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The Hours of Jean d'Evreux : an analysis of size

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THE HOURS OF JEANNE d'EVREUX: AN ANALYSIS OF SIZE

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Art & Design

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Kathleen Clare Lang

December 2001

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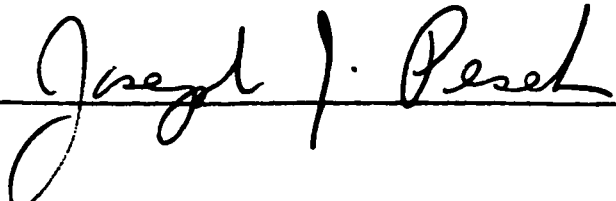


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ABSTRACT

THE HOURS OF JEANNE d'EVREUX: AN ANALYSIS OF SIZE

by Kathleen Clare Lang

The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux is an exceptionally little book, yet its size has never been a specific area of study. Examining the manuscript within its actual dimensional format enhances the viewer's understanding of this medieval prayer book. Using a comprehensive approach, this thesis will explore how the book's size compares with other contemporary Books of Hours, the artistic and optical influences for size, as well as how its size affected the owner's use and visual experience.

This evaluation reveals that even though most researchers acknowledge the unusually small size of this book, it has never been analyzed to determine how its tiny scale affects the viewer's visual perception and experience. Consequently, it was concluded that future research must consider the actual dimensions in conjunction with any attempt to provide meaning or purpose to the images seen in this book.

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INTRODUCTION

The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux is undoubtedly one of the best known and researched manuscripts from the Middle Ages.¹ It is a private prayer book that was made between 1324 and 1328 for the French queen, Jeanne d'Evreux.² And although many of these types of books were made during the Middle Ages, this particular example is considered to be one of the earliest of its kind.³ The degree of artistic imagination and the abundant illustrations, or illuminations, contained within this book have captivated scholars since 1954 when the book was acquired by the Cloisters Museum.⁴ It has been described as the “pearl among Books of Hours,” because in addition to the prayers within this book, the artist, Jean Pucelle, has included a variety of artistic innovations that have never been seen before in French manuscript illumination.⁵ What makes this achievement even more remarkable is that these innovations are included within a very small format— the book currently measures only 89 x 62 mm. (3 ½ x 2 7/8 in.).

The importance of this manuscript is evident in the abundant research literature that addresses many aspects of its creation and decoration. In almost every case, the author takes great care to use an adjective, such as tiny or diminutive, to describe how small the book is, but there is never any correlation made between its small size and the

¹ The Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux. Jean Pucelle, French, Paris, 1324-28. Tempera and gold leaf on parchment, 89 x 62mm. New York, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2).

² Barbara Drake Boehm, Prayer Book for a Queen: The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, April 7-July 5, 1998 (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1998), 3.

³ John Harthan, The Book of Hours (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1977), 40.

⁴ James J. Rorimer, The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957), 5-6.

⁵ Harthan, 44.

corresponding size of its even smaller illustrations.⁶ One only needs to see this book in order to understand just how small it and its equally minute illustrations really are. The effect is quite astounding.

Possessing an appreciation for the dimensions of this small book however, generates even more questions about its size. Why would such an innovative book be so small? And how would its size affect the owner's use and visual experience?

In this paper I will examine the issues that surround the size of this book as comprehensively as possible. First, I plan to demonstrate how its unusually small size compares to other contemporary Books of Hours. Second, I will provide several explanations for its size and how its size would have affected the owner's use and visual experience. Third, a review of the current research will show that most scholars do not place the book's size within its appropriate viewing perspective.

Once the book's size is fully understood, it becomes clear that much of the scholarship fails to take into consideration the extremely tiny format. Only when the issue of size is treated as part of the physical object can we begin to understand its visual effect on the viewer. Failure to adhere to this approach will lead scholars to misinterpret the contents of this book, especially the smaller illustrations and ultimately skew the reader's understanding of its contents and its relationship to the viewer/owner.

⁶ See Appendix A for specific information of how the book is described in the literature.

CHAPTER 1

The Artistic Innovations of Jean Pucelle

In contrast to our modern obsession with time management and efficiency, the medieval perception of time was very different. During the Middle Ages, each day was divided into eight periods, or Canonical Hours, set aside for the monastic community to praise God through prayer. The result of this periodic devotion meant that the time and pace of human activity was imbued with a profound sense of meaning and purpose. These prayers formed the basis of the liturgy recited by Christian clergy throughout medieval Europe.¹

During the eleventh century, the principal source of these devotions was the Psalms, and the book used for prayer was called a Psalter. Due to increased worship of the Virgin Mary during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries however, the Psalter would evolve into a far more personal and extremely popular form of prayer book.

The Virgin was not only the mother of Christ, she was also the spiritual mother and divine intercessor for all who sought salvation. Eventually an additional text, the Hours of the Virgin, was developed and added to the Psalter. The popularity of devotion towards the Virgin soon spread to the laity, who also wished to emulate the hourly prayers recited by the clergy. Initially the Book of Hours was attached to the Psalter, but

¹ See these sources for the basic information that follows. Abbé V. Leroquais, Les Livres d'Heures Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 3 vols. (Paris: Protat Frères, 1927), 1: I-LXXXV; Robert G. Calkins, Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983), 243; Roger S. Wieck, Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life (New York: George Braziller, 1988), 27; Harthan, 11-14. For a more detailed explanation of the history, contents and use of a Book of Hours, refer to Appendix B.

by the end of the thirteenth-century it was used independently and had become one of the most popular books owned by the lay population. The Book of Hours was so widely produced that it has been described as “*the medieval best-seller*” for almost 250 years. In fact, more of these kinds of books were sold than any other type of manuscript during this period.²

The primary purpose of a Book of Hours was for private devotion. Although most Books of Hours would contain similar contents such as a Calendar and Hours of the Virgin, each was quite unique to its owners’ taste and arrangement of the contents.³ Even though these books were used for prayer, they were also considered to be status symbols for the wealthy who could afford such extravagant possessions. Most Books of Hours were bound in leather, but some were lavishly decorated with jeweled covers.⁴

The Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux (Fig. 1) is an early example of a Book of Hours. It consists of 209 folios that include twenty-five full-page paintings done in *grisaille* with touches of color. In addition, the margins of the manuscript contain nearly seven hundred illustrations.⁵ The contents include a Calendar, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of Saint Louis, Seven Penitential Psalms, and Litanies.⁶ Although the book is now bound in Moroccan leather, it was initially decorated with Jeanne’s family coat of arms and with an embroidered image of the Virgin and the Annunciation on either side. The book also

² Wieck, 27.

³ Harthan, 15. See Appendix B for more details about use and contents.

⁴ Kathleen Morand, *Jean Pucelle* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 4.

⁵ Boehm, 2.

⁶ Rorimer, 14.

originally had gold clasps and a luxurious pearl-studded cover.⁷ It is important to note that the manuscript has been cropped over time to its present size of 89 x 62mm.⁸ A recent technical examination by Abigail Quandt, Senior Conservator of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Walters Art Museum, indicates that the book has been trimmed at least 10 mm.⁹

As stated earlier, the book's original owner was Jeanne d'Evreux (d.1371), the third wife of Charles IV of France (b.1294, reigned1322-1328).¹⁰ The identification of Jeanne's Book of Hours rests on a codicil to her will, dated 1371, in which she bequeathed the book to Charles V of France.

“... un bien petit livret d'oroisons que le roy Charles, dont Diex ait l'âme, avoit fait faire por Madame, que pucelle enlumina.”¹¹

In order to comprehend fully the importance of this passage, it must be understood how unusual it was to mention the name of an artist in this type of document.¹² Kathleen Morand has even suggested that this sort of recognition indicates a certain degree of

⁷ Kathleen Morand, “Jean Pucelle: A re-examination of the evidence,” *The Burlington Magazine* 153 (June 1961): 208; Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500* 2 vols. (Turnhout, Belgium: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000), 1: 209.

⁸ Rorimer, 16. The amount this book has been trimmed will be discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

⁹ Abigail Quandt, Facsimile message to author, 17 January 2001. Ms. Quandt's research was later included in her article, “Technical Aspects of the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*,” part of the Commentary that accompanies the publication of a new facsimile, *Jean Pucelle, Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, facsimile, (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1999).

¹⁰ Madeline Caviness, “Patron or Matron? A Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed,” *Speculum* 68, no. 1 (1993): 335. Caviness states that Jeanne's year of birth was 1310/11. However, according to Dr. Barbara Drake Boehm, the birth date of Jeanne d'Evreux is not certain. E-mail to author, 4 May 2001.

¹¹ Léopold Delisle, *Les Heures dites de Jean Pucelle, manuscrit de la collection de M. le Baron Maurice de Rothschild* (Paris, 1910), 25. “... a very little book of prayers, which King Charles, God rest his soul, had made for Madame, which Pucelle illuminated.”

¹² François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century (1310-1380)* (New York: George Braziller, 1978), 14.

personal contact between the owner and the artist, Jean Pucelle.¹³ This fact is all the more remarkable when we realize that this codicil was written thirty-seven years after the artist's death. Considering that the identity of most illuminators remain a mystery, this degree of recognition demonstrates an affirmation of regard for Pucelle's status as an artist at the time of his death and for years after.¹⁴

Little is known about Pucelle's background and training. He was "rediscovered" in the early twentieth century through the research of Léopold Delisle who revealed his name in five medieval documents, one of which is the codicil to Jeanne's will.¹⁵ And even though Pucelle had a relatively short career (1319-1334), his work as an artist was greatly influential to his contemporary illuminators and his name is affiliated with many of the finest manuscripts of this period.¹⁶

In the scholarship that surrounds *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, Pucelle has been credited with so many innovations that, according to one scholar, "the illuminator's performance in that tiny book was never equaled."¹⁷ In total, there are six examples of Pucelle's artistic innovation that can be seen in this single book. The importance of this achievement cannot be overestimated; each example demonstrates how Pucelle has

¹³ Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 2.

¹⁴ Françoise Baron, "Enlumineurs, peintres et sculpteurs parisiens des XIV^e et XV^e siècles d'après les archives des l'hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* n.s. 6 (1970-71): 112. The year of Pucelle's death has been identified as 1334. My thanks to Dr. Boehm, curator, Department of Medieval Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, for sharing this bibliographic information.

¹⁵ Delisle, 24. Also see Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 2-3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁷ Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), 1: 20

transformed the art of illumination and will prove to be highly influential to later illuminators.¹⁸

The first innovation is that Pucelle completed all aspects of this book's production alone. The execution of a book by a single artist is considered highly unusual in an era of manuscript production that depended on other collaborators or assistants in a workshop setting.¹⁹ According to Morand, evidence for this opinion can be found in the book's unrestrained creativity and consistent high quality of its illustrations.²⁰

Second is Pucelle's utilization of the *grisaille* technique. Rather than using bright colors in this manuscript, Pucelle chose to use tones of gray with touches of color. The crowd scene shown in the *Betrayal of Christ* folio (Fig. 1) shows how effective this subtle technique can be. Despite the fact that Pucelle depicts a very dense crowd, the subtle gradations of shading clearly distinguish each figure from each other. Morand states that the reasons for this choice are unclear, but Avril believes that it was merely an aesthetic preference.²¹ The precise source of inspiration for the use of the *grisaille* technique in this manuscript is not clearly understood. Morand states that Pucelle was possibly influenced by current ideas and tastes of the period, such as the *grisaille* used in glass painting.²²

According to Avril, this is the first example of *grisaille* in French illumination, but newer research has revealed that the use of modeling and drapery as well as an interest in

¹⁸ Harthan, 43.

¹⁹ Carl Nordenfalk, "Mâitre honoré and Maître pucelle," *Apollo* 79 (1964): 36; Karen Gould, "Jean Pucelle," in *Great Lives From History: Ancient and Medieval Series* ed. Frank N. Magill 5 vols. (Pasadena, CA: Salem Press, 1988), 4: 1765; Avril, 15; Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 14; Rorimer, 10.

²⁰ Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 14.

²¹ Avril, 15; Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 12.

²² Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 12.

the use of limited color can be found in several manuscripts that predate *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*.²³ Despite the fact that a precedent can be made for Pucelle's use of grisaille in this book, it should be noted that the artist's efforts were an exceptional display of this technique.²⁴ Or, as Barbara Drake Boehm has recently surmised precisely how influential the use of grisaille in this manuscript was for later illuminators because it is "as remarkable today as it was in the fourteenth century... it was a hallmark that was meant to be emulated."²⁵

The third innovation, the use of Italian Trecento method of creating space, is also the most well known. The implementation of perspective can be seen on two of the folios (*The Annunciation*, and *A Miracle of Saint Louis*; Figs. 1 and 2). This is the first surviving attempt to re-create a three-dimensional setting in Northern art.²⁶ Most scholars of this manuscript speculate that Pucelle had personally seen these artistic inventions during the early 1320's when it is thought that he traveled to Italy and examined the work of Duccio.²⁷

²³ Avril, 15; Boehm, "The Grisaille," in *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux: Acc. No. 54.1.2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, New York*. Commentary by Barbara Drake Boehm, Abigail Quandt and William D. Wixom. (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 2000), p.332-333. Specifically, these manuscripts are: Two different versions of *Vie de Saint Denis*, both dated around 1317; *Somme le Roy*, end 13th century; *Roman de Fauvel*, 1315-20; *Livre du Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, possibly 1326.

²⁴ In the footnote (n.47, p.343) to these citations, Dr. Boehm also cites the *Hours of Jeanne de Savoie*, 1325-30, as being attributed to Pucelle's own workshop. So it is certainly probable that Pucelle was indeed the first artist to use the grisaille technique in a French Book of Hours.

²⁵ Boehm, "The Grisaille," p. 337.

²⁶ Karen Gould, "Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art: New Evidence from Strasbourg Cathedral," *The Art Bulletin* 74 (March 1992): 51; Stanley H. Ferber, "Jean Pucelle and Giovanni Pisano," *The Art Bulletin* 66 (March 1984): 66; Avril, 15; Meiss, 1: 19; Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 7; Nordenfalk, 360; Rorimer, 11.

²⁷ Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Its Character*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 1: 30; Avril, 17; Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 4-7; Ferber, 67.

In addition, it is also assumed that when he saw Duccio's *Maestà* altarpiece, Pucelle was influenced by the portrayal of emotion he observed in the Italian painter's art. This interest in emotion is the fourth area of innovation seen in this Book of Hours. There is an abundance of dramatic gestures, psychological expressions, and emotional interactions between the figures that opens up new levels of interest in expressing emotions in Northern art.²⁸ A good example of the range of emotion that Pucelle depicts can be seen on the *Betrayal of Christ* folio (Fig. 1). The soldiers, on the right side of the folio, are shown with a variety of angry expressions and gestures. Particularly noteworthy is the prominent forceful gesture of the man who grabs Christ's garment. This gesture combined with an enraged expression functions as a poignant counterpoint to the range of fear and concern shown by the Apostles who surround Christ.

The fifth innovation is Pucelle's use of a double image pattern in the book's format. Traditionally, the standard format for a Book of Hours was to illustrate each cycle of prayers separately. In this book however, Pucelle chose to juxtapose scenes from the Passion and the Infancy cycles (Fig. 1). The juxtaposition of these images enhances the narrative of each cycle and further increases the emotional effect upon the viewer.²⁹

²⁸Edith Balas, "Jean Pucelle and the Gothic Cathedral Sculptures: A Hypothesis," *Gazette Des Beaux Arts* 99 (February 1982): 40; Avril, 15; Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 8; Rorimer, 11; Panofsky, 1: 30; Gould, "Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art," 51.

²⁹ Joan A. Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in her Book of Hours at the Cloisters," *Art History* 17, no. 4 (December, 1994): 586; Lilian M.C. Randall, "Games and the Passion in Pucelle's Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux," *Speculum* (April 1972): 247; Avril, 43.

The sixth artistic innovation, and the focus of this thesis, is the small size of the book itself; it is the smallest example of a Book of Hours made by Pucelle.³⁰ As stated above, the book is now only 89 x 62mm.; anyone who has ever seen this book must surely marvel at how the artist was able to work on such a small scale. And regardless if the book's size has been trimmed, the size of the abundant tiny figures has not been altered; they remain intact and incredibly small. Avril describes this accomplishment of miniaturization as a "true *tour de force*."³¹ In addition, Morand states that this reduction in scale was not regarded as a limitation; instead the artist considered its small size an artistic challenge.³² Considering the extent of its innovative contents, the achievement to work within such a small scale should certainly be considered an innovation. The small size would become an essential part of the book's overall plan.

It is remarkable that a single artist could have achieved so much innovation in such a small book. But Pucelle was not an ordinary artist; he had many artistic interests and is thought to have explored other artistic mediums. Scholars have described Pucelle as "a multimedia artist," whose illuminations resonate with the influences of other artistic genres such as metalwork, sculpture, and stained glass design.³³ The significance for examining these examples will offer support to demonstrate precisely how the artist implemented other mediums in Jeanne's book.

³⁰ Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 14. According to Morand, there is some disagreement in the attribution of some of the books that have been credited to Pucelle's workshop. However, the five Books of Hours that appear in Morand's monograph catalogue range from 110 mm. to 180 mm. in height. See *Jean Pucelle*, 39-49.

³¹ Avril, 15.

³² Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 14.

³³ Charlotte Lacaze and Anne Morgenstern, "Gothic Splendor in Paris: A Review," *Gesta* 22, no. 1 (1983): 86; Avril, 20; Gould, "Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art," 51; Randall, 246.

The first time Pucelle's name is mentioned as an artist occurs not in the role of illuminator, but instead records payment made in 1319-24 for his design of a metal plaque, or Great Seal, commissioned by the confraternity of Saint Jacques-aux-Pèlerins in Paris.³⁴ Avril claims that this "document is important because it shows the unusual position of an artist who, far from being restricted to decorating manuscripts, is being charged with a work that will later be executed in a different medium."³⁵ Avril also states that this commission provides the best evidence to suggest that Pucelle was involved in other artistic media.³⁶

Pucelle's interest in metalwork can be seen in the frames that encase each of the miniatures. For example, in *The Education of Saint Louis* (Fig.2), Pucelle has placed Saint Louis and his Confessor in an architectural frame whose delicate details on the roof closely resemble the highly detailed craftsmanship of goldsmithery. In fact, Avril speculates that such attention to these details suggest that the artist may have drawn models for Gothic shrines or reliquaries.³⁷ Specifically, Nordenfalk discerns a design correspondence between Pucelle's illuminations and a reliquary that was presented to the confraternity of St. Jacques-aux-Pèlerins in 1326 by Charles IV and Jeanne d'Evreux.³⁸ In addition, Avril thinks that a relationship can be made between the geometrical or plant motif backgrounds of the miniatures and the translucent enamels of the same period.³⁹

³⁴ Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 2; Gould, *Great Lives From History*, 1763; Panofsky, 1: 31.

³⁵ Avril, 14.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

³⁸ Nordenfalk, 359.

³⁹ Avril, 47.

The second area where scholars have discovered an artistic interest in another medium is Pucelle's use of the *grisaille* technique and its similarity to sculptural forms. The artist seems to have been fully aware that by using shades of gray, against a flat background, he was able convey volume and space for his figures.⁴⁰ Ferber and Gould have found interesting stylistic comparisons of Pucelle's *grisaille* figures to monumental sculpture in Pistoia, Italy and Strasbourg, France, respectively.⁴¹

Another sculptural medium that may be linked to Pucelle's use of *grisaille* is ivory carving. Koechlin, in particular, has identified a likely connection between Pucelle's illuminations and the carving seen in small ivory diptychs.⁴² Harthan, in his discussion of Jeanne's book, has compared the miniatures in this manuscript to the delicacy of ivory carvings.⁴³ The manner in which scenes of the Infancy and Passion cycles are juxtaposed has also been linked to similar arrangements in private devotional ivory diptychs.⁴⁴

Further scholarship has suggested a third medium explored by the artist. Gould indicates that there is a significant amount of evidence to suggest that in addition to the above artistic interests, Pucelle might have participated in the stained-glass design for the south narthex window of Strasbourg Cathedral.⁴⁵

Pucelle's many artistic innovations and interests in art media beyond manuscript illumination that have been addressed here will be essential to understanding precisely

⁴⁰ Balas, 39; Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 12-13.

⁴¹ Ferber, 71-72; Gould, "Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art," 53ff.

⁴² Raymond Koechlin, *Les Ivoires Gothiques Français*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1924), 1: 73.

⁴³ Harthan, 40.

⁴⁴ Calkins, 248.

⁴⁵ Gould, "Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art," 65.

why the small size of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* is an important issue in terms of its production as a medieval book as well as its influence to later illuminators.

CHAPTER 2

Medieval Book Production

From the seventh to the eleventh centuries, medieval books were produced by monks in one of the many monastic scriptoria that were located throughout Europe.¹ During the eleventh and twelfth centuries however, there was an increase in the collaboration between monastic and lay workshops. By the thirteenth century the number of lay workshops increased, and Paris soon became the center of European book production.² In terms of Books of Hours specifically, France was clearly the primary producer; two-thirds of all Books of Hours were made in France.³ In the early fourteenth century Jean Pucelle worked in Paris, and it is there he created *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*. In order to understand the significance of this book in relation to other medieval books it will be necessary to explore the background of book production in Paris, the traditions of book production, and workshop practices.

The predominance of book production in Paris can be attributed to a 1215 statute granted to the University of Paris by Pope Innocent III. Due to an increased number of students and masters at the University, the demand for books had risen dramatically and a solution was sought to fulfill the demand for books. Consequently, more lay scriptoria were established in Paris to meet the University's needs. Through this document, the University received permission to regulate all texts and the pricing of books to satisfy the

¹ Jonathan J.G. Alexander, Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 72.

² *Ibid.*, 12.

³ Wieck, 28.

increasing demand for books by both masters and students.⁴ Once the bookmen swore an oath to observe these regulations, they were allowed to make and sell books to anyone. In addition to the University, books would be sold to the court, the Church, or the wealthy lay population.⁵ Evidence of who these bookmen were is found in the records of a special tax, or *taille*, issued by King Philip the Fair (1215-1314) that was initiated in 1292 and continued through 1354.⁶

The *taille* records from 1323 show an entry of a *Johannes Pouchet*, who, by means of a scribal error of a slashed *l*, should actually read *Pouchelle*; or has been argued, Jean Pucelle.⁷ It should also be noted that as a bookman and illuminator, Pucelle would have belonged to one of two Guilds or Confraternities. The Confraternity of St. Luke included painters and sculptors, but there is no mention of illuminators. Scribes, on the other hand, would have belonged to the Confraternity of St. John the Evangelist. And as Alexander has indicated, it seems that illuminators would join either group.⁸ It is unclear which group Pucelle belonged to, but the notion that there was some flexibility for illuminators suggests that the artist might certainly have been able to explore his multimedia artistic interests within the limits of the Confraternity of St. Luke.

Considering the traditions of book production, it is important to be aware that medieval writings about art are limited, but they clearly indicate what was of greatest

⁴ Alexander, 22.

⁵ Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Authentic Witness: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 269.

⁶ R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, "The Commercial Production of Manuscript Books in Late-Thirteenth-Century and Early-Fourteenth-Century Paris," in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills, Calif.: The Red Gull Press, 1990), 104.

⁷ Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witness*, 333.

⁸ Alexander, 30.

importance: the use of valuable and quality materials and the technical skill of the artist.⁹ In addition, the use of traditional images in book illustration was extremely important because it would make these images easily legible to the public. Consequently, medieval artists were expected to work within an established iconographic tradition.¹⁰ However, artists did not always adhere to traditional representations. Variations and innovation did occur and in fact, these variations are most easily seen in Books of Hours because, according to Harthan, no two are exactly alike.¹¹ One need only examine the work of Pucelle's followers in order to see how his many innovations are extensively copied in later manuscript illuminations.¹²

An examination of workshop practices reveals several interesting characteristics about medieval book production. The creation of most manuscripts, including Books of Hours, required many stages of production. These stages would include the commission for the book, the contract, the book's program, design, as well as any artistic collaboration.

Most medieval manuscripts were produced only through a commission for a specific type of book.¹³ And Books of Hours are no exception; each book was typically personally commissioned and created for a specific person, according to his/her own

⁹ Jonathan J.G. Alexander, "Facsimiles, Copies, and Variations: The Relationship to the Model in Medieval and Renaissance European Illuminated Manuscripts," in Retaining the Original. Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions (Studies in the History of Art, volume 20), ed. Kathleen Preciado (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 61.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Harthan, 15.

¹² Alexander, "Facsimiles, Copies, and Variations," 62.

¹³ Rouse and Rouse, Medieval Book Production, 103

esthetics and wealth.¹⁴ *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* was also a commissioned manuscript. In her will, Jeanne describes the book that "...King Charles...had made for Madame..."¹⁵ According to Alexander, formal contracts for illuminated manuscripts were less common than for other works of art. If a contract was arranged, it was usually made in writing, verbal oath, or by simply providing the materials to the manuscript producer.¹⁶ There is no known existing contract for Jeanne's book, but because it was royally commissioned, a contract of some sort may have existed. Often, the patron would employ an intermediary supervisor, who was affiliated with the University, to oversee the contract, supervise production, and handle payment obligations.¹⁷ We do not know specifically who, if anyone, supervised Pucelle's production of this manuscript.

Following the commission and contract, the book would undergo the third and fourth stages of production: the development of its program and design. There was a distinct relationship between the desires of the patron and the artist's training and skill. For example, depending on the type of book being produced, a patron might have a specific model in mind, and therefore, it would be important for the artist to have a model to copy as closely as possible. The patron, advisor, or even the artist himself would often write program notes for the illuminator in the margins of manuscripts. These notes can sometimes still be seen, but typically they were erased or trimmed when the manuscript was completed.¹⁸

¹⁴ Harthan, 12

¹⁵ Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 31

¹⁶ Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 52.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 52-54.

The exact program of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* is unknown. We also do not know if and how much supervision Pucelle received while completing the manuscript. One portion of the book, *The Hours of Saint Louis*, suggests that a program advisor had been used. Saint Louis was a relatively new saint, and at this time there was not an established program of images in use. Therefore, this cycle must have been created or adapted for this manuscript.¹⁹

It should also be noted that there are no visible notes in the margins of this book. Remember that the book has been cropped, and it is possible that notes once present, no longer exist. But since the folios were only slightly trimmed, it is equally possible that the notes never existed in the margins.²⁰ If this is correct, Pucelle either kept separate notes or he was granted an extraordinary creative opportunity.

The fourth stage, the design of the book, is very important for a Book of Hours. Because of their personal nature, it was essential that all aspects of the book be executed according to the needs of the owner. Therefore, the book's format, decoration, and size had to be relevant to its owner.²¹ A Book of Hours, in particular, needed to be relatively small and portable in order for its owner to use the book for private devotion and reading.²²

¹⁹ Joan A. Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in her Book of Hours at the Cloisters." *Art History* 17, no.4 (1994): 586.

²⁰ Rorimer, 16. Rorimer describes the alteration as occurring during the seventeenth century, when the book was rebound: "...it is apparent that the manuscript was originally slightly larger. It was cropped, parts of the border decoration and the tops of certain miniatures being cut off..." It should also be mentioned that none of the existing literature ever discusses the possibility of program notes in this book, whether erased or later trimmed.

²¹ Claire Donovan, "The Mise-en-Page of Early Books of Hours in England." in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills, Calif.: The Red Gull Press, 1990), 147-149.

²² Alexander, "Facsimiles, Copies, and Variations," 63; Donovan, 151.

Most Books of Hours measure 150/200 x 100/120mm.²³ *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, on the other hand, is currently about half that size; it measures only 89 x 62mm. There is little doubt that this size disparity demonstrates a significantly smaller than average book. It is unknown if the request for such a small book was part of the commission or a choice made by the artist. In either case, it is evident that this book's small size makes it distinctive in comparison to other contemporary Books of Hours. Perhaps the best evidence for how its size was regarded can be seen in the codicil to the will of Jeanne d'Evreux in which she describes the book as "un bien petit livret."²⁴ This is a particularly exceptional opinion from the woman who owned this book for over forty years.

If the book is small, then the illustrations on each folio are even smaller. One needs to look very closely at the tiny images in the margins in order to understand what is being depicted. It is unknown if Pucelle utilized magnification, whether a magnifying glass or spectacles, to assist his production of such tiny figures.²⁵ Even a cursory inspection of this book prompts the viewer to speculate how the artist could have worked without any magnification aids. But, as Morand has suggested, Pucelle's ability to work on such a minute scale was "a challenge, not a limitation."²⁶

The last stage, the actual production of the book, would frequently require book producers to form a collaborative effort between illuminators and scribes.²⁷ And due to the popularity of Books of Hours, it was quite common to standardize production in order

²³ Donovan, 150. 5.90/7.87 x 3.93/4.72 inches.

²⁴ Delisle, 25. The translation is "a very little book."

²⁵ Meiss, 1: 5.

²⁶ Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 14.

²⁷ Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 47.

to keep up with the demand.²⁸ At times the scribe and illuminator were the same, but more frequently these tasks were divided and the two would work independently of each other.²⁹ This traditional aspect of collaboration further emphasizes how uncommon it was that Pucelle completed this book entirely alone.³⁰

In summary, because *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* was a commissioned book made in Paris it might be viewed as a typical example of fourteenth century book production. However, there is no existing contract or program notes, and it is believed that Pucelle made the book entirely alone. These are not typical examples of medieval book production. They suggest that the artist may have been granted an extraordinary amount of freedom in the production of this book. In addition, its small size and its even smaller illustrations clearly demonstrate Pucelle's brilliant ability to work on such a tiny scale.

²⁸ L.M.J. Delaissé, "The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book." in Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Minor, eds. Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M.C. Randall and Richard H. Randall, Jr. (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1974): 212; Harthan, 23.

²⁹ Alexander, "Facsimiles, Copies, and Variations," 63.

³⁰ Avril, 15; Gould, Great Lives, 4; Morand, Jean Pucelle, 14; Nordenfalk, 362; Rorimer, 10.

CHAPTER 3

Comparative Size of Books of Hours

Despite the fact that many researchers have acknowledged the small size of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, it was necessary to conduct a thorough examination in order to determine precisely how its size compares with other Books of Hours and thereby to discover if its small size is uncommon or quite ordinary. Before beginning this discussion however, it is important to remember that although this book now measures only 89 x 62 mm., it was originally larger.¹ Abigail Quandt, the most recent conservator of Jeanne's book, has suggested that during the many years of ownership the book has been gradually trimmed each time the book was rebound for a new owner. Using the *Annunciation* folio (Fig. 1) as evidence, Quandt indicates three examples of trimming. The first case of trimming is found in the alteration of the roof structure. When compared to a larger, but similar architectural structure in *A Miracle of Saint Louis* (Fig. 2) it is apparent the roof in the *Annunciation* has been trimmed. The variety of spires and other architectural elements seen here is clearly missing in the *Annunciation* folio. The cropping of the roof not only removed architectural details, but also the second example of trimming. Located directly above the Virgin's head is a very small opening that illustrates heavenly rays shining down to touch her head. The source of these rays would have been the figure of God the Father, whose image would have been located

¹ Abigail Quandt, facsimile message to author, 17 January 2001. This message contains the information pertaining to the remainder of this technical discussion.

somewhere near the roofline had it not been trimmed away.² The third example of trimming can be found in two places: first, on the right edge of the folio where an angel playing an instrument, seen on the upper right edge and second, the half quatrefoil, which also contains an angel, on the center edge of the folio. It is clear that both the angel and the quatrefoil have been almost cut in half by the trimming of the right edge.

Quandt's examination determined that the artist would require at least 10 mm. on the top and right edges of the *Annunciation* folio in order to include the missing figures and elements. In addition, she also revealed that not all folios are of equal size. Recall that the cataloged size of the manuscript now measures 89 x 62 mm., but Quandt's measurements of the unbound manuscript show that the accurate measurement of the *Annunciation* folio is 91 x 57.5 mm. and the *Education of Saint Louis* folio measures 91 x 59 mm. These measurements are not drastically different from each other, but it demonstrates the inconsistency of the trimming that occurred over hundreds of years of ownership.³

The realization that Jeanne's book has been trimmed as much as 10 mm. meant that in order for this study to be as precise as possible, an adjustment of the size of the book from 89 mm. to 99 mm. in height would be necessary before beginning any comparison with other contemporary Books of Hours. This alteration however, also calls into the question the accurateness of other books' measurements. After all, if Jeanne's book has been trimmed, then other Books of Hours must have been trimmed also. It is

² Boehm, E-mail to author, 4 May 2001. According to Dr. Boehm, this information was shared with Ms. Quandt as she was conducting her analysis of the manuscript. Dr. Boehm is a curator of Medieval Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. She was the curator of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibit, "Prayer Book for a Queen: The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, May 11-August 29, 1999.

³ Quandt, E-mail to author, 28 January 2001.

impossible however, to determine the accurate original measurement of all books included in this comparison. There is no way to resolve this dilemma other than working with the information available. Consequently, for the purposes of this study, the approximate original height measurement of 99 mm. will be used for Jeanne's book, rather than the current 89 mm.

The initial methodology used in this evaluation sought only those Books of Hours made in France within a fifty-year period of the 1324-28 dates of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*. The objective was to assess the size of these books by thoroughly researching medieval manuscript catalogues from as many libraries and museums as possible. However, due to the early date of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* in relation to the development of Books of Hours, it soon became apparent that most catalogues do not contain many books from this narrow time span. Because of this period's limited number of Books of Hours, the study needed to be expanded in order to incorporate one of the more common types of books that combined both the Psalter and a Books of Hours, or Psalter-Hours.

This comparative study therefore, concentrated research on three groups of books. The first group consists of Psalter-Hours and Books of Hours made in France during the thirteenth century. The second group evaluates books dated from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, which immediately precede *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*. The third

group includes those books made during the second quarter, through the end of the fourteenth century.⁴

The primary problem encountered during the course of this research was the limited number of samples.⁵ As mentioned above, because Jeanne's book is an early example of a Book of Hours, there were not a large number of contemporary examples to use as samples. The best resource for this study was Leroquais' three-volume catalogue, which documents over three hundred examples of Books of Hours. However, only twenty-one books from this vast collection possessed the appropriate dating criteria to be included and further research was necessary in order to obtain sample books.

Unfortunately, most of the other medieval manuscript catalogues consulted contained books that are dated later than the fourteenth century and therefore, could not be included in this study.

The results of this research can be seen in Figs. 3, 4, and 5. These graphs, divided into three groups, show how each book compares to the average Book of Hours and *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*.⁶ Only height was used to indicate the size of each book.

⁴ Nine books that are catalogued with the non-specific dating of "14th century" have been included in the third group because it covers the majority of books made during that century. See Table I, Books #64-72.

⁵ The majority of the samples came from two sources: Leroquais, Les Livres d'Heures Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 3 vols. (Paris: Protat Frères, 1927) and Lilian M.C. Randall, France, 875-1420, vol. 1 of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989). Other sources: Robert Branner, Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 208-38.; The Pierpont Morgan Library, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts: Major Acquisitions of The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1924-1974, (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1974; N.R. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-1983); Leroquais, Les Psautiers: Manuscrits Latins des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, 3 vols. (Macon: Protat Frères, 1940-41); Svato Schutzner Bibles, Liturgy, Books of Hours, vol. 1 of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1989); Barbara A. Shailor, Manuscripts 1-250, vol. 1 of Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1984).

⁶ For complete data of each book, consult Table I.

Since, according to Donovan, the average book's height ranges from 150-200 mm., it was necessary, for the purpose of graphing, to assign the measurement of 175 mm. as the overall average book size.⁷

The average height of all seventy-two Psalter-Hours and Books of Hours in this study measures 165.49 mm. This result is consistent with Donovan's broader range of 150-200 mm. A few interesting findings are revealed when we examine each group on an individual basis. A cursory glance at the first group (Fig. 3) shows how varied the size of these books can be. One book, #15, is extremely large at 417 mm. While another book, #14, measures only 90 mm. Group 1, consisting of twenty-five books from the thirteenth century, has an overall average height of 199.56 mm. While this average is larger than Donovan's range, it should be noted that eighteen of the twenty-five books in this group are Psalter-Hours and due to their early date and combination with the cumbersome Psalter, they were inherently larger.⁸ In all, only one book, measuring 90 mm. and 105 mm. are close in size to Jeanne's.⁹

Group 2 (Fig. 4) is composed of those books that immediately precede the creation of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*. These are books that were made within the first quarter of the fourteenth century. This group's overall average height measures 153.66 mm., a considerable reduction in size from the 199.56 mm. seen in the first group. Perhaps the reason for this decrease is that eleven of the group's fifteen books are Books

⁷ Donovan, 150.

⁸ Wieck, 28; Donovan, 151.

⁹ Books # 8 (90 mm.), 17 (105 mm.), 19 (160 mm.), 21 (160 mm.), 25 (135 mm.).

of Hours and not the combination of the larger Psalter-Hours. It appears as if the exclusion of the Psalter enabled these books to become smaller and more portable.

An analysis of Group 2 reveals that only one Book of Hours, #26, measuring just 60 mm. is considerably smaller than Jeanne's. Little is known about this book other than that its contents that include a Calendar, Hours of the Virgin, Penitential Psalms, and Office of the Dead.¹⁰ The prayers follow the Use of Metz, or more specifically, the particular style of prayers can be traced to the region of Metz, France due to the rituals followed in that diocese.¹¹ Leroquais has assigned the somewhat general dating of fourteenth century to this French manuscript. Initially, it was tempting to assume that due to the general date, this manuscript could not definitively be dated. Therefore, without specific dating, it was still possible that Jeanne's book would be the smallest compared to this contemporary group. However, a closer examination of Leroquais' description of this book indicates that he believed the book should be dated from the late thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹² Either date clearly eliminates any possibility that Jeanne's book is unique in terms of its size. In addition to this finding, only one other book, measuring 108 mm. was found to be close in size.¹³

Because of the discovery of one book very close to the size of Jeanne's book as well another that measures significantly smaller, the decision was made to expand the study to include a third group of French Books of Hours made from the second quarter to the end of the fourteenth century. The purpose of expanding the study was to determine

¹⁰ Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures*, 1: 172.

¹¹ Harthan, 19.

¹² Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures*, 1: 172. The passage reads, "L'écriture et la décoration appartiennent à la fin du XIII^e siècle, ou, plus probablement, au début du XIV^e siècle."

¹³ Book #32 (108 mm.).

how consistent the average size of these books is according to Donovan's measurements and how many books would also be close to or smaller than Jeanne's book. In other words, expanding the study would clarify how rare it was to create a small book such as *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*.

The thirty-two books from Group 3 (Fig. 5) are dated from the second quarter to the end of the fourteenth century and have an overall average height of 144.48 mm. Recall that Group 1 has an average height of 199.56 mm. and Group 2 averages 153.66 mm. in height. Not surprisingly, the trend toward the preference of Books of Hours over Psalter-Hours becomes more apparent when we learn that twenty-four of the thirty-two books from this group are Books of Hours. And similar to the evaluation of Group 2, the decrease in size can be attributed to the overall size decrease in Books of Hours and the desire to own smaller personal books for private prayer.¹⁴

A closer evaluation of the heights of Group 3 reveals some rather interesting results. In this time period that encompasses and extends beyond the creation of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, there are three books that are much smaller than Jeanne's. All three are dated in the second half of the fourteenth century, two of which measure 66 mm. and the third, 73 mm.¹⁵ Of the remaining twenty-nine books, only two books measuring 101 mm. and 102 mm. are close in size to Jeanne's.¹⁶ It is important to emphasize that in all, twenty-six of this group's thirty-two books are notably smaller than average in height.¹⁷

¹⁴ Harthan, 11.

¹⁵ Books #44 (66 mm.), 50 (73 mm.), 52 (66 mm.).

¹⁶ Books # 72 (101 mm.), 68 (102mm.)

¹⁷ Books #41 (156 mm.), 42 (145 mm.), 43 (1112 mm.), 45 (137 mm.), 46 (117 mm.), 47 (127 mm.),

After examining this variance from the average, it can be assumed that Books of Hours included here begin to evolve generally towards a smaller size. Even though miniature Books of Hours are rare, there may have been an increase in demand for smaller books. One catalogue speculates that some ladies may have carried such tiny books attached to their belts during the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁸ Despite the fact that this statement refers to the smallest Books of Hours, it is certainly possible that this trend suggests an increase in the popularity of smaller books, which the measurements of Group 3 clearly demonstrates.

In conclusion, after evaluating all seventy-two books in this study and the discovery that there are five books that are smaller than the subject of our study, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* can still be regarded as a very special achievement. Even after adjusting the dimensions to its larger original size, the book remains undeniably small. It is doubtful, given the overall disparity in the size of Books of Hours, that Pucelle could have deliberately attempted to make the “smallest” book, but he surely must have known that he was making a “smaller than average” book. And although Pucelle’s efforts towards the creation of a small book are not unique, they remain quite extraordinary.

49 (160 mm.), 51 (170 mm.), 53 (139 mm.), 54 (144 mm.), 55 (140 mm.), 58 (152 mm.), 59 (119 mm.), 60 (144 mm.), 61 (162 mm.), 63 (150 mm), 64 (138 mm.), 65 (125 mm.), 67 (157 mm.), 69 (142 mm.), 71 (145 mm.).

¹⁸ Schutzner, 285. This comment was made in specific reference to book #44 (66 mm.)

CHAPTER 4

A Sculptural Inspiration for Miniaturization

In addition to Books of Hours, the medieval lay population also utilized statues and diptychs to assist their devotional practices.¹ Several types of materials were used for these objects, but one of the most desired materials was ivory. And while ivory has always been expensive, it was obtainable during the period of 1250-1350 due to increased contact with the eastern coast of Africa via trade and military campaigns.²

Like Books of Hours, ivory diptychs were popular amongst the laity for personal devotion.³ The diptychs vary considerably in size and amount of imagery, but they can be divided into three basic types: triple register, double register, and paired scene. The triple register diptych is generally the largest of the three, and consists of three rows that might include as many as eighteen separate images contained within distinct architectural spaces.⁴ The double register diptych is predictably smaller than the triple register example and has two rows that usually contain four images.⁵ The third type, the paired scene diptych, is the smallest and has only two images, one on each panel (Fig. 6). Regardless if they were triple or double registered, many ivory diptychs were small enough (4-6" or an average of 127 mm.) to hold in the hands and opened like a book,

¹ My deepest thanks to Dr. Boehm, for suggesting that I examine the similarities between ivory diptychs and this Book of Hours as well as making bibliographic recommendations for more information.

² Peter Barnet, ed., "A Gothic Sculpture in Ivory: An Introduction," in Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 3-4.

³ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴ See Fig. 12: "Diptych with Scenes of the Passion and the Afterlife of Christ," 1250-70, Images in Ivory, 135.

⁵ See Figs. 13 and 14: "Diptych with Scenes of the Passion of Christ," 1280-1300, Images in Ivory, 136-7.

while the larger examples could have been placed on a private altar.⁶ Despite the many types available to the laity, the most common type of ivory diptych owned was the paired scene diptych.⁷

The paired scene diptych is of particular interest to this study because of several similar elements seen in *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*: paired scene format, use of the *grisaille* technique, and size. The combination of these elements in this manuscript suggests the possibility that the paired scene diptych might have influenced Pucelle's design of Jeanne's book.

The first element, the paired scene or double image format, was previously discussed in Chapter 1. But it is useful to recall that prior to this book, the standard format for Books of Hours was to illustrate each cycle separately. For example, scenes from the Passion, such as the Crucifixion would be seen apart from scenes from the Life of the Virgin. In the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* (Fig. 1) however, Pucelle for the first time chose to juxtapose these events similarly to the format seen in the paired scene diptych (Fig. 6). In the Pucelle example, the Annunciation, on the right, is shown opposite the Arrest of Christ, on the left. The diptych juxtaposes The Crucifixion, on the right, to an Adoration of the Virgin scene, on the left. The Adoration of the Virgin is not part of the Life of the Virgin Cycle, but its inclusion in this diptych suggests that it is present for the owner's personal devotional purposes. Another minor similarity seen between these two objects is that both the book and the diptych contain portraits of the

⁶ Harvey Stahl, "Narrative Structure and Content in Some Gothic Ivories of the Life of Christ," in *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, ed. Peter Barbet (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 95.

⁷ Stahl, 102.

woman owner or donor. Not every medieval Book of Hours or paired scene diptych contained such a portrait; the fact that one exists in such an equally small format is quite extraordinary.⁸

The second element, the use of the *grisaille* technique, offers credible support for a connection to ivory diptychs. Several scholars have established a relationship between Pucelle's implementation of *grisaille* and sculptural forms, and more specifically to ivory carving in particular. Harthan has indicated a correspondence between the media in his description of the *grisaille* seen in the books' miniatures "as delicate as ivory carvings."⁹ Additionally, Ferber believes that Pucelle's *grisaille* technique provides the figures with the solidity associated with monumental sculpture.¹⁰ And Gould further strengthens the connection between the two techniques by suggesting that Pucelle might have been involved in designs for ivories.¹¹ While the precise reason for the implementation of *grisaille* in this manuscript is unknown, Avril's assertion that it is included purely for aesthetic reasons can be questioned if we consider that Pucelle may have intentionally designed his figures to emulate the look and feel of ivory carvings.¹² When we compare the *Betrayal of Christ* folio (Fig. 1) to the diptych (Fig. 6) we can see how the use of this technique really does appear sculptural in its use of dark and light shades of gray. As an

⁸ It should be mentioned that besides the paired scene diptych seen in Fig. 5, there was only one other example of a donor portrait that was discovered through the course of my research. *Diptych with the Virgin and Child and the Crucifixion*, German, 14th century, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (17.190.293). The donor in this example was shown on the right panel next to the Virgin in the Crucifixion scene.

⁹ Harthan, 40.

¹⁰ Ferber, 71.

¹¹ Gould, "Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art," 51.

¹² Avril, 15.

artist interested in a variety of artistic mediums, it is possible that Pucelle could have been influenced by ivory diptychs for the sculptural use of grisaille seen in this book.

The third element, the size of the paired diptychs, provides the most persuasive evidence for the inspiration of an ivory model for Jeanne's book. Recall that in Chapter 3 it was demonstrated that the average Book of Hours ranges in height from 150-200 mm., with an overall average of 175 mm. It was also shown how rare the original 99 mm. height of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* is in comparison to most other contemporary books. And while this reduced scale was unusual for books, it was not for paired scene ivory diptychs. Fig. 7 illustrates the size comparison between the average Book of Hours, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, and forty-five paired scene ivory diptychs made during the first half of the fourteenth century.¹³

The diptychs range in size from 60 mm. to 172 mm. in height. The average height of all diptychs seen in Fig. 7 is 106 mm. Note that this measurement is less than the overall average of 127 mm. discussed above, but remember that these particular diptychs are the smaller paired scenes and not one of the triple register diptychs that would include three rows of images and would, therefore be inherently larger. However, when compared to Books of Hours, we notice that all paired scene diptychs are smaller than the average Book of Hours and twenty-one are equal to or smaller than *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*.¹⁴ For example, the diptych seen in Fig. 6 measures 90 mm. in height

¹³ The source for this part of the study was Koechlin, 2: 164-233. Table II provides specific information about each diptych.

¹⁴ The following diptychs are equal to or smaller than Jeanne's book: #1 (85 mm.), 3 (88 mm.), 5 (86 mm.), 7 (80 mm.), 8 (80 mm.), 9 (81 mm.), 10 (70 mm.), 16 (87 mm.), 18 (100 mm.), 20 (92 mm.), 21 (76 mm.), 22 (60 mm.), 24 (90 mm.), 27 (97 mm.), 28 (92 mm.), 29 (88 mm.), 34 (63 mm.), 35 (70 mm.), 37 (92 mm.), 42 (92 mm.), 45 (100 mm.).

and is very close in size to Jeanne's equally small 99 mm. book. When all three elements, paired scene format, grisaille, and size are combined, the similarities between the book and the ivory diptychs are unquestionable.

In conclusion, it is important to remember that during the time Pucelle made Jeanne's book (1324-28), ivory diptychs were at the peak of their production. And as an extremely creative artist living and working in Paris, he must have been aware of their popularity. Considering Pucelle's interest in other artistic mediums, it is certainly possible that the illuminator could have utilized the small, paired scene diptych as an inspiration for *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*. And even though Jeanne's book and an ivory diptych are made from different materials, Pucelle's artistic talent provides a stylistic unity between the mediums of manuscript illumination and ivory carving.

CHAPTER 5

Optical Influences on Size

During a recent exhibition of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, the manuscript was unbound for the first time in many years and visitors were offered unprecedented access to this very small book.¹ Using magnifying glasses, visitors could now inspect many of the details seen in the manuscript. Even though the main miniatures and text were quite visible without enhancement, the marginalia were not. It was astonishing to inspect the tiny, controlled brushstrokes as well as discover how spontaneous and vibrant the details become under magnification. It seems as if, through magnification, Pucelle reveals an entirely new world to the viewer. But how was Pucelle able to work on such a small scale? And what kinds of magnification tools were available to him as a medieval artist? This chapter will attempt to solve these questions through an examination of the increasing interest in optics during the Middle Ages in order to offer a possible link between the artist and area of optical theories and inventions.

Medieval optics, or *perspectiva*, pertains to the study of vision. Greek studies in optics had relied upon geometry, but during the Middle Ages, Christians, like their Arab predecessors, utilized empirical observation to study optical science.² The most prominent Arab treatise on optics was *Kitah al-Manazir*, written by Alhazen during the

¹ *Prayer Book for a Queen: The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, April 7-July 5, 1998 and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, May 11-August 29, 1999.

² Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., *The Renaissance Discovery of Linear Perspective* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), 65.

eleventh century. Over time it became the primary resource for thirteenth century optical investigation in the West.³

One of the most influential thirteenth century medieval optical investigators was the English Franciscan, Roger Bacon (ca. 1213–ca. 1291). Bacon joined the Franciscan order in 1257 and taught mathematics, perspective, and philosophy at the University of Paris between 1257 and 1266. Bacon’s treatise, *Opus Majus*, stresses the importance of obtaining an understanding of nature and its properties, which in turn will culminate in expanding our knowledge of God.⁴

In Part 5 of the *Opus Majus*, Bacon addresses optical science, magnitude and magnification. Information regarding how the refraction of light could be used to magnify distant objects was known in the thirteenth century, but in this book, Bacon makes a new reference to the magnifying lens:⁵

“If a man looks at letters or other small objects through the medium of a crystal or of glass or of some other transparent body placed above the letters, and it is the smaller part of a sphere whose convexity is toward the eye, and the eye is in the air, he will see the letters much better and they will appear larger to him... Therefore this instrument is useful to the aged and to those with weak eyes. For they can see a letter, no matter how small, sufficiently enlarged.”⁶

³ Ibid., 73.

⁴ Jeremiah M.G. Hackett, “Roger Bacon” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, 13 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1982), 2: 37.

⁵ David C. Lindberg, “Lenses and Eyeglasses,” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, 13 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1982), 7: 538-39.

⁶ Robert Belle Burke, trans., *The Opus Majus* by Roger Bacon, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928), 2: 574.

According to Lindberg, this passage demonstrates that such magnifying lenses were used for reading or close examination of small objects during the second half of the thirteenth century.⁷

Lenses may have been used for general magnification and reading purposes, but their use must have been rather awkward for other needs. The solution to this problem was discovered in 1286, twenty years after Bacon's *Opus Majus*, with the invention of eyeglasses. One of the earliest references to eyeglasses is found in a quote by the Italian author Sandra di Popozo, who in 1289 clearly defined the need for the assistance of lenses: "I am so debilitated by age that without the glasses known as spectacles, I would no longer be able to read and write."⁸ Additional corroboration for the date of this invention is found in the comments made by the Florentine Dominican friar, Giordano da Rivalto, during a 1306 sermon: "It is not twenty years since there was found the art of making eyeglasses which make for good vision, one of the best arts and most necessary the world has."⁹ Although this passage attests to the use of eyeglasses, it does not specify who used them. For example, was its use limited only to the clergy or wealthy elderly readers who required such magnification aids? Or, was its use more widespread? Were eyeglasses or other magnification tools used in manuscript production?

Meiss suggests that not just readers would have found spectacles or magnification equipment helpful; spectacles would also have been especially useful to illuminators. He stresses that to the naked eye, some miniatures appear to be only a patch of color, but

⁷ Lindberg, 539.

⁸ Alberta Kelley, Lenses, Spectacle, Eyeglasses and Contacts: The Story of Vision Aids (New York: Elsevier/Nelson Books, 1978), 21.

⁹ Edward Rosen, "The Invention of Eyeglasses," Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences 11 (1956): 26-29.

under magnification they can look quite different: "...a network of tiny strokes of different hues, laid neatly and with obvious control side by side."¹⁰ Furthermore, Meiss states that this equipment "would have been enormously helpful... in this period of an art of exquisite finish and microscopic form."¹¹ This notion therefore, offers a compelling possible solution to how Pucelle was able to work on such a small scale as well as why the tiniest details appear so vibrant under magnification.

Other support for Pucelle's access to information about magnification can be traced to his probable trip to Italy in the 1320's. While there he would have had direct access to the Italian perspective painting of Duccio in Siena.¹² This connection with Duccio is significant because Italian interest in perspective painting reflects the growing attention at that time to geometry and the development of medieval optics.¹³ Whether eyeglasses were invented in Pisa or Venice, if Pucelle did indeed travel to Italy he would have had optimum access to this invention, particularly since it had been at least thirty years since their creation.¹⁴ In addition, the timing of this trip in the early 1320's coincides perfectly with his return to Paris and the creation of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* (1324-1328). Therefore, it is certainly possible that while in Italy he might have obtained a lens or a pair of spectacles for use in his Paris workshop as well as for the illumination of his next important commission of the queen's new prayer book.

¹⁰ Meiss, 1: 5.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Avril, 17; Ferber, 67; Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 6; Panofsky, 1: 30.

¹³ Crombie, *Science in the Middle Ages: V-XIII Centuries*, vol. 1 of *Medieval and Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 113. Dr. Boehm points out that Pucelle would not have had to travel to Italy to learn about magnification. And while this is true, the Italian interest in perspective combined with the invention of eyeglasses lends further support to this correlation.

¹⁴ Rosen, 217. Recall also, that Morales has recently questioned, "how he could paint such tiny pictures without the use of a powerful magnifying glass." Morales, 1.

Apart from Siena, some researchers claim that Pucelle visited other cities while in Italy. Morand states that Pucelle traveled to Florence and that “it is probable that he may have gone as far as Rome.”¹⁵ Ferber, on the other hand, argues that the artist also visited the Tuscan city of Pistoia.¹⁶ Considering the distance of his travels, it is certainly likely that Pucelle might have seen eyeglasses--if not in Pisa, then in some other city in the region.

Pucelle may have indeed used a magnification tool to assist his illuminations in the queen’s book, but it is unknown if Jeanne used similar aids to help her see the illustrations. This is an important point because as a prayer book, the book’s small size and its equally smaller illustrations would influence the owner’s devotional practices. The next chapter, therefore, will examine how the book’s size would affect the its use.

¹⁵ Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 7.

¹⁶ Ferber, 67.

CHAPTER 6

Sized for Private Devotion

The Gothic era is widely known for the religious art created for public worship in the cathedral. But it has also been described as the era of the private image, in which there was an increasing desire to possess images and books for private devotion.¹ The cause for this shift in religious outlook can be found in the longing for a different type of spirituality that was more emotional and personal.² In the thirteenth century, the Mendicant Orders preached emotional piety to growing numbers of the lay population who wished to emulate the prayers of the clergy and form a more personal relationship with Christ. In contrast to early medieval emphasis on God as a judge, in which battles for souls were waged between Christ and the devil, later medieval writers emphasized Christ's humanity. Consequently, the war for the faithful was no longer conducted on a cosmic scale; it was now waged within the individual.³ The lay population therefore, would require personal and private devotional tools that would assist them to form a more personal relationship with Christ.

¹ Hans Belting, Likeness and Presence, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 409-10.

² Francis Oakley, The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1979), 87.

³ Caroline Walker Bynum, Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 16. Eugène Honée, "Image and Imagination in the Medieval Culture of Prayer: A Historical Perspective," in The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages, 1300-1500, ed. Henk van Os (London: Merrell Holberton, 1994), 164.

The development of Books of Hours proved to be an ideal tool for this type of private devotion.⁴ These books included devotional scenes that had once been restricted to the public space of the cathedral, where one would look at the sculpture seen on the outside of the building on one of its tympana or jambs. Inside the cathedral, the individual would also be able to view the religious stories illustrated in the many stained glass windows. Often there would be considerable distance between the viewer and the art seen in these religious public spaces and most individuals would have to share this viewing experience with many of their fellow worshippers.

Private devotional images are much different; they are not monumental in scale and are not part of a shared and remote viewing experience. Instead, these smaller devotional images are transformed from their public monumental counterparts when held in the hands of a single individual in the private domain. They can now assist the individual in his/her own personal prayers and meditation.⁵

Medieval women in particular, had a distinctive relationship with private devotion and ownership of Books of Hours. Of course, this is not to say that men did not participate in both activities, because they certainly did. But for women, whose involvement in public devotion was limited, the opportunity to pray in private proved to be deeply significant.⁶

The purpose of this chapter is first, to examine how the size of Books of Hours was influenced by the practice of private devotion and medieval social factors, with

⁴ Honèe, 161-64.

⁵ Henk van Os, ed., The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages, 1300-1500 (London: Merrell Holberton, 1994), 25.

⁶ Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," Signs 7, no. 4 (1982): 752.

particular emphasis on the significance of this relationship for medieval women and secondly, to provide information on Jeanne d'Evreux which will place her within the historical context of the book's creation. Third, it will explore her relationship to the book as well as offer a hypothesis on why *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* specifically, is smaller than most Books of Hours.

Several scholars have stated that it became customary during the Middle Ages for a woman to receive a Book of Hours as a wedding gift from her new husband.⁷ The new bride would own this book for the rest of her life, and over time, the book would acquire deeper meaning as its prayers provided a continual source of spiritual support and instruction, and its marginalia offered the owner occasional diversion from her prayers.⁸

The main miniatures contained within a Book of Hours were intended to illustrate the most important scenes of the life of the Virgin and Christ's Passion, such as the Annunciation and the Crucifixion respectively. These images were far more important than just mere illustrations however; they also functioned as useful tools for meditation.⁹

One source for the increased interest in images and meditation can be traced to a popular late thirteenth century text entitled *Meditationes vitae Christi* (Meditations on the Life of Christ). Written for a nun by a Franciscan friar, this book introduces an extended

⁷ Ibid., 753; Harthan, 34; Sandra Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," in Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence, eds. Jane H.M. Taylor and Lesley Smith (London: The British Library, 1996), 270. Penketh states that "many [Books of Hours] were commissioned for women on the occasion of their marriage..." She cites the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux and the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 242) as two of the earliest examples.

⁸ Bell, 754

⁹ Wieck, 28.

narrative on the events surrounding Christ's life.¹⁰ The purpose of these added details was to assist the nun in experiencing the events as personally as possible in order to become an active participant at the events.¹¹ Or, as the friar himself describes: "...be present...and attentive to everything...for, herein lies the whole strength of these contemplations."¹² Gazing at these images while holding a private Book of Hours will prove to be a powerful tool for this personal approach to prayer as well as a tool for the Church's instruction of women.

The goal of prayer before an image was to produce an inner image, which in turn could transport the individual towards a mystical union with God.¹³ However, not everyone was capable of reaching such lofty heights of religious ecstasy. This experience was usually limited to mystics or saints, and not to the prayers of the layperson. But even if the owner were unable to attain this measurable level of spiritual success, a Book of Hours would nevertheless indicate that she led a pious and reflective life.¹⁴

How then, does the meditative experience intensify when a portrait of the book's owner is included in one of the miniatures? Such a portrait would typically be found in the *Annunciation* (Fig.1), located at the beginning of the Little Office of the Virgin. In this example, Jeanne can be seen kneeling at her *prie-dieu* within the letter "D", directly below the archangel Gabriel. She would see herself present with the Virgin at the most significant moment of the Virgin's life—the incarnation of Christ. In this regard, the

¹⁰ Isa Ragusa, trans., *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, by Saint Bonaventura (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), xxii.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹² *Ibid.*, 50.

¹³ Belting, 410-12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 411.

image now functions to encourage the female viewer to participate in an emotional atmosphere of communication and dialogue with the Virgin.¹⁵

For the female owner, this close association with the Virgin would have particular meaning. At the precise moment of divine submission, the Virgin demonstrates to the female the important qualities of motherhood and humility.¹⁶ When the image is considered with a passage from the Franciscan text, the message of the Virgin Mary as a model for a woman's behavior would be clearly understood by a new bride. The text is filled with direct instructions to the reader to emulate the Virgin's behavior at the moment of the Annunciation: "Learn by this example to remain silent and to love taciturnity, as this virtue is great and very beneficial... Thus you may learn by her example to be modest and humble, because without these attributes, virginity is worth little."¹⁷ Although this text was written specifically for a nun, it should be noted that the association between the Virgin and a new bride would have deeper significance for the bride because Mary herself was not a nun, she was a holy laywoman.¹⁸ Therefore, the Virgin's perfection appears as an ideal model for a new wife to emulate.

It is no surprise then, considering the popularity of private prayer books, that personal use would influence the size of Books of Hours. Recall that as a prayer book, it was designed to be used daily during the eight Canonical Hours. Therefore, it was necessary that books required for personal prayer and private study be smaller in order to

¹⁵ Penketh, 271.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ragusa, 17-19.

¹⁸ Joanna E. Ziegler, "Reality as Imitation: The Role of Religious Imagery Among the Beguines of the Low Countries," in *Maps of Flesh and Light: The Religious Experience of Medieval Women Mystics*, ed. Ulrike Wiethaus (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 123.

increase their portability and handling. But in addition to the practice of private devotion, other medieval social influences may have also determined the small size of these books.

Occasionally ownership of these expensive books was criticized as an obvious display of a luxurious worldly possession. The French court poet Eustache Duchamps (1346-1406) scornfully described how women who wished to own a Book of Hours were often more motivated by the opportunity for public display of their wealth than by a pious spirit.

A book of hours, too, must be mine,
Where subtle workmanship will shine,
Of gold and azure, rich and smart,
Arranged and painted with great art,
Covered with fine brocade gold;
And there must be, so as to hold
The pages closed, two golden clasps.¹⁹

The combination of religious piety and public display might be viewed as paradoxical in the early fourteenth century, particularly when we consider that in 1274 Pope Gregory X had issued a proclamation prohibiting “immoderate ornamentation” throughout the Christian world.²⁰ Perhaps in response to this proclamation, many women from the more affluent social classes started to join new religious orders during the thirteenth century. It seems that this movement was largely due to “anxiety about their wealth and status.”²¹

¹⁹ Penketh, 269.

²⁰ Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 26.

²¹ Bynum, 183.

However, in the twelfth century, Abbot Suger stated that the use of luxurious materials would also “brighten the minds” of the viewer.²² In so doing, the beauty of these materials would enable the viewer to be “transported from this inferior to that higher world in an anagogical manner.” A balance therefore, was achieved between these two opposing viewpoints through the reduction in size of these expensive books. This point would be all the more significant for noble medieval women because the conspicuous display of luxurious items was considered to confirm the importance of their social, economic, and political position in society.²³

There is another reason that might also explain why these small prayer books were so desirable to medieval women. Recent research suggests an intriguing connection between women and the nature of medieval privacy. *De Secretis Mulierum*, a popular book written in the late thirteenth-century by Albertus Magnus, discusses how women’s desire to conceal is an integral component of their feminine state.²⁴ During the Middle Ages, the ideas of secrecy and privacy were far more synonymous than they are currently understood to be. Today, one who seeks privacy does not necessarily do so just to be secretive. In contrast, during the Middle Ages, the desire for privacy was considered not only to be more covert but also associated with the secrecy of divine mystery.²⁵

The idea of covert behavior is all the more interesting when we discover that French legal terminology defines married women as *femme coverts*, derived from the

²² Erwin Panofsky, trans., *Abbot Suger and his Art Treasures on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 23.

²³ Hunt, 84.

²⁴ Karma Lochrie, *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 120-22.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 136.

verb *covrir*, which means to cover, hide, conceal.²⁶ When this idea is applied to medieval women's ownership of small Books of Hours, we must consider a provocative perspective to the notion of private devotion. In this sense, the practice of private prayer can be regarded as a secretive act whose goal is to attain the mysteries of the divine. It may appear contradictory that a husband would willingly provide his wife with a small book to be used in such a secretive manner. But since these books were designed to be used for prayer and to provide her with the necessary tools to encourage her emulation of the Virgin, they were considered to be a suitable possession for a woman.

And even though at times publicly displayed, the simple task of repeatedly opening and closing such a small book becomes an extremely intimate act and enhances the sense of privacy.²⁷ Some books were small enough to slip into a pocket, out of public view, yet still remain physically close to and felt by the female owner.

The practice of private devotion and medieval social influences provides an explanation for why Books of Hours in general were small, but why was *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* so much smaller than average? In order to answer this question, it will be necessary to explore Jeanne's historical background and the relationship to her book.

As previously discussed, Jeanne's book was commissioned by her husband, Charles IV, as a possible wedding or coronation gift. And while this type of wedding gift is an early example of what will later be a common practice, it might have had even more significance for the young queen. Little is known about Jeanne d'Evreux's early life

²⁶ Ibid., 139-40.

²⁷ Schutzner, 285. This point is particularly true for the smaller Books of Hours that women wore attached to their belts during the second half of the fourteenth century. Also recall that this is yet another shared similarity with the equally small paired scene ivory diptychs discussed in Chapter 4.

(d.1371); she first comes to our attention as the young wife of her cousin, Charles IV (b.1294, reigned 1322-28), whom she married in 1324.²⁸

The choice of Jeanne as a suitable wife is surrounded by scandal and a crisis that jeopardized the continuation of the Capetian dynasty.²⁹ Historically, the Capetians were known to be loyal husbands with productive marriages. The monarchy, in contrast to the anarchy that often surrounded it, was recognized for its principle of order.³⁰ After almost four hundred years of consecutive rule however, the royal family's reputation for respectability and stability would be severely undermined through the threat of scandal.

In 1314, following a series of accusations, Philippe IV (b.1268, reigned 1285-1314) arrested the wives of his three sons on charges of adultery. The sons were Louis, the future Louis X, (b.1289, reigned 1314-16), Philippe, later Philippe V (b.1293, reigned 1316-22), and Charles, who became Charles IV (b.1294, reigned 1322-28).³¹ All three women were found guilty and imprisoned after their accused lovers were summarily castrated and executed.³² Charles' wife, Blanche of Burgundy, was eventually released and retired to a convent. She died there in 1326, after being renounced by her husband in 1322.³³

²⁸ Holladay, 602. Jeanne's is speculated to be 14 years of age at the time of her marriage to Charles IV. Once again, this age based upon the belief that she was born 1310/11 (See Chapter 1, f.n. 10. However, Dr. Boehm insists that this date is speculative and if it is accurate, Jeanne should not be regarded as a "child bride." Boehm, E-mail to author, 4 May 2001.

²⁹ Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987-1328)* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), 13. The Capetian dynasty began when Hugh Capet became king of France in 987. The dynasty included a total of fourteen kings, including Saint Louis (Louis IX) and concludes in 1328 with the death of Charles IV.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 52.

³¹ Caviness, 335.

³² *Ibid.*, 336.

³³ Fawtier., 52.

The punishment of the three women offers an intriguing insight into the importance of moral values at the Capetian court. Scandals rarely occurred throughout the Capetian dynasty and a disgraceful incident that involved all three of the king's sons had to be dealt with swiftly and severely. Therefore, what is most striking about Philip IV's reaction to the adultery scandal is the degree to which he was prepared to publicly expose the royal family. Or, as Fawtier states, "Morality could hardly demand more."³⁴ This point of view was certainly supported by the fact that the most prominent Capetian, Louis IX (b.1214, reigned 1226-70) had been recently canonized in 1297, and it was imperative that family members remember that their dynasty had produced a saint.³⁵ Consequently, whether for political or moral reasons, Philippe IV had to take decisive action in order to protect and maintain the dynasty.

Aside from the adultery scandal, there was another concern that threatened the continuity of the Capetian dynasty. Following Philippe IV's death in 1314, his two oldest sons had reigned in succession and neither had provided a living male heir. By the time Charles IV became king in 1322 he had repudiated his first wife and immediately remarried. His marriage to Marie de Luxembourg would only last a short time however, due to her death after childbirth in 1324.³⁶ Despite these two marriages, Charles was still without a male heir to ensure the family line.

A considerable amount of apprehension for the continuation of the Capetian dynasty must have existed at the time of Charles' marriage to Jeanne. Now thirty years

³⁴ Ibid., 54.

³⁵ Ibid., 52-59.

³⁶ Holladay, 603.

old, Charles IV was confronted with the critical task of finding an appropriate wife to provide a son to succeed him as king. The solution to this dilemma was found in the selection of Jeanne d'Evreux as Charles IV's third wife. Concern for the continuation of the dynasty is evident in the fact that the wedding ceremony occurred only four months after Marie's death. The haste of their nuptials is all the more remarkable when we consider that since they were cousins the marriage required a papal dispensation.³⁷ In many ways Jeanne would prove to be the ideal choice to assume this enormous responsibility.

Although little is known about Jeanne's youth, we do know that at the time of her marriage, Watriquet de Couvin described her beauty and goodness in the poem, *Li mireoirs as dames*. Praise continued after her death in 1371-2, when the Chevalier de la Tour Landry commemorated Jeanne by describing her piety, "which was wise of holy life and much charitable."³⁸ Years later in 1405, Jeanne's piety was yet again acknowledged by Christine de Pizan, who wrote: "Jeanne rose before dawn, lit a candle, said her prayers, and then attended mass as frequently as possible."³⁹ Even though the two latter quotes were written after her death, they reveal the importance of religion in Jeanne's life. Given the tremendous humiliation that publicly exposed the monarchy, it is not surprising that Jeanne's extreme devoutness and her kinship to Saint Louis might have been highly influential factors in her choice as Charles' third wife.

³⁷ Caviness, 337.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 605.

³⁹ Carla Lord, "Jeanne d'Evreux as a Founder of Chapels: Patronage and Public Piety," in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs*, ed. Cynthia Lawrence (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 21. Lord's research cites many examples of religious patronage that continued throughout Jeanne's life.

As queen, Jeanne's primary responsibilities were to provide male heirs in order to maintain the dynastic line, to manage the royal household, to participate in state ceremonial functions and in charitable activities, and when required to travel within the domain.⁴⁰ However, during her reign as queen, Jeanne never traveled far from Paris.⁴¹ Her piety and behavior must have been a refreshing change from the scandal that preceded her because she set new standards in an era that desperately needed an impeccable moral atmosphere.⁴²

The details of Jeanne d'Evreux's education are unknown. It is likely that her instruction included literary works that stressed the importance of charity and works of mercy as appropriate activities for women.⁴³ It is also possible that at the time of her marriage she was literate, because by the thirteenth-century, most children (both boys and girls) from the nobility learned a limited amount of Latin. And as a member of the royal family, Jeanne most likely would have received some clerical tutoring, which suggests additional access to Latin.⁴⁴

When we attempt to evaluate Jeanne d'Evreux's relationship to her book, we begin to discover why it was such a suitable gift for this young woman. The book, while typical in so many ways, was also very suitable for her alone. Recall that even though her book is small, it was covered with embroidery and tiny pearls and therefore,

⁴⁰ Marion F. Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," in Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, 12 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), 5: 3

⁴¹ Lord, 22.

⁴² Ibid., 36.

⁴³ Holladay, 601-2.

⁴⁴ Penketh, 270.

particularly opulent.⁴⁵ It is not only a prayer book then, but also an object of wealth. The combination of these two functions is consistent with the above discussion about medieval sumptuary laws and the desire to achieve a balance between a display of piety and a display of luxury. Remember, that because this is a book made for a queen it must also confirm her social and political position.⁴⁶ But the small size is also an appropriate choice for a pious young woman who has unexpectedly become her cousin's third wife. She faces the tremendous responsibility of providing a male heir in order to continue the Capetian line, while at all times maintaining the decorum suitable to a great granddaughter of St. Louis.⁴⁷ The luxuriousness and the small size of her prayer book therefore, demonstrate a balance between the display necessary for a new Capetian queen and the owner's piety and humility.

And as previously stated in Chapter 3, the small size of this book was extremely rare and we do not know who, if anyone, commissioned its specific size. However, due to the circumstances that surrounded this royal marriage, it is certainly likely that Pucelle was either asked or chose to make something very special for the new queen. In either case, the superior quality of its contents attests to the fact that the artist must have been acutely aware of the significance of this commission. Originally measuring only 99 mm. in height, this book held in Jeanne's hands would surely have provided an extremely private devotional experience for the new bride as well as a respite from her many responsibilities.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 1, f.n. 7.

⁴⁶ Hunt, 84.

⁴⁷ Holladay, 603.

As a devotional book, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* is consistent with other small Books of Hours in terms of its portability, privacy, and luxuriousness. The abundant images, in particular her own portrait included with the Virgin and her great-grandfather (Figs. 1 and 2), would assist the owner's meditation and encourage her to become an active participant in the events shown. It is difficult to imagine a more appropriate gift for an important new queen than this exquisite little book.

CHAPTER 7

Size and Visual Experience

Looking at a small book is not a passive activity; it requires the full attention of the viewer. Yet when a book as tiny as *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* is considered, scholars often seem to overlook the visual relationship between the book and the viewer. According to Donovan, a book this size requires that its owner possess “exceptionally good eyesight” in order to fully comprehend its contents.¹ And while it is obvious that a small book would contain proportionately smaller images, the role of the viewer is usually not acknowledged as an integral element in the analysis of this book. In other words, how would a reduction in size affect the viewer’s experience? And would this visual experience influence the owner’s prayer and meditation?

The purpose of this chapter therefore, is to explore the relationship between size and visual experience through an examination of how the small size of this book affects the visual experience of its female owner. In order to accomplish this goal it will be necessary to study the visual effect of small images, visual perspective in medieval culture, the relationship between small images and prayer, and most importantly how all these factors relate to *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*.

In the attempt to evaluate how the small size of this book and its even smaller images would affect the viewer’s experience, it is necessary to concede the impossibility of thoroughly reconstructing precisely how the images would have been understood by

¹ Donovan, 151.

the original owner. Certainly, in addition to its primary role as a prayer book, the book's small size must have been an object of wonder to the medieval viewer. Objects such as these were much admired during the Middle Ages for their ability to captivate the viewer's attention as well as carry them far away from the ordinary aspects of daily life.² In terms of the magnification tools that Pucelle might have used, Roger Bacon cites optical devices specifically as "especially marvelous" because "we may read the smallest letters at an incredible distance, we may see objects however small they may be..."³ And even though the book has been trimmed, the size of the smallest illustrations remain untouched. Therefore, in spite of the centuries that distance the modern observer from the creation of this book, it is certain that what appeared marvelously small to the human eye then, still has the capacity to astound us by its tiny scale today.

It is important to stress that a reduction in size does not result in a less significant experience for the viewer.⁴ In order to enter this miniaturized world the viewer must focus her attention to facilitate becoming part of the setting or event. This transcendence from the natural world to the miniaturized world would transform this diminutive book into what has been described as a talisman that would provide the viewer with a deeper level of meaning.⁵

According to Susan Stewart, the miniature is "a world of arrested time" because when the viewer focuses on such a small space it underscores the contrast between the

² Edgar De Bruyne, *The Esthetics of the Middle Ages* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1969), 188; Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 32.

³ Roger Bacon, *Roger Bacon's Letter Concerning the Marvelous Power of Art and of Nature and Concerning the Nullity of Magic* (Easton, Pa.: Chemical Publishing Company, 1923), 28.

⁴ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 43.

⁵ Stahl, 96-97. Stahl is referring to both small books and diptychs.

activity of the outside world and the stillness of the miniature world. And when we attend to this still and timeless place, the outside world stops and we are able to become completely absorbed in its miniature space.⁶ Therefore, when the owner holds this book in her hands, at close range, in the privacy of her own home or chapel, she no longer regards the scene as she would in a public setting, sharing the viewing experience with others. Instead, she can now have a far more private viewing experience and feel free to consider herself as part of the scene.

If this experience is applicable to small books, then it must be especially true for an exceptionally smaller book like *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*. Support for this opinion can be found in the following description of the manuscript: "... its tiny size... sets the stage for an intense and extremely intimate experience. When grasped in the hand it is almost worn, rather than carried, as if it were a jewel or an article of clothing. Familiarity with its pages is like the knowledge of the parts of one's body, particularly the hand, in which the manuscript becomes an extension of the person and her feelings, and is recognized as if reading one's own palm."⁷ Although this passage clearly describes the intimate physical relationship between this small book and its owner, it does not address what the visual experience would be.

Recall that the primary purpose of this book is to fulfill the owner's devotional needs of prayer and meditation. As a prayer book, both the text and images are equally important to assist the owner in her prayers. As we have seen in the *Meditations*, it was

⁶ Stewart, 67.

⁷ Jeffrey M. Hoffeld, "An Image of St. Louis and the Structuring of Devotion," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 29, no. 6 (1971): 261.

essential for the reader to imagine herself present at the events described.⁸ Likewise, in her Book of Hours, the female owner was urged to re-create through visualization, a mental image of the words she read.⁹ This sort of private visualization would prove to be an indispensable part of medieval prayer by encouraging the notion of intimate communication and emotion.¹⁰

Because of their daily use, Books of Hours were an ideal devotional tool. Not only could the owner reflect upon the prayers, but also the images would typically support the prayer's message. As stated in the previous chapter, the reliance upon images played a crucial role in assisting the owner to achieve the desired goal in her prayers: a mystical union with God. The owner would pray before an image, which in turn would produce an inner image, and hopefully produce a mystical experience.¹¹

The importance of the utilization of images in this manner cannot be overestimated for a fourteenth century owner of a Book of Hours. Beginning with the Scholastic movement, the idea of worship before images was believed to be an effective way of arousing the viewer's emotions.¹² More specifically, in the thirteenth century John of Genoa in *The Catholicon* wrote that images "excite feelings of devotion, these being aroused more effectively by things seen than by things heard."¹³ This attitude was particularly relevant for the medieval worshipper because of the intense longing to experience a mystical vision. At the very least, images were able to instruct the viewer,

⁸ Ragusa, 50.

⁹ Penketh, 266.

¹⁰ Ibid., 273-74.

¹¹ Belting, 411-12.

¹² Ibid., 411.

¹³ Margaret R. Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 66.

but at their most effective, they had the ability to assist the viewer's spiritual meditation.¹⁴ Images therefore, could not only inspire the devotion and emotion of the viewer, they also facilitated the viewer's ability to concentrate visually and ultimately realize a mystical experience.¹⁵

To someone from the fourteenth century, the suggestion of mental transcendence from the natural to the spiritual world was not absurd at all as it might seem to the modern observer. During this time the general public had more access to religious texts and paintings than ever before.¹⁶ Medieval theology appears to have supported the idea of mental transcendence among the laity. According to M.D. Chenu, lay worship based upon the monastic model found that matter or nature could be "transfigured into something sacred by a mental transport free of constraint imposed by the objective laws of the universe."¹⁷ As a result, people did not question religious visions through the transcendence from the natural to the spiritual world. Quite the opposite, they expected to have them.¹⁸

Consequently, when a small book containing equally smaller images is understood within the act of prayer it is essential to attempt to understand what the viewer's visual experience would be. When the viewer holds a small book and prays before a very small image, the ability to become part of this painted space means that the viewer must transcend the natural world in order to enter the spiritual world shown by the

¹⁴ Ibid., 67

¹⁵ Ibid., 66.

¹⁶ Miles, 73.

¹⁷ M.D. Chenu, Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 305.

¹⁸ Miles, 67.

image and described by the text. The viewer of a small image, according to Stewart, “is not in either world, but rather moves between them, and thereby moves between varieties of partial and transcendent vision.”¹⁹ In this respect, because the image is small and the viewer must focus her attention in order to clearly see it, such concentration will greatly assist her goal of attaining a spiritual experience.

When the ideas of devotional images and spiritual transcendence are applied to *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, we can only just begin to understand how mesmerizing this book must have been to the original owner. The simple task of holding the book in one's hands becomes a deeply intimate experience. And gazing at the small miniatures and the even smaller marginalia requires no less than the complete concentration of the viewer. This small prayer book might have been a useful tool, like that described in Bonaventure's *Meditations*, to focus her concentration and assist her transcendence from the natural world to the spiritual realm in order to achieve a mystical religious experience. This connection to the Franciscan saint may have held particular meaning for Jeanne because of her interest in learning and preference for the Franciscan Spirituals.²⁰

For her effort, she was able to enter the main space of the miniatures that depict the images described in the text of the manuscript. This process would be aided by the inclusion of two portraits on two separate folios, *The Annunciation* (Fig. 1) and *A Miracle of Saint Louis* (Fig. 2). We can only speculate as to how meaningful it was to Jeanne to have her portrait appear in both locations. The incarnation of Christ was the most private

¹⁹ Stewart, 44-45.

²⁰ J.N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 173. In addition, Dr. Boehm stresses that *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* is of Dominican Use and that Jeanne favored both the Dominicans and Franciscans.

and important moment in the life of the Virgin, and the addition of the owner would enhance the meaning of this event for the new queen's hopes for an heir.²¹ Similarly, her portrait also is seen on the opening folio of *The Hours of Saint Louis*. In addition to paying homage to the saint, the depiction of Jeanne and St. Louis accentuates her and Charles' connection with their mutual great-grandfather.²²

The tiny scale of Jeanne's portraits must have also delighted her immensely. To see herself reduced in size to this most precious scale must have increased Jeanne's curiosity to fully view this folio. Looking closely, she was rewarded with a vast array of exceptionally minuscule images in the margins. Pucelle's masterful creativity in this area is truly remarkable in his ability to provide a seemingly endless variety of figures. Once again, we are reminded of the intense private qualities of this book and how its original owner must have savored the exploration of such a small and secluded space. After all, in a book as tiny as this, there can only be room for one viewer.

But how was she able to see such tiny images? Even if Pucelle used magnification to make this book, it is unknown if Jeanne used magnification to look at the images it contains. This point is not to be disregarded or treated lightly because if Jeanne had to rely upon her own eyesight to see the images in this book, then we, as researchers and scholars, should make every effort to attempt to reconstruct how she would have seen it. And in order to begin to comprehend the owner's visual experience of this small book it is essential to remember that the physical size of the book is forever linked to its even smaller images.

²¹ Penketh, 272.

²² Holladay, 588.

CHAPTER 8

The Representation and Interpretation of Size in Research Literature

The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux is an exceptionally small book. And despite the fact that it is not the smallest book, it is nevertheless considerably smaller than the majority of Books of Hours made in France during the fourteenth century. It is somewhat of a surprise then, that this most fundamental physical characteristic has never been a specific area of study in the enormous body of research literature.

The purpose of this chapter therefore, is to insist that current researchers consider the issue of size when evaluating the book's contents. This approach not only assists the understanding of the viewer's visual experience by placing the book in its appropriate visual context, but also acknowledges that the full comprehension of its contents, particularly the even smaller marginalia, is far more difficult than researchers have suggested.

In order to facilitate this goal it will be necessary to explore the book's size through an examination of several features that affect how the book is perceived. First, an analysis of the physical aspects of size will be addressed. Second, an assessment of the viewing conditions under which the book would be seen will be considered. And third, the previous two features will be applied to the smallest and most debated element of the book—its marginalia. The purpose of this effort is to evaluate how the current research addresses the ability to see and interpret the images contained within this small book.

Recall that at present the physical size of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* measures only 89 mm. in height. In addition, holding this book has been described as an extremely intimate experience that creates a deep connection between the book and its owner.¹ Most people however, will never be able to experience this degree of intimacy and can only imagine what it would be like to hold such a small book and explore the tiniest details on each page. One photograph (Fig.8) vividly reveals the scale of this book in a manner that no lengthy written description ever could. The effect is instantaneous. Placing a thumb with the manuscript in this photograph creates an immediate correspondence of scale that enables us to begin to understand the physical size in its precise physical context.

The original viewing conditions provide a second area that would affect the owner's visual experience. As a Book of Hours, Jeanne's text was to be read over the eight Canonical Hours of the day: Matins and Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline.² There is a direct correspondence between the time of day and the image seen in both the Hours of the Virgin and Hours of the Passion. For example, for Matins the main miniature of the Hours of the Virgin would open with the Annunciation and the corresponding Hours of the Passion would begin with The Betrayal of Christ.³

In the attempt to understand the original viewing conditions under which this book would have been seen, it is essential to know what kind of lighting existed for the medieval owner. How much natural light was available? Did the reader have to rely on

¹ Hoffeld, 261.

² Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures*, 1: VI. The seven Canonical Hours are as follows: Matins and Lauds (daybreak), Prime (6 a.m.), Terce (9 a.m.), Sext (noon), None (3 p.m.), Vespers (sunset), and Compline (evening).

³ Calkins, 246-48.

candlelight? Firelight? And how would these images look during different times of the day or seasons of the year? Keep in mind that during the recent exhibition of this manuscript, optimum lighting and magnification were utilized in order to help the visitor see all the details as clearly as possible. These ideal viewing conditions were certainly not available to Jeanne d'Evreux in the fourteenth century.

Because this is a devotional book it was likely read in a chapel or an area of a room designated for prayer or quiet meditation.⁴ The dim lighting in these types of spaces makes it uncertain how easily the images would have been seen. For example, the depiction of the Annunciation, which corresponds to Matins, would be seen at daybreak when only limited light is present. This point is particularly significant because from a devotional standpoint, the Annunciation is considered to be the most important image in the cycle.⁵

The Annunciation folio seen in The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux certainly supports this degree of importance. It has many, if not all of the prominent aspects of Pucelle's style that was discussed earlier. Key among these is the abundant marginalia. This single folio contains some of the tiniest figures in the manuscript.⁶ In the past they have been all but ignored, but in recent years there has been growing interest in the function and purpose of these marginal figures. Consequently, it is necessary to explore how the marginalia in this book has been understood in the past and how it is being considered at present.

⁴ Stahl, 95.

⁵ Harthan, 28.

⁶ It is important to note that due to the black and white characteristics of the *grisaille* technique, the tiniest marginalia would be even more difficult to see under dim lighting conditions.

The traditional approach to the marginalia seen in medieval manuscripts has been to regard them as a simple artistic diversion for the reader.⁷ For the most part, they were not considered to possess any specific didactic purpose for the viewer.⁸ Their main function was thought to provide a humorous respite during long hours of daily prayer. However, Randall anticipated a new approach to decoding the marginalia in medieval manuscripts when she stated in 1966: “It is by no means improbable, therefore, that a more devious rationale accounts for the depiction of a seemingly realistic and humorous compositions in the margins...”⁹ This different approach to the interpretation of the marginalia program would be especially true for Jeanne’s book because, according to Randall, the patron’s tastes would have to be taken into consideration, “especially when the book was privately commissioned or intended for a specific purchaser.”¹⁰

A “devious rationale” is an appropriate term to describe the more recent approach to the study of marginalia. No longer looked upon as charming artistic details, scholars such as Michael Camille have cautioned that a simple humorous reading is misguided. He says that these images are in fact, not humorous: “Nothing could be further from their purpose.”¹¹ Instead of understanding them as charming morsels of artistic fancy, we are instead asked to regard these tiny images as sexual euphemisms for an abundance of medieval word play.

⁷ Calkins, 249.

⁸ Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 19.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 38.

It must be stressed that this thesis does not seek to defend or dispute either the traditional or the contemporary interpretation of the meaning of the marginalia seen in medieval manuscripts. What is relevant to this paper is that frequently the marginalia are very small and sometimes difficult to see. Consequently, if a particular tiny illustration is difficult to see because it is so small, then it logically follows that it will not be so easily comprehended.

Marginalia in a little book such as *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* would demand that the viewer look extremely closely in order to fully understand what is being shown, not to mention comprehend its ulterior meaning. Recall Donovan's comment that the images in many of these small books would require "exceptionally good eyesight."¹² This point is unquestionably relevant to Jeanne's manuscript in which some of the marginalia are easily seen and others are not. And therein lies the conflict of the more recent interpretation of the marginalia.

Early scholars of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* have also considered the marginalia to be the whimsical and charming artistic inventions.¹³ And even though the figures are described as "miniscule" it seemed unnecessary to examine their size further or assign any meaning to their existence.¹⁴ Morand, the author of Pucelle's monograph, is particularly captivated by the artist's "tireless investigation into natural appearances." There appears to be no interest in pursuing why Pucelle would create such tiny figures.

¹² Donovan, 151.

¹³ Rorimer, 6-7.

¹⁴ Richard H. Randall, Jr., "Frog in the Middle," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 16, no.10 (1958): 274.

As stated above, the *Annunciation* folio is regarded as the most meaningful devotional image in a Book of Hours and one to which Pucelle devoted great attention. And when combined with the corresponding *Betrayal of Christ* folio, it is probably the most reproduced image published from this manuscript. Therefore, due to its frequent use in the literature and its overall medieval significance, the *Annunciation* folio functions as an ideal example to study how the small size of the marginalia influences the viewer's visual experience and comprehension of these tiny images.

The main miniature consists of the previously discussed Annunciation scene, which Pucelle has depicted in a three-dimensional setting. In the *bas-de-page* area, there is a medieval game taking place, called "frog in the middle." A variety of angels can be seen above in the architectural space, on either side of the page, and below, acting as caryatids supporting the architectural structure. But it is within the letter "D" and in the adjacent area where the smallest figures appear and where there seems to be the greatest difference of opinion as to who or what they are, as well as their purpose. Without magnification the viewer is just barely able to see a small puppy in front of the kneeling queen. On the left, outside the letter "D," there is a sitting figure holding a long club-like pole. In the dense foliage to the left and below her, we see a few extremely tiny figures. It takes a considerable amount of concentration to locate a small monkey clambering up towards another little animal directly above it. Lastly, there are a couple of minuscule and barely detectable figures near the pillow that the youth sits on in the *bas-de-page* area.

Most scholars accept the miniature royal figure within the letter “D” as queen Jeanne.¹⁵ Panofsky, on the other hand, has identified this figure as the king.¹⁶ Is this identification due to a patriarchal perspective or just poor eyesight? In addition, Panofsky refers to the other tiny figures near her feet and shrubbery as diminutive and little, but yet never mentions how difficult they are to see. Even Pucelle must compensate for the extremely minute scale he works within. Note how disproportionately large the book that Jeanne holds is. The artist certainly wanted to indicate that she is holding a book, but if he painted the prayer book relative to her scale it would not have been easily seen. It is clear then, that the small size of these images makes it more difficult to see and interpret them.

In Lilian Randall’s discussion of the buffeting game that takes place in the *bas-de-page*, she refers to the rabbits, an ape, and a squirrel as being “minutely rendered...”¹⁷ Although she describes the figures as minute, she does not correlate their size with how difficult they are to see. If she had not mentioned that rabbits were present, it is quite possible that they would be entirely overlooked by the viewer. Once again, the ability to see and comprehend these figures is severely limited by the obstacle of their small size.

This point is particularly relevant if this folio was seen at its intended canonical hour. In this instance the hour is Matins, which occurs at daybreak when natural light is limited or completely unavailable and the owner would have to rely upon candles, torches, or firelight. None of these light sources can compete with the modern lighting

¹⁵ Ibid., 270.

¹⁶ Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1: 31.

¹⁷ Randall, “Games and the Passion in the Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux,” 248.

conditions that were available at the recent Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition. Despite the most optimal lighting effects, the viewer had to use a magnifying glass to completely see all the details.

Of course, it is certain that during the long years of ownership, Jeanne must have seen and explored this folio at times other than Matins. Yet recall that this manuscript is a prayer book and was intended to be used at daybreak. Therefore, when the attempt is made to reconstruct the original meaning of these images, considerable care must always be taken to evaluate its images within this original perspective. To do otherwise is to view the contents of this book from a skewed modern point of view that completely obliterates any hope of re-creating the original medieval experience.

While earlier scholars may have merely omitted any in-depth study of the smaller images, current researchers appear to be very interested in the smallest images of this manuscript. A recent investigation by Madeline Caviness provides a complex explanation for much of the marginalia. Even the tiniest details have an entirely new meaning that seeks “to reconstruct the impression these images might have made on the original female owner.”¹⁸ To this end, Caviness examines each folio’s relationship to medieval “sociological and psychosexual conditions and systems of belief in which the work was created and first read.”¹⁹ This methodology is a vigorous and thorough approach to the exploration of every minute detail on many of the folios from Jeanne’s book.

¹⁸ Caviness, 333.

¹⁹ Ibid., 338.

It is quite possible that these theories are indeed accurate. But once again, it is not the objective of this thesis to support or dispute this, or any other theory regarding the meaning and purpose of the marginalia seen in this book. What is important is to stress how incredibly small these figures are. To this researcher, these images, due to their exceedingly small size, have a far more subtle and discreet effect upon its viewer. In other words, rather than having an instantaneous effect, it might have taken months or years to fully see, let alone understand the significance of the activities shown. It is very likely that the marginalia could have fulfilled a distinct didactic purpose for this young bride, but their small size makes them inherently much more difficult to discern and therefore, fully comprehend.

Currently, there are many reproductions of the book's folios available for study in the research literature. However, the frequent distortion of size often skews the reader's perception of this book and ultimately persuades the viewer to believe that the smallest of images are easily seen, which of course they are certainly not. Appendix C offers only a sample of the range of published sizes available in the literature. The most frequently reproduced image from *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* is the *Betrayal of Christ* and the *Annunciation* folios [Fig. 1]. Of the twenty-nine different sources cited, only eight include the actual dimensions of the book.²⁰ The remaining sources do not cite any dimensions at all.

²⁰ These include Caviness, 333, footnote no. 2; Hoffeld, 261; Lacaze and Morganstern, 86, fig.1; Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 41, no.6; Rorimer, 7; *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, facsimile, (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1999). Because this last entry is a recently published facsimile, the dimensions are inherently understood through the reproduced size and the commentary that is included with it.

Three of the twenty-nine examples have reproduced images at smaller than actual size, thirteen are close to or actual size, and thirteen are considerably larger than the actual folio. It should be noted that two sources, Rorimer and Caviness, have included a combination of images that are actual size and enlarged. In the 1957 facsimile of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, Rorimer only included one folio at actual size (Calendar Page for May, fol. 5v) and the remaining folios are shown at one and a half times their actual size.²¹

What is most significant about this list is that of the eight sources that deal specifically with the images in this book, six use reproductions that are grossly enlarged.²² This distortion of visual context fully contributes to the illusion that such small images like the marginalia are easily seen, and therefore easily understood. Remember that the current size of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* measures only 89 mm. in height. The list of distorted images ranges in size from 110 mm. up to an incredible 194 mm.; this is almost double the original size! Surely, what is shown is far more easily seen than what was originally intended by Pucelle or viewed by Jeanne.

This point is especially true for those sources that address the smaller imagery, such as the marginalia. By far, the greatest deviations from actual size were those sources that explored some of the tiniest details of the marginalia.²³ Of course, since the

²¹ Rorimer, 6.

²² The eight sources that address the imagery are: Avril, Caviness, Grancsay, Holladay, Lilian M.C. Randall, Richard H. Randall, Jr., Rorimer, Winternitz. The six sources that utilize grossly enlarged reproductions are: Avril, Caviness, Grancsay, Richard H. Randall, Jr., Rorimer, Winternitz. See Appendix C for specific details of each category.

²³ Of these, Avril uses reproductions that are 134 mm. in height, Rorimer's forty-seven folios measure 134 mm., Caviness' three examples range in size from 146-168 mm., Randall's images measure 138 mm., and both Grancsay and Winternitz use reproductions up to 194 mm. in height.

authors of these articles are addressing the marginalia, the enlarged folios are necessary to assist the reader's understanding of the smaller details. However, this same effort to assist their audience is precisely what is so risky about this practice. At no point in their discussion of these details did these authors mention in their respective articles that they were using enlarged images. The viewer has no alternative but to believe that these details are more easily seen than they actually are, thereby distorting the context of the original viewing experience.

A dramatic illustration of the distortion between actual and enlarged sizes can be seen in Fig. 9. Using a reproduction of the *Annunciation* folio as an example, we can easily identify how much this change of scale can affect our understanding of the imagery seen here between an enlarged (168 mm.) and current actual size (89 mm.). In truth, the author does cite the actual size of the book and indicates underneath these large photos that they have been enlarged. Nevertheless, this modification is not addressed within the text of the article where it is most relevant to the author's argument.

It could be acknowledged that this academic objection is an extremely subtle point and this detail has only a minor effect upon the researcher's theories. Yet subtlety and detail are precisely the central elements of this very small book. To overlook this fact is to disregard what makes it such a truly remarkable and distinctive visual experience. And while we cannot expect to ever reconstruct every aspect of this book, we have always had one constant physical proof available: its small size. This is an important point to bear in mind because no doubt there are many young scholars who are eager to explore similar small details of this manuscript. Regard for the context of size,

therefore, should always be considered before anyone seeks to expound upon the meaning and purpose of the smaller details of the marginalia.

There are two recent publications where this point is particularly applicable. The first was made available in conjunction with the 1999 exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, when the museum released a CD-ROM instead of a traditional catalogue.²⁴ Using computer technology, this program enables the viewer to examine the details of this manuscript in a manner that would have been inconceivable only a few years ago. The viewer is treated to an impressive multimedia experience of images from the book that is accompanied by written text, narration, and music. A total of forty-six folios are available to examine: the Calendar, Hours of the Virgin, Hours of Saint Louis, and the Penitential Psalms. With the click of a mouse, the image of the Annunciation increases from approximately 103 mm. in size to completely filling the computer screen monitor!²⁵ And yet the image is even larger because the viewer must use the mouse to scroll down to see the entire folio. The effect is astonishing in its clarity and detail, but it is nevertheless distorted because it is completely devoid of the intimate experience of holding this small book in one's hands.

The second recent treatment of this book is the publication of a new facsimile in 1999.²⁶ Previously only one book existed in actual size, now there are 980 facsimiles available for study. For the first time, many researchers will have the unprecedented

²⁴ Boehm, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux: A Prayer Book for a Queen*, CD-ROM, 1999.

²⁵ My own monitor measures approx. 206 mm. in height, but there are considerably larger screens available.

²⁶ *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, facsimile, (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1999). The following information about the new facsimile was obtained through a search on the Getty Research Institute web site: <http://library.pub.getty.edu/>.

opportunity to hold and examine this book much like its original female owner did. Only now there is one significant improvement. In addition to a commentary and documentation kit, the purchase of the new facsimile is accompanied by an especially useful visual aid—a magnifying glass!

This addition effectively demonstrates the fact that regardless of how far removed we are from the creation of this book, curiosity regarding the scale of its images will continue to fascinate scholars. Surely, in the coming years, many more researchers will be equally intrigued and pose even more questions about its size. It is essential therefore, to the integrity of future study, that scholars make a concerted effort to bear in mind the book's physical size when examining its contents in the attempt to formulate any hypothesis about its purpose or meaning. Any researcher who wishes to discuss the images, especially the very small marginalia, should always be careful to refer to the book's size in conjunction with the text of their argument. Adherence to this practice will ensure that future research is conducted in a manner that is responsible and accurate. Only when this proposal is realized can we actually begin to understand how the original female owner perceived and comprehended this very small book.

CONCLUSION

The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux is certainly a very special book. The small format was shown to be exceptionally rare in comparison to other contemporary examples and provides the best evidence of the manuscript's distinctive nature. Its contents include many artistic innovations and its tiny scale boldly proclaims the skill of the artist. As an exceptionally talented artist, Jean Pucelle must have been extremely aware that he was making an important book for a new Capetian queen.

Pucelle's interest in other artistic mediums and optical science might well provide an explanation for the manuscript's size. He was a fourteenth century artist who worked in the most important medieval city in Europe and had a variety of interests outside the art of manuscript illumination. There is no reason to doubt that these interests in other artistic medium, such as paired scene ivory diptychs, could have been used as an inspiration for this book. In addition, the creation of eyeglasses, just prior to the making of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, strongly suggests that he very well could have had access to this new invention and did indeed use them in the production of this book.

It should also be remembered that a fourteenth century woman originally owned this book. How it was used as a devotional text and visually experienced is an integral part of understanding its size and relationship to its female owner. As a prayer book, its images functioned to assist the queen with her meditation. Praying before an image would produce an inner image, and ultimately guide her towards a mystical union with God. But recall that this is a small book, with very small images. The scale of these

images, particularly the tiniest marginalia, will surely affect her devotional as well as visual experience.

Because of the book's small size, it would have easily fit into the hands and viewed by its owner. Holding and looking at such a small book insists upon its intensely private nature. Its size demands that this devotional experience is limited to a single individual and heightens the sense of secrecy around the book's use.

Using this Book of Hours as intended, she must have recited the appropriate prayers at the appointed canonical hour. In order to do so, she would certainly have had to rely upon less than ideal lighting conditions to view her book. This result would mean that not all the images would be seen as easily as others during certain times of the day. This point is significant because if these minute images could not have been easily seen, she would not have been able to understand them easily.

A review of the current research of this book reveals that this fundamental perception detail is rarely acknowledged when the images seen in this book are examined and interpreted. Most authors overlook the issue of the book's actual size in conjunction with its visual experience. Instead, they do not remind their reader, within the text of their argument, how small some of these images really are. Consequently, the reader is led to regard these images as if they are easily seen and understood, which of course, is not always true.

Despite these compelling aspects of the book's size, there are three areas of research that remain to be done in order to answer a few lingering questions. First, we know that this Book of Hours was a commissioned work, but we do not know who

commissioned its precise size. Knowing the answer to this question would clarify the relationship between the commissioner and the artist. If Pucelle made this choice, it would complement his many other artistic innovations that certainly could not have all been ordered by the commissioner.

Second, more research needs to be done in the area of the medieval interest in the miniature. This book is just one example of an extremely small medieval object. As pointed out, many paired scene diptychs were similarly small, as were other religious objects. Why was there such an interest in these very small objects with equally smaller images? The answer to this question could expose yet another artistic, if not theological and philosophical influence.

And third, the relationship between the medieval woman and small books needs to be explored further in order to understand how the private devotional nature of these books augments their intrinsic secretive qualities. An interpretation of this correlation would greatly increase our knowledge of how not only small books, but also other small objects, were used by medieval women.

In conclusion, it is apparent that the physical size of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* has been overlooked as an area of scholarly study. After considering the vast amount of research that addresses this manuscript's contents, it could be argued that any investigation of size is an academic technicality. This assumption would be wrong, however. An accurate and consistent regard for size must always be the foundation for any research concerning this book's contents. Only when the size is considered within

the scope of the book's actual physical dimensions can we begin to appreciate the relationship between the owner and her "very little book of prayers."

APPENDIX A

Size Descriptions of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* in the Literature¹

1. "The single sample shown in actual size duplicates the minuteness and exquisite delicacy of painting, decoration, and writing of the original. The other pages are reproduced at one and a half times their actual size, providing as it were, an almost necessary magnifying glass for the reader."²
2. "The format is tinier than any book previously known to have been illuminated by Pucelle."³
3. "...exquisite little Prayer Book..."⁴
4. "...a little Book of Hours..."⁵
5. "...the tiny but marvelous *Heures de Jeanne d'Evreux*..."⁶
6. "...its tiny size... sets the stage for an intense and extremely intimate experience."⁷
7. "...a diminutive Book of Hours..."⁸
8. "...its tiny format, a true *tour de force* of miniaturization..."⁹
9. "...tiny prayerbook..."¹⁰
10. "Jeanne's tiny book was difficult to see."¹¹
11. "...a tiny work..."¹²

¹ It is understood that the following quotations are taken out of context from the full texts of these works. However, they are useful to my argument because each represents the full extent of any correlation made between this book and its size. Quotations are shown in chronological order of their publication.

² Rorimer, 6.

³ Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 14.

⁴ Nordenfalk, 358.

⁵ Panofsky, 1: 29.

⁶ Meiss, 1: 19.

⁷ Hoffeld, 261.

⁸ Randall, "Games and the Passion in Pucelle's Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux," 246.

⁹ Avril, 15.

¹⁰ Harthan, 40.

¹¹ Lacaze and Morganstern, 86.

¹² Ferber, 72.

12. ***"The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux is a small book of hours."***¹³
13. **"Jeanne d'Evreux's tiny prayer book..."**¹⁴
14. **"... the tiny pages of the book makes its scrutiny intensely private; open, it barely fills the palm of one hand and has to be held close."**¹⁵
15. **"Jeanne's tiny Hours..."**¹⁶
16. **"... the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux is an unrivaled masterpiece, astounding for its precious scale..."**¹⁷
17. **"This precious tiny manuscript... It is difficult to imagine how he could paint such tiny pictures without the use of a powerful magnifying glass."**¹⁸

¹³ Gould, "Jean Pucelle," 1764.

¹⁴ Caviness, 333.

¹⁵ Ibid., 354.

¹⁶ Holladay, 603.

¹⁷ Boehm, Prayer Book for a Queen, 2.

¹⁸ Morales, 1.

APPENDIX B

A Summary of the Contents and Use of a Book of Hours

During the Middle Ages the Christian Church established rules or canons for the clergy to recite prayers and devotions at certain times throughout the day. These prayers became known as the Canonical Hours and formed the basis for the Divine Office or liturgy.¹ The liturgy was composed of two principal books: the Missal, which contained the complete text for Mass and the Breviary, which included prayers and hymns to be recited daily during each of the eight Canonical Hours.²

These seven Canonical Hours set aside for prayer were assigned the following names and times of day:³

Matins and Lauds	daybreak
Prime	6:00 a.m.
Terce	9:00 a.m.
Sext	noon
None	3:00 p.m.
Vespers	sunset
Compline	evening

And while the Mass would be celebrated daily, the Breviary was the text that the clergy would use for their hourly prayers. The evolution of the Breviary is quite complicated and is certainly beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it is essential to our discussion to outline the Breviary's contents in order to fully understand the later

¹ Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures*, 1:III-IX; Harthan, 11.

² Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures*, 1: VI; Harthan., 12.

³ Wieck, 28.

contents of a Book of Hours. Therefore, the contents of a Breviary included the following texts:⁴

1. **Calendar:** Includes saints' days and feasts. It would also assist the clergy to say the appropriate prayer on the correct day.
2. **Ordinary:** Establishes the constant elements of each hour.
3. **Psalter:** Psalms, canticles and hymns to be used each hour of every day. This text was often used as a separate book.
4. **Proper of Time:** A variety of prayers for every day of the liturgical year.
5. **Proper of Saints:** The texts for the most important saints' days.
6. **Common of Saints:** The texts for other categories of saints, apostles, martyrs and confessors.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the cult and veneration surrounding the Virgin increased. Consequently, an additional devotional text was soon developed and included with the Psalter. This new text was called the Hours of the Virgin or the Little Office of Our Lady.⁵ When combined with the Psalter, it would now be known as a Psalter-Hours.⁶ By the end of the thirteenth century however, due to the popularity of this sequence, the Hours of the Virgin would detach from the Psalter and become the central text of a Book of Hours.⁷

It is important to note that in the Divine Office the focal point of all devotions had been the Passion of Christ. In contrast, the Hours of the Virgin emphasized significant

⁴ Harthan, 12-13.

⁵ Calkins, 243.

⁶ Wieck, 28.

⁷ Ibid.; Harthan, 13.

episodes in the life of the Virgin and the actions of the Holy Spirit.⁸ Similar to the Canonical Hours described above, the Hours of the Virgin would also be assigned specific prayers and devotions to be said at certain times of the day, each would concentrate on a selected event from her life and stressed her importance as the Mother of Christ. In addition to the written text that describes these events, the book would also contain a corresponding image that illustrates each particular episode. The contents of the Hours of the Virgin are:⁹

Matins	Annunciation
Lauds	Visitation
Prime	Nativity
Tierce	Annunciation to the Shepherds
Sext	Epiphany
None	Presentation at the Temple
Vespers	Massacre of the Innocents or Flight into Egypt
Compline	Coronation of the Virgin

And similar to the sequence of events that surround the life of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross were designed to address and illustrate specific moments of the Passion of Christ. The events are shown accordingly:¹⁰

Matins	The Betrayal of Christ
Lauds	Christ before Pilate
Prime	The Flagellation
Tierce	Christ Carrying the Cross
Sext	The Crucifixion
None	The Deposition
Vespers	The Entombment
Compline	The Resurrection of Christ

⁸ Harthan, 14.

⁹ Calkins, 246.

¹⁰ Ibid., 248.

All Books of Hours would include the Hours of the Virgin, but because these books were often privately commissioned, no two books or its contents are exactly alike. The patron would often include or exclude texts according to his own devotional preferences.¹¹ Despite the variations among these books, it is possible to reconstruct what the contents of a basic Book of Hours would include:¹²

1. Calendar
2. Sequences of the Gospels: The accounts of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John surrounding the coming of Christ.
3. Two prayers to the Virgin: *Obsecro te* (I implore thee) and *O intemerata* (O matchless one).
4. Hours of the Virgin: As described above. Includes an opening verse and a corresponding response, followed by antiphons, psalms and hymns for each hour. The length of text for each hour varies; Matins, Lauds and Vespers are the longest.
5. Hours of the Cross: Shorter text than the Hours of the Virgin.
6. Hours of the Holy Spirit: Also shorter text than the Hours of the Virgin.
7. Penitential Psalms: A passionate collection of seven psalms that express the sorrow and awareness of sin as well as offering the promise of redemption.
8. Litany: This invocation for mercy, *Kyrie eleison, Christie eleison, Kyrie eleison*, addresses the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, the Archangels, the saints, and the apostles.
9. Office of the Dead: An essential part of a Book of Hours that did not derive its text from the Missal (Requiem Mass). Instead, its prayers are far more personal and are recited directly over the deceased in the church while holding vigil. It is important to remember that during the Middle Ages, due to the plague and other harsh aspects of living, people were keenly aware that death was very much a part of daily life and therefore, one needed to be prepared to confront their eventual death each day.

¹¹ Harthan, 15.

¹² Ibid., 14-19.

10. **Suffrages of the Saints:** Short devotions dedicated to the saints. These prayers could be customized to the particular needs of the owner: a patron saint or a favorite regional saint, for example.

The act of saying these prayers was a highly intimate experience. The Hours were most likely read aloud, slowly, carefully, and with great reflection. And because most of the laity were not fluent in Latin, such close reading often helped them to better understand the Latin text they had heard during the liturgy, but it also enabled them to feel as though they were sharing the activity of hourly prayer with the clergy.¹³

Although Books of Hours functioned as prayer books, they were also highly prized possessions that were often given as wedding gifts to young brides.¹⁴ Everyone, it seems, wanted to own a Book of Hours, regardless if they were literate or not.¹⁵

According to Roger Wieck, the Book of Hours became “the medieval best-seller, number one for nearly 250 years.”¹⁶ It is difficult for the modern observer to understand such a spiritual phenomenon. We have nothing equal to an object that is so meaningful, personal and valuable as these private devotional books were to their medieval owners.

¹³ Virginia Reinberg, “Prayer and the Book of Hours,” in Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life, ed. Roger S. Wieck (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1988), 41.

¹⁴ Harthan, 34.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁶ Wieck, 27.

APPENDIX C

Size of Published Images from *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*¹

Smaller than Actual Size

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|--------|
| 1. | Panofsky ² | 65 mm. |
| 2. | Hoffeld ³ | 65 mm. |
| 3. | Lacaze ⁴ | 65 mm. |

¹ Due to the prominence of this book and the frequency of publication of its images, this list is not intended to be complete. Instead, it seeks to provide an overview for how often the size of the images are enlarged and therefore, distort the viewer's sense of scale. Bibliographic entries are shown in chronological order.

² Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 2: Plate 3, nos. 5 and 7.

³ Hoffeld, Figs. 1-11.

⁴ Lacaze and Morganstern, Fig. 1.

Close to/Actual Size

1.	Deslisle ⁵	89 mm.
2.	Rorimer ⁶	89 mm.
3.	Morand ⁷	89 mm.
4.	Morand ⁸	89 mm.
5.	Flinn ⁹	90 mm.
6.	Randall ¹⁰	89 mm.
7.	Robb ¹¹	90 mm.
8.	Harthan ¹²	95 mm.
9.	Caviness ¹³	89 mm.
10.	de Hamel ¹⁴	89 mm.
11.	Holladay ¹⁵	90 mm.
12.	Boehm ¹⁶	89 mm.
13.	Pucelle ¹⁷	89 mm.

⁵ Deslisle, Plate 26.

⁶ Rorimer, 31, Fig. 1. Note: This example is the only folio of this facsimile that is shown at actual size.

⁷ Morand, "Jean Pucelle," Figs. 4-5.

⁸ Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, Plate XIII, Figs. a-d; Plate IX, Figs. a-d; Plate X, Figs. a, c; Plate XI, Figs. a-c.

⁹ Flinn, Figs. 1, 2, 4.

¹⁰ Randall, "Games and the Passion in Pucelle's Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux," 249, Figs. 1-2.

¹¹ Robb, Fig. 170.

¹² Harthan, 42.

¹³ Caviness, Figs. 5, 8, 10, 16, 18, 21, 26, 32, 33, 38, 39.

¹⁴ de Hamel, 183, Fig. 161.

¹⁵ Holladay, Figs. 32-34.

¹⁶ Boehm, 4.

¹⁷ Jean Pucelle, *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, facsimile, (Luzerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1999).

Enlarged Size

1.	Rorimer ¹⁸	134 mm.
2.	Grancsay ¹⁹	194 mm.
3.	Randall ²⁰	138 mm.
4.	Winternitz ²¹	140-194 mm.
5.	Meiss ²²	109 mm.
6.	Avril ²³	131 mm.
7.	Balas ²⁴	104-121 mm.
8.	Calkins ²⁵	139 mm.
9.	Ferber ²⁶	115-134 mm.
10.	Pächt ²⁷	134 mm.
11.	Gould ²⁸	128 mm.
12.	Caviness ²⁹	146-168 mm.
13.	CD-ROM ³⁰	103 mm.-entire computer monitor screen

¹⁸ Rorimer, Figs. 2-48.

¹⁹ Grancsay, 289, 291.

²⁰ Richard H. Randall, Jr., 271.

²¹ Winternitz, 279 (140 mm.), 280 (104 mm.).

²² Meiss, 2: Figs. 335-338.

²³ Avril, 44-58, Plates 3-10.

²⁴ Balas, Fig. 1 (121 mm.), Fig. 4 (104 mm.), Fig. 7 (104 mm.)

²⁵ Calkins, 249, Fig. 134.

²⁶ Ferber, Figs. 1, 3, 5, 9, 7, and 12.

²⁷ Pächt, Plate XXVIII.

²⁸ Gould, "Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art," Figs. 7 and 9.

²⁹ Caviness, Figs. 1 (146 mm.), 2 (168 mm.), 22 (155 mm.).

³⁰ Boehm, CD-ROM. Note: The field of viewing on the author's monitor screen was 207 mm. in height.

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TABLE I

Catalogue of 13th to 14th Century French Psalter-Hours and Books of Hours

1. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Arras. 13th century**
Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 542 (Quicherat, 836)
150 x 102 mm.
2. **Psalter-Hours. N. France. 13th century**
Beaune, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 39 (38)
208 x 146 mm.
3. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Sieburg. 13th century**
Nancy, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 12 (279)
197 x 140 mm.
4. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Liège. 13th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 13235
185 x 125 mm.
5. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Paris. First quarter 13th century**
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 309
220 x 155 mm.
6. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Paris. First half 13th century**
Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 3016 (Leber, 6)
318 x 212 mm.
7. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Liège. Second half 13th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 1077
187 x 128 mm.
8. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Soissons. Second half 13th century**
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.92
164 x 111 mm.
9. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Saint-Amand. Second half 13th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 13260
193 x 130 mm.

10. **Psalter-Hours. Franciscan. Second half 13th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 280 (148 T.L.)
172 x 116 mm.
11. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. Last quarter 13th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.97
166 x 117 mm.
12. **Psalter-Hours. NE France. Last quarter 13th century**
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.730
197 x 147 mm.
13. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Paris. Last quarter 13th century**
Cambridge, England, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms.300
190 x 140 mm.
14. **Book of Hours. NE France. Late 13th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.86
90 x 66 mm.
15. **Book of Hours. Use of Thèrouanne. End 13th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 14284
417 x 315 mm.
16. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. End 13th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.40
172 x 129 mm.
17. **Book of Hours. NE France. End 13th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.39
105 x 85 mm.
18. **Psalter-Hours. NE France. End 13th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.47
320 x 240 mm.
19. **Book of Hours. Use of Champagne. End 13th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.98
160 x 122 mm.
20. **Psalter-Hours. NE France. End 13th century**
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.729
182 x 134 mm.

21. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Arras. End 13th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 1328
160 x 111 mm.

22. **Book of Hours. France. End 13th century**
Melbourne, Australia, National Gallery of Victoria, MS.195
215 x 150 mm.

23. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Rome. End 13th century**
Arras, Musée Diocésain, No. 47
264 x 190 mm.

24. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Metz. End 13th century**
Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 336
222 x 154 mm.

25. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Metz. End 13th century**
Metz, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Ms. 1588
135 x 100 mm.

26. **Book of Hours. Use of Metz. 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 1361
60 x 43 mm.

27. **Book of Hours. Use of Metz. End 13th century – early 14th century**
Oxford, England, Bodleian Library, Douce 48
127 x 101 mm.

28. **Psalter-Hours. N. France. End 13th – first half 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 1073 A
230 x 162 mm.

29. **Book of Hours. Use of Metz. Early 14th century**
Oxford, England, Bodleian Library, Douce 39
127 x 101 mm.

30. **Psalter-Hours. N. France. Early 14th century**
Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 121
172 x 120 mm.

31. **Book of Hours. Use of Reims. Early 14th century**
Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 87
250 x 175 mm.

32. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Liège. Early 14th century**
Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 249 (Quicherat, 915)
108 x 77 mm.
33. **Book of Hours. NE France. Early 14th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.90
137 x 106 mm.
34. **Book of Hours. NE France. Early 14th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.104
175 x 128 mm.
35. **Book of Hours. Use of Champagne/Lorraine. Early 14th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.93
130 x 107 mm
36. **Book of Hours. NE France. Early 14th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.38
120 x 91 mm.
37. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. Early 14th century**
London, Southwark R.C. Metropolitan See, MS.4
184 x 128 mm.
38. **Book of Hours. France. Early 14th century**
Ampleforth Abbey, England, MS.187
180 x 135 mm.
39. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. Early 14th century**
Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, MS.1
180 x 130 mm.
40. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Paris. Early 14th century**
Geneva, Martin-Bodmer Library
125 x 90 mm.
41. **Book of Hours. NE France. Second quarter 14th century**
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.754
156 x 111 mm.
42. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. Mid 14th century**
Liverpool, Liverpool University Library, F.2.21
145 x 110 mm.

43. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. Second half 14th century**
London, British Museum, Yates Thompson, MS.27
112 x 80 mm.
44. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. Second half 14th century**
Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Ms.45
66 x 48 mm.
45. **Book of Hours. Use of Tournai. Second half 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 1364
137 x 97 mm.
46. **Book of Hours. Use of Picardie. Second half 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 1394
117 x 81 mm.
47. **Book of Hours. Use of Metz. Second half 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 1403
127 x 90 mm.
48. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. Second half 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 10528
222 x 158 mm.
49. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Angers. Second half 14th century**
Angers, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. 125 (117)
160 x 118 mm.
50. **Book of Hours. France. Second half 14th century**
New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript
Library, MS.19
73 x 53 mm.
51. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. Second half 14th century**
Newcastle Upon Tyne, University Library, MS.9
170 x 120 mm.
52. **Book of Hours. NE France. Last quarter 14th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.84
66 x 54 mm.
53. **Book of Hours. Lorraine. Last quarter 14th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.91
139 x 112 mm.

54. **Book of Hours. Lorraine. Last quarter 14th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.92
144 x 108 mm.
55. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. End 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 1398
140 x 103 mm.
56. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. End 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 13261
190 x 142 mm.
57. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. End 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 18014
213 x 145 mm.
58. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Paris. End 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 125 (28. T.L.)
152 x 112 mm.
59. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. End 14th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.89
119 x 93 mm.
60. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. End 14th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.94
144 x 108 mm.
61. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. End 14th century**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.96
162 x 121 mm.
62. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Paris. End 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 1082
212 x 165 mm.
63. **Book of Hours. Use of Rennes. End 14th century**
Boston, Endowment for Biblical Research, Boston University, Ms.10
150 x 100 mm.
64. **Book of Hours. Use of Reims. 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat., 915
138 x 98 mm.

65. **Book of Hours. Use of Poitiers. 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat., 560
125 x 91 mm.
66. **Prayers and Book of Hours. Use of Paris. 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat., 592
198 x 142 mm.
67. **Book of Hours. Use of Paris. 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat., 1011
157 x 98 mm.
68. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Fontevault. 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat., 1011
102 x 70 mm.
69. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Prémontré. 14th century**
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat., 1017
142 x 103 mm.
70. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Arras. 14th century**
Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 783 (Quicherat, 377)
197 x 141 mm.
71. **Psalter-Hours. Use of Saint-Wandrille. 14th century**
Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 3016 (Leber, 6)
145 x 102
72. **Book of Hours. S. France. 14th century**
Oxford, England, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 251
101 x 76 mm.

TABLE II

Catalogue of Paired Scene Ivory Diptychs, 1300-1350¹

1. Virgin in Glory and the Crucifixion. First quarter 14th century
Paris, coll. Mège. Anc. coll. Dekan Kaiser, à Loffingen (Bade)
85 x 45 mm.
2. Virgin in Glory and the Crucifixion. First quarter 14th century
Anc. coll. Fould, Paris
100 x 130 mm.
3. Virgin in Glory and Two Saints. First quarter 14th century
Anc. coll. Ed. Aynard, Lyon
88 x 46 mm.
4. The Crucifixion. First quarter 14th century
London, British Museum
118 x 70 mm.
5. The Crucifixion. First quarter 14th century
Bale, Musée historique
86 x 50 mm.
6. The Crucifixion. First quarter 14th century
Christiana, Musée d'art industriel
172 x 105 mm.
7. The Annunciation. First quarter 14th century
Augsbourg, Maximilian's Museum
80 x 45 mm.
8. The Nativity. First quarter 14th century
Brunn, Gewerbe Museum
80 x 50 mm.

¹ The source for this catalogue was Raymond Koechlin, *Les Ivoires Gothiques Français*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1924), 2:164-233. Unfortunately, Koechlin's entries do not include the precise cataloguing number at each museum. According to Dr. Boehm, many of these locations have changed and therefore, this list is based on the locations at the time of publication of Koechlin's catalogue. Boehm, E-mail to author, 4 May 2001.

9. **The Baptism of Christ. First quarter 14th century**
London, British Museum
81 x 51 mm.
10. **The Baptism of Christ. First quarter 14th century**
Paris, Musée du Louvre
70 x 45 mm.
11. **The Descent from the Cross. First quarter 14th century**
Paris, coll. Gillot
124 x 97 mm.
12. **The Resurrection. First quarter 14th century**
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
110 x 60 mm.
13. **Virgin in Glory and the Crucifixion. End first quarter 14th century**
Petrograd, Botkine coll.
110 x 83 mm.
14. **Virgin in Glory. End first quarter 14th century**
Paris, coll. E. Lévy. Anc. coll. G. Hoentschel
95 x n.a. mm.
15. **Virgin in Glory. End first quarter 14th century**
Le Mans, Musée archéologique
100 x 68 mm.
16. **Virgin in Glory and the Crucifixion. End first quarter 14th century**
Frankfurt, Museum für Kunstgewerbe, Anc. coll. Metzler
87 x 42 mm.
17. **Virgin and Child with donor and the Crucifixion. End first quarter 14th century**
Châlons-en-Champagne, musée municipale, n° 861-1-40 (1,2)²
90 x 58 mm.
18. **The Crucifixion. End first quarter of the 14th century**
Bayonne, Musée Bonnat
100 x 60 mm.

² Réunion des musées nationaux, L'art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285-1328: [exposition] Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 17 mars – 29 juin 1998 (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1998), cat. no. 106.

19. **The Crucifixion. End first quarter 14th century**
London, British Museum
170 x 75 mm.
20. **Christ between the Thieves. End first quarter 14th century**
Paris, coll. Hunziker
92 x 58 mm.
21. **The Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds. End first quarter 14th century**
London, Victoria and Albert Museum
76 x 54 mm.
22. **Virgin in Glory and the Nativity. End first quarter 14th century**
London, British Museum
60 x 35 mm.
23. **Virgin in Glory and the Crucifixion. First third 14th century**
Anc. coll. Schewitch, Madrid
120 x 131 mm.
24. **Virgin in Glory and the Crucifixion. First third 14th century**
Lyon, coll. Baboin
90 x 55 mm.
25. **The Crucifixion. First third 14th century**
Anc. coll. Homberg, Paris
140 x 80 mm.
26. **The Crucifixion. First third 14th century**
Lyon, coll. Baboin
100 x 80 mm.
27. **The Descent from the Cross and Two Apostles. First third 14th century**
Anc. coll. Alfred André, Paris
97 x 50 mm.
28. **The Coronation of the Virgin and the Virgin in Glory between Two Saints**
Abbeville, Musée Boucher de Perthes
92 x 60 mm.
29. **The Virgin between Two Saints. End first third 14th century**
London, British Museum
88 x 46 mm.

30. **The Crucifixion. End first third 14th century**
Paris, coll. Martin Le Roy
145 x 80 mm.
31. **The Crucifixion. End first third 14th century**
Lyon, coll. Cl. Côte
140 x 80 mm.
32. **Virgin in Glory and the Crucifixion. End first third 14th century**
Milan, coll. Prince Trivulce
140 x 124 mm.
33. **The Crucifixion. End first third 14th century**
Lyon, coll. Baboin
145 x 100 mm.
34. **Saint Joseph and the Virgin. End first third 14th century**
Paris, Musée de Cluny
63 x 50 mm.
35. **The Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds. End first third 14th century**
Mantes, coll. de Thoré
70 x 50 mm.
36. **The Adoration of the Magi. End first third 14th century**
Turin, Musée civique
140 x 76 mm.
37. **The Adoration of the Magi. End first third 14th century**
Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André
92 x 56 mm.
38. **The Coronation of the Virgin and the Last Judgment. End first third 14th century**
Lyon, Trésor de la Cathédrale. Anc. coll. du cardinal de Bonald
150 x 100 mm.
39. **The Coronation of the Virgin. End first third 14th century**
Paris, Musée du Louvre
105 x 69 mm.
40. **The Coronation of the Virgin with Two Saints. End first third 14th century**
London, Victoria and Albert Museum
110 x 60 mm.

41. **The Crucifixion. Second quarter 14th century**
Berlin, Kaiser Friederich Museum
101 x 57 mm.
42. **The Crucifixion. Second quarter 14th century**
Frankfurt, Mein coll.
92 x 42 mm.
43. **The Crucifixion. Second quarter 14th century**
Anc. coll. Aldo Nosedà, Milan
108 x 70 mm.
44. **The Crucifixion. Second quarter 14th century**
Zurich, Landesmuseum
170 x 80 mm.
45. **Scenes from the Life of Christ. Second quarter 14th century**
Anc. coll. Doistau, Paris
100 x 70 mm.

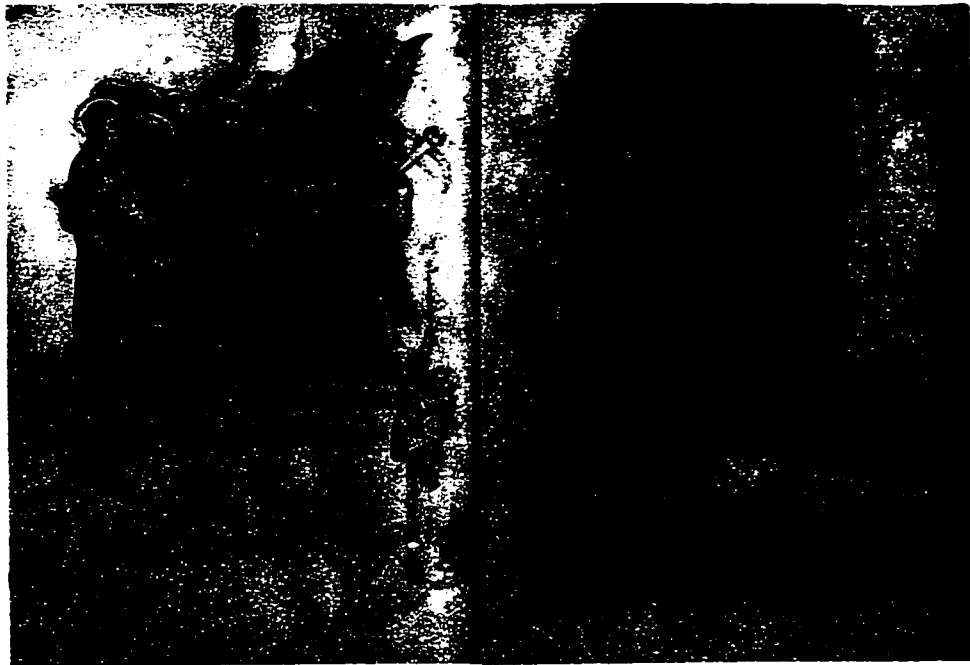


Figure 1 *The Betrayal of Christ and The Annunciation.* Jean Pucelle. *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 89 x 62 mm., Paris, 1324-28. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954. 54.1.2 (fol.15v-16).
(Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art)

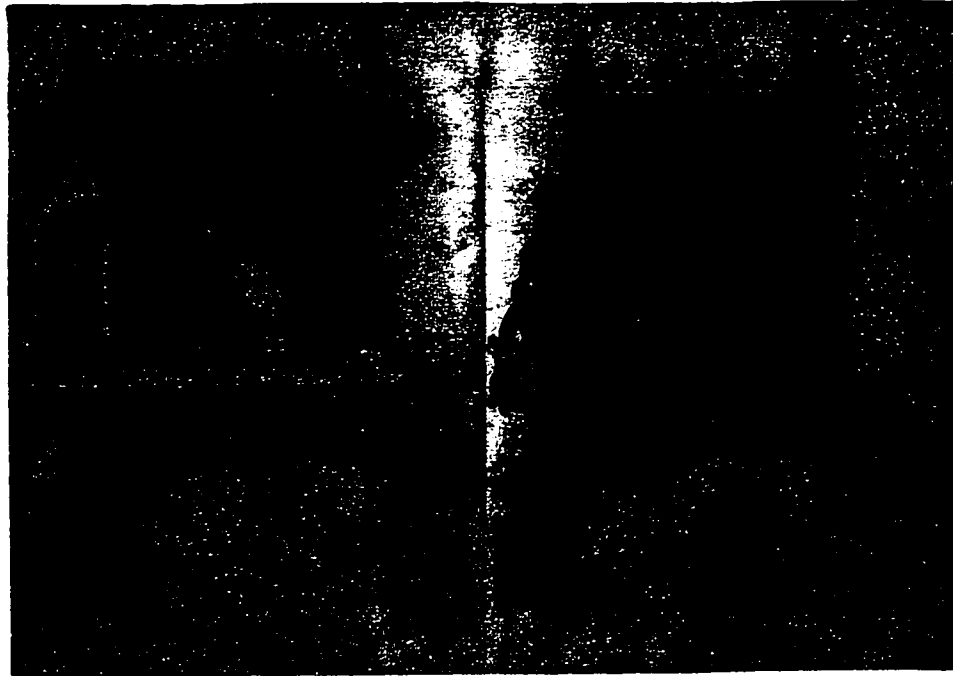
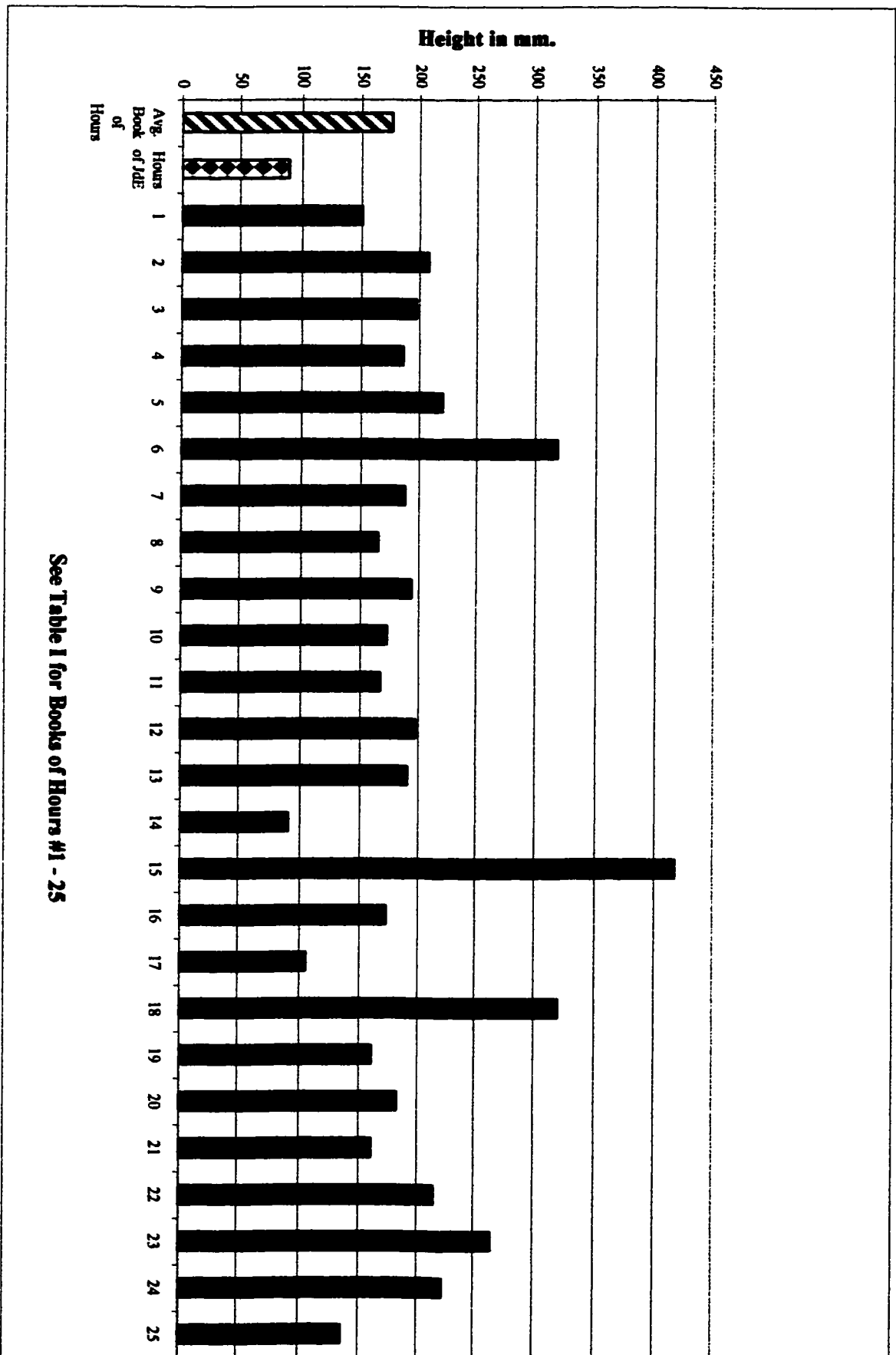


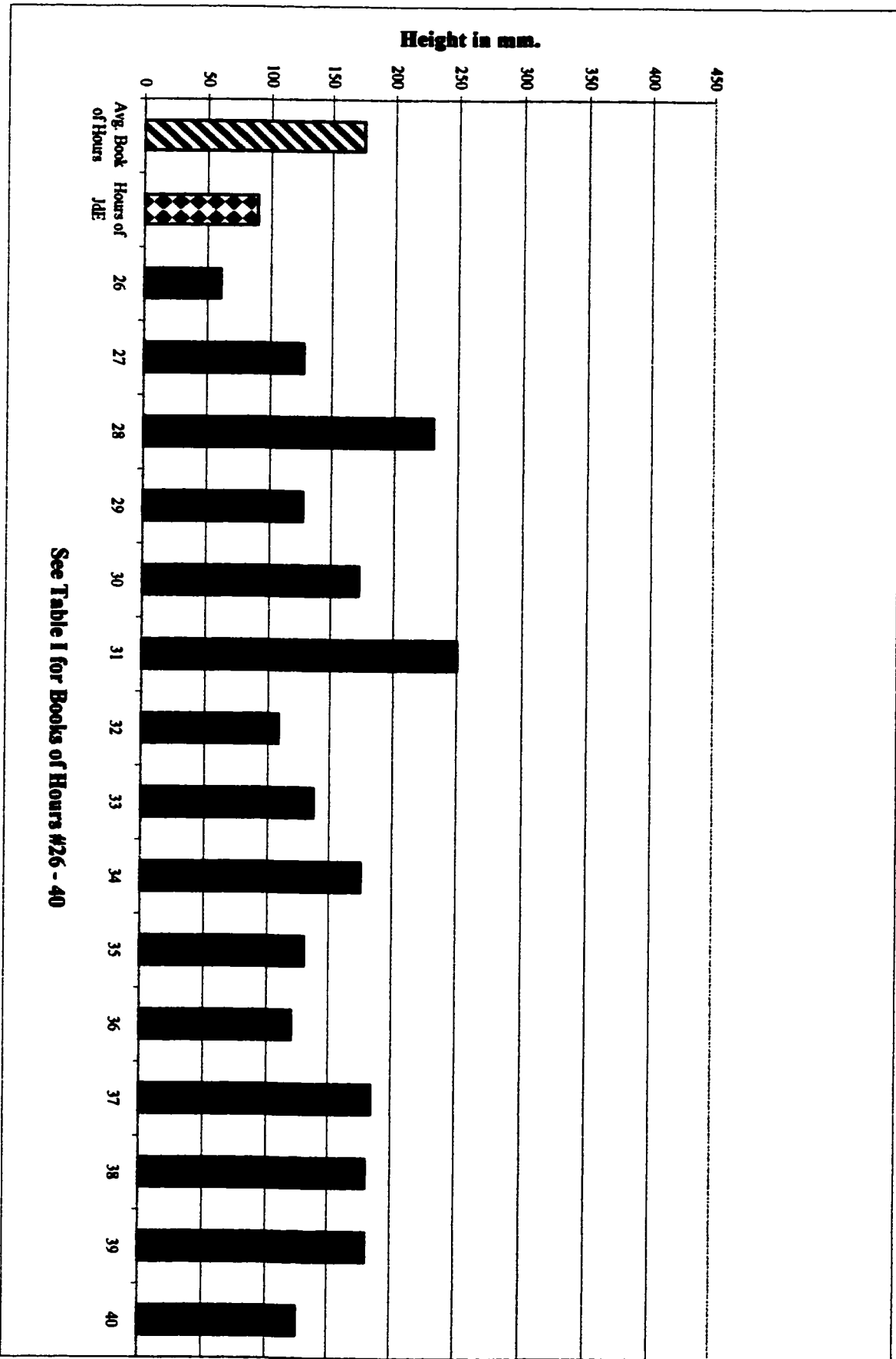
Figure 2 *A Miracle of Saint Louis and The Education of Saint Louis.* Jean Pucelle. *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 89 x 62 mm., Paris, 1324-28. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954. 54.1.2 (fol.102v-103).
(Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Figure 3
13th Century Psalter-Hours
and Books of Hours



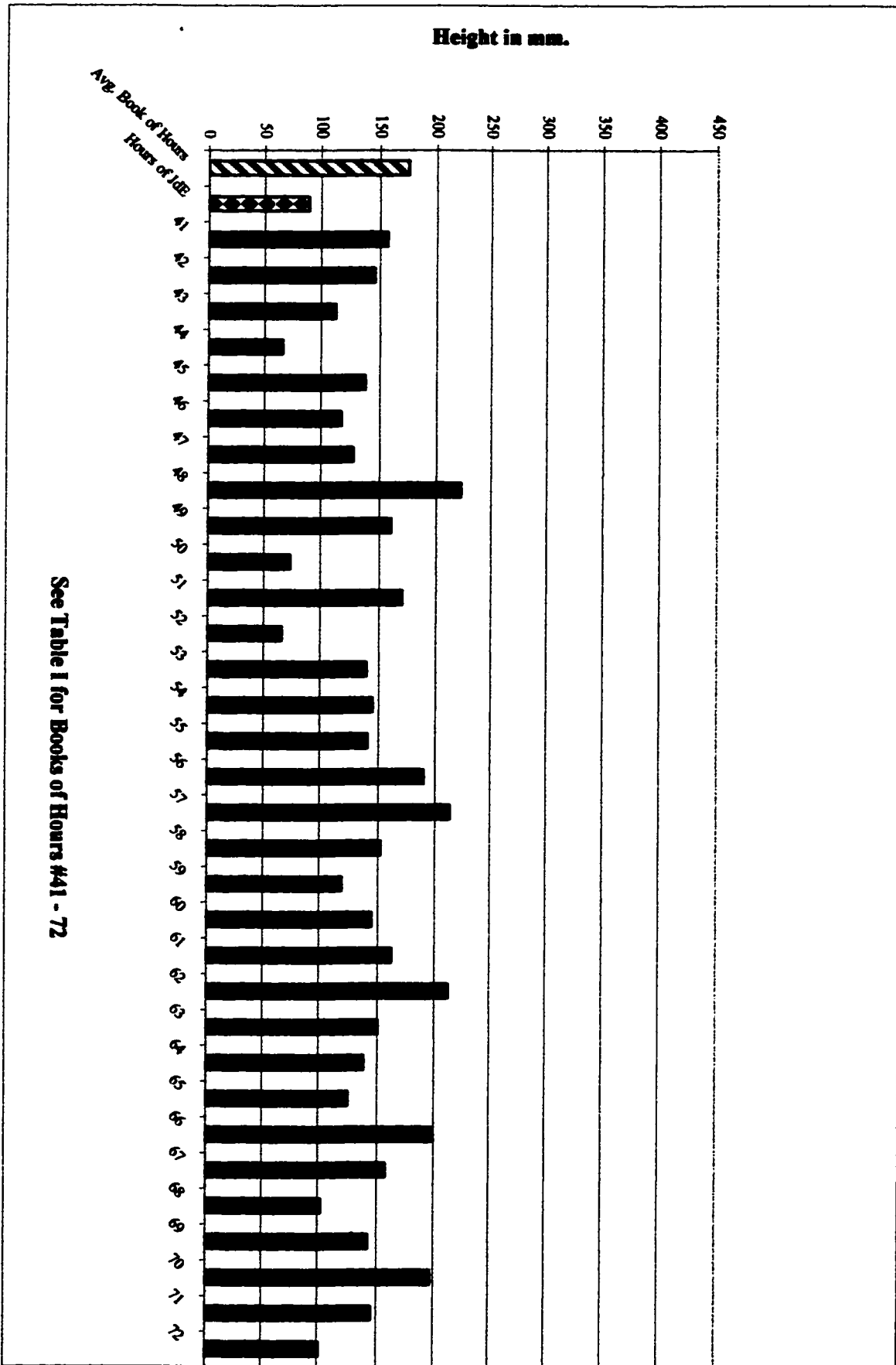
See Table I for Books of Hours #1 - 25

Figure 4
First Quarter 14th Century
Psalter-Hours
and Books of Hours



See Table I for Books of Hours #26 - 40

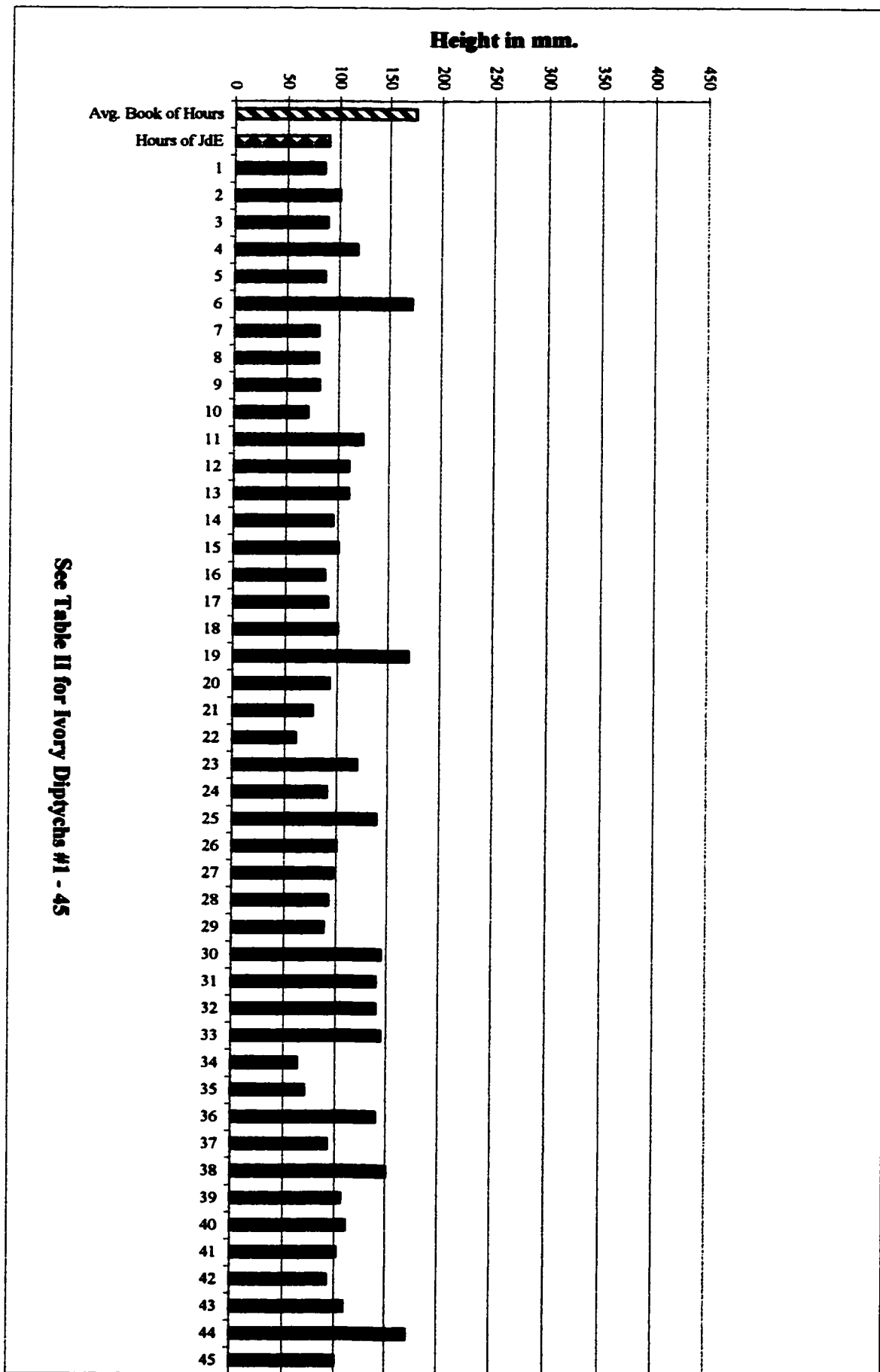
Figure 5
 Second Quarter to
 End 14th Century
 Psalter-Hours
 and Books of Hours



See Table I for Books of Hours #41 - 72



Figure 6 *Virgin and Child with Donor and Crucifixion.* French, Ivory, 90 x 58 mm., 1300-25. Châlons-en-Champagne, musée municipale, n° 861-1-40 (1,2).
(Source: Réunion des musées nationaux, *L'art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285-1328: [exposition] Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 17 mars – 29 juin 1998* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1998), cat. no. 106)



See Table II for Ivory Diptychs #1 - 45

Figure 7
Paired Scene Ivory Diptychs
1300 to 1350

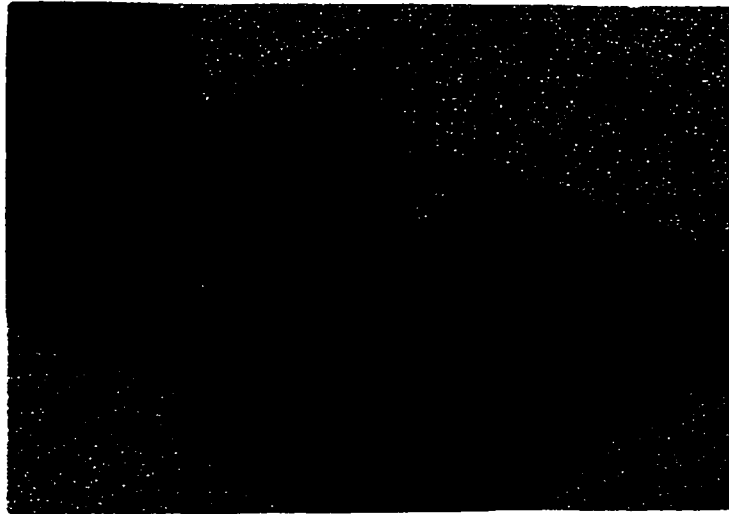


Figure 8 Photograph of *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* shown in comparison with a hand. (Photo courtesy of Abigail Quandt, The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD).

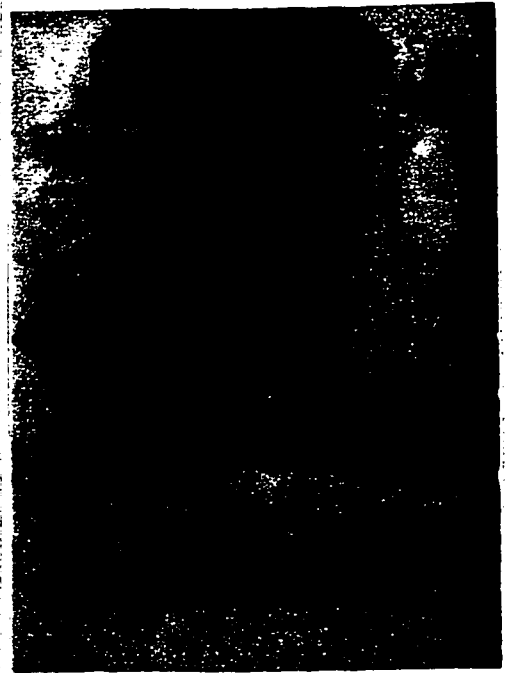


Figure 9 A Comparison between two *Annunciation* folios from *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* Left: Reproduction of folio used in Caviness article enlarged to 168 mm. (Source: Caviness, Madeline. "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed." *Speculum* 68, no. 1 (1993): 347.) Right: Actual size of folio, 89 mm. (Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Musée Municipal
Place Godart

Châlons-en-Champagne, le 5 décembre 2000

KATHLEEN LANG
207 Beachview Avenue
SANTA CRUZ, CA 95060
U.S.A.

N/Ref : 94/00

Mademoiselle,

Je vous donne l'autorisation d'utiliser, pour votre thèse, l'image du diptyque :
Vierge à l'Enfant avec donatrice et Crucifixion, ivoire, vers 1300-1325,
Inventaire n° 861-1-40 (1,2).
Veuillez agréer, Mademoiselle, l'assurance de mes sentiments
respectueux.

Le Conservateur en chef,
Jean-Pierre Ravaux



The WALTERS ART MUSEUM

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Fax: : 410-752-4797

FACSIMILE MESSAGE

TO: Kathleen Lawry
FAX: 408-370-1027
FROM: Arigail Quardt

*Technical Aspects of
the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*

THIS FACSIMILE CONSISTS OF 7 PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE).

DATE SENT: 1/17/01

COMMENTS:

Kathleen - Here are the relevant pages where I discuss the edit of the manuscript this is the final draft that I sent to Facsimile Verlag - but of course the text was then translated in French + German for the publication and has different page numbers. So I'm not sure what to suggest as far as quoting particular sentences or footnotes. Believe it or not, I've not seen a copy of the commentary volume yet so I can't help you much there! You're welcome to contact me again if you have specific questions. As for the photo I suggest you scan the image from the brochure. Life has been so busy that I just haven't had time to look for the original slide. I apologize for ignoring your correspondence for so long. Good luck with your thesis. Arigail Quardt

re: Figure 8