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The Marquette Hours: Production and Devotion

Sarah K. Rothmann

University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Art History at The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

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ABSTRACT

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The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2010
Under the Supervision of Richard Leson

Despite the ubiquitous nature of medieval Books of Hours, prayer books for the laity, each manuscript presents evidence about its production and reception. This thesis undertakes the study of a little known Book of Hours housed at the Haggerty Museum of Art at Marquette University. First, an analysis of the manuscript determined all the components of its production including the preparation of the pages, the assemblage, the script and the illumination. This process in concordance with the information provided by the museum, scholarly input, and heraldic evidence implied a fifteenth century provincial French production. Through formal, comparative, and iconographical analysis such implications were confirmed and a potential Avignon workshop identified. Specific miniatures from the book was then considered to ascertain how a medieval patron may have related to and reflected upon such imagery. This iconographical analysis demonstrated that medieval imagery is multivalent in that it signifies and embodies the various texts in the book, providing visuals for prolonged and contemplative prayer. Also, imagery is used to inform and reinforce the medieval

ideologies and attitudes regarding domesticity, conceptions of race, and sexuality. The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the scholarship on illuminated manuscripts as well as shed light on an obscure Book of Hours that could conceivably be from the workshop of Pierre Villate and created at the request of the Avignon nobleman, Jean-Baptiste de Brancas in 1474.

Major Professor

Date

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Dedicated to my family, especially
those nearest & dearest who died too soon.

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Introduction

Often referred to as the 'medieval bestseller,' Books of Hours are the most ubiquitous type of manuscript to survive from the Middle Ages. Yet, these manuscripts feature some of the finest imagery and were created by many of Western Europe's preeminent artists.¹ As a genre of prayer text all Books of Hours are descended from devotional books devised for the use of the clergy, but in contrast, were more often than not produced for the use of the laity. Literacy rates increased among non-clerical members of society during the later Middle Ages and laypersons craved the intimate relationship with God that church officials enjoyed² and accordingly requested accessible versions of traditional Latin prayer texts.

The late thirteenth to early sixteenth centuries saw the height of the appreciation for Books of Hours, which were intensely popular in France and Flanders. The Cult of the Virgin elevated Mary's status. Its popularity helped to quickly fuel the development of Books of Hours, in which the owner was to contemplate the life of Christ through the intercession of the Virgin Mary.³ The Hours of the Virgin, the essence of any Book of Hours, were said to represent her favorite prayers.⁴ Not only did the Cult of the Virgin and the role of the church in the daily lives of the laity incite production, but also the fear of death. After the plague struck in the fourteenth century, a growing concern arose with respect to death and dying, particularly its sudden nature. An unexpected and quick death

¹ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 27.

² Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 9 & 14.

³ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 27.

⁴ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 9.

was unsettling to people of the Middle Ages for it did not leave enough time to amend for ones' sins. Although, through prayer the living could help oneself and the deceased lessen their time in purgatory.⁵ These ideas are directly reflected in peoples' religious and cultural attitudes. Addressing this ever-present concern is the Office of the Dead text and imagery, which can be quite gruesome. Also, the prayer *Obsecro te* pleads to the Virgin that death not be sudden or unexpected in order to give the reader time to prepare and repent.⁶ Having briefly taken up what fostered the popularity of Books of Hours in the Middle Ages we will turn to its standard contents.

The series of prayers devoted to the Virgin are commonly referred to as the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary. They are the centerpiece of the Divine Office for the clergy and the foundation for the devotional manual known as the Breviary.⁷ In response to the demands of the laity, a shorter, less complex version of the Little Office, simply referred to as the Hours of the Virgin, was appended to lay Psalters by the twelfth century.⁸ By the fourteenth century, the Psalter portion was discarded from lay prayer books and Books of Hours emerged as the principal text for the devotions of the educated elite.⁹ Books of Hours vary, but typically contain a calendar, four Gospel lessons, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross and Holy Spirit, two prayers to the virgin:

⁵ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 24-25.

⁶ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 37-38.

⁷ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 3.

⁸ Backhouse, 3 & Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 39.

⁹ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 9.

Obsecro te and *O intemerata*, the Penitential Psalms, Litany, Suffrages and the Office of the Dead.¹⁰

In following the canonical hours of the day, texts of the Hours of the Virgin are broken into eight hours which are to be prayed throughout the day at the following times: Matins and Lauds are comparable to daybreak, Prime is 6 am, Terce is 9 am, Sext is Noon, None is 3 pm, Vespers is sunset and Compline is the evening. Each Hour includes a: psalm, hymn, canticle, lesson, prayer and exclamatory phrases. Other sections, including the Hours of the Cross and Holy Spirit, Litany and Suffrages, have a similar make up.¹¹

As previously mentioned, the calendar commences most Book of Hours, giving each day meaning through commemorating a day in the life of Christ, a saint, or another important religious figure. The zodiac signs and labors associated with each month are depicted and work to bring the feasts of these figures from the past into the present through activities and signs that are prevalent in daily life.¹² Following the calendar, excerpts from the gospel of John the Evangelist, his text frequently marked with an image of him writing on Patmos, begins the story of the Virgin and Christ appropriately with the words, ‘In the beginning was the word and the word was with God, and God was the word...’ Luke’s gospel further contributes to the story with the incarnation of Christ, then Matthew’s description of the Magus visit. Lastly, Mark’s gospel relates to the theophany of Christ and the command to spread the word of God.¹³

¹⁰ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 27.

¹¹ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 28.

¹² Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 45-46.

¹³ Backhouse, 13-14.

The additional prayers *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata* typically follow one another and are after the Gospel lessons. These prayers are particularly popular in French Books of Hours and visually marked by imagery that emphasizes the intimate relationship between mother and child. In hopes the Virgin will intercede on the reader's behalf to God the prayers speak to flatter and beseech her.¹⁴ The eight Hours of the Virgin are signified by imagery from the life of the Virgin and infant Christ.¹⁵ The Hours of the Cross, marked by an image of the Crucifixion, by and large precedes the Hours of the Holy Spirit, designated by the Pentecost. These characteristically short texts are not fixed within the manuscript, although they often conclude the Hours of the Virgin.¹⁶ Then follows the seven Penitential Psalms indicated by an image from the life of King David, who was believed to have composed the psalms. Immediately after is the Litany, a list of saints' names each accompanied with the invocation *ora pro nobis*, meaning pray for us. Next the Suffrages, prayers often with miniatures of individual saints and positioned in the order they appear in the Litany. These saints are often universally venerated, but occasionally more personal or localized saints are interspersed.¹⁷ Some of the most popular saints include John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, St. George, and St. Margaret.¹⁸ The images embody the text they precede, referred to by Roger Wieck as *painted prayers*.¹⁹

¹⁴ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 94.

¹⁵ Matins (35R) Annunciation, Lauds (50V) Visitation, Prime (71V) Nativity, Terce (78R) Annunciation to the Shepherds, Sext (84R) Adoration of the Magi, None (89V) Presentation at the Temple, Vespers (94V) Flight into Egypt, and Compline (103R) Coronation of the Virgin.

¹⁶ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 89-92.

¹⁷ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 92 & Backhouse, 73-79.

¹⁸ Backhouse, 73-79.

¹⁹ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 20-22.

Decoration can range from extravagant for the wealthy to little or no decoration for those of lower classes.²⁰ Although when imagery does appear in Books of Hours it is familiar to patrons because the subject matter is derived from that which would be seen in church.²¹ The imagery represents the entire liturgical year in pictorial form; from the Nativity at Christmas to the Crucifixion at Easter.²²

Even though western European Catholics largely looked to the Church of Rome for guidance, worship was not rigorously uniform. Individualized, disparate traditions of devotion developed in various regional centers; these discrete regional, personal and economic variations manifested themselves in textual and pictorial form in Books of Hours.²³ Established in France in the fifteenth century were factory-like spaces that created mass-produced books in order to keep up with demand. Books were procured for local consumption as well as exported elsewhere in Europe.²⁴ France, particularly Paris, was the dominant force in book production, but after England invaded, Flanders became the predominant producer of Books of Hours, from 1430 to the early sixteenth century, creating manuscripts primarily in the international style.²⁵ Most Books of Hours, derived from a “standard exemplar.”²⁶ Despite this, they were still expensive to own and proprietors demonstrated their pride for such luxury objects by marking manuscripts with their portraits, coats of arms, mottos, and other keepsakes.²⁷

²⁰ Backhouse, 3.

²¹ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 20.

²² Backhouse, 3.

²³ Backhouse, 3.

²⁴ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 30.

²⁵ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 28 & 30.

²⁶ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 34.

²⁷ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 34-35.

Generally, Books of Hours were commissioned for women because women, more so than men, were thought to require imagery to help their feeble minds achieve spiritual devotion.²⁸ Many of the manuscripts are thought to be wedding gifts to a young bride from her new husband.²⁹ Yet many men, especially those of the upper classes, desired their own Book of Hours. Despite the popularity and deep desire of the laity to own a Book of Hours and perhaps flaunt them in public they are no longer believed to have been simply fashionable status objects.³⁰ Although, it is difficult to discern how much time was dedicated to contemplative prayer or if the text was even read let alone comprehended.

Whether or not the laity in the Middle Ages could read Latin, the language most Books of Hours were written in, is debatable. By the thirteenth century it was required of children of a noble birth to at least learn a little Latin.³¹ It has been assumed that men of higher classes had a basic knowledge of Latin because they had the best access to education. However, the lifelong exposure to the Latin liturgies in church implies a level of familiarity for all classes. The text is signified by the imagery, for it had long been argued that images were the words for the illiterate, and therefore may be key to prompting the reader to recite a specific prayer.³² Moreover, certain prayers were memorized since childhood.³³ Books of Hours have been substantiated as a tool to teach children how to read.

²⁸ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 17.

²⁹ Harthan, 34.

³⁰ Sandra Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (London: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 1996), 266-276.

³¹ Penketh, 270.

³² Harthan, 31 & Penketh, 266-276 & Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 41.

³³ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 13.

Mothers were typically the teachers, an indication that women, too, may have had a basic understanding of Latin and could have parsed the Latin texts.³⁴ By the fourteenth century, literacy rates were rising among the masses. The nobility, for legal and political reasons, and the upper middle class, for business and trade, were able to read to some extent. It is among these echelons of society that Books of Hours increased in circulation.³⁵ Evidence suggests that by the fifteenth century, many of the merchants and artisans could also read in the vernacular, but again it is difficult to discern how much Latin they could read.³⁶ Paul Saenger has explored this issue further and identified two forms of literacy in the fifteenth century, phonetic and comprehensive. Phonetic literacy is defined as; due to prior memorization when the Latin text is viewed it could be recited out loud but with little understanding. Whereas, comprehensive literacy likely occurs when the vernacular is read silently word for word and both the grammar and meaning of the text is understood.³⁷

Prayers were to be read aloud; they have a familiar rhythm for the laity from listening to the monks in church.³⁸ Apparently in merely three and one half minutes one can mutter through a short office,³⁹ but for one to find time to dedicate to lengthy and contemplative prayer that was a privilege relegated only to the elite.⁴⁰ Personal prayer was recommended, or at least the reading of Matins and Prime, if possible. Presumably, countless individuals did use their

³⁴ Penketh, 270.

³⁵ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 33.

³⁶ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 40.

³⁷ Walker-Vadillo, 14.

³⁸ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 41.

³⁹ De Hamel, 160.

⁴⁰ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 41.

Books of Hours for prayer, while many probably did not. For the interpretations, justifications, and demands of society led people to respond to the rules and recommendations differently.⁴¹ Therefore, how much one person dedicated to religious contemplation, quick mutterings, or any amount of prayer may forever be unknown. Still, it is plausible that the laity used their books in the morning at home and again during mass.⁴²

This thesis will analyze a relatively unknown late fifteenth century Book of Hours (Manuscript 85.19) from the Haggerty Museum of Art at Marquette University. The Haggerty received the manuscript, which I will refer to as the Marquette Hours, as a gift from Milwaukee native Mr. Eliot Fitch.⁴³ Little was known about the Books of Hours hence each aspect of the manuscript including page preparation, text, and illumination was assessed. I will propose the Marquette Hours was created in 1474 in Provence, France by the illuminator Pierre Villate at the request of Jean-Baptiste de Brancas based on the codicological assessment together with a stylistic and iconographical study.⁴⁴ Archival documents and heraldic evidence place these two figures in Avignon in the late fourteenth century where Pierre Villate worked as an established artist and Jean-Baptiste as a noble equerry for the King of Naples. Until now, no manuscripts have specifically been attributed to Pierre Villate and his workshop.

⁴¹ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 41.

⁴² Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 28 & 41.

⁴³ Wanda Zemler-Cizewski, *Turn the Pages Slowly: Rare Books and Manuscripts from the Haggerty Collection* (Marquette: Haggerty Museum of Art, 2008).

⁴⁴ James Marrow, e-mail message to author, February 5, 2010. I am especially grateful to Professor James Marrow for taking the time to examine several of the images and information regarding the Marquette Hours and offering his invaluable insight regarding French illumination. In particular, suggesting the Avignon connection between the style of Enguerrand Quarton and Pierre Villate and the de Brancas family per Charles Sterling's book *Le peintre de la Pieta d'Avignon*.

Mostly he is known for his collaborations with the artist Enguerrand Quarton (c. 1420-1466). After reconsidering the archival evidence, the iconography and style of the Marquette Hours will be compared to works attributed to Quarton and Villate in attempt to strengthen the case for the Marquette Hours having been a production of Villate and his associates.

To this end, chapter one of this thesis will discuss the codicology of the Marquette Hours, addressing the materials, contents, page preparation, assemblage, script, decoration, and style. The focus of chapter two will be on localization through the analysis of liturgical content, heraldry, style, and iconography. Although the Marquette Hours was initially assumed to be a French manuscript from c.1460-1480 it was necessary to re-evaluate such claims to determine a specific region of production. Through analysis of style and iconography in correlation to the heraldic and archival evidence, I will relate the Marquette Hours to the orbit of Enguerrand Quarton, a fifteenth century artist from Avignon, and his collaborator Pierre Villate. Finally, in chapter three I will consider what iconography of a book like the Marquette Hours can reveal to the modern viewer about domestic, spiritual, and moral issues. Overall, I mean for this thesis to shed light on an obscure Book of Hours as well as contribute to the scholarship on illuminated manuscripts.

Codicology

Codicology is the study and analysis of the essence of medieval manuscripts, such as the material they are made of, page preparation, script, and the textual and illuminated contents. These fundamental components help to

organize the discussion of a particular book, like the Marquette Hours, as well as deconstruct how and who created such a book. Moreover, codicology can aid in pinpointing the time and place of the book's construction, which will be analyzed in more detail in the following chapter. From these preliminary assessments it can be concluded that the Marquette Hours was not an unusual product of late medieval workshop production, but is in fact a one of a kind creation of the Middle Ages. Specifically, this manuscript was a well-conceptualized beloved prayer book for a resident of fifteenth century France.

Material

The Marquette Hours consists of 160 parchment leaves arranged in 21 quires. It contains 33 full-page miniatures and the calendar 24 roundels decorated with gold leaf and tempera. The volume is bound in a modern leather binding and measures $4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ " (11.8 x 7.9 x 3.8 cm) in size.⁴⁵ The book is somewhat damaged; there are stains, smudged imagery, warped and wrinkled folios, and holes in some leaves. Half way down folio 4r the page was evidently torn. Also, there are markings consistent with use; many of the folios are worn and stained at places where presumably the book was held open and the leaves turned. Several images have sustained more damage than others, for instance the Flight into Egypt (fol. 94v), David and Bathsheba (fol. 111r), and the Raising of Lazarus (fol. 158v), perhaps a reflection of their particular interest for an owner. The following is a summary of the book's organization and contents.

⁴⁵ Dimensions as given by Zemler-Cizewski.

Collation and Textual Contents

Collation: 1¹⁰, 2⁵, 3¹⁰, 4-8⁸, 9⁴, 10-20⁸, 21² (see Table 1).

The calendar is written in Old French, consisting of folios 2r to 11v, and January and February are missing. Feast days are written in alternating red and blue ink with gold used to embellish the most important days throughout the liturgical year. The significant feast days indicated in gold are as follows: Saint Perpetue (Mar. 7), L' Annunciacion (Mar. 25), Saint Ambroise (Apr. 4), Saint Marc (Apr. 25), Saint Philippe (May 1), Saint Iehans (May 6), Saint Urban (May 25), Saint Barnabe (June 11), Nativitas S. Iohannes(?) (June 24), Saints Pierre and Saint Pol (June 29), Les. Ull. Freres (July 10), Saint Magdelene (July 22), Saint Jacques and Saint Xrofle (July 25), Saint Pierre (Aug. 1), Saint Barthelemy (Aug. 24), Notre Dame (Sept. 8), Saint Croix (Sept. 14), Saint Matthieu (Sept. 21), Saint Michiel (Sept. 29), Saint Denis (Oct. 9), La Toussaine (Nov. 1), Saint Marin (Nov. 11), Saint Catherine (Nov. 25), Saint Andre (Nov. 30), Notre Dame (Dec. 8), Saint Thomas (Dec. 21), La Nativite(?) (Dec. 25), Saint Estienne (Dec. 26), Saint Iehan(?) (Dec. 27), and Les Innocens (Dec. 28).⁴⁶ Almost eighty percent of the calendar aligns with the Parisian standard established by scholar Paul Perdrizet. Except there are variant spellings for many of the saints listed and several unusual saints are present as well as common saints celebrated on unusual feast days, which are as follows: Thomas of Aquinus (Mar. 9), Saint Pol cuesque(?) (Mar. 11), Saint Eustase (Mar. 29) and Rieul (Mar. 30) are reversed, Saint Marcel (Apr. 13), Saint Vuteur(?) (Apr. 19), Saint Vutoz(?) (Apr. 20), Saint

⁴⁶ Paul Perdrizet, *Le calendrier parisien à la fin du moyen age: d'après le bréviaire et les livres d'heures* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1933).

Gobert (Apr. 21), Saint Boniface (Apr. 23), Vigile (Apr. 24), Saint Cler (Apr. 27), Saint Mellon (Apr. 30), Saint Valere (May 14), Saint Omer (May 15), Saint Julienne (May 21), Saint Donatien (May 23), Saint Urban (May 25), Saint Augustin (May 26), Saint Germain (May 27), Saint Maximin (May 28), Saint Maxin (May 29), Saint Gzldard(?) (May 30), Saint Landry (June 8), Saint Basile (June 10), Saint Felicen (June 12), Saint Babile (June 14), Saint Marc (June 17), Saint Iehan, Saint Pol (June 26) and Saint Leon (June 27) are reversed, Saint Zenon (July 6), Saint Procope (July 9), Saint Paulin (July 11), Saint Uistine (July 12), Saint Cirice (July 13), Saint Lambert (July 14), Saint Prothe (July 15), Saint Aime (July 26), Saint Marcel (July 27), Les VII Dormans (July 28), Saint Fenne (July 29), Saint Panthaleon (July 30), Saint Abdon (July 31), Saint Osonans (Aug. 7) and Saint Uistin (Aug. 8) are reversed, Saint Couronne (Aug. 11) and Saint Ypolite (Aug. 12) are reversed, Saint Tybure (Aug. 16), Saint Bernard (Aug. 27), Saint Gorgon (Sept. 10), Saint Hyteche (Sept. 24), Saint Foy (Oct. 6) and Saint Marc (Oct. 7) are reversed, Saint Michiel (Oct. 16) and Saint Cerbon (Oct. 17) are reversed, Saint Arnant (Oct. 19), Saint Furnin (Oct. 26), Saint Yues (Oct. 29), Saint Quintin (Oct. 31), Saint Felix (Nov. 5), Saint Vene (Nov. 12), Saint Lucien (Nov. 13), Saint Eugene (Nov. 15), Saint Fare (Dec. 2), Saint Ambroise (Dec. 4) and Saint Barbe (Dec. 5) are reversed, Saint Lucien (Dec. 7), Saint Valerien (Dec. 11), Saint Fustien (Dec. 12) and Saint Nichaise (Dec. 14).

Overall, this calendar is a typical workshop production. Some of the discrepancies in the spelling of saints' names and dates of feasts could speak to the hurried nature of the scribe or perhaps one trying to accommodate for feasts

more commonly celebrated in a region outside of Paris. A calendar such as this could have been attached to any number of Books of Hours from the fifteenth century, but style and ownership suggest it was not intended for use in Paris, a matter to be discussed later.

During the rebinding of the book, which may have occurred in the eighteenth or nineteenth century,⁴⁷ the text from the Gospel of Luke found on folio 14 was misplaced and inserted into the gathering containing the Gospel of John. The full-page miniature of the Evangelist Matthew and folio of his gospel is missing. The remaining text from the Gospel of Matthew (18r, 18v, 19r and 19v) is misplaced and inserted into the Gospel of Mark, after the second folio. These error and missing folios could have occurred when the book was rebound, if not before. Therefore, quire B (table 2) should have at least another three folios (the misplaced and missing pages from the Gospel of Matthew) bringing its total number of leaves to eight and reducing quire C (table 3) back to the original arrangement of eight leaves.

Overall, the Marquette Hours conforms to standard Latin text used in a multitude of Books of Hours and as per usual many common words and phrases are abbreviated or omitted. For example, the prayer *Stabat Mater* comes to an end on the second to last line of folio 32v, where the prayer *Pater Noster* immediately begins and is then followed by four blank pages, which implies the poem was never finished or intentionally left unfinished and simply used as a cue to prompt an already well-known prayer. In the case of Matins in the Hours of the Virgin, only the ordinary prayers used most frequently throughout the year on

⁴⁷ Harry Boher, Brief written analysis of the manuscript for Marquette, January 1964.

Sunday, Monday and Thursday have been included, while those prayers used on Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, during Advent, the Feast of the Annunciation, and Christmas are excluded. In the hour of Lauds the ordinary final oration has been omitted and another added in its place, perhaps at the request of the patron. The Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Spirit contain only prayers for Matins, which is not uncommon. The remaining Hours of the Virgin, Prime through Compline, are also appended at the end of each hour. After the final oration the versicles and responses have been omitted and another oration that directly references the hour itself has been (except for Vespers). As for the Penitential Psalms a large portion of the last antiphon is removed and an additional folio of unknown text is added before leading immediately into the Litany. All of the saints illustrated in the Suffrages appear in the Litany with the exception of Barbara, Martha, and Lazarus. Saints Peter and Paul, Saint George, and Mary Magdalene are included in the Litany and would have appeared in the original conception of the book, but are now missing, a matter which will be addressed later in this chapter. In the amendment of the Litany several saints were added, such as Hylan, Fides, and Caritas, amongst others. The Litany also ends imperfectly after the first stanza of the final oration.

The greatest departure from the standard prayer texts of a Book of Hours occurs in the Suffrages. I have yet to locate a comparable prayer to that of the Holy Trinity. The prayer to Saint Michael ends approximately half way through the oration and does not terminate with a rubricated text. Following the incomplete Suffrage to Saint Michael is the miniature of John the Baptist, folio

139v, but the prayer on the recto and verso of folio 140 is devoted to Peter and Paul. Therefore, the remaining prayer for John the Baptist and the miniature of Peter and Paul, probably the contents of a single folio, are missing. Rather than the conclusion to the prayer to Saint Christopher the following folio, 148r, includes the continuation of a prayer to Saint George. Again, it can be assumed that an image of Saint George is missing. The same scenario occurs once more in the prayer to Saint Nicolas, between folios 151v and 152r, the texts here conclude with a prayer to Saint Mary Magdalene but no miniature dedicated to her. Whether the prayer texts in the Suffrages are complete or not they deviate extensively from the standard prayers used to venerate these saints.⁴⁸ Perhaps all these deviations will eventually lead to the identification of a particular diocese; such a connection requires further research.

Preparation of the Folios and Assembly

Each quire was prepared according to the Rule of Gregory. That is, the hair sides of each bifolio face one another as do the flesh sides.⁴⁹ There is no evidence of pricking marks. A quire numbering system is indicated by capital letters in the lower right hand corner. Almost all such letters are entirely visible despite the manuscript having been trimmed in the past. Only three and a part of a fourth of the original catchwords survive. Those that do, are written horizontally near the bottom, just to the right of center of the page and align with the page that follows.

⁴⁹ Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 33.

There are four categories of folio preparations used in the Marquette Hours. All involve a soft pink ruling. The first is found in the calendar (table 4), the second is folios with full-page miniatures (table 5), and the third for text folios. Amongst the latter, a different ruling pattern was used for those pages with marginalia (table 6) and those without (table 7). For the text pages with marginalia, the rectangle that rules out the space for the decoration appears to have been added after the original preparations were made. The ruling for the marginalia is of a darker pink and shifted slightly to the right or left of the original margin, perhaps not to interfere with any of the text that extends beyond the original margin. The same applies for the calendar pages and the marginalia that surround the roundels, which contain the Labors of the Months and Zodiac signs. All calendar pages are marked with 17 lines for written text and all other pages for text are ruled with 12 lines. Pages for the miniatures were all prepared the same way except for the leaf with the imagery of the Annunciation, which excludes the *bar-baguette* that encloses the few lines of text and decorative initials below the images. Several of the frames for the miniatures are slightly stepped before the arch, sometimes on one side or both sides, and therefore are not consistent throughout the manuscript. The margin that frames the entire page is a darker pink, emphasized with a thin gold line. Furthermore, the frames for the miniatures themselves are highlighted in gold as well as the *bar-baguettes*. The only exception is the page with the Annunciation imagery, which is framed in gold and then outlined in black.

Script

In the Marquette Hours the body of the text is written in brownish-black ink and again is heavily abbreviated. There are four different hands used throughout. First, the title page (not original to the manuscript) is written in a style similar to calligraphy, the text is large, spaced out and vertical (fig. 1), almost like the scribe was trying unsuccessfully to mimic the body of the text. The style in the calendar is consistent with the script used for the remainder of text, but the hand is looser and less formal (fig. 2). In the body of the text the script of the *Stabat Mater* prayer is inconsistent, albeit of the same style, for the letters, such as 'f,' are curvier and the ascenders and descenders are more exaggerated than anywhere else in the book (fig. 3). This suggests a third scribe at work on the manuscript and a fourth attributed to the title page. Overall, the style of script is *bâtard* or bastard (fig. 4). *Bâtard*, as described by Albert Derolez, is a subtype of Curvisa scripts developed in the thirteenth century. It is a rapidly written script intended to expedite production.⁵⁰ Examples of how the script from the Marquette Hours compares to standard letterforms associated with *bâtard* can be seen in figures 5 and 6.

⁵⁰ Derolez, 123. According to Derolez, *bâtard* had its origins in France, in the late fourteenth century and achieving its greatest glory in the middle of the fifteenth century in books commissioned for Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. *Bâtard* is noted for altering thick and thin strokes, the bold characteristics of the letters f and s, and a combination of roundness and angularity. Derolez, 157-159.

Major Decoration

Illustrations

Subjects

1. Calendar Illustrations (images are in medallions surrounded by flora in the outer borders)

- a. Man pruning (2r, March): a male in profile prunes in a field.
- b. Ram (2v, March): brown and gold ram is leaping in a blue medallion with gold dots.
- c. Picking flowers (3r, April): a female sits in a purple dress picking tiny purple flowers in a field.
- d. Taurus (3v, April): brown and gold bull in a red medallion with gold dots.
- e. Hawking (4r, May): a man sits upon his galloping white horse with a hawk on his left arm and two dogs running in front of him and his horse.
- f. Gemini (4v, May): nude couple painted in brown and gold about to embrace in a blue medallion with gold dots.
- g. Mowing (5r, June): a peasant man in a wide brimmed hat is bent over mowing with a scythe.
- h. Cancer (5v, June): brown and gold crab-like creature in a red medallion with gold dots.
- i. Picking apples (6r, July): a man with bright red tights sits in a tree picking red apples in a field.
- j. Leo (6v, July): brown and gold lion in a blue medallion with gold dots.
- k. Sheering (7r, August): a man in a wide brimmed hat sheers sheepskins in a field, as a large pile of sheered skins are stacked to the right.
- l. Virgo (7v, August): a female figure painted in brown and gold in a red medallion with gold dots.
- m. Sowing (8r, September): a peasant man, in similar garb and posture to the man depicted in June, wears a white tunic, and has bare legs, and a wide brimmed hat as he sows in the brown earth.
- n. Libra (8v, September): brown and gold scale in a blue medallion with

gold dots.

o. Picking Grapes (9r, October): a female with bright red hair and a purple dress picks grapes on her knees and places them in a handled basket.

p. Scorpio (9v, October): brown and gold scorpion-like creature in a red medallion with gold dots.

q. Slaughtering the pig (10r, November): a man with an apron swings a mallet over his head from behind an unaware pig.

r. Sagittarius (10v, November): a brown and gold painted centaur engages in archery in a red medallion with gold dots.

s. Baking rolls (11r, December): a man, in similar garb to the man slaughtering the pig in November, places rolls in an oven in a barrel vaulted interior space.

t. Capricorn (11v, December): a ram-like creature emerges from a cornucopia painted in brown and gold in a blue medallion with gold dots.

2. Gospels

a. John (12r): sits outdoors in a red tunic and purple robe looking at a scroll laid across his lap that extends into the mouth of the eagle.

b. Luke (15v): sits outdoors in blue tunic and pink robe with a scroll across his lap and a pen in his right hand held in the air as he looks back at the ox that peers out from behind him holding the end of the scroll in its mouth.

c. Mark (17r): sits outdoors in red tunic and blue robe writing on the scroll that is spread across his lap as the lion to his right holds one end of the scroll in its mouth.

3. Prayers

a. *Obsecro te* (21r): Virgin and Child sit in a gated garden below an arbor of grapes.

c. *O Intemerata* (26v): the Virgin Lactans, the Virgin breastfeeds the Christ child in a gothic interior.

c. *Stabat Mater* (30r): the Pieta, the dead Christ is stretched across the lap of the Virgin flanked by Mary Magdalene and John the Evangelist.

4. Hours of the Virgin:

- a. Matins (35r): the Annunciation takes place in a gothic cathedral.
- b. Lauds (50v): the Visitation, Elizabeth kneels before the Virgin outside a small building, which is to the right of the figures.
- c. Prime (71v): the Nativity, the Virgin prays and Joseph stands with his hands out as they flank the Christ child who lies on a blue cloth upon the ground while all eyes, including the ox and the ass look upon him in awe.
- d. Terce (78r): the Annunciation to the Shepherds, two shepherds tend their small flock and look towards the heavens as the angel swoops in to reveal the news of Christ's birth.
- e. Sext (84r): the Adoration of the Magi, the three magi present their gifts to the Christ child as he is seated upon his mother's lap.
- f. None (89v): the Presentation at the Temple, the Virgin places Christ upon the altar before the Bishop and another male figure while a female attendant stands off to the left.
- g. Vespers (94v): the Flight into Egypt, the Virgin cuddles the swaddled Christ child as they are seated upon the donkey that is being led by Joseph down a path.
- h. Compline (103r): the Coronation of the Virgin, Christ sits upon a draped throne and gives the gesture of benediction to the Virgin who kneels before him, hands in prayer, while she is being crowned by the angel that hovers above.

5. Hours of the Cross and Spirit:

- a. Hours of the Cross (67v): the Crucifixion, the Virgin prays and John the Baptist with his hands crossed over his chest flanks Christ on the Cross.
- b. Hours of the Spirit (69v): the Pentecost, the Virgin sits in the center surrounded by the apostles as a dove flies into the room through the window emanating the tongues of flames.

6. Penitential Psalms:

- a. David and Bathsheba (111r): King David with his harp peers at the bathing Bathsheba from behind his castle walls.

7. Suffrages:

- a. Holy Trinity (137r): God sits upon an altar before a green and purple canopy surrounded by seraphims as he holds up the arms of the cross that Christ is nailed to while a dove perches on top of the cross.
- b. St. Michael (138v): he wields a large sword at the cowering demon at his feet.
- c. John the Baptist (139v): he sits in his animal hair tunic holding a closed red book that has a red flag and the Lamb of God atop the book.
- d. John the Evangelist (141r): he stands in a gothic niche in bare feet while holding his golden serpent chalice in left hand and gives the gesture of benediction with his right.
- e. St. Stephen (142r): he kneels with his hands in prayer looking to the heavens while he bleeds from his head and two fools dance around him amongst the stones of his martyrdom.
- f. St. Lawrence (143v): he lies upon the gridiron and looks behind him to the one man who is turning him over while the other is seated on the ground fueling the fire with a bellow.
- g. St. Sebastian (145r): he stands in a gothic niche holding open a large book with his left and holds an arrow with his right.
- h. St. Christopher (146v): he forges across the river looking back at Christ disguised as a child seated upon his shoulders, holding a golden orb with a cross, while a monk holds up a building on a distant hill.
- i. St. Anthony, Abbot (148v): he sits in a large wooden throne in a gothic interior holding open a book in his left hand and golden staff in his right while flames mingle at his feet and a black pig slithers out from behind his throne.
- j. St. Martin (150r): he sits upon his horse cutting off a section of his robe for the naked and maimed man standing along side him.
- k. St. Nicholas (151v): he is adorned in religious garb as he gives the gesture of benediction with his right hand and holds a golden staff with his left looking upon the three boys praying in a tub occurring inside a barrel vaulted interior space.
- l. St. Margaret (153r): she prays with a cross in her hand while emerging from the back of a dragon, which is still in the process of swallowing her.

m. St. Catherine (154r): she stands confidently upon the king in a gothic niche while holding an open book in her left hand and a sword directly in front of her with her right hand as the wheel of her martyrdom peeks out from behind her.

n. St. Barbara (155v): she holds a tall fern in her left and reads from an open book in her right with her back to a tower off to the right.

o. St. Martha (157r): she clenches a tiny golden flower (?) as she looks back disdainfully at the tarasque that is regurgitating her.

p. St. Lazarus being resurrected (158v): he emerges from his opened stone sarcophagus as Christ stands before him, his sisters kneel in prayer and the crowd watches in awe.

Division of Labor and Style

By and large, the iconography and general conceptions of the landscape, figures, and forms are consistent with a fifteenth century French manuscript, which will be discussed in more depth in chapter two. Although some mentionable attributes include, twelve miniatures and two roundels have at least one vertical, craggy rock outcropping that seems almost unnatural amongst the grassy knolls of the surrounding landscape.⁵¹ Thirteen of the miniatures (fourteen if the fountain in which Bathsheba bathes is included) and four of the roundels are associated with water, typically a river that runs between the foreground and the background, perhaps a direct reflection of the landscape familiar to the patron. Despite generalized similarities, there are three individualized styles and therefore three illuminators at work on the Marquette Hours.

Based on differences in style, three illuminators painted the miniatures

⁵¹ This landscape, with the craggy rocks, grassy knolls, and rivers is reminiscent of the actual landscape of the Sisteron region, which is near Villosc (Vilhosc), a village in which Jean-Baptiste de Brancas was Lord.

and roundels in the Marquette Hours. The three hands are evident upon comparing the three distinct representations of the Virgin Mary. The first style, Hand A, is the most refined and responsible for the rendering of the Annunciation (fol. 35r) (fig. 7) miniature, which in many Books of Hours often receives more care than any other image because it commences the Hours of the Virgin and is the at the very least the one prayer that should be read each day.⁵² Overall, the interior of the gothic cathedral is readable, but there is no of perspective hence the space is a bit awkwardly conveyed. Many forms are outlined and line indicates highlights and lowlights rather than tonal variations. Embellishing the inner lining of the Virgin's blue garb entirely in gold and through large arm holes revealing her form fitting dress below gives her sense of dignified luxury and makes her more contemporaneous to the viewer. Her reddish-blond hair is parted down the middle, pulled tight at the nape of her neck, flows down her back highlighting haphazard strands of hair in gold, and almost blending into her solid, slightly oblong, gold halo. Her flesh is ochre; features are subtly indicated with gray, including her heavy eyelids, pronounced nose, and tiny mouth. To further the mood of contemplation the Virgin's, and Archangel Gabriel's, movements are reserved and their expressions melancholy.

Hand B, depicts the Virgin (fig. 8) with a rather sweet disposition, although any sense of movement and expression remains reserved. Her hair is bright yellow-blond, pulled back at the temples, and spills down her shoulders in waves. The pale skin is the color of the parchment, her large eyes are

⁵² L.M.J. Delaissé, James Marrow, and John De Wit, *Illuminated Manuscripts: the James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor* (Fribourg: Published for the National Trust by Office du livre, 1977), 151.

emphasized by deep black dots, and her lips have a subtle hint of red. Her golden halo is quite oblong and solid. Her humble blue garb falls heavy on the form, engulfing it and the hems are merely lined in gold. Hand B painted the Visitation (fol. 50v), Pentecost (fol. 69v), Nativity (fol. 71v), Adoration of the Magi (fol. 84r), and Coronation of the Virgin (fol. 103r). I argue that Hand B also painted the Crucifixion (fol. 67v), Annunciation to the Shepherds (fol. 78r), Presentation in the Temple (fol. 89v), Flight into Egypt (fol. 94v), and David and Bathsheba (fol. 111r). Attribution of the latter three is difficult to discern due to damage the miniatures have sustained and in the Annunciation to the Shepherds the Virgin is not present. Yet, the male forms are consistent with those depicted previously by Hand B. The portrayal of David (fig. 9), Christ (fig. 10) in the Coronation of the Virgin, and the bishop (fig. 11) in the Presentation at the Temple all have high, thin cheekbones, large noses, full beards and heavysset eyes. Also, the representation of Joseph is repeated in both the Nativity (fig. 12) and the Flight into Egypt (fig. 13). Joseph has large, dark eyes, high cheekbones, thin gray hair and a short gray beard. As for the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the angel (fig. 14) delivering the news of Christ's birth is analogous to the angel (fig. 15) that crowns the Virgin in the Coronation miniature. Both swoop into the scenes having round faces, plump cheeks, tiny lips, small noses, and short, curly blonde hair. Lastly, the image of the Crucifixion depicts the Virgin older (fig. 16), with large eyes, pale skin the color of parchment in a blue garb with a gold hem and John's face has the softness of the angels discussed above. Although it is the landscape that is most telling, more naturalistic rocky outcroppings are

created by Hand B, with a subtle use of highlights and lowlights to emphasize the uneven surface, in comparison to those portrayed by Hand C.

Hand C is the least refined of the three painters, yet this illuminator was responsible for the creation of the most miniatures: the roundels in the calendar, the Gospel portraits, and the iconography associated with the three prayers to the Virgin and all the Suffrages. Hand C's style is exemplified by the Virgin and Child for the prayer *Obsecro te* (fig. 17). Her features are cruder having an elongated head, chin brought to a fine point, very large eyes with heavy lids, tiny bright red lips, and ruddy cheeks. Her cloak is heavily highlighted in gold and the hem is further emphasized with a decorative pattern of lines. The Virgin's long hair is blonde and highlighted with golden strands; appearing as though plastered to her head making the back of the head appear rather flat. As opposed to a solid halo, the outer most edge is a heavy outline of gold but fades as it moves toward the head, allowing the background to show through. These general characteristics of the Virgin are repeated for other females and males created by Hand C, as seen in the portrait for the Gospel of John (fig. 18) and in the imagery of Saint Margaret (fig. 19).

Minor Decoration

Decorated Initials

The KL, indicative of 'Kalends,' (the first days of the month) is depicted to the left of the name of the month and is two lines tall (figs. 20 & 21). For the Gospels, three prayers to the Virgin, and Suffrages all the initials are two lines tall (fig. 22); whereas the decorative initials for the Hours of the Virgin are all three

lines tall (fig. 23). Overall, the decorative initials have red letters on blue backgrounds or blue letters on red backgrounds with gold filigree to embellish both the letter and the initial. The exceptions are the black and gold letters on a blue background in the calendar and the first nine decorative initials of the Suffrages which have either a red or blue background but the letters are comprised of gold filigree. Also, the decorative initial that opens the Hour of Martins, which is a red letter on a green background and in the center of the letter D is blue, all of which is embellished with gold floral motifs (fig. 24). Each decorative initial is outlined in black and housed in a rectangle that encloses the letter, although several outlined backgrounds do conform to the shape of the letter itself.

Plain text is used at the beginning of the manuscript with no indication that any space was set aside to embellish the text at a later time. Unexpectedly, starting with the *Stabat Mater* prayer, the text is then elaborated upon with decorative initials for the remainder of the book. The gold decorative initials are one or two lines tall on red, blue, or green backgrounds are used throughout to indicate the start of many, but not all, new sentences (fig. 25).

Line Endings

Also, beginning with the *Stabat Mater* poem are a variety of decorative line fillers used in remainder of the manuscript. The line endings are rectangular boxes (fig. 26) of varying sizes or circles (fig. 27) outlined in black and filled in with red, blue, or green and gold floral filigree.

Borders

Marginalia decorates and frames all folios with a full-page miniature. Also, each calendar page and sporadic pages of text, after the *Stabat Mater* prayer, have a vertical strip of marginalia on the unbound side of the page. A variety of tiny colorful flowers, thistles, berries, and leaves weave through the borders amongst blue and gold acanthus leaves interspersed with tiny gold circles outlined in black with thin black and gold. On the bottom of all pages with a miniature the foliage springs forth from a green rudimentary ground line. There are also three full-page miniatures that have creatures depicted in the marginalia (fig. 28) and three coats of arms present, which are on the title page, the Annunciation, and the Nativity. The marginalia is the lushest around the image of the Annunciation (fig. 29). Whereas, the title page (fig. 30) is sparse; the tiny gold balls are not outlined in black as and the dark green ground line dips and rises, which differs from the remaining pages. The layout of the decoration mimics that of the border decoration for the Gospel of Mark (fig. 31); conceivably deliberate in attempt to look as if it was original to the manuscript, but nevertheless unsuccessful. For example, centered in the *bas-de-page* are a group of strawberries, flanked by small, round-petaled flowers; although the colors are different the conception is the same. On the left side the flowers are thistle-like in appearance and on the right are a few acanthus leaves and above that blue, angular-petaled flowers. This patterning is unique to these two folios and do not appear elsewhere in the Marquette Hours. An interesting attribute of this manuscript's marginalia occurs over twenty times in both the calendar and pages

with text. When a vertical strip of marginalia is depicted on folio recto (fig. 32) the marginalia depicted on the following verso (fig. 33) is a mirror image, if there is marginalia depicted on that verso or unless there is a miniature.

Binding

The brownish-reddish leather cover, which is not original to the manuscript, is possibly levant morocco or eighteenth century French morocco.⁵³ On the front and back cover, all four sides is an ornamental border of three golden lines, the middle thicker than the two outer lines, intersects at all four corners where a floral motif is laid over the intersecting lines. Floral and foliage motifs break up the verticality of the spine into equal horizontal sections. Near the top of the spine *Heures* is embossed and the date 1416 nears the bottom. Inside each cover is multi-colored paper in a busy, swirled pattern that contrasts with the medieval contents. On the center of the inside cover is an emblem of a lion with the text: Tout bien on rien, presumably the symbol of the company that rebound the manuscript.

Additions

As previously mentioned the title page (fig. 30) appears to be a later addition to the manuscript, in that the script and marginalia unsuccessfully attempt to imitate other pages. Central on the page is a coat of arms now severely damaged and ineligible. The date of 1416 is printed on the title page, as well as embossed on the binding, and perhaps was an unknowing

⁵³ Bernard C. Middleton, *The Restoration of Leather Bindings* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1984), 63.

misrepresentation of medieval manuscript illumination or intentionally meant to pass the manuscript off as older than it really is.

Provenance

Only the modern provenance is known, in which Mr. Eliot Fitch gifted the Marquette Hours to the Haggerty Museum of Art at Marquette University. The original provenance will be explored in chapter two of this thesis.

Localization

Determining where, when, and for whom a manuscript was created is difficult but necessary in order to better understand the contents and the decoration as well as gain further insight into the production processes of a particular locale. Several factors contribute to the difficulty of determining the localization of a Book of Hours like the Marquette Hours, which has been dated on stylistic grounds between 1460 and 1480.⁵⁴ First, although skillfully painted, well conceptualized, and highly detailed the pocket-sized Marquette Hours is a humble commission relative to other Books of Hours produced during the fifteenth century. Second, because it is chronologically wedged between the International Gothic style of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and the Northern Renaissance, the books iconographic tendencies, stylistic characteristics, and production techniques have close analogues across much of medieval Europe. The same factors also increase the difficulty of distinguishing a

⁵⁴ Harry Boher, Brief written analysis of the manuscript for Marquette, January 1964 & Zemler-Cizewski.

master from assistants or imitators.⁵⁵ John Plummer has even suggested that many Books of Hours from the fifteenth century were intentionally produced as generic, non-localizable books, a possibility that strengthens the difficulty of determining the region and workshop of production.⁵⁶ Furthermore, since Paris was originally at the forefront of manuscript production in the Gothic period, many motifs and techniques found in fifteenth century illumination had their origins in the French capital; yet, it is quite possible a book that exhibits 'Parisian' characteristics was produced in another region of France or Flanders. This is the case with the Marquette Hours, which, on the basis of liturgical, heraldic, and stylistic content I will argue was produced in Provence during 1474 by the artist Pierre Villate and his associates, at the request of Jean-Baptiste de Brancas.

Liturgical Content

Liturgical evidence of a Book of Hours is evaluated by examining the use, or particular textual contents of the Hours of the Virgin and Office of the Dead, as well as the saints listed in the Calendar, Litany, and Suffrages.⁵⁷ Until about the beginning of the fifteenth century most Books of Hours were written entirely in Latin, then the vernacular language slowly emerged in varying portions of some manuscripts. When French appeared it was used primarily in the calendar and accessory prayers.⁵⁸ In the Netherlands, in part due to the *Devotio Moderna* text,

⁵⁵ Georges Dogaer, James H. Marrow, and Friedrich Winkler, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, 1987), 11.

⁵⁶ John Plummer and Gregory Thomas Clark, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts : 1420-1530, from American Collections : [exhibition held at the Pierpont Morgan library from 18 November 1982 to 30 January 1983]* (New York: Pierpont Morgan library, 1982), xii.

⁵⁷ Susie Nash, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Illumination in Amiens* (London: British Library, 1999), 86-90.

⁵⁸ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 10.

the standard components of Books of Hours were translated into Dutch to encourage reading religious texts in the vernacular.⁵⁹ This was particularly successful in the Northern Netherlands where the majority of manuscripts produced during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were in Dutch, of which there is no evidence of in the Marquette Hours.⁶⁰ John Plummer describes six variants in the *Obsecro te* prayer most often found in Flemish rather than French manuscripts. The Marquette Hours adheres to only one of those six and there is no other evidence of Dutch used in the manuscript.⁶¹ The Latin text has male endings, which is best exemplified in the prayers *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata*, therefore it is likely the manuscript was written for a male supplicant.⁶²

To further help determine the origin of production or at least the possible

⁵⁹ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 10.

⁶⁰ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 10.

⁶¹ John Plummer, "Use and Beyond Use," in *Time Sanctified the Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: G. Braziller in association with the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1988), 152. Although line for line the Marquette Hours does not appear to adhere exactly to the lines noted by Plummer because of the heavy abbreviation and skipped sections of the prayer they are quite close. In line one in the Marquette Hours *mea* is not added after *domina* as in Flemish manuscripts. As for line nine it reads *accipere humanam carnem* rather than *humanam carnem accipere* as in Flemish manuscripts. Also in Flemish manuscripts *michi* is added after the word *auxilium* and *conquestis* is used for *requestis* in line 23, which is not the case in the Marquette Hours. In line 24 the Marquette Hours reads *illis rebus* instead of *rebus illis* as it does in Flemish manuscripts. Finally, in line 35 Flemish manuscripts use *beatam* for *veram*, this appears to be the case in the Marquette Hours, although the translation that I have does not use *beatam* or *veram* in the last half of the prayer.

⁶² The text in the Marquette Hours aligns most closely with the masculine passages described by Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures: Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Tome I* (Paris: Maçon, Protat frères, impr., 1927), XXXIV. "Obsecro te...Veni et festina in auxilium et consilium meum... in omnibus illis rebus in quibus ego sum facturus, locuturus aut cogitaturus omnibus diebus, horis atque momentis vite mee, Et michi famulo tuo impetres a dilecto Filio tuo complementum..." "O intemerata et in eternum benedicta... O Iohannes... Vobis duobus ego miser peccator, hodie et omni tempore, corpus meum et animam meam commendo..." "O intemerata... De te enim Dei Filius... et esto michi peccatori pia et propicia in monibus auxiliatrix..." Where as in the Marquette Hours it reads: "Obsecro te...Veni et festina in auxilium et consilium meum...in omnibus illis rebus in quibus ego sum facturus, locuturus aut cogitaturus omnibus diebus. [noctibus] horis atque momentis vite mee, Et michi famulo tuo impetres a dilecto Filio tuo complementum..." "O intemerata et in eternum benedicta...O Iohannes...Vobis duobus [commendo] ego miser [et fragilis?] peccator, [animam meam et corpus meum. Vt? In...] (hodie et omni, corpus et (not in the Marquette Hours)..."

location of the patron a book's 'Use' is considered.⁶³ Based on the antiphons and capitulua, which are the responses given in the text for the reader to utter aloud during prayer, the Hours of the Virgin in the Marquette Hours is for the Use of Rome.⁶⁴ The two hours most commonly used to establish the 'Use' of a Book of Hours are Prime and None.⁶⁵ For Prime the antiphon in the Marquette Hours is '*Assumpta est...*' while the Capitulum is '*Quae est...*' and for the hour of None the antiphon is '*Pulchra es...*' and the Capitulum is '*In plateis...*'⁶⁶ For Books of Hours with a Roman, Sarum, and most French uses the Hymn in Matins begins, '*Quem terra, pontus, aethera...*' as it does in the Marquette Hours.⁶⁷ The Use of Rome was prevalent in Southern France and eventually moved north becoming the dominant use.⁶⁸ According to Francois Avril and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe in their article on Enguerrand Quarton, Pierre Villate and Provençal illumination, the Use of Rome in Provence was almost universally used, because of the proximity to Italy.

Beyond the antiphons and capitulua 'Use' can also be determined by studying the saints listed in the Calendar, Litany and Suffrages. Provincial Books of Hours often have a completely full Parisian calendar, which has been supplemented with more localized feasts this is the case in the Marquette

⁶³ Christopher De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Phaidon Press, 1994), 165.

⁶⁴ De Hamel, 165.

⁶⁵ De Hamel, 165.

⁶⁶ Roger Wieck, *Rare Book School: Introduction to Illuminated Manuscripts 15-19 August 2005*, (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2005), 19 & De Hamel, 165.

⁶⁷ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: University Press, 1895), xxvi.

⁶⁸ James, xxix.

Hours.⁶⁹ The manuscript's unusual calendar entries, however, have yet to be aligned with a particular region of France. As for the saints listed in the Litany and those depicted in the Suffrages, no saint in particular appears to deviate from the commonly invoked French saints. Unfortunately, the Office of the Dead, another tool for determining 'Use,' is missing from the Marquette Hours. Additionally, the Marquette Hours contains three supplementary prayers, *Obsecro te*, *O intemerata* and *Stabat Mater* that are frequently found in French Books of Hours, but these are also stock devotional prayers and do not guarantee the book was produced in France.

Heraldry

When taken into account the lack of the Dutch vernacular, the Use of Rome, the French prayer with only one Flemish variant, and an overly full Parisian calendar along with heraldic and stylistic evidence, a strong argument can be formed that the book was produced not only in France, but specifically in Provence. Despite wide-ranging availability and few restrictions on use, heraldry was not adopted by all of medieval Europe. Yet, the upper echelons of society, such as the nobility, aristocracy, high-ranking magistrates, merchants, and rich artisans often utilized heraldry.⁷⁰ The origins of heraldry appear to be intertwined with the development of a feudal society after 1000 CE. Creation of such a system appears to correlate with the production of specified military equipment

⁶⁹ François Avril and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, "Enguerrand Quarton, Pierre Villate et l'enluminure provençale. À propos d'un livre d'heures inédit conservé au Grand Séminaire de Namur (Belgique)," *Revue de l'art*, no. 135 (2002): 91.

⁷⁰ Michel Pastoureau, *Heraldry: An Introduction to a Noble Tradition* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1997), 14 & 15.

between the late eleventh century and early twelfth century.⁷¹ By the end of the twelfth century heraldry seemingly became hereditary.⁷² Within a particular family, the eldest male bears the family arms and the younger males must slightly modify the shield. Unmarried daughters typically take the arms of their father and once married a new shield is created through a combination of her father's and husband's shields.⁷³ Several rules were developed to help establish uniformity in the appearance of coats of arms, although when shields are modified by later generations these rules may have been violated. The accessories added later on to coats of arms, such as helmets or coronets, were not regulated.⁷⁴

The first coat of arms (fig. 34) found in the Marquette Hours is centered in the *bas-de-page* of folio 35r beneath the image of the Annunciation (fig. 29). In the language of heraldry the charge is described as: *d'azur au pal d'argent chargé de trois tours de gueules et accosté de quatre jambs de lion d'or affrontées en bandes et en barres, mouvantes des deux flancs de l'écu*. This shield is affiliated with the illustrious de Brancas family, originally from Naples who thrived in the mid-fourteenth century. Some of the family settled in Avignon.

Jean de Brancas (1390-1445), a second-generation member of the Avignonese family, was Lord of Villosc in Provence. He enjoyed the title of equerry of Rene d'Anjou, the King of Naples, Sicily, and Count of Provence. Jean and his wife Clémence d'Agoult married by contract on February 5, 1419 and

⁷¹ Pastoureau, 17.

⁷² Pastoureau, 20.

⁷³ Pastoureau, 75-76.

⁷⁴ Pastoureau, 44-45 & 68.

perhaps had seven children. Of these, Jean-Baptiste de Brancas was probably the second or third son born into the family.⁷⁵ The charge on the shield depicted in the Marquette Hours derives from the fundamental armorial of the de Brancas family.⁷⁶ Little is known about the life of Jean-Baptiste de Brancas, except that he too became Lord of Villosc as well as Valauris and the equerry and chancellor for Louis d'Anjou. Jean-Baptiste is mentioned in several contemporary documents. According to one record he received payment on July 4, 1472 for his wages as the Lord of Montferrand from the previous year. Then, in 1477, he received a pension of 600 livre. Although there is no record of his marriage, he apparently had a son, Nicolas de Brancas, who took up his father's duties.⁷⁷ Most significant to this paper is the notation of Jean-Baptiste de Brancas in the accounts of Pierre Villate, a painter from Provence.⁷⁸ According to Charles Sterling, Villate was hired between August 26 and December 14, 1474 to paint all the historiated miniatures in a Book of Hours belonging to one Baptiste de Brancas, in which he had previously decorated an image of Saint Jean the Evangelist to the patron's satisfaction.⁷⁹ In the genealogy records, the only Baptiste de Brancas family

⁷⁵ François Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois and Michel Fleury, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1980), 976-977 & Jean Antoine Pithon-Curt, *Histoire de la noblesse du Comté-Venaissin, d'Avignon, et de la principauté d'Orange* (Marseille: Laffitte, 1970), 198-199 & 612.

⁷⁶ Although there are several accessories, such as the helmet, lion paws, peacock feathers and ribbons found around the de Brancas armorial, these accessories were not regulated according to the rules for heraldry, Pastoureau, 44-45 & 68.

⁷⁷ Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois, 976-977 & Pithon-Curt, 198-199 & 612.

⁷⁸ This account was first noted by Charles Sterling in 1983 in his book, *Enguerrand Quarton: le peintre de la Pieta d'Avignon*.

⁷⁹ Charles Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton: le peintre de la Pieta d'Avignon* (Paris: Ministère de la culture, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1983), 167. Sterling credits identification of the painter Pierre Villate to Chobaut in 1940. In 2003, Joelle Guidini-Raybaud in her book, *Pictor et veyrerius : le vitrail en Provence occidentale, XIIe-XVIIe siècles*, noted Sterling's initial assessment about Villate's work as an illuminator for his patron Baptiste de Brancas. According to Guidini-Raybaud, on August 22, 1474 Villate promised to paint for de Brancas stories from the life of Saint Michael for his Book of Hours. Since the Marquette Hours has the de Brancas

member living during this time period is the Jean-Baptiste de Brancas discussed above.

The second coat of arms (fig. 35) appears centered in the *bas-de-page* with the image of the Nativity above (fig. 28). *De sable, à la croix d'or* is the vernacular for describing this blazon. According to *Dictionnaire Heraldiques*, this coat of arms belongs to the Albon family of Provence.⁸⁰ The coats of arms for both the Albon and de Brancas families are found in the *Armorial of Avignon and Comtat Venaissin*.⁸¹ Descendants of Guillaume d'Albon, Lord of Saint Forgeux and Curis, married in 1373 and had approximately twelve children, who lived in the early to mid-fifteenth century and went on to have children of their own. The family's ties appear to remain around Lyon and outlying areas.⁸² As of yet, a record of marriage that would unite both families and account for the coats of arms in the Marquette Hours has not emerged, but it is possible that such a marriage is commemorated by the heraldry in the manuscript. The liturgical evidence in addition with the heraldry of Baptiste de Brancas, likely Jean-

heraldry and on stylistic grounds is likely a French provincial manuscript in the orbit of Enguerrand Quarton who Villate collaborated with and the archival evidence that documents Baptiste de Brancas' request for illumination from Villate at this time we will speculate that the Marquette Hours is the said manuscript. Also, Villate may have been commissioned to only or in conjunction with the entire Book of Hours illuminate the stories of Saint Michael, which may be missing from the original manuscript.

⁸⁰ Charles Loizeau de Grandmaison and L.-N.-H. Chérin, *Dictionnaire héraldique contenant: l'explication et la description des termes et figures usités dans le blason, des notices sur les ordres de chevalerie, les marques des charges et dignités, les ornements et l'origine des armoiries, les rois d'armes et les tournois, etc. Avec un grand nombre de planches et d'exemples tirés des armoiries des familles, villes et provinces de France. Suivi de l'Abbrégé chronologique d'édits, déclarations, règlements, arrêts et lettres patentes des rois de France de la troisième race, concernant le fait de la noblesse* (Paris: S'imprime et se vend chez J. P. Migne, 1852), http://books.google.com/books?id=rAsmjVHrj4gC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Dictionnaire+Heraldiques&source=gbs_similarbooks_s&cad=1#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed June 29, 2010).

⁸¹ Hervé Aliquot, Robert Merceron, and Jean Antoine Pithon-Curt. *Armorial d'Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin: illustration de Pithon-Curt* (Avignon: Aubanel, 1987), 4 & 29 in the illustrations.

⁸² Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois, 263-276.

Baptiste, who has then been connected in the historical records to the painter Pierre Villate, provides a strong context for a French provincial production. Therefore I will now explore the style and iconography of the Marquette Hours, comparing it with other fifteenth century French Books of Hours. Comparisons will then be made with work from Provence, specifically Villate's associate Enguerrand Quarton, to see a good analogy can be made.

Style and Iconography

Stylistically the Marquette Hours has the attributes of a French manuscript of the late fifteenth century. The following consideration of the style of the Marquette Hours includes an analysis of its painted initials, format, marginalia, and miniatures. Specifically, the examination of the miniatures will concentrate on color palette, conception of landscape and figures, and iconography, all of which confirm the general French character of the manuscript, which is distinctly provincial.⁸³ Then the Marquette Hours will be compared with altarpieces and illumination from Provence and those works associated with Enguerrand Quarton and his occasional collaborator, Pierre Villate, in order to assess the possibility of the involvement of Villate in the production of the Marquette Hours.

The painted initials (figs. 22-25) are the best indication that the Marquette Hours is a French production. Shape and decoration of the initials and the backgrounds on which they appear are typical of French manuscript illumination,

⁸³ Roger Wieck has also briefly looked at a few of the miniatures and suggested a French provincial manuscript is more likely than one created in Burgundy, although he suggested Savoy, per e-mail message to author, June 30, 2009.

as opposed to Flemish.⁸⁴ The full-page illuminations and line rulings of 12 are also characteristically French. In the Marquette Hours the full-page miniatures are integrated into manuscript and the ruling for the miniatures together with the text are 12 lines tall (fig. 28).⁸⁵ Manuscripts and individual folios that comply with a French format commonly include integrated illustrations with full-page miniatures rather than tipped-in illustrations and historiated initials as in Flemish manuscripts. With the increasing prominence of miniatures in manuscripts around 1420, the arched frame to enclose the top of the miniature was introduced and furthermore the imagery began to be placed within a landscape.⁸⁶ As for the arrangement of pages dedicated to full-page miniatures, including the borders, the miniatures from the Walters Hours (fig. 36) best exemplify that, they are typically Parisian in style and form.⁸⁷ The Walters Hours dates to 1430-35, some 40 years prior to the Marquette Hours, but the overall rendition is similar. The borders for both the Marquette Hours (fig. 28) and the Walters Hours either almost or entirely surround the miniatures. Separating the images from the borders are thin gold frames, outlined in black with a black scalloped edge along the arch. The marginalia is the broadest at the bottom and the unbound side of the pages and narrowest on the top, and the bound side of the pages. Although many of the full-page miniatures in the Marquette Hours have text enclosed with a gold *bar-baguette*, a feature that differentiates the book from the Walters manuscript, James Marrow has confirmed the layout of the Marquette Hours is

⁸⁴ James Marrow, e-mail message to author, February 5, 2010.

⁸⁵ Nash, 131.

⁸⁶ John P. Harthan, *The Book of Hours: with a Historical Survey and Commentary*, (New York: Park Lane, 1982), 21.

⁸⁷ Nash, 181.

French due to *mise-en-page*.⁸⁸

The design of the marginalia and specific floral motifs employed also indicate the Marquette Hours is indeed a French manuscript.⁸⁹ The marginalia has blue and gold brushed acanthus leaves interspersed with the gold and black string foliage, berries, and flowers (fig. 28). At the time the Marquette Hours was painted, decorative borders were a long-established tradition in French Gothic manuscript illumination. The figural, animal, and hybrid motifs in the margins of fifteenth century manuscripts had long ago crawled out of the decorative initials using vines and or ivy leaves to weave their way along the borders of the pages. Jean Pucelle, the famous French illuminator, has been credited in the early fourteenth century with establishing the first French contacts with Italy and expounding upon the ivy and figural motifs used to create marginalia (fig. 37).⁹⁰ Acanthus leaves in contrasting colors began to appear amongst the vine and ivy leaves (fig. 38) in the Parisian book trade around 1400, possibly influenced by Italy.⁹¹ Blue acanthus leaves with brushed gold undersides became standard in fifteenth century France and throughout medieval Europe and usurped the vine as the prevailing decorative element during this time period.⁹² In the middle of the century berries, flowers, and fruit became prevalent amongst the string foliage and acanthus leaves, as in the Marquette Hours (fig. 28).⁹³ In the 1470s, Flemish illuminators in Ghent and Bruges specialized in the portrayal of elaborate fruit

⁸⁸ James Marrow, e-mail message to author, February 5, 2010.

⁸⁹ James Marrow, e-mail message to author, February 5, 2010.

⁹⁰ Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures*, trans. Julian Brown (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995), 52-53 & Harthan, 21.

⁹¹ Rowan Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts and their Makers* (London: V & A Publications, 2003), 33 & Dogaer et al., 33.

⁹² Celia Fisher, *Flowers in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 2004), 5.

⁹³ Watson, 33-34.

and flowers in a *trompe l'oeil* (trick of the eye) style, the popularity of which spread quickly amongst artists (fig. 39).⁹⁴ Comparisons of border decorations help narrow the date range within the fifteenth century; the Marquette Hours' borders include stylistic attributes typical of French illumination from the 1440's and later. In particular, the placement of berries and flowers amongst the blue and gold acanthus leaves as well as the gold and black string foliage lend to a date after the 1450's. *Trompe l'oeil* illusionism was not prevalent in France until after the 1470's which further narrows the date range to the early third-quarter of the fifteenth century.

The style of the miniatures is also useful in identifying the Marquette Hours as a fifteenth century French manuscript. For example, the general characteristics of the manuscript can be described as follows using the image of the Nativity (fig. 40) as a prime example. Saturated blues, greens, reds and gold dominate the rich palette. Gold leaf highlights the landscape, architecture, animals, and figures. Gold is also used to imply the holy indicated by the light of God shining down from the heavens, the halo over the head of the Virgin, and the rays that emanate from the Christ child. Lines and swatches of color are primarily used over tonal modulation in creating forms. Tonal transitions are used in the landscape and the sky, which gradate from a rich saturated color and fades to softer tones as the horizon is reached. Simplified geometric forms constitute the landscape and architecture and therefore despite the attempt at spatial depth, the scene appears a slightly flat. For example, the simple

⁹⁴ James H. Marrow, Brigitte Dekeyzer, and Jan van der Stock, *Pictorial Invention in the Netherlandish Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages: The Play of Illusion and Meaning* (Paris: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2005), 9 & Fisher, 17.

geometric construction of the manger implies depth and pulls the viewer into the background. Yet, the flat swatches of green appear to be stacked upon one another and the blocky castle on the horizon appears flat. Large angular folds add weight to the bulky drapery. The figures of Joseph, Mary, and Christ fill the foreground of the rather symmetrical composition. Their facial features are implied by short, quick gray and black brushstrokes and highlighted with red to flush the cheeks and tint the lips. The Virgin has a fleshy neck and cheeks, high forehead, large nose, tiny mouth, heavy eyelids, long blonde hair and curved fingers. Whereas, Joseph has deep set eyes with heavy lids, high cheekbones, and presumably a down-turned mouth like the other men depicted in the manuscript.

By and large, these salient characteristics imply the illumination of a provincial French master. Parisian illuminators, Flemish panel painters and illuminators as well as painters from Italy influenced many provincial masters just as all these groups influenced one another. Particularly from the fourteenth century onwards, styles became mixed and blended because of constant exchange of ideas and imitation.⁹⁵ One significant characteristic of illumination in Flemish centers, like Bruges, from the mid-fifteenth century onwards is makers' marks. Unfortunately the same practice was not followed in France and hence not found in the Marquette Hours.⁹⁶ Furthermore, an analysis of style and iconography will be helpful in discerning the attributes of French manuscripts. In

⁹⁵ Porcher, 57.

⁹⁶ J.J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 126; James Douglas Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation: the Work of a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator* (Fort Lauderdale, FL: Nova University Press, 1976), 25 & Delaissé et al., 260-264.

her book, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Illumination in Amiens in the Fifteenth Century*, Susie Nash attempts to distinguish some of the prominent attributes of French illumination, specifically Parisian, which later influenced the region of Amiens (a crossroads between France and the Flemish Low Countries). She also works to identify those traits that originated with Flemish illuminators. Additionally, French provincial attributes from the region of Rouen are described in the book, *Illuminated Manuscripts: James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddeson Manner*. Both styles will be compared to the Marquette Hours.

Nash clearly lists characteristics of early Flemish panel painting evident in illumination from Amiens and the core group of illuminators she discusses. The Hours Raoul d'Ailly (figs. 41 & 42) dated to c. 1435, for example, the attributes are as follows: convex mirrors, books with half turned pages, rich clothing of gold, book lined shelves, glass vessels, pearl-studded halos, crooked fingers, turban head-dresses, shadows, bulky-robles, and long flowing hair.⁹⁷ The only three said Flemish traits found in the Marquette Hours are bulky-robles and long flowing hair as well as the use of shadows, albeit inconstantly. Nash goes on to state that characteristics attributed to Paris are flesh tones with a green base, which is not present in the Marquette Hours. Also, Parisian in nature is the use of gold leaf to highlight the landscape and garments as well as edge robes and pattern clothes.⁹⁸ This use of gold is prevalent in the Marquette Hours. Moreover, using hatched highlights of gold is more often found in French illumination as can be

⁹⁷ Nash, 90.

⁹⁸ Nash, 90.

seen occasionally in the Marquette Hours, particularly on the drapery.⁹⁹ The features of Amiens that are present in the Marquette Hours include rich colors of greens, blues, reds and orange; however, in the Marquette Hours yellow is used, unlike manuscripts from Amiens. Again, gold is used liberally. Figures crowd the foreground of symmetrical compositions. Facial features are indicated with brown and lips tinted orange, although in the Marquette Hours they are indicated with black or gray and lips are tinted red. Women are depicted with fleshy cheeks, heavy eyelids, high foreheads, long brown hair, and bony hands. As in the Marquette Hours except the hair is either bright yellow or golden blonde and the hands are curved rather than crooked (fig. 40). As for the men, their faces are angular, deep set, heavy-lidded eyes, mouths are down-turned, and foreheads creased. Also, a trait of French illumination is pronounced chins and protruding or pointed beards.¹⁰⁰ Again, all features are found in the Marquette Hours except for the creased foreheads (Fig. 40).¹⁰¹ Indeed, imagery from the Marquette Hours aligns more closely with the provincial illumination of Amiens, the merging of both Flemish and French attributes, according to Nash.

Another provincial center of manuscript illumination was Rouen, where a distinctive style developed and dominated in the area from 1450 onward and is described in *Illuminated Manuscripts* and typified with the image of the Annunciation (fig. 43). A palette of pure colors consisting of blue, green, dull red

⁹⁹ Delaissé et al., 226.

¹⁰⁰ Bert Cardon, *Manuscripts of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis in the Southern Netherlands (c. 1410 – c. 1470): A Contribution to the Study of Fifteenth Century Book Illumination and of the Function and Meaning of Historical Symbolism* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1996), 85.

¹⁰¹ Nash, 86 & 87.

and gold characterizes the Rouen style as it does in the Marquette Hours. In both the Rouen style and the Marquette Hours the use of gold is relied upon heavily as to create highlights with patterned lines that accentuate both the landscape as well as figures.¹⁰² So the landscape and architecture are stylized and reduced to simplified geometric forms that are characteristic of French rather than Flemish manuscripts,¹⁰³ which instead strive for a more naturalistic and highly detailed style. Provincial French artists, like those working in Amiens and Rouen, were not only influenced by prominent Parisian illuminators, such as the Bedford Master, but also Flemish and Italian illuminators appropriating various attributes and making them their own. Parisian illumination dominated for centuries and was highly influential to Flemish and Italian illuminators. Eventually all styles converged to influence a variety of provincial French illuminators. Again, the continual exchange of ideas and imitation from the fourteenth century onward amongst French, Flemish and Italian artists created manuscripts throughout medieval Europe that were heavily mixed and blended.¹⁰⁴

Iconographical analysis as well as the style can aid in assessing the Marquette Hours as French. In keeping with the French tradition the imagery for the Hours of the Virgin are represented by the infancy cycle of Christ, whereas Flemish illumination sometimes focuses more so on the Passion of Christ.¹⁰⁵ For example, Matins is illustrated with the Annunciation, Lauds the Visitation, Prime the Nativity, Terce the Annunciation to the Shepherds, Sext the Adoration of the

¹⁰² Delaissé et al., 260.

¹⁰³ James Marrow, e-mail message to author, February 5, 2010 & Delaissé et al., 260-264.

¹⁰⁴ Porcher, 57.

¹⁰⁵ Delaissé et al., 207.

Magi, None the Presentation in the Temple, Vespers the Flight into Egypt, and Compline the Coronation of the Virgin. In many French Books of Hours, like the Marquette Hours, the scene of the Annunciation takes place “in a private chapel with stained glass windows,” rather than “set in a corner of the Virgin’s homely bedroom in Netherlandish manuscripts.”¹⁰⁶ One aspect of the gospel portraits does appear to be unusual in the Marquette Hours: all four evangelists (presumably the miniature of Matthew would follow suit despite no longer being a part of the book) appear outdoors, for example as seen with the portrait page for the Gospel of Mark (fig. 31). Usually only John (fig. 18) is depicted outdoors, on Patmos, and the remaining three are shown in some sort of interior space. The Penitential Psalms are often marked by an image of King David praying for God’s forgiveness. Therefore, it is unusual that David is peering at Bathsheba bathing as in the Marquette Hours. The depiction of David and Bathsheba (fig. 87) is more common in French than Flemish manuscripts. Such images become increasingly popular in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.¹⁰⁷ The iconographical choice, such as David and Bathsheba, and their manner of style helps to place the Marquette Hours production within late fifteenth century France.¹⁰⁸ This is further supported by the stylistic analysis, noting the simplified geometric forms, pure color palette and distinct facial features. Many of these attributes may have had their origin in the French capital or elsewhere in

¹⁰⁶ Christopher de Hamel, “Books of Hours: ‘Imaging’ the Word” in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, ed. John L. Sharpe III and Kimberly van Kampen (London: The British Library, 1998), 139.

¹⁰⁷ James Marrow, e-mail message to author, February 5, 2010. Monica Ann Walker-Vadillo, *Bathsheba in Late Medieval French Manuscript Illumination: Innocent Object of Desire or Agent of Sin?* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 2.

¹⁰⁸ James Marrow, e-mail message to author, February 5, 2010.

medieval Europe, but they have been elaborated upon by smaller centers after Paris lost its official status around 1420.¹⁰⁹ The analysis of style and iconography place the manuscript in provincial France during the early third-quarter of the fifteenth century, but other evidence can be utilized to further circumscribe time and place.

The French Connection, Artist and Patron

In light of the heraldic references to two Provençal families, the stylistic and iconographical analysis that characterizes the Marquette Hours as a provincial early third-quarter fifteenth century French manuscript requiring further exploration of the connection between artist, patron, and manuscript. Villate was a native of the Limoges region, but moved to Avignon in 1451 where he established himself as a painter, illuminator and glassworker until 1495.¹¹⁰ Upon his arrival in Avignon he apparently worked as an associate to the artist Enguerrand Quarton. According to Joelle Guidini-Raybaud, Villate was perhaps one of the first to spread Quarton's style in Provence. Fifteenth century Provence, more than anywhere else in France, experienced a significant amount of artistic activity due to the concentration of wealth in the area.¹¹¹ By 1462, Villate was apparently well established in the community. He had several qualified workmen assisting him and received many commissions. Over the years, he created several altarpieces, both public and private commissions, in the area of Avignon. Later in his career, Villate's sons, Francois and Laurent,

¹⁰⁹ Porcher, 70-71.

¹¹⁰ Guidini-Raybaud, 21-24 & 60.

¹¹¹ François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France: 1440-1520* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 223.

assisted Pierre and eventually inherited their father's workshop. One of Villate's many commissions came from a prominent nobleman of an important Avignonese family, Baptiste de Brancas, presumably Jean-Baptiste. In late 1474, Pierre Villate promised to illuminate his Book of Hours.¹¹²

In 1452, as Quarton's assistant, the young Villate collaborated with his master on the *Cadard Altarpiece*, also known as the *Virgin of Mercy* (fig. 44). Although it is unclear who was responsible for which aspects of the painting, there are similarities between the altarpieces credited to Quarton and his associates, such as Villate, and the imagery in the Marquette Hours.¹¹³ There is a subtle similarity between the appearance of the Virgin in the *Cadard Altarpiece* and the Virgin represented in the Marquette Hours (fig. 45), in that they both have dark, round eyes, fleshy cheeks and necks, thin pronounced noses and tiny mouths. Despite a lack of contractual evidence to link Villate with Quarton on subsequent works, Charles Sterling believes the two artists remained close as they both resided in Avignon. Thus, it is possible Villate had access to the drawings of Quarton.¹¹⁴ Additionally, Avril and Vanwijnsberghe confirm that Quarton's work decisively influenced Villate, having been mentored by Quarton early in his career; like Sterling, they too argue the likelihood that the two collaborated on later projects.¹¹⁵

Since Villate collaborated with Quarton in 1452 on the *Cadard Altarpiece* and he was not well established until almost 1462, it is likely he was still working

¹¹² Guidini-Raybaud, 24, 60, 61 & 342; Sterling, 167 & Avril and Vanwijnsberghe, 86.

¹¹³ Sterling, 167-169.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹¹⁵ Avril and Vanwijnsberghe, 86.

in Quarton's workshop and assisted him on both of these altarpieces: *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1452-1453 and the *Pieta of Villeneuve-les-Avignon* dated to 1455. By representing Christ in the Marquette Hours' Coronation (fig. 46) as follows it yields strong similarities to Christ (on the left side) in Quarton's *Coronation of the Virgin* (fig. 47). In both images Christ is seated facing right in three-quarters view looking down at the Virgin Mary. With his right hand he gives the gesture of benediction. Christ is adorned in a white tunic with a red robe clasped at the collar; his garments fall in heavy, angular folds with little use of gradation to define highlights and lowlights. He has long brown hair that lies flat to his head, a full beard, prominent nose and down-turned mouth. Indeed, the compositional arrangement of the *Pieta* in the Marquette Hours (fig. 48) resembles that of Quarton's *Pieta of Villeneuve-les-Avignon* (fig. 49). In each image, the Virgin is seated in the center with her head tilted to the left looking down at Christ stretched across her lap with her hands pressed together in prayer. Christ's lifeless body arches across the Virgin's lap with his right arm dragging on the ground. Rays of gold emanate from his head creating a halo. To the left of the Virgin, removing the crown of thorns from the head of Christ is John the Evangelist. While to the right of the Virgin, at Christ's feet, is Mary Magdalene. She is visibly upset, clinging to her jar of ointment. The figures occupy the foreground but the backgrounds are different. Quarton depicts a stark landscape with a solid, gold sky while in the Marquette Hours a cross is portrayed in a lush green landscape; yet, both altarpiece and miniature include a cityscape to the left on the horizon line. The differences in the two mediums and their contexts may

affect the conception of the image and its rendering. Also, the master himself, possibly Villate, did not paint the Coronation and the Pieta from the Marquette Hours. Although, he likely conceived the image it is not directly his hand nor has his hand been discerned from Quarton's in the altarpieces themselves making a stylistic comparison troublesome at this juncture. Nonetheless, these two instances speak to an artist now working on his own, but greatly affected by the Master he once assisted, not only in his compositional arrangements but also in how he depicted his figures. Quarton's influence on the creation of the Marquette Hours is perhaps the most apparent when comparing his manuscript illumination to this manuscript.

Very few miniatures have been ascribed to Quarton, but Nicole Reynaud in her article, 'Un nouveau manuscrit attribué à Enguerrand Quarton,' attributes six full-page miniatures from a Book of Hours housed at the Huntington Library (HM 1129) to Quarton, which are the Circumcision, Adoration of the Magi, Pentecost, Virgin and Child, Crucifixion and Flight into Egypt. Succeeding Reynaud, Avril and Vanwijnsberghe speculate that Quarton and his associates collaborated on the Namur Book of Hours¹¹⁶, attributing several images specifically to Villate, such as the historiated initial representing the Visitation, the miniatures of the Crucifixion, Pentecost, Funeral Service, Virgin and Child, and the Eagle, Lion and Ox that are representative of their evangelist counterpart.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ The Namur Hours, ms. 83, is housed in the Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur which Francois Avril and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe argue was created by Enguerrand Quarton with the assistance of Pierre Villate and others. This article and Book of Hours is particularly significant in that several images are specifically linked to the hand of Pierre Villate, those of which can be helpful when comparing the manuscript to the Marquette Hours.

¹¹⁷ Avril and Vanwijnsberghe, 77-90.

Compositionally and conceptually the Marquette Hours borrows from both the Huntington Library Hours and the Namur Hours. The marginalia from the Marquette Hours yields similarities to those found in the Namur Hours, more so than the Huntington Library Hours.

In the Presentation in the Temple (fig. 50) from the Marquette Hours the scene takes place in a gothic interior with gray walls segmented into three, arched windows. Also, a barrel vaulted wooden roof that recesses back and to the right at a forty-five degree angle. There is a small archway that segments the barrel-vaulted space from a small space with a blue and gold rib vaulted ceiling. The entire scene is flanked by a golden column, like the two green columns, on the right hand side exaggerating the actual frame of the miniature. Space is constructed to directly speak to Quarton's scene of the Circumcision (fig. 51) from the Huntington Library Hours in which both altars recess back at a similar angle to the room and are flanked by the Virgin and the Bishop with Christ seated atop. Similarly, in the miniature of the Magi in the Marquette Hours (fig.52) conception of the wooden manger with its king post truss, thatched roof, and panel walls as well as general placement of the figures mimics that in the Huntington Library Book of hours (fig. 53) The compositions of the Pentecost (figs. 8 & 54), Virgin and Child (figs. 17 & 55), Crucifixion (figs. 16 & 56), and Flight into Egypt (figs. 57 & 58) from the Marquette Hours parallels those same miniatures in the Huntington Library Hours.

Seemingly as Quarton was involved in the production of the Huntington Library Hours as he was in the Namur Hours it, too, compositionally and

conceptually contains imagery, which is reflected in the creation of the Marquette Hours.¹¹⁸ For example, in the disposition of the Virgin, the way in which the manger frames out the scene and moves the viewer into the landscape, and the heavy use of gold are all evident in the image of the Nativity (figs. 40 & 58). The Marquette Hours miniature of the Annunciation (fig. 29) is in reverse to the Annunciation in the Namur Hours (fig. 60). Both scenes take place in a gothic interior as the youthful angel has just swooped in, wings still in the air, on bended knee gesturing toward the Virgin, who averts her eyes, her stringy, bright red hair lies flat to her head and highlights with gold strands. As for images accredited to Pierre Villate himself, including the Visitation (figs. 61 & 62), Crucifixion (figs. 16 & 63), Pentecost (figs. 8 & 64), the Eagles (figs. 65 & 66), Lions (figs. 67 & 68), and Oxen (figs. 69 & 70) compositionally the Visitations are most akin. In placing the outdoor meeting to the of a humble gray building with the figures dominating the foreground adorned in heavy drapery and oblong, solid halos the Marquette Hours borrows directly from a scene that Villate potentially painted earlier in his career under the guidance of Quarton. Also, similar between these two images is the figures come together at a slight angle with Elizabeth kneeling before Mary who reaches to her with long, shapeless arms, wavy blonde hair that attempts to conceal her drooping shoulders, and large hands.

In terms of the marginalia, the borders in the Huntington Library are not

¹¹⁸ Avril and Vanwijnsberghe note that the Provençal cycle for the Hours of the Virgin are based on the Infancy of Christ, but vary slightly in that: Martins is marked by the Annunciation, Lauds the Visitation, Prime the Nativity, Terce the Annunciation to the Shepherds, Sext the Circumcision, None the Adoration of the Magi, Vespers the Presentation and Compline the Flight into Egypt. Whereas, in the Marquette Hours the Hours are also marked with the images from the Infancy of Christ in keeping with the French tradition, but after Terce vary as follows: Sext is the Adoration of the Magi, None is Presentation at the Temple, Vespers is the Flight into Egypt and Compline the Coronation of the Virgin, pg. 82. Perhaps this discrepancy is due to the request of the patron.

nearly as adorned with acanthus leaves, flowers, foliage and creatures as found in the Marquette Hours. Whereas, in the Namur Hours the marginalia (fig. 60) is far more fantastic in the sheer number of outlandish creatures when compared with the Marquette Hours (fig. 28), but there is some resemblance. Bright colors are utilized to create the foliage, flowers, fruit, and creatures. Similar flowers and acanthus leaves, as well as the string foliage are in both manuscripts. The correlation is far more evident on pages with text rather than those with full-page miniatures. For example, both folios (figs. 71 & 72) have blue and gold acanthus leaves grouped together that flank white fan-shaped, pink tipped flowers. The marginalia in the Marquette Hours is lush and less constrained than in the Namur Hours, perhaps because it was created potentially more than ten years later.¹¹⁹

Overall, the conception of the figures in the Marquette Hours is in keeping with the provincial French tradition and both the Huntington Library Hours and the Namur Hours. Despite the individualized nature of the male and female figures in each of the manuscripts, the female figures tend to have high foreheads, fleshy necks and cheeks, large and heavy lidded eyes, pointed chins, tiny mouths and rosy cheeks. Whereas, the men have angular faces, high cheekbones, large and heavy lidded eyes, and pointed beards. The figures are adorned in heavy drapery with angular folds that lack chiaroscuro and dominate the foreground of the picture plane.

The French provincial conception of the figures could simply be disregarded as the influence of any number of centers outside the capital.

¹¹⁹ Avril and Vanwijnsberghe, 77-90.

Likewise, the compositions could be argued as one of the many variations of late medieval imagery from a multitude of Books of Hours produced all over France and Flanders. Yet, when the conception of the figures and the compositional arrangements are taken into consideration with the stylistic attributes specific to the region of Avignon and Quarton's illumination the likelihood that the Marquette Hours was produced in Avignon by a imitator or associate of Quarton, such as Pierre Villate, becomes evident.

Quarton's style is described by Reynaud as simple composition that lacks depth, creates forms with little regard for chiaroscuro and hardly modeled. Additionally, it contains a palette dominated by red, blue, green and pink with some purple and a juxtaposition of colors, specifically red and pink.¹²⁰ The Huntington Library Book of Hours was created sometime before Quarton's death in 1466. If as Sterling, Avril and Vanwijnsberghe have proposed that Quarton and Villate remained close it is possible that Villate was familiar with Quarton's work on the manuscript for the Marquette Hours.¹²¹ All the compositions in the Marquette Hours are comprised of simple arrangements with no extraneous figures and lack depth, as seen in the miniatures compared to those from the Huntington Library (figs. 16 & 56). Colors in the Marquette Hours are heavily saturated, much like they are in the Huntington Library Hours with a focus on red, blue, green and pink. Purple is also used particularly in the drapery and in several of the flowers found in the marginalia (fig. 73). Borrowing from Quarton,

¹²⁰ Nicole Reynaud, "Un nouveau manuscrit attribué à Enguerrand Quarton," *Revue de l'art* 57 (1982): 61-64.

¹²¹ Nicole Reynaud, "Un nouveau manuscrit attribué à Enguerrand Quarton," *Revue de l'art* 57 (1982): 61-64, Avril and Vanwijnsberghe, 77-90, & Sterling, 169.

the master of the Marquette Hours also juxtaposes pink and red on several occasions throughout the manuscript, such as the pink tunic of the Virgin in contrast to the red strawberry she holds as well as the reddish-orange of Christ's garb (figs. 17 & 55).¹²² Individual linear brushstrokes, often abrupt, and quick applications of gray wash are often used to imply detail, such as the lowlights in the drapery, or to distinguish forms like individual fingers (figs. 17 & 55). Also, large swatches of color along with lines are used over chiaroscuro contributing to the lack of modeling (figs. 74 & 75). Particularly interesting here is the way in which the red cloak gathers on the ground, protruding towards the cross and the blue tunic peaks out from underneath the sharp angled fold in both the Huntington Library and the Marquette Hours. In the image of the Crucifixion from the Marquette Hours the rendering of the Virgin's face is analogous with that from the Huntington Library (figs. 76 & 77). As is the attenuated form of Christ with a heavy outline on the his left side starting with his armpit down to his waist and between his legs; as well as the draping of the cloth around his hips that ties off on his right side. Sporadically the noses are tipped with pink, the hair slicked to the head with haphazard strands emphasized, oblong halos, and large curved hands (figs. 78 & 79). Lastly, black is used to outline forms on figures and architecture less so with the Marquette Hours than with Quarton's imagery (figs. 78 & 58). The trees have bifurcated trunks and green, gold, and gray are stippled to imply leaves as in the Flight into Egypt (figs. 57 & 58).

Building on Reynaud's argument, Avril and Vanwijnsberghe analyze the stylistic peculiarities of the Avignon 'school,' as exemplified by Quarton. They,

¹²² Reynaud, 61-64.

too, identify the style by the monumental figures, hardly modeled forms, use of heavily saturated colors, and immense folds.¹²³ Taking their assessment further, Avril and Vanwijnsberghe, categorize the manner by individualized figures with severe even sad expressions, long, powerful noses, sometimes unruly hair, and beards. Also, their hands are arched, thumbs detached with narrow wrists, and broken folds at the elbows.¹²⁴ All of these characteristics, Avril and Vanwijnsberghe emphasize, are far from the scrupulous illumination style of Flanders.¹²⁵ By identifying these scrupulous attributes in the Marquette Hours the master is directly referencing the Avignon 'school' and specifically Quarton who exemplifies the style. Since Pierre Villate was arguably the first to disseminate his style after having worked along side him for years it is likely that Villate was the master behind the creation of the Marquette Hours.¹²⁶

The detail of the Virgin Mary from the Annunciation (fig. 78) in the Marquette Hours stylistically recounts that of David from the Namur Hours (fig. 80). The quick application of paint and gray wash to distinguish individual figures implies praying hands for both figures. The curvature of the detached thumbs, the manner in which the hand curves, the narrow wrist, and the hatch marks in which the paint was applied to the hands and the face. The highlights appear heaviest on the ridge of the nose, cheekbones, and the lower lip. For both figures several strands of their hair are disorderly, the Virgin's near her lower back and King David's along the front and in his beard. Both figures are individualized in

¹²³ Avril and Vanwijnsberghe, 80-82.

¹²⁴ Avril and Vanwijnsberghe, 80-82.

¹²⁵ Avril and Vanwijnsberghe, 80-82 & 87-88.

¹²⁶ Guidini-Raybaud, 60.

regards to other figures throughout the manuscripts in that they have long, prominent noses, and their expressions are reserved and poignant. Like David, the draperies for the male figures in the Marquette Hours have broken folds at the elbows, such as those depicted on the Archangel Gabriel (fig. 29). The majority of men are bearded in both books, including the images of David. Most notable in the Marquette Hours is the similar conception of the Virgin in the Crucifixion from the Namur Hours, attributed to Villate himself (figs. 76, 77, & 81). Also, the rendering of the eyes appear to be taken from the hand of Villate, with a dot of black for the pupil a quick swipe of the brush that runs over the pupil to indicate a heavy lid, and a touch of white to highlight the eye (figs. 82 & 83).¹²⁷

With certainty Villate collaborated with Quarton on the *Cadard Altarpiece* in 1452. Since the *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece was also created from 1452-1453 and Villate was new to Avignon as and it is likely the two collaborated on later works therefore it is possible he assisted Quarton on this altarpiece as well as the *Pieta of Villeneuve-les-Avignon* from 1455. In regard to manuscript illumination only a few works have been attributed to Quarton including the six full-page miniatures in the Huntington Library Hours as well as several in the Namur Hours, which according to Avril and Vanwijnsberghe has four full-page miniatures and four historiated initials attributed to Villate himself. Only the Annunciation miniature has been painted by the Master of the Marquette Hours,

¹²⁷ Stylistically and in turn compositionally and conceptually the Marquette Hours appears to borrow and appropriate directly from the Avignon school as exemplified by Quarton. Although, Avril and Vanwijnsberghe have attributed several miniatures from the Namur Hours to the hand of Pierre Villate the stylistic analogues are not as apparent as those miniatures attributed to Quarton's hand. Additionally, the images from the Marquette Hours that parallel Villate's images in the Namur Hours were painted by Hands B and C, far less refined than the Master himself making direct comparisons more difficult. The Marquette Hours was also created some ten years later in which Villate's style could have been continually influenced by Quarton and also matured.

potentially Pierre Villate, making direct stylistic comparisons between the two hands and Villate's imagery from the Namur Hours far more difficult. Yet, the hand of the Marquette Hours master has stylistic analogues to Quarton himself, who mentored Villate; therefore we have an artist who was directly influenced by the compositions, marginalia, conception of figures and moreover Quarton's style. Thus, the Master of the Marquette Hours appears to be of the Avignon school, as typified by Quarton, making him an associate or at the very least an imitator. Since the Marquette Hours was created almost ten years after Quarton's death, making the active artist's style more mature and having appropriated Quarton's style. Also, other artists, changing trends, and responding to the demands of the patron, influence the master. Villate's individual success was such that a noble man of a prominent Avignon family, Jean-Baptiste de Brancas, would seek out the illuminator to create his personal Book of Hours in 1474; potentially the Marquette Hours. Like the fabrication of the Huntington Library Hours and the Namur Hours the Marquette Hours is a typical late medieval production. Master illuminators, such as Quarton and Villate, hired by patrons to produce an exceptional amount of Books of Hours amongst other works of art outsourced aspects of the manuscript making process. Therefore, others were hired to create the parchment, prep the pages, and transcribe the script. Albeit, the master may have conceptualized the miniatures, depending on the commission, only he painted a few folios while the others were given to his associates to complete.

The liturgical evidence, in its generalized character, confirms the Marquette Hours was one of many Books of Hours created in a somewhat non-localized sense prevalent in the fifteenth century. Although the Use of Rome was perhaps typical for the time period it was almost universal in the Provence region before spreading elsewhere in medieval Europe. By exploring the two coats of arms, one attributed to the de Brancas family and the other to the Albon family, a patron and creator were traced to southern France. The stylistic examination aided in confirming the manuscript is indeed French and from the third-quarter of the fifteenth century. Further assessment revealing stylistic attributes similar to other meridional art, especially in the orbit of Enguerrand Quarton and in turn Pierre Villate, who collaborated with Quarton and then eventually flourished on his own to create outstanding manuscripts, altarpieces and glasswork.

Iconography & Reception

Having addressed codicology and issues of production and localization, we now consider what images in the Marquette Hours may tell us about the particular devotional experiences of the owner. Specifically, what does the imagery tell us about the predispositions of perhaps both the illuminator and recipient? A few iconographical instances will be analyzed to determine what imagery can tell us about medieval notions of domesticity, and conceptions of race and sexuality.

Christ's Whirligig

In the Marquette Hours, the lay desire for an intimate, mother-child

relationship is visually realized with an image of the Christ child seated upon the Virgin Mary's lap in a gated garden (fig. 17) marking the prayer *Obsecro te* and evoking a sensory experience.¹²⁸ What is particularly interesting in this image is the Christ child is depicted holding a golden whirligig in his left hand and in his right hand he holds the string that operates the blades (fig. 84). The whirligig has four blades, like the four arms of a cross. In the hands of the Christ child it alludes to his future Crucifixion and to the Eucharist, since windmills ground the grains used to make bread.¹²⁹

Henry René d'Allemagne¹³⁰ has attributed the invention of the whirligig to the fourteenth century and it can still be found today in modified form. This popular medieval toy is apparently found in Psalters and Books of Hours as a tiny windmill toy for children's entertainment.¹³¹ The windmill-like form structurally and symbolically represents the cross Christ will bear.¹³² Walter S. Gibson discusses the development and symbolic nature of the whirligig to the medieval viewer. Whirligigs are derived from windmills, which were not just part of the Netherlandish landscape, but in fact dotted the European countryside. The blades of a windmill are a cruciform shape and the mill grinds down grain that can be made into bread. Fourteenth century poet Guillaume de Deguileville associated the mills with the transformation of grain into bread and, by extension, the Eucharistic bread that according to Catholic doctrine is quite literally the body

¹²⁸ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 42-43.

¹²⁹ Walter S. Gibson, "Bosch's Boy with a Whirligig: Some Iconographical Speculations," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 8, no. 1 (1975-76): 12.

¹³⁰ Henry Rene d'Allemagne was an early twentieth century French scholar who wrote on several subjects, including medieval toys.

¹³¹ Antonia Fraser, *A History of Toys*. (New York: Delacorte Press, 1966), 62.

¹³² Shana Sandlin Worthen, "The Memory of Medieval Inventions, 1200-1600: Windmills, Spectacles, Mechanical Clocks, and Sandglasses" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2006), 55.

of Christ. Scholar James Pierce has demonstrated that the words Christ spoke of himself as “the living bread which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever, and the bread that I will give, is my flesh, for the life of the world” (John 6:51-52, Douay Rheims) spurred the notion of the mill widely understood as a Eucharistic symbol for people of the later Middle Ages.¹³³

Therefore, by analogy the whirligig, the windmill’s toy counterpart, possessed a similar meaning to the medieval viewer, depending on context. The toy blades were operated by pulling a string and were entertainment for children, but in the hands of Christ they also symbolized the cross he would bear, as depicted in the Marquette Hours.¹³⁴ Therefore, this seemingly innocent toy in the hands of children in the Middle Ages could be used by parents to teach children of the salvation Christ has provided for them by giving his life for their sins.

The setting enhances reference to the Eucharist: the Christ child and the Virgin Mary are seated within a gated garden that is shaded by an arbor covered with bountiful bunches of grapes, symbols of the blood of Christ (fig. 17). Also, the Virgin herself appears to be holding a large, plump strawberry; whose deep red is reminiscent of the color of blood and symbolic of Christ’s passion (fig. 84).

The image works on multiple levels for the medieval viewer. Not only does the viewer crave an intimate relationship with Christ through the Virgin, but also the loving relationship between a mother and her child heightens the emotive and devotional quality. Through the iconographical use of the whirligig, grapes, and strawberries the allusion to the Passion of Christ is understood and amplifies the

¹³³ Gibson, 12.

¹³⁴ Gibson, 9 & 12-13.

emotion summoned by contemplating such an image. Images to further contemplate not only apply to ideas surrounding the religious nature of the Virgin and Christ, but also the representations of martyrdom and the evil figures that slaughter them.

The Appearance of Evil

Marking the suffrage to Saint Lawrence (fig. 85) in the Marquette Hours is a striking image of martyrdom. It illustrates Saint Lawrence's agonizing torture on the gridiron by two men, one of whom is of African descent and the other white. The African figure stands tall and menacing, prodding Saint Lawrence to turn over on the hot grill spewing flames while the other torturer fuels the fire. Another awe-inspiring image is of Saint Stephen (fig. 86) whose two executioners are foolishly dancing around the saint as he calmly kneels in prayer. These images provide important insight into conceptions of race and marginalized groups in medieval Europe in which their representation informs and reinforces cultural ideas that transcend the illuminated page.

The individual features of the African figure jabbing Saint Lawrence (fig. 85) are difficult to discern, yet it is apparent that he is larger than his seemingly indifferent white counterpart. He has thick, unruly hair, furrows his brow and looks menacingly through beady, yellow eyes. These attributes construct such figures as evil.¹³⁵ They contrast strongly with the saint's petite, attenuated form with flawless skin, flushed cheeks, and sorrowful gaze that attempts to engage

¹³⁵ Debra Hassig, "The Iconography of Rejection: Jews and Other Monstrous Races," in *Image and belief: studies in celebration of the eightieth anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 & 33.

the African figure's stare.¹³⁶ As for the two torturers of Saint Stephen (fig. 86) they are contemporary medieval figures as with the two in the image of Saint Lawrence. Their physical appearance is ugly with ruddy cheeks, beady or angry eyes, and with pointy and bulbous noses, which contrasts the virtuous and serene praying saint. The representation of these four heinous figures as argued by Debra Hassig in her article, "Iconography of Rejection: Jews and Other Monstrous Races," is tied to medieval ideologies surrounding race and has its roots in ancient astrology, physiology, and theories on physiognomy. Therefore, the time of a person's birth, the region in which one lived, external and internal physical traits such as appearance and body fluids are all interrelated and could be used to infer a person's moral character. In regard to the time of birth, the microcosm of the universe is directly related to that of the human body. Astrology influences a person's gender, their physical being, and the four humors which the region where one lives in turn affects. For example, those that live in the north, which is cold and dry, were thought to be greedy, tall, strong, fighters with big appetites. As opposed to those that live in the south, where people were believed to be small and feeble. Also, the further south one lives the darker the skin and the frizzier the hair due to the extreme heat, as embodied in the African figure in the Marquette Hours. The most favorable climate is temperate, which in turn creates a more balanced person, like those represented by the saints. Therefore, the most ideal people come from Western Europe, not from Africa, India, the Near East, or the far north. These ideas, according to Hassig, derive from antiquity and the Greeks, who resided in a temperate region, which of course

¹³⁶ Hassig, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 & 33.

reflected favorably upon them and later those of Western Europe who carried on these ideologies. Factors regarding time and region of birth are then exhibited in person's physical character and these ideas are combined with physiognomical theories. These theories are based on the thought that mental dispositions and matters of the soul are suffered through the body and manifest in various physical characteristics and mannerisms. Therefore, a person's character can be assessed by their physical characteristics, gestures, voice and overall build of their body. Fantastical, ugly and imaginative figures, deemed monstrous races, were believed to dwell on the periphery of the world, far from Western Europe and thus from God. Informed by ancient astrology, physiology, and theories on physiognomy, these wonderfully terrifying creatures were believed to be sinful and evil.¹³⁷ Moreover, these attitudes were projected on actual people in society and were demonized for being an outsider, such as Jews, Africans, Muslims, as well as those construed as ugly such as the diseased or the physically deformed. These ideologies and attitudes manifested in visual representations in both secular and theological medieval art and reaffirmed the viewer's perceptions of *other*.¹³⁸

Like Hassig, Hannele Klemettilä in her book, *Epitomes of Evil: Representation of Executioners in Northern France and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, argues that physiognomical principles influenced the visual representation of figures deemed evil, such as executioners and other marginalized groups in society. She, too, argues that these ideas had their roots

¹³⁷ Hassig, 31.

¹³⁸ Hassig, 30.

in antiquity and even the Bible, where in the books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy a few lines can be interpreted to convey that deviancy from the norm results in sin. In Leviticus 21, it is stated those who are physical deviant cannot enter the priesthood. In Deuteronomy, it is expressed that sinners who have a variety of diseases, such as wasting disease, recurrent fevers, boils, tumors, scabs, madness and more will be punished by God.¹³⁹ This reiterates that physical features reflect the inner character of person's body and soul and that ugliness is associated with sin and evil. Moreover, figures representative of evil have exaggerated features such as hooked noses, sharp or swollen jaws, and dark or black skin, like the torturers from the Marquette Hours. These features are heightened visually by being placed in contrast with those of the more virtuous, such as saints or even those from the upper echelons of society.¹⁴⁰

The ideas of Hassig and Klemettilä have both theological and social implications and are manifested visually in medieval art. Religious figures, such as Christ, the Virgin Mary and saints are depicted well proportionate or slightly elongated, with serene expressions, elegant gestures, fair skin, smooth hair, and flawless complexions. These physical characteristics reflect the righteous nature of holy figures. Whereas, deviant figures, associated with evil are portrayed as ill-proportioned, contorted, ugly facial features that include bulging or crossed eyes, large pointy or bulbous noses, large mouths and lips, pointy or missing teeth, hideous expressions, ruddy or dark skin, and blemishes to the body and face.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Hassig, 166-167.

¹⁴⁰ Hannele Klemettilä, *Epitomes of Evil: Representation of Executioners in Northern France and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 165-172.

¹⁴¹ Klemettilä, 171-172 & Hassig, 31.

The connotations of evil go beyond physical appearance and extend to the activities in which these figures engage in.

Klemettilä takes a slightly different approach in exploring the medieval ideas regarding the *other* through the study of actual medieval executioners and the perceptions found represented in art. The actions of the executioners in the Marquette Hours are deliberate, foolish, and cruel. In the image of Saint Lawrence, one tormentor stands assertively prodding the saint to turn over on the gridiron, while the other pumps oxygen to fuel the fire. While Saint Stephen's torturers dance around menacingly amongst the stones they have started to use to hurl at the saint. Klemettilä argues that the medieval imagination is frequently tantalized by representations of evil pagan torturers and executioners persecuting and killing martyrs through sermons, literature and art. The figures deemed evil are often portrayed as and associated with lower or marginal classes, demons, and criminals. Executioners and torturers depicted in mystery and saint plays of ancient and biblical history are visually conceptualized as contemporized, as they are in the Marquette Hours. Consequently viewer perceptions of these figures can easily translate to actual groups within society, such as the medieval official hangman and those deemed as *other*.¹⁴² The representations of torturers, especially in plays, were popular and impressive to medieval viewers because of their exaggerated cruelty and ridiculous appearance. Fashionable and entertaining or sadistic and voyeuristic, even erotic are possibilities that pain can evoke. Yet, she argues most often violence and torture fostered negative feelings. The viewer was meant to contemplate,

¹⁴² Klemettilä, 48-49.

sympathize and admire Christ and other martyrs while condemning the cruelty of executioners who are not only physically ugly and engage in hideous actions, but also dress ridiculously.¹⁴³ For example, the African figure in the image marking the suffrage to Saint Lawrence has both a parti (two-colored) short form-fitted jacket that is pinkish-purple on the left and blue on the right, whereas the tight pants are brown on the left leg and light blue on the right. The other torturer, seated in the lower right hand corner wears a bright red short form-fitted jacket. The red coloring of his jacket is perhaps intentionally evocative of the violence and bloodshed he partakes in, as he fuels the fire to aid in grilling the saint. This executioner also wears tight parti pants of blue and pinkish-purple as well as two different colored pointed boots, red on the right and brown on the left. He also wears a tall wide brimmed hat with a point that curls over in the front. Moreover, the smooth pale skin and light tonality of the almost nude saint surrounded by the red coals contrasts with the busy garments of the executioners. Presumably such imagery strives to reaffirm the recipient's understanding of races and pagans and the nature of evil. In addition, similar garb can be found on the executioners in the image of Saint Stephen. The executioner on the right dances about in his form-fitting sleeveless red jacket, wearing a long-sleeved pinkish-purple shirt below with tight parti pants, the right leg in brown and left in reddish-orange. He wears an exotic wide-brimmed hat with two black and gold creatures emerging; the creature on the left is perhaps a fox, it appears to have two pointed ears and a long snout. Although the second executioner on the left does not have on a parti garment he does wear a short red tunic that reveals his bare legs and tall

¹⁴³ Klemettilä, 50, 53 & 55-56.

pointed boots. He crouches, looking back sinisterly with ruddy cheeks and wears an apparent two-horned pinkish-purple hat. All four torturers are contemporized in their garb.

Klemettilä discusses the garb of executioners, arguing that clothing helps to manifest and support social order and the garb of executioners is typically polychrome, specifically *parti*, which is worn by lower classes, such as valets, servants, jesters, jugglers, prostitutes, lepers, and infidels. This polychromatic appearance was apparently more upsetting to the medieval eye than it is the modern. Also, the *parti* garments of executioners is more jarring in contrast to the more uniform and quiet appearance of the saint that is being tortured, as seen in the Marquette Hours. It appears that the color red is often associated with executioners perhaps to evoke the context of bloodshed and violence.¹⁴⁴ Besides being polychromatic, the jackets are often short and form-fitting; while pants are tight or the bare legs are exposed and the boots pointed. Lastly, in religious imagery executioners of Christian martyrs are depicted in exotic headdresses, such as cone-shaped, horned, large brimmed and more, which is similar to the unusual hat worn by one of the torturers to the right of Saint Stephen. Although this style of clothing does become increasingly popular amongst the upper classes throughout the fourteenth century its connotations within a specific context remain strong.¹⁴⁵

Often representations of the *other* in medieval art depict inappropriately dressed figures partaking in heinous activities with exaggerated features,

¹⁴⁴ Klemettilä, 69 & 110-113.

¹⁴⁵ Klemettilä, 129, 131, 147, & 149-150.

therefore, their entire persona is meant to reflect the corrupt interior condition of the figure. Thus, the attributes of the executioners, especially in contrast to the saint, reiterate the marginal, pagan and evil qualities associated with their physical appearance and the contemporizing of biblical and ancient history more easily translates to actual groups in contemporary society.

Bathing Beauty or Bimbo?

Women were also a marginalized in medieval society and their sexuality was both feared and desired, one of those women from biblical history often represented, especially in the later Middle Ages, is Bathsheba. In the Marquette Hours, King David peering at the bathing Bathsheba (fig. 87) marks the Penitential Psalms. She appears to wear a full-length sheer garb making more evident her once milky white nude form, therefore making her more provocative. She has long, reddish-blond hair that hangs down to the small of her back; a symbol of a dangerous female temptress. Bathsheba stands; shin deep, in a phallic-shaped contemporary medieval fountain, where the water could cascade over her from two spouts that flank the sides of the top of the fountain. Her head is tilted to the right and her gaze appears to engage that of the viewer. This pose appears to be repeated in medieval illumination, especially by followers of the master French illuminator Jean Fouquet.¹⁴⁶ The walls of King David's castle, large and gray, enclose the scene. David is portrayed much larger than his fortification as he leans over the top of the wall with his oversized harp dangling from his hands. His gaze is stern but calm.

¹⁴⁶ Thomas Kren, Mark L. Evans, and Jean Bourdichon, *A Masterpiece Reconstructed: the Hours of Louis XII* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 56.

King David's popularity in devotional culture can be ascribed to his purported authorship of the Psalms and to the events of his life. Not only his virtues but also his very human shortcomings were attractive to the laity. Imagery of David and Bathsheba appear in many French manuscripts, including Moralized Bibles, Psalters, chronicles, and Books of Hours. In Book of Hours, an image from the life of David often opens the seven Penitential Psalms. These particular prayers have a pleading tone as David is compelled to turn to God for redemption due to sinful acts.¹⁴⁷ Often the image used to illustrate the Penitential Psalms depicts a kneeling David looking to the heavens, which is fitting since psalms six and fifty specifically ask for repentance. The textual relationship to the depiction of David watching Bathsheba is not direct, but the sentiments of the Penitential Psalms correlate with the narrative in that they reflect an event that will lead to the King's plea for God's forgiveness of his sins.¹⁴⁸ The Bible provides little details, but in essence tells us King David unknowingly watches Bathsheba and then commands her to enter his palace and bedroom. Later she reveals she is pregnant and David sends her husband off to be killed in battle to hide the adultery. He eventually makes Bathsheba his wife. For those well versed in the story it is possible some may have felt sympathy for Bathsheba, perhaps more so if the viewer was female. In the case of the Marquette Hours, however, the likely patron was male and may have been less sympathetic, focusing more on the tempting and dangerous nature of female sexuality; an ideology apparently held

¹⁴⁷ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 91.

¹⁴⁸ Walker-Vadillo, 82-83 & Kren et al., 45-46.

by those of the Middle Ages.¹⁴⁹ The iconography of David and Bathsheba, as in the Marquette Hours, becomes especially popular in France from the late fifteenth century to early sixteenth century.¹⁵⁰ Scholars have debated why the image of David and Bathsheba bathing became so popular at this time. Thomas Kren argues that Books of Hours and more sexualized imagery grew in popularity, in part, due to the great patronage under the Valois kings of France as well as the private act of reading.¹⁵¹ George Duby, on the other hand, attributes the popularity to what he has coined the “de-sacralization of power” and the “privatization of devotional practices and spiritual exercises.”¹⁵² He sees the shifting nature of reading aloud to silently in the fifteenth century due to the increased separation of words. Where information was understandably internalized and the outside world could be rejected. Therefore, this more private practice of reading allowed for more subversive imagery, such as that of the bathing Bathsheba.¹⁵³ After the mid-fifteenth century, secular texts such as *Valerius Maximus* or *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* increasingly included erotic scenes with sexualized illustrations. Arguably Books of Hours responded to these trends.¹⁵⁴ A few images of a nude or slightly veiled Bathsheba exist prior to the mid-fifteenth century after which they then become quite popular. Representations of Bathsheba bathing are found in Flanders, Italy, England and elsewhere through varied style and iconography, but are not nearly as numerous

¹⁴⁹ Walker-Vadillo, 83-87.

¹⁵⁰ Walker-Vadillo, 1, 2, 7, & 9.

¹⁵¹ Walker-Vadillo, 12 & Kren et al., 45.

¹⁵² Walker-Vadillo, 13.

¹⁵³ Walker-Vadillo, 13.

¹⁵⁴ Walker-Vadillo, 96.

as they appear in French works.¹⁵⁵ Also, French illuminators have perhaps the broadest depictions, after the second half of the fifteenth century, but the sensuality of Bathsheba almost always remains the focus. The majority appears to be made for male patrons although several include female patrons, but in many cases the pudenda is covered.¹⁵⁶ The image in the Marquette Hours is quite damaged, perhaps from water as it appears smudged, specifically the figure of Bathsheba and the marginalia of the lower right hand corner. Other areas in the book appear to have water damage as well, although this image appears to be the most heavily damaged, perhaps intentionally, since it appears have patrons deliberately wrecked images of a nude Bathsheba they deemed inappropriate.¹⁵⁷

Interpretations of the biblical story appear to change over time. In the high Middle Ages the story symbolized purification through bath. The Old Testament story mirrored the New Testament story of Ecclesia and Christ. Therefore, Bathsheba parallels Ecclesia and David parallels Christ. Later the story appears to be increasingly interpreted negatively where a nude Bathsheba, like Eve, was pure prior to temptation and nudity is associated with sin. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Bathsheba was more a negative stereotype, not to say that different interpretations did not exist at a time. Yet, it is more likely she was most commonly viewed as a temptress like Eve. Geoffroy de la Tour Landry, in an advising manual for his daughters, references Bathsheba's coyness and explicitly relates it to her long beautiful blonde hair. His manual became quite popular in

¹⁵⁵ Walker-Vadillo, 37-40 & 49.

¹⁵⁶ Kren et al., 56.

¹⁵⁷ Walker-Vadillo, 94.

the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁸

The ideal female nude form varies in time and place. Bathsheba from the Marquette Hours is an ideal contemporary nude of the late Middle Ages; her belly protrudes, breasts are small and wide, neck long, head large, hips broad, with an elongated torso.¹⁵⁹ Her contemporary ideal state makes her a sexual spectacle that evokes voyeurism, but is quelled by the Christian context. Should the viewer experience guilt they can project their feelings onto the female for she is provoking the temptation. Monica Ann Walker Vadillo discusses how Bathsheba of the Middle Ages resides in the context of Christian nudity, arguing she dwells in between the virtuous nude that is symbolic of purity and innocence and the criminal nude that embodies lust, vanity and the absence of virtues.¹⁶⁰

Also, of interest to the images of David and Bathsheba is the issue of gaze. Walker Vadillo argues the gaze is a universal phenomenon but socially constructed and centers on the masculine gaze objectifies women. Men were the predominate voice of the Middle Ages and their writings regarding sight describe how sight stimulates amorous desire because beauty is absorbed by the eyes and then touches the soul. Since desire is related to sight, hence it is tied to gaze. The idea of gaze works on multiple levels in this image; for one, David actively ogles Bathsheba and his calm nature and overly large stature indicates he is the dominate figure that possesses her while she is the passive figure, averting her gaze from him. Yet her gaze is active in that she appears to be gazing out at the viewer and in turn the gaze of the viewer, which may mimic that

¹⁵⁸ Walker-Vadillo, 69 & Kren et al., 49-50.

¹⁵⁹ Walker-Vadillo, 56-57 & Kren et al., 44.

¹⁶⁰ Walker-Vadillo, 52-54.

of David the dominant figure. Although the context of a religious text is to look with the intent of religious contemplation here it could turn erotic creating an intimate relationship between book (Bathsheba) and patron, especially in the privacy of person's home. The longer the patron concentrates the more that can enliven the image creating a more real figure that becomes invested with life and the patron may respond accordingly, such as with arousal. Although religious images are meant to evoke the text that follows this does not mean the imagination, especially a male patron, such as Jean-Baptist de Brancas could not stray.¹⁶¹

Imagery from Books of Hours are multivalent; signifying and embodying the prayer that follows, providing visuals for prolonged and contemplative prayer as well as contemporize and reaffirm the medieval ideologies and attitudes regarding female sexuality, race and religion. King David watching Bathsheba bathe depicts her as a dangerous temptress, for she is an ideal contemporary female form that actively engages the patron with her gaze. It is likely that a male patron, such as Jean-Baptist de Brancas of the Marquette Hours, viewed Bathsheba as a titillating figure. Whereas, in the images of the Saint Lawrence and Saint Stephen the medieval torturers physical features, deviant acts and garbs contrast to that of the saints, creating a visual dichotomy of good versus evil. Reaffirming for the viewer medieval notions of physiognomy, astrology and physiology in revealing the corrupt interior of those deemed *other*, including people from Africa, India, the Far North or East, pagans, lepers, infidels and

¹⁶¹ Walker-Vadillo, 72-81.

other outsiders. Through prevalent contemporized ideologies with theological examples permeate easily to the secular realm affecting the lives of actual groups in society. Context also plays a role in identifying and understanding more subtle symbols, such as a golden whirligig in the hands of the infant Christ. The toy counterpart to windmills, which grind grain for bread that can be used in the Eucharist, take on the shape of a cruciform and symbolize the body of Christ sacrificed for man. This is carried further by the bunches of grapes on the arbor over the seated Virgin Mary and Christ child which are the wine of the Eucharist. Also, the plump red strawberry in the hands of the forlorn Virgin evokes Christ's passion.

Conclusion

This thesis first provided an overall assessment of the Marquette Hours by addressing all codicological aspects of the Book of Hours. Second, I argued that the manuscript was a provincial French production by Pierre Villate who once collaborated with Enguerrand Quarton. At the request of Jean-Baptiste de Brancas in 1474, Villate was hired to create this manuscript I have titled the Marquette Hours. This conclusion was reached through the examination of the liturgical content, style and iconography, which was then compared to the altarpieces of Quarton and the Namur Hours. Lastly, the function of Books of Hours in relation to the Marquette Hours was evaluated. I assessed the ability of a medieval reader, such as Jean-Baptiste, to not only read Latin but also comprehend it. Also considered is what iconography can tell us about the

medieval reader and the culture that fostered both the book and the patron. Opening the *Obsecro te* prayer is the image of the infant Christ seated in his mother's lap innocently playing with a whirligig, but further exploration reveals the Eucharistic and Passion connotations in this particular context. Imagery of executioners, whether torturing Saint Lawrence or stoning Saint Stephen, inform and reinforce notions of good and evil by revealing one's soul through their physicality. Perhaps not viewed as evil, Bathsheba was often looked upon as a dangerous temptress capable of seducing a powerful King. Female sexuality was not only objectified but also feared, and is exemplified in the image of Bathsheba in the Marquette Hours. Bathsheba is an ideal, coy, and contemporary beauty who actively entices Jean-Baptiste with her gaze. She lures him to contemplate matters of sin as well as her sexuality. In general, the Marquette Hours does not stray from a typical Book of Hours, but nonetheless the matter of its conception, workmanship, and patronage still provide us with a manuscript unique in and of itself. A manuscript that has and will reveal more about its artist, patron and the medieval culture responsible for the phenomenon that is Books of Hours.

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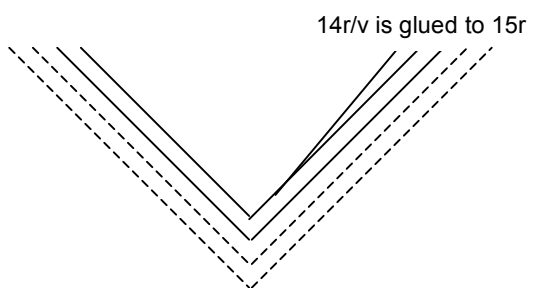
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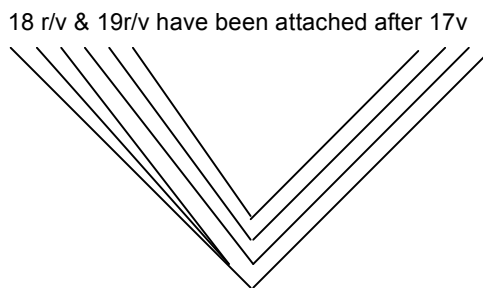
Tables

1. Collation & Content

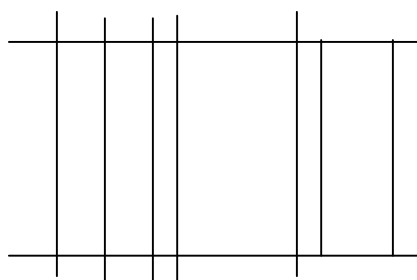
<u>Quires</u>	<u>Signature Marks</u>	<u>Folios</u>	<u>Leaves</u>	<u>Contents</u>
		1r		Title Page
1	[A]	2r – 11v	10	Calendar; January and February are missing
2	B	12r – 16v	5	Gospels of John and Luke
3	C	17r – 26v	10	Gospel of Mark, <i>Obsecro te</i> prayer, and the miniature for <i>O Intemerata</i>
4	D	27r – 34v	8	<i>O Intemerata</i> and <i>Stabat Mater</i> prayers
5	E	35r – 42v	8	Hours of the Virgin: Matins
6	F	43r – 50v	8	Matins continued
7	G	51r – 58v	8	Matins continued
8	H	59r – 66v	8	Matins continued
9	I	67r – 70v	4	Hours of the Cross and Hours of the Spirit
10	K	71r – 78v	8	Hours of the Virgin: Prime and the first two pages of Terce
11	L	79r – 86v	8	The rest of Terce and first six pages of Sext
12	M	87r – 94v	8	The rest of Sext and None and the miniature for Vespers
13	N	95r – 102v	8	The rest of Vespers
14	O	103r – 110v	8	Compline
15	P	111r – 118v	8	Penitential Psalms
16	Q	119r – 126v	8	Penitential Psalms continued
17	R	127r – 134v	8	Penitential Psalms continued and the Litany
18	S	135r – 142v	8	Litany and the Suffrages, 1 leaf missing
19	T	143r – 150v	8	Suffrages, 1 leaf missing
20	U	151r – 158v	8	Suffrages, 1 leaf missing
21	X	159r – 160v	2	Suffrages and blank pages
	Y			Missing (possibly The Office of the Dead)
	Z			Missing (possibly The Office of the Dead)



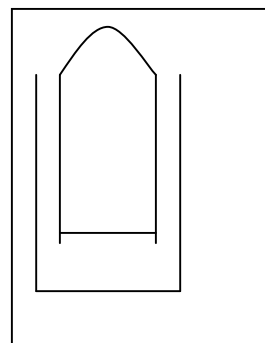
2. Quire B



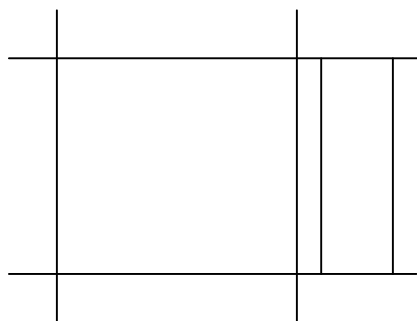
3. Quire C



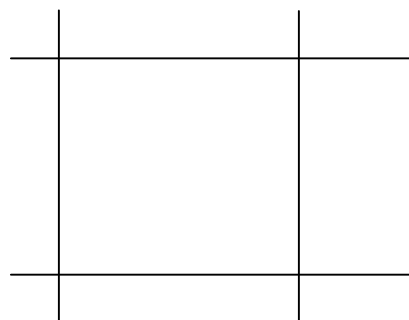
4. Calendar



5. Miniatures

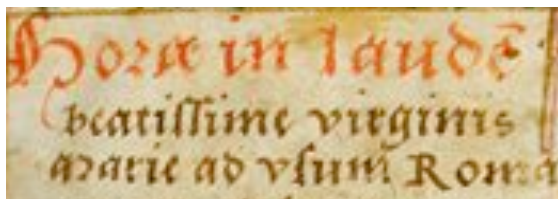


6. Text with marginalia

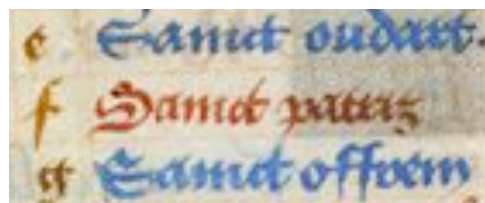


7. Text

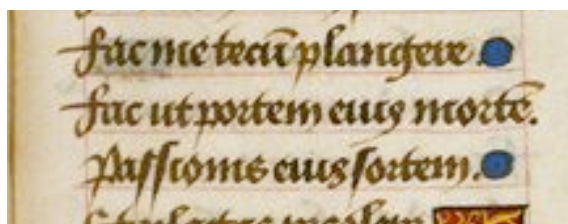
Figures



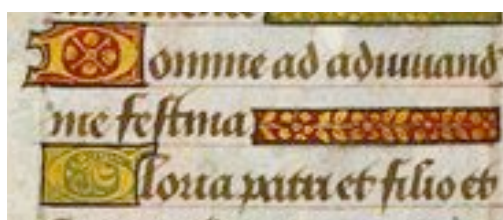
1. Script from title page, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 1r.



2. Script from the calendar, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 2v.



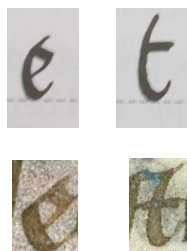
3. Script from the *Stabat Mater*, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 32r.



4. Script from the text, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 35v.



5. Top set of letters from, Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007) compared letters from the Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art.



6. Top set of letters from Delorez', *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books* compared to letters from the Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art.



7. Pierre Villate(?), *Annunciation* (Hand A), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 35r.

8. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Pentecost* (Hand B), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 69v.



9. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *David and Bathsheba* (detail) (Style B), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 111r.

10. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Coronation of the Virgin* (detail) (Style B), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 103r.

11. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Presentation at the Temple* (detail) (Style B), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 89v.



12. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Nativity* (detail) (Style B), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 71v.

13. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Flight into Egypt* (detail) (Style B), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 94v.



14. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (detail) (Style B), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 78r.

15. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Coronation of the Virgin* (detail) (Style B), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 103r.



16. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Crucifixion* (Style B), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 67v.



17. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Virgin and Child* (Style C), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 21r.



18. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *John the Evangelist* (Style C), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 12r.



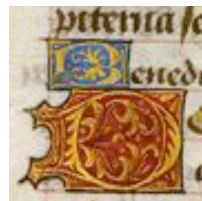
19. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Saint Margaret* (Style C), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 153r.



20. KL (black with gold and blue), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 2r.
 21. KL (blue and red), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 4r.



22. Two line initial, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 12r.
 23. Three line initial, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 50v.



24. Three line initial, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 35r.
 25. Decorative initial, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 38v.



26. Various line endings, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 74v.



27. Circular line ending, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 86v.



28. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Nativity* (including borders), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 71v.



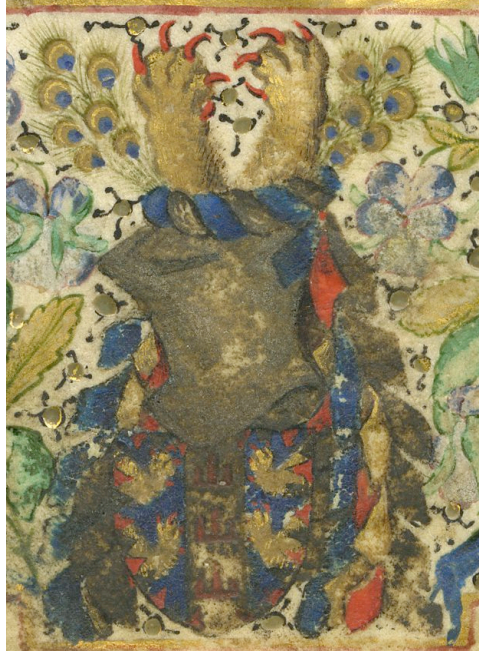
29. Pierre Villate(?), *Annunciation* (including borders), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 35r.



30. Title page (including borders), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 1r.
 31. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Mark the Evangelist* (including borders), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 17r.



32. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), Text page with borders, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 66r.
 33. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), Text page with borders, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 66v.



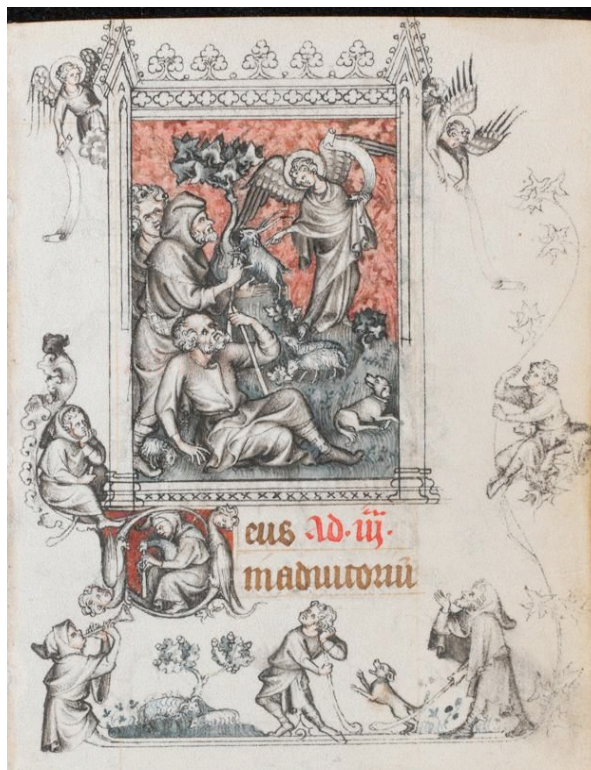
34. Pierre Villate(?), *Annunciation* (detail of the de Brancas coat of arms), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 35r.



35. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Nativity* (detail of the Albon coat of arms), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 71v.



36. *Luke Painting the Virgin* (including borders), Walters Hours, ms. W.281, Walters Art Museum, fol. 17, c.1430-35.



37. Jean Pucelle, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* (made in Paris), fol. 61v, c. 1324-1328.



38. The miniatures include at least four important artists: the Master of Etienne Loypeau, the Boucicaut, and Bedford Masters and one of the brothers Limbourg, *The Virgin Weaving* (including borders), Book of Hours (made in Paris), fol. 018v-019r, Dated 1407.



39. *St. Anthony and St. Paul in the Desert*, Book of Hours (for the Use of Ghent), fol. 012v, c. 1480.



40. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Nativity* (including borders), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 71v.



41. d'Ailly Master and associates, *Nativity*, Hours of Raoul d'Ailly, Private Collection in the US, fol. 50.



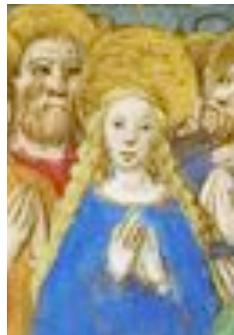
42. d'Ailly Master and associates, *Virgin and Child in an Interior*, Hours of Raoul d'Ailly, Private Collection in the US, fol. 88v.



43. Book of Hours for the Use of Rouen, *Annunciation*, ms. 12, James A. De Rothschild Collection at the Waddeson Manor, fol. 27, c. 1470.



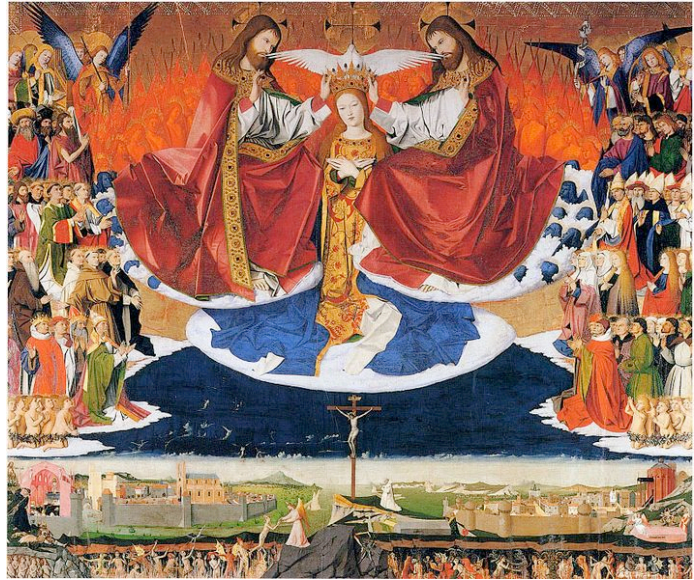
44. Enguerrand Quarton with Pierre Villate, *Cadard Altarpiece*, Musée Condé, Chantilly, 1452.



45. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Pentecost* (detail), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 69v.



46. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Coronation of the Virgin*, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 103r.



47. Enguerrand Quarton, *Coronation of the Virgin*, Pierre du Luxembourg Museum in Villeneuve-les-Avignon, 1454.



48. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Pieta*, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 30r.



49. Enguerrand Quarton with Pierre Villate, *Pieta of Villeneuve-les-Avignon*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1453-54.



50. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Presentation in the Temple*, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 89v.



51. Enguerrand Quarton, *Circumcision*, Huntington Library Hours, HM 1129, Huntington Library, fol. 57.



52. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Adoration of the Magi*, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 84r.



53. Enguerrand Quarton, *Adoration of the Magi*, Huntington Library Hours, HM 1129, Huntington Library, fol. 62.



54. Enguerrand Quarton, *Pentecost*, Huntington Library Hours, HM 1129, Huntington Library, fol. 78.



55. Enguerrand Quarton, *Virgin and Child*, Huntington Library Hours, HM 1129, Huntington Library, fol. 138.



56. Enguerrand Quarton, *Crucifixion*, Huntington Library Hours, HM 1129, Huntington Library, fol. 81.



57. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Flight into Egypt*, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 94v.

58. Enguerrand Quarton, *Flight into Egypt*, Huntington Library Hours, HM 1129, Huntington Library, fol. 72.



59. Anonymous, *Nativity* (detail), Namur Hours, ms. 83, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur, fol. 37v (Photos courtesy of Mr. Guy Focant and Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur).



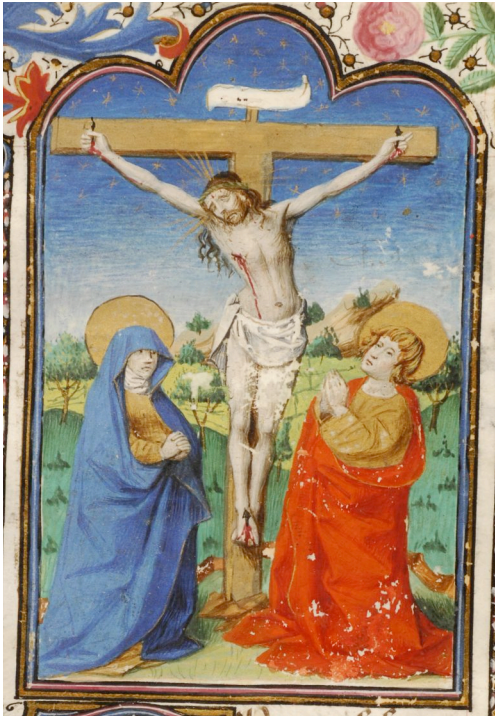
60. Enguerrand Quarton, *Annunciation*, Namur Hours, ms. 83, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur, fol. 19 (photos courtesy of Mr. Guy Focant and Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur).



61. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Visitation*, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 50v.



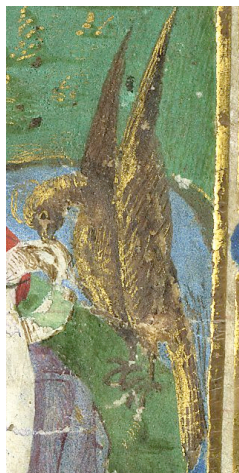
62. Pierre Villate, *Visitation* (detail), Namur Hours, ms. 83, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur, fol. 28 (Photos courtesy of Mr. Guy Focant and Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur).



63. Pierre Villate, *Crucifixion*, Namur Hours, ms. 83, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur, fol. 71
(Photos courtesy of Mr. Guy Focant and Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur).



64. Pierre Villate, *Pentecost*, Namur Hours, ms. 83, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur, fol. 74
(Photos courtesy of Mr. Guy Focant and Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur).



65. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *John the Evangelist* (detail of the eagle), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 12r.

66. Pierre Villate, *Eagle* (detail), Namur Hours, ms. 83, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur, fol. 14 (Photos courtesy of Mr. Guy Focant and Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur).



67. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Mark the Evangelist* (detail of the eagle), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 17r.

68. Pierre Villate, *Lion* (detail), Namur Hours, ms. 83, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur, fol. 17v (Photos courtesy of Mr. Guy Focant and Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur).



69. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Luke the Evangelist* (detail of the ox), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 15v.

70. Pierre Villate, *Ox* (detail), Namur Hours, ms. 83, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur, fol. 15 (Photos courtesy of Mr. Guy Focant and Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur).

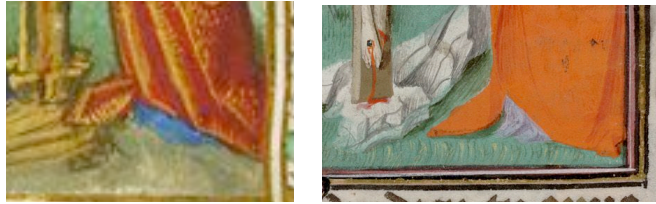


71. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), Text page with borders, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 96r.

72. Anonymous, *Nativity* (including borders), Namur Hours, ms. 83, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur, fol. 37v (photos courtesy of Mr. Guy Focant and Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur).



73. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Presentation in the Temple* (including borders), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 89v.



74. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Crucifixion* (detail), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 67v.

75. Enguerrand Quarton, *Crucifixion* (detail), Huntington Library Hours, HM 1129, Huntington Library, fol. 81.



76. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Crucifixion* (detail), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 67v.

77. Enguerrand Quarton, *Crucifixion* (detail), Huntington Library Hours, HM 1129, Huntington Library, fol. 81.



78. Pierre Villate(?), *Annunciation* (detail), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 35r.

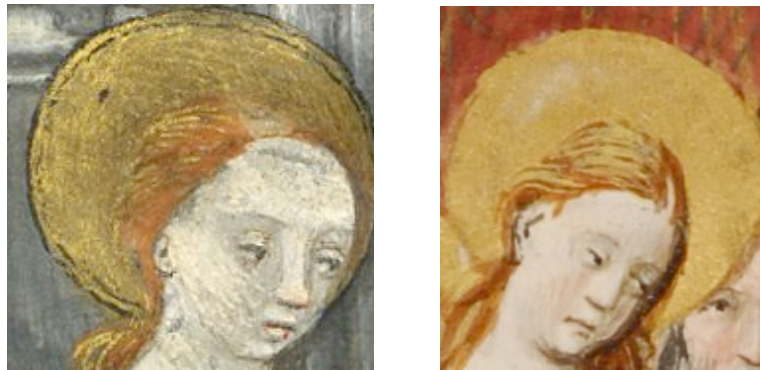
79. Enguerrand Quarton, *Pentecost* (detail), Huntington Library Hours, HM 1129, Huntington Library, fol. 78.



80. Enguerrand Quarton, *David in Prayer* (detail), Namur Hours, ms. 83, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur, fol. 77 (photos courtesy of Mr. Guy Focant and Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur).



81. Pierre Villate, *Crucifixion* (detail), Namur Hours, ms. 83, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur, fol. 71 (Photos courtesy of Mr. Guy Focant and Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur).



82. Pierre Villate(?), *Annunciation* (detail), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 35r.

83. Pierre Villate, *Pentecost* (detail), Namur Hours, ms. 83, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur, fol. 74 (Photos courtesy of Mr. Guy Focant and Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Namur).



84. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Virgin and Child* (detail), Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 21r.



85. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Saint Lawrence*, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 143v.



86. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *Saint Stephen*, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 142r.



87. Pierre Villate's workshop(?), *David and Bathsheba*, Marquette Hours, 85.19, Haggerty Museum of Art, fol. 111r.