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February 1971 Bulletin



FRONTISPIECE

The Visitation from the so-called Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (The Cloisters Collection, 54.1.2, fol. 35r) and the Trinity from the Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg (The Cloisters Collection, 69.86, fol. 170r). Traditionally these manuscripts have been connected with the same artist, Jean Pucelle, an attribution questioned in the pages of this Bulletin. A remarkable contrast can be observed between the monumental, shapely standing figures of the Visitation (dated about 1325-1328) and the sophisticated yet mannered seated figures of the Trinity (dated in the mid-1340s, the very last phase of the "Pucelle style" in Paris)

Jean Pucelle - Facts and Fictions

This *Bulletin* is dedicated to one of the most outstanding Parisian illuminators of the early fourteenth century, whose name has been connected with two illuminated manuscripts kept at The Cloisters, the so-called Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux and the Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg. We call him Jean Pucelle, although we do not know who he was, whether he worked as a *chef d'atelier* — the master of a workshop — or whether he was just an *enlumineur* we hear of by chance more often than we hear of his many colleagues working in Paris.

The artist's name, Jehan Pucelle (or Pucele), is recorded in Parisian documents between 1319 and 1334, the date of his death. It appears for the very first time in accounts for the years 1319-1324 of the Paris confraternity of St. Jacques-aux-Pèlerins; Pucelle was commissioned to design the institution's seal, which is known only through engravings of 1851, when the piece was discovered (it has since been lost again), and 1877. Both representations are too vague to give a precise idea of its style, and they provide no obvious links with the works discussed below. Pucelle is also mentioned in marginal notes in two manuscripts now in the Bibliothèque Nationale: first, with a Mahiet, an Ancelet, and J. Chevrier, as the painters of the Belleville Breviary, dating from between 1323 and 1326. Nobody can say for sure which of the four artists made the miniature of St. Catherine (Figure 1), one of seventy-nine extant pictures. While it is wrong to call it a personal work by Pucelle, it is correct to label it "Pucelle style."

In 1327 Pucelle's name is mentioned with Anciau de Cens [Sens] and Jacquet Maci in the Bible written by Robert de Billyng. The miniature reproduced here (Figure 2) is one of seventy-four historiated initials Pucelle is claimed to have painted. There is, however, no evidence for such an attribution. The style differs considerably from that of St. Catherine in the Belleville Breviary, although the two manuscripts are practically contemporary.

In addition, there is a third illuminated book belonging to the very same years: the "Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux" at The Cloisters, presumably made between 1325 and 1328. Looking at one of the miniatures from the St. Louis cycle in this manuscript (see Figure 10, page 264), we become aware of a third style, which differs substantially in quality from what we found in the contemporary Belleville Breviary and the Billyng Bible. It must be noted, however, that we are comparing illustrations from three different types and sizes of manuscripts. Which one, if any, is by Pucelle's hand?

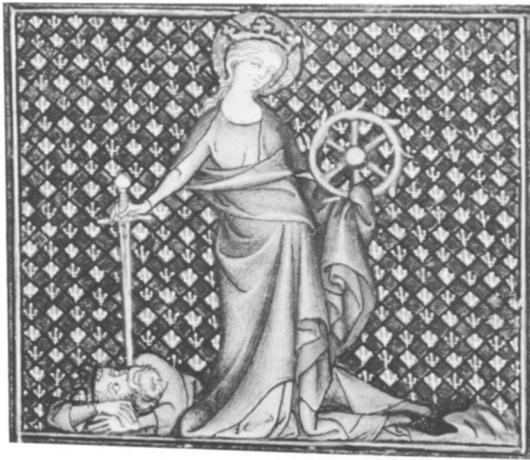
The fundamental question is whether Pucelle's personal style can really be isolated. This may be feasible if we can link the *Heures de Pucelle* listed in 1410, 1413, and 1416 in the duke of Berry's inventories with the manuscript mentioned in the will of Jeanne d'Evreux. I, personally, am inclined to think that an identification of these two as the small volume now at The Cloisters seems to be a fiction. After Elizabeth Flinn's careful examination of the book,

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ON THE COVER

The Three Living and the Three Dead (front) and The Arrest of Christ (back) from the Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg, discussed in the article that begins on page 267. Painted in the margins around each miniature in this beautiful manuscript are numerous birds and other animals, often extremely naturalistic. In the Arrest scene (reading clockwise from the top) a Rooster, Little Owl, rabbit, Goldfinch, Barn Swallow, falcon (probably a Kestrel), a bird of dubious identity, a butterfly, a Jay, and a Mallard drake can be seen. French, mid-1340s. Paint on parchment, each page 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 69.86, fol. 321v, 322r and fol. 246v



1. St. Catherine. Miniature from the Belleville Breviary. $9\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ inches overall. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms Lat. 10484, fol. 395v. Photograph: Foto Marburg

The beautifully draped figure of this standing saint from the Belleville Breviary is characterized by the linear qualities of the outline drawing and the refinement of her face. The graphology is typical of tradition-minded Parisian book illumination



2. Fall of Ahaziah. Initial from the Billyng Bible. $11\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ inches overall. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms Lat. 11935, fol. 174r. Photograph: Foto Marburg

The figure of the falling king from the Billyng Bible is, in contrast to the saint in the Belleville Breviary, shaped with colors, rather than drawn. The rendering of the face is a painterly one: it is modeled with gradations of color. The perspective of the background architecture is due to the Italian influence discussed on page 256. It may be compared to the Throne of Charity in Bonne's prayer book (Figure 12, page 275), where the spatial rendering is completely misunderstood

we hesitate to continue accepting the suggestion that the inventory entries were describing the Cloisters manuscript. Most art historians have, however, readily accepted that identification.

Indeed, because so few specific names are known to us, because most manuscripts of the period were painted by more than one man, and because there is so little documentary evidence available, it has been convenient to attach the label "Pucelle style" to many Parisian manuscripts datable to the second quarter of the fourteenth century. With each new discovery, however, we can hope

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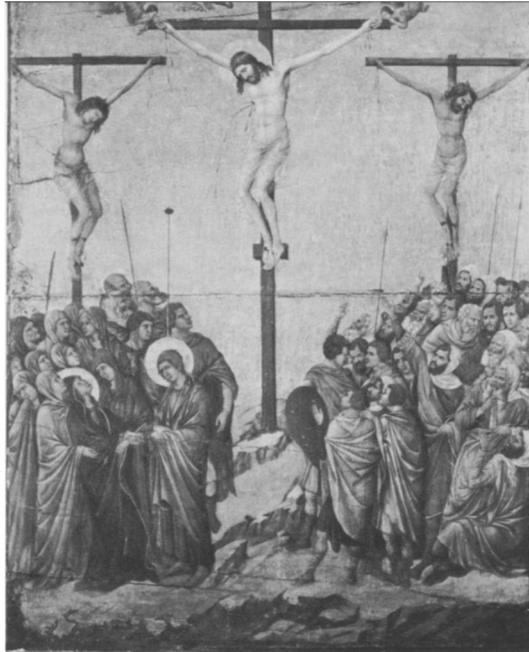
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3. *The Crucifixion. Miniature from the so-called Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux. French, possibly 1325-1328. Ink on vellum, 3⁵/₈ x 2³/₈ inches overall. The Cloisters Collection, 54.1.2, fol. 68v*

The traditional date given to the "Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux," 1325-1328, makes it contemporary with the Belleville Breviary and the Billyng Bible. The "Pucelle style" here reaches its pinnacle: the miniaturist has telescoped the enormous vision of Duccio's version of the theme but neglected all confining frames



4. *The Crucifixion. Panel from the Maestà, by Duccio di Buoninsegna (about 1255-1319), Italian (Siena). 40¹/₈ x 29⁷/₈ inches. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena. Photograph: Alinari – Art Reference Bureau*

to refine our art historical identifications by reconsidering existing works of art in light of our growing knowledge. In the case of the Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg, with its generally accepted date of "about 1345," puzzling questions about the chronology arose when we learned in the spring of 1970 — about a year after the manuscript was acquired — that Françoise Baron of the Department of Sculpture of the Louvre recently found the date of Pucelle's death, 1334, in a Parisian document.

Since the artist died two years after Bonne's marriage to Jean, the book for Bonne might have been painted by his own hand, but assigning this early date raises considerable problems about the development of style. There are many remarkable differences between this manuscript and earlier ones in the "Pucelle style," including the "Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux," and François Avril of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, may be right in giving the book to the Master of the Breviary of Charles V. It is my opinion that a date in the forties of the century is appropriate.

There is, as a matter of fact, very little evidence, either historical or stylistic, for crediting "Jean Pucelle" with the many important royal commissions that have been attributed to him.

At present, "Pucelle" is no more than a label representing a whole group of

artists illuminating books in Paris; they were connected with the royal court, and they worked in a tradition that had, by around 1325, become comparatively impersonal and routine. “Paris, like Rome, was — and in a measure still is — a reservoir rather than a well: a place where many artists learn and live but few are born, which has the power to attract, to synthesize, and to refine but not to originate” (Erwin Panofsky).

With the appearance of Pucelle’s name, there was an exciting new departure in Parisian courtly book illumination, which, as a matter of fact, would not have been possible without the contribution of Italy — to be more specific, without the aid of Duccio. The “Pucelle style” shows solid trecento connections in its painterly skill and its familiarity with southern perspective as it existed in Sieneese models.

The narrative miniatures of the so-called Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux bear witness to this very early and rather sudden impact of Italian art upon Parisian painting (see the illumination of the Annunciation, Figure 1, page 262). For the first time in the North, the figures are no longer arranged flatly on small stages but are placed in a coherent perspective setting. The painter concentrated on the effect of plastic forms. In Erwin Panofsky’s words, he modeled his actors “by light and shade alone, suppressing all linear contours except for such details as facial features, hands and hair.”

The Italian influence was, however, short-lived — it seems to diminish around 1335 (and Pucelle died in 1334) — leading us to conclude that it was due to the ascendancy of one artist and not to a general mood. Indeed, many of the Parisian *enlumineurs* — especially those outside the royal workshops — were not very deeply trecento-minded, and, as can be seen in numerous drolleries refined with all sorts of animals and flowers, they were inclined to accept recipes originating from the North rather than from the South of Europe.

In addition to the sudden, brief appearance of Italian influence in Paris, there is another intriguing detail. The name Jehan Pucelle sounds rather strange and unusual compared with those of his French colleagues, most of whose names were connected with a town of origin. It would be an entertaining idea, then, to make Pucelle arrive from outside France and to settle in Paris as a young Giovanni Pucelli from Italy. He could have introduced Italian elements and exposed his Duccio background (Figures 3, 4) to the other artists when he continued his training in the royal workshop, where he adopted the sophisticated French *manière* of telling his stories. The new layout of the pages — the carefully interwoven arrangement of text and illustrations — although northern looking, may also have sources in Italian manuscripts around 1300. Those and Duccio’s *Maestà* may be linked to impressions young Giovanni Pucelli gathered in Umbria and Tuscany before he took off for Paris.

This Italian theory could just as easily be explained by a Sieneese model book brought to Paris and used in the royal workshops. Drawings after Duccio’s *Maestà* were reinterpreted by different artists, in the Belleville Breviary first, then in the “Evreux Hours,” and finally in the Billyng Bible. These are solid facts; to attribute all the works to Pucelle is a solid fiction.



Ci commence la passion no
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see selonc les docteurs i les autres
sains. mise du latin en francois.



A Magnificent Manuscript— A Historical Mystery

ELIZABETH HAIGHT FLINN *Lecturer, Junior Museum*

Of the many illuminated manuscripts made during the Middle Ages only a small percentage remains. One of the most magnificent is a fourteenth-century French book of hours acquired by The Cloisters in 1954 from the collection of Baron Maurice de Rothschild. Its provenance can be traced back to its seventeenth-century owners Louis-Jules du Châtelet and his wife, Christine de Gleseneuve, whose coats of arms adorn the present red morocco binding. The ownership of the book before the seventeenth century is uncertain.

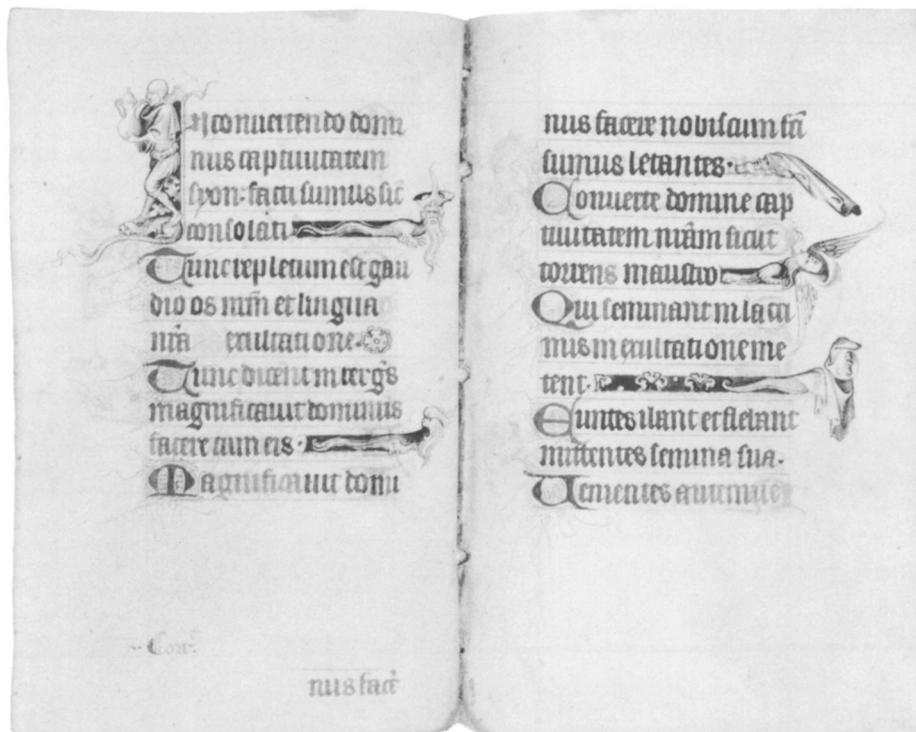
A book of hours is a specific type of prayer book that first appeared in the second half of the thirteenth century and became extremely popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By definition it includes readings and prayers for the eight canonical hours of the day: matins (midnight), lauds (sunrise), prime (6 a.m.), terce (9 a.m.), sext (noon), none (3 p.m.), vespers (sunset), and compline (9 p.m.). The particular readings and prayers included in the hours enable us to determine the “usage,” that is, the religious order or city for which the book was written. In addition, a book of hours usually includes a calendar, an office of the dead, penitential psalms, suffrages, and a litany of saints.

The content of the Cloisters manuscript is typical of a book of hours: a calendar, hours of the Virgin, hours of St. Louis, the seven penitential psalms, and a litany of saints. The manuscript is unusual, however, in that the various parts are not written for the same usage. The hours are Dominican, but neither the calendar nor the litany includes the most venerated Dominican saints: St. Dominic (canonized in 1234), St. Peter Martyr (1253), St. Elisabeth (1253), and St. Francis (1228).

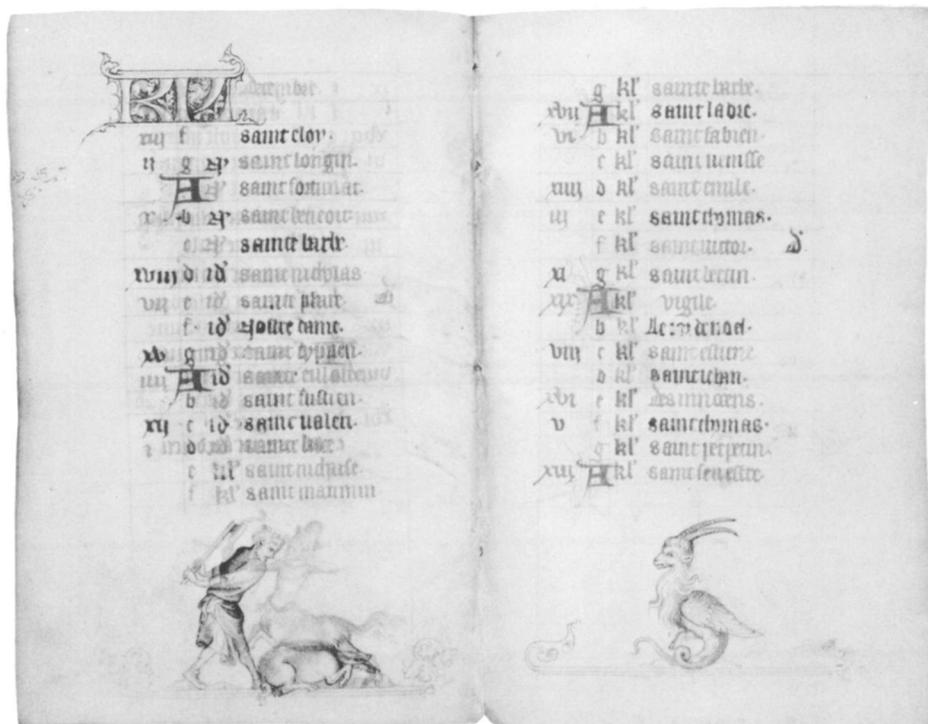
The usage of the calendar and litany is, in fact, Parisian. In accordance with Parisian practice, a celebration is listed for each day of the year. Fifty of the calendar saints, including Sts. Genevieve, Honorine, Denis, Germain, Marcel, Landri, Louis, and Cloud, are specially honored in Paris.

The combining of different usages may result from the medieval practice of writing a text by copying model books. From the consistency of the script, the book appears to have been written by one scribe; he most likely followed a Dominican example for the hours and Parisian models for the calendar and litany.

1. Near the bottom of the left-hand page (fol. 70v) the notation "Corr," an abbreviation for "correctus," indicates that corrections have been made in the gathering of folios 63 recto through 70 verso. At the bottom of the page are the catch words "nus fac'e," which are the initial words on the first folio of the next gathering, fol. 71r-78v



2. Month of December: fol. 12v, 13r in the calendar. At the bottom of fol. 12v is this illustration of a man slaughtering a hog – the labor of the month. The goat on fol. 13r represents Capricorn – the sign of the zodiac for December. For determining the date of Easter; "golden numbers of the Dionysian cycle of nineteen years [Roman numerals in the calendar]" are used. The letters A through g indicate the days of the week, Sunday through Saturday. The abbreviations "n," "id," and "kl" indicate different phases of the moon



Mistakes in luxury books in the fourteenth century were often left uncorrected so as to avoid erasure or correction marks. Yet the notation “Corr’ ” (an abbreviation for *correctus*) appears in many sections of the book, indicating that corrections were made (Figure 1). The calendar, which was left uncorrected, has numerous mistakes. Fifteen saints are listed on the wrong day. For example, St. Ypolite, traditionally celebrated on March 20, appears on February 20 (see Figure 2, page 269), and St. Fortunat appears on December 3 (Figure 2), instead of his usual day, December 14. More than thirty names of saints are misspelled, including St. Fabien on December 18 instead of St. Flavian and St. Venisse on December 19 instead of St. Nemese (compare the letter “n” in St. Nichaise on December 14 with the letter “v” in St. Valeri on December 12).

Although the Cloisters manuscript lacks any identification of owner, artist, or scribe, it has long been thought to be the book mentioned in the will of King Charles IV’s wife, Jeanne d’Evreux (1310-1371). She bequeathed to Charles V (1337-1380) “*un bien petit livret d’oroisons que le roy Charles, dont Diex ait l’âme, avoit faict faire por Madame, que pucelle enlumina*” (“a very little book of prayers, which King Charles, God rest his soul, had made for Madame, which pucelle illuminated”). The Cloisters manuscript is “very little,” $3\frac{5}{8}$ by $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and has two illustrations of a queen in prayer (Figure 1, page 262; Figure 9, page 264), indicating that it was probably commissioned for royalty. It has therefore been dated between the years 1325, when King Charles IV married Jeanne d’Evreux, and 1328, when he died.

The Cloisters manuscript also has been said to fit the description of a book that once belonged to Jean, Duke of Berry (1340-1416). Inventories of the duke’s collection include: “*Item unes petites heures de Nostre Dame, nommées Heures de Pucelle, enluminées de blanc et de noir, à l’usage des Prescheurs*” (“Item a little hours of Our Lady, called Hours of Pucelle, illuminated in white and black, following the usage of the Preachers [Dominicans]”). The Cloisters manuscript has the “little hours of Our Lady”; it has illuminations in grisaille (*de blanc et de noir*); and the hours of the Virgin follow the usage of the Dominican order.

The conclusion that the books referred to in both documents are the same seems reasonable because Charles V was the duke’s brother. As Rudolf Blum has pointed out, however, the Middle Ages clearly distinguished “*unes petites heures de Nostre Dame*” (the little hours of Our Lady, also called a book of hours, which appears in the duke’s inventories) from “*un petit livret d’oroisons*” (a little book of prayers, which appears in the queen’s will), so it is most likely that only one of the two documents could be referring to the Cloisters manuscript.

Because it is a book of hours, the Cloisters manuscript appears to be closer to the description in the duke’s inventories than to the one in Jeanne’s will, yet it differs from the duke’s book since some of the illuminations are not done purely in grisaille but have touches of color. In addition, the entry in the duke’s inventories does not mention the hours of St. Louis, which is one of the most important and identifiable characteristics of the Cloisters book.



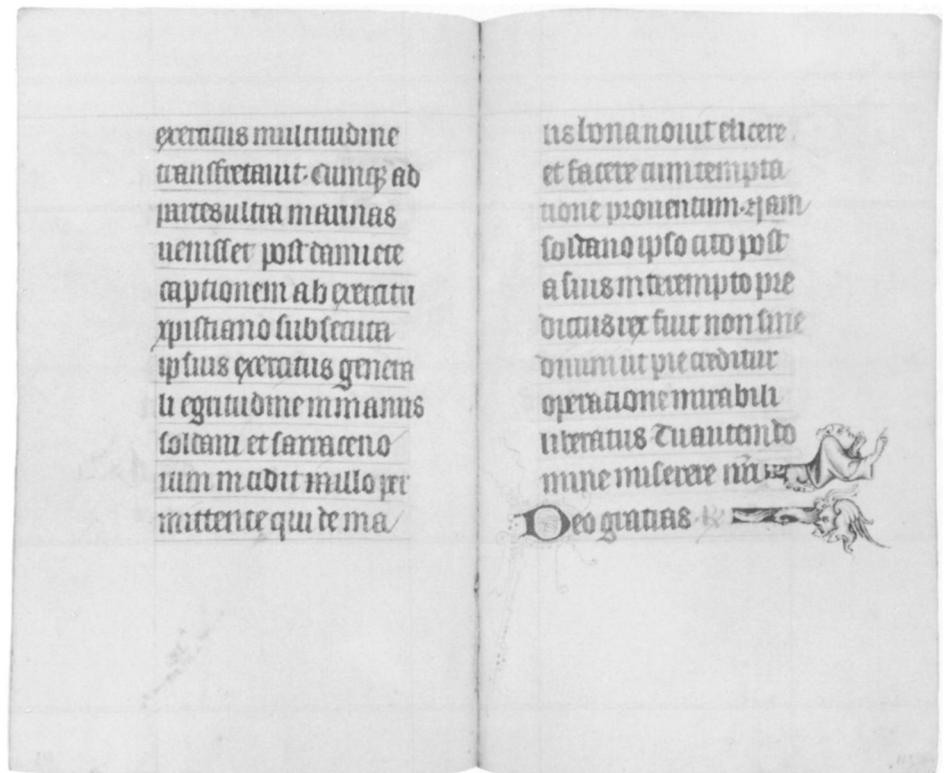
3. The Evreux coat of arms from the Coronation Book of Charles IV and Jeanne d'Evreux. No coat of arms exists in the Cloisters book. Reproduced from *Rare Book Notes on the History of Old Books and Manuscripts Published for the Friends and Clients of H. P. Kraus* 8, no. 5 (November 1958), by Harry Bober

The Cloisters manuscript is probably not the one mentioned in the queen's will either, since it is not a *petit livret d'oraisons*. Indeed, if it were made for Jeanne d'Evreux between 1325 and 1328, it is surprising that the calendar does not include any celebrations approved between 1305 and 1325. The most up-to-date entries are St. Louis on August 25 (canonized in 1297), and St. Longin, whose feast was celebrated on December 2 starting in 1304. There is no mention of St. Thomas Aquinas, who was canonized in 1323. He was greatly admired by Parisians and was a close friend of St. Louis, whose hours appear in the Cloisters manuscript. Also omitted from the calendar is the grandnephew of St. Louis, St. Louis of Toulouse, who was canonized in 1317.

Books made for royalty were usually decorated with the owner's coat of arms, but the Cloisters book has none. In contrast, both the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux (an official prayer book used in church services) and the Coronation Book of Charles IV and Jeanne d'Evreux are illuminated by the Evreux coat of arms (Figure 3).

Of the 209 folios in the Cloisters manuscript only ten pages of text are not illuminated (Figure 4), giving the impression that the book is unfinished. This impression is strengthened by the presence of corrections in many parts of the book but not in the calendar, and the absence of fourteenth-century coats of arms.

In conclusion, associating the Cloisters manuscript with either Queen Jeanne d'Evreux or Jean, Duke of Berry, seems questionable — and the identity of the intended owner of this beautifully illuminated book remains a mystery.



4. Fol. 114v (left) appears unfinished because, unlike most of the folios in the book, it has no illustrations

An Image of St. Louis and the Structuring of Devotion

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In the late thirteenth century, pseudo-St. Bonaventura instructed the reader of his *Meditations on the Life of Christ* to “be present at the same things that it is related that Christ did and said, joyfully and rightly, leaving behind all other cares and anxieties.”

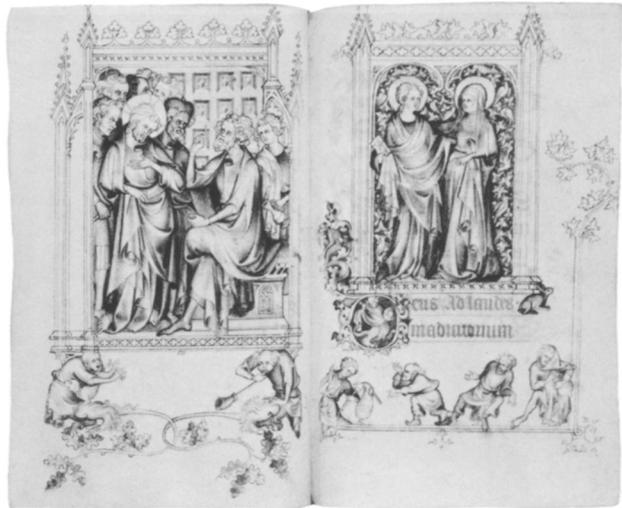
The manuscript referred to as the Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux provided its reader — undoubtedly the woman whose portrait we find among its pages — with the framework for such contemplation. Even its tiny size ($3\frac{5}{8}$ by $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches), like that of a diary or notebook, sets the stage for an intense and extremely intimate experience. When grasped in the hand it is almost worn, rather than carried, as if it were a jewel or an article of clothing. Familiarity with its pages is like the knowledge of the parts of one’s body, particularly the hand, in which the manuscript becomes an extension of the person and her feelings, and is recognized and read as if reading one’s own palm.

The personalization of the manuscript, by which the reader was able to become immediately engrossed in its pages, is also suggested by the marginal scenes that lace many of its leaves. Favorite stories, anecdotes, bits and pieces of memories, playful, toylike characters, and lively grotesques — each is perhaps a personal memento or familiar image, the meaning of which has passed with the owner and the author.

Its prayers and images, in particular, were familiar cues to the reader — the touchstones of contemplation — by which her thoughts were directed to the Infancy of Christ, the signs of the Passion within the Infancy, and the relation between Christ and king. Both their content and their location within the book were designed to program the worshiper’s reactions — to structure her devotion. There are three cycles of illustrations, which have been thoroughly integrated to guide the reader along an uninterrupted pattern of thought, and which recreate for the reader the settings of important spiritual events, in the way intended by pseudo-Bonaventura. The first two appear side by side (Figures 1-8): the Passion of Christ is depicted on eight verso pages, each of which faces a scene of his infancy, accompanying the text of the hours of the Virgin. The last of these pictures, which is missing, originally faced the Resurrection, and it may have pictured the Coronation of the Virgin. The hours of the Virgin close with the now unaccompanied scene of the



The Arrest of Christ, and the Annunciation. Fol. 15v, 16r



Christ before Pilate, and the Visitation. Fol. 34v, 35r



The Crucifixion, and the Adoration of the Magi. Fol. 68v, 69r

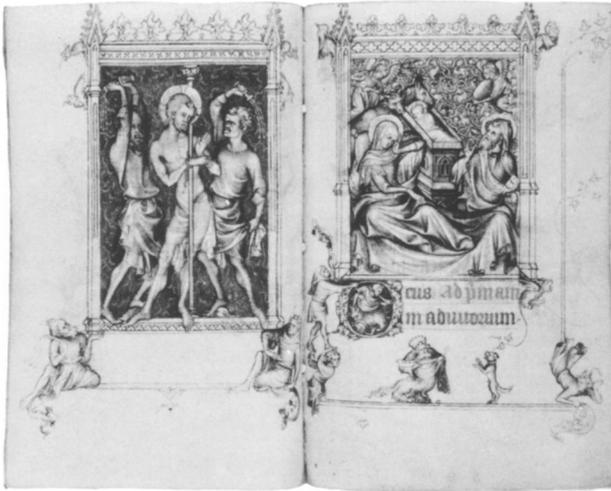


The Deposition, and the Presentation in the Temple. Fol. 75v, 76r

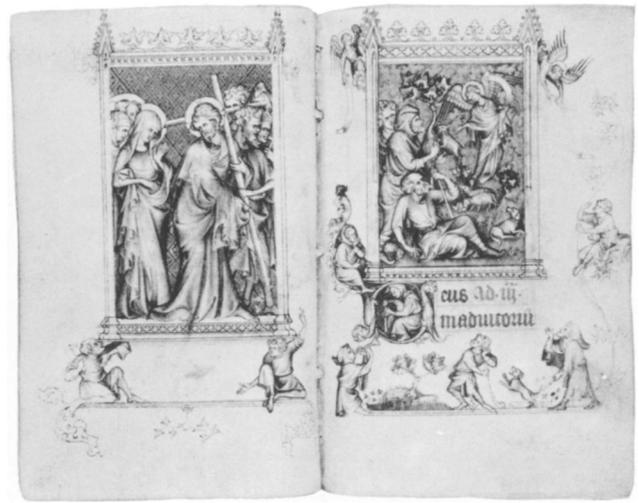
1-8. The Passion of Christ juxtaposed with scenes from his infancy. The first two cycles of illustrations from the so-called Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux. (Note that the last pair is incomplete: the miniature originally facing the Resurrection, which may have depicted the Coronation of the Virgin, is missing.) French, possibly 1325-1328. Ink on vellum, 3⁵/₈ x 2³/₈ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 54.1.2

Resurrection, and the hours of St. Louis follow, punctuated by nine scenes of the life of Louis, after which Christ is pictured enthroned, surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists.

The first two cycles of miniatures are, of course, historically related; our interpretation of the events of the Infancy is colored by our knowledge of the Passion. The artist makes the association of the two inescapable; the historical and the eschatological are juxtaposed. While the reader contemplates the moment of the Annunciation, his mind and his eye turn to the Arrest of Christ. The composition and meaning of each of the sequences (probably including that of the Resurrection) affirm and strengthen this association, clearly linking the Life with the Passion. In the first, each is, in a sense, a proclamation: one of birth, the other of death. Even the posture



The Flagellation, and the Nativity. Fol. 53v, 54r



Christ Carrying the Cross, and the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Fol. 61v, 62r



The Entombment, and the Flight into Egypt. Fol. 82v, 83r



The Resurrection, and a page of text from the hours of the Virgin. Fol. 94v, 95r

of the Virgin has been mirrored in the depiction of Christ. In the second, each is a visitation. In the third, Christ is bound and flanked by two figures in both miniatures; furthermore, the Entombment has been suggested in the Nativity by the infant's tomblike crib. In the fourth the poses of the angel and the shepherd with his staff are reminiscent of Christ, who bears the cross. A figure points upward in each miniature of the fifth pair, and the legs of the infant Christ are awkwardly crossed to foreshadow the position of the legs in the Crucifixion. In each of the following scenes, the body of Christ—one spirited, the other lifeless—is carried. And in both miniatures of the seventh pair the Virgin embraces her son. The first two cycles have been visually consolidated. Contemplation of Christ's life triggers thoughts of his death; each of the scenes is a cue to meditation.



A devotional image of St. Louis, and the Education of St. Louis. Fol. 102v, 103r



St. Louis Ministering to the Sick, and a page of text from the hours of St. Louis. Fol. 142v, 143r



Christ Enthroned, and a page of text from the penitential psalms. Fol. 182v, 183r

9-11. Scenes from the life of St. Louis followed by Christ Enthroned. Selections from the third picture cycle of the so-called Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux

The hours of St. Louis, accompanied by scenes of his life, exemplify a recurring medieval theme: the identification of king with Christ. It pictures the thau-maturgy of St. Louis and his charitable acts as king, each of which suggests parallels with the life of Christ. Louis's role in the crusades firmly established him as a major historical figure, while his good deeds and his miraculous acts defined his role as a saint. In Joinville's accounts of the crusades, we find that Louis's contemporaries were inspired by both his earthly and spiritual natures. Joinville never hesitates, when speaking of Louis, to record details of the flesh, such as the fact that when the king was afflicted with dysentery the bottom of his trousers had to be cut off. He tells us, with equal emphasis, that the king died at exactly the hour that Christ died on the cross. Both his sanctity and his real historical personality linked him with Christ.

This identification of St. Louis with Christ itself justifies the combination of the office of St. Louis with scenes of Christ's life. The artist here, however, has gone beyond the conventional association to make the reader attentive to more specific parallels between the Life of Christ and events in the life of St. Louis. The threads of this interweaving are especially evident in the first of the St. Louis miniatures (Figure 9). The illustration on folio 102 verso has been identified as both a complex devotional scene and the depiction of a miracle. The praying woman is present as she was beneath the Annunciation on folio 16, and her devo-tions are directed to the figure before her, St. Louis. At Louis's feet there are two men, identified by James J. Rorimer as two who have been miraculously cured of blindness at the tomb of St. Louis. While the par-ticulars of their cure are not described in any of the lengthy accounts of Louis's miracles, the setting recalls the many occasions on which the afflicted found comfort and rehabilitation beside Louis's tomb at St. Denis, such as that recorded in a window of the sacristy

12. *Miracles of St. Louis.* Copy of the sacristy window of the abbey church of St. Denis, first half of the XIV century. Engraving after a drawing by Bernard de Montfaucon, XVIII century. Reproduced from *Les Monumens de la monarchie française*, by Bernard de Montfaucon

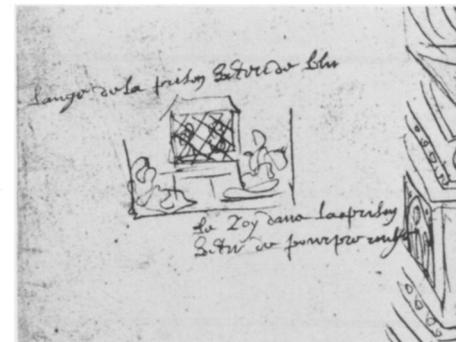
of the abbey church, a copy of which still remains (Figure 12). In fact, the surrounding elegant, courtly architecture in our miniature reminds one of the setting for the gold effigy of Louis that originally stood above the tomb.

Several details of the miniature support another interpretation. As we saw in the preceding sets of miniatures, the artist is capable of suggesting more than one meaning within a single illumination. First, each of the vignettes of Louis's life, with the exception of the one that faces this enigmatic, devotional scene, occurs on the verso leaves of this section of the manuscript. Their physical location alone links them with the miniatures of Christ's Passion, which occupy the verso leaves of the previous hours. In addition, the men at Louis's tomb are armed, and they appear to guard a lifelike figure who triumphantly stands on the lid of his tomb. The objects that Louis holds in his hands, though difficult to discern, may be those we find in the Montfaucon drawing, but the figure is not as abbreviated as the effigy once in the St. Denis window. These details, and the physical placement of the miniature within the book associate the scene with the last of those of Christ: the Resurrection. In both there are armed figures at the tomb. Even the placement of the praying woman in the wings of the chapel of the Louis scene echoes the standing soldier at Christ's Resurrection.

A specific occasion on which Louis was thought close to death, but miraculously emerged alive is remembered here: the king's imprisonment and release in the Holy Land. When Louis was captured and incarcerated by the Saracens his end seemed near. He was, to begin with, in poor health, and he was sure to be tortured, so few thought he would survive. However, his life was ransomed by Queen Marguerite, and he was freed. While Joinville and others relate this sequence of events with neither alarm nor surprise, the text of our manuscript points to the belief, undoubtedly held by many, that the king's release was the result of a miracle. The first of three lessons in the hours of St. Louis considers Louis's role in the crusades, his capture, and his deliverance:

For the space of many years, Blessed Louis governed over the kingdom of the Franks with vigilance, and in peaceful rule. When he was thirty-four years old he

13. *The Imprisonment of St. Louis.* A fourteenth-century cycle of wall paintings at the convent of the Franciscan nuns of Lourcines, known only through drawings and often considered the inspiration for the images of St. Louis in the so-called Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, contained this scene. Although this drawing is little more than a diagram of the original painting, several of its sketchy details are close to those of our miniature: the cagelike prison, Louis and his companion, and the two figures outside, presumably guards, seated like the men in our picture. Copy after Peiresc, XVII century. Reproduced from *Documents parisiens sur l'Iconographie de Saint Louis*, by Auguste Longnon



crossed the seas, taking with him to the Holy Land the help of a great and numerous army. And when he came to the lands across the sea, following the seizure of Damietta from the Christian forces, when the army was retreating from the town, he fell into the hands of the Sultan and the Saracens. After the endurance of an ordeal, good came from evil. Because soon after the said king had been captured by the Sultan's men, he was freed by the Sultan himself, not without divine miraculous intercession as the pious people believed.

The second illustration of the St. Louis cycle, which depicts the young man's disciplining, summarizes the events of the king's early life (Figure 9). Together with the scene of St. Louis's miraculous release, it unifies the book's pictorial program, opening the St. Louis cycle of miniatures that follows. In its juxtaposition of Passion and Infancy, the pair echoes the Christ cycles. While scholars have sought—and found—external sources (Figures 12, 13) for several miniatures in the hours of St. Louis, it seems more likely that the artist's desire for a fluid, homogeneous structure, which would guide the reader in her contemplation, moved him to invent an introductory image with both superficial and profound relations to the preceding miniatures.

Devotion, too, has both a deep and a surface structure. Contemplation may be directed by specific images or words, but it is also susceptible to broad connections and unconscious associations, unguided by particular cues or mnemonic devices. While this image of St. Louis was, as we have seen, designed to determine the path of the reader's thoughts, it also provided the opportunity for certain unprogramed leaps of the imagination. The woman is praying in her chapel. She has contemplated the Life of Christ. Moved, perhaps, by sculptured images of the ruler-saint, and the obvious parallels between Christ and king, her thoughts turn to St. Louis. His tomb becomes his prison; kneeling pilgrims become guards. He springs from his tomb-prison and the events of his life, modeled after those of Christ—such as ministering to the sick (Figure 10)—unfold in the succeeding miniatures. The cycle is followed by an imperial image of Christ in Majesty (Figure 11)—a final reminder of the relationship between Christ and king.

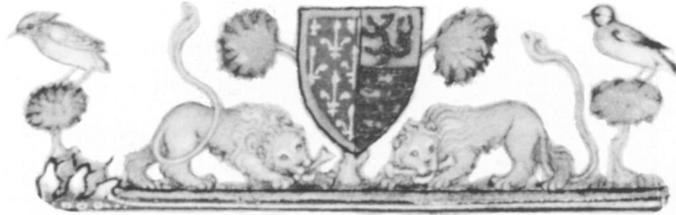
Note

I would like to thank Bonnie Young and Vera Ostoia for their assistance in the preparation of my text.

Looking at Bonne of Luxembourg's Prayer Book

FLORENS DEUHLER

Chairman, Medieval Art and The Cloisters



This precious manuscript of unparalleled artistic quality contains fourteen miniatures, never before published all together. Prior to its acquisition by The Cloisters in 1969, the book belonged to a private collector. Because it was carefully hidden and known only through poor photographs, nobody had actually been able to study it. When it appeared for sale, the painter of the miniatures was thought to be Jean Pucelle. No other artist seemed to have been capable of this high standard, and the delightful, small book was bought as a late work by him. Research done since then has shown that Pucelle was probably not the *enlumineur*. Nevertheless, the manuscript is one of the most outstanding productions of the royal workshops during the first half of the fourteenth century.

The miniature sequence reaches its artistic highpoint in the double-page painting that shows the Three Living and the Three Dead (cover, Figure 14). Although there are other northern representations of the “*moult merveilleuse et horrible exemplaire*,” the one in Bonne’s prayer book is by far the most impressive and recalls the fresco in the Campo Santo by Francesco Traini (Figure 15), generally dated in the early 1340s.

The manuscript was obviously written and illustrated for Bonne, daughter of Jean of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia. Her arms appear thirteen times in its pages. She married Jean, Duke of Normandy, son and heir of King Philip VI. Parenthetically, we might add that Bonne was the mother of Charles V and those famous patrons of art the dukes of Anjou, Burgundy, and Berry.

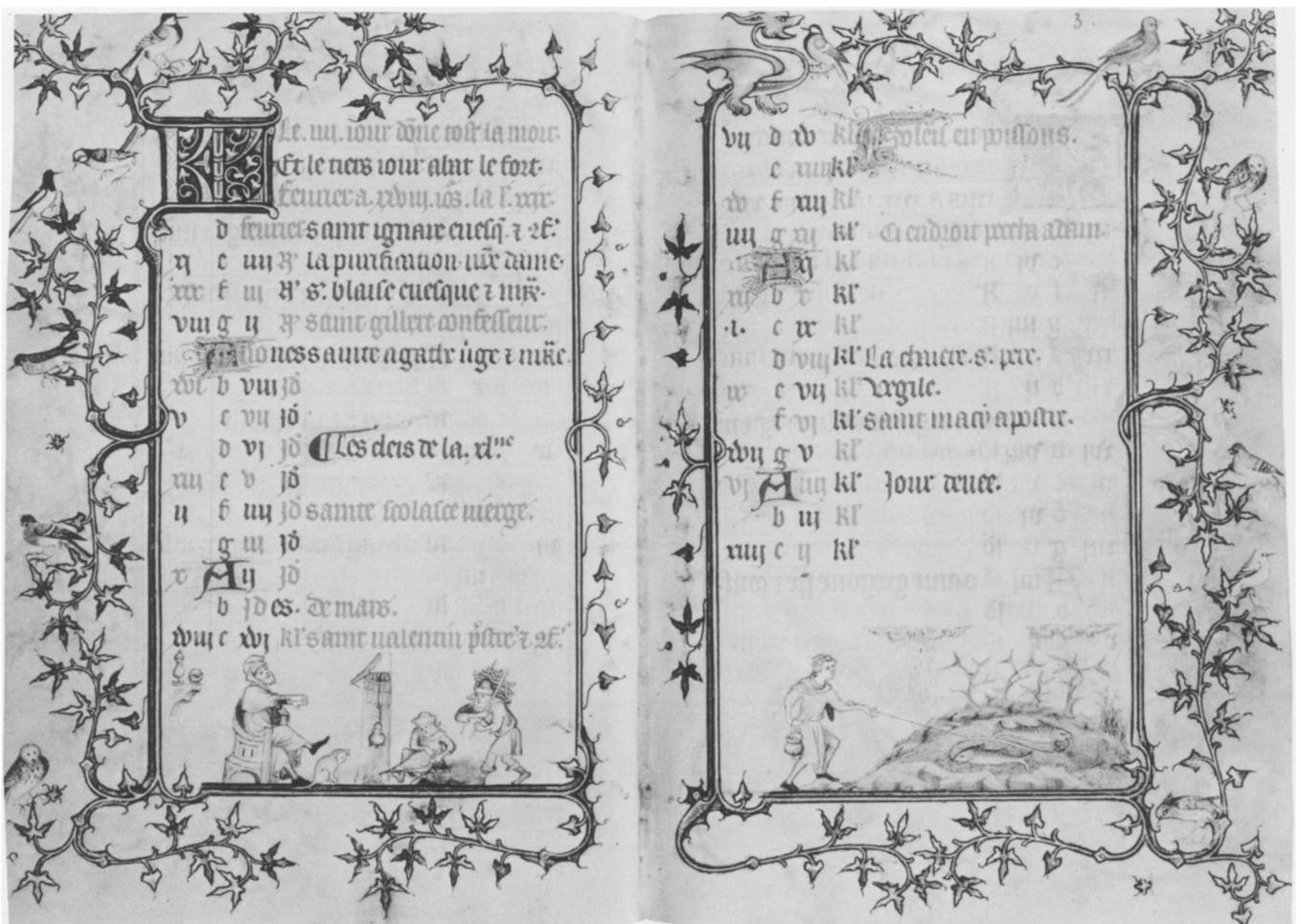
Since Pucelle died in 1334, it is possible that he illustrated the book at the very end of his life, after Bonne’s marriage in 1332. However, the more advanced narrative — that is, the more detailed and more carefully assembled presentation of the protagonists (as clearly seen in the *bas-de-page* illustrations of the calendar, Figures 1, 2) — as well as the meticulously articulated and brittle draperies, points to a later date, possibly in the 1340s. This mannered phase, derived from the earlier “Pucelle style” (see Frontispiece; Figures 1 and 2, page 254; Figure 10, page 264), and the obvious reference to the Traini fresco, make the manuscript appear to be a work of a follower of Pucelle, perhaps the Master of the Breviary of Charles V. This *enlumineur* is, according

to a suggestion by François Avril, responsible for the illustration heading Psalm 52 (Figure 6) and for the Three Living and the Three Dead (cover, Figure 14). Although this later date has justifications, Millard Meiss has claimed both miniatures to be works by Pucelle. On the other hand, he calls the Arrest scene (back cover, Figure 10) “Pucelle Workshop.” This difference of opinion exemplifies how difficult stylistic definitions are, how little we really know, and how much this field holds in store for future research.

This manuscript contains all the necessary elements for a lady’s book of private devotion. Books like this were used throughout the calendar year, and they usually opened with a month-by-month account of the dates of important feasts and the days on which particular saints are venerated.

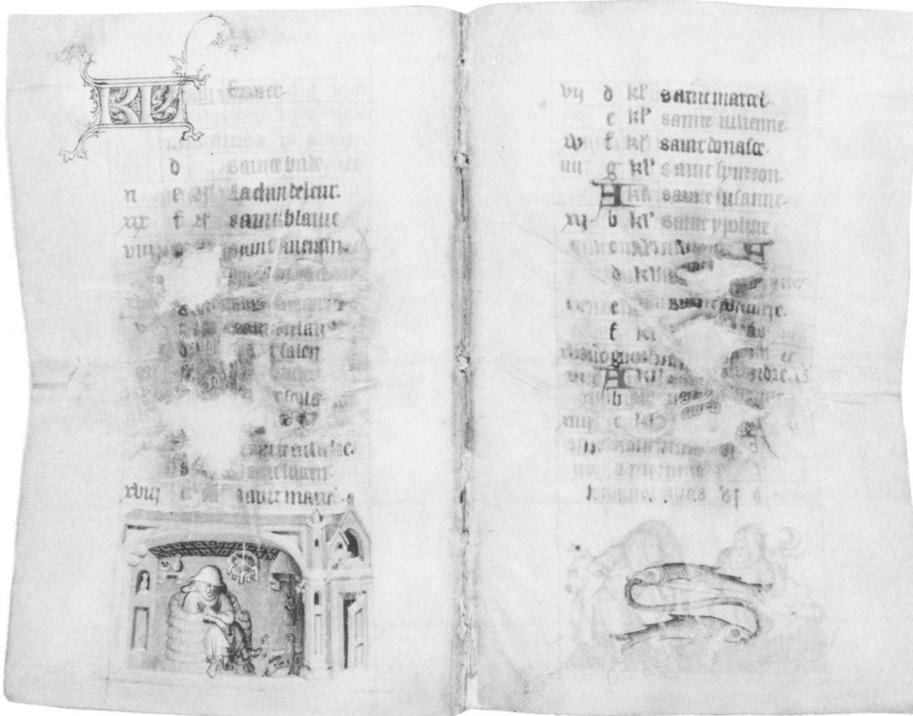
Looking at the calendar, one is immediately attracted by the *bas-de-page* illustrations; the imagination with which they are treated is a true artistic contribution of the painter. While the miniatures depicting the month’s occupation on the left and the zodiac sign on the right are rooted in a long tradition, the illuminator of our book expands the conventional iconographic material in a quite personal and unusual way. He reveals himself as a gifted raconteur who cannot resist developing the scenes

1. The month of February. Calendar pages from the Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg. French, mid-1340s. Paint on parchment, each page 4¹/₆ x 3¹/₂ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 69.86, fol. 2v, 3r



into lively anecdotes. The *bas-de-page* for the first February page is usually interpreted as a rustic interior. In earlier times, February was symbolized only by a seated man warming his feet in front of a fireplace. The painter of the “Evreux Hours” (Figure 2) follows the older iconography, but he adds a complicated architectural structure that overpowers the season’s symbol, the poor man in need of warmth. The miniaturist in Bonne’s calendar forgets this Italianate staging and supplements the traditional figure with many new details inspired by daily experience. The console on the left shows a still life that provides the domestic atmosphere. This motif appears in the earlier “Evreux” calendar, and it may be one of the constantly reused patterns from a single workshop. Bonne’s miniaturist is also anxious to keep the burnt-down fire alive and the kettle hot. This function is served by a man busy with the bellows; another is bringing in the wood necessary to survive the long winter night. A cat, too, finds comfort beside the hearth, and is amused by its crackles and sparks.

On the second page for February an outdoor scene is pictured. The traditional fishes – Pisces of the zodiac, as given in the “Evreux Hours” – are transformed from their usual heraldic isolation on the page into a natural environment. A man tries to catch them. Both the indoor and outdoor scenes, while on separate pages, may perhaps be read as one: the gentlemen on the left may eventually be supplied with their sustenance by the man on the right!

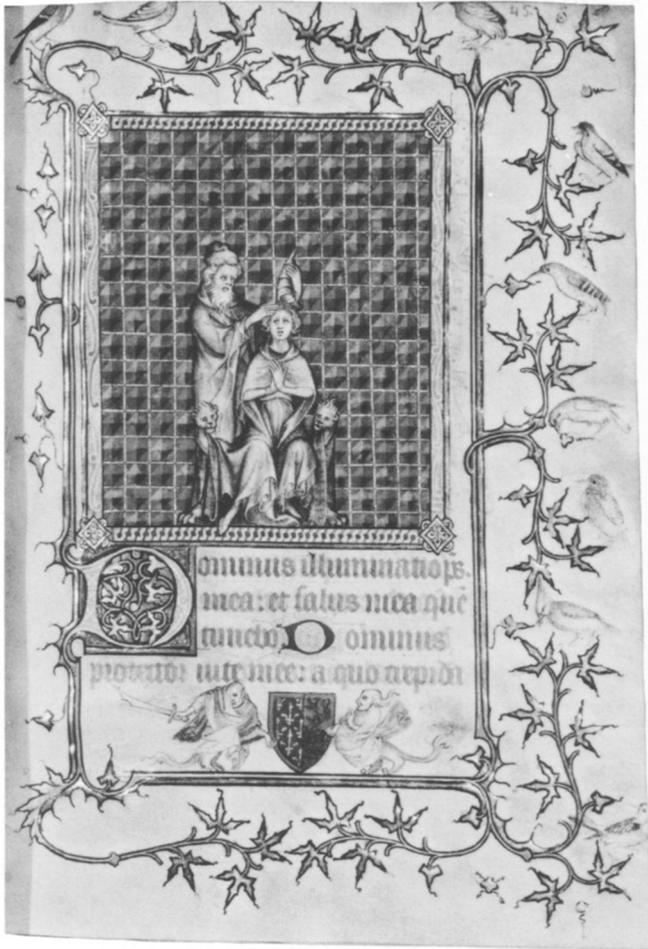


2. The month of February. Calendar pages, several of which have been damaged during the manuscript’s long history, from the so-called Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux. French, possibly 1325-1328. Ink on vellum, each page $3\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 54.1.2, fol. 2v, 3r

The Psalter, in Latin, occupies the largest part of the manuscript (fol. 15r-217v). For illustrations, it contains only seven illuminations, four of which show scenes from David's life. All of them have well-known sources and antecedents. The sections following the Psalter and preceding the Passion – canticles of the Old and New Testaments, the Te Deum, the creed, litany, and prayers to the Virgin — belong to the standard elements of such a book of private devotion; they are not illustrated in ours.



3. Following a common practice, our artist introduces the Psalter with a reference to the psalms' author, David. Two moments of his life are depicted: his victorious confrontation with Goliath during his youth as a shepherd, and his kingship, when, as an inspired poet and musician, he supposedly wrote down the psalms. Note the arms of Jean and Bonne, carried separately by two lions. Fol. 15r



4. Psalm 27 ("*Dominus illuminatio mea*," "The Lord is my light and my salvation") is illustrated with a portrayal of David being anointed by Samuel. Thanks to the unction, God raises kings above other men and exacts from them the highest virtues. Note the united arms of Jean and Bonne. Fol. 45r



5. David, kneeling and pointing to his mouth, is inspired by the text of Psalm 38: "I said, I will take heed to my ways that I sin not with my tongue: I will keep my mouth with a bridle, while the wicked is before me." Fol. 65r



6. "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God," is the beginning of Psalm 52 (Psalm 53 in the King James version). As we might expect from the text, in the related miniature we meet two fools. One is holding a rod and drinks from a goblet; the other tugs at the first fool's cowl and strikes at him with a broom. Fol. 83v



7. David in the deep water illustrates Psalm 69: "Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul. I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing: I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me." Fol. 102v



8. "O sing unto the Lord a new song: sing unto the Lord all the earth." Psalm 97 could not be better represented pictorially than with singers. In most similar illustrations, as here, these are clerics in front of a lectern. Fol. 146v



9. The familiar image of the Trinity occurs here as an illustration for Psalm 110, interpreting the beginning of the text and relating it to God the Father and Christ: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." Fol. 170r

The Passion narrative and related prayers and texts bring us nearer to the personality of the owner, Bonne. The major change is that the text switches from Latin to vernacular French, the queen's daily language. The Passion text (fol. 246v-294v) opens explicitly with the remark *mise du latin en françois*. Unlike the embellished text in the previous sections, these prayers in the vernacular are completely without decorative initials and ornamental line endings.



11. The Arrest of Christ. The first scene in the cycle of illustrations of the Passion of Christ from the so-called Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux. The Cloisters Collection, 54.1.2, fol. 15v



10. The opening dramatic *mise-en-scène* of Christ's Arrest (see also the back cover) is worth comparison with the analogous scene in the "Evreux Hours" (Figure 11), in which the impact is enlarged by the omission of the framing border. Although the painter of the Luxembourg manuscript carefully concentrates within the practically square format, he uses the upper frame as a supplementary stage. In addition to the meaning discussed by Charles Vaurie on page 281, the owl on the right symbolizes both night and entrapment. During the Middle Ages, the nocturnal owl was thought to trick other birds, causing them to fall into the snares set by hunters. The cock alludes to Peter's betrayal early next morning, and the phantom-like figure on the left, a kind of stagehand, impaled on the vertical border element, seems to provide light for the main scene. Fol. 246v



12. The Throne of Charity. The ballad-like interlude (fol. 315r-320v) between the Arrest and the Three Living and the Three Dead tells about the seven steps leading to perfect love of God (*parfaite amour de Dieu*). Each of these steps is carefully described in the text. Fol. 315r



13. The prayers related to the Passion include a miniature showing a kneeling abbot-saint, possibly St. Bernard, in front of an altar. Fol. 295r



14. The human parallel of “dying in Christ” is strongly evoked in the text and the accompanying double-page illustration of the Three Living and the Three Dead (see also cover).

This story enjoyed widespread popularity all over Europe from the middle of the thirteenth century. To most people the subject is familiar from Traini’s fresco in the Campo Santo in Pisa, dated in the early 1340s (Figure 15). The form in which the legend was known was inspired by thirteenth-century French poems, especially one written by Baudouin de Condé, minstrel at the court of Margaret II, Countess of Flanders (reigned 1244-1280).

The poem – “*une moult merveilleuse et horrible exemplaire*” – describes an encounter between three young men and three dead, whom they see coming toward them. The youths speak to the grim visitors, which in the miniature are in different stages of decomposition, and the first dead man replies in words that are the keynote of the whole morality: “What you are, we were, and what we are, you will be.” The second recalls that death treats rich and poor alike, while the third emphasizes that there is no escape from his dread summons.

In the poem the three living are not described as kings: in Bonne’s book the first wears a crown and his richly dressed companions are obviously nobles, nor does Baudouin make any mention of hunting, suggested by the third youth holding a falcon on his wrist. This may be interpreted as a warning against excessive indulgence in the pleasures of the chase, as a secondary lesson of the morality. Fol. 321v, 322r



15. Detail (left half) of the *Triumph of Death*, by Francesco Traini (active from 1321, died after 1363), Italian (Pisa). Early 1340s. Fresco. Campo Santo, Pisa. Photograph: Alinari – Art Reference Bureau

16, 17. The picture cycle related to the Passion is drawn to a close – as is the book itself – by two miniatures, with accompanying text, that venerate Christ's wound. The illumination of Christ on the cross pointing to his wound is, as far as we can see, unique. Christ's wound, flanked by the *arma Christi* (weapons of Christ), is given in "natural size," since, according to a medieval tradition, one knew how big the wound was (it is $2\frac{3}{16}$ inches high in this depiction). Fol. 329r, 331r



Note

I am indebted to Françoise Baron of the Louvre for telling me of her discovery concerning Pucelle's death. She will publish the relevant document in an article entitled "Les Artistes parisiens du moyen âge, sculpteurs, peintres et enlumineurs, d'après les comptes de l'Hôpital Saint-Jacques" in *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, n. s. no. 5 (1970), which will appear in 1971.

Fol. 83v



These details enlarged two times

Fol. 1v



The realism of the Bonne painters is not limited to the sensitive and intelligent observations of birds found in the margins (and discussed in the following article by Charles Vaurie). In fact, one is intrigued by the sporadic appearance of an unusually distinctive and extraordinarily powerful image of a man, whose features are no less carefully rendered than those of the birds. We meet him first on the opening page of the calendar as the two-headed figure Janus: he looks back on the old year and ahead to the new. His long nose, full beard, balding head, and thick neck easily distinguish him from the less picturesque faces within the book. When we find him again as a fool and as a bishop – slightly disguised – he is like the portrait of an old acquaintance, a versatile actor who assumes new roles in the changing scenes of the manuscript



Fol. 11r

Birds in the Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg

CHARLES VAURIE

Curator, Department of Ornithology, The American Museum of Natural History

The miniatures of the Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg incorporate many birds among the leaves and tendrils of their margins, and occasionally another small animal, such as a rabbit or a butterfly.

The birds are surprisingly numerous—there are almost two hundred, all very small, usually three-eighths of an inch or less in size. Despite their tiny dimensions, well over half these birds are painted with remarkable fidelity to color, pattern, and attitude, and are easily identifiable. Other birds can be identified only as sparrows, larks, finches, and so on, but not as individual species. A few are too fanciful, or too poorly executed, to permit any identification. My estimate is that about forty species are shown, excluding the more dubious identifications or fanciful figures.

This high level of realism accords with that of other illustrations in the manuscript and represents an advanced stage in the evolution of the art of the Middle Ages, which became increasingly realistic during the thirteenth century. Speaking of birds alone, their first truly realistic representations can probably be credited to Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1194-1250), who wrote a famous treatise on falconry, *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*, which he probably completed between 1244 and 1250, or about one hundred years before our book. Frederick was much ahead of his times in many respects; the parts of his work devoted to the biology and behavior of birds in general incorporate his own critical observations and experiments, both startlingly modern. He himself may have been responsible for some of the illustrations, or he may have guided the illustrators, as he is known to have been a very competent draughtsman. It is said that in copies of his treatise made after his death, the birds are depicted with increasing variety and accuracy. One copy made in France around 1300, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (ms Fr. 12400), may have had some influence on the painters of the Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg.

1. Rabbit, Goldfinch, Little Owl



I believe, however, that at least one of this manuscript's illustrators had no need to copy anyone, because the treatment of many birds and their fidelity suggests they were painted by one hand, a man who knew birds well in life and observed them with sympathy. This man was probably responsible for the bulk of the figures, but the variation in skill and accuracy implies that he had assistants, less expert and less familiar with birds than he.

Those birds whose species or kind can be identified are, as expected, ordinary birds of the French countryside and gardens, with the exception of one exotic bird mentioned below. It is clear that the birds were selected for their appropriateness to a book of devotion such as this, since the emphasis is on species with symbolic significance or propitious attributes. Variety was increased, however, by the inclusion of birds chosen for their decorative value only, such as the handsome but thieving Magpie (Figure 2); the fanciful creatures also seem to fall in this last category.



2. Magpie

The only birds that appear to have been excluded deliberately are "evil" birds, such as the Raven, birds of prey, and birds that are completely black. It is interesting to note, nevertheless, that the artist pictured a Rook (Figure 3) and a small falcon (see back cover) on one occasion each. The Rook is wholly black, of course, but the artist probably could not resist including it, because the Rook is a very sociable, "friendly" bird, closely associated with farms and country homes—a household bird, so to speak. The individual shown is perched on what appears to be the top of a gable, and the problem of its funereal color was amusingly solved by painting it light brown, rather than black. The small falcon, which is probably a Kestrel, is not normally considered fierce by man, but a beneficial auxiliary, as it feeds almost entirely on mice or other small rodents and on large, injurious insects.

Religious symbolism is most evident in the choice of the Goldfinch (*Carduelis carduelis*), which has the place of honor throughout: of all the birds included, it appears most frequently, is displayed most prominently, and is drawn in greatest detail (Figure 1). Not only does the Goldfinch have a very bright and varied plumage (see back cover), which appeals to any artist, but it also leads all other birds in symbolic meaning (especially in France of the Middle Ages). It played a part in the themes of Resurrection, Redemption, and fertility, warded off the plague, and so on, but its most important devotional and iconographic significance is its close association with the childhood and death of Christ. In the paintings and, especially, the statues of the Madonna and Child that originated in France about the middle of the thirteenth century, the Child often holds a Goldfinch in his hands.

Figure 1 is twice enlarged; the other details are three times enlarged

In rural France, where I grew up, we were told as young boys not to molest it because it is sacred—shown by the bright red (bloody) face it acquired when it was wounded while trying to pull out the thorns from the crown of the dying Christ on the cross. Different versions of this tradition exist, but they are always associated with the Passion and Crucifixion. Occasionally, the European Robin with its red breast is substituted for the Goldfinch; this Robin also appears in our book, but much less often than the Goldfinch. The latter (and many of the other small birds in the illuminations as well) also represents the concept of the winged soul, as opposed to the body.

The bird that holds second rank after the Goldfinch is the Chaffinch (*Fringilla coelebs*), called *Pinson* in French (Figure 4). To the best of my knowledge, no religious symbolism is attached to the Chaffinch, but its repeated appearance in such a beautiful, personal book as this is easy to understand because the Chaffinch has always been the symbol of happiness in France. To this day, the old saying “*heureux comme un Pinson*” is as current as ever, and it is well earned because of the loud and very cheerful song, heard almost throughout the year. The Chaffinch is also one of the most handsome of all French birds, and, without a doubt, the most abundant and popular.

Space limitations prevent my discussing all the birds. Some others that should be named are the Mallard drake, Little Owl, Barn Swallow, Jay (these are all shown on the back cover), the large Gray Heron, elegant Lapwing, Turtle Dove, Kingfisher, Hoopoe, Starling, three species each of wagtails and titmice, the Nightingale, and familiar finches, such as the Linnets and Bullfinch; also one bird that is not French but from India, a parakeet.

The inclusion of the Little Owl (*Athene noctua*) may seem strange at first, because owls are birds of ill omen in French folklore, but its symbolic significance was and is far too great to omit it. It is figured no less than seven times (back cover, Figure 1). Because it is a survival from classical Greece, its prominence in a Christian prayer book is curious. It signifies wisdom, of course, and it was the bird of Pallas Athene, the goddess of wisdom, who is normally represented with this owl perched on her shoulder. It was struck on the drachmas of Athens, which had an enormous currency, and coins with their Little Owl long survived Athens—in one country or another, very widespread, for a continuous period of at least two thousand years. No other bird has been portrayed for iconographic reasons as often as the Little Owl, at least on coins.

The faithfully drawn Roseringed Parakeet (*Psittacula krameri*), which appears four times, is the only exotic bird included (Figure 5). The presence of this bird in the France of the 1340s can be explained by its probable existence in contemporary aviaries. Aviaries date back to very early times in Europe: the Romans maintained them for small and brightly colored birds, some no doubt obtained from the East, with which they traded extensively, directly or indirectly. This parakeet is very common in India and in aviaries; it is hardy and easy to maintain. Because it is represented in our book in its characteristic attitudes, the model was probably a pet rather than a bird in an aviary, and it seems to have been included for decoration only.

3. Rook



4. Chaffinch



5. Parakeet



Calendar Illustrations from

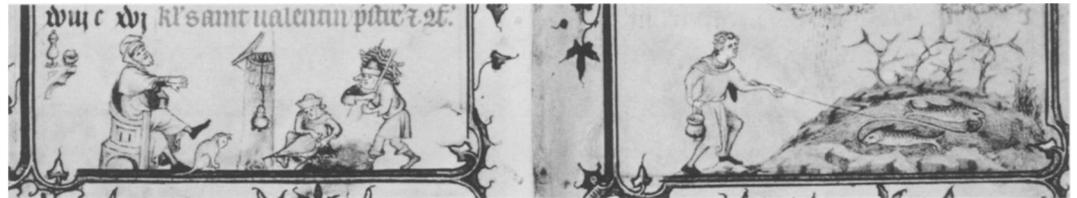
January



Feasting. Double-headed figure (Janus) facing the past and the forthcoming year

Aquarius

February



Man warming his feet before a fire

Pisces

March



Pruning

Aries

April



Branch bearers

Taurus

May



Falconer

Gemini

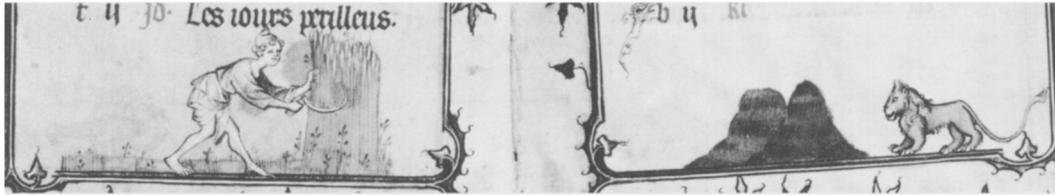
June



Cutting grass

Cancer

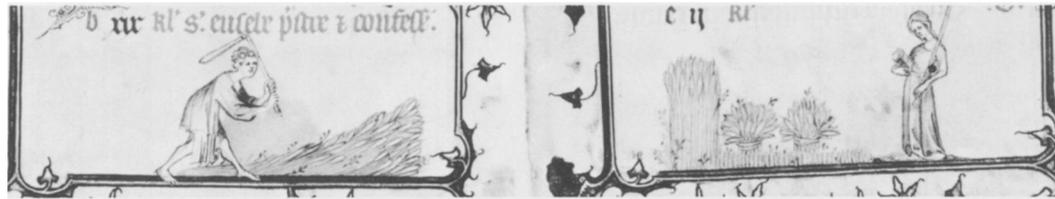
Bonne of Luxembourg's Prayer Book



Reaping

Leo

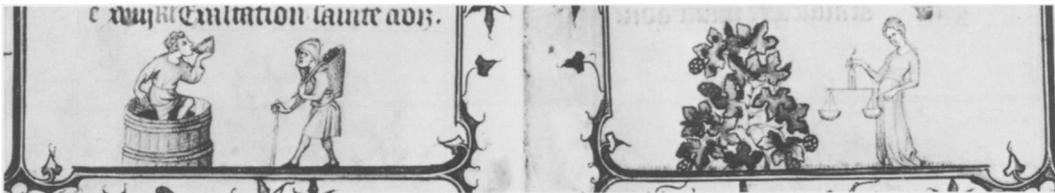
July



Threshing

Virgo

August



Wine pressing

Libra

September



Sowing seed

Scorpio

October



Gathering acorns

Sagittarius

November



Slaughtering

Capricorn

December

Selective Bibliography

Rudolf Blum was the first scholar to question the existence and importance of "Pucelle," in "Jean Pucelle et la Miniature parisienne du XIV^e siècle" in *Scriptorium* 3 (1949), pp. 211-217.

The attribution of the Bonne of Luxembourg manuscript has been treated in *Jean Pucelle*, by Kathleen Morand (Oxford, 1962), and in the announcement of the Museum's purchase in our Annual Report, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* n.s. 28 (October 1969), page 85.

The place of Pucelle within European painting is extensively dealt with by Erwin Panofsky in *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) and by Millard Meiss in *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry* (London, 1967). Important additions to our knowledge of the Pucelle workshop were made recently by François Avril in "Trois Manuscrits de l'entourage de Jean Pucelle" in *Revue de l'Art* 9 (1970), pp. 37-48.

For additional reading on the "Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux," see the following:

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