two occasions clerics are shown in prayer before the votive image of the saint.<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, this kind of image may also be found in the Breviary of Charles V, where St William of Bourges, for instance, is shown blessing a canon (f. 316v) and St Lupus of Sens celebrating the mass (f. 493v). The St Andrew miniature in the Breviary of Philippe le Bon showing the saint being venerated by the kneeling Duke makes it clear that scenes of the adoration of the votive image merely make explicit what is already implicit in the image. Such pictorial devices are simple precursors for the St Andrew miniature in the Salisbury Breviary.

Because of the function of the sanctoral in the breviary, and the orthodox approach to its illustration exhibited in both France and England, the kinds of decorative programmes received by breviaries for Paris and Sarum use were similar. In small programmes, the feasts selected for emphasis might differ only in a few essentials. The similarities between the calendars of the two uses and the organization of the offices in the sanctoral were greatest for the high-ranking feasts most likely to receive emphasis. The decorative programmes given to luxury manuscripts extended the hierarchic principle on which all the schemes depended to a larger number of feasts. In a small group of manuscripts illuminated for members of the nobility, a second scheme with an organizational rather than a hierarchic function operated in combination with the first to identify the opening of first vespers or matins of each new office. Experiments in Paris in the late thirteenth century with exhaustive rather than representative programmes of emphasis were revived in the first quarter of the fifteenth century in the three surviving breviaries made for members of the French court. The schemes in the Orgemont and Châteauroux Breviaries, by depending on the particular nature and distribution of feasts in the calendar, incorporated all the high-ranking feasts universal to the Western church, as well as the most important and representative local

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<sup>102</sup>The miniature for the feast of the Relics is particularly linked to the office (Fig. 30). The texts of the antiphon and hymn preceding the Magnificat, as well as the canticle itself, are being chanted in the middle ground as members of the laity venerate the relics, while in the bottom of the miniature, a cleric preaches the words of the chapter responsory to a group of the faithful.

<sup>103</sup>Namely, for the offices of St Lucy (f. 387v) and of the Translation of St Richard (f. 468).



ones. The system of emphasis applied to luxury breviaries for Paris use with substantial figurative cycles was used to good effect in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, with the addition of a secondary level of historiated decoration for the large number of nine-lesson offices in the Roman use dedicated to Roman popes and martyrs. The task of providing as extensive and rich a programme as possible to the Sarum sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary was approached in a similar fashion.

The richness of the figurative cycle of the sanctoral of the Salisbury Breviary, as it stands in the first section (and as it would have appeared in the second under Bedford's continued patronage), is due to the increase in size of the figurative items emphasizing the most important offices, rather than to the number of feasts selected for highest emphasis. The need to design themes appropriate to the half-page format for thirty-seven (originally fifty-eight) offices taxed the resources of the Bedford workshop. Nevertheless, the simpler solution for the majority of the offices, of expanding the size of the votive image and providing a more detailed setting, was generally eschewed in favour of extended narrative. The problems of representing a series of scenes within a single frame were solved through the use of a spatially consistent, high viewpoint landscape occupied by buildings with part of the facing wall removed. The use of this device was not new, but in the hands of the Bedford Master it was extended to a range of themes not traditionally given such complex treatment. This major achievement of the workshop, which has become one of the hallmarks of the Bedford style, was already predicated in the Châteauroux Breviary. The Salisbury Breviary, however, provided its artists with unprecedented opportunities for experiment. The influence of the patron on the complexity of the image was manifested less in any specific iconographic demands made upon the workshop than in his willingness to finance the development of such designs.

## Chapter 4

### The Figurative Cycle of the Temporal

#### I

One of the major characteristics of surviving luxury breviaries produced in Paris in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is the comprehensiveness of the decorative scheme applied to the sanctoral. In the richest of these manuscripts, like the Breviary of Charles V, the Châteauroux Breviary, and the Salisbury Breviary itself as it was originally planned, every office in the sanctoral is illustrated. A brief comparison is sufficient, however, to conclude that miniatures or historiated initials had a different role to play in the decoration of the equally long text of the temporal. Only eighteen figurative items accompany the full temporal of the Breviary of Charles V and fourteen the summer temporal of the Châteauroux Breviary. Even the considerably larger programme of eighty-two figurative items for the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary does not approach in size the number of items required to illustrate the services provided in the temporal for each day of the liturgical year. The main reason for this difference in the size of the programmes for the temporal and sanctoral lies in the different nature of the two sections.

Because of the movability of the major feast of Easter and yearly variations in the dates for Sundays, the temporal is arranged only in broad terms on a strictly date-sequential basis.<sup>1</sup> The basic unit of the temporal is the week, beginning with the Sunday office. Each successive week takes its value from its proximity to one of the nine temporal feasts. The six feasts falling in the winter half of the temporal venerate the major events of Christ's life--the Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Resurrection, Ascension and Pentecost--while the three summer feasts are devoted to the twin dogmas of the Trinity and Corpus Christi (or Holy Sacrament) and to a general service to celebrate the day of dedication of a church. The temporal feasts and the offices for Sunday all have first vespers texts, as well as three nocturns for matins in most cases and musical propers for the small hours. The offices for ordinary week days, on the other hand, are minimal, comprising the texts for the three lessons together with the "Benedictus" and "Magnificat" antiphons when these have not been given earlier in the Sunday office or in a stock list for a longer season.<sup>2</sup> Week days made special because of their close proximity to a feast or their association with a fast, however, will have additional proper texts.<sup>3</sup>

The winter temporal is organized around the sequence of events from Christ's birth until the birth of the Church at Pentecost. It opens with the texts for the first Sunday of Advent, which may fall on any of the

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<sup>1</sup>For descriptions of the content of the temporal, see the first chapter of Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, my main source for the following discussion; and also de Hamel, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 186-89.

<sup>2</sup>The "Benedictus" (Luke 1:68-80) and "Magnificat" (Luke 1:46-55) are the two major canticles invariably sung near the end of lauds and vespers. Their antiphons are almost always proper: Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, pp. 24, 67-68.

<sup>3</sup>Three ferias are set aside for fasting and penitence four times per year: the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday in the third week of Advent, the first week of Lent, the week after Pentecost and the week after 14 September. The first day of Lent is also distinguished by proper texts, as are the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday before Ascension, the so-called Rogation days: Hughes, pp. 12-13.

seven dates from 27 November to 3 December. Counting the first Sunday, there are four Sundays in the season, which extends up to and including Christmas Eve. Christmas Day on 25 December may fall on the day following the fourth Sunday of Advent or as late as the following Sunday. The breviary therefore includes texts for an Advent season comprising a full four weeks in length. Christmas Day itself is followed by the octave week, occupied in the Sarum and Roman use by the feasts devoted to the Christmas week saints. In the Paris use the Circumcision of Christ on 1 January immediately follows the texts for the Christmas octave on 30 December. The Epiphany on 6 January comes straight after the Circumcision in the Paris use, while in the Sarum and Roman uses it is separated from the latter office by the octaves of the Christmas week saints and, in the Sarum use, by variations for the office of the virgin. The offices for the feasts of SS Felix through to Sulpicius on 14-17 January are also included in the Sarum temporal in the week after the Epiphany octave.

The season after Epiphany is complicated in all uses by the inclusion of texts to account for the one to five extra Sundays which may fall between the Sunday after Epiphany and Septuagesima Sunday because of the movability of Easter as a feast.<sup>4</sup> Septuagesima Sunday itself falls between the seventieth and sixtieth day before Easter Sunday and is followed by Sexagesima and Quinquagesima Sunday. The season of Lent or Quadragesima begins on Ash Wednesday, the fortieth day before Easter Sunday, and comprises four ordinary Sundays followed by Passion Sunday and Palm Sunday. The texts for Holy week follow, with a special set of offices for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday. Holy week ends with first vespers for Easter Sunday, the central feast of the liturgy commemorating the Resurrection of Christ. Easter Sunday is followed by the season of Easter time, which contains seven Sundays, including the octave. The feast of the Ascension falls on the Thursday between the fifth and sixth Sundays of Easter, forty days after the feast of the Resurrection. On the seventh Sunday Pentecost is observed. Easter time extends to the Saturday after Pentecost, at which point the winter sanctoral ends in a seasonally divided breviary.<sup>5</sup>

The opening office of Trinity Sunday and the office of Corpus Christi on the following Thursday are the only feasts of importance in the summer temporal, apart from the office for the Dedication of a Church with which it ends. The remainder of the summer temporal is composed of the texts for twenty-five weeks to follow Trinity Sunday although, except on the occasions when Easter falls on the earliest possible date, not all of the offices were used.<sup>6</sup> In both the Sarum and Paris uses a division was made between the lessons for these weeks. During the summer months the lessons for the first two nocturns on Sundays and the three daily lessons during the week were all drawn from selected books of the Old Testament. These were given first as continuous sets of lessons for each of the summer seasons, short periods distinguished by the books from which the lessons were taken. Each set of lessons was separated by stock lists of responsories and antiphons proper to the season. This section was followed by the *Expositiones Evangeliorum*, a set of twenty-five Sunday offices containing the gospel extracts and homilies routinely providing the lessons for the third nocturn in the temporal, together with the prayer and "Magnificat" and "Benedictus" antiphons proper to the following week.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Easter Sunday may fall anywhere between 22 March and 25 April. The exact date depends on the date of the first full moon after the Spring Equinox for that year. The dates for Easter in any year were easily determined through the first two columns of the calendar by calculating the Golden number and Dominical letter for that year: Hughes, pp. 275-79.

<sup>5</sup>In BN lat 745, this division is retained in the single volume, with the two sections divided by the Office of the Virgin.

<sup>6</sup>There are in fact twenty-seven Sundays between Trinity Sunday and the first Sunday in Advent, but two of these were reserved for the Dedication office and its octave.

<sup>7</sup>In the Breviary of Jean sans Peur the *Expositiones* are given straight after the Old Testament readings for the first of the summer seasons.

Within the temporal, therefore, the opening office for the first Sunday in Advent and the nine feasts clearly offered themselves for emphasis at the highest levels of the hierarchy of decoration with, in addition, a range of Sundays, short seasons and special week days, the importance of which liturgically or in terms of the organization of the manuscript might be indicated through the decorative programme. Because the texts for ordinary week days were adjuncts of the weekly office, they did not merit additional decoration. It is only when these differences are taken into consideration that the size of the figurative cycle of the temporal in the Salisbury Breviary can effectively be compared with that of the sanctoral. An examination of the data in Tables 4-1 and 4-2, in which the elements of the pictorial programme are itemized in detail, makes it clear that all the feasts, major offices and seasonal divisions have been ranked according to a three-level hierarchy of figurative decoration.<sup>8</sup> Large miniatures have been used to accompany the opening office and all of the feasts with the exception of the Circumcision (f. 88v) and the Dedication of a Church (f. 360v), which have been given column miniatures. A large miniature has also been used to open the readings taken from the Apocalypse which begin in the week after the Easter octave (f. 243: Fig. 17). The remainder of the column miniatures illustrate the offices for the liturgically important Sundays, vigils, octaves and seasonal divisions, while five to nine-line historiated initials distinguish Sundays of secondary importance and provide duplicate emphases for the feasts of the Nativity and Pentecost.

Extensive though it is, however, the figurative programme of the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary is not as comprehensive as that given to the first part of the sanctoral. Octaves and lesser Sundays have generally not been illustrated and the figurative emphasis is duplicated in only a few offices. On the other hand, four-line initials are used to a much greater extent in the temporal than in the sanctoral both to duplicate emphases and, independently, to provide a fourth level of emphasis for days of lesser importance in the liturgical year. The figurative programme is therefore not the exclusive means by which a hierarchy of functional emphasis is provided for the temporal. In fact, at the lower levels in the hierarchy, the distinction between historiated and decorative initials is frequently blurred through the use of figurative infill for many of the four-line initials.

The four-line inhabited initials in the Salisbury Breviary alternate with their decorative counterparts and rarely have the specific illustrative function of the five and six-line initials.<sup>9</sup> The difference between their hierarchical function, however, is a subtle one. In the case of the five-line initial of St Luke on f. 30, the larger initial imposes slightly more emphasis on the Saturday over the other week days in the first week of Advent, most of which have four-line initials. This is because a full nine-lesson office dedicated to the Virgin replaces the standard texts for the Saturday service. Elsewhere in the manuscript a six-line space was left in the text for the unfinished first lesson initial of Monday within the Easter octave (f. 232), and five line spaces for the Tuesday-Thursday first lesson initials (ff. 234-6v), but only three- and four-line spaces respectively for the Friday and Saturday ones. Here, the additional figurative emphasis given to the first four ferias in the week of the Easter octave was due to the fact that they were each classed as minor duplex feasts in the Sarum use. Although the Friday and Saturday within the octave were not classed as feasts, the Saturday office was also ranked slightly above the Friday one as the vigil to the day of the octave itself. Emphases even at this level in the hierarchy of decoration therefore depended on official judgments concerning the importance of the office. In the need to use the full range of

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<sup>8</sup>In Tables 4-1 and 4-2 the ten large miniatures are given in boldcase and the thirty-two column miniatures in small capitals. Three- and four-line inhabited initials have been excluded from the figurative programme. Nos 60-81 have been conflated to give a fairer picture of their importance in the programme as a whole.

<sup>9</sup>Although even three-line initials may have an illustrative function: the head of St John the Evangelist occupies the three-line initial for the first nocturn antiphon in the Christmas week office for this saint (f. 69).

**Table 4-1: Figurative Items in the Temporal of the Salisbury Breviary.  
Part I: The Winter Temporal (□=unfinished)**

No.	Folio	Office	Text	Size
1.	8	<b>First Sunday in Advent</b>	<b>rubric</b>	<b>large</b>
2.	13v	First Sunday in Advent	first lesson	7-line
3.	30	Saturday in first week	first lesson	5-line
4.	32	Second Sunday in Advent	first lesson	7-line
5.	37	Third Sunday in Advent	first lesson	5-line
6.	41	FOURTH SUNDAY IN ADVENT	FIRST LESSON	10-LINE
7.	53	NATIVITY VIGIL (24 DEC)	FIRST LESSON	8-LINE
8.	56v	<b>Nativity (25 Dec)</b>	<b>invitatory</b>	<b>large</b>
9.	57	Nativity (25 Dec)	first lesson	5-line
10.	64	ST STEPHEN MARTYR (26 DEC)	MATINS RUBRIC	11-LINE
11.	69	ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST (27 DEC)	INVITATORY	11-LINE
12.	74v	HOLY INNOCENTS (28 DEC)	FIRST LESSON	11-LINE
13.	78v	ST THOMAS OF CANTERBURY (29 DEC)	FIRST LESSON	10-LINE
14.	85	St Sylvester (31 Dec)	first lesson	[6-line]
15.	88v	CIRCUMCISION (1 JAN)	FIRST LESSON	11-LINE
16.	105v	EPIPHANY (6 JAN)	FIRST LESSON	13-LINE
17.	106	<b>Epiphany (6 Jan)</b>	<b>First Lesson</b>	<b>Large</b>
18.	125v	SECOND SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY	FIRST LESSON	11-LINE
19.	133	THIRD SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY	OPENING RUBRIC	11-LINE
20.	146	SEPTUAGESIMA SUNDAY	FIRST LESSON	11-LINE
21.	151v	SEXAGESIMA SUNDAY	FIRST LESSON	11-LINE
22.	156v	QUINQUAGESIMA SUNDAY	FIRST LESSON	11-LINE
23.	164v	FIRST SUNDAY IN QUADRAGESIMA	FIRST LESSON	11-LINE
24.	178v	SECOND SUNDAY IN QUADRAGESIMA	FIRST LESSON	11-LINE
25.	186	THIRD SUNDAY IN QUADRAGESIMA	FIRST LESSON	[10-LINE]
26.	195v	FOURTH SUNDAY IN QUADRAGESIMA	FIRST LESSON	[12-LINE]
27.	203v	PASSION SUNDAY	FIRST LESSON	72X46 MM
28.	212	PALM SUNDAY	FIRST LESSON	9-LINE
29.	212v	<b>Palm Sunday</b>	<b>first lesson</b>	<b>large</b>
30.	220	EASTER THURSDAY	FIRST RESPONSORY	[12-LINE]
31.	228v	<b>Easter Sunday</b>	<b>first lesson</b>	<b>large</b>
32.	232	Monday in Easter Octave	first lesson	[6-line]
33.	234	Tuesday in Easter Octave	first lesson	[5-line]
34.	235v	Wednesday in Easter Octave	first lesson	[5-line]
35.	236v	Thursday in Easter Octave	first lesson	[5-line]
36.	240v	DAY OF EASTER OCTAVE	FIRST LESSON	11-LINE
37.	243	<b>First Monday after Easter Octave</b>	<b>first lesson</b>	<b>large</b>
38.	248	Second Sunday after Easter	first lesson	[5-line]
39.	251v	Third Sunday after Easter	first lesson	[5-line]
40.	254	Fourth Sunday after Easter	first lesson	[5-line]
41.	255	MONDAY AFTER FOURTH SUNDAY	FIRST LESSON	11-LINE
42.	261v	<b>Ascension</b>	<b>invitatory</b>	<b>large</b>
43.	263v	FIRST DAY OF ASCENSION OCTAVE	FIRST LESSON	11-LINE
44.	269v	Pentecost	first vespers antiphon	6-line
45.	270v	<b>Pentecost</b>	<b>invitatory</b>	<b>large</b>

hierarchical indicators available to the decorator, the programme as a whole reflects the considerably more complex structure of the temporal compared to the sanctoral.

The need for at least a three-level hierarchy of functional emphasis is also demonstrated in the temporals of the major precursors of the Salisbury Breviary. In the Breviary of Charles V the ten column miniatures and eight pseudo-historiated initials are supplemented by twenty-one four-line foliate initials, creating a programme of emphasis for twenty-eight offices or sets of lessons, as well as duplicate emphases for eleven offices. The cycle as a whole, however, is relatively small. It is no larger than the programmes of decoration given to the temporals of manuscripts like the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu

**Table 4-2: Figurative Items in the Temporal of the Salisbury Breviary.**  
Part II: The Summer Temporal (□=unfinished)

No.	Folio	Office	Text	Size
46.	278v	Trinity	first vespers antiphon	large
47.	283v	Corpus Christi	first vespers antiphon	large
48.	294v	KINGS	FIRST LESSON	[11-LINE]
49.	314	ECCLESIASTICUS	FIRST LESSON	[11-LINE]
50.	320	JOB	FIRST LESSON	[11-LINE]
51.	323v	TOBIAS	FIRST LESSON	[11-LINE]
52.	326	JUDITH	FIRST LESSON	[12-LINE]
53.	328v	MACCABEES	FIRST LESSON	[12-LINE]
54.	337	EZECHIEL	FIRST LESSON	12-LINE
55.	343	First Sunday after Trinity	prayer	7-line
56.	343v	FIRST SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY	SEVENTH LESSON	12-LINE
57.	344	Second Sunday	seventh lesson	7-line
58.	344v	Third Sunday	seventh lesson	9-line
59.	345	Fourth Sunday	prayer	5-line
60-65.	345v-8v	Fourth-Ninth Sundays	seventh lesson	8-line
66.	349v	Tenth Sunday	seventh lesson	9-line
67-81.	350-60	Eleventh-Twentyfifth Sundays	seventh lesson	8-line
82.	360v	DEDICATION OF A CHURCH	FIRST VESPERS ANTIPHON	12-LINE

or BN lat 1263. A precedent does exist in the winter Breviary of Louis d'Evreux for the comprehensive nature of the overall decorative programme applied to the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, this kind of scheme was not adopted for general use. Even in the winter temporal of the Orgemont Breviary, a total of only thirty-six offices were originally given functional emphasis through the use of decorated initials in addition to the five large miniatures and five column miniatures. The programme of functional emphasis for its summer analogue in the Châteauroux Breviary consists only of the fourteen figurative items. The largest surviving programme for a breviary produced in Paris before 1423-24 belongs to the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, with its forty-seven miniatures and historiated initials and its twenty-seven four- to six-line foliate initials.

The greater size of the figurative cycle in the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary is due mainly to the introduction of the fourth level in the hierarchy of emphasis. Because this is provided by the foliate and inhabited initials, each of the three kinds of pictorial material used in the decorative programme has been ~~promoted~~<sup>demoted</sup> in the hierarchy. Broadly speaking, the large miniatures and column miniatures in the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary have an equivalent function to the column miniatures and pseudo-historiated initials in the temporal of the Breviary of Charles V, while the historiated initials take on the role of the foliate initials in the latter manuscript. The comparison is not complete, because only eight offices in the temporal of the Breviary of Charles V are given emphasis by pseudo-historiated initials, compared to the thirty-two column miniatures in the Salisbury Breviary. On the other hand, the difference between the number of second-level emphases in the two manuscripts serves to highlight changes in approach to the illustration of the luxury breviary in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. A greater number of offices of secondary liturgical significance also receive pictorial emphasis in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur and the Châteauroux Breviary, than in manuscripts of an earlier date.

<sup>10</sup>Only eight offices were illustrated in the winter temporal of the Breviary of Louis d'Evreux, but every Sunday, feast day and octave received emphasis in some form through the use of large initials. Ordinary ferias have been left unemphasized, but all of those with musical propers, as well as every day from Quinquagesima Sunday to Easter, have been given three-line initials at the very least for their first lessons. The decorative programme is thus even more comprehensive than that of the Salisbury Breviary.

The similarities between this group of manuscripts and the Salisbury Breviary extend also to the use of half-page miniatures. In the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, the Châteauroux Breviary and the Orgemont Breviary, the large miniature format was adopted for the highest level in the hierarchy of decoration. Its use in these manuscripts, however, as in the sanctoral, was restricted to a select number of offices. The winter offices thus accentuated in the Orgemont Breviary comprised the Nativity, Easter Sunday, Ascension and Pentecost.<sup>11</sup> In the Châteauroux Breviary only Trinity Sunday has a large miniature (Fig. 42). Six large miniatures in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur once accompanied the first Sunday in Advent, Good Friday, Easter Sunday, Ascension, Pentecost and Trinity Sunday.<sup>12</sup> The promotion of the decorative scheme to incorporate ten large miniatures in the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary parallels the even more ambitious scheme for its sanctoral.

The considerably greater size of the figurative programme of the Salisbury Breviary as a whole, when compared to the full decorative programmes of most of its precursors, is due to two factors which need to be isolated before further comparisons can be made. Five pictorial items in the winter temporal of the Salisbury Breviary (Table 4-1: nos 10-14) owe their presence to the inclusion there of offices for the Christmas week saints. More importantly, in the summer temporal, twenty-six historiated initials and a column miniature provide a unique series of emphases for the *Expositiones Evangeliorum* (Table 4-2: nos 55-81). In breviaries for Paris and Sarum use the Expositions were seen as additional to the main lessons for the summer months, and thus not suitable for emphasis.<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless, a distinctive insignia for this section was often achieved, even in work-a-day manuscripts, through the use of a sloping or elongated "I" for the phrase "In illo tempore" routinely opening the gospel extract prefacing the seventh lesson in each of the twenty-five Expositions.<sup>14</sup> The long "I", paralleling the gospel extract in the left hand margin for most or all of its length, was used as a standard alternative to the two-line "I," and had no additional hierarchical function in spite of its size. In the Salisbury Breviary, however, the summer section has been assigned a figurative programme as large as that of the winter section by giving the long "I" a greater space within the column of text and a function in the hierarchy of decoration equivalent to its size.<sup>15</sup> This was a technical solution to the problem generated by the dearth of feasts to illustrate during the summer months, rather than the reflection of any re-evaluation by the church of the significance of the texts within the liturgical year.

This experimental addition aside, the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary has a figurative programme varying only in detail from the programmes of functional emphasis found in most Paris breviaries. Apart from the feasts, the decorative effort concentrates upon Advent, the period from Septuagesima Sunday to Easter, and the section containing the summer readings from the Old Testament. The scheme for Advent, with its combination of figurative and non-figurative items, is exemplary. Following the large miniature for the rubric which opens the temporal (Fig. 1), the first lessons for each day in the first week are

<sup>11</sup>These were originally located between ff. 145/46, 290/91, 321/22 and 329/30. Another large miniature between ff. 284/85 illustrated St John's account of the Passion inserted between the offices of Good Friday and Easter Saturday: see below, p. 94.

<sup>12</sup>Only the Good Friday and Ascension miniatures survive (Figs 52, 54). The others were located between ff. 120/21 in BL Add 35311 and ff. 154/55, 198/99 and 205/06 in BL Harley 2897.

<sup>13</sup>Even the opening text was rarely accentuated, although in the Paris/ Manchester Breviary the Expositions open with a six-line historiated initial of Lazarus and Dives (Rylands 136, f. 140), illustrating the first gospel extract from Luke 16:19. The same subject is used in the Salisbury Breviary for the column miniature on f. 343v.

<sup>14</sup>This method of decorating the gospel extract is particularly noticeable in Mazarine 344 where the "I" is fully replaced by a decorated gilded band in the margin.

<sup>15</sup>Each of the prayers, unusually given before the lessons in imitation of the three-lesson office in the sanctoral, also opens with a four-line initial. The extra emphasis on the opening prayer (f. 343) is an organizational one. The five-line initial for the prayer on f. 345 has no additional hierarchical or illustrative function.

emphasized by means of four- or five-line initials to establish the layout of the weekly office. Each of the following Sundays in Advent are emphasized. A special ten-line column miniature for the fourth Sunday (Fig. 7) leads into the Christmas season, which is opened by a small column miniature for the Vigil of the Nativity, the first feast of the temporal (f. 53).<sup>16</sup>

As in the sanctoral the main emphasis falls on the first lesson, with a number of notable exceptions which follow conventions generally observed in Paris rather than Sarum breviaries (Tables 4-1 and 4-2: "Text" column). In the winter temporal for both uses, the opening rubric or chapter for the first Sunday in Advent almost invariably received a decorative initial (Fig. 1). For the subsequent offices, a greater dependency in Sarum breviaries on the antiphonal tradition for the decoration of the winter feasts, even in unnoted manuscripts, is reflected in the occasional placement of the emphasis on the first lesson responsory rather than the lesson itself.<sup>17</sup> Variation in Paris breviaries, by contrast, tended to be restricted to the feasts of the Ascension and Pentecost amongst the winter offices. These were often accentuated through the invitatory to convey the celebratory nature of the office, as is the case in the Salisbury Breviary.<sup>18</sup> The emphasis on the invitatory and hymn for the office of the Nativity in the Salisbury Breviary (f. 56v: Fig. 9) would have been exceptional, however, in manuscripts for either use, and must be explained by the need to organize the text on the folio to accommodate the large miniature.<sup>19</sup> As offices relatively late to achieve a fixed place in the temporal, the three summer feasts were almost routinely given a large initial for the first vespers antiphon when emphasized in the decorative programme of manuscripts for either Paris or Sarum use.<sup>20</sup>

To match their lesser rank in the context of the main temporal feasts, the duplex feasts of St Stephen Martyr, St John the Evangelist (Fig. 10), the Holy Innocents and St Thomas of Canterbury each have column miniatures, while the nine-lesson feast of St Sylvester was to have had a six-line initial (Table 4-1, nos 10-14).<sup>21</sup> The feast of the Circumcision, which has also received a column miniature (f.88v), was often given secondary emphasis or omitted from the decorative programme of the temporal because of the

<sup>16</sup>The Vigil is not usually given emphasis, although it has received a miniature of the Nativity in the Orgemont Breviary (f. 141v). The small size of the miniature in the Salisbury Breviary makes its functional role in the hierarchy suspect. Its theme is identical to that given the miniature for the fourth Sunday in Advent: see below, p. 93.

<sup>17</sup>As in the Chichele Breviary, where the first lesson responsories for Easter Sunday and Ascension are both historiated. The same applies to the responsories of the Nativity and the offices of the Christmas week saints in the Stowe Breviary and the Oxford/Melbourne Breviary. The first lesson responsories for Ascension, Pentecost and Trinity Sunday are also historiated in the latter manuscript. The relevant folios are unfortunately missing from the Stowe Breviary. A second Sarum tradition preferred the first vespers antiphon for the winter feasts: see BL Add 32427, BL Harley 2785.

<sup>18</sup>Folios 261v, 270v (Fig. 18). The invitatory is emphasized in both these offices and the office for Easter Sunday in the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu. As in the sanctoral, the range of emphases for the main offices was more varied in the fourteenth century than the early fifteenth, when attempts were made at standardization. In the Breviary of Charles V, for instance, Epiphany is emphasized through the chapter and Pentecost through the first nocturn antiphon (ff. 39v, 147v).

<sup>19</sup>The invitatory for the office of the Nativity heads the column of text below the miniature, while the hymn takes the emphasis provided by the four-line initial. If the miniature had been placed above the first lesson there would have been fifteen lines to spare on the previous folio. An alternative solution to the problem was devised for the offices of Epiphany and Palm Sunday. Rather than leave parchment bare, additional miniatures were painted at the bottom of the column preceding the large miniature on the next folio (ff. 105v, 212). This helps to explain the exceptional size of thirteen lines for the Epiphany miniature and nine for the Palm Sunday one. For the office of Pentecost, the organizational problems were too great to be solved by these means, and the last four lines of the first column and the whole of the second on the previous folio (f. 270) were left empty.

<sup>20</sup>Ff. 278v, 283v, 360v: Figs 19, 20. Corpus Christi was instigated as a feast in the Sarum and Paris uses after 1317, while Trinity Sunday was adopted by the Universal Church in 1334. The Dedication office does not always close the temporal. In BN lat 745 it opens the sanctoral, and in BN lat 1264 it is omitted entirely.

<sup>21</sup>The saints' feasts on 14-17 January each have four-line initials for their first lessons (ff. 120v-123v).



emphasis already given to the main infancy feast of the Nativity.<sup>22</sup> In the Sarum use it was also classed as a minor duplex feast, below that of the Nativity and Epiphany, each of which are accorded the highest rank in the Salisbury Breviary (ff. 56v, 106). Of the other temporal feasts, only the Dedication office has a small rather than a large miniature (f. 360v). Like the Circumcision, it was usually treated as a feast of the second rank because of its general nature, although it was celebrated in each specific parish as a principal duplex feast.<sup>23</sup>

The five week season inserted after Epiphany was one of three parts of the breviary worth discussing together at this point, because of the manner in which they attracted decoration for organizational rather than liturgical reasons. The period between the Easter octave and Ascension, and almost the whole of the summer temporal, share similar characteristics. In each case, the texts are concerned with providing offices for periods marking time outside the main sequence of events traced by the liturgical year. In the breviary the readings for the first two nocturns on Sundays, and each of the daily lessons, were the most effective means by which the succession of weeks during these three periods could be identified. Differences between uses in the choice of matins texts in each case had a noticeable effect on the distribution of emphases as well as the themes of figurative items.

The weeks following the Epiphany octave in the Sarum and Roman uses were devoted to lessons from St Paul's Epistles. In the Salisbury Breviary column miniatures of St Paul writing, and of a seated king and his subjects, have been provided for the opening of the Epistle to the Romans on the first Sunday after the Epiphany octave (f. 125v), and the first Epistle to the Corinthians on the second Sunday (f. 133), respectively. Three four-line initials, one foliate, one with the head of St Paul and the third with the bust of the Virgin, also mark the first lessons drawn from the second Epistle to the Corinthians, and the Epistles to the Galatians and Philippians, which begin in that order on each of the subsequent Sundays in the season (ff. 136, 139v and 142v). A similar approach was used in the innovative programme developed for the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, where historiation is also reserved for the first two weeks of the season. The two column miniatures in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur show St Paul handing the epistles to a messenger and St Paul preaching.<sup>24</sup> The miniatures in both manuscripts employ standard iconographic devices for the illustration of the Epistles, texts in which the combination of exhortation, homily and prayer did not lend itself readily to the development of narrative scenes.<sup>25</sup>

In the Paris use the lessons for the whole period were taken from a different source, the *Legenda Psalmodia*, extracts from St Augustine's popular *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.<sup>26</sup> Only the opening lesson beginning "Beatus vir" was usually emphasized, although in the Breviary of Charles V the lessons for

<sup>22</sup>It was given a column miniature for its first lesson in the Breviary of Charles V (f. 36v), the Breviary of Louis d'Evreux (ff. 136/7: lacuna), the Orgemont Breviary (f. 169v) and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (BL Add 35311, f. 193); and receives decorative emphasis in Mazarine 341, BN lat 10485 and BN lat 14729.

<sup>23</sup>Printed Sarum Breviary, III, xli. In the Breviary of Charles V, the Dedication office is treated like the other feasts with a column miniature on f. 203. The Chichele Breviary, on the other hand, has a historiated initial for the office (f. 192v).

<sup>24</sup>BL Add 35311, ff. 221v, 238v. In the Roman use, the readings for the fifth week differed from those for the Sarum use, with lessons taken from the Epistles to the Ephesians, Thessalonians and Timothy as well as the Philippians. Each of these have foliate initials in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur.

<sup>25</sup>Luba Eleen, *The Illustration of the Pauline Epistles in French and English Bibles of the Twelfth and thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 43-72. The miniatures in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur are more closely related to the text than those in the Salisbury Breviary. In the latter manuscript, the general model for a scribe has been used for St Paul on f. 125v, where he is shown with a book rather than a scroll or letter. There is no textual licence for depicting the Corinthians as a king and his subjects on f. 133.

<sup>26</sup>Marie-Josèphe Rondeau, *Les Commentaires patristiques du psautier (IIIe-Ve siècles)*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 219 (Rome, 1982), I, 171-74.

both the first and second Sunday have a decorative initial. In less ambitious programmes for either scheme the opening lesson for the first Sunday was the only one emphasized, usually at a secondary level in the hierarchy of decoration, as in the Breviary of Charles V.<sup>27</sup> In both the Breviary of Jean sans Peur and the Salisbury Breviary, therefore, the figurative programme was expanded to incorporate the post-Epiphany season. The organizational role of the opening emphasis was also extended to each set of Sunday lessons drawn upon for the season. No attempt, however, was made in either manuscript to upgrade the full sequence of emphases to include figurative material.

The six week period after the Easter octave was also chiefly characterized by its lessons for matins. During the first three weeks, the readings were taken from the Apocalypse in all three uses. In the Roman use, the lessons from the *Liber Apocalipsis* began on the day of the Easter octave.<sup>28</sup> In the Sarum and Paris uses the texts for each Sunday office, including the day of the octave itself, comprised a single nocturn with gospel extract and homily.<sup>29</sup> The first lesson from the Apocalypse thus began on the Monday following the day of the octave. In breviaries for Paris use this text was emphasized in any substantial decorative programme, although again usually at a subsidiary level in the hierarchy of decoration.<sup>30</sup> In Sarum breviaries, however, the *Liber Apocalipsis* was not routinely emphasized, even in manuscripts like BL Harley 2785, where each of the Sunday offices after Easter has received a large initial. The accentuation of the Monday text in the Salisbury Breviary, where it has been given a large miniature of St John writing the Apocalypse together with his first vision of the Son of Man (Fig. 17), thus partly reflects Paris influence, and partly the comprehensive nature of the scheme adopted for the rest of the temporal. The prominence of the text in the hierarchy of decoration, however, is due to the fact that St John the Evangelist was the Duke of Bedford's name saint, a point made clear by the presence of Bedford himself in the historiated initial below the miniature.

From the fourth Sunday after the Easter octave until Pentecost the distribution of matins texts in manuscripts for all three uses was more diverse. During the fourth week, the lessons were taken from the Epistles. The Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday before Ascension in the fifth week were Rogation days with special homiletic texts. From Ascension until Pentecost the Book of Acts was used as a scriptural source for the lessons. Because of the shortness of the Sunday office, and the repetition of ferial texts in the second part of the week in the Sarum use, the ordinary ferial lessons for the fourth week were drawn from the Epistle of St James. In the Roman use, however, with its need for a full set of Sunday and ferial lessons, extracts from each of the Epistles of SS James, Peter, John and Jude were read until Ascension. The decorative programmes of most manuscripts make no attempt to distinguish the scriptural readings in such fine detail. Those of the Salisbury Breviary and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur again exhibit an innovative policy of accentuating the opening of major new lections.

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<sup>27</sup>The *Legenda psalmodia* has received a five-line initial in the Paris/ Manchester Breviary, where the Sunday Expositions are listed afterwards in imitation of the summer months. In the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu and the Orgemont Breviary, the emphasis is also a secondary one. The Chichele Breviary has a four-line foliate initial for the first of the Epistles.

<sup>28</sup>In the Breviary of Jean sans Peur the first lesson of the Easter octave has a column miniature of St John on Patmos (BL Harley 2897, f. 170). On the verso of the next folio, a twelve-line space was left before the seventh lesson, presumably for another miniature with a Gospel theme.

<sup>29</sup>The reduction in liturgical complexity during this period is also reflected in the ferial offices. The last three ferias in each week repeat the lessons of the first three: Printed Sarum Breviary, I, dccclix-dcccclvii; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, pp. 215, 218.

<sup>30</sup>It receives secondary emphasis, for example, in the Paris/ Manchester Breviary (with a five-line initial of St John writing in BN lat 1024, f. 262), the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu, Mazarine 342, the Breviary of Charles V and the Orgemont Breviary, but primary emphasis in BL Harley 2927. In the Belleville Breviary each of the Sundays between the Easter octave and Ascension have column miniatures: Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, III, 207.

In the Salisbury Breviary the Epistle of St James on the Monday in the fourth week after the Easter octave opens with a column miniature of a bishop giving an open book to a deacon (f. 255). The column miniature opening the Book of Acts on the day after Ascension is more closely related to the text. It shows Christ and five of the apostles (f. 263v). In addition, each Sunday and many of the Mondays throughout the six week period after Easter have a four- or five-line initial for the first lesson. The Breviary of Jean sans Peur has column miniatures for each of the Epistles read in the Roman use in the fourth and fifth weeks after the Easter octave, demonstrating a preference for cycles of thematically related material found elsewhere in the programme.<sup>31</sup> The Epistle of St James in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur is illustrated by a scene of St James the Greater preaching, and each of the other miniatures have similar themes.<sup>32</sup> In the Salisbury Breviary the border programme has clearly influenced the first of the column miniatures for this section. The theme, one step further distanced from the subject of the Epistle than the sets of images generally used for this type of text, is related to the performance of the office and, specifically, to the treatment of the Epistle as a sacred text in book form to be read in the cathedral during this week in the liturgical year. An image of St James as pilgrim appears separately on the same folio in one of the border miniatures illustrating an extract from the third lesson.

Of the three sections devoted to scriptural readings which were traditionally singled out for emphasis in the breviary, the summer section was the largest and most prone to subdivision. The adjustment for Easter in the temporal was made in the first of the summer seasons, *Deus Omnium*<sup>33</sup> or 'Kings'. In the Sarum breviary lessons were provided from the first Book of Kings sufficient for the full period from 17 May, the earliest possible date for Trinity Sunday, until the first Sunday after 28 July, although in some years only a portion of those included would be required. The remaining seasons were considerably shorter. Until the first Sunday after 28 August, the readings were taken from Ecclesiasticus, while for the rest of the year opening extracts were taken from Job, Tobias, Judith, the first Book of Maccabees and Ezechiel.<sup>34</sup> Each of these seasons had equal hierarchical weight in the breviary, although Kings might receive additional emphasis as the opening text. The cycle of seven column miniatures intended for the Salisbury Breviary (ff. 294v-337) varies from the scheme of emphasis found in most Sarum breviaries only by its comprehensiveness.<sup>35</sup> In addition, the sections in the Sarum use devoted to lessons from Maccabees and Ezechiel are divided in the Salisbury Breviary into weekly parts by four-line initials (ff. 330v-342).

A similar system was used in Paris breviaries, although the readings differed. The first Book of Kings was only used as a source for lessons until the first Sunday in July. The four weeks of July were divided

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<sup>31</sup>A short cycle for Epiphany, for example, was established with miniatures of the Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Baptism of Christ for the octave *legenda* and the day of the octave (BL Add 35311, ff. 208, 216). For more on this tendency and the problems of adapting it to the demands of the text, see below, pp. 89, 95.

<sup>32</sup>BL Harley 2897, ff. 182 (x 2), 184 and 186v. The epistles of Sts Peter and John also show them preaching, while the Epistle of St Jude shows the saint writing.

<sup>33</sup>Named after the Matins first lesson responsory. The other seasons could also be identified by their responsory, following the antiphonal tradition: Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, pp. 11, 189.

<sup>34</sup>Job was read until the first Sunday after 11 September, Tobias until the first Sunday after 20 September, Judith until the first Sunday after 27 September, I Maccabees until the first Sunday after 28 October and Ezechiel for the rest of the liturgical year. The extract from Judith began with the fifth verse "Nabuchodonosor rex assyriorum" rather than the first as in the Paris and Roman uses.

<sup>35</sup>There appears to have been no standard system of emphasis. The Chichele Breviary has only a handsome four-line initial for the *Liber Regum*. The Stowe Breviary provides six-line historiated initials for each of the seasons after Kings as well as the Sunday divisions within them. In BL Harley 1797, the musical proper are given with the lessons and the first lesson responsory receives the emphasis. The responsories for Kings, Tobias, Judith, Maccabees and Ezechiel have large foliate initials, while those of Ecclesiasticus and Job only have two-line flourished ones. Ecclesiasticus and Tobias are the only seasons to receive emphasis in Bodleian Laud Misc 299 (752) and Job, Tobias, Judith and Ezechiel in Bodleian Hatton 63 (4034).

between Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. Passages from Job were read in August. Tobias was used during the first half of September, while the second half was divided between Judith and Hester. October and November, as in the Sarum use, were shared between Maccabees and Ezechiel. Designers of the decorative programmes for Paris breviaries therefore had the option of providing emphases for as many as eleven sections. In practice, the lessons from Ecclesiastes, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus were often conflated under a single initial for Proverbs (Fig. 65), reflecting the grouping of the responsories and antiphons for these weeks in one location. The readings from Hester, separated from Judith by the texts for the three days set aside for fasting after 14 September, were also often treated as part of the same season.<sup>36</sup> In the Châteauroux Breviary Hester is treated as a separate season, but the four didactic books are grouped under Proverbs. On the other hand, Kings is accorded three column miniatures, reflecting the division of the lessons from this book in the Châteauroux Breviary around the office of Corpus Christi and its octave.<sup>37</sup>

The Roman use differed again. Extracts from each of the four books of Kings were read until the end of July. August was devoted to the four didactic books. The six weeks from the first Sunday in September until the first Sunday in October were shared between Job, Tobias, Judith and Hester. Maccabees was read in October, but Ezechiel only for the first two weeks of November. The last two weeks of November in the Roman breviary were devoted to short readings from the books of the twelve minor prophets.<sup>38</sup> The decorative programme of the summer temporal for the Roman breviary and its mendicant derivatives was thus potentially larger than that of the Paris or Sarum breviaries. In the Breviary of Jean sans Peur the *Historia regum* is divided into four sections by column miniatures for the openings of each of the Book of Kings. The didactic books have an opening four-line initial, but are not otherwise differentiated. Column miniatures are provided for each of the other divisions until November. During November, the books of Ezechiel and each of the Twelve Prophets are given four- or five-line initials (Fig. 55). Together with the summer feasts, the programme for the summer temporal of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur thus comprised twenty-five items, helping to explain the unusual size of the full decorative programme when compared to breviaries for Paris use.<sup>39</sup>

The need to emphasize first lessons opening new biblical texts elsewhere in the breviary tended to be absorbed by the liturgical significance of the office itself. Readings from the Book of Genesis, for instance, begin on Septuagesima Sunday, which coincidentally marks the opening of the long season leading up to Easter, within which every Sunday was a candidate for emphasis. The actual treatment of the long period of seventy days before Easter in the hierarchy of decoration varied widely from manuscript to manuscript, even in breviaries with substantial decorative programmes. Only Quadragesima Sunday was given a historiated initial in the Paris/ Manchester Breviary (BN lat 1024, f. 200), while in the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu, Quinquagesima Sunday, the first two Sundays of Quadragesima, and

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<sup>36</sup>This occurs, for example, in Amiens 114, the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu and the Breviary of Charles V, where none of the emphases are historiated. Both Proverbs and Wisdom have historiated initials in the Paris/ Manchester Breviary (Rylands 136, ff. 122, 124), however, with large foliate initials for the other two books. Hester, surprisingly, is the only book to receive a column miniature (f. 133). All of the summer divisions receive emphasis in Arsenal 134 and Mazarine 344, while only the book of Kings does so in Mazarine 342.

<sup>37</sup>The verses from 1 Kings 1:1-19 were read on the Monday-Wednesday after Trinity, 1 Kings 1:20-23 on the Friday-Saturday after the Corpus Christi octave and 1 Kings 1:24ff on the second Sunday after Trinity.

<sup>38</sup>In the Evangelical canon these were Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai and Zachariah.

<sup>39</sup>The Dominican programme of the Belleville Breviary emphasizes the summer seasons only through an opening four-line initial, but the Franciscan Breviaries of Blanche de France and Jeanne d'Evreux both have summer programmes made lengthy by column miniatures for each of the Books of the Twelve Prophets.

Passion and Palm Sundays have received secondary emphasis.<sup>40</sup> In the Orgemont Breviary, on the other hand, a complex system of emphases accompany the period up to Lent to accommodate major alterations to the standard breviary text for matins. In addition to three-line initials for the three Sunday offices and the lessons for the week, the text provides a supplementary set of lessons, each with its own three-line initial, from the first eight historical books (Genesis to Ruth) to be used "pro tercia lectione a septuagesima usque ad quinquagesimam" (ff. 221-7v). The emphases accumulate during Lent, with the increasing use of three-line initials for chapters, hymns and first lessons until Easter Sunday. Only Palm Sunday, however, has a figurative emphasis, with a column miniature of the Entry into Jerusalem for the first lesson (f. 273). The textual licence for this theme is found not in the first lesson itself, which is drawn from Jeremiah 11:1, but in the gospel extract from Matthew 21:1-9 read at the beginning of the seventh lesson.<sup>41</sup>

An alternative and more comprehensive approach to the decoration of the texts preceding Holy Week is reflected in the series of pseudo-historiated initials given to eight of the nine Sundays in the Breviary of Charles V. The upgrading of the emphasis to accommodate historiation results in a cycle of Old Testament scenes paralleling the lessons for matins from Septuagesima Sunday until Passion Sunday. Unlike the Epistles, the historical books of the Bible lent themselves to narrative illustration. Septuagesima Sunday opens with a scene of God Creating Heaven and Earth for Genesis 1:1 (f. 59v). The Book of Genesis is read in all uses until the fourth Sunday of Quadragesima and Exodus until Passion Sunday. The Prophetic Book of Jeremiah, however, is the Old Testament text read from Passion Sunday until Easter. The sequence of biblical scenes in the Breviary of Charles V ends therefore with the image of Jeremiah talking to God for Passion Sunday on f. 96v.<sup>42</sup> Only the first Sunday in Quadragesima is excluded from the programme of emphasis, probably because the texts for the first nocturn are homiletic. A pseudo-historiated initial is provided for Palm Sunday because of its liturgical importance as the Sunday before Easter, even though the first lesson text is non-scriptural in manuscripts for Paris use. A scene of a person drowning (f. 102v) illustrates the sermon on the twenty-first psalm written by St Maximus for Palm Sunday which opens the first lesson.<sup>43</sup> The thematic sequence is thus interrupted by a strictly observed obligation in the Breviary of Charles V for the image to be related to the text.<sup>44</sup>

That the themes of historiated initials or column miniatures should be related to the text they accompanied was axiomatic to the late medieval illuminator. Luxury manuscripts with extensive figurative cycles provided numerous opportunities for the development of new themes, but only from within the limitations imposed by the initialized text. The cycle of column miniatures in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur for the Sundays from Lent until Palm Sunday thus resembles the larger cycle of the Breviary of Charles V in both illustrative and emphatic function. The second Sunday in Quadragesima is illustrated by a scene of Isaac blessing Jacob, the third by Joseph being sold by his brothers, and the

<sup>40</sup>Mazarine 345, ff. 216v, 226, 237, 265v and 275v.

<sup>41</sup>Its association with the office was encouraged by the antiphon sung prior to the mass during the blessing of the palms, "Hosanna filio David" from Matthew 21:9. The office was rarely emphasized in fourteenth century breviaries, although the Entry into Jerusalem was used for Palm Sunday in Arsenal 602, the winter volume of a breviary for Dominican use dated after 1336 (f. 246).

<sup>42</sup>The other biblical themes are Adam led by an angel in the Garden of Eden (f. 63v), Noah building the Ark (f. 65v), Isaac and Jacob (f. 79), Joseph's brothers tending sheep (f. 84v) and Moses and the Burning Bush (f. 90v).

<sup>43</sup>*Homiliae hyemales: Dominica in Ramis Palmarum, super illud Psalmi, Deus Deus meus, respice*. This homily is used for the second nocturn in the Sarum use.

<sup>44</sup>The twenty-first psalm, "Deus Deus meus, respice" was usually associated with the Crucifixion. The theme here seems to have been adapted from the psalter cycle, where in the form of David being saved from drowning it illustrates the sixty-eighth psalm, "Salvum me fac".

fourth by Moses and the Burning Bush (BL Add 35311, ff. 286, 294, 302). The problem of illustrating the text for the first Sunday in Quadragesima in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur was solved, not by devising a new theme for the first lesson, but by moving the emphasis to the gospel extract opening the seventh lesson and using the theme of the Temptation of Christ from Matthew 4:1-11 for the miniature.<sup>45</sup> The designers of the programme also took care to link the Palm Sunday miniature of the Entry into Jerusalem with its gospel source, by placing it above the seventh rather than the first lesson.

Surprisingly, the miniature for the first lesson on Passion Sunday shows a bishop preaching (BL Add 35311, f. 310v). This theme was used again for the sermons by St Augustine (BL Harley 2897, f. 157v) and St Ambrose (Fig. 53) read during the first nocturn in the Roman use on the Tuesday and Friday after Easter respectively. The seven column miniatures accompanying the days of the Easter octave in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur mostly draw their subject matter from the gospel extract opening the reading for the first nocturn during the Easter octave.<sup>46</sup> The two preaching miniatures, however, illustrate the following homily. By doing so, they alleviate the problem of duplication of pictorial themes inherent in the gospel extracts.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, they act to emphasize the gospel/ homily structure of the lesson triad in this species of nocturn. The avoidance of duplication would also have been a sufficient reason for the choice of a preaching theme for the Passion Sunday miniature, since Jeremiah appears in a scene of lamentation a few gatherings further on for the first lesson text for Maundy Thursday in Holy Week (Fig. 51). On the other hand, the position of the Passion Sunday miniature is inappropriate for the illustration of a sermon. It was probably meant like the Palm Sunday miniature to accompany the seventh lesson. Apart from this example, the decorative programme of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur exhibits a similarly strict approach to the illustration of the text as does that of the Breviary of Charles V.

In the Salisbury Breviary the same wholesale upgrading of emphatic function for each Sunday from Septuagesima Sunday until Holy Week through the use of column miniatures may be found (Table 4-1: nos 20-28). The first lessons for Ash Wednesday and most of the ferias in the first week of Quadragesima are also distinguished by the use of four-line initials. The importance of Palm Sunday is indicated by a large miniature of the Entry into Jerusalem. A unique column miniature with an arched top which extends to the top of the upper margin is also used for Passion Sunday (Fig. 14). The theme of this miniature is standard, showing as it does Jeremiah as the author of the text from which the lesson is drawn. His cardinal's hat and blue doctor's robes, however, indicate that a model of St Jerome in his study was used in error. The arched frame of the miniature probably echoes the format of the model, rather than making any distinction in significance between Passion Sunday and the Sundays preceding it in the liturgical year.

The completed miniatures for the other Sundays in Lent in the Salisbury Breviary follow the precedent set by manuscripts like the Breviary of Charles V and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur for the illustration of these offices. A preaching miniature is used for the first Sunday in Quadragesima to illustrate the sermon

<sup>45</sup>BL Add 35311, f. 279. In the Paris/ Manchester Breviary the problem was solved by using a general image of people in prayer to an encouraging God for the matins hymn "Summe largitor" (BN lat 1024, f. 200).

<sup>46</sup>Apart from the two preaching miniatures, their themes are The Risen Christ on the Road to Emmaus (Monday: f. 156), the Miraculous Draught of Fishes (Wednesday: f. 158v), the Three Maries at the Tomb (Thursday: f. 159), Mary Magdalene Finding the Tomb Empty (Saturday: f. 161) and the Incredulity of Thomas (Day of Octave: f. 164v). A similar cycle may be found in the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux (ff. 101v-124v). Otherwise, the Easter octave was rarely emphasized. The days of the Easter octave also receive emphasis in the Salisbury Breviary through the use of four to six-line initials, but, except for the day of the octave itself, which has a column miniature of the Resurrected Christ in the Middle of the Apostles (f. 240v), none of the initials were completed.

<sup>47</sup>The cycle in the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux, for example, comprises five apparition scenes in addition to the Miraculous Draught of Fishes and a scene of Christ teaching the apostles: Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, I, 273.

by St Leo which opens matins (f. 164v). The Genesis text for the second Sunday is illustrated by the scene of Isaac blessing Esau (f. 178v). Neither of the miniatures for the next two Sundays was completed, but there would be no reason to doubt that the sequence of scenes was continued in the same manner if it were not for the fact that the earlier miniatures in the pre-Easter sequence exhibit the barest relationship to the texts they accompany. Septuagesima Sunday, for instance, is illustrated by the scene of a priest and two clerics standing before a lectern (f. 146). The themes of the column miniatures for the next two Sundays are also related to the act of reading the lesson during the performance of the office rather than its subject matter (ff. 151v, 156v).

Such scenes appear in large numbers in the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary. In the border programme, however, scenes of the performance of the office were used during the first campaign to solve the problem of illustrating texts not easily capable of direct translation into pictorial terms and not amenable to the use of an attesting authorial image. Otherwise, the obligation to relate image to text was usually carefully observed. By contrast, in the figurative cycle liturgical scenes are used not only for the Old Testament first lessons of the three Sundays preceding Lent and the Epistle for the fourth week after the Easter octave (f. 255), but for many of the items in the second half of the temporal. Of the twenty-seven historiated initials accompanying the Expositions in the summer section, for instance, fifteen are variations on the theme of clerics reading the text.<sup>48</sup>

Although there was no clear precedent for the illustration of the Expositions, such cannot be said in justification of the liturgical scene used for the miniature opening the book of Ezechiel on f. 337, the only completed figurative item in the Salisbury Breviary for the readings from the Old Testament during the summer months.<sup>49</sup> In this example, the scene of an altar being censed directly bypasses centuries of tradition for the illumination of the text. The method of illustrating each Old Testament book with a single prefacing scene was already a standard of bible illumination by the twelfth century, although the four books of Kings were sometimes further subdivided.<sup>50</sup> The historical books presented few difficulties in the choice of narrative scenes to illustrate the opening verses, while the problems of illustrating the didactic and prophetic books were easily solved at the very least by using a teaching, authorial or preaching image. In the Châteauroux Breviary, for instance, each of the sections from the Book of Kings is illustrated by a literal interpretation of the text, beginning with a scene of Elkanah and his wives (ff. 112v), while Proverbs has been given an image of Solomon writing (f. 136v).<sup>51</sup> Job was usually illustrated by a scene of Job on the dunghill, Judith by a variation of the story of Judith and Holofernes, and Hester by the feast of Ahasuerus described in the first chapter.<sup>52</sup> Tobias and Maccabees were given a more diverse treatment because of the difficulties of isolating a single event representative of the first

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<sup>48</sup>The remainder divide equally between Evangelist images and direct illustration of the Gospel text. The initial for the eleventh Sunday, for instance, shows St Luke writing (f. 350) for Luke 18:9, while the one for the twelfth shows Christ and an apostle on the shores of the sea of Galilee for Mark 7:31.

<sup>49</sup>Ninety folios were unfinished in the temporal. In the summer section the unfinished sections comprise ff. 279-281v, 284-302v and 311-334v. A figure, possibly of Ecclesiasticus, has been lightly sketched in for the miniature on f. 314.

<sup>50</sup>Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis*; Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (New York, 1982); Christopher de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Woodbridge, 1984).

<sup>51</sup>Proverbs and Wisdom each have preaching images in the Paris/Manchester Breviary (Rylands 136, ff. 122, 124). In Mazarine 344, all four of the didactic books have an authorial image.

<sup>52</sup>Although in Mazarine 344, a scene of Heavenly Fire Falling on Job's Flocks replaces the usual image for Job. The miniature in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur for Judith shows the City of Ekbatana under attack (BL Harley 2897, f. 254v).

chapter.<sup>53</sup>

Illustrations of the Book of Ezechiel in bibles and breviaries fall into two groups indicative of the prophetic and visionary nature of the text. In the Châteauroux Breviary, it is accompanied in the manner of the didactic books by a simple miniature of Ezechiel in prayer (f. 152v). The initial in the Paris/Manchester Breviary, however, tackles the problem of illustrating the text by showing Ezechiel with the four symbols of the Evangelists, images conventionally associated with the four living creatures in the vision of the prophet described in the first chapter (Fig. 70).<sup>54</sup> Both of these scenes appear legitimately as border miniatures on f. 337 of the Salisbury Breviary. Any obligation to relate text to image seems to have been abandoned, however, in the execution of the column miniature. Indeed, the column miniature has been treated as a filler in the figurative cycle as a whole in much the same way as the first border miniature on the folio, which marks time between the illustration of the second first vespers antiphon on the previous folio and the first lesson by showing a cantor and two clerics at a lectern. Neither miniature has a text scroll.<sup>55</sup>

The difficulties of reviewing the illustrative function of the figurative cycle of the Salisbury Breviary temporal as it was conceived in the early 1420's are compounded by the length of time the manuscript spent in the workshop. Unfinished at the time of Bedford's death in 1436, it was possibly reworked at various stages for another fifteen or twenty years. The examples discussed thus far hardly support the hypothesis tested successfully for the sanctoral, that the figurative cycle of the text as a whole closely follows conventions for the illustration of luxury breviaries, and that the border programme had little influence on its design. It is clear, however, that the original intentions of the designers of the figurative programme of the temporal underwent considerable corruption during the later campaigns on the manuscript. Themes unsuitable to the illustration of the text opened by the initial or column miniature proliferate on folios painted after Bedford's patronage had been withdrawn and the Bedford Master himself was no longer actively involved in the project.<sup>56</sup> That the designers of the temporal did not intend to abandon the traditional relationship between image and text in the figurative programme, in spite of the additional illustrative support of the border programme, is made apparent by a close examination of the three column miniatures with liturgical themes which occur on folios executed during the first campaign. Such an examination also helps to reveal the processes by which the themes for the figurative items were selected.

On f. 41 a column miniature of the Celebration of the Mass accompanying the first lesson of the fourth

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<sup>53</sup>For Tobias, the subjects ranged from Tobias Blind (Châteauroux Breviary, f. 143), Tobias giving alms to two beggars (Paris/Manchester Breviary, f. 128v), Tobias kneeling before a church (Mazarine 344, f. 115) and Tobias and Sarah being greeted by Tobias the elder (Breviary of Jean sans Peur, f. 252v). For Maccabees, the Châteauroux Breviary shows the busts of four saints (f. 149v), the Paris/Manchester Breviary the Jews allowing themselves to be killed by the Soldiers of Antiochus (f. 135), Mazarine 344 Alexander on his Deathbed (f. 121) and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur the Battle of Darius and Philip (f. 258v).

<sup>54</sup>Ezechiel's Vision is used as early as ca. 1140 in the Admont Bible (ONB ns 2701-2, f. 206): Cahm, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pl. 118.

<sup>55</sup>The office of the Dedication of a Church was given similar treatment. The miniature on f. 360v shows a bishop and clerics at a lectern, although there was a well-established tradition in breviaries and missals for the depiction of the scene of dedication itself. A Dedication scene showing a bishop in procession asperging a church is used in the Paris/Manchester Breviary (f. 156) and the Breviary of Charles V (f. 203). The second initial in the Paris/Manchester Breviary shows Solomon in prayer, illustrating the first lesson. Although the first vespers antiphon in the Sarum use differed from the Paris one, the Chichele Breviary also uses a Dedication scene within which the church has a massive central tower in the English style (f. 192v). In the Châteauroux Breviary (f. 171) the scene is an interior one, and the bishop is tracing a cross with his finger on the wall of the church.

<sup>56</sup>In the temporal, with the exception of bifolios containing large miniatures, only the first thirteen gatherings (ff. 8-111) may be attributed for the most part to the campaign supervised by the Bedford Master. For the evidence supporting this, see the discussion opening Chapter 5.



Sunday in Advent (Fig. 7) illustrates the invitatory "Prestolantes redemptorem," inscribed on a scroll within the miniature. The office was not routinely illustrated and the choice of subject was a difficult one. The first lesson from Isaiah 10:10-15 did not coincide with the opening of a book, nor was its theme of falling idols, illustrated in the fourth border miniature, particularly suitable for the season as a whole. The invitatory text better conveyed the idea of the immediate coming of the Lord, which becomes increasingly prominent in the texts for Advent, and particularly in those for the last Sunday before Christmas.<sup>57</sup> Although the scribe had been given directions to emphasise the first lesson as usual, the artist deliberately chose to illustrate the invitatory by means of a liturgical scene. The invitatory is also illustrated in the closely adjacent third border miniature, where its theme of two cantors and a canon at a lectern complements that of the column miniature. The theme of the Celebration of the Mass effectively illustrates both the office as a whole, and the invitatory, by showing an ecclesiastic and layman in attendance at the mass, witnessing the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. The same subject was used for the eight-line column miniature opening the first lesson for the Christmas Vigil on f. 53, the initial for which contains the head of St Matthew, the author of the Gospel extract which follows.

In the case of the miniature for the fourth Sunday in Advent, the use of a theme related to the performance of the office may thus be justified by the needs of the text. The Christmas Vigil miniature, probably a filler because of its size, repeated the theme of the celebration of the mass in the miniature itself, while retaining a reference to the first lesson in the initial below. A definite example of the inappropriate use of a liturgical theme in the first campaign may be found, however, in the third example on f. 69, where the column miniature opening the invitatory for the office of St John the Evangelist shows two cantors at a lectern with three of the faithful (Fig. 10). Such a subject was not used to illustrate the offices of any of the other Christmas week saints. The rubric for the office of St Stephen Martyr contains a votive image of St Stephen in prayer, presided over by the Trinity (f. 64).<sup>58</sup> The Holy Innocents miniature for the first lesson on f. 74v shows the Massacre of the Innocents, resembling the miniature for the fourth Sunday in Advent in the way it shares its theme with an adjacent border miniature, so that the subject may be presented as two related vignettes.<sup>59</sup> The miniature illustrating the first lesson for St Thomas Martyr (78v), like the St Andrew miniature in the sanctoral, makes the relationship between the votive image and its veneration within the office explicit by showing a king in prayer before an altar dedicated to the saint. Although the treatment of each of these miniatures is unusual, their themes all fall within the range of possible subject matter for the illustration of a saint's office. The same cannot be said of the miniature for the office of St John the Evangelist.

A closer examination of the folio on which the liturgical miniature occurs, however, makes it clear that the theme was assigned by mistake. The border miniature on the bottom right on f. 69 (Fig. 10) contains the textually unwarranted scene of the Birth of St John, a subject more usually adopted for the office of the Birth of St John the Baptist on 24 June. This is also the first miniature in the border programme of the temporal without an associated Latin text. Instead, the infant is labelled, in French, "S. Jehan". ~~On f. 74v the scroll for one of the border miniatures was transferred to the adjacent column miniature of the Massacre of the Innocents as part of a deliberate cross-fertilization of the two programmes. On f. 69,~~

<sup>57</sup>For a detailed discussion of this, see Patrick Cowley, *Advent: Its Liturgical Significance* (London, 1960), especially pp. 35-45.

<sup>58</sup>The office of St Stephen was usually illustrated by a scene of his stoning (see, for example, f. 371 of the Orgermont Breviary). The miniature in the Salisbury Breviary focuses on the figure in prayer from the larger theme, and shows the direct relationship between the saint's imminent salvation and his faith in the Trinity.

<sup>59</sup>This is the only case where the two cycles are also physically contiguous (the frames of the two miniatures also share an edge). It may, however, have influenced Leroquais' failure to distinguish between the column and border miniatures in his catalogue entry.

~~however, the border miniature lacking a text has a theme not only unrelated to the one used for the column miniature, but also more suited in subject matter to the illustration of the office, in spite of the confusion between the two SS John. It is clear that the themes of the two items were transposed in error and that the artist making the mistake had considerably clearer directions concerning the subjects of the border items than the column miniature. A working list of quotations for the border programme must have been available to the artist from which the theme for the column miniature on this folio was erroneously taken, leaving no quotation for the last border miniature. On the other hand, the only cue for the subject of the column miniature was the supervisor's annotation in French in the margin, the brevity of which led to the use of an incorrect model for the border miniature.~~

The unusual twelve-line space on f. 220 between the abbreviation "R" and the text of the first lesson responsory of the Thursday before Easter (Fig. 15) also provides, admittedly negative, evidence for a strongly text-related approach to the original design of the figurative cycle. Because it was the scribe's main task to produce solid columns of text and decoration on each folio, there was no practical reason for leaving the space except for the insertion of a miniature. The decoration accorded each day of the *Triduum* in Holy Week was usually understated in breviaries.<sup>60</sup> There was no licence in the first lesson texts of these offices for a cycle of scenes from the Passion such as accompanied the Hours of the Cross or the mixed Hours of the Virgin in books of hours. The temporally relevant theme of the Crucifixion for Good Friday belonged specifically to the missal, as one of the two frontispieces to the prefaces and canon of the mass which followed the texts for Holy Saturday.<sup>61</sup> In many breviaries two-line initials for the first nocturn antiphons which opened each office were the only acknowledgement of their liturgical importance. The first lessons of Maundy Thursday, however, are given large initials in BN lat 10485 and the Paris/ Manchester Breviary, indicating a tradition for its emphasis as the leading office of the group. In the latter manuscript, the initial contains an image of the seated Jeremiah, whose first lamentation forms the text for the lesson (BN lat 1024, f. 240).

That the transfer of emphasis in the Salisbury Breviary to the responsory had a parallel in Sarum breviaries for some of the winter feasts has already been noted above. A stronger influence for the move, however, may be found in the text for the responsory itself, which is a free adaptation of the synoptic account of Christ's agony in the Garden of Gethsemane. Evidence of a greater interest, in the early decades of the fifteenth century, in scenes of the Passion as subjects for illustration in the breviary may be found in both the Orgemont Breviary and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur. In the former manuscript, one of the five large miniatures originally found in the temporal opened St John's account of the Passion, which follows lauds for Good Friday. This text was normally read during the fore-mass ritual and had no traditional place in the breviary.<sup>62</sup> Its insertion in the Orgemont Breviary indicates a perceived need for the kind of continuous narrative link to the events preceding Easter Sunday which is found in the missal texts for Holy Week. A similar attempt to improve the distribution of scriptural texts in the Orgemont Breviary had already been made with regard to the readings from Septuagesima Sunday until Lent.

In the Breviary of Jean sans Peur the experimental combination of traditions for the illustration of the missal, breviary and book of hours is carried further by the use of a large miniature of the Crucifixion and Flagellation for the first lesson of the Good Friday office itself (Fig. 52). In addition, column miniatures

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<sup>60</sup>the offices themselves, although nine-lesson, were reduced, with no first vespers texts or invitatory psalm. Even Easter Sunday is unemphasized in Amiens 114 and BL Harley 2927.

<sup>61</sup>Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels*, I.

<sup>62</sup>Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, p. 246.

accompany the offices of the Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday in Holy Week. Together with the column miniature of the Entry into Jerusalem for Palm Sunday, the effect is that of a small Passion cycle preceding Easter. Like the large Crucifixion miniature, the Wednesday miniature of Judas receiving the silver and the Saturday one of the Entombment<sup>63</sup> were superimposed on the first lesson texts. The subject of Jeremiah lamenting (Fig. 51) was retained, however, for the Maundy Thursday miniature, demonstrating the strength of influence of pre-existing traditions for the illustration of the office. The sequence of column miniatures continues, although with a more conventional relationship between text and image, through Easter Week in witness and celebration of the risen Christ.

In the Salisbury Breviary, where there was less interest in developing cohesive thematic cycles, only the Maundy Thursday office was chosen for illustration in Holy Week, following the traditional approach to the days preceding Easter Sunday. Nevertheless, the removal of the Maundy Thursday column miniature to the responsory was a deliberate and innovative step which, by avoiding the strong association of the office with the Lamentations of Jeremiah, opened up the possibilities of using a theme more closely related to the Passion of Christ. The designers of the decorative programme would hardly have specified such a step if they had been unconcerned with the need to relate image to text. The Agony in the Garden, a theme which usually opens the Passion cycles of books of hours, was at the same time the most appropriate image for the illustration of the responsory and a simple synthesising alternative to the scheme adopted by the Breviary of Jean sans Peur for Holy Week.<sup>64</sup> By the time the gathering was painted, however, the workshop clearly had no idea why the space had been left. Because of its unusual position, it was ignored.

The Bedford Master's negotiations with Bedford's agents concerning the nature of the programme, his experience on earlier projects, and his expertise in the translation of *incipits* into pictorial language, ensured a sound knowledge of the kind of subjects appropriate to each historiated initial and column miniature in the decorative programme. No written record of this store of knowledge was needed during the first campaign, because the Bedford Master himself exercised a strong supervisory role over the figurative cycle, initiating the work on many of the miniatures and specifying the subjects of others either directly or through verbal cues on the folio. The dependency on quotations from the text for the subject material of most of the border items, and the ready availability of models in the finished gatherings, ensured a certain consistency of approach for the border programme even after the Bedford Master had withdrawn from active participation in the project. The ad hoc approach to the traditional figurative cycle, on the other hand, provided considerable opportunity for departure from the original intentions of the designers of the programme once expertise in this area had been lost.

For offices like that of the Circumcision (f. 88v), the choice of theme was obvious and it was easy to find workshop models which effectively illustrated the office. The generalized model used for the miniature of St Paul writing the Epistles (f. 125v) which opens the less commonly illustrated Epistle to the Romans, is still related to the text. Even incorrect models like the one of St Jerome used for the opening of the Book of Jeremiah on Passion Sunday (Fig. 14) at least display a reflex response to the rubric.<sup>65</sup> The scenes of the performance of the office, however, contribute to reduce the figurative cycle

<sup>63</sup>BL Add 35311, ff. 327, 337. The Wednesday first lesson text in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur is taken from a sermon by St Ambrose rather than the Book of Jeremiah.

<sup>64</sup>The themes of the Agony in the Garden and the Crucifixion are used for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday in Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 66 (ff. 281, 287v), a fifteenth century winter breviary for Besançon use, demonstrating a parallel interest in this kind of pictorial gloss, if not direct Parisian influence: Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, I, 127-28.

<sup>65</sup>The miniature illustrating the Epistle to the Corinthians on f. 133 may be another case in point.

of the text to a subsidiary element of the border programme. Although the treatment of the miniature for the fourth Sunday of Advent (Fig. 7) is justifiable in reference to the liturgical meaning of the office, and the Holy Innocents miniature on f. 74v is an innovative response to the problems of fitting a relatively complex model into a small space, in most cases where the textual and border programmes overlap, the artists were demonstrably unaware of any requirement for the text to be related to the image. This was true in one case even of the first campaign on the manuscript, but examples accumulate in the sections of the temporal in which the Bedford Master himself had no supervisory role.

This division between roles in the design of the programme as a whole and the development of models for the execution of individual items did not apply to the large miniature folios, each of which was painted during the period of Bedford's patronage. If the column miniatures and historiated initials in the Salisbury Breviary temporal were sometimes treated with less care in the choice of subject matter than the designers of the programme had originally planned, the large miniatures have themes which, like those of the sanctoral, work from within the traditions of breviary illumination to enhance the offices they accompany. A number of these themes are so complex in their relationship to the text that there must have been considerable collaboration between artist and theological adviser to develop them, while others contain images which can only be explained with reference to the specific intervention of the patron or his agents.

## II

The ten large miniatures in the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary were designed to accompany the eight feasts considered most central to the liturgy, together with the opening office for the first Sunday in Advent and the opening lesson from the Apocalypse, which was given a large miniature in celebration of the name saint of the Duke of Bedford. The Bedford Master was responsible for the design of most of the miniatures, although he had a major hand only in the first three miniatures and the miniature for Trinity Sunday on f. 278v (Fig. 19). The remaining miniatures were completed by Spencer's Hand B.<sup>66</sup> In terms of their subject matter, like the large miniatures in the sanctoral, the temporal miniatures divide naturally into three groups: the Nativity, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Easter Sunday, Apocalypse and Ascension miniatures all draw their broad themes from the general repertoire for the illumination of breviaries. The complex themes of the Advent and Corpus Christi miniatures, while seeming at first without precedent, may be shown to have their origins in traditional approaches to the illustration of each of the offices. The Pentecost and Trinity Sunday miniatures, on the other hand, have themes which are unique to the illustration of their respective offices. In spite of these differences, all the large miniatures in the temporal, like those in the sanctoral, have elements which tie their themes directly to the breviary texts they accompany. In fact, the large miniature programme developed for the temporal owes many of its unusual iconographic features to the effort made to combine the illustration of the general theme of the office itself with that of the specific text chosen for emphasis, whether first vespers antiphon, invitatory, lesson or rubric.

Although, because of their relationship to the subject of the office, the texts emphasized by the Nativity, Apocalypse, Ascension and Trinity Sunday miniatures presented the fewest difficulties to the designer of the large miniature programme, the theme of each miniature was modified or enriched, to enhance the

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<sup>66</sup>Spencer, "Salisbury Breviary," pp. 611-12. Her distinction between hands is made on the basis of Hand B's less subtle use of stronger, more intense colours in combination with dryer, more linear brushwork and a familiarity with designs from the circle of the Master of Flémalle.

liturgical meaning of the office or provide variety within the programme as a whole. The office of the Nativity in breviaries was traditionally illustrated with a scene of the Birth of Christ, even when the first lesson from Isaiah 9:1 rather than the invitatory was the text being emphasized. In fourteenth century examples, the Virgin is typically shown reclining in bed near the swaddled Christ Child, accompanied by Joseph, the ox and ass.<sup>67</sup> The Nativity miniature in the Salisbury Breviary (Fig. 9), however, follows the early fifteenth century tradition inspired by the Revelations of St Bridget, and originally developed for the illustration of the mass, of showing the Virgin and Joseph adoring the naked Christ child.<sup>68</sup> This scene of worship was not only suitable for the illustration of the office as a contemporary variant of the Nativity theme, but corresponds exactly to the celebratory formula of the invitatory "Christus natus est nobis, venite adoremus," which, like all invitatories, echoes the tone of the invitatory psalm "Venite exultemus".

The additional space provided by the large miniature format allowed the Bedford Master to introduce several subsidiary scenes which had become standard in the iconography of the Nativity in books of hours by the middle of the second decade. The Holy family is watched by three shepherds in prayer behind a wicker fence. The figure of God the Father surrounded by seraphim and accompanied by musical angels presides over the scene, while the Annunciation to the shepherds takes place in the middle ground.<sup>69</sup> The miniature in the Salisbury Breviary breaks with tradition only by adding the Meeting of the Magi at the Crossroads to the right of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, effectively enhancing the theme of worship inherent in the invitatory text by borrowing a preliminary scene from the Adoration of the Magi.<sup>70</sup> A new interest in domestic detail found fully developed in the *Heures de Milan* miniature of the Birth of St John the Baptist (Turin, Museo Civico, f. 93v) is also apparent in the kitten, stool and fireplace painted in the lower right hand corner.<sup>71</sup>

Like the Nativity miniature, the Apocalypse miniature in the Salisbury Breviary (Fig. 17) draws upon standard iconographic devices for the simultaneous illustration of the text and office. The opening words from the Apocalypse in bibles and breviaries were routinely illustrated by an image of St John writing. In more complex programmes, the subject of the Evangelist's first Vision of the Son of Man was also shown

<sup>67</sup>In the miniature in the Breviary of Charles V (Fig. 76), the Virgin breastfeeds the Child beneath a gabled stable, watched by a curiously brutish Joseph in a wicker chair. The breastfeeding motif occurs also in the Breviary of Louis d'Evreux (Fig. 39) and Amiens 114 (f. 28v).

<sup>68</sup>A version popularized in the late fourteenth century by the Parent Master, showing the Virgin still lying on a bed, was used for the Vigil miniature in the Orgemont Breviary (Fig. 60) and the Nativity miniature itself in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (BL Add 35311, f. 158v), where the figure of St Bridget appears at the foot of the bed. The Salisbury Breviary example, by contrast, is inspired by a Limbourg-initiated model developed under Italian influence as early as 1403-4 for f. 19 of the *Bible moralisée* BN fr 166: Meiss, *Limbourgs*, pp.86-88 and fig. 327. A second scene of the Nativity in the Orgemont Breviary accompanying the Circumcision office (f. 169v) is closer to the Limbourg model. The large miniature of the Nativity in the Orgemont Breviary is missing.

<sup>69</sup>The association of the Annunciation to the Shepherds with the office of the Nativity was an old one. In the Breviary of Blanche de France the scene is shown in the background (f. 127), while in the Belleville Breviary it appears as a *bas-de-page* scene (BN lat 10483, f. 242v). The close proximity of the shepherds to the Child, however, was a Trecento innovation adopted by the Limbourgs for the BN fr 166 miniature. The shepherds' wonder at the birth is also mentioned in a French version of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* made for Jean de Berry in 1380: Meiss, *Limbourgs*, pp. 87, 151. Both elements appear in the Nativity in the *Très Riches Heures*.

<sup>70</sup>The Meeting of the Magi was a theme developed only towards the end of the fourteenth century. Its most famous representation is the one added to the original design for the *Très Riches Heures* (f. 51v): Meiss, *Limbourgs*, p. 156, fig. 571.

<sup>71</sup>The Nativity in the Sobieski Hours (f. 52) has a subsidiary domestic scene in the lower margin with two young women cooking porridge and drying cloths in front of a thatched fireplace. Spencer, *Sobieski Hours*, pp. 24-27, attributes this kind of addition to the influence of Nativity plays, but one might argue that an interest in domestic detail in both art and theatre were part of the same affective approach to the Infancy and Passion of Christ expressed in contemporary texts. For more on this subject see below, in relation to the Advent miniature.

in the same pictorial space.<sup>72</sup> The only unusual aspect of the miniature in the Salisbury Breviary in this context, apart from the literalness with which the Son of Man's feet have been represented in burnished gold on a bed of coals,<sup>73</sup> is the inclusion of a palace in the lower right hand corner, within which an angel and a bishop may be seen in attitudes of worship. The bishop is probably St John of Beverley, a namesake of the Evangelist whose office in the Sarum breviary shared second vespers with the office of St John before the Latin Gate on 6 May. The miniature has been adapted to include a reference of relevance only to readers familiar with the details of the Sarum use.<sup>74</sup> The bust of the patron of the manuscript himself in the historiated initial below helps to explain the topical allusion.

In the Ascension miniature (f. 261v) the large miniature space is used with great effect for an unusually complex version of the Ascension. Drawing inspiration from the celebratory nature of the invitatory, the designer of the miniature provided a view of Heaven receiving the resurrected Christ usually excluded from portrayals of the theme. The lower half of the miniature shows the Virgin and apostles watching all that they can see of Christ from Earth: that is, his feet and the hem of his mantle ascending through the dark blue border which divides the picture space horizontally. The grouping of the figures is unusual, with St John the Evangelist standing on the left with the Holy Women. The inclusion of the three Maries is also as unusual here as it is in the Assumption miniature in the sanctoral (pp. 61-70). Otherwise, the iconography is standard.<sup>75</sup> In the upper half, however, the framing words of the invitatory, "Alleluia Christum dominum ascendentem in celum, venite adoremus, alleluia", are literally illustrated in a blaze of virtuoso brushwork. The frame of the miniature broadens into a decorated band found elsewhere in the manuscript only on the folio opening the office of St Vincent (Fig 25). The arched top of the miniature has been closed to provide formal spaces for the twin scrolls bearing the text of the invitatory. In the lowest rank of Heaven, the busts of eight prophets and two saints are shown in prayer.<sup>76</sup> Above them, musical angels celebrate the ascension of Christ, the rest of whose figure may be seen in full above the cloud-line in a mandorla-shaped glory edged with seraphim and partly concealed by floating clouds. In the enclosed arch at the top, a small Trinity group overlooks the scene from the uppermost level of the celestial sphere.

A similarly literal approach to the illustration of the invitatory was used for Pentecost. The resulting miniature, however, differed considerably in subject as well as complexity from the one usually chosen for the office. The feast of Pentecost was held to commemorate the descent of the Holy Spirit on the

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<sup>72</sup>Van der Meer, *Apocalypse*, passim. The miniature in the Belleville Breviary also shows the Vision of the Son of Man (BN lat 10483, f. 389). The miniature in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur of St John on Patmos (BL Harley 2897, f. 170) shows the episode of the devil upsetting the inkwell. In the sky a three-faced sun sends golden rays towards the Evangelist.

<sup>73</sup>As observed by Spencer, "Salisbury Breviary," p. 608. Spencer also noted a general resemblance between the figure of the Son of Man in the Salisbury Breviary and the one in BL Royal i.E.IX (f. 319), the so-called Bible of Richard II painted by a group of artists of mixed nationality under the supervision of Herman Scheere in ca. 1410: Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1965), pp. 183-84.

<sup>74</sup>When Easter fell after 11 April, the feasts of St John before the Latin Gate and St John of Beverley were celebrated during the three-week period in which the Apocalypse was read.

<sup>75</sup>Meyer Schapiro, "The image of the disappearing Christ: the Ascension in English art around the year 1000," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 6th ser., 23 (1943), 135-52. This version of the Ascension was popular in breviary illumination because of its compactness. See, for example, the Chichele Breviary (f. 137) and Amiens 114 (f. 129v), where the Virgin is absent. The miniatures in the Paris/Manchester Breviary (Rylands 136, f. 278) and the Breviary of Charles V (f.140), however, illustrate the first lesson Gospel extract from Mark 16:14 by showing Christ appearing to the apostles at supper. The large miniature from the Orgemont Breviary is missing, but the one in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (Fig. 54), while following traditional iconography, takes advantage of the large miniature format to use as a model for the setting the missing Itinerary miniature from the *Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame* (known to us only through such copies and an engraving): Meiss, *Master of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur*, p. 9.

<sup>76</sup>The prophets were thought to have ascended with Christ: Reau, *L'Iconographie*, II (2), 587. The identity of the two saints is unclear.

apostles as recounted in Acts 2:1-4. It was this scene which dominated traditions for the illumination of the office in breviaries and missals.<sup>77</sup> At the same time, however, the feast had a wider meaning as the birthdate of the Church, the day on which Christ bestowed the gift of his spirit upon the Earth. The invitatory for Pentecost, the core of which is taken from Wisdom 1:7, reads "Alleluya. Spiritus domini replevit orbem terrarum, venite adoremus, alleluya".<sup>78</sup> Byzantine representations of the Pentecost illustrate this passage through a personification of the World holding twelve scrolls corresponding to the sermons of the twelve missionaries.<sup>79</sup> There was no similar Western tradition.

The miniature in the Salisbury Breviary (Fig. 18) shows God the Father and God the Son enthroned in Heaven surrounded by seraphim and musical angels, while the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove hovers at the boundary between Heaven and Earth projecting rays of gold onto the Earth below. In the initial, a dove descends upon the bust of a praying man, underlining the fact that the Holy Spirit resides in each and every Christian. The theme itself is thus a fairly simple one, easily explained with reference to the text. What makes it complex is the depiction of the Earth as a seascape with two sailing ships and a barge entering or leaving port. The barge bears the cross of St George, marking it as an English ship. The allusion is clearly a topical one, perhaps referring to the opening words of Psalm 67 which was sung during the first nocturn, "Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici eius".<sup>80</sup>

Except that Christ is shown displaying his wounds, the Trinity in the Ascension and Pentecost miniatures is closely related to the one painted in large miniature format by the Bedford Master for the Trinity Sunday office in the Châteauroux Breviary (Fig. 42). Christ sits holding a cross at the right hand side of God the Father in all three miniatures. In the Pentecost miniature, satisfactorily to illustrate the theme, the dove has left his usual position to preside over the world, and Christ and God the Father have separate mantles. In the other two examples, the two figures share one mantle and the wings of the dove link their mouths, illustrating the dogma of spiration proclaimed at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274.<sup>81</sup> This version of the Trinity in a number of different forms was the one most commonly associated with psalm 109 in psalter cycles.<sup>82</sup> The psalm opens with the words "Dixit dominus domino meo: sede a

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<sup>77</sup>The main variation has to do with the presence or absence of the Virgin. She is present in the Breviary of Philippe le Bel (f. 193v), the Belleville Breviary (BN lat 10483, f. 422v) and the Chichele Breviary (f. 141), but absent in Amiens 114 (f. 136), the Paris/ Manchester Breviary (BN lat 1024, f. 287v) and the Breviary of Charles V (f. 147v). The large miniatures in the Orgemont Breviary and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur are missing.

<sup>78</sup>"For the spirit of the Lord fills the world".

<sup>79</sup>Reau, *Iconographie*, II (2), 595.

<sup>80</sup>Vallet de Virville, "Pontifical dit de Poitiers," p. 480, describes the large initial illustrating the office of St Edward the Confessor on f. 93v of the lost pontifical-missal as depicting a curving seascape showing ships upon the channel between England and France. In the pontifical-missal, the cities on each shore were labelled and scenes from the life of St Edward were depicted within a London palace with the walls removed. The miniature in the Salisbury Breviary, with its more general theme, is more reticent about geographic locations. A simpler version of the seascape overshadowed by the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove may be found in one of the border medallions illustrating the Hours of the Holy Spirit in BL Egerton 2019, a mid-fifteenth century manuscript painted by the Bedford workshop, with a conventional Pentecost scene in the main miniature: Backhouse, *Books of Hours*, pl. 43.

<sup>81</sup>"Fideli ac devota professione fatemur, quod Spiritus sanctus aeternaliter ex Patre et Filio, non tanquam ex duobus principiis, sed tanquam ex uno principio, non duabus spirationibus, sed unica spiratione, procedit": Constitutiones II:1, in *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 3rd ed. (Bologna, 1973), p. 314. See also M. Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne: Histoire de Dieu* (Paris, 1843), pp. 523-607; Reau, *Iconographie*, II (1), 14-29.

<sup>82</sup>The late medieval psalter, whether as a separate manuscript or as part of the bible or breviary was divided according to the distribution of the psalms over matins and vespers during the week. Psalms 1, 26, 28, 52, 68, 80 and 97 opened the first nocturn for matins on each day of the week respectively, while Psalm 109 headed the eighth section containing all the psalms to be sung at Vespers. The standard iconographic programme for the psalter was based partly on scenes of David as author of the psalms, and partly on a Christian interpretation of the opening words of the psalm, as in this case.

dextris meis".<sup>83</sup> The first vespers antiphon for the office of Trinity Sunday was illustrated by the Seat of Mercy Trinity, showing the enthroned God the Father supporting the Crucified Christ on the cross with the dove again joining their mouths with its wings (Fig. 78).<sup>84</sup> The "Dixit dominus" version was used for both psalter division and office, however, in the Paris/ Manchester Breviary (Fig. 69) as well as in the Châteauroux Breviary.<sup>85</sup>

In the Trinity Sunday miniature in the Châteauroux Breviary, elements were incorporated not only from the psalter, but from bibles, missals and books of hours, better to convey the meaning of the office. The four Evangelists and their symbols in the corners of the Trinity miniature in the Châteauroux Breviary are usually associated with the image of Christ in Majesty, particularly as it was found in large miniature format in missals. They were used in association with the Trinity, however, in the psalter of a bible illustrated by a follower of <sup>the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy</sup> Jean Bondol in 1368 (Fig. 111). In a miniature painted for the *Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame*, the reference to the four Evangelists, through their symbols only, was adopted for the memorial to the Trinity (Fig. 112). The *Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame* miniature also shows the Trinity group surrounded by angels and seraphim. Like the Nativity miniature in the Salisbury Breviary, the Trinity miniature in the Châteauroux Breviary is thus less innovative iconographically than in the way it combines elements already used in depictions of the Trinity elsewhere in order more fully to express the meaning of the office. The experimental use of the "Dixit dominus" version of the Trinity for the office was made possible, in spite of iconographic prescriptions for the illustration of the first vespers antiphon, through the medium of the book of hours, where pictorial traditions were less firmly connected to an individual text.<sup>86</sup> The addition of the cross linked the "Dixit dominus" Trinity with the Mercy Seat version, and accentuated the physical reunion of the Trinity in Heaven after the Ascension of Christ, which is so important to the position of the office in the temporal.

The surprise in the large miniature cycle for the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary is the use of the Baptism of Christ for the office of Trinity Sunday (Fig. 19). In the miniature, also painted by the Bedford Master, God the Father leans from Heaven to watch the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove hovering over the naked Christ. The carefully painted words "Hic est filius meus" from Matthew 3:17 link the elements of the Trinity. On the right, St Hilary of Poitiers, the fourth century author of a major pre-Augustinian treatise defending the dogma of the Trinity against Arianism, witnesses the event. The opening words of the first vespers antiphon for the office, "Gloria tibi trinitas/ equalis una deitas/ Et ante omnia secula/ Et nunc et in perpetuum," appear on the scroll he is holding, demonstrating his authorship of the verse. His presence, emphasized by a label, makes it clear that the scene is meant to be interpreted as a version of the Trinity and not in its strict narrative sense.

The theme of the Baptism of Christ almost never appears in breviary cycles, although it was used to

<sup>83</sup>"The Lord said to my Lord: sit at my right hand".

<sup>84</sup>See, for example, Amiens 114 (f. 142), Mazarine 344 (f.85v), Ste Geneviève 2646 (f. 316v) and the Chichele Breviary (f. 145v). The large Trinity Sunday miniature in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur is missing.

<sup>85</sup>The landscape details within the orb in the former example, reinforcing the idea of the Trinity as *Creator mundi*, are also found in the Trinity miniature on f. 129 of the *Heures de Jeanne de Navarre*: Meiss, *Late XIV Century*, fig. 601; Adelhard Heimann, "Trinitas creator mundi," *JWCI*, 2 (1938/9), 42-52.

<sup>86</sup>Don Denny, "The Trinity in Enguerrand Quarton's *Coronation of the Virgin*," *Art Bulletin*, (1963), 48-52, similarly observed that the theme of the Coronation of the Virgin by the "Dixit Dominus" version of the Trinity was developed outside psalter illustration, even though both themes had separately been associated with Psalm 109.



illustrate the Epiphany octave in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (BL Add 35311, f.216).<sup>87</sup> Its association with the Trinity, however, was firmly fixed by St Augustine, who grouped the voice of God the Father and the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove with the Incarnation itself and Pentecost as appropriations of the individual Persons of the Trinity.<sup>88</sup> The use of the Baptism in the Salisbury Breviary has no direct licence from the text of the antiphon itself. St Hilary, writing before St Augustine, saw this event only as one of the successions of births elevating Christ to a higher glory after the humiliation of the incarnation.<sup>89</sup> In the fifth lesson, on the other hand, the Baptism is used as the central proof in a scholastic sermon on the doctrine of appropriation, which seeks to reconcile the problem of how the three Persons of the coequal Trinity may each have individual characteristics:

quamvis quedam opera dei quibusdam personis specialiter convenient sicut patri vox illa que de celo sonuit super christum baptizatum : et ad filii personam humanitatis tantummodo pertinet susceptio et spiritussancti persone proprie congruit illa columba in cuius specie idem spiritussanctus descendit super eundem filium dei secundum hominem baptizatum : tamen absque omni dubitatione illam vocem et illam columbam et christi humanitatem tota sancta trinitas operata est cuius opera inseparabilia sunt.<sup>90</sup>

The Bedford Master had already experimented with a more conventional image of the Trinity using the large miniature format in the Châteauroux Breviary. In addition, the "Dixit dominus" version of the Trinity was to be used three times in the large miniature programme of the Salisbury Breviary, not only in the Ascension and Pentecost miniatures, but in the upper half of the Advent miniature (Fig. 1). The Baptism was a new and arresting image for the office, which avoided the duplication of themes, and provided the Bedford Master with opportunities for putting into practice what he had learnt from the experiments with light and landscape of his main associate in the Châteauroux Breviary, the Boucicaut Master.<sup>91</sup> At the same time, the theme of the Baptism encapsulated in pictorial and verbal form important twelfth and thirteenth century doctrinal issues concerning the Trinity, which were preserved in the lessons for the office.

The method developed for the Trinity Sunday miniature of the Salisbury Breviary, by which an attesting authorial figure was introduced into the pictorial space of an otherwise conventional narrative scene, was also used to solve the problem of illustrating the first lesson texts for Epiphany and Palm Sunday. Although, like the Nativity, Ascension and Apocalypse miniatures, the Epiphany and Palm Sunday miniatures draw upon standard models for their Christological themes, the Old Testament authors of the first lessons appear within each miniature to demonstrate the connection between the Old Law and the New expressed through the texts for matins. The figure of Isaiah, labelled and bearing a scroll with the opening words from Isaiah 55:1, appears in the Epiphany miniature (Fig. 11) just behind and to the left of the main group; while in the Palm Sunday miniature on f. 212v, Jeremiah is shown writing the text of

<sup>87</sup>The Gospel extract for the Epiphany octave was taken from Matthew, 3:13. St Hilary's feast day also fell on 13 January. The Baptism, which was originally associated with the 6 January feast and remained so in the East (Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, I, 127-28), is used to illustrate the office of the Epiphany itself in the Chichele Breviary (f. 55).

<sup>88</sup>St Augustine, *De Trinitate*, I, 4. Interestingly, the nine-miniature pictorial sequence on St Augustine's doctrine of the Trinity illustrating the memorial to the Trinity in the Sobieski Hours (f. 203) includes a much reduced version of the Baptism in the Salisbury Breviary.

<sup>89</sup>W. Sanday, ed., *St Hilary of Poitiers: Select Works* Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 2nd ser., IX (rpt Michigan 1979), p. lxxxi.

<sup>90</sup>However, certain operations of God may be particularly suitable to certain Persons, just as the voice which spoke from Heaven over the baptised Christ was to the father : and only to the person of the son belongs the taking on of humanity and to the person particularly of the Holy Spirit corresponds the dove in which form the same Holy Spirit descended upon the same son of God as he was being baptised in human form : nevertheless, without any doubt that voice and that dove and the humanity of Christ are the operations of the whole Trinity, whose works are inseparable". I have not been able to trace the source of the lesson, but it echoes thirteenth century conclusions on this issue: see in particular Aquinas, *Summa theologia*, I, QQ xliii, 7; and also Bertrand de Margerie, *La Trinité Chrétienne dans l'histoire*, Théologie Historique, 31 (Paris, 1975); and the articles under the headings "Appropriation", "Holy Ghost" and "Trinity" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols (1907-14).

<sup>91</sup>Both Meiss (*De Lévis Hours*, pp. 25-26) and Spencer ("Salisbury Breviary," p. 611) comment on the Bedford Master's renewed interest in these elements in the Baptism miniature.

the first lesson in a pavilion occupying the lower right hand corner. The border miniatures on both folios are also unique in being directly related to the theme of the main miniature. The scrolls for the border medallions on the Epiphany folio are all drawn from Matthew 2:1-12, the Gospel extract for the seventh lesson. Licence for the modification to the rule concerning the themes of the border items is given by St Matthew himself, who is shown as a tiny labelled figure emerging from behind the frame of the large miniature with the scroll for the third medallion. The innovative nature of the enterprise is reflected in the use of labels for the two figures. The same technique is used for the Palm Sunday folio, although the link with the Gospel extract from the seventh lesson is not as strictly observed.<sup>92</sup>

A similar suspension of the rule concerning border items was also applied to the Easter Sunday folio, where the figure of St Gregory, the author of the homily used for the first lesson, appears in the historiated initial below the large miniature (Fig. 16). The subjects of the border medallions are closely related to the sequence of events following the discovery of the empty tomb as narrated in Matthew 28:9-13. Only two of the border medallions, however, have scrolls, and one is in French. In addition, the Gospel extract for the lesson which precedes St Gregory's homily is from Mark, not Matthew, and there is no attempt in the border medallions to portray the source for the thematic material. The clear relationship between the readings for the office and the illustrations expressed in the Epiphany folio has been lost. Spencer's attribution of the design and partial execution of the Palm Sunday miniature to the Bedford Master would explain Hand B's successful completion of the folio, even though in the execution of the Easter Sunday folio he reveals a lack of awareness of the need to justify any departures from the overall plan.<sup>93</sup> Hand B also painted the Apocalypse miniature (Fig. 17), the border medallions for which all illustrate texts from the same folio. There would have been no benefit in drawing the subject from another source in this case, however, since the texts for the three ferial lessons are all taken from the Apocalypse.

The subject of the main miniature in the Easter Sunday folio is that of the Three Maries at the Tomb, a theme predicated by the Gospel extract which precedes the homily for the first lesson: "Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salome emerunt aromata: ut venientes ungerent Iesum" (Mark 16:1). In a rib-vaulted polygonal pavilion, an angel sitting on the lid of the open tomb addresses the three holy women, while four soldiers lie sprawled asleep in the foreground. To the right of the building stands St Longinus holding a pennant. The standard fourteenth and early fifteenth century theme for Easter Sunday in breviaries and missals was that of the Resurrection, the feast being celebrated by the office, but there are a number of precedents for its subordination to the closely related scene of the Three Maries at the Tomb, under the influence of the first lesson text.<sup>94</sup> The two motifs may also be found combined in thirteenth and fourteenth century Italian and German liturgical manuscripts, where the problem of illustrating the office or mass in the opening initial "A" or "R" generated the need for an upper and a lower scene.<sup>95</sup> The figure of the resurrected Christ in a mandorla of light to the left of the sepulchre in the Salisbury Breviary not only refers to the subject of the feast itself, but is an extension of the main theme, illustrating the

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<sup>92</sup>The labelled figures of both St Mark and St Matthew appear in the third and fourth border miniatures respectively. Although the Gospel extract is taken from Matthew 21:1-9, the subjects and texts for the border items are derived from a synoptic account.

<sup>93</sup>"Salisbury Breviary," p. 612.

<sup>94</sup>The latter theme is used, for instance, in the Paris/Manchester Breviary (BN lat 1024, f. 248v) and BN lat 13233 (f. 188). Both are used in the Belleville Breviary, with the theme of the Resurrection in the main miniature and that of the Three Maries in the bas-de-page (BN lat 10483, f. 375v). The theme of the Three Maries at the Tomb was in fact the standard way of illustrating the Resurrection until the thirteenth century: Reau, *Iconographie*, II (2), 541.

<sup>95</sup>Elly Cassee and Kees Berserik, "The iconography of the Resurrection: A re-examination of the risen Christ hovering above the tomb," *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), 20-24.

words from Matthew 28:5-6 spoken by the angel to the three Maries and given in contracted form in the scroll: "Nolite timere...Surrexit...Non est hic".<sup>96</sup> The large miniature format also provided space for the Chief Associate to introduce several additional narrative details in the style of contemporary Netherlandish work, including the handmaiden borrowed from the Master of Flémalle's Prado Betrothal of the Virgin panel.<sup>97</sup>

In the Epiphany and Palm Sunday miniatures the Old Testament themes of the first lesson texts did not impinge directly upon the theme of the miniature. The Corpus Christi miniature in the Salisbury Breviary (Fig. 20) is unique in the way it combines forms to create a synthesis of Old and New Testament themes related to the office. This was possible because the office itself was not strictly associated with a narrative theme; nor did the text of the first vespers antiphon invite illustration through the device of an attesting authorial figure. The text, which reads "Sacerdos in eternum christus dominus secundum ordinem melchisedech panem ac vinum obtulit",<sup>98</sup> was an adaptation from the fourth verse of Psalm 109, "Tu es sacerdos in eternum secundum ordinem melchisedech". Melchisedech is mentioned in two other places in the scriptures: in Genesis 14:18 where as a priest he brings food and wine to Abraham after his victory, thus prefiguring the last supper; and in St Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews 7:1-15 where the transferal between Melchisedech as priest of the old way and Christ as priest of the new is made clear.

From its instigation, the office of Corpus Christi was typically accompanied, when illustrated, by the theme of the Elevation of the Host, the central act of the mass in which the priest transforms the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.<sup>99</sup> In the office added to the Belleville Breviary (BN lat 10484, f. 86), the celebrant is an angel who holds a lighted candle in one hand, and raises a chalice in the other. Usually, however, a priest performs the rite and it is the eucharistic wafer which is elevated. The nimbed priest in the Breviary of Charles V (f. 157) is probably St Thomas Aquinas who was supposed to have written the office.<sup>100</sup> A variant on the theme in the Ste Geneviève diurnal, reflecting the manuscript's role as a book of private devotion, shows a canon giving communion to a layperson (f. 319v). In the Paris/Manchester Breviary, where the Elevation theme is used for the mass inserted after the office (Rylands 136, f. 104), the Eucharist also appears in its symbolic form as the paschal lamb standing on the altar holding the banner of resurrection (f. 99v).

The column miniature for Corpus Christi in the Châteauroux Breviary (f. 113v) also breaks with tradition for the illustration of the antiphon by portraying the institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper, a theme which directly illustrates the antiphon as well as the subject prefigured by the allusion to Melchisedech. Of the manuscripts surveyed, only in the Chichele Breviary was any attempt made to illustrate the Old Testament prototype itself. On f. 148v Melchisedech is portrayed giving communion to Abraham, accompanied by four men at arms. The theme of the Last Supper, however, was used in the late fourteenth century in England for the Corpus Christi mass in the Carmelite Missal (Fig. 91). For the lower half of the initial for the introit of the mass, a variant of the traditional Elevation theme is used.

<sup>96</sup>"Do not be afraid...He has risen...He is not here". The Salisbury Breviary example belies Reau's claim (*Iconographie*, p. 547) that the theme was not used in the North until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

<sup>97</sup>The sleeping soldiers also resemble the soldiers in the Seilem triptych in London: Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, pls 84, 86. Spencer, "Salisbury Breviary," p. 612, n. 17, was the first to document this connection.

<sup>98</sup>"The Lord Christ, priest eternally in the succession of Melchisedech, offered bread and wine".

<sup>99</sup>This was the essential dogma in the orthodox church around which all the ceremonies of worship were centred: Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (Glasgow, 1945).

<sup>100</sup>L.M.J. Delaissé, "A la recherche des origines de l'office du Corpus Christi dans les manuscrits liturgiques," *Scriptorium*, 4 (1950), 220-39.

The scene of the Institution of the Eucharist in the upper half of the initial, however, is an exciting precursor for the miniature in the Châteauroux Breviary, although the connection was probably not a direct one. Its presence in the Carmelite Missal is explained by Margaret Rickert as a visual refutation of Wyclif's views on transubstantiation, an issue publicly engaged in by the Carmelites on Corpus Christi Day, 1382.<sup>101</sup> The theme was clearly a standard item in the repertoire of the Bedford Group for the Corpus Christi office by the end of the second decade of the fifteenth century. It was used again by the Bedford group for the short office included amongst the subsidiary devotions in the Bedford Hours (Fig. 97) and the Vienna Hours (f. 128v), and for the mass in the Missal of Jacques du Châtelier (f. 215v).

In the Salisbury Breviary the theme of the elevation of the host is incorporated in one of the border miniatures, with the chalice portrayed rather than the wafer to conform to the antiphon text "Calicem salutaris" which is being illustrated. For the main miniature, however, a new image has been developed, based on the iconography of the version in the Châteauroux Breviary, but modified by the inclusion of Melchisedech and Abraham as participants in the scene. The scene is set in a multi-roomed architectural structure typical of the designs of the Bedford workshop. In the main room the circular table of the miniature in the Châteauroux Breviary has been replaced by a long rectangular one, angled on the model of designs for the theme of the Marriage of Cana to make room for Melchizedek, who kneels ceremoniously presenting bread and wine to the group. In a step-up chapel to the left, Abraham prays before a vested altar, while God the Father observes the proceedings in the small patch of gilded sky above the building. The historiated initial contains a second image of Melchisedech holding a scroll inscribed with the first three words of the antiphon. The scene is also witnessed by the Duke of Bedford, kneeling at a prie-dieu in a small alcove in the left foreground of the miniature, with a scroll bearing the words "Christus dominus" from the antiphon. The miniature thus shows Melchisedech handing over his duties as high-priest of God under the Law to the new priest Christ through the medium of the Communion elements themselves, the bread and wine, in direct and literal transfer of the succession motif in the antiphon into pictorial imagery.

The most complex miniature in the Salisbury Breviary, and certainly the one least able to be interpreted without reference to the meaning of the office, is the one which opens the temporal. For both organizational and liturgical reasons, the first Sunday of Advent was accorded a rank in the temporal as high as that of any of the feasts. As the first office not only of the temporal, but often of the breviary proper, it merited at the very least a large decorative initial (Fig. 73). Historiated initials or miniatures for this office carried the triple role of opening the temporal, representing the main theme of the office or season and illustrating the text they accompanied. As we have seen, the temporal was the section of the breviary containing the offices commemorating the events of Christ's life in a sequence progressing from his birth through his infancy, death, resurrection and ascension to his Pentecostal gift of the Holy Spirit. Within the temporal the first Sunday of Advent opened a four-week season of anticipation and preparation for the celebration of the feast of the Nativity on 25 December.

The opening first vespers texts for the first Sunday in Advent combined extracts from the Old Testament which were interpreted as prophesying the coming of the Messiah, with a hymn and prayer supplicating Christ to use his glorious power for the salvation of mankind. In the Paris use the opening first vespers chapter for the office from Jeremiah 23:5 read "Ecce dies veniunt dicit dominus, et suscitabo

<sup>101</sup>Rickert, *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, pp. 49-50. This was also an important issue in the condemnations of Wyclif and Huss at the Council of Constance (1414-18). The first three of the forty-five articles against Wyclif presented on May 4, 1415 deal with his denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation and a real corporal presence: *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, p. 411.

David germen iustum et regnabit rex et sapiens erit et faciet iudicium in terra".<sup>102</sup> In the Sarum use, the passage from Jeremiah was used as the responsory to a first vespers chapter from Isaiah 2:2: "Erit in novissimis diebus preparatus mons domus domini in verticem montium et elevabitur super colles et fluent ad eum omnes gentes".<sup>103</sup> The first nocturn texts for both uses were taken from the Book of Isaiah, opening with the vision of the prophet concerning the fall of Judah and Jerusalem. Isaiah was the Old Testament text read throughout Advent. The words from Isaiah 7:14, "Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium" and 11:1, "Et egrediatur virga de radice Iesse", which were taken as specific references to Christ's conception and his descent through his mother from David, were also used as musical propers during the performance of the office. Further emphasis on the conception of Christ, which must precede the Nativity as Advent precedes Christmas, was made through allusions to the Annunciation in lesson responsories, and in the memorials and offices dedicated to the Virgin interwoven into the texts for the first week of Advent.

The approaches to the illustration of the opening rubric, first vespers chapter or first lesson varied. In Amiens 114 (f. 7) the rubric initial contains the image of a bearded person in biblical garments praying to God the Father before a vested altar. He holds a scroll bearing a text now too rubbed to be read. It is tempting to identify him with Jeremiah or Isaiah, although the iconographic motif of the altar is unusual in the context of an attesting authorial figure. A similar bearded man is shown preaching in an initial accompanying the chapter in the Paris/ Manchester Breviary (Fig. 67). In this case, however, the preaching scene and nimbus identify the figure as St John the Baptist.<sup>104</sup> The Precursor as the single linking figure between the world *sub lege* before the birth of Christ prophesized by the chapter text and the world *sub gratia* which followed, was considered an appropriate subject with which to open the office and illustrate the text. With this in mind, the exact identification of the Amiens 114 figure is probably less important than the recognition of his role as representative of the whole group of patriarchs and prophets who lived a life of prayer and penance under God's Law before the incarnation. As such, the figure is clearly related to the group of images used in Italian fourteenth century antiphonals or graduals, to illustrate the opening antiphon "Aspiciens a longe," or introit "Ad te levavi". In both kinds of manuscript Old Testament figures occupy the lower half of the opening initial "A", praying earnestly to the figure of Christ in Majesty or the enthroned Virgin and Child in the upper level.<sup>105</sup>

This tradition also informs the miniature and bas-de-page scene opening the chapter from Jeremiah in the Belleville Breviary (Fig. 89). In the miniature David kneels at the feet of an image of Christ in Majesty surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists, while in the bas-de-page space on the left a group of men and women kneel with hands and eyes raised. The theme is expanded, however, by the depiction on the right of the resurrected Christ in a mandorla, displaying his wounds. The promise of judgment and justice prophesized in the chapter text is shown to have been fulfilled through the resurrection of Christ. The miniature in the Belleville Breviary thus makes it clear that Advent was seen, not only as a time of preparation before the commemoration and re-enactment of the historical sequence of events initiated by

<sup>102</sup>"Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth".

<sup>103</sup>"And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it".

<sup>104</sup>The image of the Baptist is also used to open Advent in a fifteenth century Autun breviary in the Bayeux Bibliothèque Municipale (ms 58, f. 137): Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, I, 118-20.

<sup>105</sup>For examples of both, see Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, ms 2781, f. 1 (a gradual with Christ in Majesty in the upper level) and ms 2783, f. 3 (an antiphonal with the Virgin and Child). I am indebted to Margaret Manion for bringing these examples to my attention.

Christ's birth, but also as a time of anticipation for the second triumphant coming of Christ. The opening text from Jeremiah is interpreted as prophesying the coming of a Messiah who would complete the act of redemption begun by the divine incarnation.

Because of its association with the breviary texts through its temporal and causal connection with the Nativity, the Annunciation was also a popular synthetic choice to open the office. Simple versions of the Annunciation may be found for the rubric in BL Harley 2927 (f. 132) and the first lesson responsory in the Chichele Breviary (f. 4v).<sup>106</sup> The theme of the Annunciation was also used for the miniature opening the first vespers chapter, which was taken from Romans 13:11 in the Roman use, in the Breviary of Blanche de France (f. 103).

By contrast, when the first lesson for Advent was illustrated, the theme was routinely concerned with Isaiah. Both the Breviary of Blanche de France (f. 103v) and the Belleville Breviary (BN lat 10483, f. 214) use a scene of the Vision of Isaiah for their first lesson miniature, the second of the two figurative emphases provided for the office in each manuscript. In the former Isaiah stands holding an empty scroll looking up at the head of Christ in a blue cloud. In the latter he sits at a lectern looking at the head of a dove emerging from a cloud, while in the *bas-de-page* a crowd of men point upwards. Both examples thus depict Isaiah as a witness to the coming of the Messiah.<sup>107</sup> In the miniature in the Belleville Breviary, however, Isaiah's prophecy of the coming of the Messiah is combined with the image of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, the agent through which the divine incarnation usually takes place in depictions of the Annunciation. A similar extension of the theme may be found in the miniature opening Advent in the Breviary of Charles V, which shows Isaiah prophesying to a group of sleeping people, one of whom awakes. The half-length figure of the Virgin, through whom the prophecy is to be fulfilled, appears in her guise as Queen of Heaven in the upper corner of the miniature (Fig. 75).

The designer of the Advent miniature in the Salisbury Breviary (Fig. 1) was clearly aware of the many ways in which the office could be visually interpreted to convey the wealth of meaning inherent in the season of Advent through its position in the liturgical year. The miniature shows Abraham, Isaiah, Jacob, Moses, David and Malachi, all labelled, kneeling in supplication in a craggy landscape, their words of prayer depicted graphically as scrolls which seem to curl upwards in response to the force of the uplifted gazes of the kneeling figures. Above them in a glorious radiance encircled by musical angels, is a version of the "Dixit dominus" Trinity surrounded by the Heavenly Court. Christ is depicted in his resurrected form revealing his wounds and holding the cross. The third person of the Trinity appears as a dove with a scroll bearing the words "Ecce venio". At the bottom of the miniature, Gabriel holds a scroll reading "Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te," as he leans down towards the Virgin who is reading in the initial D of the opening rubric of the office, "Dominica prima adventus domini".

Into a carefully organized three-tiered space, elements from each of the examples previously described have thus been incorporated into a single complex scene. It is related to the "Aspiciens a longe" and "Ad te levavi" tradition, through its hieratic structure and its set of representative Old Testament figures in fervent attitudes of prayer. The ~~scene of the Annunciation is incorporated~~ scene of the Annunciation is incorporated in the initial ~~vignette~~ vignette. David is shown amongst the Old Testament figures as the ancestor of Christ, and Isaiah as the prophet of his incarnation. The figure of Christ in Majesty fulfilling the prophecy of the first vespers chapter in the

<sup>106</sup>A second initial in the Chichele Breviary, for the rubric, shows Chichele himself as a bishop reading to thirteen canons (Fig. 96).

<sup>107</sup>The Breviary of Philippe le Bel illustrates the text directly by depicting Isaiah watching the collapse of a city (f. 70v).

Belleville Breviary is replaced by an image of The Trinity, which brings together the God of the Old Testament with the resurrected Christ and the Christ of judgment in a single celestial form. Nevertheless, the miniature in the Salisbury Breviary is not just a compendium of earlier traditions for the illustration of the office. Neither can it be seen as a more complex pictorial representation of any specific text or combination of texts within the office. It has been designed to illustrate the opening rubric of the first Sunday of Advent as an office beginning and ending the liturgical year. The inspiration for the theme as a whole must be sought, not in the text, as was the case for all the other large miniatures in the temporal, but in contemporary views of the shape of the liturgy.

Spencer was the first to point out the resemblance between the Advent miniature in the Salisbury Breviary and the *Ordo Prophetarum* and *Procès du paradis*, two dramatic themes found in late medieval mystery plays.<sup>108</sup> The prophet play as a genre was derived from a liturgical sequence based on a sermon attributed falsely to St Augustine entitled *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos sermo de Symbolo*. By the twelfth century or earlier, the sermon had been dramatized, like the "Quem quaeritis" or "Visitatio" sequence for the Easter Sunday mass, and incorporated into Matins of the Christmas Mass in some churches. In the three surviving texts of the liturgical version of the *Ordo Prophetarum*, prophets and pagans each come forward and bear witness to the coming of Christ. Once detached from the liturgical cycle, variations of the prophet play became popular both in their own right and as prefaces to several different mystery plays, one of which, the *Nativité* recorded in Ms 1131 of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, was possibly performed regularly by members of the Confrérie de la Passion et Resurrection in Paris after they had obtained the right by letters patent from Charles V to perform mysteries in Paris in 1402.<sup>109</sup> Such prophet plays in French and English cycles shared the theological purpose of the theme of the Tree of Jesse, the alternative calendar cycle in the Belleville Breviary, or the groups of prophets in the sculptural programmes of the cathedrals, of proving the concordance of the Old Testament with the New. They also effected a transition between pageants on Old and New Testament themes through the delivery by each character of prophecies concerning Christ.<sup>110</sup>

Although the Advent miniature in the Salisbury Breviary is similarly involved in demonstrating the links between the Old and New Testament, all the figures but Malachi, who is depicted in the typical pose of a prophet, are kneeling in prayer. In addition, only Malachi's scroll bears a prophetic text, taken from Malachi 3:1 and reading "Statim veniet dominator". The first scroll, "Domine prestolamur adventum tuum," held by Jacob, reminds the Lord that his chosen people are ready and waiting for his coming. Moses' scroll, "Obsecro domine mitte quem missurus es," expresses the urgency with which Christ's Advent is anticipated. The need for penance in preparation for his coming is conveyed by David, whose

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<sup>108</sup>"Salisbury Breviary," p. 608.

<sup>109</sup>Grace Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 39-42, 67, 136-53. The *Ordo Prophetarum* was used as early as the mid-twelfth century as the third part of the *Mystère d'Adam*: Carl J. Odenkirchen, *The Play of Adam (Ordo Representacionis Ade)* (Brookline, Mass. and Leiden, 1976). It also appears in three of the four surviving English Corpus Christi cycles (The Chester, *Ludus Coventriae* [or N-town] and Towneley cycles), between the Old Testament pageants and the series of Nativity plays: Peter Happe ed., *English Mystery Plays: A Selection* (Harmondsworth, 1975), pp. 188-215.

<sup>110</sup>The N-town prophet play takes the form of a Jesse play, with prophets and kings alternately attesting to the birth of Christ, while in the Chester prophet play the prophecies are presented in the order of the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension and Descent of the Holy Spirit in the manner of a creed play.

scroll reads "Ostende nobis domine misericordiam tuam".<sup>111</sup> The resemblance of the Advent miniature to the attesting prophet play is thus as partial as its resemblance to the examples in the visual arts.

A separate tradition in French mystery cycles, however, did use prophets and patriarchs in a supplicatory role. The earliest surviving example occurs in Arnoul Gréban's *Mystère de la passion*, performed first in Paris in 1452.<sup>112</sup> It was also used in the *Mystère de l'incarnation et nativité* performed in Rouen in 1474, and in the early sixteenth century *Passion de Valenciennes*.<sup>113</sup> In all three of these plays, set in limbo, Adam, Eve, Isaiah, Ezechiel, Jeremiah and David each come forward to implore the fulfilment of the prophecies as a preface to the *Procès de paradis*.<sup>114</sup> The *Procès de paradis*, also called the Parliament of Heaven, or the Debate between the Four Daughters of God, was a dramatic dialogue about the fate of mankind between the four virtues Mercy, Truth, Justice and Peace. This theme, derived from commentaries on Psalm 75:10, "Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other," was probably first used in the French theatre by Eustache Mercadé (d.1440), dean of the faculty of ecclesiastical law at the University of Paris. Mercadé is thought to have been the author of the *Passion d'Arras*, a passion play taking four days to perform which is framed by the *Procès de paradis*. Before the scenes of the birth and childhood of Christ performed on the first day, the Trinity in the form of God the Father responds to the arguments and pleas of the virtues by sending Gabriel to announce the incarnation to the Virgin. At the end of the fourth day of the performance the Heavenly Host, including the dissenting virtues, rejoice at the return of Christ and give praise to the Trinity.<sup>115</sup>

Clearly, the main theme of the *Procès de paradis* is not illustrated in the Advent miniature in the Salisbury Breviary. What influenced Spencer to see a connection between the miniature and the play was presumably the use in the miniature of the Old Testament figures prefacing the episode in Gréban's play, praying not to God the Father or to a Christ in Majesty image, but to the Trinity surrounded by a joyous heavenly host. Spencer was familiar through her work on the illuminator Maître François with a series of examples in books of hours dating from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, which illustrate the scene of the *Procès de paradis* in place of the standard theme of the Annunciation for matins of the hours of the Virgin. The example in the Wharncliffe Hours (Fig. 113) telescopes the opening and closing scenes of the play by combining the scene of Gabriel being sent on his mission with that of the celebration in Heaven upon Christ's return. In the Advent miniature in the Salisbury Breviary the Trinity in Majesty image performs the same telescoping function. The pleas of the patriarchs and prophets with regard both to the first and the second coming of Christ are also directed to the Trinity rather than to a Christ in Majesty figure.

<sup>111</sup>Only two of the scroll texts are taken directly from the office. "Obsecro domine" is the pre-Lauds responsory for the first week in Advent. Its second half, "Vide afflictionem populi tui/ Sicut locutus es, veni et libera nos," echoes God's words to Moses in Exodus 3:7 (the responsory is illustrated by the theme of Moses and the Burning Bush in the first border miniature in Fig. 3). "Ostende nobis" is a versicle derived from the penitential psalm 50, "Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam": thus its association with David. It was used as a chapter responsory at sext during Advent, as part of the preces at compline and together with the psalm during the blessing of the salt and water on Sundays after prime. The meaning of "Statim veniet" in the context of the Advent miniature is clear, although the chapter from Malachi was only used in the office of the Purification of the Virgin. I have not been able to find the source for "Domine prestolamur". The only biblical parallel may be found in the words of God to Gideon in Judges 6:18, "Ego prestolabor adventum tuum".

<sup>112</sup>Arnoul Gréban, *Le Mystère de la passion d'Arnould Gréban publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris avec une introduction et un glossaire*, ed. Gaston Paris and Gaston Raynard (Paris, 1878), pp. 25-43, lines 1741-3394.

<sup>113</sup>*Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le moyen-âge*, ed. Robert Bossuat et al (Paris, 1964), pp. 530-38.

<sup>114</sup>The N-town play, which survives in a manuscript dating from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, is the only English cycle to have a version of the *Procès de paradis*, clearly under the influence of a continental model. The attesting version of the prophet play, however, is retained.

<sup>115</sup>Frank, *Medieval French Drama*, pp. 176-81; Jules-Marie Richard, *Le Mystère de la Passion: texte du manuscrit 697 de la Bibliothèque d'Arras* (Arras, 1891). Richard believes the play may have been performed in Paris by the Confrérie de la Passion et Resurrection soon after 1402.



If the Advent miniature was developed under the influence of a play like Gréban's, then it provides strong evidence that the *Procès de paradis* was performed in association with a supplicatory prophet play at a much earlier date than the surviving documents suggest. In discussing the influence of either of the dramatic dialogues on the Advent miniature in the Salisbury Breviary, however, it must be stressed that much remains to be understood about the degree to which liturgically significant themes explored through theological treatises, sermons and commentaries, the theatre and the breviary and missal texts themselves were part of a shared thought world. St Thomas Aquinas' scientifically developed refutals of objections to Augustinian Trinitarian doctrine would have been accessible at an intellectual level only to other scholars. Such theological issues, however, influenced the summary of orthodox views fixed in the lessons for the office. The strict obligation to relate image to text was essential to the illustration of liturgical manuscripts because of the dangers of heresy in even minor departures from the fixed forms. The development of new dramatic themes was equally restricted by the parameters of orthodoxy, however much individual creative effort might contribute to the language and internal structure of the scenes.

The use of the Trinity in the Advent miniature of the Salisbury Breviary departs from tradition only in detail. It was accepted doctrine that the Old Testament revelation was a Trinitarian one. Because of the appropriation of this operation by the first Person of the Trinity, God the Father was usually the agent depicted in such scenes, but the two images were interchangeable. It was similarly admissible to substitute the Trinity for Christ in the Majesty image adapted to illustrate the office of Trinity Sunday in the Châteauroux Breviary (Fig. 42). The same process occurred in the theatre. In the opening sequence of the *Passion d'Arras* a single actor playing God the Father represents the Trinity according to the doctrinally sound stage direction "Cy est la Trinité en Paradis c'est assavoir Dieu le père". The English version in the *Ludus Coventriae* (or N-town) cycle, however, gives speaking roles to all three Persons of the Trinity.<sup>116</sup> Such legitimate variations on a theme in church-approved forms of religious expression all worked from within a shared orthodoxy. How much the creative effort of an artist or author was assisted by analogous statements in another genre, or by scholarly advisers, depended on the range of his or her own religious experience, as well as on models directly available through exemplars or, in the case of artists, through existing workshop designs. The inseparable links between doctrine, art and religious drama in the late medieval period are well demonstrated by the illustration given to the *Procès de paradis* in an Italian fourteenth century manuscript of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (BN ital. 115).<sup>117</sup> The model used to illustrate the debate was borrowed from the "Aspiciens a longe/ Ad te levavi" tradition. The drawing in BN ital. 115 is so closely modelled on this type that the virtues are depicted in the guise of prophet-like men rather than women.

Without further knowledge of the nature of the large miniatures removed from the Orgemont Breviary and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, it is difficult even to estimate the degree of innovation exhibited in the Advent miniature in the Salisbury Breviary. The surviving Ascension miniature in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur is less innovative iconographically than stylistically. On the other hand, the first Sunday in Advent was not only one of the most frequently illustrated offices in the breviary, but the one most likely to generate interesting iconographic solutions to the problem of illustrating the office. Three of the four large miniatures in the temporal of the Breviary of Philippe le Bon, for instance, have conventional

<sup>116</sup>R.T. Davies, ed., *The Corpus Christi Play of the English Middle Ages* (London, 1972), pp. 123-30.

<sup>117</sup>Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, eds, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1961), p. 7.

themes, but the theme of the Tree of Jesse is used for the opening office.<sup>118</sup> By analogy with the summer volume, the winter volume of the Châteauroux Breviary, if completed, must have had at least one large miniature to open the temporal, possibly designed by the Bedford Master himself. The Trinity Sunday miniature in the surviving volume already displays the compositionally rich and iconographically varied characteristics of the miniatures in the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary.

All that can really be said is that the large miniatures in the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary are a later and more developed product of the Bedford group, reflecting the considerable experience gained by its members in the years since 1415-18. The miniature illustrating the office of the Trinity in the Bedford Hours (Fig. 96), for instance, which was probably painted in 1419, demonstrates the confidence gained in the use of the "Dixit dominus" image for the office. Elements from the Trinity Sunday and All Saints miniatures in the Châteauroux Breviary have been combined in the later example, in order to comment on the Transubstantiation issue in the context of an extended version of the "Trinitas creator mundi". The Father and Son, sharing a mantle, hold a chalice and wafer over an open book on their knees, while a panorama of the world extends below. The Trinity Sunday miniature in the Salisbury Breviary goes a step beyond both the earlier examples through the use of a new theme related not only to the text and office, but to the Trinitarian emphasis of the programme as a whole. The design developed for the Trinity miniature in the Bedford Hours was not abandoned, however, but provided a substantial model for the Pentecost miniature in the Salisbury Breviary.

During the second and third decades of the fifteenth century, the development and virtuoso use of such complex themes became a hallmark of the work of the Bedford group for the luxury market. The store of models generated by a specific project became immediately available for adaptation to the demands of the next commission requiring large miniatures, while the skills of the Bedford Master and his associates in this area, once established, created demand. The cycle of eleven miniatures illustrating the subsidiary devotions in the Bedford Hours (ff. 96-207) seems to have been devised specifically as an arena within which a number of themes of central liturgical interest not covered by the Infancy and Passion cycles could be explored using the large miniature format, including several usually found only in the breviary or missal. Notwithstanding a professional interest in the themes generated by such commissions, however, the Bedford Master must have engaged in negotiations with advisers concerning the special needs of the manuscript which involved discussion of the subject content of the figurative cycle.

The illustration of the temporal of a luxury breviary in the late medieval period by definition required innovation and experiment. The extended cycles of the Breviary of Charles V, the Breviary of Jean sans Peur and the Orgemont and Châteauroux Breviaries could depend on well established traditions for the illustration only of the temporal feasts and the opening office. The size and complexity of the temporal meant that even in a large decorative programme there was a large pool of offices sufficiently significant liturgically to be candidates for figurative emphasis. On the other hand, an obligation to relate new images to the text was generally observed, placing limitations on the range of themes which could be used. It is thus in the specific choice of offices to illustrate that the greatest differences between programmes may be observed. Even so, extended figurative programmes tend to focus upon the weeks leading up to the key feasts of the Nativity and Resurrection and the readings for the summer months.

The decorative programme designed for the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary was as complex as any

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<sup>118</sup>BR 9511, f. 15: Leroquais, *Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon*, pl. 1. The theme was borrowed from miniatures in two bibles now also in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, BR 9002, f. 219 and BR 9025, f. 144.

received by a luxury breviary made in Paris up to that time. Foliate and inhabited initials in combination with figurative items provided a flexible, multi-level hierarchy of decoration which had a strong organizational as well as ranking function. As in all breviaries, the nature of the figurative cycle was determined by the internal structure of the temporal and the historical accidents contributing to the development of each office. In common with its English and French precursors, the Salisbury Breviary had inherited differences between the general theme of some of the offices and the specific subject of the text chosen to receive the emphasis. This was particularly a problem when the emphatic scheme devolved routinely to first lessons, since non-Gospel sources were generally used for the first nocturn lessons, and for the lessons read during the week. Although in small Paris cycles a synthetic theme was usually chosen regardless of the text being emphasized, the designers of the larger programmes were clearly aware of the incongruities. Experiments in solving the problem were conducted in the Belleville Breviary through the use of the bas-de-page space and the duplication of figurative emphasis. In the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, the emphasis was sometimes moved to the seventh lesson to provide a better correlation between office and text. The problem was less of an issue in England because of the absence of prescribed forms for initials and borders. The use of the large miniature format in Paris in the early fifteenth century breviary and missal, however, provided opportunities for the development of fuller and more complex images.

The nature of the iconographic programme planned for the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary was corrupted by the long process of execution of the column miniatures and historiated initials in parallel with the border programme. The large miniatures, however, were designed as a group and executed together by the Bedford Master and a single close associate during the period of Bedford's patronage. The resulting cycle exhibits numerous exciting solutions to the problem of illustrating both the theme of the office as a whole and the text emphasized. The new images were developed specifically for the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary with the help of a theological adviser familiar with the Sarum use. Nevertheless, they owe much to innovations of the Bedford workshop already initiated under the impetus of a renewed demand by members of the French court for the production of luxury liturgical manuscripts in the second decade of the fifteenth century.

## Chapter 5

### The Border Programme

#### I

The design and execution of the decorative programme for the Salisbury Breviary was a formidable task for the Bedford Master, his advisers, associates and assistants. The size and scope of the figurative cycle of the text alone, with its forty-seven large miniatures, was unprecedented in Parisian breviary illumination. Nevertheless, the project would have been finished in a relatively short number of years, and certainly well within the lifetime of its patron, had not the decoration of the manuscript also involved an extraordinarily ambitious border programme. Each folio was to be decorated with four miniatures set in panels of floral and foliate rinceaux, three in the outer margin and one below the inner column of text. Nor were the border miniatures to be insignificant in size. The finished miniatures vary in height, depending on the shape of the frame, from seven to ten lines, and in width, depending on whether they occupy the vertical or horizontal margin, from thirty-two to forty-five centimetres. They are thus equivalent in size to the larger historiated initials and smaller column miniatures. Over thirty percent of the manuscript as it now survives remains unfinished. Even so 4,128 of the border miniatures were completed by the Bedford workshop before the project was abandoned. Of these, only about a thousand were painted during the twelve or thirteen year period of Bedford's patronage.

The exact extent of the first campaign on the Salisbury Breviary can be determined relatively easily by distinguishing the gatherings within which Bedford's portraits and emblems appear. The number of references to the patron in the manuscript was unusual for the genre, as was the way they were made an integral part of the design.<sup>1</sup> The Breviary of Charles V has no indication of ownership, apart from the substitution of a king kneeling before God for the theme of the Trinity which usually illustrates Psalm 109 in the psalter (f. 261). In the Châteauroux Breviary only the arms of the dauphin on f. 430 (Fig. 49) reveal the nature of its patronage. Although heraldic devices in manuscripts like the Breviary of Louis d'Evreux and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur provide clear evidence of ownership, they were restricted to a few important folios (Figs 39, 54).<sup>2</sup> The three-line heraldic initials in the Orgemont Breviary most closely approach the Salisbury Breviary in the degree to which the patron's devices were woven into the decorative scheme (Figs 59-63). In the Salisbury Breviary versions of Bedford's shield of arms, the tree-root device or portraits of the Duke and Duchess in prayer distinguish selected bifolios in the first eleven gatherings of the temporal (with the exception of gathering six), as well as bifolios in the seven

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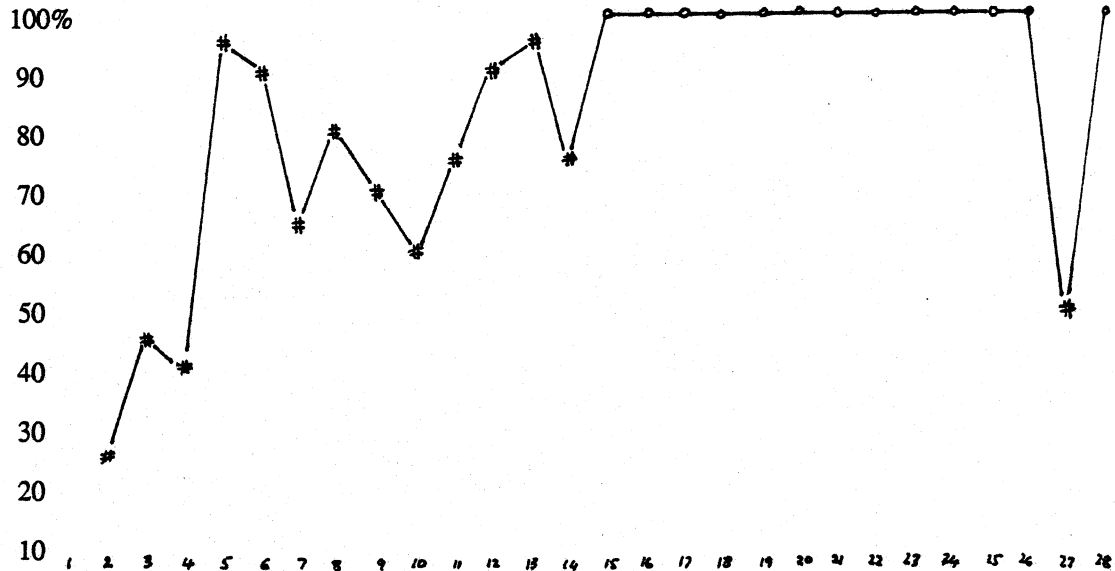
<sup>1</sup>It was also unusual for the workshop to make such detailed provisions for the patron's arms, even in clearly bespoken manuscripts: Backhouse, "Reappraisal of the Bedford Hours," p. 48.

<sup>2</sup>In the former manuscript to the three surviving miniature folios, and in the latter to the Ascension folio in Harley 2897 (in both breviaries, however, folios important to the hierarchy of decoration are missing). The Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu has the bishop's coat of arms in the margin, or as infill for the initials of the more important offices, on nine folios: Arsenal 582, ff. 8 (Fig. 57), 23v, 32v, 49; Mazarine 345, ff. 1, 16, 70, 131). In the Chichele Breviary the arms are incorporated on the opening folio of the temporal, together with a generalized portrait of the archbishop in the initial (Fig. 84).

other gatherings in the temporal containing large miniature folios, and gatherings forty-eight, forty-nine, fifty-one and sixty-six in the sanctoral.<sup>3</sup>

The distribution of Bedford's emblems in the Salisbury Breviary also coincided with, and in part depended upon, the use of a variety of framing devices for the border miniatures. The standard scheme for the borders, comprising four square or rectangular miniatures with gilded bar frames, was only universally used in gatherings not associated through the insignia of the patron with the first campaign (Table 5-1).

**Table 5-1: Percentage of Square or Rectangular Gilded Bar Frames in the First Twenty-eight Gatherings of the Temporal**



Hashed (#) gatherings contain Bedford's portraits or devices.

Although entire bifolios in the earlier gatherings have square or rectangular frames for the border miniatures, the medallion format framed by knotted twigs or stems forming part of the decorative border was used regularly, both in its own right and as a carrier for the tree-root device (Fig. 25).<sup>4</sup> Unlike the small roundels tentatively introduced into the margins of the text folios of the Bedford Hours, the medallions used in the first campaign on the Salisbury Breviary were consistently placed in the lower margin to ~~allow them to have a diameter equal to the width of the column.~~ <sup>take advantage of the larger space.</sup> Other orbicular shapes including the traditional quatrefoil were also used in this position, while an elongated, lobe-shaped variant of the organic frame was used only for the middle position in the vertical margin.

Apart from the medallion and its derivatives, a range of other regular and irregular square and rectangular shapes were used to frame border miniatures on folios painted during the first campaign. The scene in the miniature at the top of the right margin on f. 8 (Fig. 1) takes place within an architectural setting which does away completely with the need for a frame. The bare parchment acts as space against

<sup>3</sup>This places the 1,024 border miniatures on ff. 8-95, bifolios 106/09, 209/12 and 225/28, ff. 239-46 and 255-78 and bifolios 282/83, 375/82 (excluding 382v), 376/81, 386/87, 401/04 and 518/21 within gatherings painted during the first campaign.

<sup>4</sup>The tree-root is also used in this fashion on ff. 12, 15v, 21v, 22v, 27/v, 29v, 30, 31v, 32, 48, 49/v, 54/v, 64, 66v, 67v, 80/v, 106v, 230v, 242/v, 283, 375v and 401/v. Medallions were usually traced from recto to verso on each folio where they were used, but specific design details were not necessarily copied.

which the pale, evenly-lit tones of the masonry arch are set. The arch has a similar function to the one in the miniature below it on the same folio, which serves as an intermediary between the flat surface of the parchment outside the gilded bar frame and the architectural space within.<sup>5</sup> On other folios, the opportunities provided by the elimination of the traditional frame were used to create complex architectural structures. A polygonal chapel forms the setting for the praying figure within the border miniature at the bottom right on f. 17 (Fig. 3). In this example the figure of God the Father above the chapel occupies an undefined space in the margin. The same technique was also used for more conventionally framed miniatures to place visionary figures outside the temporal world defined by the miniature. Unframed landscape scenes like the two on f. 17 took the relationship between miniature and marginal space even further.

Such virtuoso play with the space occupied by the border items and the surface of the folio echoed experiments by the Bedford and Boucicaut Masters with subsidiary scenes in books of hours (Figs. 95, 105). The skill and effort required to design and execute this kind of pictorial item precluded its routine use in the manuscript, even in the first campaign. The intervention of the illuminator in the initial design stages for the borders was also antithetic to the assembly line procedures necessary for the efficient treatment of such a large project. The pattern set by the opening folio was sustained throughout the first three gatherings of the temporal and adopted for most of the other large miniature folios associated with the period of Bedford's patronage by his emblems. After the third gathering, however, there was a simplification in the design of the borders for the text folios, with the repertoire mainly restricted to gilded squares and rectangles varied by lobes and medallions (Fig. 8).

The Bedford Master's involvement with the border programme during the first campaign was pervasive. Spencer<sup>6</sup> judged him responsible for the execution of all the figurative items in the first ten gatherings of the temporal, as well as on the bifolios containing the half-page miniatures for Epiphany and Trinity Sunday in the temporal and the office of St Anne in the sanctoral. Under this scheme he would have executed nearly seven hundred of the border miniatures painted during the first campaign. In spite of the stylistic coherence of the miniatures assigned by Spencer to the Bedford Master, however, there is evidence that the division of work was less distinct and that he shared some stages of the work in gatherings 2-11 with other artists. Although he may have been responsible for the border items on the outer bifolio of gathering eleven, the work on the rest of the gathering is characterized, like most of gathering twelve, by simpler folds and penwork redrawing of facial features, hands, hair and beards. The order of the border miniatures in all but the outer bifolio of gathering eleven also varies from the standard set by the first gathering of the temporal. This is also the case in gathering three, in spite of the richness and complexity of the framing devices.<sup>7</sup> In addition, in gathering nine the themes of the column miniature and one of the border miniatures for the office of St John the Evangelist on f. 69 were confused by an artist ignorant of the separate function of the figurative cycle of the text, something one would not expect of the chief artistic designer of the programme.<sup>8</sup>

The relatively small size of the miniatures, the use of sequential assembly line techniques, the addition

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<sup>5</sup>Panofsky's "diaphragm arch": *Early Netherlandish Painting*, pp. 58-59. The removal of the frame combined the virtues of the diaphragm arch with those of the opened-up exterior view.

<sup>6</sup>"Salisbury Breviary," p. 611.

<sup>7</sup>The figurative and inhabited initials in gathering three, and all but the outer bifolio of gathering eleven, were not finished either, suggesting that they went through the same stages of execution.

<sup>8</sup>It is also in this gathering that the first three border miniatures without accompanying latin texts occur.

of details or accents by another artist, and the practice of extracting selected bifolios containing figurative items from the rest of the gathering for special attention, all make it difficult to isolate the individual hands contributing to the workshop style at one particular time. Since the rigorous stylistic analysis of the borders painted during the first campaign is outside the scope of the present study, all that may usefully be said at this stage is that the Bedford Master established clear formal and stylistic precedents for the decorative programme from the first gathering of the Salisbury Breviary. These were followed closely by the artists assisting him with the stage by stage execution of the border miniatures in the first ten folios of the temporal, and also formed a self-referential reservoir of designs for the other artists working on folios executed during the first and subsequent campaigns.

Although members of the Bedford group had illuminated at least one earlier manuscript with an extensive figurative border programme, no contemporary Paris workshop had decorated a liturgical or para-liturgical manuscript in the same manner as the Salisbury Breviary. In the Bedford Hours the two border medallions on each folio draw their Old and New Testament themes mainly from an extended version of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, quotations from which are given in gold and blue ink at the bottom of the folio (Fig. 98).<sup>9</sup> Even in the section on ff. 260-87v devoted to memorials and special masses, where the marginal scenes are related to the text, similar quotations in French are provided as sources for and expositions of their themes. This meant that the border cycle in the Bedford Hours could avoid the restraints on subject matter imposed by the diverse set of texts intrinsic to the book of hours. The same kind of thematic unity was made possible in the Rohan Hours through the use by the Rohan Master of texts from the *Bible moralisée* for the border miniatures.<sup>10</sup> In each case, the workshops took their models directly from an extensive cycle developed for another manuscript genre.<sup>11</sup>

In the Salisbury Breviary, from the very first gathering, the border miniatures were designed to illustrate a passage taken from the same folio in the order given below:<sup>12</sup>

VERSO	RECTO
1	2
2	3
3 4	1 4

The texts for the first two border miniatures on each folio of the manuscript were meant to be drawn from the first column and those for the other two from the second, thus preserving as close a relationship as possible between the position of the pictorial item and the written word. In addition, the opening words of the illustrated passage were to be reproduced in each of the border miniatures, either by means of a scroll or label, or as text in an open book being read by one of the protagonists. This scheme was followed exactly during the execution of the first seven gatherings of the temporal and, allowing for the

<sup>9</sup>Backhouse, "Reappraisal of the Bedford Hours," pp. 52-53. The texts for some of the scrolls were transcribed by R. Gough, *An Account of a Rich Illuminated Missal Executed for John Duke of Bedford* (London, 1794). Backhouse, however, was the first to recognize their source and to describe the two non-biblical sequences. Another book of hours in New York produced by the Bedford workshop, Pierpont Morgan 359, also has an independent medallion cycle: Plummer, *The Last Flowering*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>10</sup>Meiss and Thomas, *Rohan Hours*. The border cycle of the Hours of Isabella Stewart (Fitzwilliam 62), also painted by the Rohan workshop, was taken from Deguilleville's *Three Pilgrimages* and the Apocalypse: James, *Fitzwilliam Museum*, pp. 156-74.

<sup>11</sup>A related approach was used for the illustration of the early fourteenth century Tickhill Psalter (New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, ms 26). Each folio up to f. 112 has two bas-de-page illustrations, the subjects of which are taken in part directly from Genesis and Kings, and in part from Peter Comestor's commentaries on these books in the *Historia Scholastica* (the *Bible historiale* in French): D.D. Egbert, *The Tickhill Psalter and Related Manuscripts* (Princeton, 1940); see also his *A Sister to the Tickhill Psalter: the Psalter of Queen Isabella of England* (New York, 1935).

<sup>12</sup>Based on Leroquais' own diagram: *Bréviaires*, III, 277.

omission of texts through carelessness and the possible use of another breviary to draw up the lists of quotations, with relative closeness throughout the rest of the finished portions of the manuscript.<sup>13</sup>

In its intimate relationship to the text on each folio, the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary was directly comparable with the decorative cycles given to the small number of moralized bibles made for members of the French Court in the late medieval period. In each column of the typically fully-illustrated *Bible moralisée*, short biblical passages in Latin and French alternate with moral commentaries, while, side by side with the texts in a second column, four miniatures provide additional visual glosses (Fig. 114). Such a decorative project differed from the schemes given to ordinary historiated bibles in the same way that the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary differed from the traditional figurative cycle of the text. In the case of most figurative cycles, the decorative programme was designed principally to enhance the emphatic function of the larger initials, through a series of relatively generalized images. The Salisbury Breviary and copies of the *Bible moralisée* gratified the scholastic's desire for extensive visual interpretation of individual passages of text outside the context of the organizational requirements of the manuscript.

Copies of the *Bible moralisée* also posed similar logistical problems in the execution of their huge decorative programmes. The 5,112 illustrations in the *Bible moralisée* of Jean le Bon (BN fr 167), which was begun in 1349, took four years to complete with the collaboration of fifteen artists, several of whom were demonstrably engaged simultaneously on other projects for the Court. Up to four artists worked on individual bifolios within each gathering, and in several cases as many as three artists worked on a single bifolio. A semi-grisaille technique was used to facilitate the rapid progress of the task.<sup>14</sup> The same technique was used by a much smaller taskforce comprising Paul and Jean de Limbourg for the *Bible moralisée* begun for Philippe le Hardi in 1402 (BN fr 166). Surviving documents concerning the commission specify that the two artists were to be engaged solely on the illumination of the manuscript, which was to be completed within four years.<sup>15</sup> When the death of Philippe le Hardi brought an end to the project in 1404, only the first three gatherings had been completed, together with most of the surfaces of the miniatures in the fourth gathering. In two years of full-time work for a single patron the still inexperienced Limbourg brothers were thus able to bring approximately five hundred miniatures to a stage of relative completion. The earlier project was executed at about twice the pace by a large number of artists using assembly-line techniques in the context of a busy workshop system.

Although as many as fifteen artists may have worked on folios from the Salisbury Breviary during the time it was in the workshop, and similar mass production techniques were necessarily used for the full-colour and semi-grisaille miniatures in the manuscript, the number of independent hands involved at any one time was relatively small compared to the large collaborative effort needed for the rapid

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<sup>13</sup>Twenty-nine border miniatures have texts alien to the folio and 145 have no text. The former may mainly be explained with reference to the non-standard treatment of the large miniature folios for Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Easter, St Edward Martyr, St Anne, Chair of St Peter and Birth of the Virgin (ff. 106, 212v, 228v, 432v, 518, 525 and 566), to be discussed below. Of the latter, eighty-four have subjects related to texts on the same folio, while the rest have liturgical themes, a number of which were demonstrably intended for the illustration of chapters or prayers.

<sup>14</sup>Avril, "Chef d'oeuvre de l'enluminure".

<sup>15</sup>Meiss, *Limbourgs*, pp. 81-101. For transcripts of the documents concerning the commission see his pp. 72-73. The evidence for assuming that BN fr 166 is Philippe le Hardi's "très belle et notable Bible" is circumstantial, but the identification is generally accepted in the literature.



completion of BN fr 166. The project was largely contained within the workshop.<sup>16</sup> With the help of assistants the Bedford Master and Hand B shared the task of painting all the pictorial material on folios executed during the first campaign. Hand B also corrected the early work of Hand C in the sanctoral, but it was Hand C, the Chief Associate, who executed most of the large miniatures in the sanctoral and presumably supervised work on the remaining historiated initials, column miniatures and border items over the next few decades. The workshop was also engaged in many other large and small projects over the whole period, including Bedford's own pontifical/ missal. With this kind of workload it is understandable that the Salisbury Breviary was never finished, even without taking into consideration the possible withdrawal of Bedford's active patronage before 1436.

Such logistic and economic problems influencing the ability of the workshop to complete the Salisbury Breviary were compounded by the uniqueness of the project. Although similar conceptually and in size, the task of designing and painting a *Bible moralisée* in the late medieval period was simplified by the nature of the texts themselves. These were brief, synoptic and visually evocative in content, the manuscript genre having been developed in the second quarter of the thirteenth century specifically to meet a demand for an extensively illustrated biblical commentary. The biblical texts given exegesis on each folio had already undergone a process of selection from the full scriptural source, while the "moralities" were by definition closely related in theme.<sup>17</sup> In addition, there was already a well-established tradition for the illustration of the *Bible moralisée*. The Limbourg Brothers had access through Philippe le Hardi's personal collection to no other than BN fr 166 itself.<sup>18</sup> The framing devices and themes of the first four gatherings of BN fr 166, translated into an early fifteenth century stylistic idiom, were generally adopted for the later manuscript. Such a detailed model also provided points of departure for the development of new or more effective visual interpretations of the texts. The border programme of the Salisbury Breviary, by contrast, required the workshop to sustain the design of thousands of independent visual commentaries on a complex liturgical text never before copiously illustrated.

The nearest surviving analogue for the textual problems encountered in the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary may be found in the decorative scheme devised for Bodleian Douce 313, a mid-fourteenth century Franciscan missal with a considerably smaller cycle of some 912 semi-grisaille miniatures (Figs 92-93).<sup>19</sup> In the temporal of the missal, which was illuminated by a French workshop with access to an early, generalized Pucelle pattern book, nearly every introit, Old Testament lesson, epistle and gospel reading was illustrated, as well as a few of the prayers. In the sanctoral the masses have a single opening miniature for the introit, since the same readings were used for the daily mass whether or not it coincided with the feast day of a saint. Holy week received special attention, with illustrations for almost all of the liturgical items. The miniatures were usually placed above the opening

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<sup>16</sup>The short gathering sixty-three stands out as the one major exception. Painting with a linear and scratchy technique, the artist used a curved groundline and deep spaces for gaunt figures with blond tonsures, long noses and half-closed eyes beneath arched brows (Fig. 30: the large miniature on this folio was painted by Spencer's Hand C with additions by Hand B).

<sup>17</sup>The thirteenth century scholars who selected the biblical texts and prepared the moralizations probably also told the artists what to paint: Branner, *Reign of Saint Louis*, p. 36. On moralized bibles see also the extensive work by Reiner Hausscherr, including his "Drei texthandschriften der *Bible moralisée*," in *Festschrift für Eduard Trier zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. J.M. Hofstede and W. Spier (Berlin, 1981), pp. 35-66; and his edition of the Vienna Bible: *Bible moralisée, Codex Vindobonensis 2554* (Vienna, 1974).

<sup>18</sup>Meiss, *Limbourgs*, p. 82.

<sup>19</sup>Veronica Condon, *A 14th Century Franciscan Missal in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Melbourne, 1977); see also her article, "The mystery of the provenance of a 14th century missal (Oxford, Bodl. libr. Douce 313)", *Scriptorium*, 35 (1981), 295-303; Barbara Greenhouse Lane, "An unpublished Bodleian miniature: the entombment in the Holy Sepulchre," *JWCI*, 39(1976), 236-37; Meiss, "'Highlands' in the Lowlands," pp. 279, 285-99; *Late XIV Century*, I, 20, 104, 106; II, figs 372-3, 536, 663, 677.

initial for the text passage in each column but sometimes spill into the margins, which are otherwise undecorated.

Like the Salisbury Breviary the decorative scheme of Douce 313 transcended limitations normally imposed by the emphatic function of the figurative cycle, in this case by multiplying the illustrative material for each mass rather than by introducing a separate border programme. Nevertheless, the illustrated passages in Douce 313 were filtered through a conscious choice of text types to be illustrated. Only the opening introit and the larger scriptural extracts were given visual glosses, to the exclusion generally of the prayers and musical items proper to each mass. In the Salisbury Breviary the decision routinely to provide each folio with four border miniatures precluded the restriction of illustrated texts to the opening words of lessons and related texts, resulting in the need on occasion to find pictorial equivalents for relatively obscure textual fragments. In addition, a wider range of liturgical material presented itself in each office for pictorial interpretation because of the greater complexity of the breviary as a text compared with the missal.

Although texts in the form of lessons and chapters made up a large percentage by volume of the breviary, such readings were only part of the ceremonial superstructure of the divine office, which was built originally to facilitate the weekly recitation of the psalms. While the texts of the psalms themselves are given in the psalter, the matins texts for a Sunday or duplex feast in the breviary comprise, in addition to the lessons, an invitatory and hymn, sets of antiphons for each of the nocturns, and lesson responsories and versicles. The texts for first and second vespers respectively each consist of an antiphon or set of antiphons with psalm *incipits*, followed by a chapter and hymn with their versicles and responses, the "Magnificat" antiphon and the prayer for the day. Lauds has the same structure, the "Benedictus" antiphon replacing the "Magnificat" one. Between lauds and second vespers come the short texts of the small hours, usually comprising an antiphon and chapter only, because of the material repeated from the other hours. The texts of the missal were considerably shorter and simpler. The gradual or tract sung after the epistle, and the offertory after the preparation of the sacrifice, were the only routine musical propers. Together with the introit, epistle, gospel and three prayers in the form of collect, secret and postcommunion, they made up the variable parts of the mass which occupied the bulk of the missal.

The texts for the first week of Advent in the first three gatherings (ff. 8-31v) of the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary contain examples of the full range of problems encountered by the Bedford workshop and its advisers in the illustration of the manuscript. In addition to the Sunday and daily offices, detailed rubrics and *incipits* for the season and texts for the performance of the little office of the Virgin during Advent are included. A breakdown of the 192 border miniatures by the type of text illustrated (Table 5-2: first column) shows that over seventy percent of the items are associated with rubrics, prayers or musical propers. Although the large number of such texts in the first three gatherings is due to the introductory nature of the weekly office, they had an important role to play throughout the breviary, particularly in the temporal (second column). In the sanctoral (third column) lengthy rubrics and long sections devoted to musical propers were reduced by the number of offices drawing some or all of their texts from the communal. Even so over thirty percent of the border miniatures in the sanctoral illustrate non-lesson material.

A further difference between the miniature cycles given to Douce 313 and the Salisbury Breviary lay in the nature of the lessons themselves. In the missal the sources for the introit and the lessons for the mass were almost always scriptural. So many of the lessons were taken from the Epistles that they became known as "epistles" in their own right, but readings were also taken from the Book of Acts, the

**Table 5-2: The Border Programme of the Salisbury Breviary:  
Breakdown of Miniatures by Text Illustrated**

Text	[8-31v]	Temporal	Sanctoral	Total
antiphon	[24]	211	119	330
chapter	[11]	74	25	99
hymn	[10]	46	44	90
invitatory	[3]	17	10	27
lesson	[41]	1274	1366	2640
lesson responsory	[10]	154	51	205
prayer	[27]	82	68	150
psalm <i>incipit</i>	[6]	31	11	42
rubric	[26]	93	41	134
versicle or response <sup>20</sup>	[34]	164	65	229
alien to folio	[-]	13	16	29
text omitted	[-]	65	88	153
<b>Total</b>	<b>[192]</b>	<b>2224</b>	<b>1904</b>	<b>4128</b>

Apocalypse or the Old Testament. The sanctoral of the missal had no lessons of its own. This meant that the designers of the missal could draw upon a long tradition of bible exegesis and illustration for many of its subjects. Although the same set of traditions was available to the designers of the Salisbury breviary for the miniatures illustrating lessons from scriptural sources, only the first three, or sometimes the first six, of the lessons for matins in the temporal were drawn entirely from the bible. In certain offices even these were replaced by sermons appropriate to the season. The second nocturn was usually devoted to such texts, while the third consisted of a short gospel reading opening the seventh lesson, followed by a homily taking up the remainder of the nocturn. In the sanctoral, with the exception of the offices devoted to the Virgin, the apostles and evangelists, St John the Baptist, All Saints and All Souls, the lessons were usually taken from patristic texts concerning the saints, or authorized saints' lives (Table 5-3).<sup>21</sup> The lessons in the Salisbury Breviary thus not only covered a much wider range of subject material than those in Douce 313, but introduced texts in the form of sermons, the illustration of which presented a different set of problems to the designers of the programme.

**Table 5-3: The Border Programme of the Salisbury Breviary:  
Breakdown by Source of the Lesson Miniatures**

	Temporal	Sanctoral	Total
Gospel extracts	80	23	103
Other scriptural texts	428	9	437
Hagiographic texts	109	1123	1232
General patristic texts	657	211	868
<b>Total</b>	<b>1274</b>	<b>1366</b>	<b>2640</b>

Even without taking the musical texts into consideration, the solutions to the problems of illustrating this

<sup>20</sup>Includes benedictions, opening and closing formulae and elements of liturgical dialogues and preces.

<sup>21</sup>In Table 5-3 lessons on specific saints are classed as hagiographic texts, while those on the Virgin and her various feasts are classed among the general patristic texts, because the latter are all derived from sermons by authors such as Augustine, Bede, Fulbertus or Jerome, which use aspects of the Virgin's life to discuss points of faith. That this is an arbitrary distinction is clear from the lessons for offices like those of the Chair of St Peter, St Michael or All Saints: see the Printed Sarum Breviary, III, 173-79 (Augustine, *Sermo 15 de sanctis*), 867-75 (Gregory, *Omelia 34 ante medium*) and 963-78, where the first seven lessons are taken from the ninth century sermon edited in J.E. Cross, "*Legimus in Ecclesiasticis Historicis*".

heterogeneous range of lesson texts were many and varied.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, as in any similarly large project involving the precise integration of text and image, the task was alleviated by the visual cues provided by the opening words of the texts themselves, either taken alone or in the context of the full text passage and its source. Certain texts generated stock responses, while others required the development of new sets of images within the framework of the pictorial vocabulary of the workshop. Well-established conventions also existed, and were used in the text figurative cycles of breviaries, for the illustration of visionary, prophetic, homiletic or didactic texts through scenes showing the author writing, attesting, teaching or preaching.

All of these approaches were used for the illustration of the introit and lesson material in the Douce 313 programme. Although mostly derived from scriptural sources, introits were given the greatest range of subjects because of their more varied nature and additional role as the opening text passage for the mass. Stock scenes were drawn from gospel cycles, psalter types and, for the sanctoral, saints' lives. Votive images and generalized scenes of martyrdom were also used for the sanctoral. For imagetic or narrative texts in the temporal not generating a stock image, the opening words of the text were interpreted literally using workshop patterns where possible. The same techniques were used for the lessons and epistles, with narrative scenes from the Old and New Testament alternating with images derived directly from the text and, for the epistles, representations of Paul writing, messengers delivering and the faithful receiving letters. The gospel miniatures drew widely from the infancy, passion and resurrection cycles as well as showing scenes of Christ's public life and his teachings, the latter involving the act of teaching itself with or without images indicating the subject of the discourse. The programme of Douce 313 as a whole was also given an internal coherence by the presence of authorial motifs in the margins next to the miniatures for the prophetic lessons, epistles and gospels (Fig. <sup>93</sup>92). These served to underline the intention behind the selection of texts additional to the introit for illustration: namely, their scriptural authority within the mass.

The use of such pictorial devices in Douce 313 grew out of the nature of the project as it was defined by the Franciscan community or confraternity which commissioned the manuscript, and as it was delimited by the texts of the missal. Analysis of the ways in which the same set of conventions were adapted in the much larger border programme of the Salisbury Breviary to the requirements of illustrating the lessons for the divine office, may usefully be begun through the detailed examination of the forty-one border miniatures developed during the first campaign for the illustration of lessons in the first three gatherings of the temporal. The unusually varied repertoire of frames for the border miniatures in these gatherings suggest that it was here that work on the project began, and that collaboration between the designers of the programme and the artists who actually painted the miniatures was probably closest. The diversity of lessons presenting themselves for illustration during the first week of Advent is characteristic of the offices for the rest of the breviary. The first three lessons for matins of the first Sunday in Advent were taken from the Old Testament Book of Isaiah. The second nocturn in the Sarum use comprises an extract from an Advent sermon by Maximus. The third nocturn gospel reading is from Matthew 21:1, while the homily has been drawn from "diverse" tracts on this passage. All the lessons for the following week come from Isaiah except those for the Saturday office, the service for which consists of a three-lesson

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<sup>22</sup>Most of the research on this subject has been conducted through the detailed studies of specific programmes. For recent theoretical discussions, see F.G. Andersen et al, eds, *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium* (Odense, 1980); Michael Camille, "Seeing and reading: Some visual implications of medieval literacy and illiteracy," *Art History*, 8(1985), 26-49; George Henderson, "Narrative illustration and theological exposition in medieval art," *Religion and Humanism*, ed. K. Robbins (London, 1981), pp. 19-35.

office for the Virgin with lessons extracted from Bede's commentary on Luke.<sup>23</sup>

At first glance the approach to the lesson miniatures in the first three gatherings of the temporal of the Salisbury Breviary departs only in the use of a more up-to-date stylistic vocabulary, and the need to develop a more extensive range of subjects, from that applied to the miniatures in Douce 313. In 30v(2)<sup>24</sup> Bede's words "Ioseph cuius maria cognata" were translated by a scene of the Marriage of the Virgin. Christ's command to the apostles "Ite in castellum" from Matthew 21:1 is illustrated in 16(2) (Fig. 2) by a scene incorporating the figure of Christ standing on a grassy mound representing the Mount of Olives. He indicates two donkeys stabled within a walled village, to two men identifiable as apostles by their long robes and the books they hold. In 26(4) the exhortation "Domus iacob venite [et ambulemus in lumine dei nostri]" from Isaiah 2:5 has been given pictorial form through the image of three men dressed as pilgrims walking in amazement towards the divine light, represented as a radiant sun in the upper right hand corner of the miniature. The passage "Syon in iudicio redimetur" from Isaiah 1:27 is illustrated in 24v(4) by an exterior scene showing Isaiah speaking the words of the prophecy to three Jews.

The derivation of the subject approach for all four examples was dependent upon the specific nature of the illustrated text. In 30v(2) the qualifying clause generated a stock response, which bypassed the need to illustrate the text fragment in its full grammatical context as part of a commentary on why a married woman was chosen to be the mother of God. Because "Ite in castellum" was a central piece of dialogue from an extended narrative text, it could be directly illustrated with sufficient accessory figures and details to make the resulting miniature immediately recognizable as an event from Christ's life. By contrast, the full sentence from which "Domus iacob venite" was extracted had to be illustrated strictly by the *ad verbum* technique, because of the structure of the Book of Isaiah as a series of relatively unconnected commands, prophecies and visions. The abstract nature of the text illustrated in the last example posed too many problems for it to be given direct pictorial expression. The resulting miniature illustrates the act of delivery of the text to an audience of peers.

Variations on the first three approaches were used routinely in gatherings two to four for narrative or imagetic texts from scriptural lessons and from the sermons, where internal passages of rhetoric were passed over whenever possible in favour of specific exempla and the close paraphrase of scriptural texts.<sup>25</sup> The fourth approach was also given limited use in the first three gatherings, as one of several conventions employed to solve the problem of illustrating the more abstract fragments from the small but substantial group of texts not evoking a direct pictorial image. In addition to scenes showing the author as protagonist, the device of the author as scribe was borrowed for texts directly invoking the visionary or inspirational process. In 13v(4) Isaiah is shown with pen holder and ink bottle, in the act of writing the text for "Visio isaie filii amos". The setting is an interior one, with the source of the vision represented by

<sup>23</sup>The office of the Virgin usually replaced the normal services on at least one of the days in each week not taken up by a more important temporal office or an office from the sanctoral. Memorials of the Virgin were said at each of the hours on every other day: Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>24</sup>For ease of reference border miniatures will usually be cited in the form xxx(n), where "xxx" is the folio number and "n" a number from 1-4 depending on the position of the miniature on the folio. Texts cited reproduce the words of the scroll (with abbreviations expanded) unless the quotation needs to be extended to make the meaning clear. In such cases the additional words are included in square brackets. Translations are only given for the lengthier or more difficult passages.

<sup>25</sup>Four of the five miniatures illustrating Maximus' second nocturn sermon for the first Sunday in Advent treat such passages: see 15(4) and 15v(2-4). The fifth, 15(3) discussed below, opens the sermon with a preaching scene. For the role of exempla in sermons, see J.-Th. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge* (Paris, 1927).

a stock Christ in Majesty figure to the right of the miniature.<sup>26</sup> Another method for the illustration of abstract concepts, first used in gathering five, involved the depiction of a general group of figures discussing the subject of the text. In 38(2) two ecclesiastics, one holding the scroll "audiet de spiritu sancto" from Augustine's second nocturn sermon for the third Sunday in Advent, are shown in conversation.

Texts specifically implying an audience through the use of the first or second person plural, or other recognizable rhetorical devices, tended to attract a more formal preaching or teaching miniature, particularly when they opened the lesson. In 16(3) a cardinal preaches the text "Bethphage domus bucce" to an audience of five members of the faithful (Fig. 2). The text itself not only opens the homily for the third nocturn on the first Sunday in Advent, but comprises a discussion on the derivation of the name Bethphage. The composition of the scene, with its cloth-covered pulpit and landscape setting, follows well-established conventions for the illustration of the act of delivery of homiletic or didactic texts.<sup>27</sup> Teaching scenes were distinguished from scenes of preaching mainly by the absence of a pulpit. The first teaching example for a lesson miniature occurs in the fifth gathering in 34(1) (Fig. 6), where Gregory, sitting on his papal throne attended by a cardinal, addresses the opening words of his homily on Luke 21:25 for the second Sunday in Advent to four men.

The only additional subject approach to the lesson miniatures in these first three gatherings may be seen in the small number of examples using scenes of the public performance of the mass or office as their models. In 14(1), an ecclesiastic in blue cowled cassock, white bib and black cap is depicted standing at a pulpit in a church interior pronouncing the words "Hec dicit dominus" to a group of five of the faithful. The text is the standard closing formula for all lessons. A similar scene was used in 15(3) for the words "Frequenter audivimus" opening Maximus' sermon for the first Sunday in Advent. Both subjects could be classed as preaching scenes given an unusual interior setting, while the scene of a canon standing at the foot of an altar in 24v(2) could possibly be interpreted as the illustration in contemporary guise of the text "Lavamini mundi estote" from Isaiah 1:16.<sup>28</sup> In gathering five, however, "Quod evangelium tanquam" is illustrated in 33v(2) (Fig. 6) by the strictly liturgical scene of a deacon in pink dalmatic reading the text at a lectern, accompanied by two cantors.

Such stock, narrative, *ad verbum*, discursive, preaching and teaching scenes, together with a limited number of performance scenes, make up the sum of the miniatures illustrating extracts from the lessons throughout the Salisbury Breviary. The result was a huge range of subjects taken from the rich variety of lesson material provided for each season of the liturgical year and each saint's office. In the temporal for the first nocturn extracts were read from Isaiah until Epiphany; from the Epistles of Paul until Septuagesima; from Genesis, Exodus, Jeremiah and the Lamentations until Easter; and from the Apocalypse, the Epistle of James and Acts until Trinity Sunday. The readings for the summer months for both the first and second nocturns were taken from 1 Kings, Ecclesiasticus, Job, Tobias, Judith, 1 Maccabees and Ezechiel.

In fact, the full sequence of lesson miniatures in the temporal was only completed up to the Monday of

<sup>26</sup>The text opens Isaiah and was thus commonly illustrated by an authorial image in bibles. The words "Verbum domini" from Isaiah 2:1 were similarly treated in 26(3), where God is shown standing next to Isaiah in a landscape, dictating.

<sup>27</sup>Reflected, for example, in the miniature of St Ambrose preaching in the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (Fig. 53).

<sup>28</sup>The text in its full context bids the Jewish priests to wash their hands of the blood of vain sacrifices. It may be being treated here as a metaphor for the mass, participation in which cleanses the soul of sin.

the second week in Quadragesima. Illustrations cease after Genesis 27:30, beginning again on the Monday of the fourth week in Quadragesima with Exodus 1:15. Miniatures for part of Jeremiah and most of the Lamentations were left unfinished. Readings from the Apocalypse were only illustrated to the middle of the second chapter, while in the summer temporal only the Old Testament readings from 1 Kings 3:9-14:13, 1 Maccabees 4:47-5:42 and Ezechiel 1:1-9:5 received miniatures (Table 5-4). Even in its incomplete state, however, counting the Gospel readings, the border programme from the temporal incorporated miniatures illustrating extracts from a wide range of the prophetic, didactic and historical books of the bible. To this must be added as many miniatures again, illustrating the extensive numbers of exempla, scriptural quotations and other homiletic material in the sermons, which were drawn mainly from the writings of Augustine, Bede, Gregory, Isidore, Jerome, John Chrysostom, Leo, Maximus and Origen.

**Table 5-4: The Border Programme of the Salisbury Breviary  
Breakdown of Lesson Miniatures by Scriptural Source**

Old Testament		New Testament	
Genesis	59	#Gospels	103
Exodus	26	Acts	20
1 Kings	64	Romans	24
Isaiah	64	Corinthians	32
Jeremiah	19	Galatians	19
Lamentations	4	Philippians	16
*Job	9	Hebrews	1
Ezechiel	45	James	11
		Apocalypse	16

\* all in sanctoral; # 23 in sanctoral

The historical extracts from Genesis, Exodus, 1 Kings and Maccabees attracted the largest number of strictly narrative or dialectic scenes and images. The fifty-nine miniatures for Genesis open with a pseudo-authorial image of Moses kneeling in prayer for the words "In principio" in 146(1) (Fig. 13), followed by eight scenes of creation and six concerned with the story of Adam and Eve for Septuagesima. Sexagesima has fourteen scenes with Noah as main protagonist, Quinquagesima nineteen on the subject of Abraham, and the second week of Quadragesima eleven concerned with Jacob. Although the majority of the miniatures illustrating the scattered gospel extracts in the temporal are similarly narrative in subject approach and closely related to the themes of the office or season, evangelist images or scenes of clerics reading the lesson were used as alternatives when the standard opening for each gospel, "In illo tempore," was the text selected for illustration.<sup>29</sup> In addition, those gospels, particularly for the Summer Expositions, dealing with Christ's public life have received scenes of Christ teaching or talking to the apostles. Because of the opportunities to illustrate specific passages from the homilies routinely accompanying the gospel extracts dealing with Christ's public life, the parables themselves were rarely illustrated in gospel miniatures. This is one of several areas in which the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary differs from the Douce 313 one because of the density with which each set of lessons is illustrated.

The prophetic and didactic books had similarly unique textual problems requiring specific treatment.

<sup>29</sup>Evangelist images may be found in 137(3) and 206(2); performance scenes in 53(4), 66v(4), 102v(3), 148v(1), 166(3), 228(4) and 413(4); and narrative scenes in 277(1), 277v(4) and all five of the "In illo tempore" examples in the temporal after gathering forty-three.

Apart from the need on occasion to revert to miniatures depicting the writing or delivery of the text, subjects for miniatures illustrating prophetic texts developed through the standard *ad verbum* techniques were frequently modified by the imposition of a Christian interpretation of the image. The figure of Christ or a version of the Trinity were used interchangeably with God the Father in scenes requiring the presence of God.<sup>30</sup> In addition, texts interpreted as prefiguring a Christian event through metaphor or direct prophecy generated New Testament images or stock scenes. "Parvulus enim natus est nobis" from Isaiah 9:6 is illustrated in 40v(3) (Fig. 7) by a scene of the Virgin and Child seated beneath a canopy accompanied by two angels. The votive group is a stock image generated by the reference to the birth of the Prince of Peace. The miniature serves to underline the connection between the season of Advent and the full passage from Isaiah, which was also read during the office of the Nativity because of its prophetic relationship to the birth of Christ.

Because of the large part discursive grammatical structures played in their content, the didactic books imposed a different kind of strain on the inventiveness of their illustrators. Of the twenty-four miniatures on ff. 125v-45v illustrating Paul's Epistle to the Romans for the weeks between the Epiphany octave and Septuagesima, only ten have a narrative or imagetic subject directly derived from the text. Nine show Paul preaching, teaching or addressing diverse individuals or groups representative of his audience; four use an alternative protagonist to deliver the text; and two show clerics reading the lesson. All of these methods were also drawn upon to illustrate the enormous and eclectic range of material covered by the sermon extracts. Texts like the lessons from John Chrysostom's sermon on Abraham and Isaac, which were used for the second nocturn of Quinquagesima Sunday, provided passages of paraphrase sufficient for the development of whole sequences of narrative images.<sup>31</sup> By contrast, the eight miniatures illustrating extracts from sermons by Isidore and Leo for the middle lessons of the Nativity office, are divided between a votive image of the Virgin and Child in 58v(2) for "Ita idem deus et idem homo"; scenes of the shepherds being questioned by three men in 58v(3) for "Quem vidistis pastores," and the bathing of the infant Christ in 59(4) for "Ingreditur ergo huius mundi [infima filius dei]"; four interior and exterior scenes of preaching with a bishop, Benedictine monk, doctor and friar respectively as deliverers of the texts; and a general discursive scene in 58v(4) showing an Old Testament figure, two laymen and a theologian talking amongst themselves for the hortative "Exultemus in domino".

In the sanctoral, apart from the passages from Job used for all nine lessons of the Office of the Dead, and the sermon extracts in which the feast being celebrated was used as the focus for a homily on wider issues, the range of subjects treated by the lessons was limited by the homogeneous nature of many of the hagiographic texts, enhanced by the ruthless editing required to fit the requirements of a three or nine lesson office. Excluding specific scenes unique to the saint's life, the subjects of the lesson miniatures in the sanctoral tend to fall into a limited number of groups related to the stages in each saint's life most emphasized by the lessons. The first group, common to martyred and non-martyred saints of both sexes, comprises scenes of childhood, including birth, baptism and education, the youthful saint with family and early signs of sainthood. To the second group belongs scenes which show evidence of holiness, including acts of prayer, almsgiving and healing, the toppling of idols and exorcizing of devils and, for confessors and female non-martyred virgins and widows, the taking of holy orders. For saints dying a natural death,

<sup>30</sup>As in 13v(4), 27v(2), 28(3), etc. This was also the case for the historical books. In 146(3) (Fig. 13) the words "Fiat lux" from Genesis 1:3 are illustrated by a scene of the earth overshadowed by the Trinity in Heaven represented as three equal figures.

<sup>31</sup>Ff. 157v-59. The sequence follows on from the first nocturn miniatures illustrating Genesis 12:1-13, to show scenes of Isaac's childhood and almost-sacrifice. The corresponding chapters in Genesis (22-23) are not included in the breviary. Quinquagesima ends at the beginning of Genesis 15 and the second Sunday in Quadregesima picks up the scriptural readings again with Genesis 27 (the entire first week of Quadregesima is devoted to sermon material).



a third group of miniatures depict the saint receiving communion on his or her deathbed, followed by the moment of death, with an angel carrying the soul off to Heaven. Miniatures illustrating lessons from this stage of the lives of martyred saints, on the other hand, are selected from a series of episodes involving arrest, interrogation, coercion to adore idols and multiple tortures, before the final moment of martyrdom and the reception of the soul in Heaven. A final group of lesson miniatures for the longer offices and invention and translation feasts show the sewing of the dead saint's body into a shroud, the finding of the relics and recorded miracles at the tomb.

Although the range of subjects assigned to texts derived from the lessons in the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary was huge, the question of iconographic sources for the lesson miniatures outside the breviary itself is not as great an issue as it might have been had the border programme not been so intimately tied to the text. Regardless of the ways in which individual motifs may have been drawn from external sources and workshop models,<sup>32</sup> the content of each border miniature was governed by the text with which it was associated, even in cases where quite lengthy continuous narrative sequences were created.

In the temporal, for example, although an unusual effort was made in gathering seventeen to extend the Marriage at Cana cycle generated by the gospel extract and homily for the second Sunday after the Epiphany octave, this was through the selection of texts rather than any abandonment of the overall scheme. By choosing the lauds Benedictus antiphon and an unprecedented three extracts from the second vespers antiphon for illustration, the cycle was completed to the point where the water is changed into wine (Fig. 12). The Benedictus antiphon "Nupcie facte sunt", freely adapted from the seventh lesson gospel from John 2:1, received a scene of the nuptial feast, while the paraphrasing second vespers antiphon "Deficiente vino iussit ihesus implere ydras aqua que in vinum conversa est" was divided into three parts corresponding to "Deficiente vino", "Iussit ihesus" and "In vinum conversa," each illustrated with appropriate scenes.

Interestingly, in 135(2) an extract in direct speech from John 2:3, "Vinum non habent," was substituted for "Deficiente vino". Apart from the large miniature folios for Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday painted by the Chief Associate, this kind of substitution of texts occurs elsewhere in the border programme only in 127(1), where "Fili quod fecisti" from Luke 2:48 was used for a scene of the Virgin and Christ as a boy in a sequence illustrating Bede's homily on the episode of Christ among the doctors for the first Sunday after the Epiphany octave. On f. 29v of the Bedford Hours the text "Comment la vierge trouva son enfant au temple qui disputoit aux iufs et vint avec elle" is also visually glossed by the speech scroll "Fili quod fecisti hic". Since Latin was rarely used in the border cycle of the Bedford Hours, there must have been a strong connection, either directly through the workshop's repertoire of patterns, or in the minds of the designers of the two examples, between the latin gospel text and certain Christological scenes.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, both of the miniatures in the Salisbury Breviary were still devised from within the confines of having strictly to associate the image with a quotation taken in sequence from the same folio.

Even in Baker's well-argued case for the use of a late twelfth century illustrated copy of Bede's Life of

<sup>32</sup>As was certainly the case in the large miniature for the office of St Augustine of Canterbury, where episodes from the lives of the two St Augustines were confused: Courcelles-Ladmirant, "Les deux Augustin".

<sup>33</sup>For more on the use of scrolls in the Bedford Hours, see below, n. <sup>38</sup>. The demonstrated preference for direct speech in such scenes may reflect iconographic developments during a period when oral and written traditions were still interdependent: see Camille, "Seeing and reading," pp. 27-32.

St Cuthbert for the office of St Cuthbert in the sanctoral,<sup>34</sup> it can be shown that the similarities of detail were due to the exigencies of illustrating the text rather than direct borrowing from a previously developed illustrative programme. The main argument for a connection between the two cycles depends upon the similarities between 435v(3) (Fig. 28) and the scene where Cuthbert arrives at Melrose on f. 16 in BL Yates Thompson 26. In both cases the scene is not illustrated by the saint dismounting from his horse, as in the two other extant twelfth century cycles. Instead, Cuthbert is embraced by Boisil at the door of the monastery, watched by a second monk who is possibly Bede's informant Sigfrith in the earlier scene. Since the Sigfrith passage is missing from the breviary text, and because of the other similarities, the figure ~~must have been taken~~ <sup>that of</sup> from a cycle related to the Yates Thompson 26. ~~one.~~  
has been held to derive

The miniature in the Salisbury Breviary, however, satisfactorily illustrates the text "Ecce servus dei" from the very condensed sixth chapter of the *Vita prosaica* used for the second lesson, without reference to additional sources. The relevant part of the lesson reads in translation:<sup>35</sup>

Not long afterwards, the venerable servant of God, abandoning worldly things, hastened to submit to monastic discipline, having been excited by his heavenly vision to covet the joys of everlasting happiness...For this purpose, he chose to seek out the abbey of Melrose, having already heard the reputation of Boisil, a monk and priest of surpassing merit. When he was arrived there...and was about to enter the church to pray, Boisil himself, standing before the doors of the monastery, foreseeing in spirit what an illustrious man the stranger would become, made this single remark: "Behold a servant of the lord" ["Ecce servus dei"]...and kindly received him as he approached..

The Lesson is illustrated three times in the border programme. In 435v(2) the opening words "Cum multo post" were illustrated by a scene of Cuthbert giving his worldly wealth to a cripple. "Ecce servus dei" occurs at a point about halfway through the lesson. The next quotation, "Quo facto", illustrated in 435v(4) by the scene of Cuthbert adopting the monastic habit, comes a few lines from the end. The episode of Cuthbert dismounting from his horse is not described in the breviary text, while that of Boisil kindly receiving the saint follows directly on from the utterance of his remark, and is a necessary adjunct to the illustration of the quotation in its full context. The inclusion of a second monk was preempted by the need for an audience for the remark, even though bystanders are not mentioned in the condensed breviary text.

Once this buttress in the argument is shaken, it is easy to demonstrate the fallacy of using the five border scenes in the Salisbury Breviary devoted to the story of the youthful Cuthbert seeing the soul of St Aidan being carried to Heaven, to recreate the subjects of miniatures possibly missing from the Yates Thompson 26 cycle. The unusual emphasis on this story in the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary is solely due to the fact that the large miniature falls on the same folio as fourteen lines from the first lesson which deal in detail with the episode. All four of the border miniatures on the large miniature folio (Fig. 27) and the first on the next folio thus deal in sequence with the same general theme.

The other early fifteenth century examples of Cuthbertine iconography described by Baker may indeed reflect a revival of interest in the saint in the north of England during this period.<sup>36</sup> The cycle in the Salisbury Breviary, on the other hand, was not created out of the kind of specific interest in St Cuthbert

<sup>34</sup>"Medieval illustrations of Bede's *Life of St Cuthbert*," pp. 44-49.

<sup>35</sup>Loosely based on the English version of the full *Vita prosaica* in V.D. Scudder, tr., *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* (London, 1913), pp. 295-6. Dotted lines indicate passages omitted in the lesson extract.

<sup>36</sup>Possibly stimulated by Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, who financed chantries dedicated to St Cuthbert at Selby Abbey in 1399 and the Collegiate church of St Peter in Howden in ca. 1404; J.H. Tillotson, *Monastery and Society in the Late Middle Ages: Selected Account Rolls from Selby Abbey, Yorkshire 1398-1537* (forthcoming); *The Collegiate Church of St Peter Howden*, Guide Book (Howden, 1977), p. 14.

which elsewhere generated a demand for sources for the development of new visual cycles in manuscript or stained glass, but as part of the automatic process of illustrating the whole of the Sarum sanctoral, in which the office of St Cuthbert was a small and long-established part. If ~~this kind of~~<sup>the</sup> independence of the border programme can <sup>thus</sup> be demonstrated in one of the few cases where fully illustrated copies of an English saint's life have survived, then it is unlikely that Bedford or his agents made any systematic attempt to provide models for the illustration of the other specifically Sarum offices in the sanctoral.

The only office for a Sarum saint possibly given unusual treatment in the border programme was the newly introduced one of St Winifred. The office has received forty-three border miniatures, all votive or narrative, including the invitatory miniature in 630(4) and the three antiphon miniatures in 635(1-3). The length of the cycle depends entirely on the abnormal length of the lessons. Although the lessons themselves end with the death of the Abbess Theonia, however, scenes of Winifred being made abbess and of her own death are used for the antiphons "Christo regenti secula" and "Benedictus dominus rex" in spite of their communal nature. The deviser of the programme must therefore have had some additional knowledge of the saint's life to have completed the sequence.<sup>37</sup>

## II

In as much as standard conventions were used for the illustration of most of the lesson texts apart from those receiving performance miniatures, the approach used in the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary closely follows that of Douce 313. A closer analysis of the set of narrative and imaged miniatures, however, reveals an unexpected additional level of visual commentary which was generated by the decision to include scrolls in every miniature. In Douce 313 the ~~strict association of the~~ miniatures <sup>are each physically associated</sup> with decorated initials opening the illustrated text ~~ensured the correct reading of the subject~~. In the border cycle of the Bedford Hours, although the workshop used labels to identify figures, and scrolls in French to represent direct speech in cartoon strip fashion, the main key to the subjects of the border miniatures was provided in passages of text at the base of the folio.<sup>38</sup> The text was similarly inscribed in a panel under each miniature in the Rohan Hours, while in the Tickhill Psalter border cycle, the unframed bas-de-page space was fully utilized for the lengthy scrolls required to carry the inscriptions.<sup>39</sup> Although in the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary, unlike its precursors, the text being illustrated was already present on the folio, the physical disassociation of the border miniatures from the text still required the establishment of a formal link between text and image. Since, however, only short quotations were needed to make the connection apparent, the solution of placing captions near the miniature in the already crowded border was eschewed in favour of placing the text inside the frame.

Once the decision to place the text within the miniature had been made, mechanisms had to be developed by which it could be incorporated into the illustrated scene. The simplest and most universal solution was to place the scroll at the edge of or centrally within the pictorial space of the miniature, unassociated with any of the figures. This was rarely done, however. In 15(4) the text "In illa nocte erunt duo", part of a direct quotation by Maximus from Luke 17:34 illustrated by a scene of two women in bed,

<sup>37</sup>It would be interesting to compare contemporary lives of St Winifred with the lessons used for the office. Gordon Whatley is currently editing the life of St Winifred found on ff. 53-57v of the BL Add 35298 copy of the mid-fifteenth century *Gilte Legende*: see his "Vita Erkenwaldi: an Anglo-Norman's life of an Anglo-Saxon saint," *Manuscripta*, 27 (1983), 77.

<sup>38</sup>The speech scrolls in the Bedford Hours take the form of broad, slightly curving placards divided into two lines by a light red pen line (Fig. 98). The French texts are usually derived from the longer passage at the bottom of the folio and, rather than contributing to the meaning of the images, often reduce their effect by the clumsy use of paraphrase. Latin is only used where the text quoted is a recognized attribute of the figure speaking. For example, John the Baptist says "Ecce agnus dei" on f. 29v.

<sup>39</sup>Egbert, *Tickhill Psalter*.

one rendering up her soul to an angel, was placed within a long rectangular strip.<sup>40</sup> The more conventional scroll format, however, associated with a single figure and suggesting attestation, narration or direct speech, was almost universally preferred elsewhere, except in the cases where the text was written in an open book held by one of the protagonists or placed on a pulpit, desk or lectern. As late as the 1420's the image was still perceived as "performative", and the aim of illustrative art to represent the spoken or heard word, of which "both picture and script were the conventional signata".<sup>41</sup>

The routine need for a scrollbearer lent the programme a degree of complexity which it otherwise may not have had, because of the need to illustrate not only the subject evoked by the text, but also the way in which the portion of the text quoted functioned syntactically in the full passage. Where the quotation was part of direct speech, as in the "Ite in castellum" example in 16(2) (Fig. 2), the scrolls were placed in the hands of the main protagonists and the scene did not otherwise differ from the standard narrative format. Even in the 24v(4) miniature showing Isaiah addressing a group of Jews, the scroll is given to Isaiah as a necessary protagonist in the scene as well as the author of the passage. In 30v(2), however, the words "Joseph cuius maria cognata" are written on a scroll held by a nun who stands with a fellow nun witnessing the marriage of the Virgin. The two nuns are not only extraneous to the standard iconography for the theme of the Marriage of the Virgin but anachronous to the historical event. At the same time, the text being illustrated by the miniature does not itself directly describe the historical event. The main subject was generated by a descriptive clause written or spoken initially by Bede as part of a sermon extract, which subsequently came to be delivered every year during the performance of the office of the Virgin at Advent by clerics following the Sarum use. The nuns therefore function as representatives of members of an audience hearing the words of the sermon which evoke the marriage scene.<sup>42</sup>

The inclusion of ahistorical figures in mariological and christological scenes, or scenes containing votive images, was not new.<sup>43</sup> Ahistorical figures were also used in prophetic scenes, where the image of the prophet, alone or with the subject of the prophecy, was a standard pictorial device in painting, sculpture and stained glass. In both cases, however, the additional figures served a very specific iconographic purpose. Devotional figures were present in a limited range of scenes in a salvatory or intercessory role, while the prophet's main function was that of attestation. Such figures were used in the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary primarily as a solution to the technical problem of what to do with the scroll in cases of direct narrative or prophecy, when the text was not direct speech or exhortation. This did not mean that they did not have a traditional function as well, when the text was supplicatory, devotional or prophetic in nature, but that this was not the primary one.<sup>44</sup>

In 27v(4), for instance, the assertion "Apprehendent septem mulieres [virum unum in illa die]" from

<sup>40</sup>The text was also written under miniatures on ff. 33v, 35, 46v, 52v, 103v, 110v and 256, but this was presumably due to the omission of scrolls during the initial stages of execution.

<sup>41</sup>Camille, "Seeing and reading", p. 32; Otto Pacht, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth Century England* (Oxford, 1962). Pacht sought an explanation in contemporary drama for the role of the "talking word" in pictorial narrative, but Camille looks more closely at concepts of medieval literacy. Late medieval writers, however, saw a close relationship between the didactic and affective functions of both religious drama and pictorial narrative: see Clifford Davidson, ed., *A Middle English Treatise on the Playing of Miracles* (Washington, 1981); Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (London, 1972), pp. 77-101, esp. pp. 94-98.

<sup>42</sup>The use specifically of nuns in this case is not only appropriate for the theme of virgin marriage, but also reflects a widespread tendency in the border programme to associate members of religious orders or women with the extra-liturgical texts related to the Virgin. Another nun holds the scroll "Maria autem salutionem" for the Annunciation in 30v(4). For the special treatment of the invitatory for the office of the Virgin during Advent see p. 136.

<sup>43</sup>For examples see Barbara Greenhouse Lane, "The development of the medieval devotional figure," Diss. Pennsylvania 1970.

<sup>44</sup>For a discussion of the many cases where devotional figures are specifically used for an intercessory or salvatory purpose in the border programme, see below, pp. 140ff.

Isaiah 4:1, was interpreted visually by the inclusion of the figure of a prophet holding the scroll to the left of the main scene of seven women grasping a man. The "Domus iacob venite" example in 26(4) required no such commentator external to the scene. Of the twenty miniatures illustrating passages from Isaiah in the first three gatherings of the temporal, eight use Isaiah in the role of prophet/ scrollbearer because of the exigencies of the text. The same approach was also adopted, after some experimentation, for non-prophetic scriptural sources. The scroll "Cum appropinquasset" from the gospel for the first Sunday in Advent was inappropriately given to the figure of Christ in 16(4) (Fig. 2). On the next occasion where the problem arose, however, the gospel from Luke 1:39 for the Friday Ember day in the third week of Advent was illustrated in 43v(2) by a landscape containing the two grisaille figures of the pregnant Virgin carrying her hours in a blue cloth bag on the left, and the author bearing the scroll "Exsurgens maria" on the right.

In effect, such author/ scrollbearer figures in the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary internalize the marginal authorial motifs in the Douce 313 programme. When Paul assumes the role of scrollbearer in the lesson miniatures from the Epistles on ff. 125v-145v of the Salisbury Breviary, the analogy is complete, particularly given miniatures like the one on f. xxv(a) of Douce 313 illustrating Paul's Epistle to Titus, where the figure of Paul has been absorbed into the pictorial space by extending the frame into the margin (Fig. 93). In Douce 313, however, the authorial motifs are not essential to the correct reading of the subjects of the miniatures themselves. They are also reserved for the miniatures illustrating lessons from the Book of Isaiah, the Four Gospels and the Epistles. In the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary the need for a scrollbearer extended to lessons taken from the other scriptural sources as well as sermons and saints' lives. In particular, the author/ scrollbearer figure was used in miniatures illustrating not only passages from Jeremiah, the Lamentations, the Apocalypse and James' Epistle, but also many of the narrative or imagetic passages selected to receive visual glosses from the sermon material in the breviary.

For the prophetic scriptural passages, generalized prophet figures, sometimes labelled, were used to represent Isaiah and Jeremiah.<sup>45</sup> For the other biblical texts given authors as scrollbearers, the two evangelists Paul and James were made easily identifiable by the use of haloes, specific attributes or labels, as well as their position in the miniature. Related sermon texts received a more diverse treatment, particularly in the experimental first gathering of the temporal. When the subjects for the miniatures illustrating Maximus' sermon for the first Sunday in Advent were developed, it is apparent that no clear ideas had been formed about how to introduce descriptive or narrative texts from the sermons into the pictorial space. In 15(4), as we have already seen, a label was used, while in 15v(2), for "Beatus enim est ille [cuius stratum dominus in ipsius infirmitate convertit]", which was given a scene of Christ visiting a sick woman, two angels bear the scroll. For the second Sunday in Advent, however, Maximus' words "Ille autem qui est superior" are illustrated in 33(1) by the scene of a man wearing a pink cassock with white shoulder piece pointing to a room containing a cornmill.<sup>46</sup> The scrollbearer watching four people kill each other in 34(1), a scene illustrating the text "Nam gentem contra gentem" from Gregory's homily for the seventh lesson, is wearing the red robe and white fur-lined hood of a cardinal.

Whether these two figures were meant to be seen as Maximus and Gregory is debatable. The first labelled author of a sermon text appears in 43v(3), where Bede, dressed in a pink cassock,

<sup>45</sup>The identity of the figures was sometimes confused by the artists, who clearly had control over the decision whether or not to use labels. In 218(1) Jeremiah is labelled "Isaiah".

<sup>46</sup>The subject of the sermon, which is a digression from Luke 17:35.

preaches the words "Nam quia peste" to three people in contemporary dress. It is clear, however, that the Pope delivering the opening words of Gregory's homily for the second Sunday in Advent in 34(1) is Gregory himself. When it was required in teaching, discursive or preaching miniatures, the attributes of the figure were made to respond to the clerical rank of the author of the text and/or the figure was labelled. On the other hand, generalized figures of scholastic authority, characterized like Bede as doctors of the church by their costume, also appear with great regularity in preaching miniatures. Most wear pink, red, grey or blue-grey cassocks, the long narrow-sleeved garment worn by all clerics both for everyday wear and under their vestments. A short white shoulder piece, or white collar with short lappets or hood lined with white fur, distinguishes them from other ecclesiastics. In 532v(1), however, a figure uniquely labelled "doctor" wears the formal *cappa clausa*, a full-length circular garment with one or, in this case, two slits for the arms.<sup>47</sup> The generalized doctor figure was also varied by the use of secular canons as well as members of the religious orders.<sup>48</sup>

Such figures were included in recognition of the text's duplicate role as the record of a historical event--the delivery of the sermon by its author--and as part of a continually relevant didactic process in which theologians guided the delivery of points of faith to their lay and clerical audience, either directly or through the secular clergy or preaching orders. This was why, in 15(3), the opening words for the first sermon in the breviary were illustrated by an interior preaching scene. The miniature specifically conveys the idea that Maximus' text is in the breviary so that it may be read aloud every year at the same time during the performance of the office. The same view of the text may also be found in the illustration of the narrative or imagetic scenes from lessons derived from sermons, including 33(1), where the scrollbearer takes on the role of commentator in the scene, thus re-enacting for the viewer of the image the universal linguistic function of the exemplum in the text.<sup>49</sup>

The scrollbearers in miniatures illustrating the remainder of the scriptural readings and the straightforward hagiographic texts in the Salisbury Breviary were also drawn from a diverse range of figures, because their authors were either anonymous or not well-known. For the lesson miniatures from Genesis, Moses is the main narrator/ scrollbearer (Fig. 13) but scrolls were also assigned to angels, minor protagonists in the main scene or the generalized clerical or doctor figures used in the illustration of sermons. A similar range was used for Exodus and the three Old Testament texts from the Summer half of the temporal receiving miniatures in the border programme. Text narration for miniatures illustrating the Acts of the Apostles was usually divided between one of the apostles in the scene or a minor protagonist. In the sanctoral, the full range of narrators was used.<sup>50</sup>

Because of initial experimentation with the inclusion of the text in the miniature space, the large number of musical propers and the ubiquity of lesson texts from Isaiah, the uniformity with which the scrollbearer

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<sup>47</sup>Numerous books have been published on late medieval costume, but the subject remains dependent on a set of geographically and chronologically diverse documents for its vocabulary and a small pool of contemporary pictorial material (which would clearly benefit for the late medieval period from the addition of examples from the Salisbury Breviary itself). I have mainly used W.N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academical Dress in Europe until the end of the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1963); Mary Houston, *Medieval Costume in England & France: 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries* (1939, rpt London, 1979); and Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (London, 1984).

<sup>48</sup>For one of the factors influencing the occasional use of scrollbearers from the latter group, see above, n. <sup>42</sup>. Closer study of text attributions may help to explain the selection of scroll-bearers from the different orders.

<sup>49</sup>Examples accumulate after gathering four. See, for instance, 34(4) where the commentator is a "cardinal" figure; 47v(1) where he is a bishop monk meant to represent Augustine; and 53v(3) where he is a generalized clerical figure in red cassock and cowl.

<sup>50</sup>In the eight miniatures completed for the office of St Nicholas on ff. 381/v, three minor protagonists, a saint, a young man, an angel, a cardinal figure, a canon and a monk were used as scrollbearers. For the office of St Agatha on ff. 416-8v, however, the narrator is usually a figure in red cassock.

is an added element to the scene is not obvious in the first three gatherings of the temporal. In the later gatherings authorial and non-authorial observers of narrative and imagetic scenes were used so commonly as scrollbearers that Leroquais omitted entirely to mention them. The increasing use of doctors and other ecclesiastics in this role, not only for sermon miniatures but also for the illustration of the scriptural lessons, while at first suggesting a relaxation of effort on the part of the designers of the miniatures, in fact reflects changes in the nature of the lesson texts themselves as the liturgical year proceeded. The decision to vary the character of the narrator in this particular manner, however, rather than turning more frequently to minor protagonists or angels as scrollbearers, or the use of labels, was governed by an overriding perception of the border programme as having to do with the illustration of a written liturgical source specifically developed by the doctors of the church for the public performance by clerics of the divine office.<sup>51</sup> This way of viewing the border programme is also manifested in the occasional but regular use of performance themes, which were clearly seen as a valid alternative for illustrating extracts from the lessons when the text did not readily evoke a direct pictorial response. Above all, however, the nature of the text being illustrated was brought out by the designers of the programme through the themes assigned to the other liturgical items making up the divine office.

In the first three gatherings of the temporal, 151 of the border miniatures illustrate non-lesson material. Of these the ten accompanying texts taken from the opening words of chapters posed no problems additional to those already discussed for the illustration of the lessons. Chapters are, in effect, short lessons read between the chanting of the psalms and the hymn at first and second vespers, lauds and each of the small hours. They comprise a single verse taken mainly from the Epistles and the prophetic books, but also from the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse. In this way they resemble the lessons in the missal, with which the main chapter of the day usually concurs. Six of the chapters from the first week of Advent illustrated in the Salisbury Breviary border programme were taken from Isaiah, and two each from Romans and Jeremiah. The prophetic chapters were all illustrated by the *ad verbum* technique in combination with an author/ scrollbearer when necessary, resulting in a typical range of Advent themes.<sup>52</sup> The words "Hora est iam nos" from Romans 13:11 for lauds of the first Sunday in Advent were also directly illustrated in 17(3) with a scene of a monk waking two people in bed (Fig. 3), while in 19v(4) the none text "Sicut in die honeste ambulemus" from Romans 13:13 has received an exterior scene of a canon preaching to eight members of the faithful.

By contrast, the twenty-six border miniatures illustrating rubrics in the first three gatherings of the temporal were each given liturgical themes. Scenes depicting clerics involved in the performance of the mass or office made up a small but useful part of any workshop's repertoire of patterns. Isolated scenes were required in the figurative cycles of breviaries and missals for the illustration of texts for Corpus Christi and the Dedication of a Church, as well as those written for the veneration of relics and the translation feasts in the sanctoral. Even in Douce 313, however, the use of liturgical themes was restricted to the introits opening these kinds of masses and the small number of illustrated prayers. Hymnals, antiphonals, benedictionals and other liturgical texts tended to receive the same kinds of figurative cycles given to breviaries and missals, with the subject of the office taking precedence over the direct illustration of the texts themselves. Although a specific demand for performance miniatures was generated by the need to illustrate pontificals, ceremonials and their derivatives, the scenes developed for this purpose were limited in their repertoire of protagonists and liturgical tasks by the nature of the texts

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<sup>51</sup>The use of figures of doctrinal authority as scrollbearers for narrative scenes in the border programme also reflects the parallel role of the doctor as commentator in late medieval mystery plays, particularly in France.

<sup>52</sup>These occur in 9(2), 10v(1), 11v(1), 18v(1), 19(3), 25v(3 & 4) and 26(1).

themselves, and the relatively small size of their figurative cycles.<sup>53</sup> In the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary the need to devise subjects for a large range of non-lesson liturgical material generated a renaissance for the performance miniature.

Of the three kinds of rubrics used by the scribe in the preparation of the text of the Salisbury Breviary, most numerous but never illustrated were the abbreviated labels announcing the text type to follow. The short rubrics identifying new sections of text, "Ad vespervas," "In die nativitatis domini" or "Evangelium secundum Mattheum", were also rarely illustrated during the first campaign.<sup>54</sup> The bulk of border miniatures associated with rubrics illustrate the opening words of, or internal fragments from, the longer rubrics occurring at certain points within the manuscript which detail the progression of the office and textual alternatives within it. Even then specific liturgical items including *incipits* within lengthy rubrics were selected for illustration in preference to rubric fragments where possible. These basic rules of thumb, together with the small proportion of the text devoted to labels and directions, explain why only 136 of the border items in the Salisbury Breviary illustrate rubrics. Nevertheless, rubrics were not only important elements in the organization of the breviary as a text, but also had a strong influence on the design of the border programme. The need to develop solutions for the illustration of twenty-six rubric fragments in the first three gatherings of the temporal stimulated the imaginative use of the liturgical miniature in the programme as a whole.

This hypothesis is well supported by the representative set of examples on the opening folio (Fig. 1). The number of *incipits* is so restricted on this folio that three of the border miniatures illustrate rubrics. In the first border miniature a cleric addresses the words of the opening rubric, "Dominica prima adventus" from a pulpit chair to a group of four people in an ecclesiastical setting implied by the lancet windows and masonry wall of the background plane. The cleric wears the long, belted, full-sleeved surplice and chaperon of a canon.<sup>55</sup> With its preaching format, the miniature conveys the idea that the passage of the liturgical year is to be followed carefully by the faithful under the tutelage of the church. The church setting, canon as preacher and lay audience was repeated in 15(3) and the composition of the group as a whole in 16(3) (Fig. 2), ratifying the connection being made through certain of the lesson miniatures in the border programme with the homiletic elements in the office and the role of the clergy in pastoral care. That the rubrics in the secular breviary are intended, above all, however, for the use of clerics having publically to perform the office is expressed throughout the manuscript by the exclusion of members of the faithful from concern with all but this most general of introductory rubrics.<sup>56</sup>

The second border miniature on f. 8 illustrates the words "Accensis luminaribus" from the first column by showing an acolyte lighting altar candles. The setting, through the step-in diaphragm arch which acts as frame, is a convincingly painted semi-circular choir with a blue ribbed vault studded with stars. Two canons, one in chaperon, the other wearing a cap and carrying a large fur-lined cape over his shoulder,

<sup>53</sup>For examples see Victor Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols and pls (Paris, 1937).

<sup>54</sup>The opening rubric "Dominica prima adventus" and 85(3), 85(4), and 94v(1) are the only exceptions. Numbers increase after f. 111: for examples, see 119(3), 119v(3), 129v(1), 133v(1), 139(3 & 4), 140v(2), 143v(4), 155v(2), 161v(4), etc.

<sup>55</sup>For the surplice see Houston, *Medieval Costume*, p. 149. The chaperon, a form of headgear worn in various forms by lay and cleric alike in the fifteenth century, is described in Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *Academical Dress*, p. 193, as "a broad band of stuff lying on one shoulder...originally used as a band to which a hat was fastened so that it could be thrown off the head to hang down behind". The padded cap joined to the chaperon was called a *bourrelet*.

<sup>56</sup>In 426v(1) a canon addresses a group of the faithful through an open window for the rubric "Cum bissextus fuerit festum", but this is the only exception.



stand at the choir rails waiting for the office to begin.<sup>57</sup> The amenability of such concrete procedural directions to the *ad verbum* technique made them easy to illustrate. They occur rarely in the breviary, however, belonging more appropriately to the ordinal or processional. Most of the examples in the border programme are found in the first two gatherings, partly because of the detail included in introductory rubrics for the first Sunday in Advent, and partly because of a very long rubric occupying ff. 20v-24 on the performance of the Office of the Dead throughout the year. Nevertheless, even in the first two gatherings, only 8v(4), with its priest and three acolytes carrying candlesticks and censor for "Tres pueri accepta licencia", and 22v(4) and 23(3), which show canons kneeling at the altar for "Prostratus vero" and "Quociens fiunt genuflectiones" respectively, provided the opportunity for the depiction of ceremonial actions related to the performance of the office.<sup>58</sup>

The "Accensis luminaribus" miniature is closely related, however, to the group of miniatures which illustrate rubrics clearly associated with the progression of the service by showing clerics preparing to sing, read or recite a section of the office. The rubric "Responsorium incipiatur" is illustrated in 14(2), for instance, by two cantors and two canons at a lectern in an ecclesiastical setting. The cantors each wear choir copes over their albs. One of the canons wears a chaperon and green cassock. The other wears a surplice over a red cassock and carries his almuce over his shoulder. A similar example, 23(2), for the phrase "In vigilia mortuorum" which forms part of the rubric on the Office of the Dead in the second gathering, shows four cantors standing near an altar wearing the black choir copes appropriate to the office as well as the mass. In the same section of the manuscript on f. 23v two extracts from a passage concerned with votive offices for the dead, "Pro regibus et principibus" and "De aliis personis," are illustrated in the first and third border miniatures by an episcopal procession and funeral service respectively, both specific occasions when the rubric applied.

A similar method was used to solve the problem of illustrating rubrics of a general nature, or those taken from commentaries on seasonal and weekly variations not directly related to the performance of the office. The rubric for the fourth border miniature on f. 8, "Et sciendum est", has been given pictorial expression through the image of a canon reading the text in an open book (Fig. 1). Books on the desk and piled on the floor beside him, the pen and ink holder and the domestic setting, mark his activity as a referential one. It was this kind of image which was used with great effectiveness throughout the first campaign to demonstrate the breviary as a living text requiring study and consultation in preparation for the successful performance of the office. The processes of clerical apprenticeship are illustrated specifically in 12(2), where a seated cardinal is shown reading the rubric introducing the preces for compline from an open book on his lap to three clerics in albs. An interior setting is implied through the use of a green-tiled floor and diaper background. More usually, however, the scenes used for general or fragmentary rubrics deal with points of immediate reference. The words "Et sciendum est" are illustrated again in 9v(3) by the scene of a canon showing two other clerics the rubric written in the open book he is holding. Elsewhere, the act of consultation takes place during the service in scenes otherwise indistinguishable from those used for the standard performance miniature.

Numerous permutations in the depiction of clerical costume in such scenes were characteristic of the programme in scenes both of a referential or a performance nature. In 19v(3) a canon studying the rubric

<sup>57</sup>The cape, an almuce, also has two long lappets at the front. The version lined with grey fur was worn by canons and Doctors of Divinity: Houston, *Medieval Costume*, p. 149. For examples of canons wearing the almuce, see Fig. 18.

<sup>58</sup>The only other examples occur in 219(3) and 625(2), where "Pulsentur" and "Pulsentur campana" are illustrated by scenes of clerics and bellringers; and in 272v(3) where the rubric "[Precedentibus ceroferrariis et septem thuribulis prius] Ante gradum [chori impletis incenso]" is illustrated by a scene of censuring.

"Hoc autem per totum annum" in an open book on a desk holds his surplice lifted over one arm to show the red cassock beneath; while in 22v(2), two of the surpliced canons reading the text "Sciendum est quod" in an open book on a lectern wear caps and almuces, and the third the capuchon, modelling the alternatives in headdress and accessories for their clerical rank. Acolytes dressed simply in white albs and amices with or without apparels, clerics of all ranks in cassocks, canons identifiable by their surplices, capuchons or almuces, cantors wearing choir copes, the occasional deacon in dalmatic, and priests or bishops wearing the processional cope or the shield-shaped chasuble, meet at desk or lectern, stand in conversation or wait near the altar ready to proceed with the service. In spite of the increasing use of colour in the fifteenth century to denote clerical or academic rank,<sup>59</sup> the colours of the various garments in the border programme appear to have no significance, being used like the unusual orange of the canon's surplice in 8(4) to add pictorial variety. The use of black in some of the scenes illustrating the Office of the Dead is the only exception. Red, blue, pink, green, blue-grey and occasionally orange were used interchangeably for Eucharistic and non-Eucharistic vestments, including the contrasting linings of copes. Apparels, copes, chasubles and dalmatics were additionally detailed in gold to convey the effect of embroidered or patterned material.

The vocabulary of images developed in the early gatherings of the temporal for the illustration of rubrics was also adopted for the wide range of other miniatures given performance or referential themes, either because of perceived difficulties in illustrating the quotation by conventional means, or because of overriding schema for the illustration of specific text types. In particular, a limited subset of liturgical themes was used almost universally for the 150 miniatures overtly illustrating prayers in the border programme. In 8(3), for instance, a priest is shown kneeling before an altar as two acolytes chant the "Pater noster" given in *incipit* in the second column (Fig. 1). Apart from texts like the "Pater noster", the role of which in the liturgy was so constant that it did not need repeating after the first occurrence, prayers normally occur in the breviary at vespers, lauds and each of the small hours during the day, as part of the main office itself and as memorials commemorating lesser services which might have been held on the same day, including the office of the Virgin. Whether the main text for the day, however, or a memorial one, all prayers share a common structure as short petitions requesting the Lord either directly or through the intercession of the saints for mercy, forgiveness or assistance on the path to salvation. Because of this, although prayers often had phrases recalling the spirit of the liturgical season or the virtues of the saint whose feast was being observed, the delivery of the prayer was chosen as the definitive method of illustration.

The main prayer for the first week in Advent, for instance, reads "Excita quesumus domine potentiam tuam et veni: ut ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis te mereamur protegente eripi: te liberante salvari".<sup>60</sup> It is illustrated four times in the first three gatherings of the Salisbury Breviary. In 17v(2) (Fig. 4), for lauds of the Sunday office, the first miniature shows four Old Testament figures in a landscape being blessed by God the Father from the deeply arched space at the top of the rectangular frame. On the left the supplicant is present in the form of a priest kneeling in prayer. The miniature as a whole thus acts as a visual gloss, related iconographically to the large Advent miniature, on the meaning of the prayer in the context of its position in the liturgical year. This is the only occasion in the border programme, however, where a prayer receives such complex treatment. In 19v(2), the "Excita" for terce

<sup>59</sup>Houston, *Medieval Costume*, p. 154.

<sup>60</sup>"We pray thee, O Lord, to show thy power by coming to our aid; that through Thy protection we may escape the dangers that threaten us because of our sins and, having been set free by Thee, may attain to salvation": translation from the *Daily Missal* (1957 edition), p. 91.

has a scene of the celebration of the mass, demonstrating the use of the same prayer each day for both mass and office, while the two other examples depict a priest at prayer before an altar, accompanied by two of the faithful in 25v(1) and by a canon, woman and monk in 28v(4).

The general restriction in the illustration of prayers to depictions of the supplicant nevertheless left room for considerable variety and experiment in the development of themes. For petitions like the Lord's Prayer associated with specific stages in the performance of the office, care was taken to provide the correct ecclesiastical props and costumes and to give scrolls to the people responsible for the recitation of the prayer. On ff. 11v-12, the "Confiteor", "Misereatur" and "Absolutionem", three prayers for general confession forming part of a complicated alternation between priest and congregation said after prime and compline, are each illustrated by appropriate scenes. The "Absolutionem" in 12(1) shows a bishop giving absolution to a woman and two men. He reads the text of the prayer from a book held by a kneeling acolyte. Detailed images like these proliferate in the first few gatherings, where numerous texts fundamental to the liturgy, but not routinely included for each office in the breviary because of their familiarity, are given before the first vespers and matins texts of the opening office for the first Sunday in Advent. The five prayer *incipits* for the long rubric about the Office of the Dead on ff. 20v-24 stand out in particular, because of the use of black copes and indoor and outdoor scenes appropriate to the recitation of the prayers during the funeral service as well as the office.<sup>61</sup>

When the prayer was a memorial one, the dedication was sometimes suggested by means of an image on the altar. The object of the memorial prayer "Deus qui de beate marie semper virginis utero", for example, is represented in 18v(4) by a grisaille Virgin and Child group under a conical canopy. An interesting attempt was also made in this miniature directly to translate the imagery of the prayer into pictorial terms. A locked wooden cupboard to the right of the altar is intended to represent the eternal virginity of the Mother of God.<sup>62</sup> Although sharing characteristics with miniatures directly illustrating the recitation of the prayer during the performance of the office, this kind of scene was readily adapted to one of private worship, particularly for the illustration of extra-liturgical material. In 10(3) the memorial prayer "Salve regina misericordie" is illustrated by two canons in everyday dress kneeling before an altar dedicated to the Virgin. The motivation for varying the image is made clear by the context. The miniature at 10(3) is one of numerous examples on ff. 10-11 illustrating the memorial prayers for the Virgin, Holy Spirit, Relics, All Saints and Peace to be said at vespers during Advent. The canon in 11(2) kneels in prayer in a landscape, without the aid of an altar, while in 11(3), the figures similarly in prayer are members of the laity. These kinds of images, however, were generally eschewed in favour of the standard theme of a priest reciting the prayer as part of the office or mass, accompanied by the same variety of accessories, attendants and postures used in the rubric miniatures.

Only one other text type, the invitatory, was so consistently given a liturgical theme throughout the manuscript that a general rule to this effect must have routinely applied to its illustration. Invitatories appear in the breviary (when proper) once only for each office at the beginning of matins. This, together with their shortness as texts, served to reduce their relative importance in the border programme. The group of twenty-seven invitatories illustrated in the border programme would have been even smaller except for the number occurring on folios with large miniatures. Invitatories, however, were important texts in the liturgy, around which a complex pattern for the repetition of chants had been developed

<sup>61</sup>22(1) shows a burial scene, 22(3) and 23v(4) scenes of absolution and 22(4) a funeral service.

<sup>62</sup>The same motif appears in the *Ince Hall Madonna* panel (Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria) attributed to a follower of Jan van Eyck.

depending on the importance of the office.<sup>63</sup> They were thus accentuated in the border programme by a consistency of treatment in spite of the irregularity of their occurrence as illustrated texts.

Although, like prayers, invitatories usually reflected the spirit of the liturgical season or saint's feast in their phrasing, they also imitated the prayer in having a formulaic structure which was dependent on their role as musical texts covering the "Venite exultemus" psalm. It was the shared performance aspect which was generally adopted for illustration. Twenty-five of the invitatories illustrated in the border programme have been given liturgical themes, mainly in the form of clerics standing at a lectern singing the invitatory. In 17v(4) (Fig. 4), illustrating the invitatory "Ave maria gracia plena" which opens matins of the office of the Virgin during Advent, the cantors are Franciscan friars. The only non-liturgical invitatory miniature painted during the first campaign opens matins for the Wednesday Ember day in Advent. The invitatory, "Prope est iam dominus [venite adoremus]" is illustrated in 46(1) by a typical Advent scene, with a prophet indicating an image of God in Heaven to three members of the faithful in a landscape.<sup>64</sup>

A much more ad hoc approach to the selection of themes was adopted for the wide range of other musical texts and *incipits* illustrated in the border programme. This can be attributed to a number of factors. There was no single uniting structural formula for each of the separate groups of texts identified specifically as antiphons, versicles or responses in the breviary. Many of these texts were short fragments lifted out of their context from scriptural sources which, as J.C. Dickinson puts it, "were ransacked with great assiduity and even greater ingenuity to provide what looked like passages appropriate for the occasion".<sup>65</sup> Others, particularly the texts serving a votive or memorial function, were thematic composites within a supplicatory framework similar to that of prayers. Others yet again made a specific contribution to the progression of the office. Hymns, which as a whole were substantial poetic statements of important Christian dogmas within a framework of supplication and worship, were also treated as textual fragments for the purposes of illustration, as were the small number of illustrated psalm *incipits*.

The same kinds of scriptural extracts or thematic composite texts might be used interchangeably in any antiphonal or responsorial role, or as elements of the extended liturgical dialogues identified as preces, proses and sequences by rubrics in the breviary. In a number of cases, this applied even to the same texts. The opening first vespers antiphon for Advent, "Benedictus [dominus deus meus]", echoes the opening words of psalm 143, which it covers. Either could effectively be illustrated by the performance miniature used in 8v(2). In another example, John the Baptist's words "[Ego] vox clamantis" are illustrated as the versicle to an Advent hymn in 46(4) and as a "Benedictus" antiphon in 50v(2). On both occasions, the text was interpreted visually through a stock image, dependent upon a knowledge of the scriptural source, of the Baptist addressing a group of Jews. Different treatments, however, were given to the two occurrences of the text "Bethleem civitas dei summi". In 14v(4), where the text is used as the second nocturn first antiphon for the first Sunday in Advent, a prophet holds the scroll towards a walled city in an irregular unframed landscape, while a performance miniature is used to illustrate the responsory to the

<sup>63</sup>Printed Sarum Breviary, I, mdxiv-v.

<sup>64</sup>The text has been added below the miniature. The other exception occurs in 630(4) for the office of St Winifred where the *incipit* for the invitatory "Agnum sponsum" is illustrated by a scene of two angels observing Winifred and two other virgin saints kneeling before Christ. Similarly evocative texts like the "Regem virginum" invitatory for Perpetua and Felicitas in 429(2) were treated in the standard way.

<sup>65</sup>*An Ecclesiastical History of England: The Later Middle Ages* (London, 1979), pp. 459-60.

second lesson for the third Sunday in Advent in 37(4).<sup>66</sup>

It was difficult and, in any case, not very useful in terms of their function to make distinctions between these kinds of liturgical items in the border programme. The diverse nature of the texts required decisions about subject content to be made on an individual basis. Nevertheless, certain rules of thumb were followed. Paired texts were always illustrated by means of a performance miniature, either incorporating two scrolls or with one of the texts in a scroll and the other in an open book held by one of the clerics, or on the lectern. Apart from the standard dialogues, antiphons and psalm *incipits* were the most commonly paired texts. The first set occurs in 21v(4), which illustrates the "Benedictus" and its antiphon for lauds of the office of the Dead.<sup>67</sup>

In addition, texts chanted invariably on a day to day basis during the performance of the office were generally given a liturgical theme. The use of miniatures showing clerics chanting the texts was often the most direct way of giving such texts visual expression. The whole group was also united thematically by a shared iconographic approach which underlined their "ordinariness" in the liturgy. To this group belongs the eight "Benedictus" and "Magnificat" *incipits*, as well as the two *incipits* for the psalm which opens vespers, "Dixit Dominus" (Psalm 109), even though there was a strong tradition for associating this psalm with the Trinity in psalter cycles.<sup>68</sup> The "Te Deum" sung at the end of matins on Sundays and most feasts except in Advent and Lent received similar treatment.<sup>69</sup> Twelve of the thirteen versicles and responses illustrated in the first gathering of the temporal also belong to this group, including liturgical dialogues like the "Deus in adiutorium/ Domine ad adiuuandum" which routinely opens matins; terminating texts like the lesser doxology "Gloria patri et filio"; and benedictions like the reader's request for the blessing of the priest at the beginning of each nocturn, "Iube domne benedicere".<sup>70</sup>

Two other groups of musical items, the remainder of the psalm *incipits* and the lesson responsories, tended to receive uniform treatment, at least in the first campaign, because of the nature of their texts. The non-liturgical themes associated with psalm *incipits* were drawn selectively from traditional psalter iconography, but mainly reflect a pastoral interpretation of the function of the psalms outside the liturgy. Psalm 38, "Dixi custodiam vias meas", is illustrated in 26(2) by an exterior scene of David pointing to his tongue, the standard theme for this text in ferial psalter cycles.<sup>71</sup> In 13v(1), however, "Saluum me fac" (Psalm 11) has been given a scene of a man kneeling in worship to a Christ in Majesty figure to the right of the miniature, rather than the one of David being saved from drowning typical of psalter illustration.

<sup>66</sup>The text continues "...ex te exiet dominator Israel" and is not directly scriptural. Interestingly, the antiphon in the Printed Sarum Breviary (I, xxiii) differs from the responsory. It begins "Bethleem non es minima in principibus iuda" and is taken from Matthew 2:6.

<sup>67</sup>Paired texts should be distinguished from occasional cases where quotations from a single illustrated text are given to more than one protagonist in narrative scenes as, for example, in 138(1). For paired versicles and responses, see 8v(1), 9v(1 & 4), 10(1), etc; for antiphons paired with psalms, see 25(1), 100(2), 170v(1), 217v(1), 246v(1), etc. In 239v(3) a chapter is paired with a hymn.

<sup>68</sup>The two canticles are illustrated in 73(1), 132v(4), 164(2), \*219v(1), \*264v(3), 361(2), 529v(4) and \*550(2). Asterisked miniatures show scenes of censuring. Psalm 109 is illustrated in 20(3) and 283v(1).

<sup>69</sup>See 61v(2), 91v(4) and 282(2).

<sup>70</sup>8v(1), 8v(3) and 15(1). The "Gloria patri" is illustrated in 75(1), however, by a scene of angels and cherubim in Heaven above a cityscape which is more appropriate to the "Gloria in excelsis". For the spelling of "Iube domne" see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 362, n. 64.

<sup>71</sup>Because of the second line of the psalm, "Locutus sum in lingua mea". For a list of the themes standard to the psalter in Paris breviaries, see the introduction to the Catalogue. Psalm 122 ("Ad te levavi oculus meos") is illustrated in 12v(2) by David raising his eyes, the Deuteronomy canticle "Audite celi" by Moses addressing five people, and Psalm 92 ("Dominus regnavit") in 83v(3) by David kneeling in a landscape with God in Heaven above.

Once the psalms had been removed from their context in the psalter, with its strict illustrative conventions, such images of worship and meditation upon the glory of God were often the most appropriate choice for their illustration. In addition, the psalms as a liturgical genre were clearly associated by the designer of the programme with lay devotion. The *personae* vary from the generalized image of a layman in short belted tunic and cowed cloak used in 13v(1) to members of a royal family, a knight and a king and his courtiers.<sup>72</sup> The most detailed image was given in 93v(4) where Bedford recites Psalm 53, "Deus in nomine", kneeling at a prie-dieu before an altar bearing the holy sacrament. The psalm itself is rich with imagery appropriate to Bedford's position as Regent of a France troubled from within by enemies. Verses 7-8 in particular read:

Averte mala inimicis meis;  
Et in veritate tua disperde illos.  
Voluntarie sacrificabo tibi,  
Et confitebor nomini tuo, Domine,  
quoniam bonum est.<sup>73</sup>

thus explaining the Eucharistic image.

Lesson responsories were also united by their tendency to be directly related either to the texts of the lessons themselves or to subjects pertinent to the office or season. The latter was particularly the case when the responsory covered lessons drawn from the Old Testament for the first nocturn. Of the 205 lesson responsories illustrated in the border programme, only thirty-four have strictly liturgical themes and a number of these can be explained by direct reference to the text.<sup>74</sup> The treatment of most of the lesson responsories follows conventional techniques, ranging from the use of the Annunciation for "Suscipe verbum virgo maria" in 15v(1), to the many variations of the Advent theme for the lesson responsories for the second and third Sundays in Advent in gathering five. *Ad verbum* interpretations were also used. "Canite tuba" in 41v(2), for instance, is illustrated by a prophet pointing to two musicians with trumpets.

Liturgical themes were thus consistently used in the border programme for rubrics, prayers, invitatories and common musical proprs. There was also a demonstrable preference for devotional imagery for psalms, and a strong tendency, generated by the lesson-like nature of the texts themselves, to use standard techniques when illustrating chapters and lesson responsories. It is clear, however, that no strict rule concerning the illustration of the majority of the non-lesson texts was imposed. The decision to make liturgical themes a valid alternative form of illustrating all the refrains, musical glosses and linking devices in the breviary was made during the preparation of the subjects for the first gathering. The importance of the musical texts primarily as liturgical items sung during the performance of the office was initially emphasized by the use of liturgical themes for all of the examples given pictorial expression

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<sup>72</sup>Variations on the theme of lay worship were used for psalm *incipits* in 19v(1), 93v(4), 130v(3), 131(4), 270v(3) and 278v(4). In 22v(1), however, a canon kneeling before a shrouded body is used for "Domine probasti me" (Psalm 138), one of the psalms associated with the Office of the Dead. An Advent theme was used for "Dominus regnavit" (Psalm 92) in 19v(1), where an Old Testament figure points to a vision of Christ in Majesty surrounded by saints. Interestingly, the *incipit* itself is incorrect and should have read "Dominus regit [me]" (Psalm 22), but the subject of the miniature was clearly developed for the substituted text.

<sup>73</sup>"Turn back the evil upon my foes;/ in your faithfulness destroy them./ Freely will I offer you sacrifice;/ I will praise your name, O Lord, for its goodness". Bedford's association with Psalm 53 in this miniature reinforces the interpretation of the maritime scene in the Pentecost miniature (Fig. 18) as an illustration of Psalm 67, "Exsurgat Deus," with its parallel pleas for the destruction of the enemies of righteousness.

<sup>74</sup>For instance, in 57v(2) and 64v(1) the two first lesson responsories "Hodie celorum rex" and "Hesterna die dominus" for the 25 and 26 December respectively both link the subject of Christ's birth to the day the office is being celebrated.

on the first three folios, recto and verso, including three which illustrate responsory texts.<sup>75</sup> On subsequent folios, however, musical propers were treated without any observable pattern, alternatively as texts in the act of being sung and as a sequence of words requiring illustration by the conventional methods.

The first venture into standard pictorial imagery for the visual glossing of musical propers is found in 11(1), which illustrates the votive antiphon for the first vespers memorial of All Saints during Advent. The opening three words of the antiphon, which reads "Ecce dominus veniet [et omnes sancti eius cum eo: et erit in die illa lux magna: Alleluya],"<sup>76</sup> were translated into a typical Advent scene, with an attesting figure in grey cassock and cowl pointing out a half-length image of Christ in Majesty in the margin to four bearded men in attitudes of prayer. The omission of the saints may have been a deliberate decision on the part of the iconographer due to the space available, but probably reflects the composite nature of the antiphon, where a phrase relevant to the memorial has been tacked onto one with a strong verbal association with the Old Testament Advent texts. An appreciation of the fact in this case that the text being illustrated was written specifically for use in the office is demonstrated, however, by the use of a generalized clerical or academic figure as scrollbearer, in place of the prophet image which would have been used to illustrate a similar text with a direct scriptural source.<sup>77</sup>

That decisions about the subject content of each miniature were informed by an awareness of the numerous levels at which the illustrated text could be interpreted, is particularly well demonstrated by the treatment of texts illustrated more than once in the border programme. "Prophete predicaverunt nasci [salvatorem de virgine maria]", used as the composite *super psalmos* antiphon for first vespers of the office of the Virgin during Advent, is illustrated three times, once at its first occurrence in 10(4) and twice, in 30(2) and 32(2), for the Saturday office of the first week of Advent. In 10(4) four canons stand around a desk covered with a pink cloth on which rests an open book. In 30(2) John the Baptist is shown preaching in a landscape to four seated people, one a woman. In 32(2) the Baptist is shown holding a scroll and watching three prophets talking in a landscape. Above, a half length image of the Virgin and Child may be seen in the blue cloud-edged semi-circle of Heaven. Each solution is not only entirely appropriate to the illustration of the antiphon, but differs from the other, contributing to a multi-level view of the function of the breviary text. The first shows contemporary clerics reading the sacred message in the breviary. The second shows the precursor preaching as the last in the long line of prophets who predicted the birth of the saviour. The third shows the subject of the Baptist's sermon, with the Baptist as attesting authorial figure.

Although the approaches were rarely as patterned as in this example, liturgically diverse texts nevertheless united by a similar verbal structure and intellectual content tended to have their subjects drawn from the same subset of thematic types. Musical propers having a clear narrative or imagetic content, and receiving a non-performance subject, were illustrated through one or more of the conventional solutions used for the illustration of related lesson texts, in combination when necessary with the technical device of the added scrollbearer. Preaching and teaching scenes were used in moderation when the text demanded it, while the more difficult and abstract textual passages were handled by direct recourse to the performance miniature. In addition, one large group of thematically

<sup>75</sup>Namely "Aspiciens a longe" in 14(3), "Aspicebam in visu noctis" in 14v(2) and "Ave maria" in 15(2).

<sup>76</sup>"The Lord shall come and all his saints with him: and on that day there shall be a great light: Alleluya".

<sup>77</sup>Generalized prophet figures were used, however, as one of the scrollbearer alternatives for composite texts.

related musical texts was singled out for the same special treatment given to many of the psalm *incipits*. Whilst informal scenes of worship were usually avoided for prayers in favour of miniatures showing the reading of the prayer during the office, they were used widely for the prayer-like or devotional musical texts among the antiphons, hymn fragments, versicles and responses. Such texts occurred particularly frequently in the material additional to the normal run of services, including the memorials to the Virgin and the saints and the offices devoted to the Virgin. They were also an essential part of hymns which, like the psalms, were one of the elements of the liturgy also directed towards the religious education of the laity.<sup>78</sup>

As usual, a proportion of these texts were illustrated by means of strict performance miniatures, showing canons, cantors or acolytes singing the opening words at a lectern. This is the case in 9(3), the miniature illustrating the first vespers hymn for the first Sunday in Advent, "Conditor [alme syderum]". In 9(4), however, the formulaic last verse of the hymn, "Laus, honor, virtus, [gloria/ deo patri et filio/ sancto simul paraclito./ In sempiterna secula. Amen],"<sup>79</sup> was given visual expression through the scene of two canons kneeling before an altar in a barrel-vaulted room with four of the faithful. Ostensibly a liturgical miniature, the scene directly illustrates the act of worship, led by the official representatives of the church on behalf of the laity, inherent in the chanting of the words. Similarly, in the votive antiphon "Veni sancte spiritus [reple tuorum corda fidelium et tui amoris in eis ignem accende]"<sup>80</sup> illustrated in 10v(2), the worship of five of the faithful is led by a canon kneeling at a low desk or prie-dieu in an abstract setting combining a gold scroll and hanging curtain ground with green tiled floor. The words of the petition are also given direct visual form through the presence of the faithful, in the hearts of whom the Holy Spirit has already lodged.

A range of permutations on this basic formula was used for texts evoking a devotional image. In the resulting set of miniatures the devotional figures are drawn from a group comprising representative clerics, members of religious orders and members of the faithful, including the Duke and Duchess of Bedford during the first campaign.<sup>81</sup> The figures are depicted kneeling alone or at an altar or prie-dieu in a landscape, abstract or chapel setting. When the source of the devotion is shown (usually Christ in Majesty or on the cross, the Virgin and Child or a votive image of one of the saints), it is represented through one of a number of pictorial devices. The figures may be seen as full or half-length Heavenly visions in a mandorla, or through a cloud-lined view into Heaven in the upper part of the miniature or outside the frame. They may be placed on the altar to represent its dedication, as in some of the early prayer miniatures; or they may be placed in the same physical plane as the devotional figure, separated temporally by the accessories of the altar or prie-dieu, or simply by the posture and utterance of prayer

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<sup>78</sup>Matthew Britt, *The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal* (New York, 1924); Ruth Ellis Messenger, *Ethical teachings in the Latin Hymns of Medieval England* (New York, 1930).

<sup>79</sup>"Praise, honour, power and glory be/ To God the Father and the Son/ And the Holy Ghost./ Throughout all time. Amen".

<sup>80</sup>"Come, Holy Spirit, fill the hearts of your faithful and kindle the fire of your love in them".

<sup>81</sup>A nobleman and a lady respectively kneel before a seated Virgin and Child group for "O magnum misterium" in 59(3) and "Te laudant angeli" in 59v(2). Similar devotional miniatures occur in 66v(2): a lady holding a reliquary of St Stephen martyr for "Lapides illi torrens"; 70(2 & 3): a nobleman and lady respectively before the standing image of John the Evangelist with cup for "Hic est discipulus" and "Tunc beatus iohannes"; 72(3): a nobleman at the feet of Christ and John the Evangelist for "Diligebat autem"; 72v(1): a lady at the foot of the cross with the three Maries and John the Evangelist for "In cruce denique moriturus"; 92(3): a nobleman before St Stephen martyr for "Stephanus servus dei"; 93(4): a lady at a prie-dieu before an altar for "Sancta maria"; 93v(4): Bedford before Holy Sacrament on an altar for "Deus in nomine"; 101(4): a nobleman before John the Evangelist for "Valde honorandus est beatus iohannes"; 283v(2): Anne de Bourgogne in prayer for "Miserator dominus escam"; 521(3): Anne de Bourgogne before St Anne and the Virgin for "Anna confers spem". The texts are mainly musical propers, including lesson responsories, but several come from the lessons.



(Fig. 35).<sup>82</sup>

The devotional figures, like the other added scrollbearer figures and the subjects of the performance and referential miniatures, helped to give visual form to a complex and living liturgical text, particularly in the gatherings painted during the first campaign, where attempts were successfully made to vary the liturgical miniatures in ways meaningful to the structure of the liturgy. Among the forty-six border miniatures accompanying prayer texts in the first fourteen gatherings, for instance, there is almost no repetition of models. After gathering fourteen, however, combinations of a small number of elements were used with different coloured ecclesiastical vestments and in different interior settings to provide a varied but limited range of images for the prayers. The most commonly occurring scene in the second half of the temporal and in the sanctoral is that of a priest reading the text of the prayer from a book held by a kneeling cleric, although the human lectern was replaced by a wooden lectern on a number of occasions.<sup>83</sup> When the celebrant is a bishop, a priest or canon may hold his mitre while the prayer is being recited.<sup>84</sup> The text is presented either in scroll form or as words written in the book. Additional clerics may be in attendance, sometimes holding books or candlesticks. An altar is also sometimes shown in the background. Even in the sanctoral, however, the dedication of the altar is rarely displayed through the use of votive images as it is in examples painted during the first campaign.<sup>85</sup> Scenes specifically showing the recitation of the prayer during the celebration of the mass after gathering fourteen are also restricted to folios painted in the first campaign.<sup>86</sup>

Variations on this small group of models may be found only in a handful of cases. A rare "Pater noster" *incipit* on f. 168 is illustrated in the third border miniature by a scene of two canons before an altar.<sup>87</sup> Benedictine monks recite the prayers for the office of St Benedict and his translation on ff. 437v and 501v respectively. For the seven miniatures illustrating prayers from the office of All Souls on ff. 624v-629, the artist referred back to the series painted for *incipits* from the Office of the Dead in the third gathering, using accessories and settings appropriate to the recitation of the prayers at the funeral service as well as during the office. Only two examples clearly depart from the pattern set by the first campaign. The scene of St Basil preaching for the prayer "Deus qui beatum Basilium" is so inappropriate an image in the context of the programme as a whole that it must have been assigned in error. The second example may be found in 432v(1) (Fig. 26), where the artist identified by Spencer as Hand D has painted a miniature of the Coronation of St Edward Martyr for the prayer "Deus qui eterni [triumphator imperii]". The choice of subjects for the whole folio, however, is so odd that one suspects that the designer chose deliberately to

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<sup>82</sup>Fifteenth century realism contributed to the popularity of the latter forms, which had a sound basis in contemporary methods for securing the salvation of the soul: Lane, *Medieval Devotional Figure*; Anne Van Buren, "The canonical office in Renaissance painting, part II: more about the Rolin Madonna," *Art Bulletin*, 60 (1978), 617-33.

<sup>83</sup>The device of the human lectern presumably reflected one kind of contemporary practice, but was not used in miniatures painted during the first campaign. It was first used in gathering seventeen for the illustration of a rubric, and was adopted ruthlessly thereafter for a large number of the miniatures illustrating the delivery of texts spoken in the liturgy, including prayers, rubrics and chapters when they were given a performance miniature. It was also used for about a third of the sixty-one performance miniatures without a quotation from the text, many of which were clearly intended to illustrate chapters or prayers. In 182(2) the open book is ruled ready for the addition of the text which was, however, omitted.

<sup>84</sup>This motif is first used in 102v(2) for the memorial to St Edward the Confessor on 4 January and reappears in 116v(2), 217v(2), 263v(2), 463(4), 492v(2), 494v(2), 497(4) and 624(4).

<sup>85</sup>The exceptions, for the offices of St Cuthbert, the Invention of the Holy Cross and St Martin, may be found in 434v(4), 572v(4) and 643v(4). In 572v(4), SS Prothus and Hyacinth are shown standing in front of the priest as he reads the prayer.

<sup>86</sup>Namely, 242v(1), 257v(1), 259(4), 263v(2), 278(4) and 518v(2). The only exception is 394(2).

<sup>87</sup>Canons are also shown reciting the prayer in 136(3), 172(2), 209(3), 225v(1), 278(4), 426v(2) and a deacon in 350(2) and 356v(2).

ignore rules governing the assignment of themes.<sup>88</sup>

A similar relaxation of effort may be found in the illustration of some of the other liturgical items after Bedford's patronage had been withdrawn and the Bedford Master was no longer involved with work on the manuscript. For the illustration of rubrics, the open-ended theme of clerics of various ranks reading the rubric in preparation for or during the performance of the office placed few demands on the artist, while providing a satisfactory image for all but the most specific of texts, which by definition generated cues for their own illustration. Nevertheless, the complexity of such images as the one used for 8(4) was not repeated in subsequent campaigns, and there was a move towards a simplification of the image to that of one or more priests, cantors, canons and clerics at a lectern. There was also a trend towards the illustration of labelling rubrics, particularly in selected gatherings, which forestalled the need to illustrate the texts which followed. For instance, in gathering eighteen, the four miniatures accompanying rubrics illustrate "Lectio tertia", "Dominica IIII" and two "Secundum Matheum"'s. This was part of an approach to the whole gathering which simplified the problems of illustrating diverse texts by using performance scenes for all the non-lesson items.

In spite of variations like this in individual gatherings,<sup>89</sup> the percentage of non-performance miniatures illustrating antiphons, hymns, lesson responsories, versicles and responses in the first campaign did not change significantly in the later gatherings taken as a whole. On the other hand, seventeen of the twenty-two psalm *incipits* illustrated during the later campaigns were given performance miniatures, indicating that an awareness of the subtle distinctions being made through the illustration of the psalm *incipits* in the first campaign had been lost. A similar change is observable in the illustration of chapters. In the first five gatherings of the temporal none of the miniatures illustrating chapters were given liturgical themes, and only eight of the forty-four chapter miniatures in gatherings attributed to the first campaign were treated in this fashion. In later gatherings, however, almost half the chapter miniatures depict the text being read during the performance of the office. Again, awareness of a need to maintain a distinction between chapters and other non-lesson texts was clearly lost during the execution of the project.

Changes in perceptions of the function of specific elements of the border programme were almost predicated by the length of time the manuscript spent in the workshop. An understanding of the separate function of the figurative cycle was demonstrably lost over this period. Nevertheless, the treatment of the programme as a whole was remarkably consistent, both stylistically and iconographically. The autonomy of treatment of rubrics, prayers and invitatories was sustained throughout the project despite the competition provided by the rubrics given historiated initials in the figurative cycle of the sanctoral, the numerous prayer-like texts given devotional miniatures in the border programme, and the strongly subject-related texts of many of the invitatories. The function of the scrollbearer was also successfully maintained, although reduced in some of the later gatherings to a stock ecclesiastical or doctor figure. Such consistency of design was partly ensured by the maintenance of a close relationship between text and image, and the continuous use of a pool of shop patterns augmented by previous work on the manuscript itself. The early gatherings of the temporal not only provided ready-made solutions for individual design problems, but also set precedents for approaches to the illustration of specific kinds of texts. The main and overriding factor determining the maintenance of the project in the manner resolved

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<sup>88</sup>The opening rubric is illustrated in the third miniature by a scene more appropriate to the historiated initial, in which the figure of an angel appears. The themes of two of the other miniatures are derived from the first and second lessons on the facing folio.

<sup>89</sup>See n. <sup>54</sup> for further examples.

by the original designers of the programme, however, was the survival in the workshop of a set of written directions regarding the subjects of the miniatures, drawn up by an adviser or advisers steeped in a knowledge of the liturgy and its processes.

Tempting though it is to assign a major part of the intellectual contribution to the design of an important artistic project to the artists themselves, there is increasing evidence that new iconographic programmes for illuminated manuscripts produced in Paris in the late medieval period were prepared by scholarly advisers either intimately involved with the editing, translating or exegesis of the text, or employed specifically on the task by the patron or middleman. Even though an exemplar was provided for the *Bible moralisée* to be produced by the Limbourgs for Philippe le Hardi, two gatherings of instructions were also kept with the unfinished manuscript until 1518.<sup>90</sup> These have unfortunately failed to survive. A unique series of directions for a manuscript cycle may be found, however, in the form of Jean Lebègue's *Histoires que l'on peut raisonnablement faire sur les livres de Salluste*, a practical guide to the illustration of copies of Sallust's *Catilinarius* and *De Jugurtino*.<sup>91</sup> Lebègue's guide not only details the relative size of the miniature and its position in the text, but also provides specific directions for the number of figures, their costumes and postures.

Lebègue, who was a scholar employed at the French Court as secretary to Charles VI, had an unusually active interest in books and their illumination, as well as the writings of Sallust, and it is unlikely that illuminators would have routinely received such detailed directions. His guide may also have been prepared from a finished copy of the cycle originally designed through a more ad hoc collaborative relationship. Written instructions concerning the position and subject of miniatures in any relatively large programme of decoration were needed, however, not only for the duplication of copies in the likely absence of a model, but in those cases where the adviser dealt through the bookseller or entrepreneur and had no direct contact with the artists, or where gatherings were delegated to artists working in separate physical locations. From a study of the internal evidence alone, the new figurative cycle given to the Brussels copy of Raoul de Presles' translation of the *Civitas Dei* painted by the Virgil Master in around 1405 (BR 9294-5), is demonstrably based on written instructions, which must have been held by a middleman for distribution to workshops employed on the execution of duplicate copies.<sup>92</sup>

That the subject content of the border miniatures in the Salisbury Breviary was also at least partially delimited from the earliest stages of work on the manuscript by the provision in written form of a master plan, may also be demonstrated in the absence of documentary evidence by reference to the programme. The existence of lists of scroll texts with brief annotations concerning the subject of the associated miniatures is made clear in a number of the illustrations by a greater familiarity with the liturgy and its latin texts than could be expected of artists educated through the guild apprentice system. In 14v(4) the scroll "Bethleem civitas dei summi" is taken from the second nocturn antiphon for the first Sunday in Advent which is given, in *incipit* only, as "Bethleem civitas" in the text column. The appropriateness of some of the themes to the illustration of the text also reveals the workings of a clerical mind. The stock

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<sup>90</sup>Paul Durrieu, "Manuscrits de luxe exécutés pour des princes et des grands seigneurs français (notes et monographies)," *Le manuscrit*, 2 (1895), 121.

<sup>91</sup>Oxford, Bodleian Library, D'Orville 141. The manuscript was published, with reproductions of the miniatures from Geneva, B. publ. et univ. lat 54, by Jean Porcher for the Société des Bibliophiles Français in 1962.

<sup>92</sup>Sharon Dunlap Smith, "New themes for the City of God around 1400". Documentary evidence in the form of a letter dated 1473 also exists for the participation of the scholar Robert Gaguin in the development of the much later programme of BN fr 18-19, a copy of the City of God painted by Maître François for the Governor of Paris, Charles de Gaucourt: *Ibid*, p. 79; L. Thuasne, "François Fouquet et les miniatures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin," *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1898, p. 37.

scene of Moses and the Burning Bush is used for the responsory *incipit* "Obsecro domine mitte" on f. 17 (Fig. 3) because of a textual parallel in its second half with Exodus 3:7.

In the latter case the artist may have been aware of the association of the text with Moses in the large Advent miniature. A similar knowledge of the scriptural sources for many of the musical proper is also demonstrated, however, on f. 19, where the response "Deus in medio eius, non commovebitur" is illustrated in the fourth border miniature by the scene of a king holding a scroll bearing the three opening words of the text, and facing the figure of Christ standing within the walls of a city. The source of the central image is Psalm 45:5-6, which reads "Fluminis impetus letificat civitatem dei: Sanctificavit tabernaculum suum altissimus./ Deus in medio eius, non commovebitur".<sup>93</sup> The king's presence in the border miniature may also be explained in the context of the scriptural passage as an attesting authorial image. The assignment of both pictorial motifs to the illustration of the text thus demanded not only the language skills to translate the passage and the recognition of the text as a psalter fragment, but also the direct recall of the verses surrounding it in the psalm from which it was drawn.

The existence of lists is also predicated by the cases where the order of the miniatures on the folio was confused. In gatherings three and eleven, the bifolio 32/39 in gathering five, selected bifolios in gatherings twelve, thirteen and fourteen and f. 112 in gathering fifteen, the quotations from the text are out of sequence. Other mistakes in the assignment of texts serve to highlight the importance of the written directions to the successful execution of the programme. On f. 422 a unique combination of circumstances resulted in the first border miniature on the large miniature folio for the Chair of St Peter illustrating the third lesson of the preceding office of St Juliana. Interestingly, two of the lesson miniatures for the office of St Juliana have scrolls containing direct speech derived from the lesson passage. In 421(4) a demon in the form of an angel visits Juliana in prison, saying "Sum angelus", while in 421v(1) Juliana seizes the demon, labelled "Beelzebuch", by the hair, as she asks "Quod est nomen?". The use of two scenes to illustrate a single episode left the last quotation concerning the essential moment of martyrdom without space for a miniature before the end of the office.

Although the clerical advisers working on the Salisbury Breviary had a major role to play in the content of each of the border miniatures, the Bedford Master was probably able to offer considerable advice concerning the overall scheme, and may even have been a leading promoter of the main features of the project. By 1424 the group of artists working in the Bedford style had had a wide-ranging experience in the illumination of manuscripts with complex figurative cycles, collaborating initially with major workshops like those of the Master of the *Cité des dames* and the Boucicaut Master and then, towards the end of the second decade of the fifteenth century, working as a cohesive stylistic group sharing common models.<sup>94</sup> The direct involvement of members of the group over this period with at least one scholar, Lebègue, in the development of the illustrations for Sallust is evident from the surviving copies, which are all painted in the Bedford style.<sup>95</sup> Porcher believed that Lebègue had been chosen by the Bedford workshop, which he saw as a large and centrally organized business house, to direct the iconographic aspects of the cycle and even tentatively suggested that Lebègue may have worked in an advisory

<sup>93</sup>"There is a stream whose riuets gladden the city of God, the holy dwelling of the Most High./ God is in its midst; it shall not be disturbed".

<sup>94</sup>Meiss, *Limbourgs*, pp. 363-68.

<sup>95</sup>BN lat 5762 and 9684, which bear the arms of the king and Orléans respectively, both had frontispieces painted in the Bedford style in the second half of the first decade of the fifteenth century. The full programme of Geneva, B. publ. et univ. lat 54 is dated by Porcher, *Histoires*, to ca. 1417.

capacity for the workshop on other manuscripts.<sup>96</sup> Although there is no additional evidence for this hypothesis, it is clear that the Bedford group increasingly assumed the role of entrepreneur in the production of manuscripts, employing scribes directly, reusing them on other projects, retaining major commissions like the De Lévis, Vienna and Bedford Hours within the group rather than collaborating with other workshops and, at a later stage, initiating large projects in advance of an assured patron.<sup>97</sup>

Regardless of the degree to which the artist or liturgist participated in the development of the original idea for the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary, the selection of quotations from the text and the assignment of themes bear all the marks of a theologian's enterprise. The artists worked within a scheme with its parameters strongly delimited and defined. That this left room for invention and experiment is demonstrated by the design and execution of many of the miniatures, particularly in the gatherings with which the Bedford Master was most closely involved. In 39(2) a miniature illustrating the standard opening "In illo tempore" for a gospel reading from Matthew 11:2, John the Baptist is shown in prison calling "Allez a Ihesus Crist" from a tower, while in the walled garden below a deacon accompanied by two clerics reads the introductory formula from an open book on a lectern. The use of a French scroll containing direct speech in imitation of the Bedford Hours border programme, was an initiative of the artist, who may indeed have added the whole narrative part of the scene to the performance miniature indicated by the adviser. In gatherings painted during later campaigns, the simplification and standardization of pictorial vocabulary in border miniatures with set subjects were symptomatic of the amount of time the manuscript had spent in the workshop. Responsibility, however, for relaxation of the parameters initially set for the selection of quotations, and the assignment of subjects to chapters and musical propers, lay in the hands of the adviser. Such changes in the programme are best explained by positing the employment of more than one liturgist in the preparation of the lists.

Leroquais was surprised that the border programme did not select its texts mainly from the lessons. "The distinguishing characteristic of this decorative scheme", he wrote, "is that it follows the text of the breviary step by step. It borrows its subjects not only from the lessons as one might expect, but also from the antiphons and responses and even the rubrics themselves. The result is a lack of unity which approaches incoherence".<sup>98</sup> The breviary is, however, essentially a written record of items to be said or chanted during the performance of the divine office. It was this aspect of the text which the designers of the programme deliberately chose to accentuate, not only through the apparently random selection of quotations, but through the specific nature of their pictorial treatment.

All of the standard approaches to the illustration of individual textual types were used in the border programme of the Salisbury Breviary, but in combination with an expanded series of pictorial devices, partly generated by the need to include the quotation in some form, which act as visual reminders that the texts being illustrated are written sources for a spoken office relevant to all possible occasions of public and private worship. Not only visionary and prophetic themes, but also strictly narrative subjects and votive images, are modified by the inclusion of authorial or devotional figures or clerical observers as

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<sup>96</sup>*Histoires*, p. 13.

<sup>97</sup>For details concerning the scribes used by the workshop see Spencer, "Salisbury Breviary", p. 607, n. 5. An extensive miniature programme was planned by the workshop for BN fr 20065-6, a French bible in Raoul de Presle's translation, but only ff. 26v, 27 and 28 in the first volume and the first gathering in the second were completed. The empty shield in the margin of f. 26v or BN fr 20065 and the completion of a set of sample pages suggested to Catherine Reynolds that the decoration was begun to attract a commission.

<sup>98</sup>"Le trait qui distingue cette decoration, c'est qu'elle suit pas à pas le texte du bréviaire. Elle emprunte ses sujets non seulement aux leçons comme on pourrait s'y attendre, mais aussi aux antennes et aux répons et jusqu'aux rubriques elles-mêmes. Il en résulte un manque d'unité qui confine à l'incohérence": *Bréviaires*, p. 277.

scroll bearers. These kinds of images alternate with the numerous scenes of preaching and teaching, and of clerics consulting the breviary and in the act of performing the office. The latter group of scenes were used routinely for rubrics, invitatories and prayers but also for other full texts or *incipits*, not only where the opening words did not readily evoke a pictorial image but as a fully acceptable alternative form of illustrating the text. The resulting decorative scheme achieved considerable success in translating the complex nature of the breviary and its relationship to the performance of the office into visual terms. On the other hand, the extraordinary nature of the illustrative task was the main factor affecting the failure of the Bedford workshop to complete the project.

## Conclusion

When the Duke of Bedford commissioned the Salisbury Breviary, he had just become regent of France for Henry VI, and heir presumptive to the English throne for the second time, through the unexpected death of his brother at the height of his achievement. As regent, Bedford was set the task of fulfilling the promises made at the treaty of Troyes to recover the rest of the territories held by the self-declared king Charles VII, while trying to rebuild a satisfactory economy and government in the parts of France under his control. The duplicity of the Duke of Burgundy, and the cultural and geographical distinction between the two realms, ensured the ultimate failure of England's attempt to hold the French crown. Nevertheless, Bedford achieved considerable success in the early years of the English occupation. The mantle of regency, and its visible manifestations in grand civic entrances, banners and badges, served a political purpose for the Duke during this period, by demonstrating the legitimacy of his assumption of authority.

Amongst such displays, the employment of a leading group of Paris artists on the long-term exercise of illuminating a richly decorated breviary also served a political purpose, since it visibly emulated the acts of patronage of the French nobles whose position and influence Bedford sought to acquire. Bedford's motives for initiating such a project, however, were more complex than this would suggest. Already the possessor of at least one English illuminated manuscript of the first rank, his awareness of the sophistication of French compared to English work had no doubt been enhanced by his perusal and subsequent purchase of the royal library. Simultaneously, his presence in Paris brought a large, relatively cheap, and efficiently organized industry for the production of illuminated books within his easy reach for the first time. Bedford was quick to take advantage of this opportunity by commissioning, not, as one might expect, a book of hours or psalter, but a breviary. The breviary had perhaps become a status symbol for Henry IV and his sons, symbolizing their right to power as exemplary Christians in England as well as France. Like the lost Breviary of Henry IV, which Henry V had bequeathed to the Bishop of Winchester, Bedford's manuscript was to be a visible sign of his rank, a visual aid to his devotions, the centrepiece of his private chapel, and an important part of his bequeathable fortune.

Like most groups of affiliated artists in Paris, the workshop chosen by Bedford to execute his new manuscript engaged willingly in a range of projects. The Bedford Master had already supervised the illumination of at least one luxury breviary, the Châteauroux Breviary. He or his associates had also worked on copies of the *Bible historiale*, and had participated in the design of decorative programmes for secular manuscripts. The Bedford group of artists was best known, however, for its work on books of hours. A decade or more of such commissions had established the Bedford Master's reputation as a specialist in the development of visually and iconographically complex decorative cycles. As well as extending the possibilities of the large miniature format for themes such as the Annunciation, by the end of 1422 he had helped to perfect a new kind of border for large miniature folios in books of hours. First evident in the work of the Boucicaut Master, the new border incorporated as many as seven pictorial medallions related thematically to the main miniature. Members of the Bedford group had also recently

experimented with the introduction of two such medallions on text folios throughout the Bedford Hours, using a French text derived from a version of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* as the main source for the subjects of the miniatures. As patron, the Duke of Bedford brought to the workshop at this stage in its development, a great deal of money to spend, an English taste for the accumulation of decorative detail, and the immediate desire for a new breviary which would compete in magnificence with the two-volume manuscript owned by his father and brother, and with the luxury manuscripts produced in Paris for the French nobility.

Because of the relatively small demand for luxury breviaries in Paris, there was a less fixed canon of iconographic themes for the text than was the case with books of hours. Nonetheless, the decoration even of work-a-day breviaries provided hierarchical indicators for the texts most likely to receive figurative emphasis in a more fully illustrated manuscript. When an office received pictorial emphasis, it was traditionally carried by a single historiated initial or column miniature, the size of which depended on the rank of the office. During the second decade of the fifteenth century, there was also some experiment with the half-page miniature format for a handful of the most important offices. In the psalter the psalms marking the eight liturgical divisions routinely received a traditional cycle of eight scenes, partly related to David as author of the psalms, and partly to a Christian interpretation of the opening words. In the temporal the offices most frequently emphasized in the hierarchy of decoration included the feasts of the Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, and the Dedication of a Church, together with the first Sunday in Advent, the ten weeks leading up to Easter, and the offices opening the post-Epiphany, post-Easter and summer seasons.

The subjects used to illustrate these offices were drawn directly from the text. For the lesser Sundays and week days receiving figurative emphasis, the strict obligation in the breviary to relate image to text resulted in a range of somewhat arbitrary themes dependent on the first nocturn lessons for their subjects. The case was different for the nine feasts. There were long-established traditions for the visual interpretation of their themes, many of which were shared by books of hours. The versions used in the breviary, however, were more fixed by the demands of the text than in a para-liturgical manuscript. The office of Trinity Sunday, for instance, was routinely illustrated by the Mercy Seat version of the Trinity, because the "Dixit Dominus" Trinity was reserved for the illustration of Psalm 109 in the Psalter. The half-page miniature format was restricted, in the psalter, to the "Beatus Vir" folio and, in the temporal, to the opening office for the first Sunday in Advent, to a small subset of the main Christological feasts, and to the office of Trinity Sunday, which opened the summer temporal.

In the sanctoral of breviaries illuminated in Paris, two schemes operated. Most commonly, a representative selection of the seventy or so top-ranking universal and local feasts was emphasized. This was the system adopted for the Belleville Breviary and its analogues. A second scheme in luxury breviaries, however, gave emphasis to all the offices in the sanctoral, reserving the most complex decorative forms for a subset of the highly-ranked offices. The designer of the Breviary of Philippe le Bel set an early precedent for the illustration of every office in the sanctoral, which was imitated in a less liturgically naive fashion in the Breviary of Charles V. The communal was also a candidate for the illustration of every office.

Despite the size of the figurative programme, the development of appropriate themes for the sanctoral and communal of such manuscripts was not an onerous task. The same core of standard images used for the illustration of the missal, antiphonal or *Legende Dorée* was available to the artist. Because of the smallness of the single initial or miniature illustrating each office, its visual treatment was usually a



simple one. Scenes of martyrdom, or votive images with attributes to identify the class of saint, were sufficient for the lesser offices, with a preference for the latter set of images growingly apparent from the turn of the century. The more important offices were treated to more developed votive images with attributes specifically identifying the saint, or to a representative scene, including his or her martyrdom, from the saint's life. The most complex treatment was reserved for All Saints and the offices dedicated to the Virgin, particularly the Assumption, for which there was a range of possible themes because of the composite nature of the office. All Saints and the Assumption, together with the opening office of St Andrew, were also the only feasts made the subject of experiment with the half-page miniature format.

The Bedford Master's work on the Châteauroux Breviary drew upon this tradition in a manner already demonstrating features later to become characteristic of the products of the Bedford group. Unfortunately, the winter volume (assuming one was commissioned) has not survived. Even without taking into consideration the unusual decoration given to the calendar and psalter under the influence of Bohemian and Avignonese work, however, the innovations in the temporal and sanctoral of the summer volume were manifold. In the temporal the figurative cycle was extended to the full range of texts traditionally emphasized in the hierarchy of decoration of Paris breviaries. The opening office was given a half-page miniature which drew upon iconographic developments for the theme in books of hours, in order successfully to break the dependence of the office on the Mercy Seat version of the Trinity. The figurative cycle given to the sanctoral was unprecedented in size, giving primary emphasis to all the top-ranking offices in the summer sanctoral, and providing secondary emphasis even for memorial prayers within the main office for the day. The two half-page miniatures broke new ground in the representation of the offices of All Saints and the Assumption. The greater size of the miniature was used, in the former case for a sophisticated visual representation of a theme usually capable only of being represented symbolically by a handful of saints, and in the latter for the incorporation of a multiple set of themes related to the office into one pictorially coherent miniature.

Bedford's breviary was also clearly a product of the Paris tradition for the illumination of breviaries. The unusual size of the figurative programme of the text, and the complexity of treatment of the half-page miniatures, followed precedents set in the Châteauroux Breviary, although naturally at a later and more sophisticated stage in the workshop's development. The English patronage of the manuscript manifested itself mainly in the requirement that it be written for the use of Sarum. This affected the decorative programme of the text in several ways. The number of high ranking offices emphasized in the sanctoral was smaller than in a Paris breviary, and a percentage of the illustrated feasts were unique to the Sarum use. There were also differences in the temporal between texts assigned to specific periods of the liturgical year. In particular, the readings for the post-Epiphany, post-Easter and summer seasons were taken from alternative scriptural sources, resulting in differences in the number and range of possible themes for the pictorial items opening the legenda. Alternative texts in offices shared by the Sarum and Paris uses produced similar minor departures from the Paris canon, such as the need to use the scene of the meal at Simon the leper's house for the office of St Mary Magdalene in the Salisbury Breviary in place of *Noli me tangere* because of differences between the opening first vespers antiphon. Such differences from manuscript to manuscript were not unfamiliar, however, to the Paris workshops, used as they were to different schemes for assigning emphases within breviaries of the same use, as well as to commissions involving breviaries for alien use. The strict obligation to relate the image to the text minimized any problems encountered.

The Sarum use also had an impact on the appearance of the manuscript through the influence of the exemplars on the ruling unit, which is smaller than expected for a Paris Breviary of the same size. In

addition, red ink was used for all rubrics in the manuscript, following the English fashion. Although the breviary was never completed to the binding stage, there is also evidence that the English method of dividing a large breviary into two volumes by section rather than season was to have been adopted to avoid duplication of the calendar, psalter and communal. Otherwise, the manuscript was written entirely according to the practices of the two French scribes, and all decorative motifs were drawn from the Paris commercial repertoire. Even the small heads and busts alternating as infill in the decorative initials had precedents in Paris work. The decision to increase the size of the two-line initials in the hierarchy of decoration to three lines may have been governed by a requirement to imitate the appearance of the inhabited two-line initials in the English-made Bedford psalter and hours, but it also reflected the degree to which Bedford was prepared to finance the project.

Although the Salisbury Breviary is to all intents and purposes a liturgical manuscript, with the hierarchy of decoration of a breviary, Bedford's generous patronage permitted the workshop to treat the manuscript in a manner hitherto more characteristic of the experimental programmes of book of hours. Apart from the upgrading of the decorative emphasis for the major liturgical items, the extensive figurative cycle proposed for the main divisions was to incorporate sixty-eight half-page miniatures (later reduced to forty-seven). This was unprecedented in Parisian breviary illumination, but corresponded in order of magnitude to the number of large miniatures given by the Bedford group to manuscripts like the Bedford and Vienna Hours. The new project thus gave the workshop the opportunity to extend the possibilities of the large miniature format to a range of themes outside the scope of the book of hours, or the handful of offices given half-page miniatures in direct precursors such as the Châteauroux and Orgemont Breviaries. In imitation of the better quality *horae* to emerge from the Paris workshops, each of the text folios was also given a decorative border. A similar, strictly decorative, scheme had been used in the Belleville Breviary, but the figurative border programme planned for the Salisbury Breviary transcended even that of the Bedford Hours in complexity and size. No distinction was to be made between text and miniature folios, and the subjects of each of the border miniatures were to be closely related to the text on the same folio.

Such extravagant specifications for the manuscript must have owed their existence, at least in part, to Bedford's relative naivety as a patron of the commercially-based Paris workshop system, and to his susceptibility to the booty mentality of the first few months of occupation. Confronted with the master's advocacy of the more expensive forms presented as samples, he or his agents were prompted into choosing a design potentially more lucrative than the workshop could have dared to anticipate, at a time when artists were being forced to leave Paris in search of work. At the same time, the Salisbury Breviary, in the form it was to take, went far towards satisfying a general desire on the part of patron, artist and church (as represented by the clerics assisting in the design of the decorative programme) to produce the ideal devotional manuscript.

The psalter had already been the subject of numerous artistic projects, the main aim of which was visually to gloss the Old Testament text for the reader in terms of the Christian dogma of salvation. This was implicit in the figurative cycles given to the text, but achieved more universal expression in the large series of miniatures prefacing Romanesque psalters, or in detailed border schemes like the ones given to the Tickhill Psalter or the psalter in the Belleville Breviary. Similarly, the figurative cycles given to the little hours of the Virgin in books of hours comprised a series of scenes from the life of the Virgin, not directly illustrating the texts they opened, but central to the existence of the office as a source of devotion. To this basic text was added a number of supplementary offices, masses and memorials fundamental to the Christian faith, each of which attracted illustration. The urge to amplify the process of devotion in

terms of the salvation of the soul did not stop there, however, but expressed itself in French manuscripts like the Bedford Hours, the Rohan Hours and the Hours of Isabella Stuart, by the imposition of border programmes drawing their French texts and subjects from the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, the *Bible moralisée*, and Deguilleville's *Three Pilgrimages*.

Experiments in Paris with the amplification of the programmes of decoration of strictly liturgical manuscripts had a different character, because of the nature and size of the texts. When members of the French nobility or court in the late medieval period financed the execution of a luxury breviary, the design effort tended to be concentrated on an increase in the number of illustrated offices, particularly in the sanctoral. There were also experiments with the half-page miniature format, and with the development of subsidiary thematic cycles in the temporal, but nothing on the same scale as might be practised in the psalter or book of hours. Even in the Belleville Breviary, the most extensive set of innovations was restricted to the calendar and psalter.

There were two main reasons why, in Paris, the breviary rarely received as rich a decorative treatment as the book of hours. Firstly, and most importantly from a pecuniary viewpoint, the size of the breviary precluded it from becoming a popular medium for the demonstration of lay piety through artistic virtuosity; but also, the book of hours in Paris was preferred to the breviary as a symbol of prestige by the laity, and as a devotional manuscript for private use. The breviary was impractical as a manuscript for the latter purpose. Although it contained within it a vast range of carefully selected and approved scriptural, patristic, homiletic and hagiographic extracts, it was difficult to use without the assistance of chaplains. The text was inflexible, and the traditional figurative cycle, with its strict obligation to be related to the text, was not amenable to the same kind of experiment with infancy and passion cycles which had engaged the imagination of Paris artists and patrons alike in the book of hours.

Paradoxically, the breviary was the text most symbolic of the ideal contemplative life sponsored by the Church even for the laity through, for instance, its approval of the *Legenda Aurea* over other, less clerically-biased collections of saints' lives.<sup>1</sup> This particularly affected lay members of the nobility, not only because they were expected to make a public show of using the breviary, but also because, as increasingly well-educated and literate men and women, they had a need for access, however controlled by the Church, to the fundamental texts of the Christian faith central to their existence in the late medieval world. If the full contemplative life was out of their reach, then they could at least attempt a mixed life of contemplation and action. Attempts were clearly made to reconcile the situation. In manuscripts like the Orgemont Breviary and the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, there is evidence that the designers were trying to make the breviary more relevant to the devotional needs of their lay owners. The breviary-like size and format of exceptional books of hours like the *Très riches Heures*, with its rich accumulation of supplementary texts, also reflects attempts to bridge the gap between the function of the two books for the lay user. In the two manuscripts originating from the Rohan workshop, and in the Bedford Hours, texts expository of the faith, specifically developed by churchmen for the education of the laity, were incorporated into the book of hours through the border decoration.

Bedford's exceptional act of patronage was able to transcend the difference between the two genres, partly because of the almost unlimited financial backing he appeared to bring to the project, and partly because the book of hours had not achieved the same importance in England as it had in France. The

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<sup>1</sup>On this, see Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of its Paradoxical History* (Wisconsin, 1985), esp. pp. 197-209.

English nobility were more conventional as a group in their adherence to the orthodox forms of devotion: the breviary itself or its direct derivative, the psalter or psalter-hours. Even the Latin version of the book of hours beginning to become popular in England in the first quarter of the fifteenth century was so standardized in its contents, that the Church must have had considerable control over its development. Bedford's family, in particular, was solidly orthodox. Henry IV had gained the support of English churchmen like Arundel in 1399 partly by promising to stamp out all manifestations of heterodoxy.

Bedford's breviary might have looked like a book of hours, but it was in all respects a manuscript of texts for the divine office. Unlike the Bedford Hours and its analogues, the extension of the figurative programme to the borders involved no need to introduce an outside textual source for the images. The offices themselves formed a comprehensive and fully glossed concordance of passages from the Old and New Testament relevant to the unfolding of the doctrine of salvation throughout the liturgical year. The whole decorative scheme is directed towards the translation of the texts of the breviary into visual terms, but not in the same way as the only closely surviving precursor for such a project, the Douce Missal. In the Douce Missal the figurative cycle of the text was extended to all the lesson material, resulting in a huge but relatively simple decorative programme, in which the scriptural origin of the illustrated texts was emphasized by means of author/ scrollbearer figures. In the Salisbury Breviary the aim of the decorative programme was twofold. A traditional figurative cycle was planned for the text, which was to surpass the previous achievements of the Paris workshops in organizing the offices and providing visual interpretations of their themes. In addition, a border programme, circumscribed by the assignment of four miniatures to each folio, was to translate the text of the divine office sequentially into visual terms.

Although Bedford initiated the project, and financed it in its first stages, thus determining the nature of the manuscript to be decorated and the extent of the decorative scheme, his own role in the development of the programme could not have been large. Supervision of the maintenance, repair and replacement of liturgical manuscripts for use in private chapels was usually the task of chaplains. Bedford's agent in the case of the Salisbury Breviary needed at the very least to be in a position to provide Sarum exemplars to the scribes, and to give advice on the Sarum calendar, so that the liturgically appropriate feasts might be given functional emphasis in the extended programme of the sanctoral. Members of his own retinue were in the best position to perform this task, and there is a small amount of evidence in the manuscript itself that this was indeed the case.

The leaf containing the half-page miniature for the office of Corpus Christi (Fig. 20) is the only folio in the manuscript where the figure of the Duke of Bedford appears within the main miniature. The importance of the office in the liturgy, and of the Eucharist to the salvation of the soul, is also indicated by the presence of the Duchess in the second border miniature, chanting the antiphon "Miserator dominus escam" at a prie-dieu structurally connected to the building in the main miniature. In the fourth border miniature a cleric in everyday clothes chants the antiphon "Qui pacem ponit, while behind him, on a couch, a folded cope is laid out ready for use. The cleric in this medallion is not only given a role in the commemoration of the Eucharist equivalent to that of the Duchess, but the importance of his function in the performance of the office is made explicit by the waiting vestments. This is the only image of its kind in the manuscript, and suggests itself as a reference to an ecclesiastic highly placed in Bedford's own suite, who must have had an important role in the design of the decorative programme.

We know the names of three of the Duke's chaplains in France: Jean Galopes, a French cleric who translated the *Pélerinage de l'âme* into French for Bedford; and John Estcourt and Alan Kirketon, both

English.<sup>2</sup> Galopes, who is identified as Bedford's chaplain on the first folio of the Rylands 326 translation of the *Pélerinage*, had already made a name for himself as a translator of pious texts into French, having presented a French copy of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* to Henry V when he was in France. The analysis of the selection of subjects for the border miniatures in the Salisbury Breviary suggested that at least two clerics were involved in the development of the decoration. It is tempting to propose that one of these was Galopes, particularly given the advantage of having a native French speaker dealing with the workshop. The case for Galopes is also supported by the unusual emphasis given to the memorial of St Ouen within the office of St Bartholomew in the sanctoral. The rubric in Rylands 236 states that Galopes held the clerical position of dean at the Collegiate Church of Saint-Louis de Falaise in Normandy.

Regardless of the exact identity of Bedford's agents, they had an essential part to play in the project, particularly in the preparation of the lists of subjects for the border programme. Their involvement in the design of the figurative cycle of the text is less clear, but it is certain that they had some collaborative role. In the temporal four of the half-page miniatures exhibit direct evidence of the intervention of Bedford's agents in the design. Bedford's tree-root device is embroidered on one of the hangings in the miniature for Easter Sunday (Fig. 16). The Duke appears in the initial below the miniature of St John the Evangelist which illustrates the *Liber Apocalipsis*, and the miniature itself contains a probable reference to St John of Beverley, another of the Duke's namesakes (Fig. 17). The Pentecost miniature makes a veiled reference to England's maritime power, through the depiction of a barge flying the colours of St George, entering or leaving a port (Fig. 18). Lastly, the figure of Bedford in prayer occupies part of the pictorial space in the Corpus Christi miniature (Fig. 20). Similar references to the personal circumstances of the patron also appear in the figurative cycle of the text for the sanctoral. The initial below the St Anne miniature contains a portrait of the Duchess in prayer (Fig. 33). It is also probable that the St Nicholas miniature refers to the baptism of Henry VI (Fig. 22). The decision to leave a space in the text for a column miniature dedicated to St Ouen must have been made under the influence of a member of Bedford's retinue. Moreover, Bedford's badges and heraldic devices were interwoven into the basic design of the borders, together with additional portraits of the Duke and Duchess in prayer.

Such motifs were clearly included to gratify the Duke and to reinforce his sense of social position. The heraldic devices in particular had the same function as the badges embroidered on the cloths and hangings in Bedford's private chapel, or executed in enamel on the gold chalice left in his will to Rouen Cathedral, the place of his burial. Nonetheless, there was a pious element in such forms of display, for they memorialized the act of patronage, and thus ensured the continuity of prayers for the soul of the Duke after his death. The portraits in the Salisbury Breviary also had a salvatory role. They all take the form of devotional figures; some explicitly imploring the intercession of the Virgin or the patron saints of the Duke and Duchess, others in the borders illustrating texts particularly associated with lay devotion, including psalms, hymns and musical propers of a supplicatory nature. The main portrait of Bedford on the Corpus Christi folio is connected with the celebration of the Eucharist, the participation in which was the most pious act of which the Christian was capable.

The strictly orthodox nature of the manuscript, in spite of its many references to the patron, is reflected also in the handful of political references, which are so oblique that they cannot be read without inside knowledge. The whole programme was developed under the firm control of a theologian whose main aim

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<sup>2</sup>Barber, "Books and patronage of learning," p. 310; Spencer, "Bedford Hours," p. 496.

was the tutelage of a patron who must have been at least phonetically literate in liturgical Latin,<sup>3</sup> in the proper interpretation of the meaning of the texts. The message directed to the patron through the border programme is clear. The breviary was still essentially a cleric's manuscript, and the liturgy something to be performed above all in church or chapel by clerics. The Church had an important role to play as intermediary between the laity and the essential Christian doctrines as they were presented in the office throughout the liturgical year. Prayer was also something to be conducted with the assistance of theological advisers and confessors. The texts in the liturgy personally relevant to the laity were the psalms and hymns, musical propers of a supplicatory nature, and the devotions to the Virgin. The border programme was designed to ensure that Bedford received the correct spiritual guidance while following the other texts of the office, by providing a series of images which conveyed the conventional salvational message carried by the words being illustrated.

Given the size of the commission, and the length of time the manuscript was in the workshop, it is surprising how little impact it had, either on the products of the workshop generally, or on liturgical manuscripts painted in France after the first quarter of the fifteenth century. There are certainly clear links between some of the large miniatures in the Salisbury Breviary, and their counterparts in such manuscripts as the Hours of Anne de Neufville and Morgan m. 359, painted in the second half of the 1420's. One can also trace developments in the workshop's use of a multi-level landscape setting to divide the earthly from the heavenly sphere. The panoramic landscape appearing in the Châteauroux Breviary for the All Saints miniature was extended for the "Creator Mundi" versions of the Trinity in the Bedford and Vienna Hours, before being used for the Pentecost miniature in the Salisbury Breviary. A similar construct with the "Dixit Dominus" Trinity, used for the Advent miniature, proved useful for a range of supplicatory scenes, like the ones illustrating the "Pater noster" and "Credo" in Rylands 164 (ff. 13 and 14v). The structure of the Advent miniature in the Salisbury Breviary probably also influenced the design of the *Procès de Paradis* miniature developed in the workshop of Maître François for matins of the hours of the Virgin. There is also some evidence that the workshop hoped to attract an equally lucrative commission along the same lines as the Salisbury Breviary for the two-volume *Bible historiale* which survives as BN fr 20065-66. Four border miniatures were painted as samples on each of ff. 26v, 27 and 28 in the first volume, while each of the folios in the first gathering of the second has a single miniature in the border. The shield in the margin of f. 26v in the first volume is empty, implying that the work was begun in advance of a confirmed patron.

More work in this area is sure to reveal a myriad of interconnected designs and influences which will help to build up a picture of the development of the workshop. On the other hand, in the area where one might expect influence to have been strongest, the illustration of liturgical manuscripts, there is very little evidence that the Salisbury Breviary had any effect at all. The Missal of Jacques Châtelier has a standard Paris format, as does the Breviary of Philippe le Bon. The outstanding achievements of the workshop in the development of the large miniature format for the illustration of the most highly-ranked offices in the sanctoral were not repeated in other liturgical manuscripts executed in Paris or Flanders. Although manuscripts like the Breviary of Queen Isabella of Castile had huge cycles of half-page miniatures, the complex development of the theme was eschewed in favour of extension of the theme within the larger format.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the border cycle was never repeated. Although a programme of border medallions was developed for the Benedictine Grammont Breviary in 1449-50, it was restricted to a relatively small

<sup>3</sup>See Saenger, "Books of hours and the reading habits of the laity," for his distinction between phonetic and comprehension literacy.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas Kren, *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library* (New York, 1983), pp. 40-48.

number of the major folios.<sup>5</sup> The peculiar circumstances behind the commissioning of the Salisbury Breviary ensured its uniqueness. Bedford's extraordinary act of patronage, while providing Paris artists with the opportunity to treat the breviary as a luxury book of hours, placed next to impossible demands on the patron's purse, and on the resources of the workshop. The practicality of the breviary as a devotional manuscript remained a problem not to be solved during the medieval period.

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<sup>5</sup>L.M.J. Delaissé, "Les Techniques de livre dans le bréviaire benedictin de Grammont," *Scriptorium*, 12 (1958), 104-07.

## Appendix A

### The Salisbury Breviary Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 17294

*Full Sarum breviary, missing the psalter.* Second quarter of the fifteenth century. Figs 1-38.

255 x 173. A-C modern paper + 713 + D modern paper. Paginated 1-711, with two consecutive folios numbered 178 and two numbered 643. Lacuna at ff. 462/63. Untrimmed signatures indicate that there were originally fifteen gatherings before the opening of the temporal. Catchwords agree, except at the end of the temporal, on f. 374v, where the catchword reads "Sequitur kalendarium," but the sanctoral follows. a<sup>1</sup>, 1<sup>6</sup>, 2-58<sup>8</sup>, 59<sup>8-1</sup>, 60-62<sup>8</sup>, 63<sup>6</sup>, 64-84<sup>8</sup>, 85<sup>4</sup>, 86<sup>8</sup>, 87<sup>10</sup>, 88-89<sup>8</sup>, 90<sup>6+1</sup>. Ruled for two columns of 35 lines: 17.[45].14.[44].50 x 32.[149].74. Ruling unit: 4.3. The calendar is written in gold, red, blue and black, and ruled for seven columns, double-ruled in the seventh, of 31 lines: 17.[(28).78].47 x 32.[129].93. Ruling unit: 4.2. Eighteenth century red morocco binding with gold-tooled rinceaux. On spine: "Breviarium Sarisburiense". On f. A: "No 273," and "La Vallière, no 82". On f. 1: "Bréviaire appartenant jadis à Monsieur de Morvilliers garde des seaux de France, doné à Messire Camille de Neufville, abbé d'Ainé et conte de Laigny, par M. de Saint-Germain, le XVe decembre mil six cent XXV, à l'hostel de Villeroy, à Paris."

**Ownership:** The heraldic devices of John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford and Regent of France, are found throughout the manuscript. They comprise his arms "France and England quarterly, a label of five points, the two dexter ermine, the three sinister azure, charged with three fleurs-de-lis or" and three of his emblems, the yale, eagle with crown around its neck and tree-root:

8--Advent: shield with arms of Bedford over tree-root supported by yale, eagle and angel (Fig. 1); 93v--Offices of the Virgin: tree-root design on hanging curtain in border miniature of Bedford in prayer; 106--Epiphany: shield with divided arms of Bedford and Luxembourg around neck of eagle on tree-root; 212v--Palm Sunday: arms of Bedford set in circular acanthus leaf complex; 214 sketch for eagle on tree-root; 214v same; 223--Easter Friday (2nd Vespers): eagle with empty scroll in beak; 223v same; 228v--Easter Sunday: root design on hanging curtain in half-page miniature; 242--Monday after Easter octave: eagle on tree-root with motto "A souy"; 242v same; 243 portrait of Bedford in prayer in initial below half-page miniature; 255--Ascension: eagle (no crown) on tree-root with motto "A souhait"; 255v same; 261 eagle on tree-root with motto "Assouvy"; 261v same; 283v--Corpus Christi: Bedford in prayer in half-page miniature and the Duchess in prayer in the second border miniature; 375--Andrew (29 Nov): circle quartered in blue and red supported by yale and eagle over tree-root; 387v--Lucy (13 Dec): angel holding blank quartered shield (sketched in only) over tree-root; 404--Conversion of Paul (25 Jan): sketch for quartered shield around neck of eagle; 404v same without crown; 518--Anne (26 Jul): portrait of the Duchess in initial below half-page miniature; eagle over tree-root holding shield in beak by cord, with motto "Assouvy"; 518v same device. The Duke's tree-root emblem is also incorporated into the design of the border decoration on ff. 12, 15v, 21v, 22v, 27v, 29v, 30, 31v, 32, 48, 49v, 54v, 64, 66v, 67v, 80v, 106v, 230v, 242v, 283, 375v and 401v.

There are also fifteen anniversaries of the births and deaths of members of Bedford's family in the calendar. These are written in the same hand in black ink and half-size script, two lines per ruled line, to the right of the text in the seventh column. In addition, at the bottom of ~~f. 2~~<sup>f. 2v</sup> is written: "Regula pro anno bissextili et incipit secundum computationem romane curie anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo quarto. Et fuit littera dominicalis a". The anniversaries are:

25 Feb "Hac die nata fuit domina blanchia ducissa bavariae anno domini 1391"; 20 Mar "Obitus



excellētissimi regis henrici quarti"; 22 Mar "Obitus illustrissimi thome dux clarencie anno domini 1420"; 23 Mar "Obitus illustrissimi principis henrici ducis lancastrie primi"; 24 Mar "Obitus illustrissime domine constancie ducisse lancastrie filie regis castelle"; 14 Jun "Obitus domine matildis uxoris domini henrici comitis lancastrie"; 20 Jun "Hac die natus fuit iohannes dux bedefordie anno domini 1389"; 1 Jul "Obitus nobilissime domine marie comitisse derby matris excellētissimi regis henrici v 1393"; 30 Aug "Obitus excellētissimi regis henrici v circa horam 2 de mane anno domini 1422"; 12 Sep "Obitus illustrissime blanchie ducisse lancastrie matris excellētissimi regis henrici quarti"; 23 Sep "Obitus nobilissimi viri henrici comitis lancastrie"; 29 Sep "Hac die natus fuit thomas dux clarencie anno domini 1387"; 3 Oct "Hac die natus fuit hunfridus dux gloucestrie anno domini 1390"; 21 Oct "Obitus excellētissimi principis karoli regis francie anno domini 1422. Littera dominicalis d"; 6 Dec "Nativitas illustrissimi principis henrici principis walie anno domini 1421 et anno regni patris sui illustrissimi ac victoriosissimi regis henrici v nono circa horam iv post nonam".

**Contents:** (a) ff. 2-7v [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 8-374v [gatherings 2-47]: temporal. (c) ff. 375-670v [gatherings 48-85]: ff. 375-668v: sanctoral; ff. 669-670v: ruled but blank. (d) ff. 671-711v [gatherings 86-90]: communal. Gatherings 48-69 and 86-90 are written by a different scribe.

**Decoration:** The one-line initials are flourished, in red and blue or gold and black. There are no two-line initials, except at the base of a column. Chapters, hymns, lessons and prayers open with three-line initials which are alternately foliate, or inhabited by small heads or busts. These initials have pen-line rinceaux extensions into the margin. A range of four- and five-line foliate or inhabited initials provide additional emphasis. In addition, 139 historiated initials, sixty-one column miniatures and forty-seven half-page miniatures were planned for the manuscript. Each and every folio was also to have a full rectangular border, comprising gilded ivy and spiked fruit rinceaux interspersed with coloured acanthus leaf and floral designs. Within these borders were to be set four miniatures, two in the lower, and two in the outer, margins. The manuscript was left incomplete, but 4,128 of the border miniatures were completed. For a chart of the unfinished folios, see Table A-1.

Because of the enormous size of the decorative programme, only the finished or unfinished items contributing to the hierarchy of decoration of the text are listed below. For the subjects of the border miniatures, the reader is referred to Leroquais. Unless the larger inhabited initials have a possible iconographical connection with the text they accompany, they will not be distinguished from foliate initials. Miniatures are column miniatures above a three-line initial opening the text below, unless otherwise stated. The subjects of historiated initials accompanying half-page miniatures are identified only when they are not directly related to the theme of the miniature. The text emphasized is the first lesson unless otherwise stated:

### Temporal:

**Advent:** 8--1st Sunday in Advent (opening rubric): Prophets imploring Advent (half-page miniature); Virgin Annunciate (5-line initial) [Fig. 1]; 13v (lesson): Isaiah in prayer (7-line initial); 17v (lauds rubric): 3-line initial [Fig. 4]; 24--Monday (matins rubric): 3-line initial; 26--Tuesday: Head of Virgin (4-line initial); 26v--Wednesday: 4-line initial; 27v--Thursday: Head of prophet (4-line initial); 30--Saturday: Luke in prayer (5-line initial); 32--2nd Sunday: Virgin lactant (7-line initial); 37--3rd Sunday: Isaiah (5-line initial); 41--4th Sunday (invitatory): Celebration of the Mass (10-line miniature); (lesson): Bust of youth (4-line initial) [Fig. 7].

**Nativity:** 53--24 Dec (matins rubric): Celebration of the Mass (8-line miniature); (lesson): Head of Matthew (3-line initial); 56v--25 Dec (1st vespers hymn): Nativity (half-page miniature and 4-line initial); 57 (lesson): Prophet addressing three seated people (5-line initial) [Fig. 9]; 64--26 Dec (matins rubric): St Stephen in prayer (11-line miniature); (1st nocturn antiphon): 4-line initial; (lesson): 4-line initial; 69--27 Dec (invitatory): Two cantors (11-line miniature and 4-line initial); (1st nocturn antiphon): Head of John the Evangelist (3-line initial) [Fig. 10]; 69v--27 Dec: 5-line initial; 74v--28 Dec: Massacre of the Innocents (11-line miniature and 4-line initial); 78v--29 Dec: King in prayer before altar dedicated to St Thomas (10-line miniature); Bust of queen in prayer (4-line initial); 83v--30 Dec (4-line initial); 85--31 Dec (unfinished 6-line initial).

**Table A-1: Unfinished Folios in the Salisbury Breviary and their Stage of Execution.**

Gathering (folios)	Stage of Execution.
01 (1-7) <sup>2</sup>	text & rubrics.
24 (183-190)	text, rubrics, borders, initials, gilding for frames.
25 (191-198)	text & rubrics.
27 (207-214)	text, rubrics and sketches for borders and frames on all but bifolio 209/212, which is finished.
29 (223-230)	text & rubrics on all but bifolio 223/230, which has sketches for borders and frames, and bifolio 225/228, which is finished.
30 (231-238)	text & rubrics.
32 (247-254)	text & rubrics.
36 (279-286)	text & rubrics on all but bf. 282/3 which is finished.
37 (287-294)	text & rubrics.
38 (295-302)	text, rubrics, borders, initials, gilding for frames.
40 (311-318)	text, rubrics, borders, initials, gilding for frames, sketches for inhabited initials and the column miniature on f. 314.
41 (319-326)	text, rubrics, borders, initials, gilding for frames.
42 (327-334v)	text, rubrics, borders to penultimate stages, gilding for frames and initials.
48 (375-382)	text & rubrics on the two inner bifolios with sketches for borders on ff. 378 and 379v. The two outer bifolios are finished except for 382/v, in which the figurative material is incomplete.
49 (383-390)	text & rubrics except on bifolio 386/87, which is finished.
51 (399-406)	text & rubrics except on bifolio 401/04, which is finished.
66 (516-523)	text & rubrics except on bifolio 518/21, which is finished, and bifolio 519/20, which has text only.
82-86 (643bis-678)	text & rubrics.
87 (679-688)	text & rubrics for bifolio 683/84. Other folios also have gilding for borders, initials and frames and sketches for borders.
88-90 (689-711)	text & rubrics.

**Circumcision:** 88v--1 Jan (opening rubric): 4-line initial; (lesson): Circumcision (11-line miniature and 4-line initial); 93-98v--On f93, 94, 96v, 97, 97v and 98v, the first lessons of a set of alternative offices to the Virgin given between the texts for the octave of St Stephen on 2 January and of St John the Evangelist on 3 January each open with 4-line initials. Only the first, with a bust of the Virgin in prayer, is related iconographically to the text; 100--3 Jan: 4-line initial; 101v--4 Jan: 4-line initial.

**Epiphany:** 102v--5 Jan (matins rubric): 4-line initial; (lesson): 4-line initial; 105v--6 Jan: Adoration of the magi (13-line miniature at base of column); 106 (lesson): Adoration of the magi (half-page miniature and 5-line initial) [Fig. 11]; 110--7 Jan: 4-line initial; 111--8 Jan: 4-line initial; 112v--10 Jan: Head of king (4-line initial); 113v--11 Jan: 4-line initial; 114v--12 Jan: Head of bishop (4-line initial); 116v--13 Jan: 4-line initial.

**Post Epiphany:** 120v--14 Jan: 4-line initial; 121--15 Jan: 4-line initial; 122v--16 Jan: 4-line initial; 123v--17 Jan: 4-line initial; 125v--1st Sunday after Epiphany octave: St Paul writing (11-line miniature); Head of Paul (4-line initial); 128v--Monday: Head of cleric (4-line initial); 133--2nd Sunday (opening rubric): Seated king and subjects (11-line miniature); 133v--3rd Sunday: 4-line initial; 136--4th Sunday: Head of St Paul (4-line initial); 139v--5th Sunday: Bust of Virgin (4-line initial); 142v--6th Sunday: 4-line initial; 146--Septuagesima: Priest and two clerics at lectern (11-line miniature) [Fig. 13]; 151v--Sexagesima: Priest reading from book held by two clerics (11-line miniature and 4-line initial); 156v--Quinquagesima: Three cantors at lectern and priest reading from book held by cleric (11-line miniature); 161--Ash Wednesday: 4-line initial.

**Quadragesima:** 164v--1st Sunday: Pope preaching (11-line miniature; Head of cardinal (4-line initial); 168 Monday: 4-line initial; 171-- Tuesday: 4-line initial; 172--Wednesday: 4-line initial; 175v--Friday: 4-line initial; 177v--Saturday: 4-line initial; 178v--2nd Sunday: Isaac holding Esau's hand (11-line miniature); Head of cleric (4-line initial); 186--3rd Sunday: space for 10-line miniature and 3- or 4-line initial; 195v--4th Sunday: space for 12-line miniature and 3- or 4-line initial; 203v--Passion Sunday: Jeremiah dressed as cardinal writing (72x46 mm column miniature partially occupying border); Head of Jew (5-line initial) [Fig. 14]; 212--Palm Sunday (prayer) Priest reciting prayer with acolytes and clerics (9-line miniature at base of text column); 212v (lesson): Entry into Jerusalem (half-page miniature and 5-line initial).

**Easter:** 220--Maundy Thursday: (1st lesson responsory): 12-line space between rubric and text [Fig. 15]; 228-- Sunday (matins versicle): 4-line initial; 228v--(lesson): Three Maries at Tomb (half-page miniature); St Gregory (5-line initial) [Fig. 16]; 232 Monday: 6-line space; 234--Tuesday: 5-line space; 235v--Wednesday: 5-line space; 236v--Thursday: 5-line space; 238--Saturday: 4-line space; 240v--Day of Octave: Resurrected Christ in the middle of the apostles (11-line miniature and 3-line initial). **Post Easter:** 243--Monday after Octave: John writing the Apocalypse and the vision of the son of man (half-page miniature); Bust of Bedford in prayer (5-line initial) [Fig. 17]; 246v--Friday: 4-line initial; 248--2nd Sunday after Easter: 5-line space; 249v--Monday: 4-line space; 251v--3rd Sunday: 5-line space; 254--4th Sunday: 5-line space; 255--Monday: Bishop giving open book to deacon (11-line miniature); Bust of apostle (4-line initial); 257v--5th Sunday: 4-line initial.

**Ascension:** 259v--Vigil: 4-line initial; 261v Ascension Thursday (invitatory): Ascension (half-page miniature and initial); (lesson): 4-line initial; 263v--Friday: Christ and five apostles (11-line miniature and 4-line initial); 265v--Sunday: Bust of saint (4-line initial); 266v--Monday: 4-line initial; 267--Tuesday: 4-line initial; 267v--Wednesday: 4-line initial. **Pentecost:** 268v--Vigil: 4-line initial; 269v--Pentecost (1st vespers antiphon): Holy Spirit descending on two apostles (6-line initial); 270v (invitatory): Trinity presiding over the world (half-page miniature); Holy Spirit descending on praying man (5-line initial) [Fig. 18]; 274v--Monday: 4-line initial; 275--Tuesday: 4-line initial; 275v--Wednesday: 4-line initial; 276--Thursday: 4-line initial. **Trinity:** 278v (1st vespers antiphon): Baptism of Christ (half-page miniature and 5-line historiated initial) [Fig. 19]; 279 (prayer): 4-line space; 279v (lesson): 4-line space; 282--Monday (octave legenda): bust of canon (4-line initial). **Corpus Christi:** 283v (1st vespers antiphon): Last Supper with Abraham and Melchizedek (half-page miniature); king in prayer (5-line initial) [Fig. 20]; 284v (lesson): 4-line space; 288--Friday: 4-line space; 289--Sunday within Octave: 4-line space.

**Summer Season (lessons 1-6):** 294v--Kings: space for 11-line miniature and 4-line initial; 314--Ecclesiasticus: 4-line initial below frame for 11-line miniature; 320--Job: ditto; 323v--Tobias: ditto; 326--Judith: 4-line initial below frame for 12-line miniature; 328v--Maccabees: ditto; 330v--2nd Week of Maccabees: 4-line initial; 332--3rd Week: 4-line initial; 336v--Ezechiel (opening rubric): 4-line initial; 337 (lesson): Altar being censed (12-line miniature and 4-line initial); 340v--3rd Week of Ezechiel: 4-line initial; 341--4th Week: 4-line initial; 342--5th Week: 4-line initial.

**Summer Season (Expositions):** 343--1st Sunday (prayer): King in prayer (7-line initial); 343v (lesson): Lazarus and Dives (12-line miniature and 4-line initial); 344--2nd Sunday (opening rubric): 4-line initial; (lesson): Luke writing (7-line initial); 344v--3rd Sunday: Deacon and clerics at lectern (9-line initial); 345--4th Sunday (prayer): Apostle (5-line initial); 345v (lesson): Deacon giving book to sub-deacon (8-line initial). The texts for each subsequent Sunday open with a four-line foliate or inhabited initial for the prayer and an eight-line historiated initial for the gospel. The subjects of the latter are as follows: 346--5th Sunday: Priest blessing deacon; 346v--6th: St Matthew writing; 347v--7th: Christ followed by a crowd of people; 348--8th: Priest reading from book held by cleric (6-line); 348v--9th: Priest reading from book held by cleric; 349v--10th: Two saints in conversation (9-line); 350--11th: St Luke writing; 351--12th: Christ and an apostle on the shores of the sea of Galilee; 351v--13th: St Luke writing; 352--14th d14: Two acolytes at altar; 353--15th: St Matthew writing; 353v--16th: Body carried on a bier by two men; 354v--17th: Priest reading from book held by cleric; 355--18th: Two acolytes at altar; 356--19th: same; 356v--20th: same; 357--21st: Priest reading from book held by cleric; 358--22nd: Deacon reading at lectern; 358v--23rd: Priest reading from book held by cleric; 359--24th: Ecclesiastic reading at desk; 360--25th: Deacon reading at lectern. **Dedication of a church:** 360v (chapter): Bishop and clerics at lectern (11-line miniature); Head of saint (4-line initial).

## Sanctoral and Communal:

Except where indicated, the items below are eight-line initials illustrating the opening rubric of the office. Each full office opens with a historiated initial or a half-page miniature above a historiated initial for its rubric or, more rarely, for its first vespers antiphon. Thirty-six offices have half-page miniatures. As in the temporal, the half-page miniatures may accompany texts within the office. In the temporal, however, considerable care is taken to correlate the opening of the text with the miniature, whereas the sanctoral half-page miniatures may appear above texts which begin on the previous folio:

**December:** 375--29 Nov (Andrew): Celebration of the Office of St Andrew (half-page miniature); Andrew and John the Baptist (7-line initial) [Fig. 21]; 380v--6 Dec (Nicholas): space for 7-line initial; 381 (lesson): Nicholas being baptised (half-page miniature); Nicholas bishop (5-line initial) [Fig. 22]; 386--8 Dec (Conception of the Virgin): Joachim, Anne and the Virgin as a child; 386v (2nd lesson) Meeting at the Golden Gate; Joachim guarding his flock; Anne in prayer; Rejection of Joachim's offering (half-page miniature); 387v--13 Dec (Lucy: first vespers antiphon): The illness of Lucy's mother Euticia; Lucy in prayer (half-page miniature); Cleric in prayer before Lucy (6-line initial); 390v--21 Dec (Thomas apostle): space for 6-line initial; 391: (lesson): Scenes from the life of Thomas (half-page miniature); Incredulity of Thomas (5-line initial) [Fig. 23].

**January:** 394--19 Jan (Wulstan): Wulstan as bishop (7-line) [Fig. 24]; 394--20 Jan (Fabian & Sebastian): Fabian & Sebastian (7-line) [Fig. 24]; 394v (lesson): Fabian surrounded by cardinals; Martyrdom of Sebastian (half-page miniature); Sebastian talking to two people (6-line initial); 397v--21 Jan (Agnes): Agnes in prayer (7-line); 398 (lesson): Scenes from the life of Agnes (half-page miniature); Agnes reading (4-line initial); 401--22 Jan (Vincent): Celebration of the Office; Glorification of Vincent (half-page miniature); Valerius and Vincent (7-line initial) [Fig. 25]; 404--25 Jan (Conversion of Paul): Paul reading (7-line); 404v (first vespers antiphon): Paul on the road to Damascus (half-page miniature); 408--27 Jan (Julian): Julian as bishop (7-line); 408v--28 Jan (Agnes II): Agnes reading (6-line); 409v--30 Jan (Batildis): Batildis in prayer (6-line).

**February:** 409v--1 Feb (Bridget of Ireland): Bridget reading (6-line); 410v--2 Feb (Purification of the Virgin): Virgin and Child (9-line); 411 (first vespers hymn): Presentation of Christ in the temple (half-page miniature); 415--3 Feb (Blaise): Blaise as bishop reading book held by cleric (7-line); 415v--5 Feb (Agatha): Agatha holding open book; 416 (first vespers antiphon): Agatha before Quintianus (half-page miniature); 419--6 Feb (Vedastus and Amandus): Vedastus and Amandus as bishops (7-line); 419v--10 Feb (Scolastica): Scolastica in prayer; 420--14 Feb (Valentine): Valentine reading; 421--16 Feb (Juliana): Juliana in prayer; 421v--22 Feb (Chair of Peter): Bishop reading; 422 (invitatory): Peter as Pope surrounded by bishops (half-page miniature); 424v--24 Feb (Mathias): Prophet watching soul carried to heaven; 425 (2nd lesson): Election of Mathias; Death of Judas; Mathias reading (half-page miniature).

**March:** 426v--1 Mar (David): David as bishop (7-line); 427v--2 Mar (Chad): Chad as bishop at lectern (7-line); 429--7 Mar (Perpetua and Felicitas): The beheaded bodies of the two saints; 430v--12 Mar (Gregory): Gregory reading approached by dove; 432v--18 Mar (Edward, king): Scenes from the martyrdom of Edward (half-page miniature); Angel with scroll (4-line initial) [Fig. 26]; 434v--20 Mar (Cuthbert): Cuthbert as bishop reading book held by cleric; 435 (lesson): Scenes from the life of Cuthbert (half-page miniature) [Fig. 27]; 437v--21 Mar (Benedict): Benedict; 438 (2nd lesson): Scenes from the life of Benedict (half-page miniature); 439v--25 Mar (Annunciation): Annunciation; 440 (invitatory): Gabriel receiving his mission; Annunciation (half-page miniature) [Fig. 29].

**April:** 444--3 Apr (Richard): Richard as bishop at lectern; 4 Apr (Ambrose): Ambrose in prayer; 444v (lesson): Scenes from the life of Ambrose (half-page miniature); 446v--15 Apr (Tiburtius and companions): beheaded bodies of Tiburtius, Valerianus and Maximus; 447v--19 Apr (Alphegius): Alphegius about to be beheaded; 447v--23 Apr (George): George seated; 448 (lesson): George and the dragon (half-page miniature); 449--25 Apr (Mark): Mark writing; 449v (lesson): Scenes from his life (half-page miniature); 450--28 Apr (Vitalis): Vitalis seated (6-line).

**May:** 451--1 May (Philip and James the lesser): The two apostles as boys; 451v (lesson): Scenes from their lives (half-page miniature); 452v--3 May (Invention of the Cross): Paul and two others before an altar bearing a cross; 454 (3rd lesson): Scenes of the Invention of the Cross (half-page miniature); 455--6 May (John before the Latin Gate): John the Evangelist holding palm; 455v (lesson): Scenes from his life (half-page miniature); 456v--10 May (Gordian and Epimachus): Beheaded bodies of the two saints; 457--12 May (Nereus and companions): Nereus, Achilles and Pancratius; 457v--19 May (Dunstan): Dunstan as bishop; 458 (2nd lesson): Birth of Dunstan; Purification of his mother (half-page miniature); 460--25 May (Aldelm): Aldelm as bishop; 461--26 May (Augustine of Canterbury): Augustine as bishop; 461v (lesson): Scenes from his early life (half-page miniature); 462v--28 May (Germanus of Paris): Germanus as bishop. **Lacuna:** offices for Petronilla (30 May) and Nichomedes (1 Jun) missing as well as the opening of Peter and Marcellinus (2 Jun).

**June:** 463--5 Jun (Boniface and companions): Their martyrdom; 463--8 Jun (Medardus and Gildardus): The two saints as bishops; 463v--9 Jun (Edmund): Edmund as archbishop; 464v--11 Jun (Barnabas): Barnabas reading (7-line); 465 (3rd lesson): Scenes from his life (half-page miniature); 466--12 Jun (Basilides and companions): space for 8-line initial; 466v--14 Jun (Basil): Basil as bishop reading; 467--15 Jun (Vitus, Modestus and Crescentia): The three saints; 468--16 Jun (translation of Richard): Young man kneeling in prayer before seated saint (7-line); 468--18 Jun (Mark and Marcellianus): The two saints in a room (9-line); 468v--19 Jun (Gervaise and Prothasius): Gervaise and Prothasius with palms of martyrdom (9-line); 469--20 Jun (translation of Edward, king): Edward in robe quartered with the arms of England and France; 469--22 Jun (Alban): Alban reading; 469v (first vespers antiphon): Scenes from the life of Alban (half-page miniature); 471v--23 Jun (Etheldreda): Etheldreda reading; 24 Jun (Birth of John the Baptist): 472v (Vigil): John the Baptist with lamb on book on knee; 473 (matins hymn): Scenes from his life (half-page miniature); 478v (Sunday within Octave): 9-line space; 487 (Octave): Priest in chapel and two clerics at lectern; 477--26 Jun (John and Paul, martyrs): The two saints reading; 479v--28 Jun (Leo): space for 7-line initial; 29 Jun (Peter and Paul): space for 7-line initial; 488 (Sunday within Octave): 8-line space; 491v (5 Jul): Peter and Paul (8-line miniature); 484--30 Jun (Commemoration of Paul): space for 7-line initial.

**July:** 488--2 Jul (Processus and Martinian): space for 8-line initial; 489--4 Jul (translation of Martin): Martin as bishop; 494v--7 Jul (translation of Thomas of Canterbury): Seated Thomas as bishop; 496v--8 Jul (feast of relics: first Sunday after 7 Jul): Cleric with scroll (7-line); 497 (first vespers antiphon): Veneration of the relics; Celebration of the office (half-page miniature) [Fig. 30]; 501--10 Jul (Seven brothers): The seven brothers kneeling in prayer; 501v--11 Jul (translation of Benedict): Benedict reading; 503--15 Jul

(translation of Swithin): Two bishops; 503--17 Jul (Kenelm): Kenelm as king with attendant; 504v--18 Jul (Arnulphus): Arnulphus in prayer [Fig. 31]; 504v--20 Jul (Margaret): Margaret reading [Fig. 31]; 508--21 Jul (Praxedis): Praxedis reading; 508v--22 Jul (Mary Magdalene): Mary Magdalene seated holding perfume jar; (first vespers hymn): The meal at Simon the leper's house (16-line miniature and 3-line initial) [Fig. 32]; 513--23 Jul (Apollinaris): Apollinaris made bishop by Peter (7-line); 513v--24 Jul (Christina): Christina reading with palm of martyrdom; 515--25 Jul (James the Greater): James as pilgrim; 515v (lesson): Scenes from his life (half-page miniature); 518--26 Jul (Anne: first vespers hymn): Anne and the three Marias (half-page miniature); Anne of Burgundy in prayer (7-line initial) [Fig. 33]; 522v--27 Jul (Seven sleepers): space for 8-line initial; 523--29 Jul (Felix, Simplicius and companions): space for 8-line initial; 524--30 Jul (Abdon and Sennen): Abdon and Sennen as kings in prayer; 524v--31 Jul (Germanus of Auxerre): Germanus blessing (7-line).

**August:** 525--1 Aug (Chains of Peter): Peter as Pope reading; 525v (antiphon): Peter delivered from prison by an angel; Martyrdom of James (half-page miniature); 529--2 Aug (Stephen, pope): Stephen as Pope holding open book; 529--3 Aug (Invention of Stephen martyr and companions): Amiced cleric before altar (7-line); 529v (rubric/ antiphon/ versicle/ psalm): scenes from the invention (half-page miniature); 533--5 Aug (Oswald): Subjects kneeling before seated king; 534v--6 Aug (Sixtus II and companions; 1st lesson): Sixtus, Felicissimus and Agapitus; 535--7 Aug (Donatus; 1st lesson): Donatus, his parents and a bishop (7-line); 535v--8 Aug (Cyriacus and companions): Cyriacus, Maximianus and Arthemias; 536--9 Aug (Romanus): In dalmatic holding book and palm; 537--10 Aug (Lawrence; 1st lesson): 23-line space for rubric and pictorial item [Fig. 34]; 540v--11 Aug (Tiburtius): Baptism of Tiburtius (7-line); 541v--13 Aug (Hippolytus and companions): Hippolytus (5-line); 543--14 Aug (Eusebius): Enthroned; 543v--15 Aug (Assumption of the Virgin): Cantor and clerics at lectern (9-line); 544 (antiphon): Death, Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin (half-page miniature). [*From gathering 70 onwards, there is a change in the design of the decorative programme. Historiated initials are replaced by miniatures and only selected offices receive this kind of emphasis in the hierarchy.*] 555--24 Aug (Audoenus): As bishop (8-line miniature and 4-line initial) [Fig. 36]; 557v--28 Aug (Augustine; 1st lesson): Seated, reading (8-line miniature and 4-line initial); 560--29 Aug (John the Baptist; 1st lesson): 10-line space above 3-line initial.

**September:** 565v--5 Sep (Bertinus); 566--8 Sep (Birth of the Virgin): Two canons at lectern (10-line miniature); 566v (antiphon): Birth of the Virgin (half-page miniature and 6-line historiated initial); 567 (1st lesson): 5-line foliate initial; 576v--14 Sep (Exaltation of the Cross; 1st lesson): 10-line space above 4-line initial. [*In gatherings 74 to 77, the first lessons of most offices are given 4-line initials (or greater emphasis in the hierarchy). The following offices are exceptions: Lambert (17 Sep), Firminus (25 Sep), Cyprian and Justina (26 Sep).*] 584v--21 Sep (Matthew; 1st lesson): Writing (10-line miniature); Head of Matthew (4-line initial); 592--29 Sep (Michael): With dragon underfoot (10-line miniature and 3-line initial); 596--30 Sep (Jerome): Reading (8-line miniature and 2-line initial).

**October:** 600--9 Oct (Dionysius and companions): Angel and Dionysius, carrying head, in front of altar (10-line miniature and 3-line initial); 604v--13 Oct (Translation of Edward the Confessor; 1st lesson): Edward enthroned with two retainers (10-line miniature and 3-line initial); 607--16 Oct (Michael in the mountain tomb): Calixtus being beaten (10-line miniature and 3-line initial) [Fig. 37: *error: the subject continues the narrative sequence of the previous office*]; 610--18 Oct (Luke): Writing (9-line miniature; no initial). [*After gathering 77, first lessons no longer routinely receive four-line initials.*] 614--28 Oct (Simon and Jude; 1st lesson): The two saints (10-line miniature and 4-line initial); 617--31 Oct (Quintinus; 1st lesson): Head of cardinal (4-line initial).

**November:** 618--1 Nov (All Saints; antiphon): Coronation of the Virgin before the heavenly court (half-page miniature); cantor at lectern (6-line initial) [Fig. 38]; 637v--11 Nov (Martin) Cantor and clerics at lectern before altar (10-line miniature and 3-line initial). From gathering 82 onwards, only the text and rubrics have been completed. Spaces have been left for 4-line initials for first lessons, as well as for the following pictorial items: 647--16 Nov (Edward the Confessor): 10-line miniature and 3-line initial; 654--20 Nov (Edmund; 1st lesson): 10-line miniature and 4-line initial; 656--22 Nov (Cecilia; first nocturn antiphon): 10-line miniature and 3-line initial; 660--23 Nov (Clement; 1st lesson): 10-line miniature and 4-line initial; 663--25 Nov (Katherine; antiphon): 11-line miniature and 4-line initial.

**Communal:** 671--One apostle (antiphon): 9-line space; 672 (7-line space at base of second column); 672v--One or more apostles: 12-line miniature and 4-line initial; 676--One martyr: 12-line miniature and 4-line initial; 684v Several martyrs: 5-line initial; 691v--Confessor bishops: 13-line miniature and 4-line initial; 696v--Confessors not bishops: 10-line miniature and 3-line initial; 704v--Virgins: 10-line miniature and 3-line initial.

**Commentary:** This extraordinary manuscript, begun for John, Duke of Bedford and regent of France, soon after October 1422, the most recent date amongst the obituaries in the calendar, was decorated in Paris by the Bedford workshop. Reynolds has shown that there were at least three campaigns of work on the manuscript. All gatherings containing the heraldic devices and portraits of the Duke were painted before the Duke's death in September 1435, under the supervision of the Bedford Master. The

manuscript remained in the workshop, however, for up to twenty years after the Duke's death. During this time, work was continued on the project by the artist Spencer calls the Bedford Master's Chief Associate, in anticipation of a new patron. Sometime in the 1450's, it was finally acquired by Pierre de Morvillers, chancellor of France under Louis XI. In 1625 it was given by Monsieur de Saint-Germain to Camille de Neufville, Abbot of Ainay and later Archbishop of Lyon. It subsequently came into the possession of the Duc de La Vallière. After La Vallière's death in 1780, his library was dispersed, the so-called Salisbury Breviary being purchased for the royal library in 1784 for the sum of 5,000 livres. From there, it passed as ms lat 17294 into the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

**Bibliography:** Baker, "Medieval illustrations of Bede's *Life of St Cuthbert*," pp. 44-49; Byrne, "Manuscript ruling and pictorial design in the work of the Limbourgs, the Bedford Master and the Boucicaut Master"; Courcelles-Ladmirant, "Les Deux Augustin dans une miniature inédite du XVe siècle"; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, III, 271-348 and pls LIV-LXV; Meiss, *Limbourgs*, p. 364; Reynolds, "The Salisbury Breviary (BN ms lat 17294) and some related manuscripts"; Spencer, "The Salisbury Breviary".

## Appendix B

### Catalogue of Breviaries Produced in Paris ca. 1370-1425

The main aim of this Catalogue is to present the evidence concerning the decorative programmes of each manuscript in a full, clear and concise manner. The Catalogue is arranged in alphabetic order, first by location, and then by manuscript number. Within each entry the codicological data for each manuscript is given first, with all measurements in millimetres. This is followed by the evidence for ownership, where it exists, although no attempt has been made to pursue details of provenance beyond the published literature. The contents are then itemized, and the decoration reviewed, before describing the decorative programme for each section of the manuscript in detail. In the closing commentary the published data regarding attributions is reviewed, and the evidence for dating the manuscript presented. The bibliography generally excludes exhibition and catalogue material already cited in the main secondary sources.

Because of the uniformity of the manuscripts as a genre, certain characteristics are not mentioned separately for each entry. All manuscripts are on vellum and written in latin in brown or black ink in fourteenth and fifteenth century variations of the French gothic liturgical hand. Short rubrics are in red and longer rubrics in black ink underlined in red. Text capitals, accented with a yellow wash, are used for invitatories, antiphons, responsories, versicles and incipits of texts normally beginning with one-line initials. One-line initials are used anywhere in the text column for verses of hymns, psalms and canticles, elements of the preces and litany, benedictions, the rubric sign and incipits of texts emphasized by two-line initials in the hierarchy. Larger initials are placed against the left hand margin. Two-line initials open psalms, hymns, canticles, the preces and litany, the first benediction, chapters, prayers and lessons, the Lauds antiphon, the "O" antiphons, the first antiphon or responsory in lists of texts proper to a season and other important antiphons and responsories.

Larger decorative and historiated initials and miniatures are itemized in folio order for each section of the manuscript, except where it was thought more useful to isolate and group the elements contributing to different levels in the hierarchy of decoration. Repetition has been avoided where possible by assuming a basic knowledge of the structure and organization of the temporal, sanctoral and communal, each of which is discussed in detail in chapters three and four. In those sections dealing with the sanctoral the prefix "St" has been assumed for the names of all saints. Dates of feasts have been excluded from the Catalogue, but may be found in the alphabetical list of iconographic themes in Appendix C. Because the decorative cycles given to the calendar and psalter of Paris breviaries usually follow a standard form, models for both are given below so that only the variations need be noted in the Catalogue.

The late medieval liturgical psalter was divided into eight sections, the first seven of which contained the hymns, psalms, canticles and covering antiphons to be sung at matins and lauds on each of the days of the week, beginning with Sunday. The eighth section contained the psalms to be sung at Vespers. In the

Paris use these were followed by the psalms sung invariably at each of the small hours, by the three major canticles, and by the litany and associated prayers. In most Paris psalters, whether liturgical or non-liturgical, each of the psalms opening the eight divisions was emphasized in the hierarchy of decoration. Manuscripts with figurative cycles drew upon a set of themes for the eight divisions, which had been established in Paris in the twelfth century. It was based partly on images of David as author of the psalms, and partly on a Christian interpretation of the opening words of the psalm being emphasised:<sup>1</sup>

Sunday	Psalm 1: "Beatus Vir"	David playing the harp.
Monday	Psalm 26 "Dominus Illuminatio"	David in prayer (pointing to his eyes).
Tuesday	Psalm 28 "Dixi Custodiam"	David in prayer (pointing to his tongue).
Wednesday	Psalm 52 "Dixit Insuper"	Fool.
Thursday	Psalm 68 "Salvum Me Fac"	David in water to his waist.
Friday	Psalm 80 "Exultate Deo"	David playing the bells.
Saturday	Psalm 97 "Cantate Domino"	Cantors.
Vespers	Psalm 109 "Dixit Dominus"	Trinity.

An equally standardized figurative programme existed for the calendar. Each month received two tiny miniatures located within the KL initial or in the upper (or right hand) and lower margins. In the first miniature the zodiacal sign for the month was depicted, while the second showed the activity:

Month	Sign	Activity
January	Water-bearer	Janus at table, eating or drinking.
February	Two linked fish	Man warming his feet at a fire.
March	Ram	Man pruning vines.
April	Bull	Young man holding flowers.
May	Naked siamese twins with shield	Falconer on horseback.
June	Crab	Man with scythe.
July	Lion	Man with sickle.
August	Virgin	Man with threshing stick.
September	Scales	Man crushing grapes.
October	Scorpion	Man sowing seed held in apron.
November	Centaur	Man knocking down acorns.
December	Horned beast in shell	Man killing a pig with the back of an axe.

<sup>1</sup>The cycle for the Breviary of Charles V copied from the Belleville Breviary is exceptional, departing almost entirely from the conventional set of images, or from the alternative set of historical scenes from the life of David represented in this sample by BL Harley 2927.



## B.1. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 114.

*Full Paris Breviary. Late fourteenth Century.*

185 x 136. A-B modern paper + 492. Paginated 1-490 with 146 *bis* and 418 *bis*. Gatherings numbered in top right hand corner. Catchwords agree. 1<sup>6</sup>, 2-43<sup>8</sup>, 44<sup>7</sup>, 45-61<sup>8</sup>, 62<sup>7</sup>. Ruled for two columns of 32 lines: 17.[36].13.[35].35 x 18.[130].35. Ruling unit: 4.1. The calendar is written in red and black ink and ruled in sepia for four columns of 33 lines: 21.[7.4.7.65].32 x 18.[132].35. Ruling unit: 4. Modern dark red quarter-bound sheepskin binding by Paul Leprince (1826). On spine is *Breviarium Parisiense*.

**Contents:** (a) ff.1-6v [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 7-181v [gatherings 2-23] temporal. (c) ff. 182-269v [gatherings 24-34]: ff. 182-255 psalter, ff. 255-6v litany, ff. 257-67 ordo, ff. 267/v benedictions, ff. 268-9v hours of the Virgin. (d) ff. 270-490v [gatherings 35-62]: ff. 270-471 sanctoral, f. 471v ruled but blank, ff. 472-90 communal.

**Decoration:** One- and two-line red or blue initials flourished in black or red are used throughout, together with blue or blue and red line fillers. Three- to six-line, one- or two-colour foliate initials are accompanied by bar borders with single and double-line ivy branches in upper and lower margins. Six- or seven-line column miniatures are set above seven of these foliate initials. The folio opening the temporal (f. 7) has a "u"-shaped frame composed of alternate pink and blue filigree bands. Calendar folios have two-line flourished KL initials three columns wide. Miniatures are in a linear style with almost no stippling or hatching. The undersketch frequently shows through. Facial features are drawn in using a double line for the mouth and a straight, wide nose, on a head in three-quarter profile with a clear, open expression and direct gaze. The stiff figures occupy much of the space of the miniature, obscuring floor and background.

**Temporal:** 7--1st Sunday in Advent (opening rubric): Person in prayer; (chapter): 5-line initial; 7v (lesson): 4-line; 28v--Nativity: Virgin breastfeeding Christ; 41v--Epiphany: Adoration of the Magi; 118--Tuesday after Easter: 3-line; 129v--Ascension: Ascension; 136--Pentecost: Pentecost; 142--Trinity (opening rubric): Trinity; 142 (first vespers antiphon): 4-line; 142v (lesson): 3-line; 145--Corpus Christi (first vespers antiphon): 4-line; 150v--Kings: 3-line; 153--Proverbs: 3-line; 157v--Tobias: 3-line; 159--Judith: 3-line; 162v--Maccabees: 3-line; 164--Ezekiel: 3-line; 178--Dedication of a Church (first vespers antiphon): 3-line. **Psalter:** 6-line initial for "Beatus Vir" on f. 182 and 5-line initials for each division (ff. 192, 198, 204v, 210v, 218v, 226v, 235). **Sanctoral:** One 7-line miniature and six 3- to 4-line initials and bar borders distributed over five other offices form the first two levels of a three-level hierarchy of emphasis. Sixteen other offices open with a two-line initial for the first vespers antiphon: First level: 398--Assumption (rubric before antiphon): Assumption. Second level: 274--Conception (first lesson): 3-line; 418v--Birth of the Virgin (antiphon): 4-line; (lesson): 3-line; 439v--Denis (Octave legenda): 3-line; 450v--All Saints: 3-line; 468--Katherine: 3-line. Third level: Relics; Annunciation; Mary of Egypt; Peter & Paul; Translation of Benedict; Mary Magdalene; Anne; Translation of Crown of Thorns; Louis IX; Augustine; Fiacre; Exaltation of Cross; Michael; Quentin; All Souls; Gendulphus. **Communal:** 472--One or more apostles (antiphon): 5-line initial.

**Commentary:** The manuscript is written in black ink in a tall, slanted, hasty hand, with sketchy flourished initials, coarse foliate infill, limited filigree repertoire and competent but mediocre miniatures. The lessons in the sanctoral are extremely short and often restricted to three lessons. The calendar is standard, with the exception of the omission of several major feasts (namely, the Chair of St Peter and St Mathias in February, St Benedict and the Annunciation in March, and the Translation of Louis IX in May) and some of the memorials. The litany is short (seventy-three items), but includes St Ivo. The presence of this saint here and in the calendar dates the manuscript firmly after 1347, and probably after 1366. The style of the decoration and illumination is late fourteenth or early fifteenth century Paris work.

**Bibliography:** Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, I, 16-17.

## B.2. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms 306.

*Winter Paris breviary*. Ca. 1370. (Fig. 39).

165 x 115. A modern paper + 351 + B modern paper. Incomplete at beginning, and with many missing folios. 1<sup>87-3</sup>, 2<sup>8-1</sup>, 3<sup>8-1</sup>, 4-5<sup>8</sup>, 6<sup>8-2</sup>, 7-9<sup>8</sup>, 10<sup>8-2</sup>, 11<sup>87-5</sup>, 12<sup>8-1</sup>, 13-14<sup>8</sup>, 15<sup>87-5</sup>, 16<sup>8-1</sup>, 17-19<sup>8</sup>, 20<sup>8-2</sup>, 21<sup>87-5</sup>, 22<sup>8</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, 24-25<sup>8</sup>, 26<sup>6</sup>, 27-31<sup>8</sup>, 32<sup>8-2</sup>, 33<sup>8-1</sup>, 34<sup>87-4</sup>, 35<sup>8-1</sup>, 36<sup>8</sup>, 37-38<sup>8-1</sup>, 39<sup>8</sup>, 40<sup>10</sup>, 41<sup>10-1</sup>, 42<sup>8-1</sup>, 43-44<sup>8</sup>, 45<sup>10-4</sup>, 46<sup>8-1</sup>, 47<sup>10-2</sup>, 48<sup>5</sup>. Ruled for two columns of 28 lines: 19.[31].9.[31].25 x 18.[106].41. Ruling unit: 3.8. Eighteenth century calf binding, rebacked.

**Ownership:** The arms of Louis d'Evreux, Comte d'Etampes ("azure semé with fleurs-de-lis or, a bend chequy ermine and gules") appear on ff. 27, 47 and 127 (Fig. 39). The name Pierre Duval is also scribbled in several of the margins. Owned by E. Stainton, Parham Court, Canterbury, and sold as lot 530 at Sotheby's, 27 July 1920, to the Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-73v [gatherings 1-10]: psalter, beginning with the last psalm for matins on Monday. The last two folios are missing. (b) ff. 74-76v [gathering 11]: Office of the Dead. The commendations, promised in a rubric, are missing. (c) ff. 77-102v [gatherings 12-15]: communal. The opening folio is missing and the end is incomplete. (d) ff. 103-277v [gatherings 16-39]: winter temporal. The opening folio is missing. (e) ff. 278-351v [gatherings 16-39]: winter sanctoral, ending with the office of St George on 23 April.

**Decoration:** One-line flourished initials in blue and red or gold and black, and blue and dark red or blue and gold line endings with flower designs for the shorter endings accompany two-line flourished initials enhanced by detail in the alternate background colour, to form the basic hierarchy of decoration. Additional emphasis is provided by three- to six-line (mainly three-line), "four-colour" flourished initials with blue and gold demi-fleur-de-lis borders. There are also three grisaille miniatures, eight to ten lines in size, in quatrefoil frames edged in gold and white set in a blue or puce rectangle edged with a narrow strip of bare parchment (Fig. 39). Below each miniature is a grisaille four-line inhabited initial. The miniature pages all have "u"-shaped gilded bar frames terminating in grisaille figures in the left hand corners and sharp-leaved double-line branches in the margins. The bas-de-page space is occupied by subsidiary scenes in grisaille. By analogy, and from the evidence of faint imprints on facing folios, up to nineteen of the missing folios were decorated in a similar manner.

**Psalter:** Each of the six extant divisions once had a grisaille miniature, two of which survive. Further emphases are provided by six three-line initials and demi-fleur-de-lis borders: 5/6--"Dixit Custodiam": lacuna; 10/11--"Dixit Insipiens": lacuna; 17/18--"Salvum Me Fac": lacuna; 27--"Exultate Deo": David playing the bells; in initial: boy playing a mandorla; bas-de-page: two archers; 35/36--"Cantate Domino": lacuna; 45--"Audite Celi" (Saturday lauds canticle): 3-line; 47--"Dixit Dominus": Trinity; in initial: seated lion; bas-de-page: boar charging a man; 48v--"O lux Beata Trinitas" (hymn opening prime): 3-line; 51--"Legem pone" (psalm opening terce): 3-line; 52v--"Defecit in Salutare" (psalm opening sext): 3-line; 53v--"Mirabilia Testimonia" (psalm opening none): 3-line; 72v--"Exaudi domine" (prayer opening Benedictions): 3-line. **Communal:** Each office has multiple emphases through the use of two- or three-line initials for the opening antiphon, chapter, hymn, first lesson or first lesson responsory. The office of one or more apostles probably opened with a miniature (lacuna: 76/77).

**Winter temporal:** The variations from the basic hierarchy of decoration are many, but follow a clear scheme. Eight offices probably received miniatures for their first lessons: 102/03--First Sunday in Advent: lacuna; 125--Nativity: Virgin breastfeeding Child; in initial: Musical Angels; bas-de-page: Annunciation to the Shepherds; 136/37--Circumcision: lacuna; 140/41--Epiphany: lacuna; 232/33--Easter Sunday: lacuna; 242/43--*Liber Apocalipsis*: lacuna; 259/60--Ascension: lacuna; 268/69--Pentecost: lacuna. In addition, every Sunday, feast day and day of octave has been given multiple emphases through the use of large initials. The primary emphasis has been assigned to the first lesson and additional emphases to the lauds prayer or the homily for the seventh lesson. Ordinary ferias have been left unemphasized, but in each week the first ferial lesson has a three-line initial. The *Legenda Psalmodia* for the full five weeks after the Epiphany octave, however, opens with a five-line initial and the Expositions, which are given separately,

with a three-line initial. The first lessons of Ember and Rogation days, feast vigils and days within octaves also open with three-line initials, as do those of every day from Quinquagesima Sunday until Easter. Most emphases are made through the use of three-line initials, but four-line initials are used for the first lessons of the first four Sundays of Quadragesima, and six-line initials for the first lessons of Palm and Passion Sundays. In addition, Ascension and Pentecost have five-line initials for their first vespers chapters, and the Trinity first vespers office which ends the temporal has a five-line initial for the opening antiphon. Proper first responsories have also been given two-line initials, as have the *Triduum* first nocturn antiphons and the responsories and antiphons heading stock lists. A three-line initial, however, is used for the first of the list of 'O' antiphons given before the fourth Sunday in Advent on f. 120v, and two-line initials for the others. The preceding chapter, "Ecce virgo concipiet," also has a three-line initial. Two other stock lists open with three-line initials: the responsories for the Apocalypse legenda on f. 243 and the "Benedictus" and "Magnificat" antiphons on f. 247v, for the period from the week after the Easter octave until Advent.

**Winter sanctoral:** Seven offices with lacunae probably had miniatures. Three- or four-line initials for two or more of the remaining texts likely to receive emphasis within these offices indicate their importance. The texts include the first vespers antiphon, chapter and prayer, the first lesson and the gospel reading for lesson seven. One six-line initial survives, for the antiphon opening first vespers of the Annunciation. All feasts have at least one three- or four-line initial, usually for the first lesson. Fifteen feasts have a second three-line initial, either for the first vespers antiphon or prayer. Multiple initials for an office provide the second level in a two-level hierarchy of emphasis: First level: 277/78--Andrew: lacuna; 285/86--Conception: lacuna; 292/93--Stephen martyr: lacuna; 295/96--John the Evangelist: lacuna; 320/21--Purification (first lesson): lacuna; 329/30--Chair of Peter (first lesson): lacuna; 337/38--Annunciation (first lesson): lacuna. Second level: Eligius; Nicholas; Holy Innocents; Thomas martyr; Geneviève I; Maurus; Marcellus; Sulpicius; Agnes; Agatha; Mathias; Thomas Aquinas; Gregory; Mary of Egypt; Invention of Denis.

**Commentary:** Although heavily trimmed and sadly dismembered, with discoloured and brittle parchment, the manuscript is one of exquisite workmanship. Its decoration belongs to the circle of artists working at the Court of Charles V in the 1360's and 70's in the so-called Boqueteaux style. Wormald and Giles date it ca. 1370, and link it with the workshop which illuminated the French Bible, Arsenal 5212. The litany is a full one, with St Ivo amongst the confessors and St Martial listed after Disciples, as in the Châteauroux and Paris/ Manchester Breviaries. The manuscript is possibly the one described in the Duke of Berry's 1401-03 inventory as "Item, un bréviaire enluminé de blanc et de noir à plusieurs histoires, qui fu de Monsieur d'Estampes". This manuscript, which had "ou [sic] milieu un Crucifiement et un ymage de Nostre Dame," was given by Berry to Jean de Montaigu, grand Master of the King's Hôtel.

**Bibliography:** Delisle, *Recherches*, no. 47; Guiffrey, *Inventaires*, no. 1055; Francis Wormald and Phyllis Giles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1966), I, 297-99.

### B.3. Châteauroux (Indre), Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 2.

*Summer Paris breviary.* ca. 1415. (Figs 40-49).

279 x 202. A-C modern paper + 454 + D-E modern paper. Catchwords agree. 1<sup>6</sup>, 2-13<sup>8</sup>, 14<sup>9</sup> (3rd tipped in), 15-35<sup>8</sup>, 36<sup>9</sup> (4th tipped in), 37-48<sup>8</sup>, 49<sup>9</sup> (4th tipped in), 50-56<sup>8</sup>, 57<sup>5</sup>. Ruled in red ink for two columns of 29 lines: 29.[50].15.[50].58 x 31.[169].79. Ruling unit: 5.8. The calendar is written in black, red, blue and gold ink and ruled for five columns of 34 lines: 31.[7.4.7.5.93].55 x 31.[169].79. Ruling unit: 5. Eighteenth century Red morocco binding with gold-tooled rinceaux on covers and gilded edges. On spine is "Breviarium Parisiense. Mss sur vel. avec sup. miniat. circa 1450".

**Ownership:** The arms of the dauphin appear on f. 430 (Fig. 49). A partially erased note in a modern hand on the bottom of f. 1 reads "Communitati Sancti Marcelli [?] lugdunensis," suggesting that the manuscript was at some stage in the possession of the "Confrérie des Penitents de Saint Marcel"

established in Lyon in 1590. The note was first deciphered by Claude Faure, and the link with the Lyon confraternity proposed in a letter by him to Paul Thibault, dated 24 January 1937. In 1784 it was sold as part of the collection of the Duc de la Vallière. By 1830 it was owned by Jean-Louis Bourdillon of Geneva, who made an aborted attempt to sell the manuscript in that year. Bourdillon gave the manuscript to the Châteauroux Bibliothèque Municipale on his death in 1856. F. A: Note signed Van Praet (transcribed by Leroquais, pp. 315-16); f. B: Note by Bourdillon about the acquisition by the British Museum of the Bedford Hours; f. C: "Séguin" (no longer visible).

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-6v [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 7-175v [gatherings 2-22]: ff. 7-97: psalter; ff. 97v-100: hours of the Virgin; ff. 100v-103: memoria; ff. 103-04v: Penitential psalms (incipits only) and alternative litany; f. 105v: blank; ff. 106-75v: summer temporal. (c) ff. 176-454v [gatherings 23-57]: ff. 176-78: Ordo; ff. 178-180: memoria; f. 180v: ruled but blank; ff. 181-429v: sanctoral; ff. 430-54v: communal.

**Decoration:** One-line flourished initials in blue and red or gold and black, with blue and puce or blue and gold line endings, some floral, combine with two-line blue or carmine foliate initials on gold grounds, with fine pen-line oak or ivy tendrils extending into the margins, to define the basic levels in the hierarchy of decoration. These are supplemented by seventy three-line initials and 120 four- to five-line initials. In the smaller versions the infill comprises richly coloured Italianate acanthus leaf designs, heads, and grotesques painted in the manner of the two-line initials in the Duc de Berry's *Grandes Heures*. Such initials are not described in detail when itemized below unless they clearly contribute to the iconographic programme. The larger versions usually have historiated infill. There are also nine Italianate eight-line historiated initials (restricted to the psalter and hours of the Virgin), forty-four eight- to thirteen-line column miniatures, and three half-page miniatures surrounded by a full border comprising pen-line oak and ivy tendrils, four-petal flowers and gilded spiked fruit (the folios facing the half-page miniatures have all been tipped in to create nine-leaf gatherings). A further forty-eight pictorial items decorate the calendar.

**Calendar:** The two-line KL initials extending over the first four columns are in lower case, with the stems occupying a further two lines. On f. 1 they are joined at the top. On each folio the sign of the month is contained within a sun-like frame comprising gilded, undulating rays, occupying the middle of the right hand margin. The miniature and frame together measure 27 mm in diameter. The similarly-sized miniature for the activity of the month, framed as a gilded square-in-quatrefoil, is set within a rectangular pen-line rinceaux border in the lower margin. The iconography of these miniatures is standard, except that the falconer is not on horseback for May, and the sign for December is a unicorn. In the centre of the upper margin, however, there is a square miniature in a gilded bar frame containing a series of images partially related to the personifications of the months found in the Breviary of Benedict XIII. A bird, animal or insect is painted in the margin to the right. The additional subjects are: 1--January: King (Janus?); Cock; 1v--February: Death; Bird; 2--March: Mars; Peacock; 2v--April: Young woman holding reeds (Spring?); Butterfly; 3--May: King; Butterfly; 3v--June: Child with windmill; Butterfly (Fig. 40); 4--July: Emperor; Squirrel; 4v--August: Emperor; Sparrow; 5--September: Man under cloak in shower of rain; Monkey; 5v--October: Man in turban in shower of rain; Bullfinch; 6--November: Man in hat with rim turned down, in shower of rain; Magpie; 6v--December: Man in large feathered hat in shower of rain; Cock.

**Psalter:** The eight divisions each open with an eight-line historiated initial conventional in iconography but extraordinary in form. The "Beatus Vir" initial on f. 8, for instance, comprises a blue "B" against a gold ground. The left upright is a prophet, detailed with gold hatching, and holding a huge curving acanthus leaf which forms the upper curve of the letter. A second man forms the lower curve. Blue and malachite acanthus leaf clusters inhabited by a bird and butterfly extend from the initial into the margin. The letters "EATUS VIR" border the right hand edge of the initial, one letter per line. The other initials (on ff. 19, 26v, 33, 40, 48v, 56v and 65v [Fig. 41]) exhibit an almost equal virtuosity. Twenty three-line initials provide additional emphases, particularly for the lauds canticles, the hymns opening the small hours, the three greater canticles, and the litany: 7v--opening rubric: 3-line initial; opening hymn: Three monks singing; 16v--Sunday lauds hymn: 3-line initial; 26--lauds canticle: Man praying; 32v--lauds hymn: Man praying; lauds canticle: Woman praying; 47v--lauds canticle: Moses; 55v--lauds canticle: Man praying; 64--lauds canticle: Moses; 67--"O Lux Beata Trinitas" (hymn opening prime): Trinity; second hymn: 3-line initial; 69--"Dilexi Quoniam" (psalm opening prime): Monk praying (4-line); 74v--hymn opening terce: Holy Spirit descending on two people; 76v--hymn opening sext: Monk; 78--hymn opening none: Old man;

80--"Lucis creator": 3-line initial; 91--"Benedictus": Zachariah censuring; 91v--"Magnificat": Virgin; "Nunc Dimittis": Simeon; 92--"Kyrie Eleison" opening litany: 3-line initial.

**Temporal:** Trinity Sunday (f. 106) has a half-page miniature, the only one in the temporal, for the opening antiphon (Fig. 42). There are two column miniatures: 113v--Corpus Christi(antiphon): Institution of the Eucharist (12-line); 171--Dedication of a Church (antiphon): Bishop tracing sign of cross on wall of church (11-line). The first lesson of the Dedication office opens with a four-line initial (f. 172v: Solomon in prayer). In addition, ten four-line historiated initials open the legenda for the summer season: 112v--I Kings 1,1: Elkanah and his wives; 130--I Kings 1,20: Hannah breastfeeding Samuel; 131v--I Kings 1,24: The child Samuel asleep (3-line); 136v--Proverbs: Solomon writing Proverbs; 141--Job: Job on the dunghill; 143v--Tobias: Tobias blind; 145--Judith: with head of Holofernes; 148--Hester: Feast of Ahasuerus; 149v--Maccabees: Four saints; 152v--Ezechiel: Ezechiel in prayer. Selected hymns have three-line initials, while matins responsories and versicles and proper first nocturn antiphons have one-line initials. The third nocturn antiphon for Corpus Christi also has a one-line initial, and the first responsory of the Dedication office has a two-line initial. The expositions are not emphasized, although the "Benedictus" and "Magnificat" antiphons have one-line initials. The stock lists of musical propers for the summer season are headed by two-line initials. Invitatories in these lists have one-line initials and so do the first antiphons of each nocturn.

**Summer sanctoral:** Two half-page miniatures and forty-one eight to thirteen-line column miniatures, mainly accompanying the first lesson or invitatory, form a two-level hierarchy of emphasis. A further 103 four-line historiated initials open the first lesson or prayer of almost every other office and memorial. The 2 October memorial prayer for Serenus on f. 360 exceptionally opens with a four-line inhabited initial. The day of the octave of Denis on 16 October has only a four-line acanthus leaf initial for the first lesson. Offices with miniatures are usually further emphasized by combinations of a one-line initial for the invitatory and nocturn antiphons, a two-line initial for the first vespers antiphon and three-line inhabited or acanthus-leaf initials for the first vespers, matins and lauds hymns. The historiated initials, which for economy are not listed here (for a full list see Leroquais or Meiss), generally contain bust or half-length votive images of the saint or saints with their attributes. The exceptions are: 199v--Vigil of Birth of John the Baptist: Zacharias & Elizabeth in prayer; 242v--Christina: Martyrdom; 243--Christopher: Carrying the Christ Child; 254v--Martha (antiphon): Martha and the mythical monster of Tarascon; 267v--Donatus: Miracle of the mended chalice; 288v--Octave of Assumption: Solomon writing the Song of Songs; 381--Crispin & Crispinian: The saints working leather; 382v--Geneviève: Episode of the candle; 385--Quentin: Martyrdom (5-line); 402v--Mathurin: Mathurin exorcizing a devil; 427--Geneviève: Episode of the candle.

The miniatures are accompanied by three-line foliate, acanthus leaf or inhabited initials. In six cases, however, including the two half-page miniatures, the three-line initials have a figurative content related to the theme of the miniature. In the list below the default is to a twelve-line column miniature for the first lesson with votive image: 181--Translation of Germanus (rubric): 11-line; 188v--Barnabas; 201--Birth of John the Baptist (antiphon): 13-line; 204v--Translation of Eligius: 9-line; 208--Octave of Birth of John the Baptist: As youth in landscape (10-line); 211v--Peter & Paul: Fall of Simon Magus (13-line); 215--Commemoration of Paul; 218v--Martial (prayer): Exorcizing demon (8-line); 226v--Translation of Thomas martyr (prayer): Martyrdom (8-line); in initial: Man of arms with axe; 237--Victor: On horseback (8-line); 238--Mary Magdalene (antiphon): Noli me tangere (8-line); 243v--James the Greater: Demons leading the bound Hermogenes before James; 246--Marcellus: With dragon (8-line); 249--Transfiguration (prayer): 10-line; 250v--Anne (antiphon): Teaching the Virgin to read (10-line); 259--Chains of Peter (invitatory): Angel waking Peter in prison (9-line); 261v--Invention of Stephen martyr: Discovery of the body; 265--Translation of the Holy Cross (prayer): Arrival of the Croix d'Anseau at Notre-Dame, Paris (10-line); 270v--Lawrence: Martyrdom; 274--Translation of the Crown of Thorns (rubric before invitatory): Veneration at Sainte-Chapelle; 282v--Assumption: Death, Assumption and Coronation of Virgin; Virgin's belt falling from Heaven (Fig. 44); 296--Bartholomew: Martyrdom; 298v--Louis IX; 311--John the Baptist: Martyrdom; in initial: Dance of Salome (Fig. 45); 313v--Fiacre: Digging (10-line); 323v--Birth of the Virgin (rubric before invitatory); 330v--Exaltation of the Cross; 337v--Matthew: Putting two dragons to flight (13-line); 343v--Cosmas & Damian: 11-line; 345v--Michael (rubric before invitatory): Episode of the bull on Mt Gargano (13-line); 350--Relics: Veneration of the relics at Sainte Chapelle (Fig. 46); 357v--Jerome: In his study (11-line); 364--Dionysius: Martyrdom (11-line); 367v--Octave legenda: Dionysius preaching; 373v--Luke: Writing (13-line); in initial: Luke painting the Virgin; 376--11,000 Virgins: In a ship about to set sail (11-line); in initial: busts of Ursula and a nimbed queen; 382v--Simon & Jude; 387v--All Saints: Coronation of Virgin; Heavenly Court with ranked saints; Panoramic view of Earth below (Fig. 47); 395v--All Souls: Hermit reading on tomb in cemetery; in initial: Head of dying man (11-line); 404v--Martin (invitatory): Sharing his cloak with a beggar (11-line); 410--Gendulphus: 9-line; 421--Clement: 10-line; 423v--Katherine (invitatory): Enthroned (Fig. 48).

**Communal:** 430--One or More Apostles (antiphon): Two apostles (13-line: Fig. 49); (hymn): Shield with arms of the dauphin (3-line); 433v--One Martyr (antiphon): Saint being beheaded (4-line); 439--More than one Martyr (antiphon): Three saints being beheaded (5-line); 443--Confessor Bishop (antiphon): Bishop blessing (4-line); 449v--Virgin (chapter): Matron (3-line). Selected matins and lauds hymns also have three-line initials. Other: 98--Hours of the Virgin ("Domine Labia Mea"): Virgin and Child (8-line Italianate initial); 100v--Memoria (rubric): Censing of the Relics (11-line); 103--Penitential Psalms (rubric): David in prayer (4-line); 176--Ordo (rubric): 3-line.

**Commentary:** This deluxe manuscript exhibits connections with Sainte-Chapelle through the inclusion of the feast of the Relics at Sainte-Chapelle on 30 September in the sanctoral (but not the calendar). St Martial is listed in the litany after Disciples, as in the Breviary of Louis d'Evreux and the summer volume of the Paris/ Manchester Breviary (Rylands 136). SS Dominic, Thomas Aquinas and Peter Celestine are included among the confessors, and SS Mary Martha, Mary Cleophe and Mary Jacobi amongst the Virgins. These saints are also in the litany of Rylands 136, demonstrating a close connection between the two manuscripts, also exhibited by the arrangement of the texts and the appearance in the calendar of "Sancti Symeonis in columba [sic] conf" against 5 January. The ruling of the manuscript connects it with the same scribal workshop which produced the Orgemont Breviary.

In spite of Leroquais' doubts about the validity of using a single initial, painted late in the manuscript, as evidence for the patronage of the dauphin, the breviary was clearly made for a princely patron. Meiss argues strongly for a date of ca. 1415 on the basis that it was illuminated for Louis de Guyenne shortly before his death in December of that year. Louis' interest in objets d'art and the furnishings of his private chapel are well-documented. He was also close to his uncle, Jean de Berry, and the Châteauroux Breviary itself displays stylistic and iconographic connections with works possessed by Berry. Such a date appears to correspond to models for the stylistic development of the three main collaborators in the decorative programme. The Bedford Master, with the help of assistants, painted a large part of the decoration, including the three large miniatures and the nine Italianate historiated initials, but the Boucicaut and Orosius Masters were also employed on the project. The patronage of the future Charles VII before his exile from Paris in 1418, however, cannot be excluded. Jean de France, the middle brother, was only dauphin for a few months before his death by poison in April 1416.

**Bibliography:** de Winter, "French Gothic and Renaissance Illuminated manuscripts in Vienna"; Hubert, "Quelques vues de la cité,"; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, 315-22, pls LXVI-LXXIV; Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, pp. 25-27, 81-85, figs 101-17, 162; Pannier, *Les Joyaux du duc de Guyenne*, esp. p. 8; Spencer, "Salisbury Breviary," p. 612; Sterling, "le Mapped-mundi"; Paul and Marie-Louise Thibault, "Etude sur le bréviaire manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Châteauroux," typescript lodged at the Châteauroux Bibliothèque Municipale (March, 1932).

#### **B.4. London, British Library, mss Add. 35311 and Harley 2897.**

*Two volume breviary for Roman use. 1412-19. (Figs 50-56).*

Add 35311: 243 x 178. A modern paper + 438 + B modern paper. Rubrics in French. Catchwords, in brown ink and court hand, agree, except on ff. 340v and 388v: 1<sup>6</sup>, 2-10<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup>, 12-15<sup>8</sup>, 16<sup>6</sup>, 17<sup>8-6</sup>, 18-44<sup>8</sup>, 45<sup>6</sup>, 46-54<sup>8</sup>, 55<sup>8+1-1</sup>, 56<sup>8</sup>, 57<sup>8-1</sup>, 58<sup>2+1</sup>. Lacunae at ff. 120/21, 413/14 and 435/36. Ruled in red ink for two columns of 28 lines: 25.[45].13.[45].50 x 29.[145].69. Ruling unit: 5.2. The calendar is written in gold, blue, red and black and ruled for five columns of 33 lines, double-ruled in the second to fifth: 23.[(11.2).(5.1).(11.1).(5.1).77].41 x 29.[144].68. Ruling unit: 4.4. Modern dark red velvet binding over cardboard. On spine over three leather title pieces is "Breviarium/ Rothschild Bequest. Vol. II/ Brit. Mus. Additional 35311".

Harley 2897: 248 x 180. A-B modern paper + C-E modern parchment + 453 + F-G modern parchment + H-I modern paper. Catchwords agree except on f. 278v: 1<sup>6</sup>, 2<sup>8-1</sup>, 3-14<sup>8</sup>, 15<sup>6</sup>, 16<sup>8</sup>, 17<sup>4</sup>, 18-10<sup>8</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup>, 21<sup>8-1</sup>, 22-25<sup>8</sup>, 26-27<sup>8-1</sup>, 28-54<sup>8</sup>, 55<sup>8-1</sup>, 56-58<sup>8</sup>. Lacunae at ff. 6/7, 154/55, 198/99, 205/06, 427/28. Ruled in red ink for two columns of 28 lines: ff. 7-153v: 28.[44.15.43].50 x 28.[150].70. Ruling unit: 5.4; ff.

154-453v: 24.[44].12.[44].56 x 33.[145].70. Ruling unit: 5.2. The calendar is written in gold, blue, red and black, and ruled for five columns of 34 lines, double-ruled in the second to fifth: 23.[(10.1).(4.1).(9.1).(4.1).84].42 x 28.[150].70. Ruling unit: 4.4. Modern red Moroccan leather binding over cardboard, with arms of British Museum stamped on back and front. On spine: "Psalterium et officia. Mus. Brit. Bibl. Harl. 2897". The arms of Jean sans Peur and Margaret of Bavaria, Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, appear on f. 188v (Fig. 54).

**Contents:** Add 35311: (a) ff. 1-6v [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 7-120v [gatherings 2-16]: ff. 2-106v: psalter; ff. 107-19v: hymns; ff. 120v: benedictions. (c) ff. 121-340v [gatherings 17-45]: winter temporal, missing the opening folio, and ending on f. 340 at end of Easter Saturday. F. 340v is ruled but blank. (d) ff. 341-88v [gatherings 46-51]: winter sanctoral, ending abruptly after the office of St Anicetus (17 Apr). (e) ff. 389-435v [gatherings 52-57]: ff. 389-413: communal; f. 413v: ruled but blank; ff. 414-35v: Offices for the Virgin, missing first folio. (f) ff. 436-38v [gathering 58]: Office of the Dead, missing first folio. Harley 2897: (a) ff. 1-6v [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 7-115v [gatherings 2-15]: ff. 7-106: psalter, missing the first folio; ff. 106v-15: hymns; f. 115v: ruled but blank. (c) ff. 116-27v [gatherings 16-17]: ff. 116-17: texts for compline; ff. 117-18v: texts for prime; ff. 118v-20v: preces; ff. 121-24: three sets of expositions; f. 124v: ruled but blank; ff. 125v: benedictions; f. 126v: ruled but blank; f. 127: invitatories for summer; f. 127v: ruled but blank. (d) ff. 128-53v [gatherings 18-20]: ff. 128-52: communal; ff. 152v-53v: ruled but blank. (e) ff. 154-278v [gatherings 21-36]: ff. 154-274v: summer temporal, opening with Easter Sunday, and ending after Zachariah (the Summer expositions are given after Kings); ff. 275-78v: Ordo, in French. (f) ff. 279-453v [gatherings 37-58]: ff. 279-452v: sanctoral, continuing from f. 388v of Add 35311 with the office of one or more martyrs, and ending with the Dedication office; ff. 453v: ruled but blank.

**Decoration:** Fine one-line flourished initials in liquid blue and red, or gold and black, are used throughout the manuscript. The two-line initials are foliate, with marginal single- or double-line tendrils ending in gilded oak or ivy leaves, spiked fruit or three- and four-petal flowers. A series of three- to six-line foliate initials exhibiting a rich variety of foliate and diaper infill designs, together with thirty historiated initials, 103 (originally 105) mainly twelve-line column miniatures, and three (originally nine) half-page miniatures, provide additional emphases, usually for first lessons. The historiated initials below the half-page miniatures are Italianate in design, with acanthus leaf stems and gilded grounds. Borders for folios containing the larger decorative and historiated initials comprise a gilded bar terminating in single- and double-line branches which tend to fill up the margins, leaving a narrow bas-de-page space (Figs 51, 53, 55). The fine outlines and white highlights create a sophisticated silvery effect on the folio. In the calendars of both volumes the three-line KL initials set over the first four columns also extend into bar borders with sparser branches. Column miniatures are also associated with bar borders through the foliate initial opening the text below or (in some cases) on the next folio. A number of the folios with column miniatures have a "u"-shaped decorated band frame around the text, with branches and tendrils springing from corners and terminals midway along the vertical bands (Fig. 56). The half-page miniature folios have full rectangular borders incorporating rinceaux, acanthus leaf designs, and marginal figures or miniatures (Figs 50, 52, 54). In Harley 2897 ff. 1-153v have more heavily outlined tendrils and branches, with stiffly ranked ivy leaves. The dragon motif is used in combination with acanthus leaf clusters to terminate vertical and horizontal elements.

**Psalter:** In Add 35311 the "Beatus Vir" folio (f. 8) has received a half-page miniature of David receiving divine inspiration as he dictates the psalms to a scribe (Fig. 50: in margins from upper left to right, David playing the harp; Bathsheba; Angel playing shawm, Jonathan [?]; Angel censuring). Each of the other divisions has an eight- to ten-line column miniature for the opening psalm (ff. 26v, 37, 45v, 53v, 64v, 74 and 85). The iconography is standard except that there is a devil with an iron hook behind David for "Dominus Custodiam" (f. 37), and David is present in the initials for "Dixit Insipiens" (f. 45v) and "Cantate

Domino" (f. 74). The programme in Harley 2897 (ff. 23v, 33v, 42v, 50v, 62, 72v, 84) is identical, with the exception of the missing first folio.

**Temporal:** Six half-page miniatures originally opened the first lessons of the following offices: Add 35311: 120/21--1st Sunday of Advent: lacuna; 333v--Good Friday: Crucifixion; in margin: Flagellation (Fig. 52). Harley 2897: 154/55--Easter Sunday: lacuna; 188v--Ascension (Fig. 54); 198/99--Pentecost: lacuna; 205/06--Trinity: lacuna. Forty-one twelve-line column miniatures operate at a second level in the hierarchy, with decorated band borders placing slightly greater emphasis on eight of the offices: Add 35311: 157v--Nativity (band border); 180v--Thomas of Canterbury: Martyrdom; 190--Sylvester: Baptizing Constantine; 193--Circumcision: St Leo dictating (band border); 199--Epiphany: Adoration of the Magi (band border); 208 Epiphany octave legenda: Annunciation to the Shepherds (11-line; full border); 216--13 January: Baptism of Christ (11-line); 221v--2nd Sunday after Epiphany: St Paul handing the epistles to a messenger; 238v--3rd Sunday: Paul preaching; 279--1st Sunday in Quadragesima: Temptation of Christ; 286--2nd Sunday: Isaac blessing Jacob (13-line); 294--3rd Sunday: Joseph sold by his brothers (13-line); 302--4th Sunday: Moses and the Burning Bush; 310v--Passion Sunday: Bishop preaching; 322v--Palm Sunday: Entry into Jerusalem; 327--Easter Wednesday: Judas receiving the silver (14-line); 329--Maundy Thursday: Jeremiah lamenting (Fig. 51); 337--Holy Saturday: Entombment.

Harley 2897: 156--Monday within octave: Risen Christ on the road to Emmaus; 157v--Tuesday: Bishop preaching; 158v--Wednesday: Miraculous Draught of Fishes (11-line); 159--Thursday: Three Maries at tomb (11-line); 160--Friday: Bishop preaching (Fig. 53); 161--Saturday: Mary Magdalene finding the tomb empty (9-line); 164v--Day of octave: Incredulity of Thomas; 170--*Liber apocalipsis*: John on Patmos; 179v-186v--Post Easter Readings from the Epistles: 179v: James the Greater preaching (band border); 182: Peter preaching (band border); 184: John preaching (band border); 186v: Jude writing (band border); 211v--Corpus Christi: Elevation of the Host (13-line; band border); 220--1 Kings: Hannah kneeling before Levi; 225v--2 Kings: David mourning Saul and Jonathan (11-line); 228--3 Kings: Abishag placed in David's bed (13-line); 229v--4 Kings: Ahaziah ill in bed while Elijah threatens the messenger; 249--Job: Job's city in the land of Uz; 252v--Tobias: Tobias and Sarah greeted by Tobias the Elder (11-line); 254v--Judith: City of Ekbatana under attack; 256v--Hester: 12-line space; 258v--Maccabees: Battle of Darius and Philip (13-line).

In addition, in Add 35311 twelve four- to six-line foliate initials open the first lessons of the remaining Sundays in Advent (ff. 131, 137, 149), the offices of St John the Evangelist (f. 170) and Holy Innocents (f. 175), the day after Epiphany (f. 202), the fourth and fifth Sundays after Epiphany (ff. 238v, 242) and each of Paul's epistles to the Ephesians, Thessalonians and Timothy on ff. 247v, 249, 249v and 251. In Harley 2897 fifteen such initials open the first lessons of the second Sunday after Easter (f. 163), Proverbs (f. 245), Ezechiel (f. 267) and each of the readings from the book of twelve prophets: Daniel (f. 271), Hosea (f. 272v), Joel and Amos (f. 273), Obadiah and Jonah (f. 273v), and Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai and Zachariah (ff. 274v/275; Fig. 55). In Add 35311 the first and second vespers antiphons for Nativity have a three and two-line initial respectively (ff. 157v, 164v) and Maundy Thursday has a two-line first vespers antiphon (f. 328v). The first vespers antiphons of the Friday within the Easter octave, Trinity Sunday and Corpus Christi have two-line initials in Harley 2897 (ff. 333, 204v, 210v).

**sanctoral:** One large miniature (missing) for All Saints, fifty twelve-line column miniatures and twenty-two six-line historiated initials for first lessons form a three-level hierarchy of emphasis. The offices of the Conception and of Francis on 4 October also have two-line foliate initials for the first vespers antiphon. Forty three- to five-line foliate initials provide routine emphasis to the first lessons of a large proportion, but not all, of the remaining offices. Major offices dedicated to two saints have separate miniatures for each, opening the first and fourth lessons. The office of the Exaltation of the Cross has three-line foliate initials for the first and fourth lessons, while the miniature opens the seventh.

First level: Harley 2897: 427/28--All Saints: lacuna. Second level: Add 35311: 342--Andrew; 345--Nicholas: Miracle of the three children; 348v--Conception: Helsinus saved from drowning by the Virgin (band border); 352--Lucy: Martyrdom; 354--Thomas apostle: Casting down idols; 357v--Anthony; 360--Fabian & Sebastian (1st lesson): Martyrdom of Fabian; 360v (4th lesson): Martyrdom of Sebastian; 362--Agnes: Apparition at the tomb; 364v--Vincent: His body untouched by wild animals; 367v--Conversion of Paul; 371--Purification (band border); 374v--Agatha: Martyrdom; 377v--Chair of Peter; 379--Mathias; 384--Annunciation: (13-line; band border). Harley 2897: 282--George: And the dragon; 282v--Mark: Martyrdom; 285--Philip & James (1st lesson): Philip; 285v (4th lesson): James the Less; 288v--Invention of the Cross (6th lesson): Angels with cross and other symbols of the Passion (11-line); 290--John before the Latin Gate: 13-line; 315--Birth of John the Baptist; 323--Peter & Paul: Peter & John healing cripple; 326--Octave legenda: Peter with key addressing Christ; 336--Mary Magdalene; 338v--James the Greater; 339v--Christopher: Carrying Christ Child (13-line); 340v--Anne: Teaching the Virgin to write; 349--Chains of Peter: Angel waking Peter in prison; 358--Lawrence: Martyrdom; 366v--Assumption: Death of the Virgin (13-line); 379--Bartholomew: Martyrdom; 380--Augustine; 381v--John the Baptist: Martyrdom; 385--Birth of the Virgin (band border); 390v--Exaltation of the Cross (7th lesson): Heraclius carrying cross; 394v--Matthew: Martyrdom (10-line); 396--Maurice: Carrying his head; 401--Michael: Fighting devil; 404v--Jerome; 407v--Francis: Receiving the stigmata (11-line); 42--Dionysius: Martyrdom; 422v Luke--Writing (13-line); 426--Simon & Jude (1st lesson): Simon (11-line); 426v (4th lesson): Jude (10-line); 435--Martin: And the beggar; 440v--Cecilia: Angel giving wreaths to Cecilia & Valerian (13-line); 444v--Clement: Martyrdom; 447v--Katherine.



Third level: Add 35311: 341--Sanuminus & Sisimius: Martyrdom; 346--Ambrose; 351--Miltiades; 351v--Damasus; 355v--Felix: Casting down idols; 381v--Gregory; 382--Benedict: 5-line; 388--Anicetus: Martyrdom (5-line). Harley 2897: 283v--Cletus: Martyrdom (5-line); 284--Vitalis: Martyrdom (4-line); 302--Barnabas: 4-line; 303v--Anthony Abbot; 321v--Leo: 5-line; 328v--Processus & Martinian: Martyrdom (5-line); 333--Seven Brothers: Martyrdom of three of the brothers (5-line); 338--Christina: Martyrdom (4-line); 347v--Abdon & Sennen: In prison (4-line); 350v--Stephen pope: Martyrdom (4-line); 351v--Invention of Stephen martyr; 353v--Dominic: 5-line; 399v--Cosmas & Damian: 4-line; 406--Remigius (5-line); 449--Dedication of a Church.

Fourth level: Add 35311: Marcellus (6-line), Marius & comp. (4-line), Emerentiana (5-line), Blaise (6-line), Forty martyrs (5-line). Harley 2897: Invention of the Cross, Gordian & Epimachus, Nereus & Achilles, Potenciana (4-line), Translation of Francis (5-line), Urban, Eleutherius, John, Felix, Petronella, Marcellinus & Peter, Primus & Felician, Nazarius & Celsus, Modestus & Crescentia, Mark & Marcellian, Gervaise & Prothasius, Silverius, John & Paul (5-line), Sixtus & comp. (5-line), Donatus (5-line), Cyriacus & comp. (5-line), Hippolytus & comp. (4-line), Felix & Adauctus (4-line), Prothus & Hyacinth (4-line), Exaltation of the Cross (lessons 1 & 4: 3-line), Linus (4-line), Cyprian & Justinian (4-line), Calixtus (5-line), Chrysanthius & Darius (4-line), Vitalis & Agricola (4-line), Four Crowned Martyrs (4-line), octave of Martin (5-line), Pontianus (4-line), Grisogonus (4-line).

Communal: Add 35311: The first chapter of each office has a two-line initial extending into a bar border. Harley 2897: The office of one or more apostles has a three-line initial and bar border. None of the other offices are emphasized. Other: Add 35311: The Office of the Virgin has a surviving cycle of seven four-line historiated initials. 413/14--Office of Virgin (matins): lacuna; 419--lauds: Visitation; 422v--prime: Nativity; 424--terce: Annunciation to the Shepherds; 425--sext: Adoration of the Magi; 426v--none: Presentation; 427v--vespers: Flight into Egypt; 430--compline: Coronation. The opening folio of the Office of the Dead is also missing, but the first lesson has a twelve-line column miniature of Job on the dung heap exhorted by his wife and friends (f. 435).

**Commentary:** This exceptionally beautiful two-volume breviary for Roman use was written to be bound in a single volume. The majority of the folios were illuminated in the workshop of the Master of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, with the collaboration of the Egerton Master and an artist working in the circle of the Humilities Master. The calendar, psalter and communal of Harley 2897, however, were written in a different scribal workshop when the temporal and sanctoral were divided, and the task of duplicating the decoration was given to the Master of Guillebert de Metz. The manuscript must have been commissioned before the death of Jean sans Peur in 1419, and may be the breviary for which the Duke gave his wife 300 francs on 22 May 1412. The French rubrics suggest the patronage of the Duchess rather than the Duke. The two feasts commemorating the brothers and benefactors of the Franciscan order on 19 July and 28 September are both included in the calendar, and St Clare appears in the litany, indicating a Franciscan connection which is confirmed in some of the rubrics. The decorative programme is an exceptionally full one, and demonstrates the influence of the Limbourg brothers, with whom the Breviary Master worked.

**Bibliography:** George Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1987), p. 36; Meiss, *Limbourgs*, pp. 325-28, figs 610-11, 618-22, 648 and 893; Meiss, *Master of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur*.

## B.5. London, British Library, Harley ms 2927.

*Winter Paris breviary.* Second decade of the fifteenth century.

165 x 118. A-F modern paper + 518 + G-H modern paper. Paginated 1-518 from E. Catchwords agree: 1<sup>6</sup>, 2-6<sup>8</sup>, 7<sup>8-1</sup>, 8-16<sup>8</sup>, 17<sup>4</sup>, 18-39<sup>8</sup>, 40<sup>6</sup>, 41-60<sup>8</sup>, 61<sup>7</sup>, 62-66<sup>8</sup>. Lacuna at ff. 49/50. Ruled in leadpoint for two columns of 27 lines: 17.[31].10.[30].30 x 14.[116].41. Ruling unit: 4.3. The calendar is ruled for five columns of 33 lines, double ruled in the fifth: 22.[6.3.5.4.49].29 x 15.[104].44. Ruling unit: 3.1. Modern red leather binding with embossed patterns on sides and spine. On spine: "Breviarium Parisiense. Mus. Brit. Bibl. Harl. 2927". F. 1: "Ex bibliotheca Nicolai Joseph Foucault comitis consistoriant".

**Contents:** (a) ff. 3-8 [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 9-111v [gatherings 2-14]: psalter. (c) ff. 112-31v [gatherings 15-17]: ordo. (d) ff. 132-520v [gatherings 18-66] ff. 132-341v: temporal; ff. 341v-472v: sanctoral; ff. 472v-75v: office of the Conception; ff. 476-507v: communal; ff. 507v-13v: office of Dead and commendations; ff. 514-15: benedictions; ff. 515v-18v: offices of St Germanus and SS Cantius, Cantian, etc. The last two folios are ruled but blank and unpaginated.

**Decoration:** One- and two-line initials are flourished, in blue and red or gold and black. Line-endings are dark red and blue or blue and gold, with a flower design for short endings. The calendar is decorated with simple two-line flourished KL initials extending over the first four columns. Additional emphases are provided by nine three- to four-line pink or blue foliate initials on gold grounds linked to a vertical gilded bar or decorated band, forming part of a "u"-shaped frame with the decorated bands in the outer and lower margins. The bands exhibit a rich variety of geometric and three-dimensional designs. The corners and ends of the frame terminate in acanthus leaf clusters filling part of a rectangular frame of pen-line rinceaux. Similar borders also accompany ten four- to seven-line historiated initials (an eleventh has been cut out), and two nine-line arched-frame column miniatures. The borders for the latter are composed additionally of gilded spiked fruit and coloured fruit and flowers. The short stocky figures are executed in chalky impasto colours with nervous re-working of outlines in sepia. The numerous gold-scroll grounds comprise delicate fern-like tendrils.

**Psalter:** 9--Opening invitory: In top, David as shepherd, threatened by bear; in bottom, David about to hit the bear with a club (column miniature divided into two registers); "Beatus Vir": 3-line; 23--"Dominus Illuminatio": David and Goliath (7-line); 32v--"Dixi Custodiam": David with head of Goliath (7-line); 41--"Dixit Insiapiens": Saul threatening David with spear (6-line); 49v/50--"Salvum Me Fac": lacuna; 60v--"Exultate Deo": King ordering three clerics killed (6-line); 70v--"Cantate Domino": King lying in tent talking to man outside (6-line); 82--"Dixit Dominus": David being anointed and crowned (6-line). **Temporal:** The first Sunday of Advent opens with a column miniature for the chapter (f. 132: Annunciation) and the first lesson of the Nativity has a four-line historiated initial (f. 161: Virgin adoring Christ Child). Five three-line foliate initials are also used to open the first lessons of the following offices or sets of lessons: 132v--1st Sunday in Advent; 178v--Epiphany; 307--*Liber Apocalipsis*; 319v--Ascension (chapter); 330--Pentecost (chapter). Other days of importance are emphasized only through the use of two-line flourished initials for proper first vespers antiphons (Nativity, Easter Sunday), first nocturn antiphons (Sunday within Nativity octave, Septuagesima Sunday, the *Triduum*, Easter Sunday) or matins responsories (the Sundays in Advent). **Sanctoral and Communal:** All leading proper first vespers and first nocturn antiphons and first lesson responsories have two-line flourished initials. Two historiated and three foliate initials for the first lessons of three offices and the first vespers chapters of two more provide a very limited two-level hierarchy of emphasis: First level: 341v--Andrew: Votive image (5-line); 355v--Conception: Meeting at the Golden Gate (4-line). Second level: 416v--Purification: 3-line; 440v--Annunciation (chapter): 3-line; 476--One or more apostles (chapter): 3-line. **Other:** 507v--Office of Dead (antiphon): Vigil Service (4-line); 514: Benedictions: 3-line.

**Commentary:** This small-format manuscript stands out by virtue of its clever borders in the manner of the *Belles Heures*, and its unusual psalter cycle. The litany is a full one, with St Alexius amongst the confessors and St Martha amongst the virgins. SS Martha and Gerald are included in the calendar, as well as the feast celebrating the victory of Philippe le Bel on 17 August. The presence of St Valeria against 2 December, and rubrics against 14 and 17 December for SS Nichasius and Lazarus group the manuscript with the Orgemont Breviary and the early fifteenth century additions in Mazarine 342. In style it is dated to the second decade of the fifteenth century. **Bibliography:** London, British Library, *Harleian Manuscripts*,

Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms 136: see Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms 1024

## B.6. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 134.

*Summa Paris breviary.* Mid fourteenth century.

178 x 120 mm. A modern paper + B parchment + 384 + D modern paper. Catchwords agree: 1<sup>6</sup>, 2-7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>4</sup>, 9-11<sup>12</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup>, 13<sup>12</sup>, 14<sup>14</sup>, 15-18<sup>12</sup>, 19<sup>10</sup>, 20-33<sup>12+1</sup>. Ruled in leadpoint for two columns of 32 lines: 14.[35].11.[35].25 x 16.[127].34. Ruling unit: 4. The calendar is ruled for five columns of 35 lines: 17.[9.4.8.5.65].9 x 10.[140].28. Ruling unit: 4. Bound in pale brown calf by the Marquis de Paulmy. On spine: "Breviarium Parisiense".

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-6v [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 7-82v [gatherings 2-8]: psalter. (c) ff. 83-132v [gatherings 9-12] ff. 83-131: summer temporal; ff. 132/v: ruled but blank. (d) ff. 133-360v [gatherings 13-31] summer sanctoral. (e) ff. 361-384 [gatherings 32-33]: ff. 361-382: communal; ff. 382-3: "O Intemerata"; ff. 383v-384v: blank.

**Decoration:** The one- and two-line initials are flourished in blue and red or red and black ink, with the stems of the lower case two-line initials occupying a further two lines to the left of the text column. There is considerable play with the stems and tails of letters in the upper and lower margins, particularly in relation to the lines ruled for the columns, and sometimes involving sketched-in faces and heads (for example, on ff. 135v, 184 and 212v). The twenty-eight three- to five-line initials are also flourished, in "four" colours, with stems up to nine lines in length outside the text column. Columns having larger initials are bordered in the left margin by a blue ink line paralleled by a line of alternately blue and red slanted "I"'s set head to tail:

**Psalter:** Five-line initials for each division, on ff. 7, 17, 26, 32v, 38v, 46v, 54 and 62. On f. 7 the border extends across the top margin; **Summer temporal:** The office of Corpus Christi is in the sanctoral (see below). Three-line initials, unless otherwise stated, are used to open the following offices or sets of lessons: 83--Trinity Sunday (antiphon): 5-line; 86v--Kings: 5-line; 96v--Proverbs: 4-line; 97--Ecclesiastes; 98--Wisdom; 98v--Ecclesiasticus; 100--Job: 4-line; 102v--Tobias: 4-line; 103v--Judith; 106v--Hester: 4-line "I"; 108--Maccabees: 4-line; 111--Ezechiel: 4-line. Selected musical propers (first vespers antiphons and matins first responsories) and those heading stock lists are given two-line initials. The Old Testament lessons are not distinguished by decorative initials at all, except during the Maccabees season, when the first lessons of each feria have two-line initials. **Summer sanctoral:** 133--Germanus (chapter): 5-line; 145--Corpus Christi (antiphon): 5-line; 167v--Octave legenda for the Birth of John the Baptist: 3-line; 220--Assumption (antiphon): 4-line; 226--Octave legenda for the Assumption: 4-line; 298--Octave legenda for Dionysius: 3-line; 337--Octave legenda for Martin: 3-line. The rubrics for the offices of St Germanus and Corpus Christi each open with a four-line "I". Selected musical propers are also given two-line initials. **Other:** The communal has no emphases, but the prayer on f. 382 has a three-line initial with no border.

**Commentary:** Ornamented entirely in red, blue and black penwork and yellow wash, this manuscript dates to the middle or second half of the fourteenth century. The lower-case initials and twelve-leaf gatherings suggest an earlier rather than a later date, as does the absence of St Ivo from the calendar, and the unusual placement of the office of Corpus Christi. To the calendar has been added at later dates St Apollinara (9 Feb), "Hac die, S. Loyseau, receptus fui novicius. 1607" (26 Apr), St Desiderius (23 May), and "Anno 1712, hac die, benedictio novae domus" (30 May). SS Augustine, Marina and Gertrude have been added to the litany. This, and the rubric "Terminatur festum ad IX de sancto augustino episcopo et confessori" on f. 246, may indicate a connection with Augustinian canons. **Bibliography:** Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, II, 320-21.

## B.7. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 277.

*Full Breviary of St Victor of Paris.* Early fifteenth century.

152 x 105. A-D modern paper + 354 + E-F modern paper. Severely trimmed and tightly bound. Catchwords agree: 1-27<sup>8</sup>, 28<sup>6</sup>, 29-44<sup>8</sup>, 45<sup>4</sup>. Ruled for two columns of 30 lines: 7.[34].7.[34].23 x 20.[102].30. Ruling unit: 3.4. There is no calendar. Sheepskin binding with three gold-footed crosses on back and front. On spine: "Breviarium ordinis sanctissime Trinitatis manuscriptum". On the verso of f. A: Ex bibliotheca canonicorum regularium Sancti Maturini Parisiensis ordinis sanctissimae Trinitatis Redemptionis captivorum. 1755".

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-56v [gatherings 1-7]: psalter. (b) ff. 57-64v [gathering 8]: In another hand, ff. 57-61: Office of Corpus Christi; ff. 61v-63: commendations; In a third hand, ff. 63-64v: Office of the Virgin for Sunday. (c) ff. 65-230v [gatherings 9-29]: temporal. (d) ff. 231-354 [gatherings 30-45]: sanctoral, ending imperfectly after the octave of St Martin.

**Decoration:** One- and two-line initials are blue or red, without flourishes, and there are no line-endings, even in the litany. Forty-six "Four-colour" three-line initials, executed in blue and red ink and flourished with red and purple, are also used, in combination with nineteen three- to four-line foliate initials with single- or double-line marginal tendrils. On the most important folios these extend into a vertical gilded bar border branching by means of a gilded calyx into pen-line ivy rinceaux interspersed with gilded spiked fruit and coloured flowers. Junctions are marked by a characteristic short vertical spike. On the opening folio the gilded bar is replaced by a decorated band.

**Psalter:** Each of the divisions has a four-line foliate initial (ff. 1, 10, 15, 20, 25v, 31v, 37v and 43). The psalm "Deus Meus Meus" on f. 8 and the hymn "Beati Immaculati" opening prime on f. 45 have three-line flourished initials. **Temporal:** Three offices have three-line foliate initials: 65--1st Sunday in Advent (chapter); 154v--Easter Sunday (prayer); 186v--Trinity Sunday (lesson). A further fourteen have three-line flourished initials for their first lesson: 65v--1st Sunday in Advent; 83v--Nativity (antiphon); 4-line; 111v--Septuagesima Sunday; 139v--Passion Sunday; 144--Palm Sunday; 154v--Easter Sunday (unflourished); 173v--Ascension (chapter and 1st lesson); 181--Pentecost (chapter); 189--Kings; 194v--Proverbs; 199--Job; 204v--Tobias; 211v--Ezechiel; 226--Dedication of a Church (chapter). In addition, Nativity has a two-line lauds antiphon as does the first Sunday after the Epiphany octave, Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday and Good Friday. Trinity Sunday and Dedication of a Church have two-line first vespers antiphons. **Sanctoral:** The first lesson, chapter or prayer of eight offices have foliate initials, and those of thirty other offices have flourished initials. First level: 231--Vigil of Andrew: 5-line; 253--memorial to Virgin in the octave of Stephen martyr (prayer); 265--Purification (chapter); 273v--Annunciation (prayer); 314v--Assumption (prayer): 4-line; 328v--Birth of the Virgin (prayer): 4-line; 332v--octave of Birth of the Virgin; 348v--All Saints (prayer). Second level: Andrew, Nicholas, John the Evangelist (prayer), Holy Innocents (prayer), Thomas martyr (prayer), Sylvester, Agnes (prayer), Agatha (prayer), Gregory, Benedict, Tiburtius & comp., vigil of Birth of John the Baptist, Commemoration of Paul, Mary Magdalene, Chains of Peter, octave legenda for Lawrence, octave legenda for Assumption, Augustine, John the Baptist, Exaltation of the Cross, Maurice, Cosmas & Damian, Michael (prayer), Jerome, Francis, Dionysius, 11,000 Virgins (4-line), Quentin, Simon & Jude, All Saints.

**Commentary:** The discoloured parchment, much-rubbed decoration and heavily trimmed folios make it difficult to evaluate the original appearance of this manuscript. The decoration suggests a date in the first decade of the fifteenth century. The litany and lessons are very short. The connection with St Victor of Paris is apparent in the selection of offices for the sanctoral, which corresponds with those in BN lat 14279, and in the position of St Victor in the litany at the head of the martyrs. Later, the manuscript was used by the Trinitarians (or Mathurins) of Paris. **Bibliography:** Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, II, 329-30.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 582: see Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 345.

## B.8. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 660

*Winter Paris breviary*. Second decade of the fifteenth century. (Figs 59-63).

277 x 197 mm. A modern paper + B-C parchment + 536 + D modern paper. Catchwords agree, but there are lacunae at ff. 145/46, 284/85, 290/91, 321/22, 329/30, 337/38, 508/09 and 516/17: 1<sup>6</sup>, 2-18<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>6-1</sup>, 20-36<sup>8</sup>, 37-38<sup>8-1</sup>, 39-41<sup>8</sup>, 42-43<sup>8-1</sup>, 44<sup>10-1</sup>, 45-64<sup>8</sup>, 65<sup>6-1</sup>, 66<sup>8-1</sup>, 67-68<sup>8</sup>, 69<sup>4</sup>, 70<sup>2</sup>. Ruled in red ink for two columns of 29 lines: 29.[51].45.[51].52 x 32.[167].78. Ruling unit: 5.8. The calendar is written in blue, red and black ink, and ruled for five columns, the fifth double-ruled, of 33 lines: 31.[8.5.8.(6.1).93].45 x 30.[169].78. Ruling unit: 5.1. Brown calf binding over wooden boards. On spine: "Breviarium Parisiense manuscriptum". On end paper: modern notes concerning the date and provenance of the manuscript.

**Ownership:** Incorporated into the infill of a proportion of the three- and four-line initials throughout the manuscript are the arms of a younger member of the Orgemont family (see below). Inside the binding an engraving of the device of the Seguing family (two swans, one carrying a snake, the other on a nest, with the motto "Pietas homini tutissima virtus") has been glued. The manuscript was owned by the Marquis de Paulmy before entering the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-6v [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 7-102v [gatherings 2-13]: ff. 7-23v: ordo; ff. 24-102v: psalter. (c) ff. 103-536v [gatherings 14-70]: ff. 103- 337v: winter temporal; ff. 338-508: winter sanctoral; ff. 508v-531: communal; ff. 531v-533: benedictions; ff. 533-535v: memorials; f. 536 (in another hand): "Dorgemont"; (in a third hand, at the bottom of the folio): "XLIII petites; VII grandes".

**Decoration:** One-line initials are flourished throughout in blue and red or gold and black. Line-endings are blue and gold. The two- to four-line foliate initials have delicate penline ivy leaf and spiked fruit tendrils punctuated by one or two four-petalled pink or blue flowers in the margin. The two-line KL initials in the calendar, which are set over the first four columns, have the same form. Many of the three- or four-line initials have heraldic infill, comprising a blue shield with three ears of barley pendant from a silver horizontal line. In a variant the device of the pendant ears of barley appears on a blue ground with a tiny silver shield, divided horizontally by a black bar, between the first two ears. On f. 219 the three ears of barley are shown against a blue ground in a circle of pink ivy leaves. There are currently forty eight- to twelve-line column miniatures in the manuscript and spaces for two more. In addition, another column miniature and seven half-page miniatures have been removed since the note was made on f. 536. All folios with column miniatures have gilded bar borders with left bracket marginal penline rinceaux terminating in ears of barley.

The miniatures are executed in a very competent and distinctive style, with intense reds, blues and greens dominating the palate. The figures are willowy with small oval heads, high smooth foreheads, and hair combed back from a hair-line defined in sepia. Their complexions are porcelain-like, with a distinctive highlight from the bone under the eyes to the hair-line. The eyebrows are finely curved, the nose straight and long, and the expressions noble. The figures appear to float in their simple settings. The shallow landscapes have smooth, sloping ochre rocks and grassy meadows in a clear green wash, dotted with yellow blades of grass graduating to more closely spaced dark green flecks with distance. The background is painted in blue with gold stars, or given a diaper pattern. Interiors comprise simple deep spaces behind an arch, with receding tiles or a grassy floor, and openings to left and right. Walls are left in the state of preliminary wash, while drapery, hands and feet are softly stippled and hatched:

**Psalter:** Each division has a column miniature (ff. 24, 35, 42, 48, 54v, 62v, 70 and 78v). The

iconography of the cycle is standard except for the "Beatus Vir" miniature on f. 24, which shows the Saved and the Damned. **Winter temporal:** Five half-page miniatures once accorded the following texts the highest level in the hierarchy of emphasis: 145/46--Nativity; 284/85--St John's account of the Passion (inserted between the offices for Good Friday and Holy Saturday); 290/91--Easter Sunday; 321/22--Ascension; 329/30--Pentecost. The five other figurative items in the temporal, all column miniatures, open the first lessons of the following offices: 103--1st Sunday in Advent (chapter): Annunciation (Fig. 59); 141v--24 December: Nativity (Fig. 60); 169v--Circumcision: Virgin adoring the naked Christ child while Joseph warms the swaddling clothes; 175--Epiphany: Adoration of the Magi; 273--Palm Sunday: Entry into Jerusalem. Three-line foliate or heraldic initials are used for the first Sunday in Advent (first vespers hymn), the antiphon heading the stock list of 'O' antiphons, the reading from the *Liber generationis* of Matthew for the Nativity, the introits for each of the Christmas masses, the first lesson for the Nativity (4-line), the Nativity and Epiphany hymns, the *Legenda psalmodia* and the *Liber apocalipsis* (4-line). The first lessons of Septuagesima Sunday and Monday, Sexagesima Sunday and Monday, each of the readings from the first seven historical books (Genesis to Judges) unusually used "pro tertia lectione a septuagesima usque ad quinquagesimam," Quinquagesima Sunday and Monday, and Ash Wednesday have three-line initials. The emphases accumulate during Lent with the first vespers and compline hymns of Quadragesima Sunday receiving three-line initials, as well as the first lessons of the first four Sundays in Quadragesima. Passion Sunday is emphasized through the first vespers chapter and hymn, matins hymn and first lesson, as are the first lessons of Wednesday to Saturday in Holy Week. Easter Sunday has three-line initials for the first vespers antiphon and second prayer). After Easter, only the Friday after Ascension is given a three-line initial for its first lesson. Other variations in the basic hierarchy of decoration include one or two-line initials for opening rubrics, or important invitatories and antiphons, or musical propers in stock lists. The more important a feast, or the closer to Easter, the more variations are found within the single office.

**Winter sanctoral:** One half-page miniature and twenty-eight ten-line (unless otherwise stated) column miniatures, usually for the first lesson, once formed a two-level hierarchy of emphasis. Five memorials are also distinguished by four-line foliate initials for their prayers: Damasus (11 Dec), Hilarius & Remigius (13 Jan), Leo (11 Apr), and Alexander & companions (3 May). All full offices have three- or four-line foliate initials for the first lesson, and one or more of a range of other hierarchical variations; viz, a one-line initial for the invitatory, the first nocturn first antiphon or the first responsory of matins, a one to three-line initial for the first vespers first antiphon, or a two-line initial for the opening rubric. Miniatures: 337/8--Andrew: lacuna (half-page miniature); 343v--Relics (Fig. 61): Bishop and priests censing relics on altar (8-line); 348--Nicholas: Blessing three boys in tub; 353--Conception: Meeting at the Golden Gate (9-line); 367v--Thomas apostle; 371--Stephen martyr: Martyrdom (11-line); 376v--John the Evangelist: Martyrdom (12-line); 382v--Holy Innocents: Massacre; 387v--Thomas martyr: Martyrdom (11-line); 395--Geneviève: Episode of the candle; 425v--Vincent: 11-line; 430v--Conversion of Paul: 11-line; 435v--Julian: Making a spring flow; 442v--Purification (invitatory: Fig. 62): 13-line; 447v--Blaise: Martyrdom (9-line); 450--Agatha: Martyrdom (Fig. 63); 456v--Chair of Peter (invitatory); 459v--Matthias: Greeted by the apostles; 464--Gregory; 469--Annunciation (invitatory): 12-line; 475v--Ambrose; 480--George: 12-line space; 481v--Mark: Christ blessing Mark (11-line); 490v--Philip & James: 12-line; 492v--Invention of the Cross; 496v--John before the Latin Gate: 12-line space; 497v--Translation of Nicholas: Discovery of the tomb; 500v--Translation of Louis IX; 503v--Ivo: 9-line. **Communal:** 508/09--One or more apostles: lacuna (half-page miniature); 512--One martyr (chapter): Saint with book and spade (11-line); 516/17--Several martyrs: lacuna; 520v--Confessor bishop: Bishop (11-line); 527v--Virgins: Agatha.

**Commentary:** This truly fine manuscript, written in the same scribal workshop as the Chateauroux Breviary, and virtually unused, was designed to be a comprehensive devotional tool for its user. The rubrics in the calendar and text are detailed, and two Christmas masses, St John's Passion, and readings from Ruth to Judges for the period from Septuagesima to Quinquagesima, have been added to the basic breviary text. The patron was probably Guillaume d'Orgemont, *trésorier des guerres*, and younger brother of Pierre d'Orgemont, Bishop of Paris (1384-1409). Guillaume died in 1422. The style of the manuscript dates it to the second decade of the fifteenth century, possibly around 1415. The litany, which is surprisingly short, includes SS Evortius and Mellonus amongst the confessors, and SS Valeria and Gemma among the virgins. St Valeria is also in the calendar against 2 December, as is SS Martha (29 Jul) and Gerald (13 Oct), and the feast celebrating the victory of Philippe le Bel on 17 August. There are also notes against 14 and 17 December for SS Nicholas and Lazarus as in BL Harley 2927 and Mazarine 342 (Lazarus only).

**Bibliography:** Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, II, 350-53 and pls XLIX-LIII; H. Martin and P. Lauer, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal* (Paris, 1929), pp. 36-38 and pl. XLVIII, I.

## B.9. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 341.

*Winter Paris breviary*. 1391.

251 x 177. A modern paper + B parchment + 312. Ruled in two columns for 32 lines: 17.[47].12.[48].43 x 31.[158].62. Ruling unit: 4.9. The calendar is ruled for five columns, double-ruled in the fifth, of 34 lines: 26.[8.5.8.(5.1).89].35 x 30.[160].61. Ruling unit: 4.7. Tan calf binding. On spine, on red insert: "Breviarium Parisiense - Pars hyemalis". The manuscript was at Notre-Dame before entering the Bibliothèque Mazarine.

**Contents:** ff. 1-8v: ordo; ff. 9-147v: winter temporal, ending after the office of Corpus Christi; ff. 148-53: calendar; ff. 154-221: psalter; ff. 221v-24v: ruled but blank; ff. 225-85v: winter sanctoral; ff. 286/v: ruled but blank; ff. 287-308: communal; f. 308v: "Anno domini millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo primo, vicesima die mensis decembris completum fuit istud breviarium secundum usum parisiensem"; in another hand: "L'an mil cinq cens quatre vingt et saize, le bled valloit au moys de febvrier, le meilleur XX livres, et le vin douze escus. En ce mesme temps, le roy Henry de Bourbon avoit son siège devant la Faire en Picardie"; f. 309: "Germanus Gandron"; ff. 309v-312: blank.

**Decoration:** One- and two-line initials are flourished, in blue and red or red and black. The initial "I" occurs in a sloping version paralleling the text for a number of additional lines. Three-line "four-colour" flourished initials and ten five- or six-line foliate initials provide additional emphases. The foliate initials extend into vertical spiked bar borders terminating in double-line ivy-leaf branches and occasional dragon motifs. The three-line foliate KL initials in the calendar, set over the first three columns, also extend into bar borders.

**Ordo:** 1--"In anno quo": 7-line sloping "I". **Winter temporal:** A six-line initial opens the first chapter of Advent (f. 9), and a further twenty-one three-line initials are used to open the first lessons of the remaining Sundays in Advent, the Sunday within the octave of Nativity (Nativity is not emphasized), Circumcision, Epiphany, the four Sundays after the Epiphany octave, each of the Sundays from Septuagesima to the fourth Sunday in Quadragesima, Palm Sunday, Easter Sunday, Ascension and Trinity Sunday (the temporal ends after the office of Corpus Christi). **Psalter:** Each division has a six-line initial (ff. 154v, 163, 168v, 174, 174v, 186, 192v and 199). **Winter sanctoral:** 225--Andrew (first lesson): 5-line initial. **Communal:** 287--One or more apostles (hymn): 6-line initial.

**Commentary:** Dated 1391 by the rubric on f.308v, in spite of the sparseness of its decoration this is a handsome breviary, with an upright script, wide margins, good quality white parchment and well-executed initials. The litany is non-standard in order, somewhat smaller in size than the model, and includes SS Valerian, Maximian, Tiburtius and Ferreolus amongst the martyrs, SS Anthony, Leonard and Fiacre amongst the confessors, and St Marina amongst the virgins. The calendar includes SS Rade Gundus (memorial, 30 Jan), Astroberta (duplum, 16 Feb), and Edmund of Canterbury (memorial, 16 Nov). The feasts of SS Thomas Aquinas and Ivo have had to be added, and there is no rubric for Louis IX in May. **Bibliography:** Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, II, 359-61.

## B.10. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 342.

*Full Paris Breviary*. Soon after 1323, with early fifteenth century additions.

174 x 117. A-D modern paper + 622 + E-G modern paper. Modern pagination 1-620 with two numbers used twice in gathering 48. Catchwords agree, but there are lacunae at ff. 73/74, 121/22, 246/47, 253/54, 332/33, 409/10, 531/32 and 624/25: 1<sup>12</sup>, 2-8<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>8-1</sup>, 10<sup>10+1</sup>, 11-12<sup>12</sup>, 13<sup>12-1</sup>, 14-23<sup>12</sup>, 24-25<sup>12-1</sup>, 26-30<sup>12</sup>, 31<sup>12-1</sup>, 32-37<sup>12</sup>, 38<sup>12-1</sup>, 38-42<sup>12</sup>, 43<sup>10</sup>, 44-47<sup>12</sup>, 48<sup>12-1</sup>, 49<sup>12</sup>, 50<sup>4</sup>, 51<sup>12</sup>, 52<sup>4</sup>, 53-55<sup>8</sup>, 56<sup>9</sup>, 57-58<sup>8</sup>, 59<sup>8-1</sup>.

Ruled in leadpoint for two columns of 33 lines: 13.[39].9.[36].20 x 14.[133].26. Ruling unit: 4. The calendar is ruled for five columns, double-ruled in fifth, of 28 lines: 18.[8.5.7.(5.1).56].19 x 14.[133].26. Ruling unit: 4.7. Modern pigskin half-binding. On spine: "Breviarum. - Saec. XV. - Bibliothèque Mazarine". On f. 626v: the added names "François Rivière, Pierre le Moyne, Jaques le Moyne, Marie le Moyne, Père Jehan le Moyne et mère de maistre Obry. Requiescant in pace. Amen." The manuscript was formerly in the possession of the College of Cardinal Lemoine.

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-12v [gathering 1]: calender. (b) ff. 13-75v [gatherings 2-9] psalter. (c) ff. 76-86v [gathering 10 (in a different hand, which continues to f. 550v)]: ordo. (d) ff. 87-564v [gatherings 11-52]: ff. 87-310: temporal; ff. 310-550v: sanctoral, beginning with St Germanus of Paris but containing the full set of offices; ff. 551-62v (in a different hand): offices of Corpus Christi, St Louis IX and St Fiacre; ff. 562v-64v (in a different hand) "Tabula de memoria". (e) ff. 565-97v [gatherings 53-56]: legenda for SS Nichasius, Rigobertus, Thomas Aquinas, Translation of St Louis, Peter Celestine, Translation of Thomas of Canterbury, Martha, Justin and Elizabeth. (f) ff. 598-613v [gatherings 57-58]: communal. (g) ff. 614-620v [gathering 59]: ff. 614-18v: SS Ivo, Martial and Anna; ff. 619-620v: Little office of Virgin, opening imperfectly.

**Decoration:** The one- to three-line initials and line endings are dentelle (the letter in gold against a pink or blue ground patterned in white filigree), except for the ordo and the office of Corpus Christi, where the one-line initials are flourished in red and blue or gold and purple. The calendar initials are three-line and extend over the first four columns. Line-endings are dentelle in the psalter and communal, but penwork elsewhere. There are also eleven three- to seven-line foliate initials, four six- to eight-line historiated initials, and eight lacunae. The decorative borders for the folios containing large initials vary in style. In the psalter and communal bar borders in the vertical margin terminate in calixes or acanthus leaves, trumpet flowers and penline ivy rinceaux sparsely inhabited by stereotyped fruit and flowers. The eight-line initial opening the psalter has a double "u"-shaped bar frame extending into double-line soft-edged ivy branches with three-petalled flowers & gilded spiked fruit (f.13). The two surviving folios with historiated initials in the temporal (ff.108, 211) have a single and double "u"-shaped frame respectively with double-line ivy branch extensions. The frame on f.108 has clumsy decorated bands along the bottom and right hand margins, while the one on f.211 consists of decorated bands terminated by grotesques in long cylindrical hats. The single remaining folio with a historiated initial in the sanctoral, and the three folios with foliate initials in the temporal, have single bar borders with double-line ivy branches forming arcs in the upper and/or lower margin.

**Psalter:** "Beatus Vir" has an eight-line historiated initial of David in prayer (f. 13). The other divisions are each emphasized by a five-line foliate initial and border on ff. 22v, 28 (3-line), 33v, 38v, 45, 51v (3-line) and 58v. **Temporal:** Originally, five historiated initials illustrated the following offices: 108--Nativity (chapter); 121/22--Epiphany: lacuna; 211--Easter Sunday (invitatory): Resurrection; 246/47--Pentecost: lacuna; 253/54--Trinity Sunday: lacuna. In addition, the first lesson of the first Sunday in Advent has a three-line foliate initial, the Nativity "Magnificat" antiphon "Hodie christus natus est," and the *Liber apocalipsis* have seven-line foliate initials and the Book of Kings has a six-line foliate initial. Further emphases are also provided by two-line initials for the lauds antiphons of the following offices: Circumcision, fourth Sunday in Quadragesima, Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday, the *Triduum* and Ascension. Maundy Thursday and Good Friday also have two-line first vespers and first nocturn antiphons which, together with the second vespers antiphon, are also emphasized in the illustrated offices. The Dedication of a Church has a two-line first vespers antiphon. **Sanctoral:** One historiated initial survives and three other offices were probably emphasized by large historiated or foliate initials: 332/3--Peter & Paul: lacuna; 385v--Assumption: 7-line; 409/10 Birth of Virgin: lacuna; 531/32--Annunciation: lacuna. No record was made of emphases within the basic hierarchy of decoration. **Communal:** 598--One or more apostles: 6-line. **Other:** 618/19--Office of Virgin: lacuna.

**Commentary:** This manuscript comprises a number of sections written and decorated over nearly a hundred-year period. The temporal and sanctoral are the earliest in date, as indicated by the twelve-leaf



gatherings, the omission of the office of Corpus Christi, and the style of the historiated initials and borders. The rubric "Hic fit de s. Thoma de Aquinato conf." on f. 534 implies a date soon after 1323. The calendar, psalter and communal, on the other hand, date liturgically and stylistically from the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Much of the litany is missing (lacuna: ff. 73/74) but St Marina is included amongst the virgins. St Gerald is included in the calendar, but St Ivo has been added by another hand. Also added: Severinus (12 Feb), Valeria (2 Dec). In the original hand may be found memorials to St Leobinus on 14 March as in the Paris/ Manchester Breviary, and to St Justina on 26 September and St Barbara on 9 December, as well as the Victory of Philippe le Bel on 17 August and Lazarus on 17 December. Much of the decoration, particularly in the psalter, is very smudged and the margins have been severely trimmed. **Bibliography:** Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, II, 361-63.

### B.11. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 344

*Noted summer Paris Breviary. Mid fourteenth century.*

241 x 160. A-B modern paper + 431 + C-D modern paper. Paginated 1-430 with the folio after 417 labelled 417 *bis*. Catchwords agree: 1-7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>6</sup>, 9<sup>12</sup>, 10<sup>6</sup>, 11<sup>20</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup>, 13<sup>13</sup>, 14-30<sup>12</sup>, 31<sup>6</sup>, 32-35<sup>12</sup>, 36<sup>6</sup>, 37<sup>1</sup>, 38<sup>9</sup>, 39<sup>5</sup>. Ruled in lead point for two columns of 36 lines with black square musical notation on a four-line stave in red ink occupying two text lines: 19.[48].14.[48].31 x 23.[165].53. Ruling unit: 4.6. Modern half pigskin binding. On spine: "Breviaire a l'usage de Paris/XIVe siecle/Bibliothèque Mazarine". On f. 1 in a modern hand: "Oratorii Sammagloriani [Saint-Magloire]. Ex dono R.P. Le Brun".

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-84v [gatherings 1-7]: ff.1-82:psalter; ff. 82/v: benedictions (different hand to end of gathering); ff. 83/v: commendations; ff. 84/v: ruled but blank. (b) ff. 85-363v [gatherings 8-31]: f. 85: blank; ff. 85v-146: summer temporal; ff. 146v-363v: summer sanctoral, ending on f. 363v with the verse "Explicit iste liber/A penis sum modo liber". (c) ff. 364-417v *bis* [gatherings 32-7]: ff. 364-402: communal; ff. 402v-12: "Venite exultemus"; ff. 412v-17v: various hymns and psalms; ff. 417/v *bis*: blank. (d) ff. 418-30v [gatherings 38-39 (in another hand and without musical notation)]: ff. 418-28v: Office of Corpus Christi; ff. 429-30v: prayers for SS Thomas Aquinas, Ivo and Elizabeth.

**Decoration:** One-line initials are blue flourished in red throughout, except on f. 1v, where they are replaced by foliate initials; line-fillers are all of the latter form. Two and three-line initials are foliate, with double-line ivy tendrils and short, gilded bar marginal extensions. There is one four-line foliate initial on f. 244. The two- and three-line equivalent of the letter "I" often appears as a narrow decorated band up to ten lines long placed next to a flourished one-line "I" in the text. The foliate sloping "I" also occurs. The manuscript contains thirty-five historiated initials ranging in size from five to nine lines. Nearly all of the initials have been damaged and several are unfinished. The figures, wrapped in linear folds of drapery, have thin, tightly-clothed arms and legs and wear narrow black shoes. Their fingers are long, their facial features drawn in with a pen and their curly hair combed back from their forehead. They are set mainly against blue or dark pink geometric or diaper grounds. The historiated initials are all associated with full or broken vertical bar borders incorporating scalloped gilded nodes at junctions and extending into stiff double-line ivy branches forming an unoccupied bas-de-page space 20mm below the text columns. Several of the historiated initials are supported by grotesques (ff. 85v, 119) or have figures incorporated into the frames (ff. 108v, 121, 233). The border for f. 418 is in a later style with a "u"-shaped decorated band and central bar extending at corners and ends into double-line ivy branches with pen-line ivy tendrils at intervals between.

Three-line initials are used throughout to open the text (and musical notation above) of all hymns, Lauds

antiphons and selected proper vespers antiphons and matins first responsories. Historiated initials are seven-line, and open first lessons, unless otherwise stated. Psalter: The one-line initials opening verses of the hymns, psalms and canticles in the psalter are all placed at the left-hand margin, requiring copious use of decorative line-endings in this section. Eight historiated initials mark the divisions on ff. 1, 12v, 22, 28, 34v, 42, 49v and 58v. The iconography is standard, except that the bells David plays on f. 42 are suspended from a wheeled tripod. Summer temporal: Twelve historiated initials emphasize the following items: 85v--Trinity Sunday (antiphon): Trinity (9-line); 93--Kings: Elkanah; 108v--Proverbs: Solomon; 108v--Ecclesiastes: Ecclesiastes; 109--Wisdom: Seated king (8-line); 109v--Ecclesiasticus: Ecclesiasticus; 112--Job: Heavenly fire falling on Job's flocks; 115--Tobias: Kneeling before a church; 117v--Judith: Seated reading; 119--Hester: Feast of Assuerus; 121--Maccabees--Alexander on his deathbed; 124--Ezechiel: Ezechiel (8-line). An unnoted office of Corpus Christi was added to the manuscript at the turn of the century (see below, f. 418). Summer sanctoral: Nine historiated initials and one four-line foliate initial illustrate the first lessons of seven offices, with votive images, unless otherwise stated: 146v--Germanus of Paris (first vespers chapter responsory): Two children near Germanus's tomb (6-line); 147--(lesson): 5-line; 165v--octave legenda for Birth of John the Baptist: Two nimbed figures embracing (5-line); 233--Assumption: Death of the Virgin; 239--octave legenda for Assumption: Virgin and Child (6-line); 242--Louis IX (antiphon); 244 (first lesson): 4-line foliate initial; 252v--Augustine; 266--Birth of the Virgin (antiphon): 6-line; 268 (first lesson): Virgin and Child (6-line). Communal: Five historiated initials: 364--One or more apostles (antiphon): Peter and Paul; 376v-- Several martyrs (antiphon): Group of martyrs (6-line); 384--Confessor bishop (antiphon): Bishop (6-line); 393--Virgin martyr (chapter): Virgin martyr (6-line); 399--Female non-virgin martyr (chapter): Female martyr (6-line). Other: 418--Corpus Christi (antiphon): Elevation of the host (six-line).

**Commentary:** The disposition of one-line initials and gilded line endings in the psalter of this noted breviary is strongly reminiscent of the Belleville Breviary, even though flourished initials are used on all but the first folio. The pink used for the foliate initials and line endings is very pale, giving the decoration an unusual powdery effect. The style of borders and historiated initials also help to date it to the second quarter, or middle, of the fourteenth century rather than to the second half, or end, as Leroquais suggests. Ff. 418-30, however, were added in the late fourteenth century. The size and quality of the manuscript suggest that it was intended to be a reference work. The calendar is missing, but the litany is standard. **Bibliography:** Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, II, 364-65.

## B.12. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 345/ Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 582

*Two volume Paris Breviary.* 1417. (Figs 57-58).

Mazarine 345: 392 x 288. I modern parchment + 579. Pagination A-F, i-ccccclxxii, with a folio omitted in gathering 48. Catchwords, where not trimmed, agree: 1<sup>6</sup>, 2-16<sup>8</sup>, 17<sup>10</sup>, 18-32<sup>8</sup>, 33<sup>7</sup>, 34-45<sup>8</sup>, 46<sup>10</sup>, 47-55<sup>8</sup>, 56<sup>8+1</sup>, 57-64<sup>8</sup>, 65<sup>10</sup>, 66-71<sup>8</sup>, 72<sup>7</sup>. The last folio is glued to the cover. Ruled for one column of 24 lines: 50.[173].65 x 34.[273].85. Ruling unit: 11.4. The calendar is written in gold, carmine, blue, red and black, and ruled for five columns, double-ruled in the fifth, of 34 lines: 43.[15.9.15.(8.1).135].62 x 30.[277].87. Ruling unit: 8.1. Green parchment binding over cardboard. On spine, on a red insert: "Breviarium Gherardi de Monte Acuto. - T. 246".

Arsenal 582: 455 x 327. 598ff, with no endpapers. Modern pagination 1-589, with 241 *bis*, 557 omitted in the numerical sequence, and 568 *bis* to 576 *bis* after 577. Catchwords agree: 1<sup>1+6</sup>, 2-20<sup>8</sup>, 21<sup>6+1</sup>, 22-74<sup>8</sup>, 75<sup>6</sup>, 76<sup>2</sup>. Ruled for one column of 24 lines: 40.[173].114 x 55.[273].127. Ruling unit: 11.4. The calendar is written in gold, carmine, blue, red and black, and ruled for five columns, double-ruled in the fifth, of 40 lines: 46.[13.8.13.(8.2).130].107 x 50.[287].118. Ruling unit: 7.2. White leather binding over wooden boards. On spine, on insert: "Breviarium Parisiense". For the notes concerning ownership on the inside cover, see Leroquais, p. 339.

**Ownership:** Both volumes contain the heraldic devices of Gérard de Montaigu, Bishop of Paris (1410-1420). On f. A of Mazarine 345, there is also the note "Breviarium Gerardi de Monte-Acuto,

episcopi Parisiensis". For the notes inside the front cover of Arsenal 582 concerning ownership, see Leroquais, p. 339. The manuscript was in the library of Notre-Dame de Paris before being divided between the Bibliothèque Mazarine and the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal.

**Contents:** Mazarine 345: (a) ff. A-F [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 1-525v [gatherings 2-66]: ff. 1-116v: psalter; ff. 117-129: ordo; ff. 129v-30v: lessons for ferias five and six before Christmas if it falls on a Sunday; ff. 131-354: winter temporal; ff. 354v-55v: benedictions; ff. 356-525v: winter sanctoral. (c) ff. 526-65v [gatherings 67-71]: ff. 526-63v: communal; ff. 564-65v: memorials. (d) ff. 566-72 [gathering 72]: office of the Dead. Arsenal 582: (a) ff. 1-7 [gathering 1]; ff. 1/v: blank; ff. 2-7: calendar. (b) ff. 8-127v [gatherings 2-16]: ff. 8-126v: psalter; ff. 127/v: ruled but blank. (c) ff. 128-66v [gatherings 17-21]: ff. 128-64: communal; ff. 164v-65v: benedictions; ff. 166/v: ruled but blank. (d) ff. 167-589v [gatherings 22-76]: ff. 167-300: summer temporal; ff. 300v-589: summer sanctoral; 589v: blank.

**Decoration:** One- and two-line initials are flourished in blue and red or gold and black. Line endings, profusely used, are also penwork, executed in blue and gold. A short floral version is included amongst the standard repertoire of designs, and also a very short version extending into the margin in the form of a sideways bouquet of blue cloud-like flowers with red stems, or gold flowers with black stems. The next level in the hierarchy of decoration is marked by three-line "four-colour" flourished initials with distinctive firm spirals, "eyeballs on stalks" and "frog's egg" designs for the ground. Four- and five-line gilded initials are also used, with a variety of foliate and geometric infills. Four of these have a shield for infill in Mazarine 345, and two in Arsenal 582. The shield, supported by a gold crozier is silver, quartered by a blue cross with four eagles gueules, the first charged with a blue shield with gold horizontal bar (fascie). Complex borders accompany the foliate initials. These comprise a "u"-shaped or single vertical decorated, band terminating in acanthus leaf clusters and trumpet flowers forming part of a wide four-margin or left-bracket border of pen line rinceaux interspersed with gilded spiked fruit and coloured fruit & flowers (Fig. 58). The psalter of each volume opens with a four-margin border without decorated bands, in which acanthus leaf clusters in each corner extend inward in complex intertwined formal arrangements. Angels holding shields on these two folios are the only figurative items in the breviary (Fig. 57).

**Psalter:** Each division is marked by a five-line foliate initial. Mazarine 345: 1--Angel holding shield in infill; in lower margin: second shield in square-in-quatrefoil frame; 15--shield in infill; 24v; 32v; 40v; 50v; 60; 65--shield in infill. Arsenal 582: 8--in centre of each margin: four shields, the lower one supported by two angels (Fig. 57); 23v--shield in infill; 32v--shield in infill; 41; 49--shield in upper margin; 59v; 69; 79v. **Temporal:** The opening folio has a full border and a four-line foliate initial for the first chapter of the first Sunday in Advent (f. 131). Foliate initials are also used for the following texts: Mazarine 345: 131v--1st Sunday in Advent(1st lesson): 5-line ; 159--Nativity (1st lesson): 3-line; 174v--Epiphany (1st lesson): 4-line; ; 294v--Easter Sunday (invitatory): 4-line; 334v--Ascension (invitatory): 5-line; 344v--Pentecost (invitatory): 5-line. Arsenal 582: 167--Trinity Sunday (antiphon): 4-line; 173--Corpus Christi (antiphon): 4-line. Three-line flourished initials are used for the following first lessons: 169v--Sunday within the Nativity Octave; 187v--*Legenda psalmodia*; 216v--Quinquagesima Sunday; 226--1st & 2nd Sundays in Quadragesima; 265v--Passion Sunday; 275v--Palm Sunday; 283v--Maundy Thursday; 288--Good Friday; 291--Holy Saturday; 313v--*Liber apocalipsis*. Arsenal 582: 167v--Trinity Sunday; 193--Kings; 195--Proverbs; 216--Job; 227v--Tobias; 234v--Judith; 242v--Maccabees; 255--Ezechiel; 288--Dedication of a Church. Selected musical propers have two-line initials: e.g., the matins first responsories of Septuagesima and Sexagesima Sundays, Trinity Sunday and the Dedication of a Church, which also has a two-line first vespers antiphon.

**Sanctoral:** There are two levels of emphasis, almost always for first lessons. Twelve offices have four- or five-line foliate initials with left-hand bracket borders, and thirty-two have three-line flourished initials. First responsories have two-line initials when proper. First level: Mazarine 345: 357--Andrew: 5-line; 371--Conception; 451--Purification: 5-line; 475v--Annunciation. Arsenal 582: 320--Birth of John the Baptist; 332--Peter & Paul: 5-line; 370--Marcellus; 417--Assumption: 5-line; 458--Birth of the Virgin (Fig. 58); 502--Dionysius: 3-line; 534--All Saints; 540--All Souls: 3-line. Second level: Mazarine 345: Relics; Nicholas; Thomas apostle; Stephen martyr; Holy Innocents; John the Evangelist; Geneviève (first vespers prayer); Agnes; Vincent; Invention of the Cross. Arsenal 582: Germanus of Paris; Benedict; Mary Magdalene; James the Greater; Invention of Stephen martyr; Translation of Crown of Thorns; Hippolytus;

octave (legenda and day) of Assumption; Augustine; John the Baptist; Egidius; Exaltation of the Cross (invitatory); Matthew; Maurice; Michael; Dionysius (octave legenda); Gendulphus; Cecilia; Clement; Katherine; Andrew. Communal: Mazarine 345: 526--One or more apostles: 4-line foliate initial; Arsenal 582: 128--One or more apostles: 5-line foliate initial. Other: Mazarine 345: 117--Ordo: 3-line flourished initial.

**Commentary:** This enormous two-volume breviary with the format of an antiphonal was made for the Bishop of Paris, Gérard de Montaigu. The manuscript is dated 1417 by a rubric on f. 589 of Arsenal 582: "Explicit tempus hyemale [sic]. - 1417". The Mazarine volume has no date, and has been severely trimmed, but there is no doubt that it was illuminated at the same time as the Arsenal volume. The two litanies are not identical, but exhibit similar unique features, including the addition of SS Claudius and Tiburtius to the martyrs, SS Evortius, Supplicius, Leonard and Philibertus to the confessors, and SS Marina, Tecla, Gertrude and Honorina to the virgins. On the other hand, the calendars differ in format and content. St Gerald is included in both, and St Martha in neither, but there are subtle differences in the ranks and coloured inks assigned to the feasts. In addition, the victory of Philippe le Bel in August is noted in Mazarine 345 but not Arsenal 582, while the former, but not the latter, records the feast of St Louis of Marseilles on 19 August.

**Bibliography:** Avril, "Pontifical de Gérard de Montaigu"; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, II, 339-42, 365-68; Philippe Henwood, "Administration et vie des collections d'orfèverie royale sous la regne de Charles VI," *BEC*, 138 (1980), 179-215 (contains a biography of Gérard de Montaigu).

### B.13. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 745.

*Full Paris breviary.* End fourteenth century. (Figs 64-66).

253 x 170. A-B modern paper + 463 + C-E modern paper. The first four folios, numbered I-IV, are blank. Modern pagination 1-459 (omitting 139) begins from the fifth folio. The last folio is not numbered. After f. 12, pages are also numbered in roman numerals (I-CCCCXLVI). Catchwords agree: 1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>9</sup>, 3<sup>5</sup>, 4-25<sup>8</sup>, 26<sup>6</sup>, 27-33<sup>8</sup>, 34<sup>4</sup>, 35-58<sup>8</sup>, 59<sup>9</sup>, 60<sup>5</sup>. Ruled in leadpoint for two columns of 42 lines: 16.[46].13.[45].50 x 27.[166].60. Ruling unit: 4. The calendar is ruled for five columns, double-ruled in the fifth, of 35 lines: 18.[10.4.8.(5.1).78].46 x 28.[158].65. Ruling unit: 4.5. Red morrocan binding with the arms of France and royal monogram. On spine is "Breviarium Parisiense". On f. B: Codex D. Antonii Faure. S. TH. D. - In biblioth. Rem. no 1526. - Nunc regius, no. 4225, 4".

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-12v [gatherings 1-3]: ff. 1-11v: ordo; f. 12/v blank. (b) ff. 13-124v [gatherings 4-17]: ff. 13-120: winter temporal; f. 120v: blank; ff 121-24v office of the Virgin. (c) ff. 125-89v [gatherings 18-25]: summer temporal. (d) ff. 190-95v [gathering 26]: calendar. (e) ff. 196-256v [gatherings 27-34]: f. 196/v blank; f. 197/v "Sequitur quando et quomodo dicuntur seu dici debent in ecclesia parisiensi septem psalmi et viginti quinque psalmi"; ff. 198-254v: psalter; ff. 254v-255v: commendation of the souls (ff. 255/v in a different hand); ff. 256/v blank. (f) ff. 257-430v [gatherings 35-56]: ff. 257-427v: sanctoral, opening with office for dedication of a church; ff.428-30v: "Tabula de memoriis sanctorum per totum annum". (g) ff. 431-46v [gatherings 57-8]: ff. 431-44: communal; ff. 444v-46v: ruled but blank. (h) ff. 447-60v [gatherings 59-60]: f. 447/v: blank; ff. 448-58v: office of corpus christi; f. 459/v (in another fifteenth century hand): "Beate martir prospera" (hymn in honour of St Vincent); f. 460/v blank.

**Decoration:** Simple blue or red one-line initials and two-line blue initials flourished with red or red initials flourished with black are used throughout, together with blue and red penwork line-fillers. Four or five-line flourished "I"'s open each chapter of the Ordo and one three-line two-colour flourished initial is

used in the manuscript to open the office of the Virgin on f. 121. Elsewhere important texts are emphasized with blue or maroon foliate initials from two to eight lines high. There is a sloping version of the flourished and foliate two-line initial "I" up to seven lines long. Most of the foliate initials have delicate rinceaux extensions into the margins with gilded ivy leaves, spiked fruits and small four-petalled blue or pink flowers. A number are part of a vertical bar border terminating in rinceaux filling all or part of the upper and lower margins. The folio which opens Advent (f. 13) has bars to left and right of the text columns so that the border completely frames the text. The first folio of the psalter (f. 198) is distinguished by a narrow central bar and three wide decorated bands in the left, right and lower margins terminating in acanthus leaf clusters as well as the usual rinceaux. Each folio of the calendar is decorated by two-line foliate KL initials with rinceaux in the upper left and top margins. In the lower margin two medallions 28 mm in diameter and outlined lightly in brown ink contain pale colour-wash drawings of the labours and attributes of the months. The Kl initial for January extends into a vertical bar which terminates in the lower margin in a blue acanthus leaf with pink underside and ivy rinceaux which curl around the medallions. A range of black, red and yellow ink floral and figurative designs are used throughout the manuscript by the scribes to frame catchwords and decorate the tall loops of letters extending into the upper and lower margins.

**Temporal:** Five foliate initials extending into bar borders open the first lessons of the following offices: 13--1st Sunday in Advent (chapter): 6-line with full frame; 27--Nativity: 5-line; 93v--Easter Sunday: 2-line; 116--Pentecost: 7-line "I"; 125--Trinity (antiphon): 5-line. A further ten foliate initials open the following first lessons: 30v--30 December: 2-line; 35--Epiphany: 2-line; 50v--Septuagesima Sunday: 6-line "I"; 60v--Quadragesima Sunday: 2-line; 111--Ascension: 4-line "I"; 128v--Kings: 4-line; 146--Proverbs: 5-line; 153--Job: 5-line; 162--Tobias: 5-line; 169--Hester: 5-line. The office for the dedication of a Church opens the sanctoral and has a four-line initial for the antiphon. Calendar: The iconography of the programme is standard, except for the activity for January on f. 190, which shows a woman on a dolphin, holding a ship (Fig. 66). On f. 192v, for June, a man is shown carrying a bag of fruit on his back. Psalter: The opening psalm has an eight-line initial and double "u"-shaped frame (f. 198). Each of the other divisions has a seven-line initial for the opening psalm (ff. 205v, 210, 214v, 219, 224, 229v, 241). There is also a seven-line initial on f. 243v for Psalm 114, "Dilexi quoniam," which opens "Feria secunda ad vespervas". In addition, on f. 248, Psalm 143, which opens the Saturday vespers office, has been given a two-line initial and bar, as has the canticle "Trium puerorum" on f. 250. Sanctoral: Eight offices have two or four-line foliate initials for the first lesson unless otherwise stated: 257--Dedication of a church (antiphon): 4-line; 261--Andrew: 4-line and bar; 266v--Conception; 292--Purification; 322v--Birth of John the Baptist; 360--Assumption; 381v--Birth of the Virgin; 409--All Saints. Communal: The first office has a two-line foliate initial and bar border for the opening antiphon (f. 431). Subsequent offices each have two-line foliate initials for the first lesson. Other: 121--Office of the Virgin "Domine labia": 3-line flourished initial; 448--Corpus Christi (antiphon): 2-line.

**Commentary:** Although at first glance a medium-size and not particularly luxurious manuscript, this breviary offers a number of points of interest. It is dated after 1366 by the presence of the Translation of St Ivo in the calendar against 29 October, and towards the end of the fourteenth century, or the beginning of the fifteenth, by the appearance of acanthus leaf clusters in the calendar and psalter. These parts of the manuscript may, however, be later in date than the rest. Several scribes were at work on the manuscript but, apart from the hymn added to the last gathering, the hands are not easily distinguishable. Further work on catchword frames would be useful in this regard. The calendar miniatures are curious, not just because of their technique, but because of the unusual iconography of the woman on the dolphin for January. The order of the texts and the small ruling unit, suggest a non-metropolitan, probably Norman (Rouen?), origin for the manuscript. The semiduplex feast of St Astroberta is noted in gold in the Calendar against 10 February, with its octave on the 17th; and also the Dedication of Sainte-Chapelle on 26 April, St Nicomedes on 3 August, St Louis of Marseilles on 19 August, the Translation of St Renobertus on 21 August, St Leonard on 15 October (and 6 November), St Edmund of Canterbury on 16 November, and St Nichasius on 14 December.

**Bibliography:** Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, II, 421-23.

**B.14. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 1024/ Manchester, John Rylands University Library, ms 136.**

*Two-volume Paris Breviary.* Last quarter fourteenth century. (Figs 67-72).

BN lat 1024: 194 x 141. A-B modern paper + 445 + C-D modern paper. Lacuna at ff. 119/20: 1<sup>1+6</sup>, 2-15<sup>8</sup>, 16<sup>6</sup>, 17-37<sup>8</sup>, 38<sup>2</sup>, 39-53<sup>8</sup>, 54<sup>7</sup>, 55-56<sup>8</sup>, 57<sup>7</sup>. Ruled for two columns of 32 lines: 21.[36].11.[35].38 x 23.[120].51. Ruling unit: 3.7. The calendar is ruled for five columns, double-ruled in the fifth, of 34 lines: 23.[(18).65].35 x 21.[120].54. Ruling unit: 3.5. Modern red goatskin binding. Rylands 136: 182 x 133. A-B modern paper + i-ii parchment + 404. Unpaginated except for the first folio of each gathering, which is incorrectly numbered by ten folios from gathering 17 onwards. a<sup>2</sup>, 1<sup>6</sup>, 2-10<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>6</sup>, 12<sup>5</sup>, 13<sup>7</sup>, 14-21<sup>8</sup>, 22<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>1+8</sup>, 24-48<sup>8</sup>, 49<sup>4</sup>, 50-52<sup>8</sup>, 53<sup>2+1</sup>. Ruled for two columns of 32 lines: 22.[36].11.[36].31 x 23.[120].39. Ruling unit: 3.7. The calendar is ruled for five columns, double-ruled in the fifth, of 34 lines: 21.[6.3.5.5.67].29 x 21.[120].41. Ruling unit: 3.5. Early nineteenth century black morocco binding. On spine: "Horae Mss".

**Ownership:** In BN lat 1024, on f. 1: "Codex D. Antonii Faure. S.D.T./ In Bibliotheca Remensi no 1527/ In regia no 4448,5". In Rylands 136, on the recto of f. i, in a current fifteenth century hand: "Breuiare commainc. la vigille de la trinite et finiss<sup>t</sup> le premier samedi de laduent./ Et aussi commençant la vigille saint germain qui est le xxvij<sup>me</sup> may, Et finissant le jour saincte geneuiefue inclus qui est le xxvi<sup>me</sup> de nouembre appartenant a maistre Jehan [...] conseiller du Roy...".

**Contents:** BN lat 1024: (a) ff. 1-7 [gathering 1]: f. 1/v: ruled, but blank; ff. 2-7v: calendar. (b) ff. 8-111v [gatherings 2-14]: ff. 8-89v: psalter; ff. 90-111v: ordo. (c) ff. 112-19v [gathering 15]: ff. 112-14: office of Virgin; ff. 114v-16: memorials; ff. 116v-18v: "Tabula de memoriis sanctorum"; ff. 119/v: bank. (d) ff. 120-25v [gathering 16]: office of the Dead. (e) ff. 126-295v [gatherings 17-38]: winter temporal. (f) ff. 296-422v [gatherings 39-54]: winter sanctoral. (g) ff. 423-45v [gatherings 55-57]: communal. Rylands 136: (a) ff. 1-6v [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 7-84v [gatherings 2-11]: psalter. (c) ff. 85-164v [gatherings 12-22]: ff. 85-87: office of the Virgin; ff. 87-89: memorials; ff. 89-90: benedictions and hymns for matins of the office of the Virgin; ff. 90-164v: summer temporal. (d) ff. 165-404v [gatherings 23-53]: ff. 165-375v: summer sanctoral; ff. 376-400v: communal; ff. 401-02v (in another hand): benedictions; ff. 403-04v (in a sixteenth century hand, in Latin and French): prayers.

**Decoration:** One- and two-line flourished initials in blue and red or maroon and black are used throughout the manuscript, together with blue and red penwork line endings. The flourished "I" sometimes occupies four lines. In BN lat 1024 more important texts are emphasized by one six-line and two three-line foliate initials, by thirty five- or six-line historiated initials, and by four column miniatures seven to eleven lines in size. In Rylands 136 there are four foliate initials, forty-eight historiated initials and nine column miniatures, including one thirteen lines in size. The calendars of both volumes have two-line KL initials, each historiated with tiny scenes of the labours and attributes of the month. All emphasized folios have bar borders in all three vertical margins, branching at each end into sharp double-line ivy stems. Numerous short one- or two-leaved penline or double branches also spring from the left hand edge of the two inner bars. The bars themselves often terminate in dragon motifs, with up to three per folio. The borders in both volumes are also characterized by gilded circles surrounded by four tendrils, each formed by two curved dashes and an elongated "S" curve. The historiated initials and miniatures are in a competent style with short stubby figures executed in a limited palette of scarlet, pink, blue and grey. The artist favours profiles with thin pointed noses and a band of highlight across the brow.

and top of forehead. Hair is parted in the middle and combed outwards. Facial features and hands are detailed in sepia. Groups of figures are skilfully crowded into small initials, with interesting use made of the outer field and the letter itself to create overlapping spatial planes. A limited but varied repertoire of diaper, geometric and rinceaux grounds is used.

**Psalter:** The psalter in both volumes has been given a historiated initial of a nimbed man waking another, to illustrate the opening hymn "Nocte surgentes," as well as a standard cycle of eight historiated initials to mark the eight divisions. BN lat 1024: ff. 8, 18v, 28, 34v, 41v, 49v, 57 and 66. Rylands 136: ff. 7, 17v, 26v, 32v, 38v, 46, 53 and 61v. **Temporal:** The hierarchy of emphasis is established through the use of six column miniatures, eighteen mostly six-line historiated initials and two large foliate initials, mainly for first lessons. The column miniatures are: BN lat 1024: 248v--Easter Sunday: Three Marys at the tomb; 278--Ascension: Apparition of Christ to the apostles at supper; 287v--Pentecost. Rylands 136: 90--Trinity Sunday (rubric/antiphon): 13-line (Fig. 69); 99v--Corpus Christi: Paschal lamb on altar; 133--Hester: Feast of Ahasuerus. The historiated initials are: BN lat 1024: 126--1st Sunday in Advent (chapter): Nimbed man preaching (Fig. 67); 148v--Nativity; 162--Epiphany; 200--Quadragesima Sunday: Persons in prayer; 240--Easter Thursday: Seated Jeremiah (4-line); 262--*Liber apocalipsis*: St John writing (5-line). Rylands 136: 91--Trinity Sunday: Mercy seat Trinity; 104--Corpus Christi Mass (introt): Celebration of the Mass (5-line); 122--Proverbs: Solomon preaching; 124--Wisdom: Doctor preaching (5-line); 126--Job: On dunghill (5-line); 128v--Tobias: Giving alms to two beggars (5-line); 130--Judith: Beheading Holofernes; 135--Maccabees: Jews allowing themselves to be killed by the soldiers of Antiochus; 138--Ezechiel: Ezechiel's vision (Fig. 70); 140--*Expositiones evangeliorum*: Lazarus and Dives; 156--Dedication of a Church (antiphon): 4-line; 158 (lesson): Solomon in prayer. The foliate initials are: BN lat 1024: 126v--1st Sunday in Advent (lesson): 3-line; 171v--*Legenda psalmodia*: 6-line. Rylands 136: 95--Kings: 6-line; 98--Corpus Christi (antiphon): 4-line; 122v--Ecclesiastes: 5-line; 124v--Ecclesiasticus: 5-line.

**Sanctoral:** Six-line historiated initials opening the first lessons of eight offices provide a single-level hierarchy of emphasis for the winter sanctoral: BN lat 1024: 296v--Andrew; 301--Relics: Four men venerating reliquary on altar; 304v--Nicholas; 308--Conception; 322v--Stephen martyr: Martyrdom; 329--Holy Innocents: Martyrdom; 368v--Purification; 387--Annunciation: David and a prophet (Fig. 68). The sanctoral of Rylands 136 is fuller and has a two-level hierarchy provided by five ten-line column miniatures and twenty-two six-line historiated initials for the first lessons. First level: 184v--Birth of John the Baptist; 271v--Bartholomew: In prayer; 340v--Simon & Jude; 355v--Martin: Dividing cloak with beggar (Fig. 72); 372--Katherine: Martyrdom. Second level: 165--Germanus of Paris; 172--Barnabas; 190v--Octave of Birth of John the Baptist: Decapitation of six martyrs (Fig. 71); 194--Peter & Paul; 197--Commemoration of Paul: Paul preaching; 216v--Margaret; 219v--Mary Magdalene; 225v--Translation of Marcellus; 231--Anne: Joachim and Anne with priest; 240v--Invention of Stephen martyr: Discovery of the relics (7-line); 249--Lawrence (responsory); 260v--Assumption; 265--octave of Assumption: Virgin; 274--Louis IX; 285--John the Baptist: Martyrdom; 297--Birth of the Virgin; 303--Exaltation of the Cross: Meeting of the armies of Heraclius and Chosroes; 309--Matthew: Writing; 316v--Michael: Smiting a devil; 325--Dionysius: As bishop, kneeling before Paul; 328--octave of Dionysius: Consecrated as bishop (4-line); 344v--All Saints: Group of apostles.

**Communal:** Each volume has an unusually full cycle of five historiated initials for the communal. BN lat 1024: 423--One or more apostles: Five apostles; 426v--One martyr: Dionysius & comp.; 431v--Several martyrs: Heads of seven saints; 435--One confessor bishop: Bishop and two others; 441v--Virgins: Three virgins; 444--Female saint, not a virgin: 3-line initial. Rylands 136: 376--One or more apostles: six apostles; 380--One martyr: Martyr about to be beheaded; 385v--Several martyrs: Four martyrs being beheaded; 389v--One confessor bishop: Bishop; 396--Virgins: Virgin. **Other:** BN lat 1024: 90--Ordo: Bishop and two confessors (5-line initial); 114v--memorial for the feast of Relics: altar covered with reliquaries (7-line column miniature); 120v--Office of the Dead: funeral service (6-line initial). Rylands 136: 85--Office of Virgin ("Domine labia mea"): Crowned Virgin and Child (6-line initial); 87--memorial for the feast of Relics: altar covered with reliquaries (11-line column miniature).

**Commentary:** Resemblances between these two volumes are so great that it is certain they originate from the same workshop, and probable that they were made as a pair for the same patron. The note in Rylands 136 tells us that the manuscript was owned by an advisor to the king. The erased name is no longer legible, but James transcribed it as Jehan "Moler" or "Mozer". BN lat 1024 was definitely written after 1356, since a note on f. 404 reads: "Anno domini MCCCLVI, accidit Pascha in crastino sancti Georgii". The style of the decoration suggests a date in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The two litanies are similar, but not identical. That of Rylands 136, like the Châteauroux Breviary, which it resembles in a number of other ways, includes St Martial at the head of the martyrs, SS Dominic and Thomas Aquinas amongst the confessors and St Valeria amongst the virgins. St Leobinus is included in the calendars of both volumes, however, against 14 March (as in Mazarine 342), and St Valeria against 12

December (as in the Châteauroux Breviary). Both calendars also record the feast of St Gerald, but not St Martha.

**Bibliography:** James, *John Rylands Library*, pp. 238-42 and pls 160-61; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, II, 482-83.

### B.15. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms Latin 1025.

*Winter Paris breviary*. After 1386. (Figs 73-74).

186 x 135. No endpapers. 389 folios with the first and last folios pasted to the boards. 1-384 modern pagination from the third folio onwards. The unpaginated folios are blank. Catchwords agree: 1-12<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup>, 14-34<sup>8</sup>, 35<sup>4</sup>, 36-37<sup>8</sup>, 38<sup>9</sup>, 39-41<sup>8</sup>, 42<sup>6</sup>, 43-49<sup>8</sup>. Ruled in lead point for two columns of 30 lines: 17.[40].10.[40].28 x 17.[129].40. Ruling unit: 4.3. The calendar is ruled for five columns, double-ruled in the fifth, of 33 lines: 19.[7.4.7.4.1.66].27 x 17.[130].39. Ruling unit: 3.9. Binding: very old blind-tooled calf on wooden boards. Evidence of ownership: "Breviarium 38 ad usum parisiensem" on inside of front cover; former collection numbers ["MMCXXIII (Rigault)/ 1305 (Dupuy)/ 4451 (Clement)"] on f. 1.

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-6v [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 7-104v [gatherings 2-13]: ff. 7-83v: psalter; ff. 84-86v: office of the Virgin; ff. 87-88: benedictions; ff. 88v-92v: office of the Dead and Commendations; ff. 93-104v: ordo. (c) ff. 105-384v [gatherings 14-49]: ff. 105-265: winter temporal; ff. 266-362v: winter sanctoral; ff. 363-84: communal.

**Decoration:** The text capitals have an unusual bright lemon yellow wash. Catchwords are punctuated at each end by a delicate maidenhair fern design in the same ink. Simple one-line blue or red initials and two line blue initials flourished with red or red initials flourished with blue are used in combination with delicate versions of the standard range of blue and red penwork line fillers. Important texts are opened by three- to eight-line blue and red initials flourished with black. These may extend into vertical penwork borders incorporating alternately blue and red half fleur-de-lys motifs. The folios opening the psalter and temporal have 'u'-shaped penwork borders (ff. 7, 105 [Fig. 73]). The central margin of f. 7 is bordered as well:

**Psalter:** Each division is marked by a large initial, on ff. 7 (8-line); 25v (6-line); 32 (5-line); 38v (5-line); 44 (6-line); 52 (6-line); 59 (6-line); 67v (6-line). **Winter temporal:** Large initials open the chapter (5-line) and first lesson (3-line) of the first Sunday in Advent (ff. 105 [Fig. 73], 105v), and the first lesson (3-line) for the Nativity (f. 125v). Proper lauds antiphons are two-line in lists of propers and for the Sundays in Advent, 24 December, Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Epiphany octave, each day until Septuagesima, each Sunday from Septuagesima Sunday until Palm Sunday, each day in Holy Week, Easter Sunday, the second Sunday after Easter, Ascension, Pentecost and Trinity. First vespers antiphons, first nocturn first antiphons and matins first responsories are also two-line for selected offices. **Winter sanctoral:** The opening line has an unofficial green, yellow, red and black initial flourished by the scribe (Fig. 74). Two offices are opened by three-line initials, while twenty-two are given emphasis through the use of one or two-line initials for the first vespers or lauds first antiphon and the first responsory for matins. First level: 274--Conception (first lesson); 320v--Purification (first responsory). Second level: Andrew, Relics, Nicholas, Lucy, Stephen martyr, John the Evangelist, Innocents, Fabian & Sebastian, Agnes, Vincent, Conversion of Paul, Agatha, Annunciation, Mary of Egypt, Dionysius, George, Philip & James, Invention of the Cross, Cyriacus and Germanus of Paris. **Communal:** 363--Apostles (antiphon): 4-line. **Other:** 84--Office of the Virgin (antiphon): four-line.

**Commentary:** This is a fine example of a breviary decorated entirely by the rubricator. The programme of decoration is small with the main emphasis on the psalter divisions. The manuscript is dated after 1386 by a note concerning Easter on f. 103v ("Anno domini MCCCLXXXVI fuit pascha die invencionis corporum dyonisii". The litany most closely resembles that of the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu. Against 25 February in the calendar is written "Dedicatio ecclesia beati dyonisii in Francia".



Other non-Paris feasts include: Frodulphus (23 April), Pontius (15 May: added), Peregrinus (16 May), Desiderius (23 May), Alexius (17 July), Louis of Marseilles (19 Aug), Osmanna (9 Sep), Romanus (23 Oct), Leonard (6 Nov), Edmund of Canterbury (16 Nov), and Trudo (23 Nov). St Martha is included, but not SS Louis IX and Gerald. Bibliography: Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, II, 477-78.

## B.16. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 1052

*Full Paris breviary*. After 1369. (Figs 75-81).

230 x 175. A-B modern paper + 619 + C-D modern paper. Modern pagination from 1-617 begins on the third folio. Modern marginal annotation in latin of the feasts and their dates in the sanctoral. Rubrics in French. No catchwords. Approximate collation: a<sup>2</sup>, 1<sup>6</sup>, 2-35<sup>8</sup>, 36<sup>6</sup>, 37-73<sup>8</sup>, 74<sup>4</sup>, 75-77<sup>8</sup>, 78<sup>8+1</sup>. Ruled for two columns of 30 lines: 28.[44].14.[44].45 x 23.[147].60. Ruling unit: 4.9. The calendar, written in black, red, carmine, blue and gold, is ruled for five columns of 33 lines: 28.[8.4.8.4.84].39 x 25.[150].55. Ruling unit: 4.5. Red goatskin binding with the insignia of Louis Philippe. On spine is "Breviarium Parisiense". Former collection numbers on f.1: "Codex Colbertus 4125/ Regius 4448.5.5]".

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-6v [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 7-206v [gatherings 2-26]: temporal. (c) ff. 207-84v [gatherings 27-36]: ff.207-83v: psalter; ff. 284/v: ruled but blank. (d) ff. 285-584v [gatherings 37-74]: ff. 285-582v sanctoral; ff. 583-84v: ruled but blank. (e) ff. 585-617 [gatherings 75-78]: communal.

**Decoration:** One-line blue or red initials, flourished in red or black respectively, are used in combination with simple blue and red penwork line-fillers which are, however, frequently avoided by the use of the flourished one-line rubric sign to indicate text carried onto another line. Finely gilded two-line foliate initials are lodged into the approximately 10 mm square text space with their scalloped left-hand edges protruding into the margin and terminating in double-line ivy branches. The "p", "h" and "k" are in lower case with long stems entirely outside the text column. There is a four-line version of the "I" as well as a sloping "I" six or seven lines long and entirely outside the text column. The white filigree work in the body of the initials is of outstanding quality and variety, with up to a dozen different patterns used, ranging from the standard row of circles paralleled by straight or wavy lines to bands of snowflakes or chevron and zig-zag designs. The conventional coiled ivy infill is varied by the use of acanthus leaves, pieces of filigree work in the alternate colour, pale blue or pink flowers or faces made of flowers. Particularly in the first half of the temporal, animals and human or grotesque heads painted by the miniaturists may also be found as infill. Four-line foliate initials in two colours are also used. The infills of these initials consist mainly of ivy arranged in formal patterns. In one variation, the ivy stem widens into a filigree segment forming the body of a dragon which curls upon itself while in another, the ivy or initial stems form knotwork designs. The four-line initial may be combined with a vertical bar border terminating in short double-line ivy branches and having at intervals along its length ivy leaves paired on single or double-line stems punctuated by a single tiny gilded ball with s-shaped tail.

Small six or seven-line miniatures in bar frames sometimes knotted at the corners make up the majority of the 243 figurative items in the manuscript. They occupy about half the width of the text column and are always accompanied by a vertical bar border and by a two-line foliate initial sharing a portion of the gilded frame on the upper right-hand side. In effect, they are pseudo-historiated initials. There are also 59 nine- or ten-line column miniatures with four-line foliate initials, either opening the text directly below, or separated by a rubric from the miniature. The column miniatures in the temporal (until Easter) and

psalter are framed by thin decorated bands on gilded grounds with gilded diamond-in-quatrefoil studs at the corners. The others have gilded bar frames with circular corner studs. All column miniatures have single or double "u"-shaped bar borders, with a 37 mm bas-de-page space below the text in the psalter, and a 23 mm space elsewhere. Bar borders terminating in dragons breathing three small gilded circles are found throughout the manuscript. Variations on the basic dragon design occur, as well as the substitution of other grotesques. Bas-de-page figures may be found on a number of folios but only in the psalter is the bas-de-page space filled by images with a coherent iconographic theme. Calendar folios are decorated by two-line foliate KL initials the width of the first three columns with restrained ivy branch extensions. In the lower margin are two essentially rectangular miniatures, each 24 x 20 mm in size, of the activities and signs of the month set against alternately blue or red geometric grounds. Their complex frames are composed of eight intertwined ivy stems over a highly scalloped gold ground.

The palette is dominated by pale tones of blue, pink, orange, ochre and grey, set against a range of dark red, blue or gold grounds. A darker tone of the same colour (or sepia for flesh) is used softly and deftly for outlines, shading and delineation of details. White areas are modelled in either grey or sepia. Highlights are used sparingly except for flesh, which may be modelled quite heavily with white. Eyes are almond-shaped with the pupil set at the corner. Ears, when shown, are large and set flat against the head. Hands are fully jointed and expressive. Crosses, lances and croziers are pen-line thin. The large-headed noble figures of prophets, saints and martyrs, wrapped in soft, fine folds of cloth, contrast with the brutal faces and short tunics or oriental costumes of unbelievers and torturers, the numbers of which are large because of a preference for martyrdoms over votive images in the sanctoral.

The ground plane is so narrow that the figures appear to stand on the lower frame. Exteriors are represented by a rocky strip above the frame, or a sloping hillside with no profile in depth. The same diagonal division of the surface of the picture plane is made by the high bolstered couches with flowing coverlets in nativity or sickbed scenes. Heaven is represented as a palpable blue cloud-mass highlighted in white, through which its occupants dive headfirst. A form of inverted perspective is used for altars and thrones. There are, however, three miniatures in which a relatively convincing architectural space is created. On f.289 a masonry arch within the frame of the miniature accompanying the feast of the relics on 4 December, opens directly onto a small square chapel with a vaulted ceiling, in which five reliquaries are displayed on a vested altar almost filling the room. The setting for the scene of the Annunciation on f.352 (Fig. 77) is a shallow room with narrow antechamber and coffered ceiling. An arch, this time two-bayed and with a masonry frieze, effects the transfer from page to pictorial space on this folio as well. The third example on f.529v shows Saint Denis receiving the eucharist from Christ in prison. The space is ambiguous, as the castle-like prison is seen from outside, although Denis is in a room within. The shallow curve of a low crenellated wall creates a narrow space within which Christ and his attendant angel minister to the kneeling saint through a wide arched opening:

**Calendar:** In spite of the limitations imposed by a standard programme and the size of the miniatures, the scenes of the activities of the months are painted with unusual realism. The peasants cutting grass and threshing on ff. 3v and 4v are stripped to the waist, while the one slaughtering the boar on f.6 v stands astride the animal, the better to swing the axe. In addition, the artist has transformed the signs of the months from symbol to vignette. On f. 1 the water-bearer is given a river bank setting, and the ram on f.2 crops grass like any other ram, accompanied by two rabbits. There are two variations on the standard series worth noting: Gemini on f.3 is represented by two naked figures, a man and a woman, holding an empty shield, and Capricorn on f. 6v is a chimera with the head of a ram and the body of a dragon.

**Temporal:** Ten column miniatures open the first lessons of the following offices: 7--1st Sunday in Advent (rubric/chapter): Isaiah preaching; to right of miniature: man holding urinal; in bas-de-page and borders: grotesques, birds and butterflies (Fig. 75); 28v--Nativity: Virgin breastfeeding Christ (Fig. 76); 36v--Circumcision; 39v--Epiphany (chapter); 115v--Easter Sunday: Resurrection; 140--Ascension: Christ appearing to the apostles; 147v--Pentecost (antiphon): Dove descending upon the twelve apostles; 154--Trinity Sunday (antiphon [Fig. 78]); 157--Corpus Christi (rubric/antiphon): Elevation of the host by nimbed

priest; 203--Dedication of a Church (antiphon). The first lessons of eight offices in the season between Septuagesima and Easter are opened by pseudo-historiated initials: 59v--Septuagesima Sunday: Creation of Heaven and Earth; 63v--Sexagesima Sunday: Adam led by angel in the garden of Eden; 65v--Quinquagesima Sunday: Noah building the ark; 79--2nd Sunday in Quadragesima: Isaac and Jacob; 84v--3rd Sunday in Quadragesima: Joseph's brothers tending sheep; 90v--4th Sunday in Quadragesima: Moses and the burning bush; 96v--Passion Sunday: Jeremiah talking to God; 102v--Palm Sunday: Person in danger of drowning. In addition, twenty-one four-line foliate initials open the first lessons of the Sundays in Advent and the Monday of the third week in Advent, the first of the "O" antiphons (the rest are two-line), the first lesson of Epiphany, the first lessons of the first and second Sundays after the octave of Epiphany, the lessons for the week in Sexagesima, the *Liber apocalipsis*, Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Job, Tobias, Judith, Maccabees and Ezechiel.

**Psalter:** Each division is marked by a nine-line column miniature in the text and a bas-de-page scene below. The iconographic programme duplicates the one given to the Belleville Breviary, except for the "Dixit Dominus" folio, which is missing from both of the psalters in the earlier manuscript. The column miniatures contain an unusual series mainly of scenes from the life of David. The first seven of the bas-de-page scenes each comprises a central vignette of one of the seven sacraments. To the right, a dove with a scroll, representing one of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, introduces one of the seven virtues. To the left is shown a scene of related vice. The eighth bas-de-page space contains a scene of the Last Judgement. 207--"Beatus Vir": Unidentified subject (An old man with a compass or knife is rejecting a gold cup offered to him by a king, while a boy hides under the table); bas-de-page: The Fall; Baptism; Science; Faith; 217--"Dominus Illuminatio": David and Goliath; bas-de-page: suicide of Judas; Extreme Unction; Wisdom; Hope; 226--"Dixi Custodiam": Saul trying to spear David with a lance; bas-de-page: Cain killing Abel; Eucharist; Piety; Charity; 232--"Dixit Insipiens": Absalon hanging by his hair; bas-de-page: Dethroned king; Ordination; Intelligence; Prudence; 238--"Salvum Me Fac": St Peter in a boat; bas-de-page: Delilah cutting Samson's hair; Confirmation; Force; Fortitude; 245v--"Exultate Deo": David dancing before the ark; bas-de-page: Judith killing Holofernes; Marriage; Fear of God; Temperance; 252v--"Cantate Domino": Bishops carrying a coffin; bas-de-page: Man being hanged; Penitence; Counsel; Justice; 261--"Dixit Dominus": King kneeling before enthroned Christ; bas-de-page: Last Judgement.

**Sanctoral:** Nearly every full office opens with a six-line pseudo-historiated initial or ten-line column miniature for the first lesson (the default), first vespers antiphon, prayer or, in three cases, the chapter responsory. Themes are roughly divided between scenes of martyrdom, votive images and representative scenes from the saint's life. Seven of the memorials included in the text (most are omitted) have a pseudo-historiated initial for the prayer: Euphemia (13 Apr), Alexander & comp. (3 May), Cyricus & Julitta (16 Jun), Christopher & Cucuphas (25 Jul), Germanus & Julian (also 25 Jul), Cyriacus & comp. (8 Aug) and Sergius & Bacchus (7 Oct). The 142 pseudo-historiated initials, for which see Leroquais, have no true emphatic function. The forty-two column miniatures form a single-level hierarchy of emphasis, modified by seven four-line foliate initials for the first lesson of the Assumption (f. 462v), for the octave of the Birth of the Virgin (f. 506) and for the octave legenda for the birth of John the Baptist (f. 403), Peter & Paul (f. 414), the Assumption (f. 462v), the Birth of the Virgin (f. 497) and Dionysius (f. 533). The miniatures are: 285v--Andrew: Martyrdom; 294v--Conception: Meeting at the Golden Gate; 300v--Thomas apostle: Incredulity of Thomas; 301v--Stephen martyr (prayer): Martyrdom; 305--John the Evangelist (prayer); 308--Holy Innocents: Martyrdom; 326--Vincent: Deathbed scene; 330--Conversion of Paul; 336v--Purification (chapter); 345v--Chair of Peter (prayer); 347v--Mathias (prayer): Election of Mathias; 352--Annunciation (antiphon [Fig. 77]); 359v--Invention of Dionysius (chapter responsory): Martyrdom; 361v--Mark (prayer): Writing; 367v--Philip & James (antiphon); 369--Invention of the Cross (chapter [Fig. 79]); 372--John before the Latin Gate (antiphon): Martyrdom; 374--Louis IX (antiphon): Penitentially beaten by a Dominican; 387--Barnabas (prayer): Martyrdom; 397v--Birth of John the Baptist (prayer): Zachariah & Gabriel; 404v--Peter & Paul (chapter): Martyrdom of Peter; 412v--Translation of Martin (prayer): Dividing his cloak with a beggar; 425--Mary Magdalene (antiphon): "noli me tangere"; 429--James the Greater (prayer): Martyrdom; 434v--Anne (antiphon): Anne, Virgin & Child; 441v--Stephen pope: Martyrdom; 442--Invention of Stephen martyr (prayer): Reliquary procession; 448--Lawrence: Martyrdom; 457v--Assumption (antiphon): Funeral procession (Fig. 80); 466v--Bartholomew: Martyrdom; 468v--Louis IX (antiphon): Enthroned, holding monstrance of Crown of Thorns; 484v--John the Baptist: Martyrdom; 497--Birth of the Virgin (antiphon); 503--Exaltation of the Cross (antiphon): Constantine's dream; 509v--Matthew (chapter): Symbols of the four Evangelists; 529v--Dionysius (prayer): Receiving communion from Christ in prison; 537v--Luke: Writing; 547v--Simon & Jude: With the magicians; 553v--All Saints: 9-line; 556v All Souls: Angels delivering souls from purgatory (9-line); 563--Martin: Giving his tunic to a beggar; 576v--Katherine (antiphon): Burning books (Fig. 81). Communal: 585--One or more apostles: Apostles (column miniature); 588--One martyr: martyr being beheaded by swordsman (pseudo-historiated initial).

**Commentary:** The manuscript may firmly be identified with item 3281 in the general inventory of Charles V's *joyaux*, compiled in 1379/80, but known only through a late fifteenth century copy (BN fr 2705). Although Charles V kept the breviary amongst his personal possessions, there is no proof that it was made for him. In the psalter, however, Psalm 109 is illustrated by the scene of a sharp-nosed king kneeling before the seated figure of God (f. 261). Leroquais was reluctant to see this as a portrait of

Charles V, but recent commentators have accepted the identification. An entry in the inventory made by Robinet d'Estampes for Jean de Berry in 1413 (AN KK258, f. 157) tells us that, after the death of his father, Charles VI gave the breviary to his brother, Louis d'Orléans. Louis' wife, Valentine Visconti, gave it to Jean de Berry, presumably after her husband's assassination on 23 November 1407, and before her own death on 4 December 1408. In the inventory of Jean de Berry's books made after his death on 15 June 1416 (Ste-Geneviève 841), a long entry dated 28 August 1417 details the acquisition of the breviary from the executors of the estate by the Duke of Touraine, then dauphin and later Charles VII, for the promised but never paid sum of 160 "livres parisien".

The manuscript, which is generally thought to have been painted by Jean le Noir (Meiss's Passion Master) is dated on stylistic grounds to the period 1365-70. The presence of the office of St Thomas Aquinas in the calendar and sanctoral may date it soon after 1369, particularly given the nimbed priest elevating the host in the Corpus Christi miniature (f. 157). The litany is standard, except for the absence of SS James the Less, Romanus, Augustine, Lupus, Francis, Severinus and Agatha, and the inclusion of SS Nazarius & Celsus after St Samson, and St Edmund after St Patrick. The calendar tends to assign nine lessons to all but the most important feasts usually ranked duplex or semi-duplex in the Paris use. The feast of St Louis of Marseilles is listed against 21 (not 19) August, St Fausta against 20 September, and St Edmund against 20 November.

**Bibliography:** Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, p. 112 and pl. 37; Calkins, *Illuminated Books*, pp. 226-34, 302-04; Delisle, *Recherches*, I, 188; II, 27 (no. 142) and 232 (no. 59); Patrick de Winter, "The *Grandes Heures* of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy: the copyist Jean l'Avenant and his patrons at the French court," *Speculum*, 57 (1982), 798-800; Guiffrey, *Inventaires*, I, 258 (no. 971); II, 298 (no. 512); Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, III, 49-56 and pls XLIII-XIVIII; Meiss, *Late XIV Century*, pp. 159-69; Morand, *Jean Pucelle*; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, 41; Paris, Grand Palais, *Les Fastes du gothique*, no. 287; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Librairie de Charles V*, no. 173; Sandler, "Jean Pucelle and the lost miniatures of the Belleville Breviary," pp. 77-78; Rosamund Tuve, "Notes on the vices and virtues, II," *JWCI*, 25 (1964), pp. 65-72, esp. nn. 108-10.

### B.17. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 1263.

*Full Paris Breviary.* After 1386.

182 x 133. A-C modern paper + ii + 476 + D-F modern paper. Paginated I-IX (originally A-I), then 1-519, counting the thirty-five lacunae as folios. Repaginated in red ink i-ii, then 1-474, with two folios missed in the sequence. a<sup>2</sup>, 1<sup>8</sup>, 2<sup>8-1</sup>, 3<sup>8</sup>, 4<sup>8-1</sup>, 5-14<sup>8</sup>, 15-16<sup>8-1</sup>, 17<sup>8-2</sup>, 18<sup>8-1</sup>, 19<sup>8-3</sup>, 20-21<sup>8-2</sup>, 22-24<sup>8</sup>, 25<sup>8-2</sup>, 26<sup>8-3</sup>, 27<sup>8-1</sup>, 28-29<sup>8-2</sup>, 30<sup>8-1</sup>, 31<sup>8</sup>, 32<sup>8-1</sup>, 33<sup>2</sup>, 34<sup>8-2</sup>, 35-43<sup>8</sup>, 44<sup>4</sup>, 45<sup>8</sup>, 46<sup>8-1</sup>, 47<sup>8-3</sup>, 48-52<sup>8</sup>, 53<sup>7</sup>, 54-59<sup>8</sup>, 60<sup>8-2</sup>, 61-63<sup>8</sup>, 64<sup>6</sup>, 65<sup>6-2</sup>, 66<sup>8-3</sup>, 67<sup>4+1</sup>. Ruled for two columns of 31 lines: 21.[39].8.[39].26 x 15.[121].46. Ruling unit: 3.9. The calendar is written in red and black for five columns, double-ruled in the fifth, of 34 lines: 15.[6.4.7.(4.1).69].27 x 15.[121].46. Ruling unit: 3.6. Red morocco binding with the arms of France and the royal insignia. On spine: "Bréviaire Parisien". On f. 1: "Baluz 834 - Cod. regius 4460, II."

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-8v [gathering 1]: ordo. (b) ff. 9-177v [gatherings 2-24]: ff. 9-170v: temporal, missing the opening folio; ff. 171v: Easter table with French rubrics; ff. 172-77v: calendar. (c) ff. 178-231v [gatherings 25-33]: psalter, missing the opening folio, litany and prayers. (d) ff. 232-460v [gatherings 34-64]: ff. 232-459v: sanctoral, missing the opening folio; ff. 460v: ruled but blank. (e) ff. 461-474v [gatherings 65-67]: communal.

**Decoration:** One and two-line flourished initials and line endings in blue and red or blue and gold form the lower levels of the hierarchy of decoration. For the upper levels, two kinds of decoration were used: three-line single colour foliate initials with pen-line or double-line ivy tendrils, or six-line foliate initials extending into "u"-shaped bar or decorated band borders with pen-line ivy rinceaux in the borders. On folios facing the ones which have been excised, the latter form is clearly visible as imprint. In the calendar the three-line flourished KL initials set over the first four columns have been mutilated by the removal of all the gold initials.

**Temporal:** There were originally twelve offices or sets of lessons with six-line initials: 8/9--1st Sunday in Advent; 28/29--Nativity; 117/18--Ascension; 123/24--Pentecost; 129/30--Trinity Sunday; 130/31--Corpus Christi; 138/39--Kings; 140/41--Proverbs; 146/47--Job; 147/48--Tobias; 150/51--Maccabees; 153/54--Ezechiel. Three-line initials open the sext antiphon of the first Sunday in Advent, the first lessons of the remaining Sundays in Advent, the *Legenda psalmodia* (35v), the first lessons and lessons for the week of Septuagesima and Sexagesima Sundays (46, 49v), and the first lessons of Quinquagesima Sunday (52), Ash Wednesday (54v), the first, second and fourth Sundays of Quadragesima (57v, 63v, 73), Passion Sunday (78v), Palm Sunday (83v), Easter Sunday (94v), the *Liber apocalipsis* (106), Trinity Sunday (130/31: lacuna), Corpus Christi (131v), Ecclesiastes (142), Judith (148v), Hester (150) and Dedication of a Church (168v). The Dedication of a Church has a two-line first vespers antiphon. **Psalter:** Each division was marked by a six-line foliate initial (lacunae at ff. 177/78, 184/85, 188/89, 192/93, 196/97, 202/03, 207/08, and 214/15).

**Sanctoral:** The offices emphasized in the sanctoral divide into two discrete groups, although with some variation in borders in the second. All Saints in particular should probably be ranked in the first group by virtue of its "u"-shaped decorated band border. A rough two-level hierarchy of emphasis of first lessons, however, is formed by six-line foliate initials for seven offices and three- or four-line foliate initials for forty-two offices. First level: 232/33--Andrew: lacuna; 237/38--Conception: lacuna; 313--Germanus of Paris; 323/24--Birth of John the Baptist: lacuna; 328/29--Peter & Paul: lacuna; 372/73--Assumption: lacuna; 397--Birth of the Virgin. Second level: Eligius (lacuna), Nicholas, Fuscian & comp., Nichasius, Stephen martyr, Thomas Martyr, Sylvester, octave of Stephen martyr, William, Maurus, Agnes, Vincent, Conversion of Paul, Purification, Blaise, Agatha, Vedastus & Amandus, Scolastica, Mathias, Thomas Aquinas, Gregory, Benedict, Annunciation, Barnabas, octave of Birth of John the Baptist, Arnulphus, Mary Magdalene, James the Greater, Anne, Lawrence, Crown of Thorns, Bartholomew, Louis IX, Exaltation of the Cross, Matthew, Michael, Dionysius, 11,000 Virgins, Simon & Jude, All Saints, Martin, Katherine. **Communal:** Each office opened with a four-line foliate initial (lacunae at ff. 461/62, 463/64, 465/66, 466/67, and 469/70).

**Commentary:** The manuscript is dated after 1386 by a long rubric on f. 299v concerning the date of Easter. The litany is missing, but the calendar is a standard one for the late fourteenth century. The following feasts have been added in a later hand: Dedication of Ste-Chapelle (26 Apr), Visitation (2 Jul), Damesius (21 Jul), Bridget (23 Jul, with the Translation on 7 Oct), Seven Sleepers (27 Jul), Dominic (5 Aug), Radegundis (12 Aug), Leonard (6 Nov) and Edmund (16 Nov). **Bibliography:** Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, III, 90.

## B.18. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms 1264.

*Full Paris Breviary.* Early fifteenth century.

130 x 102. A modern paper + i-ii + 568 + B modern paper. Severely trimmed. Paginated from third folio 1-567, with one folio left unnumbered in gathering 3. Catchwords agree: 1<sup>4</sup>, 2-25<sup>8</sup>, 26-27<sup>6</sup>, 28-33<sup>8</sup>, 34<sup>6</sup>, 35-38<sup>8</sup>, 39<sup>4</sup>, 40-73<sup>8</sup>. Ruled for two columns of 30 lines: 20.[26].7.[26].23 x 13.[96].22. Ruling unit: 3.2. The calendar is written in gold, red, blue and black, and ruled for five columns of 34 lines: 21.[6.4.5.4.43].19 x 16.[92].22. Ruling unit: 2.7. Brown calf binding with tooled spine. On f. i: "Cod. reg. 4623, 3," and "Baluz. 869". On f. ii: Certificate of confirmation of Jérôme de Fontenay, dated 1530.

**Contents:** (a) ff. i-199 [gatherings 1-26]: ff. i-ii: blank; ff. 1-2v (in another hand): "Psaumes des vêpres et des petites heures"; ff. 3-199v: temporal. (b) ff. 200-205v [gathering 27]: calendar, with numerous obituaries in the margins in various hands. (c) ff. 206-83v [gatherings 28-37]: psalter. (d) ff. 284-95v

[gatherings 38-39]: ff. 284-294v: ordo; ff. 295/v: ruled but blank. (e) ff. 296-319v [gatherings 40-42]: communal. (f) ff. 320-567 [gatherings 43-73]: ff. 320-565: sanctoral; ff. 565v-66: blank; ff. 566v-567 (in another hand): benedictions.

**Decoration:** One- and two-line initials are flourished in gold and black or red and blue, including the KL initial, which is set over the first four columns. Two- to four-line foliate initials extending into double "u"-shaped decorated band borders are used to emphasize a handful of offices. The margins of these folios are characterized by double-line ivy branches interspersed with a green fern-like design and pink or blue three-petalled flowers. **Temporal:** 3--1st Sunday in Advent (chapter): 2-line; 136v--Trinity Sunday (chapter): 3-line space. **Psalter:** "Beatus Vir" on f. 206 has a four-line initial, and the other divisions, except "Dixit Dominus," three-line initials (on ff. 216, 222v, 228v, 235, 243 and 250). **Communal:** 296--One or more apostles (antiphon): 3-line.

**Commentary:** The presence of SS Martha and Gerald in the calendar date this extremely simply decorated manuscript to the early fifteenth century. The litany, which is very short, is related to those in the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu by the inclusion of SS Cloud, Leonard, Philibertus, Marina, Fara, Tecla and Gertrude. **Bibliography:** Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, III, 90-91.

## B.19. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 10485.

*Full Paris Breviary.* Second half fourteenth century.

210 x 142. A-B modern paper + 568 + C-D modern paper. Paginated 1-569 with 135 omitted in gathering 18. Catchwords agree: 1<sup>6</sup>, 2-30<sup>8</sup>, 31<sup>6</sup>, 32-45<sup>8</sup>, 46<sup>4</sup>, 47-65<sup>8</sup>, 66<sup>4</sup>, 67-72<sup>8</sup>, 73<sup>4</sup>. Ruled for two columns of 32 lines: 18.[38].10.[38].38 x 22.[138].50. Ruling unit: 4.3. The calendar is ruled for five columns, double-ruled in the fifth, of 33 lines: 21.[7.4.7.6.77].20 x 26.[128].56. Ruling unit: 3.9. Brown leather binding over cardboard, with embossed spine. On inserted piece on spine: "Breviarium Parisiense". On f. B: "Suppl. lat., 279<sup>2</sup>". On f. 1 in a modern hand: "Ex libris Beate Marie Albo-Mantellorum, ordinis s. Benedicti, congregationis Sancti Mauri".

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-6 [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 7-245v [gatherings 2- 31]: ff. 7-83: psalter; ff. 83v-84v: benedictions; ff. 85-245v: winter temporal. (c) ff. 246-85v [gatherings 32-36]: ff. 246-83v: summer temporal; ff. 284-85v: ruled but blank. (d) ff. 286-517v [gatherings 37-66]: ff. 286-515v: sanctoral; ff. 516-18v: ruled, but blank. (e) ff. 518-49v [gatherings 67-70]: ff. 518-40: communal; ff. 541-42v: memorials; ff. 543-47: office of Dead and commendations; ff. 548-49v: ruled but blank. (f) ff. 550-69v [gatherings 71-73]: ff. 550-68: office of Corpus Christi, with mass and octave; f. 568v: ruled but blank; ff. 569/v (in another hand): preces for compline.

**Decoration:** One- and two-line initials are flourished in blue and red or puce and black. Two-line foliate initials, extending into bar borders terminating in double-line ivy branches, are used for the hymns and the "Kyrie Eleison" opening the preces and litany in the psalter. Similar borders, with or without chimera, accompany the numerous two- to five-line foliate initials and the twelve five- to six-line historiated initials which provide additional emphases to the text. The KL initials are also foliate, with bar borders. The historiated initials in the psalter and opening the winter temporal are painted in a mid-fourteenth century Paris style, with careful modelling of faces and flesh, particularly on f. 32v. The other historiated initials (those opening the summer temporal, and the office of the Dead and Corpus Christi) are executed in a different and more archaic hand, with facial features drawn in with a pen.

**Psalter:** The eight divisions each have a six-line historiated initial. The treatment of the subjects is standard, except for "Dixit Insipiens" (f. 32v), where the fool is completely naked, and "Dixit Dominus" (f. 62), the initial for which shows God the Father receiving a king into Heaven. The other initials occur on ff. 7, 18, 26v, 39, 46v, and 53v. In addition to the hymns and "Kyries," nine psalms are given two-line foliate initials: 64v--"Beati Immaculati"; 65v--"Legem Pone"; 66v--"Defecit in Salutare"; 67v--"Mirabilia Testimonia"; 69--"Letatus Sum"; 70--"Nisi Dominus"; 71--"Memen to Domini"; 72v--"Confitebor Tibi"; 74v--"Benedictus Dominus".

**Temporal:** Two six-line historiated initials open the winter temporal and a five-line one the summer temporal: 85--1st Sunday in Advent (chapter): Isaiah holding scroll; 85v (lesson): Vision of Isaiah; 246--Trinity Sunday (antiphon): Mercyseat Trinity. In addition, the first lessons of the following offices open with two (the default) to five-line foliate initials: 90v-102--Each of the Sundays in Advent and the lessons for the week; 104v--Nativity; 107v--Rubric for Matthew 1:1-16: 3-line; 112--Circumcision; 115--Epiphany (first lesson): 4-line; 117v--Rubric for Luke 3:21-4:1: 3-line; 123--*Legenda psalmodia*: 4-line; 124v--2nd Sunday after the Epiphany octave: 3-line; 134--3rd Sunday (hymn): 2-line; (lesson): 3-line; 138--lessons for the week: 4-line; 139--Septuagesima (lessons for the week): 4-line; 144--Ash Wednesday: 4-line; 171v--Passion Sunday: 3-line; 177--Palm Sunday: 3-line; 182--Maundy Thursday: 5-line; 189--Easter Sunday (invitatory, first lesson and prosa); 201v--*Liber apocalipsis*: 4-line; 214v--Ascension (chapter); 222--Pentecost (chapter). In the summer temporal the following readings open with four- or five-line initials: 249v--Kings; 258--Proverbs and Ecclesiastes; 298v--Wisdom; 299--Ecclesiasticus; 260--Job; 261v--Tobias; 263--Judith; 264v--Hester; 265v--Maccabees; 267--Ezechiel. The office for the Dedication of a Church also has a three-line initial for the first vespers antiphon and first lesson. The "O" antiphons each have a two-line foliate initial (f. 100).

**Sanctoral:** Sixty-six offices are emphasized in some way. Foliate initials, with or without bars, and ranging in size from two to four lines, for one or more of the first vespers antiphon, chapter, prayer or first lesson, act to produce a multi-level hierarchy of emphasis which is difficult to classify. Here, three levels have been defined, the first depending on the presence of a three- or four-line initial, the second on more than one emphasis within an office, the third on foliate alternatives within the basic hierarchy of decoration. There are twenty offices in the first group, eleven in the second and thirty-five in the third. First level: 295--Conception; 298v--Thomas apostle; 311--Geneviève; 332v--Purification; 342v--Annunciation; 354v--Invention of the Cross; 362--Germanus of Paris; 371--Birth of John the Baptist; 421--Assumption; 425--Octave legenda; 429v--Louis IV; 435v--Augustine; 438--John the Baptist; 444v--Birth of the Virgin; 461v--Michael; 464--Jerome; 465--Remigius; 484--Quentin; 487--All Saints; 512v--Geneviève. Second level: Andrew, Lucy, Stephen martyr, Fabian & Sebastian, Conversion of Paul, Agatha, Invention of Dionysius, Translation of Martin, Benedict, Martin, Cecilia. Third level: Relics, Nicholas, John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, Agnes, Chair of Peter, Mathias, Gregory, Mark (prayer), Philip & James, Barnabas (prayer), Peter & Paul (chapter), Commemoration of Paul, Mary Magdalene (chapter), Marcellus, Anne (hymn), Germanus of Auxerre, Invention of Stephen martyr (prayer), Lawrence, Bartholomew, Bernard, Egidius, Exaltation of the Cross (antiphon), Matthew (chapter), Maurice, Cosmas & Damian, Dionysius, Luke, 11,000 Virgins, Simon & Jude, Mathurin, Gendulphus (antiphon), Clement, Katherine, vigil of Andrew.

**Communal:** 518--One or more apostles (antiphon): 3-line; 521--One martyr (antiphon): 2-line; 526--Several martyrs (antiphon): 3-line; 529v--Confessor bishop (chapter): 2-line; 534--Confessor not a bishop (antiphon): 3-line; 535v--Virgin (chapter): 2-line; 538v (2nd vespers antiphon): 2-line. Other: 540v--memorials (rubric): 3-line; 543--office of the Dead (antiphon): Funeral service (4-line); 546--Commendations (antiphon): 3-line; 550--Corpus Christi (antiphon): Elevation of the Host (4-line); 551 (lesson): 5-line "T"; 556--Corpus Christi Mass (introit): 4-line; 558--1st day of octave (lesson): 3-line; 560--Sunday within octave (lesson): 3-line.

**Commentary:** This brightly decorated manuscript, with its extremely complex hierarchy of decoration, needs further study from a codicological point of view to see if all the sections were written and decorated at the same time. The litany is standard and includes St Ivo, dating the execution of the psalter after 1347. The calendar, however, omits a number of feasts standard to the Paris use in the second half of the fourteenth century, including SS Mary of Egypt (2 Apr), Eutropius (30 Apr), Louis IX (May), Ivo (19 May), Martial (2 Jul), and Nichasius (10 Dec). On the other hand, it includes the feasts of SS Rigobertus (8 Jan), Thomas Aquinas (7 Mar) and Martha (30 Jul), suggesting a date after 1369 for the calendar. None of these feasts have offices in the sanctoral. The manuscript was probably prepared from a range of exemplars, for the use of a Paris church other than Notre Dame. **Bibliography:** Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, III, 210-11.

## B.20. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 14279.

*Winter Breviary of St Victor of Paris.* 1392. (Fig. 82).

365 x 273. 421 folios. Paginated 0, A-F, i-iiii<sup>C</sup>.xiii (414). a<sup>1</sup>, 1-2<sup>6</sup>, 3-12<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>6</sup>, 14-37<sup>8</sup>, 38<sup>6</sup>, 39-50<sup>8</sup>, 51<sup>4</sup>, 52-54<sup>8</sup>. Ruled for two columns of 34 lines: 55.[59].20.[59].80 x 47.[217].101. Ruling unit: 6.4. The calendar is ruled for five columns of 34 lines: 53.[11.6.10.6.110].77 x 45.[216].104. Ruling unit: 6.4. Original brown pigskin binding over wooden boards.

**Ownership:** On f. A: "989," "Ec. 29," "Saint-Victor, no 329". On f. 414v: "Explicit istud breviarium ad usum ecclesie seu ordinis Sancti Victoris, prope Parisius positum, in duobus voluminibus. Et fuit scriptum per manum Yvonis Hominis ad mandatum et expensas reverendissimi domini mei et magistri, magistri Iohannis Pastorelli, domini nostri regis Francie consilarii et presidentis in camera compotorum. Et fuit completum die sabbati, decima nona die mensis octobris, anno Domini MCCC nonagesimo secundo. / Et sciatis pro certo quod predictus Yvo fuit optime solutus de suo vino. Anima solventis requiescat cum illo qui sine fine vivit et regnat. Quod Deus concedat. Omnis homo 'Pater Noster' dicat. Amen".

**Contents:** (a) ff. A-F [gathering 1]: calendar. (b) ff. 1-6v [gathering 2]: office of the Virgin for the use of St Victor. (c) ff. 7-86v [gatherings 3-12]: psalter. (d) ff. 87-92v [gathering 13]: ff. 87-91: commendations and office of the Dead; ff. 91v-92v: benedictions. (e) ff. 93-290v [gatherings 14-38]: ff. 93-289: winter temporal; ff. 289v-90v: ruled but blank. (f) ff. 291-390v [gatherings 39-51]: winter sanctoral. (g) ff. 391-414v [gatherings 52-54]: ff. 391-414: communal, f. 414v: rubric (transcribed above).

**Decoration:** One-line initials are blue and gold. The two-line initials are flourished in red or black, with a four- or six-line version of the sloping "I". Further emphasis is provided by three- to five-line "four-colour" flourished initials, with some figurative penwork within the looped tendrils. The three-line KL initials set over the first four columns are also flourished. There are also a number of five- and six-line foliate initials extending into gilded bars terminating in double-line ivy tendrils which sometimes end as a chimera breathing three gilded circles. At the highest level in the hierarchy of decoration may be found three six-line historiated initials on folios with vertical borders in the inner and outer margins, or all three margins.

**Psalter:** The opening rubric has a four-line flourished initial, and "Beatus Vir on the next folio (f. 7v) a six-line historiated initial of Mary and John at the foot of the Cross. Each of the other divisions has a five- or six-line foliate initial (on ff. 18, 24v, 30v, 36v, 44v, 51v and 60). **Winter temporal:** The first chapter of the temporal has a six-line historiated initial (f. 93: Isaiah kneeling in landscape [Fig. 82]). Three five- or six-line foliate initials and bar borders open the invitatories for Easter Sunday (f. 239), Pentecost (f. 278v) and Trinity Sunday (f. 285v). A further six three-line flourished initials open the following first lessons: 94--1st Sunday in Advent; 124v--Nativity: 5-line; 132v--Circumcision; 137v--Epiphany; 239--Easter Sunday (responsory); 267--Ascension; 285v--Trinity Sunday (antiphon). In addition, three-line flourished initials are used for the rubrics for each Sunday (excepting Sexagesima) from Septuagesima Sunday to Easter, and for each of the five Sundays after the Easter octave, together with their lessons for the week. Two-line flourished initials are also used for the rubrics opening the Sundays in Advent, 30 December, the Sundays after the octave of Epiphany (the feria rubrics have one-line initials), Sexagesima Sunday, the Ascension vigil, the Sunday within the Ascension octave and the Pentecost vigil. Variations in the basic hierarchy of decoration include the first lesson responsories for the first and second Sundays in Advent, Nativity (together with the first vespers antiphon), the *Triduum* (together with the first nocturn antiphons), Ascension, Pentecost and Trinity Sunday. The last three offices also have two-line first vespers antiphons. Ascension and Pentecost each have one-line first nocturn antiphons, and Ascension has a one-line invitatory.

**Winter sanctoral:** One office has a five-line foliate initial and two offices a three-line flourished initial for the first lesson. These and twenty-eight other offices open with two- or three-line flourished initials for the first vespers and matins rubrics. Proper first vespers and first nocturn first antiphons and first



responsories for matins are also emphasized. First level: 303--Conception: 5-line; 348--Purification; 362v--Annunciation. Second level: vigil of Andrew, Andrew, Eligius, Nicholas, Stephen martyr, John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, Thomas martyr, Sylvester, octave of Stephen martyr, Geneviève, William, Fabian & Sebastian, Agnes, Vincent, Conversion of Paul, Agnes II, Agatha, Chair of Peter, Mathias, Gregory, Benedict, Ambrose, Tiburtius, Mark, Philip & James, John before the Latin Gate, Translation of Nicholas. Communal: 391--One or more apostles (antiphon): 6-line flourished initial with short vertical "I" penwork bar border; 397v--Several Martyrs (antiphon): 3-line. Other: 1--office of Virgin (antiphon): Half-length Virgin breastfeeding Christ (6-line); in lower margin: a blue shield with a silver band at the top and six gold pestles arranged in three rows (3, 2 and 1); 87--Commendations: 3-line; 88--office of the Dead: 3-line.

**Commentary:** The rubric on f. 414v states that the manuscript was written in 1392 by Yves Lhomme for Jean Pastourel, advisor to the king and president "in camera compotorum". The patron's coat of arms appears in the lower margin of f. 1. The litany comprises martyrs: Stephen, Victor, Victor, Clement, Alexander, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Vincent, Dionysius & comp., Maurice & comp., Hippolytus & comp., Fuscian & comp., Leodegarus, Sebastian, Fabian, Quentin, Gervaise, Prothasius, George and Thomas; confessors: Silvester, Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Martin, Nicholas, Remigius, Marcellus, Germanus, Benedict, Eligius, Maglorius, Cloud, Louis and Ivo; and virgins: Mary Magdalene, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, Geneviève, Scholastica, Aurea, Opportuna, Faith, Hope, Charity and Katherine. The calendar and sanctoral are much less full than for the use of the Church of Paris. Unique to BN lat 14279 are the duplex feasts of the Dedication of the Church of St Victor (5 Jun), the Invention of St Victor (17 Jun), St Victor and its octave (21-28 Jul), the Transfiguration (6 Aug) and the octave of St Augustine (4 Sep). Also unique are the three- or nine-lesson feasts of St Severinus (11 Feb), St Anthony abbot (13 June), the octave of St Mary Magdalene (29 Jul), St Dominic (5 Aug), and St Lawrence, archbishop confessor (14 Nov), and the memorials to SS Satyrus & comp. (7 Mar), Athanasius (2 May), Desiderius (23 May), Maximus (29 May), Olannus (29 Jul), Magnus (19 Aug), and Ursinus (9 Nov).

**Bibliography:** Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 217-18; III, 310; pl. XLVI, i; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, III, 255-56.

### B.21. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 17294

See appendix A.

### B.22. Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, ms 2646.

*Full Paris Diurnal.* Early fifteenth century.

83 x 60. A-D modern paper + 517 +E-H modern paper. Paginated 1-540, counting the modern paper insertions marking most of the sixteen lacunae. Ff. 50-51, 77, 106-07, 121, 155-57, 192, 208-09, 293-94, 304-07, 368, 426, 442, and 4[A76-77 are paper. Collation, ignoring the paper folios: 1-3<sup>8</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>4</sup>, 6<sup>8-1</sup>, 7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>8-2</sup>, 9-10<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>8-1</sup>, 12-14<sup>8</sup>, 15<sup>8-2</sup>, 16<sup>8-1</sup>, 17-20<sup>8</sup>, 21<sup>8-3</sup>, 22-24<sup>8</sup>, 25<sup>8-1</sup>, 26<sup>8</sup>, 27<sup>8-2</sup>, 28-37<sup>8</sup>, 38-40<sup>8-2</sup>, 41-46<sup>8</sup>, 47<sup>8-2</sup>, 48-54<sup>8</sup>, 55<sup>8-1</sup>, 58-60<sup>8</sup>, 61<sup>8-2</sup>, 62-66<sup>8</sup>, 67<sup>4</sup>, 68-69<sup>8</sup>. Severely trimmed. Ruled for one column of 22 lines: 10.[36].14 x 6.[57].20. Ruling unit: 2.6. The calendar is written in black and red, and ruled for five columns of 24 lines. Parchment binding with gold clasps. On inside cover: "BB. 1. in-8<sup>0</sup>. 29<sup>2</sup>". On f. 1: "Ex libris Sanctae Genovefae Parisiensis".

**Contents:** (a) ff. 1-26v [gatherings 1-4]: ordo. (b) ff. 27-30v [gathering 5]: benedictions. (c) ff. 31-37v [gathering 6]: office of the Virgin, missing the opening folio. (d) ff. 38-49v [gathering 7]: calendar. (e)

ff. 52-225v [gatherings 8-29]: psalter, opening imperfectly. (f) ff. 226-337v [gatherings 30-43]: temporal. (g) ff. 338-524v [gatherings 44-67]: ff. 338-475: sanctoral; ff. 478-524v: communal. (h) ff. 525-540v [gatherings 68-69]: commemorations and office of the Dead.

**Decoration:** One- and two-line initials, including the KL initials, are flourished in gold and black or blue and red. Three-line "four-colour" flourished initials, and two- to four-line foliate initials with left hand bracket borders give added emphasis. There are also ten surviving five- to eight-line historiated initials, with lacunae for sixteen more. Folios with historiated initials have "u"-shaped bar frames with acanthus leaf clusters springing from corners and terminals, and pen-line ivy rinceaux forming a full rectangular border.

**Psalter:** Each division once had a seven-line historiated initial. The surviving initials for "Dixi Custodiam" (f. 92) and "Exaltate Deo" (f. 139) have standard themes. The other initials occurred at ff. 51/52, 105/06, 120/21, 154/55, 192/93 and 209/10. In addition, three-line foliate initials have been given to the hymns "Iam Lucis Orto" (4-line), "None Sancte Nobis," "Rettor Potens Vade," and "Rerum Deus" for the small hours on ff. 175, 182, 186 and 189; and the psalms "Cum Invocarem Exaudit," "Dilexi Quem" (2-line), "In Domum Etatus," "Nisi Dominus," "Memento Domine" and "Dominus Deus Meus" on ff. 196, 199, 201, 203, 205 and 213. **Temporal:** A three-line flourished initial opens the lauds antiphon of the first Sunday in Advent (f. 226). The lauds antiphons of the following offices have or did have five-line historiated initials: 238v--Nativity: Virgin and Joseph adoring Christ Child; 246v--Epiphany (chapter): Adoration of two of the Magi; 294/95--Easter Sunday: lacuna; 307/08--Ascension: lacuna; 310/11--Pentecost: lacuna; 316v--Trinity Sunday: Mercyseat Trinity; 319v--Corpus Christi: Canon giving communion to a layman. The office for the Dedication of a Church opens with a four-line foliate initial. **Sanctoral:** Sixteen offices are emphasized, usually through the lauds chapter, with one border medallion, three six to eight-line historiated initials and frames, four lacunae and seven three-line foliate or flourished initials. First level (historiated): 338--Andrew: 7-line; 345v--Conception (rubric): Meeting at the Golden Gate (medallion); 361/62--Purification: lacuna; 367/69--Annunciation: lacuna; 394v--Birth of John the Baptist: Votive image; 425/27--Assumption: lacuna; 441/43--Birth of the Virgin: lacuna; 461--All Saints (prayer): 8-line. Second level: Conversion of Paul (flourished); Peter & Paul (prayer), Mary Magdalene (antiphon), James the Greater, Invention of the Crown of Thorns (antiphon [flourished]), Louis IX (antiphon [flourished]), Michael (antiphon), Katherine (antiphon). **Communal:** 477/78--One or more apostles: lacuna. 483v--One martyr (antiphon): 3-line flourished initial and left bracket border. Each of the other offices opens with a three-line foliate initial. **Other:** 526--office of the Dead (antiphon): 3-line foliate initial.

**Commentary:** The presence of acanthus leaves in the borders dates this diurnal to the first decade of the fifteenth century. The litany is very short, with SS Leonard and Theobald amongst the confessors and St Paula amongst the virgins. The calendar is an early fifteenth century one, with St Martha (but not St Gerald). Feasts for SS William, Duke of Aquitaine (10 Feb), Honorina & Theophilinus (26 Feb), Wulfram (20 Mar), Dionysius (8 Apr), Desiderius (23 May), Clotildis (3 June) and Dominic (5 Aug) are also recorded.

**Bibliography:** A. Boinet, "Miniatures des manuscrits de la bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève," in *Revue des bibliothèques* (Paris, 1908), pp. 147-8; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, IV, 399.

## Appendix C

### Index of Iconographic Themes

The following index contains references to all pictorial items contributing iconographically to the hierarchy of decoration of the temporal, sanctoral and communal of the twenty-two manuscripts catalogued in Appendix B. All the historiated initials in the sanctorals of the Breviary of Charles V and the Châteauroux Breviary have thus been included. Each item is referred to by the catalogue number of the manuscript in which it appears, followed by the folio number. The Salisbury Breviary is included in the sequence as no. 21, although the full catalogue entry appears as Appendix A. Winter and summer volumes of two-volume breviaries are distinguished by the suffixes "w" and "s". Pictorial items in the calendar and psalter have not been included. All other items have been indexed (with copious cross-referencing) under the names of the feasts or offices they illustrate rather than directly under the iconographic theme.

- Abishag. See **KINGS**.  
 Abraham. See **ADVENT**; **CORPUS CHRISTI**.  
 Adam. See **SEXAGESIMA SUNDAY**.  
 Adoration of the Magi. See **EPIPHANY**.  
**ADVENT**: Annunciation 5:132, 8:103; Isaiah 20:93, 21:13v (kneeling), 16:7 (preaching), 19:85 (with scroll), 19:85v (vision of); Nimbed man preaching 14w:126; Man in prayer 1:7; Prophets imploring the coming of Christ 21:8 (in initial: Virgin Annunciate); (4th Sunday in) Celebration of the Mass 21:41.  
 Ahasuerus. See **HESTER**.  
 Ahaziah. See **KINGS**.  
**ALL SAINTS** (1 Nov).  
**ALL SOULS** (2 Nov).  
**ANNUNCIATION** (25 Mar): Annunciation 4w:384, 8:469, 16:352, 21:439v; David and a prophet 14w:387; Gabriel receiving his mission 21:440. See also **ADVENT**.  
 Annunciation to the shepherds. See **EPIPHANY**; **NATIVITY**.  
 Antiochus. See **MACCABEES**.  
 Apocalypse. See **POST-EASTER READINGS**.  
 Apparition of the Risen Christ. See **ASCENSION**; **EASTER OCTAVE**.  
**APOSTLES** Apostles 3:430, 14w:423, 14s:376, 16:585; Peter & Paul 11:364.  
**ASCENSION**: Apparition of Christ to the apostles 14w:278; 16:140; Ascension 1:129v, 4w:188v, 21:261v; (Friday): Christ and five apostles 21:263v.  
**ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN** (15 Aug) 1:398, 3:282v, 4s:366v, 10:385v, 11:233, 14s:260v, 16:457v, 21: 543v, 544; (octave) 3:288v, 11:239, 14s:265.  
 Baptism of Christ. See **EPIPHANY**.  
**BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN** (8 Sep) 3:323v, 4s:385, 11:266, 14s:297, 16:497, 21:566, 566v; (octave) 11:268.  
 Bishop preaching. See **EASTER OCTAVE**; **PASSION SUNDAY**.  
**BISHOPS**: Confessor Bishop 3:443; 8:520v, 11:384, 14s:435, 14w:389v.  
 Christ on the road to Emmaus. See **EASTER OCTAVE**.  
**CIRCUMCISION**: Circumcision 16:36v, 21:88v; Nativity 8:169v; St Leo dictating 4w:193.  
**CONCEPTION OF THE VIRGIN** (8 Dec): Joachim, Anne and the Virgin 21:386; Meeting at the Golden Gate 8:353, 14w:308, 16:294v, 21:386, 22:345v; Helisinus saved from drowning by the Virgin 4w:348v.  
**CORPUS CHRISTI**: Canon giving communion to a layman 22:319v; Elevation of the Host 4s:211v, 11:418, 16:157 (by nimbed priest); Last Supper 3:113v, 21:283v (with Abraham & Melchizedek); Paschal lamb on altar 14s:99v; (mass) Celebration of the mass 14s:104.  
 Creation of Heaven and Earth. See **SEPTUAGESIMA SUNDAY**.  
**CROSS** (Invention, 3 May) 4s:288v, 8:492v, 16:369, 21:452v, 454; (Exaltation, 14 Sep) 3:330v, 4s:390v, 14s:303, 16:503.  
**CROWN OF THORNS** (Translation, 11 Aug) 3:274, 16:450v.  
 Crucifixion. See **GOOD FRIDAY**.  
 Darius. See **MACCABEES**.  
 David. See **ADVENT**; **ANNUNCIATION**; **KINGS**.  
**DEDICATION OF A CHURCH**: Bishop and clerics at lectern 21:360v; Dedication 3:171, 14s:156, 16:203; Solomon in prayer 14s:156.  
**EASTER OCTAVE** (Monday): Christ on the road to Emmaus 4s:156; (Tuesday): Bishop preaching 4s:157v; (Wednesday): Miraculous Draught of Fishes 4s: 158v; (Thursday): Three Maries at tomb 4s:159; (Friday): 4s Bishop preaching; (Saturday) St Mary Magdalene finding the tomb empty 4s:161; (Sunday): Incredulity of Thomas 4s:164v; Resurrected Christ in middle of apostles 21:240v.  
**EASTER SUNDAY**: Resurrection 10:211, 16:115v; Three Maries at the tomb 14w:248v, 21:228v.  
**EASTER WEDNESDAY**: Judas receiving the silver 4w:327. See also **MAUNDY THURSDAY**; **HOLY SATURDAY**.  
**ECCLESIASTES** 11:108v.  
**ECCLESIASTICUS** 11:109v.  
 Ekbatana. See **JUDITH**.  
 Elevation of the Host. See **CORPUS CHRISTI**.  
 Elijah. See **KINGS**.  
 Elkanah. See **KINGS**.  
 Entombment. See **HOLY SATURDAY**.  
**EPIPHANY**: Adoration of the Magi 1:41v, 4w:199, 8:175, 14w:162, 16:39v; 21:105v, 106, 22:246v; Day of octave: Baptism of Christ 4w:216; Octave legenda: Annunciation to the Shepherds 4w:208.  
**EZECHIEL** 3:152v, 11:124; Ezechiel's vision 14s:138.  
 Feast of Ahasuerus. See **HESTER**.  
**FEMALE SAINTS**: Agatha 8:527v; Matron 3:449v; martyr 11:393, 399; virgin 14s:396; virgins 14w:441v.  
 Flagellation. See **GOOD FRIDAY**.  
**GOOD FRIDAY**: Crucifixion 4w:333v (in margin: Flagellation).  
 Hannah. See **KINGS**.  
**HESTER**: Feast of Ahasuerus 3:148, 11:119, 14s:133.  
**HOLY SATURDAY**: Entombment 4w:337.  
 Incredulity of Thomas. See **EASTER OCTAVE**.  
 Isaac. See **QUADRAGESIMA**.  
 Jacob. See **QUADRAGESIMA**.  
 Jeremiah. See **MAUNDY THURSDAY**.  
**JOB**: Heavenly fire falling on Job's flocks 11:112; Job On dunghill 3:141, 14s:126; Job's city in the land of Uz 4s:249.  
 Jonathan. See **KINGS**.  
 Joseph. See **QUADRAGESIMA**.  
 Judas. See **EASTER WEDNESDAY**.  
**JUDITH**: Beheading Holofernes 14s:130; Seated reading 11:117v; With head of Holofernes 3:145; City of Ekbatana under attack 4s:254v.  
**KINGS** (1,1): Altar being censed 21:337; Elkanah 11:93; Elkanah and his wives 3:112v; Hannah kneeling before Levi 4s:220; (1,20): Hannah breastfeeding Samuel 3:130; (1,24): Samuel asleep 3:131v; (2,1): David mourning Saul and Jonathan 4s:225v; (3,1): Abishag placed in David's bed 4s:228; (4,1): Ahaziah ill in bed while Elijah threatens the messenger 4s:229v.  
 Last Supper. See **CORPUS CHRISTI**.  
 Lazarus and Dives. See **SUMMER EXPOSITIONS**.  
 Levi. See **KINGS**.  
**MACCABEES**: Alexander on his deathbed 11:121; Battle of Darius and Philip 4s: 258v; saints 3:149v, 258v; Jews allowing themselves to be killed by the soldiers of Antiochus 14s:135.

- MARTYRS: Dionysius 14w:426v; One martyr 3:433, 512, 14s:380, 16:588; More than one Martyr 3:439, 11:376v, 14w:431v, 14s:385v.
- Mass, Celebration of. See ADVENT; NATIVITY.
- MAUNDY THURSDAY: Jeremiah 4w:329, 14w:240.
- Melchizedek. See CORPUS CHRISTI.
- Miraculous Draught of Fishes. See EASTER OCTAVE.
- Moses. See QUADRAGESIMA.
- NATIVITY 1:28v, 2:125 (in bas-de-page: Annunciation to the shepherds), 4w:157v, 5:161, 10:108, 14w:148v, 16:28v, 21:56v, 22:238v; (vigil) 8:141v, 21:53 (Celebration of the Mass). See also CIRCUMCISION.
- Noah. See QUINQUAGESIMA SUNDAY.
- PALM SUNDAY: Entry into Jerusalem 4w:322v, 8:273, 21:212v; Man in danger of drowning 16:102v; Priest reciting prayer 21:212.
- PASSION SUNDAY: Bishop preaching 4w:310v; Jeremiah talking to God 16:96v; Jeremiah writing 21:203v.
- PENTECOST 1:136; 14w:287v, 16:147v, 21:269v, 270v.
- Philip. See MACCABEES.
- POST-EPIPHANY READINGS (2nd Sunday after octave): St Paul handing the Epistles to a messenger 4w:221v; St Paul writing 21:125v; (3rd Sunday after octave): St Paul preaching 4w:238v; Seated king and subjects 21:133.
- POST-EASTER READINGS (*Liber Apocalipsis*): St John on Patmos 4s:170, 14w:262, 21:243; (Epistles): James the Greater preaching 4s:179v; Peter preaching 4s:182; John preaching 4s:184; Jude writing 4s:186v; Bishop giving open book to deacon 21:255.
- PROVERBS: Solomon 3:136v (writing), 11:108v; 14s:122 (preaching).
- PURIFICATION OF THE VIRGIN (2 Feb) 4w:371, 8:442v, 14w:368v, 16:336v, 21:410v.
- QUADRAGESIMA (1st Sunday): People in prayer 14w:200; Pope preaching 21:164; Temptation of Christ 4w:279; (2nd Sunday): Isaac and Jacob 4w:286, 16:79, 21:178v; (3rd Sunday): Joseph's brothers 4w:294, 16:84v; (4th Sunday): Moses and the Burning Bush 4w:302, 16:90v.
- QUINQUAGESIMA SUNDAY: Noah building the ark 16:65v; Three cantors at lectern and priest reading from book held by cleric 21:156v.
- RELICS (Paris, 4 Dec) 14w:301, 16:289; (Saints-Chapelle, 30 Sep) 3:350, 16:524v; (Sarum, 1st Sunday after 7 Jul) 21:496v, 497.
- Resurrection. See EASTER SUNDAY.
- Saints
- ADON & SENNEN (30 Jul) 3:256v, 4s:347v, 16:438v, 21:524.
- ADRIAN & NATALIA (8 Sep) 3:323v.
- AGATHA (5 Feb) 4w:374v, 8:450, 16:341, 21:415v, 416.
- See also FEMALE SAINTS.
- AGNES (21 Jan) 4w:362, 16:323v, 21:397v, 398.
- ALBAN (22 Jun) 21:469, 469v.
- ALDHELM (25 May) 21:460.
- ALEXANDER, EVENTIUS & THEODULUS (3 May) 16:369.
- ALPHEGE (19 Apr) 21:447v.
- AMBROSE (4 Apr) 8:475v, 16:358, 21:444, 444v.
- ANDREW (30 Nov) 4w:342, 14w:296v, 16:285, 285v, 21:375, 22:338.
- ANIANUS (17 Nov) 3:413, 16:570.
- ANICETUS (17 Apr) 4w:388.
- ANNE (Paris 26 Jul, Sarum 28 Jul) 3:250v, 4s:340v, 14s:231, 16:434v, 21:518.
- ANTHONY (17 Jan) 4w:357v.
- ANTHONY ABBOT (13 Jun) 4s:303v.
- ANTONINUS (2 Sep) 3:318v, 16:493.
- APOLLINARIUS (23 Jul) 3:242, 16:428, 21:513.
- ARNULPHUS (18 Jul) 3:234, 16:421v, 21:504v.
- AUDOENUS (24 Aug) 21:555.
- AUDOMARUS (17 Sep) 3:335v, 16:508.
- AUGUSTINE (28 Aug) 3:307v, 4s:380, 11:252v, 16:481, 21:557v.
- AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY (26 May) 21:461, 461v.
- AUREA (4 Oct) 3:362, 16:527v.
- AVITUS (17 Jun) 3:195v, 16:393.
- BABILAS & COMP. (24 Jan) 16:329.
- BARNABAS (11 Jun) 3:188v, 4s:302, 14s:172, 16:387, 21:464v, 465.
- BARTHOLOMEW (24 Aug) 3:296, 4s:379, 14s:271v, 16:466v.
- BASIL (14 Jun) 3:191v, 16:389, 21:466v.
- BASILIDES & COMP. (12 Jun) 3:190v, 16:388v.
- BATILDIS (30 Jan) 16:335, 21:409v.
- BENEDICT (21 Mar) 4w:382, 16:351, 21:437v, 438.
- TRANSLATION (11 Jul) 3:230, 16:417v, 21:501v.
- BERNARD (25 Aug) 3:304, 16:478.
- BLAISE (3 Feb) 8:447v, 16:340, 21:415.
- BONIFACE & COMP. (5 Jun) 21:463.
- BRIDGET OF KILDARE (1 Feb) 21:409v.
- CALIXTUS (14 Oct) 3:371, 21:606v.
- CANTIUS & COMP. (31 May) 3:184v, 16:385.
- CECILIA (22 Nov) 3:417, 4s:440v, 16:572.
- CERBONTIUS (17 Oct) 3:372v, 16:537.
- CHAD (2 Mar) 21:427v.
- CHRISTINA (24 Jul) 3:242v, 4s:338, 16:428v, 21:513v.
- CHRISTOPHER & CUCUPHAS (25 Jul) 3:243, 4s:339v, 16:429.
- CHRYSOGONUS (24 Nov) 3:422v.
- CLARIUS (5 Nov) 3:401, 16:560.
- CLAUDIUS, NICHOSTRATUS & COMP. (7 Jul) 3:227v, 16:415v.
- CLEMENT (23 Nov) 3:421, 4s:444v, 16:574v.
- CLETUS (26 Apr) 4s:283v.
- CLOUD (7 Sep) 3:321v, 16:495v.
- CORNELIUS & CYPRIAN (14 Sep) 3:330v.
- COSMAS & DAMIAN (27 Sep) 3:343v, 4s:399v, 16:517v.
- CRISPIN & CRISPINIAN (25 Oct) 3:381, 16:546.
- CUTHBERT (20 Mar) 21:434v, 435.
- CYRIACUS (4 May) 16:370v.
- CYRIACUS, LARGUS & SMARAGDUS (8 Aug) 3:268, 16:447, 21:535v.
- CYRICUS & JULITTA (16 Jun) 3:193v, 16:391.
- DAMASUS (11 Dec) 4w:351v.
- DAVID (1 Mar) 21:426v.
- DEMETRIUS (9 Oct) 3:363v.
- DIONYSIUS & COMP. (9 Oct) 3:364v, 367v, 4s:421, 14s:325, 328, 16:529v, 21:600. See also MARTYRS.
- INVENTION (22 Apr) 16:359v.
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- EUPHEMIA, LUCIA & GEMINIANUS (16 Sep) 3:335, 4s:394v, 16:507v.
- EUSEBIUS (14 Aug) 3:280, 16:457, 21:543.
- EUTROPIUS 16:366v.
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- FELICITAS (23 Nov) 3:420v.
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- FELIX & ADAUCTUS (30 Aug) 3:313v, 16:490.
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- FIRMINUS (25 Sep) 3:343, 16:516.
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- FUSCIAN, GENTIAN & VICTORICUS (11 Dec) 16:297v.
- GENDULPHUS (13 Nov) 3:410, 16:566v.
- GENEVIEVE (3 Jan) 8:395, 16:313v; (28 Oct) 3:382v; (26 Nov) 3:427.
- GEORGE (23 Apr) 4s:282, 16:361, 21:447v, 448.
- GEORGE, AURELIUS & COMP. (27 Aug) 3:305v, 16:480.
- GERALD (13 Oct) 3:370.
- GERMANUS OF AUXERRE (31 Jul) 3:257, 16:439, 21:524v.
- GERMANUS OF PARIS (28 May) 3:181, 11:146v, 147, 14s:165, 16:381v, 21:462v.
- GERVAISE & PROTHASIIUS (19 Jun) 3:196, 16:393v, 21:468v.
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- GREGORY (12 Mar) 4w:381v, 8:464, 16:350, 21:430v.
- HERMES & COMP. (28 Aug) 3:307v.
- HILARION (21 Oct) 16:543.
- HIPOLYTUS, CONCORDIA & COMP. (13 Aug) 3:277v, 16:454v, 21:541v.
- HOLY INNOCENTS (28 Dec) 8:382v, 14w:329, 16:308, 21:74v.
- IGNATIUS (1 Feb) 16:336.
- IRENAEUS & ABUNDIUS (26 Aug) 16:479v.
- IVO (19 May) 8:504, 16:378.
- JAMES THE GREATER (25 Jul) 3:243v, 4s:338v, 16:429, 21:515, 515v.
- James the Less. See PHILIP & JAMES.
- JEROME (30 Sep) 3:357v, 4s:404v, 16:522v, 21:596.
- JOHN THE EVANGELIST (27 Dec) 8:376v, 16:305, 21:69; (Before the Latin Gate, 6 May) 4s:290, 16:372, 21:455, 455v.
- See also POST-EASTER READINGS.
- JOHN THE BAPTIST (29 Aug) 3:311, 4s:381v; 14s:285, 16:484v; Birth of (24 Jun) 3:199v, 201, 208, 4s:315, 14s:184v, 16:397, 21:472v, 473, 22:394v.
- JOHN & PAUL (26 Jun) 3:206, 16:401v, 21:477.
- Jude. See SIMON & JUDE.
- JULIAN (27 Jan) 8:435v, 16:333, 21:408.
- JULIAN MARTYR (28 Aug) 3:307v.
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- LANDERICUS (10 Jun) 3:186v.
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- LEO (28 Jun) 3:208, 4s:321v. See also CIRCUMCISION.
- LEODEGARUS (2 Oct) 3:360, 16:526.
- LEUTFRID (21 Jun) 3:198, 16:395.
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- LOUIS IX (25 Aug) 3:298v, 11:242, 14s:274, 16:468v; (Translation, first Tuesday after Ascension) 8:500v, 16:374v.
- LUCANUS (30 Oct) 3:384, 16:549.
- LUCY (13 Dec) 4w:352, 16:298v, 21:387v.
- LUKE (18 Oct) 3:373v, 4s:422v, 16:537v, 21:610. See also SUMMER EXPOSITIONS.
- LUPUS (1 Sep) 3:319, 16:493v.

- MAGLORIUS (24 Oct) 3:379v, 16:545.  
 MARCELLINUS & PETER (2 Jun) 3:185, 16:385.  
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 MARK (25 Apr) 4s:282v, 8:481v, 16:361v, 21:449, 449v.  
 MARK & MARCELLIAN (18 Jun) 3:195v, 16:393, 21:468.  
 MARK, MARCELLUS & APULEUS (7 Oct) 3:363, 16:529.  
 MARTHA (29 Jul) 3:254v.  
 MARTIAL (30 Jun) 3:218v.  
 MARTIN (11 Nov) 3:403, 404v, 4s:435, 14:355v, 16:563, 21:637v; (octave) 3:404v; (translation, 4 Jul) 3:223v, 16:412v, 21:489.  
 Mary, the Blessed Virgin. See ANNUNCIATION; ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN; BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN; CONCEPTION OF THE VIRGIN; PURIFICATION OF THE VIRGIN.  
 MARY MAGDALENE (22 Jul) 3:238, 4s:336, 14s:219v, 16:425, 21:508v. See also EASTER OCTAVE; EASTER SUNDAY.  
 MARY OF EGYPT (2 Apr) 16:355.  
 MATHURIN (9 Nov) 3:402v, 16:561v.  
 MATTHEW (21 Sep) 3:337v, 14s:309, 21:584v. See also SUMMER EXPOSITIONS.  
 MATTHIAS (24 Feb) 4w:379, 8:459v, 16:347v, 21:424v, 425.  
 MAURICE & COMP. (22 Sep) 3:340v, 4s:36, 16:513.  
 MAURUS (15 Jan) 16:318.  
 MEDARDUS & GILDARDUS (8 Jun) 3:185v, 16:386, 21:463.  
 MELLONUS (22 Oct) 3:378v, 16:543v.  
 MICHAEL (29 Sep) 3:345v, 4s:401, 14s:316v, 16:519, 21:592; (In the Mountain Tomb, 16 Oct) 21:607.  
 MULTIPLIES 4w:351.  
 NEREUS, ACHILLEUS & PANCRATIUS (12 May) 16:374, 21:457.  
 NICHASIVS (10 Dec) 16:296v.  
 NICHOLAS (6 Dec) 4w:345, 8:348, 14w:304v, 16:292, 21:381; (Translation, 9 May) 8:497v, 16:373.  
 NICOMEDES (1 Jun) 3:185, 16:385; (15 Sep): 3:333v.  
 OSWALD (5 Aug) 21:533.  
 PAUL (Commemoration, 30 Jun) 3:215, 14s:197, 16:408v; (Conversion, 25 Jan) 4w:367v, 8:430v, 16:330, 21:404, 404v; (& Peter, 29 Jun): See PETER. See also APOSTLES; POST-EPIPHANY READINGS.  
 PAULA (29 Jan) 16:334v.  
 PAULINUS (22 Jun) 3:199, 16:396.  
 PERPETUA, FELICITAS & COMP. (7 Mar) 21:429.  
 PETER (Chains of, 1 Aug) 3:259, 4s:349, 16:440, 21:525, 525v; (Chair of, 22 Feb) 4w:377v, 8:456v, 16:345v, 21:421v, 422; (& Paul, 29 Jun) 3:211v, 4s:323, 14s:194, 16:404v; (octave) 4s:326, 21:491v.  
 PETER CELESTINE (19 May) 16:376v.  
 PETER MARTYR (29 Apr) 16:366.  
 PHILIP & JAMES (1 May) 4s:285, 285v, 8:490v, 16:367v, 21:451, 451v.  
 POLYCARP & COMP (26 Jan) 16:332.  
 PRAXEDES (21 Jul) 3:236v, 21:508.  
 PRIMUS & FELICIAN (9 Jun) 3:186, 16:386.  
 PRISCUS (1 Sep) 3:316.  
 PROCESSUS & MARTINIAN (2 Jul) 3:218v, 4s:328v, 16:411.  
 PROTHUS & HYACINTH (11 Sep) 3:327.  
 QUINTINUS (31 Oct) 3:385, 16:550v.  
 REMIGIUS (1 Oct) 3:359, 4s:406.  
 RICHARD (3 Apr) 21:444.  
 RIGOBERTUS (8 Jan) 16:316.  
 ROMANUS (9 Aug) 3:269v, 21:536.  
 RUFUS (27 Aug) 3:305v.  
 SABINA (29 Aug) 3:310v.  
 SATURNINUS & SISINNIVS (29 Nov) 3:429v, 4w:341.  
 SAVINIAN & POTENTIAN (18 Oct) 3:374v, 16:539.  
 SCHOLASTICA (10 Feb) 16:344v, 21:419v.  
 Sebastian. See FABIAN.  
 SERGIUS & BACCHUS (7 Oct) 16:529.  
 SEVEN BROTHERS (10 Jul) 3:228, 229v, 4s:333, 16:417, 21:501.  
 SEVERINUS (23 Oct) 3:379v.  
 SIMEON STYLITES THE ELDER (5 Jan) 16:315v.  
 SIMON & JUDE (28 Oct) 3:382v, 4s:426, 426v, 14s:340v, 16:547v, 21:614.  
 SIXTUS II, FELICISSIMUS & AGAPITUS (6 Aug) 3:266v, 16:446v, 21:534.  
 STEPHEN MARTYR (26 Dec) 8:371, 14w:322v, 16:301v, 21:64; (Invention, 3 Aug) 3:261v, 4s:351v, 14s:240v, 16:442, 21:529, 529v.  
 STEPHEN POPE (2 Aug) 3:260, 4s:350v, 16:441v, 21:529.  
 SULPICIVS II PIUS (17 Jan) 16:319v.  
 SWITHIN (Translation, 15 Jul) 21:503.  
 SYLVESTER (31 Dec): Baptizing Constantine 4w:190.  
 THECLA (23 Sep) 3:342v, 16:515v.  
 THEOBALD (8 Jul) 16:416.  
 THEODORE (9 Nov) 3:402.  
 THOMAS APOSTLE (21 Dec) 4w:354, 8:37v, 16:300v, 21:391. See also EASTER OCTAVE.  
 THOMAS AQUINAS (7 Mar) 16:348v.  
 THOMAS OF CANTERBURY (29 Dec) 4w:180v, 8:387v, 16:310v, 21:78v; (Translation, 7 Jul) 3:226v, 16:415v, 21:494v.  
 TIBURTIUS (11 Aug) 3:277, 16:454, 21:540v.  
 TIBURTIUS, VALERIAN & MAXIMUS (14 Apr) 16:359, 21:446v.  
 TIMOTHY & APOLLINARUS (23 Aug) 3:295v.  
 TIMOTHY & SYMPHORIAN (22 Aug) 3:294, 16:466v.  
 TURIIVS (13 Jul) 3:233, 16:420v.  
 URBAN (25 May) 16:381.  
 VALENTINE (14 Feb) 16:345, 21:420.  
 VEDASTUS & AMANDUS (6 Feb) 16:344, 21:419.  
 VIKTOR (21 Jul) 3:237, 16:423v.  
 VIKTORINUS (3 Sep) 3:321, 16:495.  
 VINCENT (22 Jan) 4w:364v, 8:425v, 16:326, 21:401.  
 VITALIS (28 Apr) 4s:284, 16:365v, 21:450.  
 VITUS, MODESTUS & CRESCENTIA (15 Jun) 3:193, 16:390v, 21:467.  
 WILLIAM (10 Jan) 16:316v.  
 WULSTAN (19 Jan) 21:394.  
 Samuel. See KINGS.  
 Sarah. See TOBIAS.  
 Saul. See KINGS.  
 SEPTUAGESIMA SUNDAY: Creation of Heaven and Earth 16:59v; Priest and two clerics at lectern 21:146.  
 SEXAGESIMA SUNDAY: Adam led by angel in Garden of Eden 16:63v; Priest reading from book held by cleric 21:151v.  
 Solomon. See PROVERBS.  
 SUMMER EXPOSITIONS (1st Sunday) Lazarus and Dives 14s:140, 21:343v; (Other Sundays) Apostle 21:344; Body borne on bier 21:353v; Christ's mission 21:347v, 349v, 351; St Luke 350, 351v; St Matthew 21:344, 353; Scenes of performance of the office 21:345v, 346, 348, 348v, 352, 354v, 355, 356, 356v, 357, 358, 358v, 359, 360.  
 Temptation of Christ. See QUADRAGESIMA.  
 Three Marias at tomb. See EASTER OCTAVE; EASTER SUNDAY.  
 TOBIAS: Blind 3:143v; Giving alms 14s:128v; Kneeling before a church 11:115; With Sarah greeted by Tobias the Elder 4s:252v.  
 TRANSFIGURATION (27 Jul) 3:249, 16:433v.  
 TRINITY SUNDAY: Baptism of Christ 21:278v; "Dixit Dominus" Trinity 3:106, 14s:90; Mercy seat Trinity 1:142, 11:85v, 14s:91, 16:154, 19:246, 22:316v.  
 WISDOM: Doctor preaching 14s:124; Seated king 11:109.

## Appendix D

### The Paris Liturgical Calendar 1370-1425

Although the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century liturgical calendar for Paris use differs in only minor detail from the 1544 version edited by Paul Perdrizet,<sup>1</sup> the following model, apart from providing an English rather than a French translation of the latin names, supplements the information given by Perdrizet in two ways. The liturgical rank of each office has been included, and an attempt has been made to document the additions and amendments to the calendar over the late medieval period recorded only incidentally to date, as a by-product of the study and description of individual manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Small capitals have been used for all duplex feasts in the model calendar, and italics for all memorials. Feasts marked "S" are semi-duplex. The English forms of the saints' names are based on those preferred in *The Book of Saints*.<sup>3</sup>

#### Abbreviations:

ab	Abbot	k	King
abs	Abbess	m	Martyr
ap	Apostle	mm	Martyrs
bp	Bishop	p	Pope
c	Confessor	pm	Pope Martyr
dr	Doctor	q	Queen
ev	Evangelist	v	Virgin
f	Founder	vm	Virgin Martyr
h	Hermit	w	Widow

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<sup>1</sup>*Calendrier parisien.*

<sup>2</sup>Leroquais, *Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon*, pp. 135-36, listed the main dates important to the Paris calendar, but did not record some of the more interesting variations to be observed in the calendars of the manuscripts catalogued in Appendix B.

<sup>3</sup>Compiled by the Benedictine monks of St Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, 4th ed. (London, 1947).

## January

01. CIRCUMCISION.
02. octave of St Stephen, protomartyr (3 or 9).
03. ST GENEVIÈVE, V; *octave of St John, ap & ev.*
04. octave of Holy Innocents, mm (3 or 9).
05. St Simeon Stylites the Elder, h (3 or 9).
06. EPIPHANY.
- 07.
08. St Rigobertus, bp (S); *SS Lucian, Maximian & Julian, mm.*<sup>4</sup>
- 09.
10. St William, bp (S).
- 11.
- 12.
13. octave of Epiphany (9); *St Hilary, bp dr & St Remigius, bp.*
14. St Felix, m (3).
15. St Maurus, ab (9); *St Bonitus, bp.*
16. St Marcellus, pm (3); *St Fursey, ab.*
17. St Sulpicius II Pius, bp (9); *St Anthony, ab (optional);  
SS Speusippus, Eleusippus & Meleusippus, mm.*
18. St Prisca, vm (3).
19. St Lomer, ab (3).
20. SS Fabian, pm, & Sebastian, m (9).
21. St Agnes, vm (9).
22. ST VINCENT, M.
23. St Emerentiana, vm (3).
24. SS Babilas Urban, Prilidian & Epolonius, mm (3).
25. CONVERSION OF ST PAUL, AP; *St Praejectus, bp m.*
26. St Polycarp, bp m (3).
27. ST JULIAN, BP; *St John Chrysostom, bp dr.*
28. St Agnes *secundo* (3).
29. St Paula, w (3).
30. St Bathildis, q (3 or 9).
31. *St Metrannus, m.*

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<sup>4</sup>The relics of St Rigobertus were received at Notre-Dame de Paris in 1362.

**February**

- 01. St Ignatius, bp m (3); *St Bridget*, v.
- 02. PURIFICATION.
- 03. ST BLAISE, BP M.
- 04.
- 05. St Agatha, vm (9).
- 06. SS Vedastus, bp, & Amandus, ab (3).
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
- 10. St Scholastica, v (3).
- 11.
- 12. *St Eulalia*, vm.
- 13.
- 14. St Valentine, m (3).
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21.
- 22. Chair of St Peter, ap (9).
- 23.
- 24. ST MATHIAS, AP.
- 25.
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.



**March**

- 01. *St Albinus, bp.*
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07. ST THOMAS AQUINAS, DR; *SS Perpetua & Felicitas, mm.*<sup>5</sup>
- 08.
- 09.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12. ST GREGORY, P DR.
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17. *St Gertrude, abs.*
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21. St Benedict, ab (9).
- 22.
- 23.
- 24.
- 25. ANNUNCIATION.
- 26.
- 27. RESURRECTION.
- 28.
- 29.
- 30.
- 31.

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<sup>5</sup>St Thomas Aquinas was canonized in 1323, but his veneration in Paris gained additional strength after the arm of the saint was brought from Toulouse to the Eglise des Jacobins in the Rue St Jacques in 1369.

## April

- 01.
02. St Mary of Egypt, h (S).
- 03.
04. ST AMBROSE, BP DR.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
- 10.
11. *St Leo, p dr.*
- 12.
13. *St Euphemia, vm.*
14. SS Tiburtius, Valerian & Maximus, mm (3).
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21.
22. Invention of SS Dionysius, Rusticus & Eleutherius, mm (S); *St Opportuna, abs.*
23. ST GEORGE, M; *St Regulus, bp.*
- 24.
25. ST MARK, EV.
- 26.
- 27.
28. St Vitalis, m (3).
29. St Peter Martyr (3 or 9).
30. St Eutropius, bp m (S).

## May

01. SS PHILIP & JAMES THE LESS, APOSTLES; *St Amator, bp.*  
 02.  
 03. INVENTION OF THE CROSS; *SS Alexander, Eventius & Theodulus, mm.*  
 04. *St Cyriacus, bp m (S); St Juvenal, bp.*  
 05. *St Fortunatus, m.*  
 06. *St John before the Latin Gate (3 or 9).*  
 07.  
 08.  
 09. Translation of *St Nicholas, bp (S).*  
 10. *SS Gordian & Epimachus, mm (3); St Mathurin, c.*  
 11. *SS Mamertus, bp, & Majolus, ab.*  
 12. *SS Nereus & Achilleus, mm (3).*  
 13.  
 14.  
 15.  
 16. *St Honoratus, bp.*  
 17.  
 18.  
 19. ST IVO, C; *St Peter Celestine, pf (3 or 9); St Pudentiana, v.*<sup>6</sup>  
 20.  
 21. TRANSLATION OF ST LOUIS IX, KING.<sup>7</sup>  
 22.  
 23.  
 24. *SS Donation & Rogation.*  
 25. *St Urban, pm (3).*  
 26.  
 27.  
 28. ST GERMANUS OF PARIS, BP; *St Caraunus, m.*  
 29.  
 30.  
 31. *SS Cantius, Cantian, Cantianilla & Protus, mm; St Petronilla, vm.*

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<sup>6</sup>St Peter Celestine was canonized in 1313 and St Ivo in 1347.

<sup>7</sup>Observed on the Tuesday after Ascension: "Nota quod die martis post Ascensionem Domini debet fieri duplum de translacione capitis b. Ludovici" (Châteauroux Breviary, f. 3).

## June

01. St Nicomedes, m (3).  
 02. SS Marcellinus & Peter, mm (3).  
 03.  
 04.  
 05.  
 06.  
 07.  
 08. SS Medardus & Gildardus, bps (3).  
 09. SS Primus & Felician, mm (3).  
 10. St Landericus, bp c (9).  
 11. ST BARNABUS, AP M.  
 12. SS Basilides, Cyrinus, Nabor & Nazarius, mm (3).  
 13.  
 14. St Basil, bp dr (S); *SS Rufinus & Valerius, mm.*  
 15. SS Vitus, Modestus & Crescentia, mm (3).  
 16. SS FERREOLUS & FERRUTIO, MM; *SS Cyricus & Julitta, mm.*  
 17. St Avitus, ab (3).  
 18. SS Mark & Marcellian, mm (3); *St Fortunatus, c; St Marina, v.*  
 19. SS Gervaise & Prothasius, mm (9).  
 20.  
 21. St Leutfrid, ab (9).  
 22. St Paulinus, bp (3).  
 23.  
 24. BIRTH OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST; *SS Agoardus & Aglibertus.*  
 25. Translation of St Eligius, bp (S).  
 26. SS John & Paul, mm (9).  
 27.  
 28. *St Leo, pc.*  
 29. SS PETER & PAUL, APP.  
 30. Commemoration of St Paul, ap (9); *St Martial, bp.*<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>St Martial was venerated in the Paris diocese by means of a full duplex feast on 2 July, until the adoption of the feast of the Visitation towards the middle of the century. Even after this, at Notre-Dame itself 2 July continued to be reserved for the feast of St Martial, and the Visitation was celebrated on 27 June: Perdrizet, *Calendrier parisien*, "Juillet".

## July

01. octave of the Birth of St John the Baptist (9); *St Leonorius, ab.*  
 02. ST MARTIAL, BP; *SS Processus & Martinian.*  
 03.  
 04. St Martin (9).  
 05.  
 06. octave of SS Peter & Paul, app (9).  
 07. St Thomas of Canterbury, bp m (S).  
 08. SS Claudius, Nicostratus & comp., mm (3).<sup>9</sup>  
 09. St Theobald, c (S); *St Zeno, m.*  
 10. Seven Brothers, mm (3).  
 11. Translation of St Benedict (9).  
 12.  
 13. St Turiaf, bp (9).  
 14.  
 15.  
 16.  
 17.  
 18. St Arnulf, bp (9).  
 19.  
 20. St Margaret, vm (3).  
 21. St Victor, m (9); *St Praxedes, v.*  
 22. ST MARY MAGDALEN; *St Wandrille, ab.*  
 23. St Apollinaris, bp m (3).  
 24. St Christina, vm (3).  
 25. ST JAMES THE GREATER, AP; *SS Christopher & Cucufas, mm; SS Germanus & Julian, mm.*  
 26. TRANSLATION OF ST MARCELLUS, BP.  
 27. Transfiguration (3 or 9).  
 28. ST ANNE; *St Samson, bp; St Pantaleon, m.*  
 29. ST MARTHA, v; St Felix, pm (3); *St Lupus, bp.*<sup>10</sup>  
 30. SS Abdon & Sennen, mm (3).  
 31. St Germanus of Auxerre, bp (S).

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<sup>9</sup>In Arsenal 134, the Orgemont Breviary, BN lat 1264 (13 July), Mazarine 342 and BL Harley 2927, also *St Nummius* (Perdrizet: "S. Nom").

<sup>10</sup>The duplex feast of St Martha was an early fifteenth century addition to the Paris liturgy. It does not appear in the Breviary of Charles V or the Paris/ Manchester Breviary.

## August

01. Chains of St Peter, ap (9); *Machabees, mm; St Eusebius, m; St Exuperius, bp; SS Faith, Hope & Charity, vv mm.*
02. St Stephen, p (3).
03. Invention of St Stephen, m (S).
04. TRANSLATION OF THE HOLY CROSS.<sup>11</sup>
05. St Jonas [Yon], m (3); *St Memmius, bp.*
06. St Sixtus, p (3); *SS Felicissimus & Agapitus, mm.*
07. St Donatus, bp (3).
08. St Justin (9); *SS Cyriacus, Largus & Smaragdus, mm.*
09. St Romanus, m (3)
10. ST LAWRENCE, M.
11. TRANSLATION OF THE CROWN OF THORNS.
12. St Tiburtius, m (3).
13. St Hippolytus, m (9).
14. *St Eusebius, c.*
15. ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN.
- 16.
17. *octave of St Lawrence, m.*
18. *St Agapitus, m.*
19. St Louis d'Anjou, bp (S).<sup>12</sup>
20. *St Philibert, ab.*
- 21.
22. *octave of Assumption (S); SS Timothy & Symphorian, mm.*
23. *SS Timothy & Apollinaris, mm (3).*
24. ST BARTHOLOMEW, AP M; *St Audoenus (Ouen), bp.*
25. ST LOUIS, K; *St Genesisius, m.*
26. St Bernard (S); *SS Ireneus & Abundius, mm.*
27. *SS George, Aurelius & comp., mm (9); St Rufus, bp.*
28. ST AUGUSTINE, BP DR & F; *SS Hermes, Julian & comp., mm.*
29. St John the Baptist (9); *St Medericus, ab; St Sabina, m.*
30. ST FIACRE; *SS Felix & Adauctus, mm; St Agilus, ab.*
- 31.

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<sup>11</sup>Non synodal. It was observed on the first Sunday in August at Sainte-Chapelle, where the relic was kept, but it is mentioned in the calendars of the Breviaries of Charles V and Gérard de Montaigu, the Orgemont and Châteauroux Breviaries and the Paris/Manchester Breviary.

<sup>12</sup>Non-synodal. It appears in the Breviary of Charles V on 21 August; but only as a rubric, without rank, in the summer volume of the Breviary of Gérard de Montaigu, and not at all in the winter volume. St Louis of Anjou was canonized in 1317.

## September

01. St Giles, ab (S); *St Priscus, m.*  
 02. St Antoninus, m (3).  
 03. St Lupus, bp (9); *St Godegrandus.*  
 04. *St Marcellus, m.*  
 05. St Victorinus, bp m (3); *St Bertinus, ab.*  
 06.  
 07. St Clodoaldus, ab (9); *St Evortius, bp.*  
 08. BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN; *St Adrian, m.*  
 09. *St Gorgonius, m.*  
 10.  
 11. *SS Protus & Hyacinth, mm.*  
 12. *SS Syrius, bp, & Juventius, bp, mm.*  
 13. *St Maurillius, bp.*  
 14. EXALTATION OF THE HOLY CROSS; *SS Cornelius, p, & Cyprian, bp, mm.*  
 15. octave of the Birth of the Virgin (S); *St Nicomedes, m.*  
 16. St Euphemia, vm (3); *SS Lucy & Geminianus, mm.*  
 17. St Audomaris [Omer], bp (9); *St Lambert, bp m.*  
 18.  
 19. *St Sequanus [Seine], bp.*  
 20.  
 21. ST MATTHEW, AP & EV  
 22. St Maurice, m (9).  
 23. St Thecla, vm (3); *St Paternus [Pair], bp.*  
 24. *SS Andochius, Thyrsus & Felix, mm.*  
 25. ST FIRMINUS, BP.<sup>13</sup>  
 26. *St Senator.*  
 27. SS Cosmas & Damian, mm (s); *St Ceraunus, bp.*  
 28.  
 29. ST MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL.  
 30. ST JEROME, C DR.

<sup>13</sup>Upgraded from a three-lesson feast during the period surveyed. In the Breviary of Charles V it is nine-lesson. In BL Harley 2927 it is rubricated as "Duplum novum".

## October

01. St Remigius, bp (9); *St Piatu*, m; *SS Germanus, bp, & Bavo*,  
h.
02. St Leodegarius, bp m (3); *St Serenus, bp*.
03. St Francis, f (9); *St Candidus, m*.
04. St Aurea, abs (9).<sup>14</sup>
- 05.
06. *St Faith, vm*.
07. SS Mark, p, Marcellus & Apuleius, mm (3); *SS Sergius & Bacchus, mm*.
08. St Demetrius, m (3)
09. SS DIONYSIUS, RUSTICUS & ELEUTHERIUS, MM.
10. *St Gereon & comp., mm*
- 11.
- 12.
13. ST GERALD, C.<sup>15</sup>
14. *St Calixtus, p*.
- 15.
16. octave of St Dionysius & comp., mm (9); *St Lucian & comp., mm*.
17. St Carbonius, bp (3).
18. ST LUKE, EV; *St Herblandus*.
19. SS Sabinian & Potencian, mm (9).
20. *St Caprasius*.
21. ELEVEN THOUSAND VIRGINS; *St Hilarion, ab*.
22. St Mellonius, bp (S).
23. St Severinus, bp (3).
24. St Maglorius, bp (9).
25. SS Crispin & Crispinian, mm (9).
- 26.
- 27.
28. SS SIMON & JUDE, APOSTLES; *St Faro, bp; Translation of St Geneviève, v*.
- 29.
30. St Lucanus, m (9).
31. St Quintinus, m (3 or 9).

<sup>14</sup>In the Orgemont Breviary a rubric against 4 October observes that this is the proper day for St Francis. The newer feast, however, displaces that of St Aurea in the 1544 Breviary.

<sup>15</sup>The 1544 breviary notes "Fit de eo duplum in magna ecclesia, sed nihil per dioecesim" (Perdrizet, p. 240).



## November

01. ALL SAINTS  
 02. ALL SOULS  
 03. ST MARCELLUS, BP; *St Guenhael, ab.*  
 04.  
 05. *St Clarus, m (S); St Laetus, priest.*  
 06. <sup>16</sup>  
 07. *St Herculanus, bp.*  
 08. octave of St Marcellus, bp (9); *Four Crowned Martyrs.*  
 09. *St Mathurin, c (9); St Theodore, m.*  
 10. SS Martin, p, & Verannus, bp (3).  
 11. ST MARTIN, BP; *St Mennas, m.*  
 12. *St Leo, c.*  
 13. ST GENDULPHUS, BP; *St Brice, bp.*  
 14.  
 15. *St Machutus [Malo], bp; St Eugene, bp m.*  
 16. <sup>17</sup>  
 17. *St Anianus [Aignan], bp (9).*  
 18. octave of St Martin, bp (9); *St Auda.*  
 19. *St Elizabeth, q (9).*  
 20.  
 21. *St Columbanus, m.*  
 22. *St Cecilia, vm (9).*  
 23. *St Clement, pm (9); St Felicitas, m.*  
 24. *St Severinus (9); St Chrysogonus, m.*  
 25. ST KATHERINE, VM.  
 26. Healing of the Burnt by St Geneviève, v (9); *St Linus, p.*  
 27. *SS Agricola & Vitalis, mm.*  
 28.  
 29. *St Saturninus, m.*  
 30. ST ANDREW, AP M.

<sup>16</sup>The three-lesson office for St Leonard assigned this date in BN lat 745, BN lat 1025 (nine-lesson), BN lat 1263 (added) and BN lat 1264 is included in the 1544 calendar.

<sup>17</sup>A memorial to St Edmund is assigned to this date in BN lat 745, BN lat 1025, BN lat 1263 (added) and Mazarine 341, and to the 20th in the Breviary of Charles V.

## December

01. St Eligius, bp (9).  
18
- 02.
- 03.
04. RELICS.
- 05.
06. ST NICHOLAS, BP
07. *octave of St Andrew, ap m; St Fara, abs.*
08. CONCEPTION OF THE VIRGIN.
- 09.
10. St Nichasius, bp, & comp., mm (S); *St Eulalia, vm.*
11. St Fuscian, Gentian & Victoricus, mm (9); *St Damasus, p.*
- 12.
13. St Lucy, vm (9).
- 14.
15. *St Maximinus, ab.*
- 16.
17. 19
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
21. ST THOMAS, AP M.
- 22.
- 23.
- 24.
25. NATIVITY.
26. ST STEPHEN, M.
27. ST JOHN, AP & EV.
28. HOLY INNOCENTS.
29. St Thomas of Canterbury, bp m (9).
- 30.
31. St Sylvester, p (9); *St Columba, vm.*

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<sup>18</sup>A nine-lesson feast for St Valeria is assigned to this date in the Orgemont Breviary and in Mazarine 342 (added) and BL Harley 2927, as well as in the 1544 calendar, where it has the rubric "Fit de ea duplum in maiore ecclesia, sed nihil fit per diocesim" (Perdrizet, p. 270).

<sup>19</sup>"Lazari episcopi et martiris quem christe suscita vit, de quo nichil fit in ecclesia parisiensi": Mazarine 342; similarly, in the Orgemont Breviary and BL Harley 2927.

## D.1. The Paris Litany 1370-1425

The following litany is here presented as a model for the Paris use:

Mary	George	Babilas & comp.	Agnes
Mother of God	Aurelian	Gereon & comp.	Petronilla
Virgin of Virgins	Justin	martyrs.	Cecilia
Michael	Lucanus		Katherine
Gabriel	Victor	Sylvester	Margaret
Raphael	Christopher	Leo	Anastasia
Angels & Archangels	Quentin	Ambrose	Felicula
Thrones & Dominations	Firminus	Jerome	Eugenia
Principates & Potestates	Crispin	Gregory	Euphemia
Virtues	Crispinian	Remigius	Juliana
John the Baptist	Arnulphus	Hilary	Emerentiana
Patriarchs & Prophets.	Herculanus	Marcellus	Eulalia
	Theodore	Gendulphus	Genevieve
	Marcellus	Martin	Opportuna
Peter	Polycarp	Germanus	Elizabeth
Paul	Mettrannus	Regulus	Barbara
Andrew	Urban	Samson	Scholastica
James	Valentine	Eligius	Bridget
John	Gordian	Maglorius	Aurea
Thomas	Epimachus	Britius	Prothasia
Philip	Donation	Exupery	Faith
Bartholomew	Rogation	Iugor	Hope
Thadeus	Caraunus	Patrick	Charity
Matthew	Cantus	Edmund	Concord
Simon	Cantianus	Audomaris	Patience
Jude	Nichomedes	Amanus	Batildis
Mat hias	Vitus	Leobinus	Prisca
Luke	Modestus	Audoenus	Potentiana
Mark	Clarus	Julian	Christina
Barnabas	Nichostratus	Nicholas	Auda
Apostles & Evangelists	Simpronian	Medardus	Radegundis
Innocents	Apollinarus	Felix	Wisdom
Disciples	Pantaleon	John	Virgins.
	Samson	Vedastus	
Stephen	Felicissimus	Amandus	
Linus	Agapitus	Gildardus	
Cletus	Donatus	Landericus	
Clement	Cyriacus	Fortunatus	
Anacletus	Largus	Maiolus	
Sixtus	Smaragdus	Avitus	
Cornelius	Timothy	Leonorus	
Cyprian	Symphorian	Eusebius	
Lawrence	Hermes	Benedict	
Vincent	Blaise	Medericus	
Chrysogonus	Thomas	Maurus	
John	Julian	Leufrid	
Paul	Priscus	Lomer	
Cosmas	Victorinus	Maximian	
Damian	Prothus	Egidius	
Ignacius	Hyacinth	William	
Alexander	Lambert	Bertinus	
Marcellinus	Leodegarus	Louis	
Peter	Calistus	Rigobertus	
Dionysius & comp.	Caprasius	Confessors	
Fabian	Vitalis		
Sebastian	Maurice & comp.	Mary Magdalene	
Marcellinus	Fuscian & comp.	Mary of Egypt	
Mark	Lucian & comp.	Felicitas	
Abdon	Hippolytus & comp.	Perpetua	
Sennon	Eustachius & comp.	Anne	
Gervaise	Nichasius & comp.	Lucy	
Prothasius			

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