The Illuminated Manuscripts of the *Légende Dorée*:
Jean de Vignay's Translation of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers closely 28 illuminated manuscripts of Jean de Vignay’s translation of Jacobus de Voragine’s celebrated 13th-century compendium of saints’ lives, the *Legenda aurea*.

Vignay’s translation, the *Légende dorée*, poses some particular problems for manuscript studies. The extant manuscripts can be seen to be accommodated by at least two major genres of medieval French illumination: the transition of vernacular, courtly literature and the tradition of devotional texts. The tension created by these two conventions can be reconciled if we regard the *Légende dorée* manuscripts as enjoying popularity with an elite and secular audience which was not interested in the text as much as it was interested in the illuminations, or more probably, in the status of owning an important scholarly illuminated work.

In establishing appropriate genres for the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*, the production of the books within the organised artistic workshop is explored. This has led to the conclusion that while in some cases compositions were freshly devised from the text of the *Légende dorée*, most illuminators relied heavily on standard workshop models and patterns.

As well as attempting to place the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* in the milieu of late medieval France and as well as seeking to explore the popularity – or at least the level of ownership – of this translation of a somewhat irrelevant and difficult philosophical work, the thesis also presents for the first time an annotated catalogue of all known manuscripts of the text.

The catalogue lists the manuscripts according to the sigils ascribed by Richard Hamer, Christchurch College, University of Oxford and Vida Russell of Melbourne. The physical aspects, known provenance, decoration and subjects of the miniatures of the volumes are detailed. This is followed by a commentary dealing with the particular problems and challenges presented by the illumination and production of each manuscript. In some cases artists have been suggested for several previously unattributed manuscripts.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I offer special thanks to my supervisors Professor Margaret Manion, Herald Professor of Fine Arts, Melbourne University and Miss Vida Russell formerly Senior Lecturer, Department of English, Adelaide University. I also thank Dr. Vera Vines for reading an early draft of the thesis. Mr Richard Hamer of Christchurch College, Oxford, working in close association with Miss Russell, has been helpful on matters relating to the text of the *Légende dorée*.

There are various people who have assisted my work in Europe. I especially thank Ms Barbara Fleith of the Université de Genève. I also thank the librarians of the following institutions: the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris; the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Paris; the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels; the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva; the Bibliothèque Municipale, Mâcon; the Musée Condé, Chantilly. In Great Britain, I was assisted by the librarians in the British Library and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and in the United States by the librarians of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

I am indebted to Ms Mary Scrafton, Flinders University, Adelaide and Ms Andrea David, Christchurch College, Oxford, for their help with translations of Vignay’s text.

I wish to also thank Mr. Andrew Funston for his assistance with proof-reading of the final manuscript and the mounting of photographs.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the financial support from the University of Melbourne Post-graduate Scholarship Fund and for two travel grants; for research in Europe and for participation in the 1983 Montréal symposium on the *Legenda aurea*. 
PREFACE

This thesis has been assisted by the research carried out by Richard Hamer, Christchurch College, Oxford, and Vida Russell of Melbourne, into the construction of a stemma for the manuscripts of the Légende dorée. The sigils which they established for the manuscripts have been used throughout the thesis and are listed following this preface.

It has been necessary to impose limits on the scope of my research presented in this thesis. Clearly, the manuscripts of the Légende dorée are worthy of detailed codicological study such as that undertaken by Jean Caswell for MS Mb. It seemed, however, that a prior research task was required for the study of the Légende dorée: to bring into a critical and comparative perspective all the extant manuscripts of Vignay's translation. Similarly, I have not been able to consider in any detail the acknowledged influence of this text, or of the Legenda aurea, on medieval iconography more broadly. Again, it seemed that the pictorial traditions within the manuscripts of the Légende dorée warranted prior attention.
### TABLE OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *LEGENDE DOREE* WITH SIGILS

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Cambridge, University Library Inc. ID.40 (2755) ....................................... Bc
(same edition and almost identical with Ac)

Selections

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 9549 ....................................................... BX

1. Table prepared by Vida Russell and Richard Hamer who also attributed the sigils. A fragment in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS n.a. fr. 1198 ff. 29–31, has not been examined by Hamer and Russell. Anne van Buren has suggested to me that it may be a Vignay translation.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ................................................................................................................................. ii
Acknowledgements .............................................................................................................. iii
Preface ................................................................................................................................. iv
Table of Manuscripts ........................................................................................................... v

**PART ONE**

**Chapter One: The Text**

The *Legenda Aurea* and the *Légende Dorée*

1.1 Jacobus de Voragine and the *Legenda Sanctorum* ....................................................... 2
1.2 The Medieval Distribution, Structure and Sources of the *Legenda Aurea* ....................... 2
1.3 The Later Fortunes of the *Legenda Aurea* .................................................................... 4
1.4 Modern Responses to the *Legenda Aurea* ................................................................... 5
1.5 The Audience of the *Legenda Aurea* .......................................................................... 6
1.6 Jean de Vignay and the *Légende Dorée* .................................................................... 11

**Chapter Two: The Illuminated Manuscripts of the Légende Dorée**

2.1 Patronage ...................................................................................................................... 17
2.2 Programmes of Decoration: Structure and Presentation ................................................. 21
2.3 Illustration of Narrative: The Relationship between the Miniatures and Text
   a. The Iconic .................................................................................................................... 23
   b. Amplification of Narrative ....................................................................................... 26
   c. The Temporal ........................................................................................................... 29

**Chapter Three: The Artists and Their Workshops**

3.1 The Illuminators .......................................................................................................... 32
3.2 Division of Labour ....................................................................................................... 34
3.3 Compositional Models: Sources and Transmission ....................................................... 42
3.4 Transmission of Text and Pictorial Composition: Constructing a Stemma .......................... 47
3.5 The Cycles of the Volto Santo of Lucca ........................................................................... 50

Chapter Four: Defining the Manuscripts of the Légende dorée

4.1 Hagiographical Texts and their Illustration ....................................................................... 55
   a. Hagiography as Endorsement – Libelli ........................................................................... 55
   b. Hagiography in the Vernacular: Royalist Propaganda? ................................................. 56
   c. Devotions to the Saints – Books for Mass and Office .................................................... 59
   d. Compendia of Saints’ Lives ......................................................................................... 63

4.2 The Tradition of Late Medieval Vernacular Illuminated Manuscripts .............................. 64

4.3 The Place of the Manuscripts of the Légende dorée in the Tradition of Illuminated Books
   a. Audience, Presentation and Structure of the Illustrative Programmes ....................... 67
   b. Iconography and Narrative ....................................................................................... 69

Conclusion ............................................................................................................................. 74

PART TWO

Catalogue and Commentaries

1. B1: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 9226 ......................................................................... 79
2. B2: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 9227 ......................................................................... 86
3. C: Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 735 .................................................................................... 89
4. F: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Library MS McClean 124 .............................................................. 94
7. P1: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 241 ..................................................................... 104
12. R: London, British Library Royal MS 19.XVIII ................................................................. 141
13. S: Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 266 ................................................................... 147
Appendices I–IV

I. The manuscripts of the *Légende Dorée* according to stylistic groups .................. 239

II. The order of contents of the *Legenda Aurea* and the *Légende Dorée* ................. 242

III. Jean Goltein's *Festes Nouvelles* ................................................................. 246

IV. Jean de Vignay's Preface to the *Légende Dorée* ............................................. 248

Bibliography .............................................................................................................. 249
PART ONE
CHAPTER ONE: THE TEXT

The Legenda Aurea and the Légende Dorée

1.1 Jacobus de Voragine and the Legenda sanctorum

According to his modern biographer Ernest Richardson, Jacobus de Voragine was born either in Genoa or the nearby town of Varazze, in 1228 or 1229.¹ He enjoyed a distinguished career as a churchman and scholar, becoming first Prior of the convent at Asti, then Prior of the Dominican province of Lombardy, and finally in 1292, Archbishop of Genoa. At his death in 1298, he had completed several major works mostly of an edifying nature, including the Legenda sanctorum of c. 1260, which was later given the epithet aurea;² the Cronica ianeunse, a chronicle of the city of Genoa; a Marialis and three volumes of sermons. Richardson claims, although without substantial evidence, that Voragine was the first translator of the Bible into the Italian vernacular.³ Voragine's modern reputation as a man of peace is based in part on his role in the temporary conciliation between the warring factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Genoa in early 1295. However, it was the overwhelming medieval success of the Legenda aurea which contributed most to the modern perception of Voragine as a saintly figure, appropriately leading to his beatification by Pope Pius VII in 1816.

1.2 The Medieval Distribution, Structure and Sources of the Legenda aurea

Undoubtedly Voragine’s most successful work, in the terms of number of manuscript copies and editions produced, was the Legenda aurea.⁴ When Jean de Vignay translated the work into French in

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² S.L. Reames, The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History (Wisconsin, 1985), 39, notes that the title of aurea was an honorific adjective attached to the work from about 1300. It is referred to in Bernard Gui’s Speculum sanctorale of c. 1315. See n.31.
³ E.C. Richardson, op. cit., xii. The claim has been disputed, and the Bible translation is generally not currently included in lists of Voragine’s works. See S.L. Reames, The Legenda Aurea op. cit., 15, 217n.20.
around 1333, the Latin original was the most popular abridged legendary in Europe. Over 1,000 manuscript copies are extant today, compared to only 20 copies each of the closest medieval rivals of the *Legenda aurea*, the *Abbreviatio in gestis miraculis sanctorum* by Jean de Mailly and the *Epilogus in gesta sanctorum* by Bartholomew of Trent. All three works were abridged legendaries compiled in the 13th century.

The *Legenda aurea* is a lengthy work of almost encyclopaedic proportions. It is divided into 182 chapters of varying lengths, most of which describe the lives and miracles of the saints. Important festivals of the Dominican calendar are also included, and the entries are arranged according to the order of the liturgical year, beginning with the Advent of the Lord. Voragine prefaced his work with a short prologue discussing the five divisions of the liturgical year, calling attention to the appropriate scriptures to be read on the main festivals. A short preface also accompanies the text of each saint's life and usually takes the form of a linguistically improbable but appropriately pious etymology of the saint's name.

Many of the narratives in the *Legenda aurea* are only a few pages in length. The essentials of each life are recounted with a minimum of descriptive detail, and most conform to the classic Latin *passio* or *vita* narrative form which evolved in the first centuries of Christianity. Voragine's life of St. Agatha, based on an adversary model of good and evil, is an example of the *passio* narrative. She is typically noble, beautiful, and devout. Rejecting a suitor's advances, she declares her commitment to Christ. Enraged, the suitor submits her to a series of unspeakable tortures. Agatha refuses to renounce her faith, and eventually dies, but as an answer to her prayers rather than from inflicted injuries. After her death her suitor meets a sticky end, and a series of posthumous miracles affirm her saintliness. The mark of the *passio* narrative is its consistency; nearly half the female saints in the *Legenda aurea* follow this biography with only minor variations. The other narrative type, the *vita*, similarly involves diametric opposition of good and evil, but the emphasis is more on conversion, examples of faith in adversity, miracles, and inspiration of faith in others. The life of St. Antony conforms to this model.

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6 A. Poncelet, "Le Légendier de Pierre Calo", *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXIX (1910), 5–116, provides a good summary of the genre of the abridged legendary, and includes a discussion of those by Jean de Mailly and Bartholomew of Trent.

7 The only modern English translation of the *Legenda aurea* is by G. Ryan and H. Ripperger, *The Golden Legend* (New York, 1969). This is only an adaptation, and some material is omitted. The standard modern Latin edition is by T. Graesse, *Legenda aurea, vulgo Historia lombardica dicta* (Bratislava, 1890).

8 These narratives are discussed by C.F. Altman, "Two Types of Opposition and the Structure of Latin Saints' Lives", *Medievalia et Humanistica*, New Series 6 (1975), 1–11.

In addition to these hagiographic narratives, the text includes several more lengthy chapters, including those on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, St. Gregory and the Commemoration of All Souls. Much of the material in these chapters is not discursive, but offers an analysis of complex theological issues, such as the bodily Assumption of the Virgin, where Voragine typically assesses the relative value of sources like St. Jerome and St. Bernard.10

The *Legenda aurea* has never been properly edited, although several modern editions have been attempted, and as a result, Voragine’s sources have not been identified and thoroughly investigated.11 The French translator Roze, writing in 1902, claimed to locate over 100 different sources,12 and certainly Voragine appears to have gathered material from dozens of texts, which he usually cites in the body of the *Legenda aurea*, such as Jean Belet’s *Summa de divinis officiis*, Saint Augustine, Cassiodorus, the *Dialogues* of Saint Gregory, Sulpicius Severus, Saint Jerome, the * Martyrology* of Usuardus and *Speculum historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais. Although Voragine commented critically on some of his sources, he evidently consciously borrowed much of his material verbatim.13 Although quite in keeping with medieval practice, this magpie tendency has earned him the contempt of some modern commentators, who malign ed his achievement because of a so-called lack of originality.14

### 1.3 The Later Fortunes of the *Legenda aurea*

At the end of the 15th century the *Legenda aurea* was a publishing phenomenon. The Latin text was published in at least 15 different cities between 1470 and 1489.15 During the course of the 14th and 15th centuries it was also translated into the main European languages, and one writer has made the extravagant claim that in total, the *Legenda aurea* was issued in a greater number of editions than the *Bible*.16 However, this tremendous popularity was short-lived. After 1517 the *Legenda* was published in only two cities and no editions were published after 1555. The last vernacular edition was Italian, printed in Venice in 1613, and for the next 250 years only one new edition in any language was

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12 R. Hamer, ibid., n.20 in reference to Roze.
13 R. Hamer, ibid.
14 For example, G.H. Gerould, *Saints’ Legends* (Cambridge, 1916).
published.\(^{17}\) This sudden fall from favour in the 16th century has traditionally been attributed to the zealotry of the Reformation, which lead to severe attacks on the perceived excesses of Voragine’s work.\(^{18}\) Even the term *legenda*, which in its original sense meant simply "readings", became a term of abuse for the fanciful and the preposterous. It was not until the 19th century that the *Legenda aurea* recovered some of its former glory, prompted in part by a fashion for the Gothic and a taste for what were then regarded as charming and simple tales of common medieval laypeople.

### 1.4 Modern Responses to the *Legenda aurea*

Modern commentators on the *Legenda aurea* have customarily attributed the overwhelming medieval success of the text to a broad-based reading audience composed of the "common people". The misapprehension that the work reached an equivalent audience to the modern bestselling novel has obscured our understanding of its medieval readership and reception. Emile Mâle wrote that Voragine "simply popularised the lectionary". The work represented the "spirit of the age", and "for the man of the Middle Ages such stories had all the charm of our tales of adventure".\(^{19}\) More recently, Ryan and Ripperger offered a similarly sentimental and patronising interpretation which failed to make a serious attempt to establish the role of the text in the Middle Ages: "...the reader of that time found in the golden pages the same people with whom he rubbed elbows in the shop and market-place and church".\(^{20}\)

This notion that the *Legenda aurea* was intended for a common, unsophisticated audience to be used as an adventure storybook is in part a response to the apparent structural simplicity of many of the hagiographical narratives. Although Voragine does not specify an audience in his prologue, there is no evidence that he assumed his audience to be uneducated, and indeed, evidence suggests that quite the opposite was true.

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\(^{18}\) G. Ryan and H. Ripperger, op. cit., vi–viii. See also J. Schmidt, "Golden Legends during the Reformation Controversy: Polemical Trivialisation in the German Vernacular", *Legenda Aurea: Sept Siècles de Diffusion*, op. cit., 267–275. S.L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea*, op. cit., part 1, has suggested that the 16th century reaction against the *Legenda aurea* arose from within the mainstream of contemporary Catholicism, fostered in part by a new Renaissance trend towards critical, exacting scholarship. Among Catholic critics was the Spanish humanist and disciple of Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives, who branded Voragine as *homo ferrei oris et plumbei cordis*, on the grounds that his accounts of the saints lacked historical accuracy.


The modern notion that "the true matter of the legend is fashioned by the mind and soul of the people" has found wide acceptance. In his work on hagiographic cults, Peter Brown disputed this essentially 18th century model of a two-tiered Church structure, where the religious experience of the educated is differentiated from that of the superstitious myth-making lower classes. He has shown that on the contrary, the legends of the saints were more often invented by the elite for the purposes of political control. From the first centuries of Christianity, but particularly in the early Middle Ages, the cult of a saint originated at the burial spot or shrine, and often attracted a great many pilgrims. Brown suggests that these apparently spontaneous mass pilgrimages were in fact managed by the upper levels of the Church in order to affirm and consolidate their own power. In the creation of a successful pilgrimage site the authenticity of the saint had to be unquestioned, and to this end many medieval shrines were furnished with an official narrative of the saint's life. Consequently very little was risked to vagaries of popular invention.

The narratives of the saints' lives in the *Legenda aurea*, no matter how simple, did not originate in the culture of the "common man", and there are at least two obvious reasons why Voragine's text was not written expressly for this audience. The high cost of books would have made them a luxury item for all but the wealthy, and even if such a book was purchased, the greater barrier of language would have prevented the owner from reading it. The readership of the *Legenda aurea* was necessarily confined to the narrow section of the community in the late Middle Ages who could read and understand Latin. By the 14th and 15th centuries those could read Latin were well-educated clerics and the members of the laity who wrote and interpreted legal and government documents; virtually everyone else, from peasant to aristocrat, was not literate in Latin. Evidence suggests that even the parish priest, who in

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23 S. G. Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 7 (1981/2), 742–768; 747, has estimated that it would have taken a 14th century French male agricultural labourer six months of daily work to purchase an expensive Book of Hours. A cheaper book, without decoration, cost the equivalent of about seven days labour.
24 J.W. Thomson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1960), 132–133, finds that while lay education in France in the late 13th century was at a high level, most people were not literate in Latin. Philippe IV may have had difficulty in reading Latin, for in his translation of *De consolatione philosophiae*, Jean de Meun notes that he has translated the work for the King to make it more easily understood. By the end of the 13th century, books intended for a lay audience were very quickly translated into the vernacular. A large proportion of the population was denied access to Latin texts, as women were generally excluded from a Latin education. According to S.G. Bell, op. cit., 758, even the scholar and writer Christine de Pisan probably knew no Latin; her sources were all in French and Italian, and in her educational treatise, *Le Livre du Trésor de la Cité des Dames*, she fails to recommend a Latin education for girls. See also M.B. Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity", D. Daiches (ed.), *The Medieval World* (London 1973), 555–577.
France was in an ideal position to disseminate material throughout his parish, may not have received a Latin education. In addition to these problems of accessibility, Voragine's text contains long passages of complicated theology and liturgical history not appropriate for the unprepared layman. To those already mentioned may be added the lengthy chapters on the Passion, the Resurrection, the Chair of St. Peter, The Rogations, the Ascension and Pentecost. Throughout the text, Voragine also includes what are in effect critical notes in which he assesses the reliability of his sources.

These demands on the audience of the *Legenda aurea* clearly indicate that the text was not the "layman's lectionary", despite the "gracious simplicity that would not tax the understanding of the humble folk". The only audience both skilled in Latin and equipped to appreciate the extended tracts of theology and critical comments were educated clerics. There is nothing very unusual about the *Legenda aurea* in this regard; other compilations of abbreviated saints' lives were used by clerics. Jean de Mailly's *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum* includes a preface explaining that the work was compiled for parish priests who did not have enough information on the saints for teaching their flocks. Another popular compilation, Bartholomew of Trent's *Epilogus in gesta sanctorum*, designates the work as a sourcebook for Dominican and other preachers. The absence of such a preface in the *Legenda aurea* may account, at least in part, for the modern perception of the text's use as a layperson's lectionary.

The specialised, often dense contents of the *Legenda aurea* also indicate that it was produced for the clergy and not for an unlettered, popular audience. The text is consistent with a demand amongst the clergy in the 13th century for a concise, logically organised collection of saints' lives to be used as pious readings for private devotions, and more particularly, as source books for the order of the Friar Preachers, the Dominicans, in order to illustrate their sermons. While the rise of the Dominican order and the requirement by preachers for reference books explains the condensed format of the *Legenda

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25 S.L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea*, op. cit., 86, makes the claim that many 13th century parish priests would not have known Latin. Familiarity with Latin was not imperative; the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 sought to increase the pastoral concerns of the clergy, and preaching and teaching in the vernacular received the official sanction of Church authorities.


27 G. Ryan and H. Ripperger, op. cit., ix.

28 S. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea*, op. cit., 250n.3 and n.4, reproduces the relevant texts from the prologues of Jean de Mailly's and Bartholomew of Trent's legendaries. See also A. Poncelet, op. cit., 14ff. However, Poncelet believes that the *Legenda aurea* was not used by preachers, but was intended to mettre aux mains des fidèles un livre de lectures édifiantes (24). Of modern commentators, G.C. Richardson, *Materials of a Life*, op. cit., 40, is one of the few who have acknowledged that the text was intended to be used by clerics "for their own or public reading".
auræa, it does not explain why this particular compilation, rather than others, was produced and printed in such numbers.

One answer to the predominance of the *Legenda aurea* has been suggested by Sherry Reames. She conjectures that the text was indeed intended to be used as a source book for sermons, but only by highly educated clerics like Voragine himself, and in order to advance specific causes.

Reames claims that the *Legenda aurea* differs from others of the genre in that Voragine tends to preserve the concrete details of each narrative while eliminating the lessons and conclusions: the parts intrinsic to proper instruction. This tendency, which is apparent throughout the text, together with the inclusion of long theological digressions, reduces the value of the book as a moral teaching aid. As Reames puts it; "the rind ... is retained while most of the fruit is cast away". She concludes that the *Legenda aurea* was intended to be used as a source book for sermons, but only by well-educated clerics who were sufficiently erudite to provide their own lessons at appropriate places and to interpret the more complicated passages. Unlike other compilations of the genre, the *Legenda aurea* possessed some versatility: depending on the situation the preacher inserted his own conclusions. According to Reames, in the political context of 13th-century Northern Italy, the text could be used as the instrument of the clerical elite to justify their own privileges and powers while discouraging potential critics.

During the first half of the 13th century the authority of the Roman Church was threatened on two fronts. In Northern Italy and the Languedoc region the emergence of the heretical sects the Waldenses and Albigensians posed a real challenge to the established order. The central tenet of their faith, the

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31 Ibid., 85. This statement refers to the life of St. Benedict in the *Legenda aurea*, which Reames compares to that by St. Gregory. She finds that the narrative emphasises power and revenge at the expense of human values such as mercy, compassion and forgiveness. Confrontation and the saint's vindication against adversaries are stressed, and Voragine omits Gregory's introduction, which outlines Benedict's pastoral responsibilities. Reames also notes that this pattern is followed by other narratives, and by the compilation as a whole; it contains a disproportionate number of lives based on the *passio* model, which as a form tends to emphasise the characteristics outlined above. She questions the "massive success of a sourcebook that retells story after story in essentially the same, reductive fashion" (89). A. Poncelet, op. cit., 26, although disagreeing with Reames' thesis that the *Legenda aurea* was used as a preaching manual, albeit for senior churchmen, also calls attention to the preface of Bernard Gui's compilation, the *Speculum sanctorale*, which was composed less than 20 years after the death of Voragine, at the request of the Master General of the Friars Preachers, Berengar of Landorra. In the preface Gui complains that his predecessor's work is too abridged to be useful, which necessitated the production of a new compilation. This is consistent with Reames' view that Voragine offered pared-down narratives, and the need for a new Dominican legendary so soon after the *Legenda aurea* suggests that the former served a different purpose.
belief that matter itself was corrupt, was irreconcilable with Christian dogma, for it was antipathetic to
the Creation, the Incarnation and the Redemption. The Church responded with repression, and the
Inquisition was adopted within the court system, where tactics of betrayal, accusation, interrogation,
torture and sometimes death at the stake were used to intimidate members of heretical sects. Lay
authority represented the second major challenge to the Church during the 13th century. An ongoing
power struggle between Frederick II and the papacy centred on the Emperor's attempts to unite the
north and south of Italy and so diminish the basis of the Pope's power. In 1227 Frederick was
excommunicated and deposed by Gregory IX. Gregory's successor, Innocent IV, placed bans on the
supporters of the Emperor, rewarded his detractors and installed two anti-kings in opposition. In 1246
Frederick called Christian kings to unite against the clerics' oppression, but the bid failed and he died
defeated in 1250.

The Dominican and Franciscan orders played a very important role in defending the Church from these
sustained attacks. Early in the century Innocent III established a system of surveillance throughout
the Christian world, based on networks of parishes. This enabled the parish priest to keep a close
watch over his parishioners, while the bishop maintained order throughout the whole diocese. This
system was supported in the towns by preachers, who were usually friars from the mendicant orders.
In contrast to the humanism of the preceding century, the new teachings focused on logical reasoning
and dialectic. Doctrinal disputation was encouraged and was in part designed to combat heresy. The
disseminators of these teachings, the mendicant orders, received much of their instruction from the
universities, where the Pope maintained control of the curriculum.

The text of the Legenda aurea abounds with examples which support Reames' contention that it was
used to promote the dominance of the Church in the face of heretical and lay challenges. For example,
Voragine devotes considerable time to the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, a lengthy, partly
apocryphal narrative which culminates in her Coronation in Heaven by Christ. Mary in the role of the
Queen of Heaven achieved great popularity from the middle of the 12th century, and her image
appeared in stone in the great cathedrals at Senlis, Paris and Reims. The significance of the crowned
Virgin seated beside Christ was two-fold. Firstly, as ecclesia, a symbol of the Church, she affirmed the
sovereignty of the Church of Rome. Secondly, in answer to the Albigensian heretics, whose beliefs

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34 The role of the mendicant orders in the fight against heresies is discussed by Duby, ibid., 138ff.
35 Ibid., 144f. Duby notes that the Dominican preachers in towns spoke in everyday language and avoided abstract
notions: demonstrably not the case with the Legenda aurea.
involved the rejection of physical matter, she reinforced the dogma of the Incarnation.\textsuperscript{37} The same messages appear more explicitly in a passage from the entry for St. Pelagius Pope, where Voragine writes about the Emperor, Frederick II:

\begin{quote}
He issued excellent laws in favour of the Church’s liberty and against heretics. He prospered above all in riches and in glory, but his pride led him to abuse his good gifts, and he turned his tyranny against the Church ... wherefore the Pope excommunicated him.\textsuperscript{38}
\end{quote}

If the conservative nature of the \textit{Legenda aurea} reflected the reactionary position of the Church by placing great emphasis on her powers and rights, it is not surprising that this particular text received the greatest approval from the Church authorities. The predictable and repetitive lives of the saints in the \textit{Legenda aurea} are consistent with the traditional structures of saints' lives like the \textit{libelli}, which were originally designed to provide clear and powerful messages. The pre-eminence of the Church was reinforced in Voragine’s models for a holy life, requiring obedience at the risk of dire punishment. The book was intended for senior Dominican churchmen, to use as a preaching manual and as an instrument of control in the politically unstable 13th century.\textsuperscript{39}

Under these circumstances the success of the \textit{Legenda aurea} can be appreciated; it was produced at a certain time for fairly specific reasons. However the text was more far reaching in its influence. Between the 13th and 15th centuries translations or close adaptations of the \textit{Legenda aurea} appeared in French, Spanish, Italian, High and Low German and several Germanic dialects, Bohemian, Dutch and Provençal.\textsuperscript{40} Although extant Latin manuscripts of the \textit{Legenda aurea} greatly outnumber the surviving

\begin{footnotes}
\item[37] G. Duby, \textit{The Age of the Cathedrals}, op. cit., 158f. discusses the political implications of the Coronation of the Virgin.
\item[38] G. Ryan and H. Ripperger, op. cit., 768–769.
\item[39] In this context it is significant that according to Reames, op. cit., 204, until 1523–4 no other abridged legendary was translated into a vernacular language, suggesting perhaps, active suppression. However, Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques en Français", \textit{Histoire Litteraire de la France}, XXXIII (1906), 450, mentions other partial translations of Jean Belet’s legendary and the \textit{Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum} by Jean de Mailly.
vernacular copies, these translations are nonetheless represented by a sizable number of manuscripts and incunabula. Sherry Reames takes a pessimistic view of the vernacular translations, and expresses surprise that unsophisticated readers were capable of comprehending the pruned down, unglossed text. She adds:

*Should these versions of the book turn out to have retained every bias of the original Latin version, and to have been found generally acceptable nevertheless, one would have to draw some bleak generalisations about the state of Christian education in the 14th and 15th centuries ... one would expect to find at least a few vernacular Legendas which attempt to mitigate the severity of Jacopo's teaching, and to prune away his most blatant propaganda, and to add explicit lessons or stories designed to edify a lay audience.*

For the most part, these predictions are not borne out in Jean de Vignay's French translation, known as the *Légende dorée*, despite the quite different circumstances of its production and readership. In the courtly milieu of late medieval Paris and Burgundy the 13th century preaching manual found a new, but again, not an exactly "popular" audience.

1.6 Jean de Vignay and the *Légende dorée*

The French translator of the *Legenda aurea*, Jean de Vignay, was born near Bayeux some time between 1282 and 1285. Almost the only known details of his life are to be found in several manuscripts of his works, where copyists have given him the title of "hospitalier de l'ordre de saint Jacques du Haut-Pas". The monastery of this order was located in the Faubourg Saint-Jacques in Paris, on the site of the present baroque Church of St-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas.

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An experienced scholar, Vignay translated at least eleven works from Latin into French. He was a favourite of the first Queen of Philippe VI de Valois, Jeanne de Bourgogne, for whom he translated at least four works, including the Epistles and Gospels for the church year, according to the use of Paris; the Chronicle of Primat; Gervais of Tilbury's *Otia imperialia*; the *Légende dorée*; and probably also the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais. The King also commissioned several translations from Vignay: the *Speculum ecclesiae* by Hughes de Saint-Cher, the *Institutiones* of Paleologus, and from an anonymous account of the Crusades, *Le directoire pour faire le passage de la Terre Sainte*. Another work was dedicated to Jeanne and Philippe's son, Jean, duc du Normandie and the future King Jean le Bon; the *Liber de ludus scachorum* by the Dominican Jacques de Cessoles.

In all, probably eight of Vignay's eleven translations were produced expressly for members of the royal family. They are diverse in content, including medieval religious treatises, chronicles, and descriptions of exotic countries. As new translations of generally quite recently composed texts, these books possessed a certain fashionable appeal. Among members of the French aristocracy the vogue for vernacular literature of all texts had reached its height by the 14th century, and Vignay's translations reflected current taste. The diversity of content of these texts and the secular character of their patronage suggests that they were not intended for specialised reading or intense study, but for the edification or entertainment of the educated, interested layperson.

According to Christine Knowles, the *Légende dorée* was the fourth translation undertaken by Vignay, and she dates it, in part for stylistic reasons, from 1333–4, after the completion of the *Miroir historial*. This translation, which represents the initial version of the *Légende dorée* follows Voragine's text closely, and Vignay is at pains to point out the Latin derivation. His translation is accompanied by a short translator's preface where he declares that the work was "translate de latin en francois a l'instance et requeste de tres haute noble puissante dame ma dame Jehanne de Bourgoigne par la..."
The birth, the lives, the passions and the deaths of the saints and various other notable events of past times I have begun to translate into French the legend of the saints which is called the Golden Legend. For just as gold is the noblest above all other metals, so too is this legend held to be more noble than all the others... I have begun (this work) so that it may stand in praise of His glorious name and of all the heavenly host and for the benefit of my soul and for the edification of all those men and women who will read or hear this book. Subsequent to Vignay’s translation the Légende dorée was revised twice. The first revision appeared around 1402, and was identical to the first except for the addition of 46 Festes nouvelles at the end of the text. Many of these additional saints, like St. Genevieve, St. Yves of Treguier, and St. Louis of France were of French origin, and others, such as St. Fiacre of Meaux, who was a native of Ireland, and St. Paulinus of Nola, enjoyed special veneration in France. Included among the saints’ feasts is a longer narrative recounting the construction and translation of the crucifix known as the Volto Santo of Lucca. This popular devotional statue was particularly venerated at the trading centres of Paris and Bruges, frequented by Lucchese merchant families such as the Rapondi. Several inclusions represented updatings: St. Thomas Aquinas, who was canonised in 1323 and the feast of the Conception, which was not widely celebrated until 1372.
A manuscript of this version of the Légende dorée, Gb, records that "Jean Golain" was the translator of the Festes nouvelles. Several other manuscripts of this second (or b) version describe the translator only as a "maistre en theologie de lordre de nostre dame de carme". This Jean Golain was probably the distinguished Carmelite theologian Jean Golain or Golein who at one stage belonged to the ecclesiastical entourage of Charles V, and was active as a translator in service. Born around 1325, Golein was successively Master in Theology at the University of Paris, Prior of the Paris Carmel and Provincial of the Carmelites in France. He died in Paris in 1403, and although the translation dates provided by the manuscript of the Légende dorée vary from 1401 to 1402, both are consistent with an undertaking of Golein's final years. Given Golein's past position at court, the translation was possibly commissioned by a person of influence, such as a member of the royal family.

The scholar or theologian responsible for the final reworking of the Légende dorée remains anonymous. Sometime after the middle of the 15th century this reviser completely rearranged Vignay's text, separating the Temporal and Sanctoral cycles, with the Temporal feasts grouped at the beginning, followed by four chapters on the Mass, one on the Ten Commandments and one on the Twelve Articles of Faith. After the Sanctoral appear 45 miscellaneous chapters which do not follow the Church calendar.

Jean de Vignay's French translation of the Legenda aurea was one of at least six others produced in France during the late medieval period. His translation, however, stands apart for three reasons.

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52 The contents list of Gb records the translator: Cy apres sensuient Les Inititulacios des festes nouvelles translatees de latin en francois par tres excellent docteur en theologie maistre Iehan Golain de lordre de nostre dame du carme. R. Hamer, "Jean Golain's Festes nouvelles", op. cit. 255–256, reproduces relevant passages which mention the translator of the Festes nouvelles in Hb, Db, Jb, Bb, and Xb.

53 The life and work of Jean Golain is discussed by R. Hamer, ibid., and by L. Delisle, Recherches sur la libraire de Charles V, (tom. 1, Paris, 1907), 94–104. His translations also include Guillaume Durand's Racional, to which he added a Traité du sacre in which he discussed the constitutional aspects of the coronation ceremony. This work is dealt with by C.R. Sherman, "The Queen in Charles V's Coronation Book; Jeanne de Bourbon and the 'ordo ad reginam benedicendam'", Viator, VIII (1977), 255–297.

54 The date of 1401 is given by Hb, Jb, and Bb (fol. 320). Db, Jb and Bb (fol. 375) record a date of 1402.


   2. Anonymous translation made for Beatrix de Bourgogne, who died in 1329. Only one manuscript from the 15th century is extant, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 23114.
   3. Represented by Florence, Bibl. Laur. MS Med-Pal 141, which is dated 1399.
   4. Translation of c. 1300. Two manuscripts are extant: Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 20330 and another at the seminary of Puy-en-Velay. This translation, by Jean Belet, is discussed by P. Meyer, "Notice sur trois légendiers français attribués à
First, it is extant in some 34 manuscripts and three incunabula\(^5\) (see list preceding Table of Contents). According to Paul Meyer the other six translations exist in only one or two copies each. Butler finds eight copies of a version by Jean Belet; however both Butler and Meyer agree that it was probably copied from different sources, and cannot be properly classified as a translation of Voragine.\(^5\) As Vignay's translation is extant in the greatest number of copies, it could be described as the most popular of the French translations. However, in the correct sense of the word, the Vignay translation was not popular, for it was commissioned by an elite member of the royal family. This is the second distinguishing characteristic of the *Légende dorée*, for with one exception the other translations from the *Legenda aurea* do not include a dedicatory preface, which suggests that they were not specifically commissioned by wealthy patrons.\(^5\)

Third, Vignay's translation is differentiated in that it follows the Latin original very closely. Knowles describes him as a "traducteur d'une fidélité pénible",\(^6\) and although he made errors in his understanding of the Latin, he did not make substantial changes to Voragine's text, adding only his own prologue, some etymologies and a few Latin verses with translations. In contrast, the other translations of the *Legenda aurea* can better be called abridgements or free adaptations.\(^6\)

As suggested by Vignay's prologue, the number of extant manuscripts, the aristocratic patronage of the translation and its fidelity to the Latin source are not unrelated: "...this legend is held to be more
noble than all the others”. The word "noble" is also used to describe Jeanne de Bourgogne, indicating exclusiveness both of text and patron. Vignay appears here to be referring to Voragine’s Latin original, implying that his translation derives from a prestigious source. The superior nature of his translation is also stressed by his mention that it was taken from the Latin, which suggests a direct translation rather than a paraphrase. It is appropriate that the Queen’s commission, which derived from the best of sources, was considered exclusive. It is also likely that manuscripts of this text carried the same air of respectability and as a consequence were highly desirable, which would account for the numbers extant.

This suggestion that the Legenda aurea and hence the Légende dorée were in some way prestige texts is consistent with Reames’ argument that the Legenda aurea was the "official" hagiographical compendium, largely through active promotion on the part of Church authorities. However, while this may offer some explanation regarding the survival of the Legenda aurea in its French translation, it does not account for the apparent enthusiasm with which it was read by the 14th and 15th century French audience, despite the dense, biased and for this audience, obscure nature of the text. A clearer understanding of the way this audience received and used the Légende dorée can be gained by studying the manuscripts, and more specifically, their illustration.

62 J.M. Ferrier, op. cit., 14f. discusses the growing mistrust of verse as a vehicle for truth and accuracy. While early vernacular verse saints’ lives were faithful to Latin sources, their popular oral dissemination by travelling jongleurs encouraged changes and paraphrase, and also associated them with the ribald dits and fabliaux frowned upon by the Church. Although many verse lives declare their independence from these less accepted forms by clearly stating their Latin derivation, and protesting that they "tell the truth", after the 14th century most saints’ lives were composed in prose closely following a Latin model. Prose was the traditional reserve of religious texts, chronicles and histories, which in the medieval understanding presented facts. The traditions of hagiographical literature in France have been analysed in the seminal study by P. Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques en français", Histoire littéraire de la France, XXXIII (1906), 328–358. See also F. Dembowski, "Literary Problems of Hagiography in Old French", Medievalia et Humanistica, 7 (1976), 117–130; J.P. Jones, Prologue and Epilogue in Old French Saints’ Lives Before 1400, Pennsylvania 1933. S. Aston, "The Saint in Medieval Literature", Modern Language Notes, 65 (1970), xxi–xliii, discusses the relationship between Latin and vernacular saints’ lives.
CHAPTER TWO

The Illuminated Manuscripts of the Légende Dorée

2.1 Patronage

Jean de Vignay's translation of the *Legenda aurea*, together with the two subsequent versions, is represented by 34 extant manuscripts and 2 incunabula. Vida Russell and Richard Hamer have added to and amended the list of manuscripts located by Christine Knowles and W.F. Manning, and have provided each manuscript with an appropriate *sigil* according to the version of Vignay’s text it represents (see list preceding Table of Contents). Hamer and Russell have also published a critical edition together with proposed *stemmata* of four chapters (SS. Nicholas, George, Bartholomew and All Saints).\(^63\) The whereabouts of two manuscripts, both of the first or “a” version is unknown. They can be located only by records of sale: a 1921 Sotheby’s sale catalogue of the Library of Sir John Arthur Brooke,\(^64\) and a Quaritch catalogue of 1931.\(^65\)

Unlike the manuscripts of the *Legenda aurea*, which are rarely illustrated, nearly all the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* are illuminated.\(^66\) Of the four that are not, one has spaces reserved for illumination which was never completed, and the miniatures of another have been excised.\(^67\)

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\(^{63}\) See Chapter One n.57. Hamer and Russell have located *Jb*, and from C. Knowles and Manning's lists have omitted Tournai, Bibl. de la Ville MS 127; Tours, Bibl. mun. MSS. 1011–2, and Lille, Bib. mun. MS 452, all of which are paraphrases of Vignay's text.

\(^{64}\) London, Sotheby and Co., *Catalogue of the Library of Sir John Arthur Brooke*, May 25, 1921, lot 1470. The manuscript is described as two volumes containing 114 and 126 leaves respectively, 17.5 X 12.5 inches, 3 columns of text to a page, and decorated with 88 miniatures and "many others unfinished". The volumes are bound in old French citron morocco gilt, and came from the library of the Duke of Sussex. The manuscript was sold to Ellis. The catalogue records that the manuscript dates from the 14th century, but this may be wrong, as the miniatures reproduced appear to be 15th century work.

\(^{65}\) London, Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., *A Catalogue of Illuminated and Other Manuscripts Together with Some Works on Paleography* (London, 1931), entry 94. The manuscript contains 255 folios and measures 19 X 13.5 inches. The text is in two columns and is executed in a *bâtarde* script. The volume is decorated with 2 full page and 217 smaller miniatures, "by two or three different artists". It was was written and illuminated for Louis le Bâtard de Bourbon, son of Charles I, and is dated 1480. The illumination is unusually lavish for a manuscript of the *Légende dorée*, and is stylistically related to the school of Jean Colombe.

\(^{66}\) The vast majority of manuscripts of the *Legenda aurea* are not illustrated. Exceptions include Vienna, Nationalbibl. MS lat. 326; Cortona, Bibl. Comm. MS 22; Dijon, Bibl. mun. MS 221; Madrid, Bib. Nat. MS 249, Bib. Nat. MS 9733; Milan, Bib. Nat. MS AE XII 27; Munich, Staatsbibl. MS 10177; Vorau, MS 13, Popp, Bib. mun. MS 50; and Glasgow, Univ. Lib. MS Gen. 1111. I thank Barbara Fleith of the Université de Genève for bringing these manuscripts to my attention. The *Legenda aurea* in Glasgow deserves special mention, for its decoration is unusually lavish. Originally illustrated with 106 illuminations by three Flemish artists, the manuscript was probably made for the Augustinian canons of S. Antonio in Piacenza. The text has been expanded to include a life of St. Anthony of Piacenza, and the miniature illustrating his entry is the largest (123 X 70mm) in the manuscript. The other roughly square miniatures, a single column in width, are placed at the beginning of each entry. This manuscript is discussed by Nigel Thorp in Glasgow University Library, *The Glory of the Page* (London, 1987), 176–177.

\(^{67}\) Unillustrated manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* are: *P4*, *P6*, *P7* and *Z*. *Z* has spaces for numerous miniatures. *P7* contained only several miniatures, all of which have been excised. This manuscript is embellished with decorated initials,
As illumination added considerable cost to a manuscript, it is not surprising to find that many of these manuscripts bear the arms, initials or insignia of various French and Burgundian aristocrats. In at least one case, these marks of ownership, such as the numerous crests of Jean du Mas which decorate a Légende dorée in Paris, P5, (cat. 4) were added when the manuscript was illuminated, indicating that the programme was commissioned by du Mas himself. A detail in a single miniature provides the evidence: in the miniature for the life of St. Marcellus on fol. 45v. (fig. 23), the artist has depicted du Mas' crest on the wall above the doorway. It is highly unlikely that this crest was added after the manuscript was completed. The artist, who illuminated the entire manuscript, belonged to the workshop of Evrard d'Espinques, a master who almost certainly enjoyed the patronage of Jean du Mas on several occasions. He was previously employed by Jacques d'Armagnac, duc de Nemours, and with other craftsmen passed into the service of du Mas on the execution of the duke in 1477.

Two other manuscripts bear the entwined initials of a married couple, and it is possible that they were purchased in commemoration of the marriages. Bb was subject to two programmes of illumination, with an interval of thirty years. The manuscript was first illustrated in the 1450's by a follower of the Master of Jean Rolin II who left several spaces for large illuminations which were later completed by a follower of Simon Marmion. The borders of the miniatures of the second programme are decorated with the initials "PF" and the arms of Françoise de Luxembourg and Philippe de Clèves, who were married in 1485. These initials were painted over the initials of the patrons of the original programme, possibly "RC" or "FC", who remain unidentified (cat. 17), (figs. 86, 94). The second Légende dorée manuscript possibly purchased for a marriage is P2, which was completed in about 1477, the date of the marriage of Antoine de Chourses and Katherine Coëtivy (cat. 2). Their initials appear in the margins of the large miniatures (fig. 10).

While it seems likely that these two manuscripts were first owned by the newly married couples, there is no evidence that they were illuminated specifically for these customers. They may have been purchased "on spec", and the initials and arms in the borders added after the illuminated manuscript was purchased by the couple. Unlike P5, where the crest of the owner, du Mas, appears in a miniature, there are no such indications of a patron expressly commissioning the illumination in the manuscripts of these or other manuscripts of the Légende dorée.

and is written in a fine cursive script, c. 1400.

68 It may have been appropriate for an illuminated manuscript to be purchased on the occasion of a marriage. The famous Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, New York, Cloisters Museum, was probably a wedding present to Jeanne from her husband, Charles IV. S.G. Bell, "Medieval Woman Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture", Signs, 7 (1981–2), 764, also gives examples of women carrying books in their wedding trousseaux.
A case has been made which identifies a depicted saint, and hence the manuscript, with an owner, but the evidence is not convincing. In her study of the Morgan/Mâcon *Golden Legend* now divided between New York and Mâcon, France, *Mb* (cat. 25), Jean Caswell remarks on the "special treatment" given to the representation of St. Yves on fol. 256v of the Mâcon volume. She claims that the subject is unusual in a manuscript of the *Légende dorée*, the miniature is superior in quality to others in the book, and it intentionally parallels the conciliatory skills of St. Yves of Treguier with those of Jean d'Auxy, counsellor to Philippe le Bon and first owner of the manuscript. While she admits that there is no clear connection to be made between St. Yves of Treguier and Jean d'Auxy, she ventures to identify the nobleman himself among the courtiers depicted in the miniature. As Elizabeth Salter and Derek Pearsall have commented, identification of specific figures where no such pictorial tradition exists can represent a misreading of the conventions of artistic representation. In fact, the miniature of St. Yves is no more remarkable than others in the manuscript, and the saint is depicted in several other manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*, as he is included in the *Festes nouvelles* of most "b" and "c" versions of the text.

In some miniatures from manuscripts dating from the second half of the 15th century, "signatures" appear which could be interpreted as belonging to the patron or to an artist: for example, the "AF" on the tunic of one of St. Vitalis' guards on fol. 227v. of MS 673 *Mb* (fig. 132), or the letters decorating St. Antony's bench on fol. 45v of *Ps* (fig. 23). However, there is no evidence to suggest that these letters signify an individual; other letters and "signatures" appear in these two manuscripts, but they are not distinctive.

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70 E. Salter and D. Pearsall, "Pictorial Illustration of Late Medieval Poetic Texts: the Role of the Frontispiece or Prefatory Picture", Anders en et. al (eds.), *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium* (Odense, 1980), 100–123; 108f. This discussion relates to the identification of Chaucer as the figure reading to a courtly gathering in the frontispiece of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 61, a 15th English copy of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. Salter and Pearsall argue that the miniature represents a conventional author portrait, and should not be interpreted as historically accurate, or indicate that Chaucer customarily read his work at the court of Richard II. Similarly, Caswell's identification is not consistent with pictorial convention. In manuscript illumination, a depicted patron invariably appears kneeling before a saint or deity, such as the Maréchal de Boucicaut and his wife, who kneel in prayer below the Madonna on fol. 26v. of the Boucicaut Hours, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André MS 2, or alternatively, when the manuscript was a presentation copy, receiving the completed work from the author. An example of this appears in a *Bible historiale* presented to Charles V by his advisor, Jean de Vaudetar, both of whom are depicted on fol. 2 (The Hague, Musée Meermanno-Westreenianum MS 10 B. 23). Usually the only exception to this convention is when the patron of the manuscript is also the subject of the narrative. There is no such pictorial tradition to support the identification of one of St. Yves courtiers with Jean d'Auxy in *Mb*.

71 In addition to the miniature in *Mb*, St. Yves is represented in *Gb*, *Ab*, *Hb* and *Bb*. The text for St. Ivo is included in all "b" and "c" manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*, except *Cb* and *Db*. See table 1 in R. Hamer, "Jean Golein's *Festes Nouvelles: A Caxton Source*", *Medium Aevum*, LV/2 (1986), 258.
either inconsistent or nonsensical. Possibly they relate to the names of artists and decorators, but it is more likely that the lettering is a decorative conceit intended to enhance the appearance of the miniature. 72

With only one exception, P5, which was decorated expressly for Jean du Mas, the illuminated manuscripts of the Légende dorée bear no indications that they were the result of a direct commission. Other manuscripts, such as Books of Hours were sometimes personalised by the inclusion of certain saints relevant to the owner, or with illustrations of the owners at prayer, and this can provide important information about the identity of an otherwise unknown patron. However, in the manuscripts of the Légende dorée there are no clear examples of saints being singled out for special treatment, nor are there any instances of the representation of patrons. This absence suggests that manuscripts of the Légende dorée were made and illuminated in some numbers, as they were assured of a market.

This market consisted of the aristocratic men and women attached to the French and Burgundian courts, and the list of owners of the manuscripts include well-known medieval bibliophiles such as Charles de Croy, Philippe le Bon and possibly Charles V 73 Certainly, copies of the Légende dorée appear in the libraries and inventories of Charles V and Philippe le Hardi, although they cannot usually be identified with extant manuscripts. 74 It would appear that an illuminated manuscript of the Légende dorée was an essential component of the aristocratic library. The manuscripts were not made and illuminated "to order", for specific individuals, as were several of Jean de Berry’s lavish books. Rather, the illuminated manuscripts of the Légende dorée represent an example of medieval mass production for a select but acquisitive aristocratic audience.

72 Other examples include the letters "A. Escies" written on a shop sign in the miniature for St. Lucy, fol. 28v. of M.672, Mb, and the words "Dor...Lo...tations fecit" which appear in an open book in the miniature of St. Mark, fol. 75v. of Hb. To date neither of these inscriptions have been related to patron, artist or other craftsperson associated with the making of the book.
73 At some stage these men owned respectively B1, Ab, and probably M
2.2 Programmes of Decoration: Structure and Presentation

The earliest extant manuscript of the *Légende dorée*, P1, is dated 1348, only 15 years after Vignay's translation, while the latest copies date from the end of the following century. Throughout this 150-year history the basic structure of the layout and decoration of the manuscripts varies to some extent according to current fashion, but on the whole remains consistent. Because of the lengthy text, most volumes are large in proportion, usually measuring 400 X 300mm, and some run to several volumes. With only two exceptions the text is written in double columns. The vellum used for the manuscripts is usually of high quality, fine grained with a minimum of irregularities. The script, while it varies in form and quality, is also of a type reserved for books of a good standard. In manuscripts made before about 1400 the script is a *textualis formata*, while those dating from the 15th century are written in the more relaxed cursive script and Burgundian *bastarda* commonly used at this time for vernacular texts. Some of these manuscripts, such as B1 (cat. 5), which dates from the early 15th century, are written in an elegant cursive script decorated with ornate flourishes; almost an art work in itself (fig. 30). Other manuscripts, like the contemporary B2 (cat. 6) contain a less fussy, more serviceable cursive, accompanied by a lack of emphasis on marginal decoration and the inclusion of only two miniatures (figs. 34, 35).

However, most manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* are decorated with marginal embellishment and flourished or decorated initials. A typical decorative programme opens with a frontispiece surrounded by a full or ¾ bar border (figs. 16, 36, 52, for example). Each miniature is generally also accompanied by some decoration, often in the form of a bracket border of acanthus or ivy leaves, or simply by sprigs of ivy leaf extending from the picture frame. The later the manuscript, the more elaborate the secondary decoration tends to be; the rinceau border, inhabited by identifiable flowers, strawberries, birds and the occasional grotesque, such as the c. 1460 borders of Bb, are characteristic of mid-15th century French illumination. Later still, the architectural border of the large miniature for All Saints in P2, which was painted by the Chief Associate of Maître François in about 1480, reflects the strong tendency in the late 15th century towards pictorial illusionism (fig. 14). In one manuscript the borders helped illustrate the narrative; the description and reproductions of the c. 1480 *Légende dorée* in the 1931 Quaritch catalogue indicate that the borders of this manuscript consisted of a number of subsidiary scenes germane to the subject of the text.

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75 Mb is written in a single column, consistent with 15th century practice in the Burgundian court of the Southern Netherlands. The text of the manuscript described in the Sotheby's catalogue is in three columns (see n. 2).

On the whole, the borders in the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* conform to the fashion of the day for high quality manuscripts. One example, *Mb*, contains no marginal decoration, despite the full and complex programme of illumination, which includes 221 miniatures (figs. 127–143). The manuscript was produced in Bruges in about 1460, and the page-width grisaille miniatures, *bastarda* cursive script and vacant borders are consistent with luxury manuscripts made at this time for the Burgundian court in Flanders. 77

The number of miniatures in each manuscript ranges from one *Y, Sc*, to 233 *Ab*, but there is little variation in their position and size in relation to the text. With only one exception, the Quaritch volume, in which each text entry is accompanied by up to three or four miniatures, each division of the text is marked by a single miniature. These miniatures usually appear at the beginning of the relevant text, or with the saints’ lives, just after the etymology of the saint’s name. They are small in scale, approximately square, and inserted into a single text column. The entire programme is often preceded by a full or half-page frontispiece. There are some exceptions to this pattern; in two manuscripts from the second half of the 15th century, *P2* and *Bb*, important feasts from the Temporal cycle, such as The Annunciation, The Nativity, The Passion and The Resurrection are illustrated by large, full page miniatures (figs. 8, 10, 13, 14) and (figs, 74, 76, 77, 79). The earliest manuscript, *P1* (cat. 1), which is dated 1348, contains several rectangular miniatures which extend across the double columned text page (figs. 2, 3, 5, 7). These miniatures also represent the principal feasts of the Temporal cycle.

In addition to Jean de Vignay’s initial translation of the *Legenda aurea* in 1333–4, the text was revised twice, first around 1402 and again in about 1480. 78 The first version is represented by 20 manuscripts, the second by 10, and the third by 2 manuscripts. The second version is identical to the first except for the addition of the lives of some 40, mostly French saints and the narrative of the *Volto Santo* of Lucca. The third version is rather different; several other lives are added, mainly of Flemish origin, and the contents are reorganised.

The manuscripts of the first two versions differ very little in layout. The *Festes nouvelles* of the “b” version manuscripts are illustrated in the same way as the “a” version and the first section of the “b” group: generally one small miniature at the head of each text entry. The narrative of the *Volto Santo* of Lucca, which appears near the end of the *Festes nouvelles*, is illustrated by up to 12 miniatures, but each miniature represents a distinct section of the quite lengthy text. The “c” version of the text is

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represented by only three manuscripts, all of Flemish origin. One, *Nc*, is not a pure example; the scribe evidently used an *a* exemplar before changing to a "c" exemplar half way through the task.\(^{79}\) However, the illumination of this manuscript follows the same pattern as that of "a" and "b" manuscripts, with the exception of a miniature of an exclusively "c" type saint, St. Barbara (fig. 154). The only two full examples of the "c" version are *Sc* and *Fc*. *Sc* is decorated with only one amateurish miniature, the frontispiece. The programme of illumination in *Fc* while incomplete, is very extensive, and includes 143 miniatures. This manuscript, which is the only profusely illustrated "c" version, contains a programme of illumination unique among *Légende dorée* manuscripts (cat. 26). As the Sanctoral appears in the second, uncompleted half of the book, no saints are illustrated. The first section, which includes entries not found in the first two versions of the text, such as the Ten Commandments and Twelve Articles of Faith, also contains illustrations which have no equivalents in other *Légende dorée* manuscripts.

2.3 Illustration of Narrative: the Relationship between the Miniatures and the Text.

a. The "iconic"

With several exceptions, throughout the group of manuscripts, the presentation and layout of the programmes of illustration are consistent; each text entry, if illustrated, is opened by a single miniature. However, within this structure, the artists of the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* dealt with Voragine's narrative in several different ways. The main variable is the degree of fidelity to the text; sometimes the iconography is quite extraneous to the *Légende dorée*, and is based on separate pictorial traditions. In other examples the artists have closely observed the narrative, and have devised various approaches to its representation.

In many manuscripts the commonest method of illustrating the narrative of a saint is to show the figure facing the viewer, occasionally seated but usually standing, and either holding or accompanied by an attribute. Because of the formal resemblance to the holy icon, for our purposes, this presentation may be called "iconic".\(^{80}\) The associated attribute, usually established by tradition, was generally easily recognised as belonging to that particular saint. St. Katherine of Alexandria, for

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\(^{78}\) See Chapter One, 1.6.


\(^{80}\) For a discussion of the meaning of the religious icon see B. Uspensky, *The Semiotics of the Russian Icon* (Lisse, 1976) and "Left and Right in Icon Painting", *Semiotica*, 13, 33–39. Uspensky points out several parallels between the traditional icon and the book. Like the sacred book, which bears words, the inscription on the icon is integral to its identity as a holy object. In medieval Russia, the faithful exhibited the same attitude to icons and holy books, by placing them in a special holy niche in the home, and the Church prohibited against throwing away sacred books and icons which had fallen into disrepair (*The Semiotics of the Russian Icon*, 10). While on the whole there is no indication that the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* were regarded with such reverence, the use of similar "iconic" pictures in medieval liturgical books
example, is nearly always pictured with a wheel, St. Antony often appears standing on or holding flames, accompanied by a pig wearing a bell, and St. Agnes' customary attribute is the lamb. The nature of the relationship between the saint and the attribute varies. Sometimes the attribute is the instrument of the saint's torture or martyrdom; according to legend St. Katherine was tortured on the wheel before her martyrdom by beheading. Other saints shown with the instruments of their torture or death are St. Bartholomew holding a flaying knife, St. Sebastian with the arrow, St. Laurence with a miniature grid-iron and St. Quentin with a nail. Other saints are pictured with an item peculiar to their narrative other than the means of their torture and martyrdom. Usually these relate to a miracle associated with the saint; St. Dionysus or Denis holds his own head, which he traditionally carried after his execution to the hills outside Paris, and St. Martha is accompanied by a small dragon, referring to the vicious man-eating beast she overcame on the banks of the Rhone (fig. 71). Alternatively, an "iconic" scene represents the saint, which while drawn from the narrative, has through usage assumed the quality of an emblem of the saint, such as the familiar representation of St. George fighting the dragon.

However, not all attributes have such a simple connection with Voragine's narrative of the saint's life. Sometimes the saints appear with attributes which, despite their wide currency and acceptance, have no connection with the text of the Légende dorée, or indeed with any written narrative. St. Antony, one of the Fathers of the Church, is customarily represented by flames burning at his feet, a tau-shaped crutch, and/or a small pig wearing a bell (fig. 28). There are no textual sources for these attributes, and their derivation can only be guessed at: the flames may allude to the saint's vision of the flames of Hell, and the pig and bell could allude to the Antonine monks' medieval custom of keeping and breeding the animals, which were allowed to roam freely about the streets. The Order traditionally aided the crippled and infirm, which may account for the symbol of the tau crutch. During the Middle Ages a contagious inflammatory skin disease, erysipelas, was known as "St. Antony's fire", possibly because of the saint's association with flames. Cures were sought in his name, and it has been suggested that the lard from the Order's pigs was used as a remedy. The correspondences between this saint and his attributes appear to be based on perceived intercessory powers and accretions from different sources. Like medieval typological relationships, these connections are multi-layered, based

should be noted.

81 The development of the cults and iconography of these and other saints are discussed by L. Réau, Iconographie de L'Art Chrétien, 6 vols. (Paris, 1955–1958).
on a variety of sources and associations, but not on Voragine's narrative or on his principal source, the 
life by Athanasius.

A different extra-textual source for an attribute is represented by the lamb of the Roman virgin martyr, 
St. Agnes. This association is very common and appears in art as early as the 6th century, when St. 
Agnes and her lamb were pictured in the mosaics of the Church of San Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. 
The lamb, which bears no direct relationship to her life and miracles, has the general connotation of 
Lamb of God, was probably related specifically to the saint through association with the word *agnus*.

In these "iconic" figures and scenes, the picture provides a very clear representation of the saint, but it 
does not always illustrate this, or any other narrative. Nevertheless, the very wide currency of such 
hagiographic illustrations by the late Middle Ages attests to their utility. A final example demonstrates 
the willingness of the artists of the *Légende dorée* to use iconography which did not illustrate 
Voragine's text. St. Nicholas, a popular saint, was the patron of children and sailors. In every *Légende 
dorée* manuscript except one, P2, St. Nicholas is represented raising three boys from a brine tub (fig. 
22). This story, where the saint brought back to life three boys who had been murdered by an evil 
inn-keeper, was not included in Voragine's compendium, although it appeared in other sources. Like 
certain attributes, this particular iconography was associated with the saint quite independently of the 
text.

Although manuscripts illuminated in the latter part of the 15th century tend to be more densely 
illustrated, with more attention to narrative than those produced earlier, the "iconic" forms and single 
scenes from narratives which bear no connection to the text still persist. While the highly organised 
and planned Mb is illustrated by pictures which record the accompanying text faithfully, it also 
contains other miniatures, such as the representation of St. Nicholas, which shows him raising the 
three boys back to life, (M.672, fol. 22) or the "iconic" St. Bernard (M.675, fol. 10v.) which do not 
represent the text. This suggests that the extra-textual picture was, in the second half of the 15th 
century, still a relevant mode of depicting a saint, and was not merely a symptom of old-fashioned 
practices. The extra-textual "iconic" type picture is not necessarily the preserve of earlier manuscripts, 
and the earliest, P1, which is dated 1348, includes comparatively few "iconic" representations of 
saints.

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Mass., 1938).
The continuing relevance of "iconic" depictions brings into discussion the medieval perception of these illustrations. The most humble of their functions was to mark convenient divisions in the text, or to operate as glorified initials (fig. 37). For this purpose, the saint must be clearly identifiable, even if the customary method of identification bore no semantic connection to the ensuing narrative. This also offers an explanation for the repetitive beheading scenes found in some manuscripts, such as Ab, which would certainly not have provided a distraction from the text. These pictures identified the saint, but in shorthand, calling attention to the traditional passio structure of the saint's life. For a devout reader, additional information was superfluous. However, the independence of the pictorial tradition, made evident by the extra-textual nature of some iconography, can also be understood in terms of semiotics, as Michael Camille has attempted to do. Visual and textual significations operate according to different systems, and consequently the picture cannot always be interpreted simply with reference to the narrative.

b. Amplification of Narrative

Although "iconic" images, extra-textual and not, appear in late 15th century manuscripts of the Légende dorée, they are less prevalent than in some earlier copies. While still a viable and understood form at this time, it appears that these simple pictures did not satisfy certain requirements of the manuscripts' patrons and readers.

The concomitant development of spatial representation meant that artists had to fill more pictorial space in each miniature. The diapered backgrounds so popular in the 14th century were replaced by landscapes and subsidiary scenes, and to meet the demands of an aristocratic clientele eager for the latest fashion, the artists and designers of manuscripts devised new iconography. The "iconic" form was very limited as a forum for an artist to display his or her skill and virtuosity. In the case of the Légende dorée, the text itself provided a ready source for increased detail, and the artists or designers of the manuscripts often turned to the text for their new material.

Because most entries in the manuscripts were illustrated by only a single miniature, the depiction of narrative presented something of a challenge to the artists. While pictorial presentation of narrative

86 M. Camille, "The Book of Signs: Writing and visual difference in Gothic manuscript illumination", Word and Image, 1/2 (1985), 133–148. Camille has made an important, and for the most part convincing, attempt to apply linguistic models to book illumination. Evidence for the metalanguage of medieval book illumination is also found in the methods of production, which were often quite separate from the reproduction of the textual narrative.
was certainly influenced by different workshop practice, several distinct approaches to the problem of narrative can be observed throughout the manuscripts. One solution is to situate the scene in a specific context which implies preceding events. The depiction of St. Martha on fol. 178 of \textit{Ab}, which was illuminated c. 1420, is a typical "iconic" representation of the saint (fig. 71). Uninvolved in any action, and in no particular context, she stands with her attribute and symbol, the tethered dragon. In contrast, the same subject in \textit{Bb}, of c. 1460, is involved in the narrative of her life, although she appears in the virtually the same "iconic" pose (fig. 85). This miniature is more faithful to the details of the text; the monster is a half-fish, which dwells in the river Rhone depicted in the background, and it is a man-eater, a characteristic suggested by the human bones scattered on the ground. According to the narrative, after St. Martha subdued the dragon with her aspersillum, the townspeople slaughtered their enemy. Both the aspersillum and the attacking townspeople are depicted, and the dragon recoils in agony. Context is also important in a miniature in \textit{Mb}, which represents the martyrdom of St. Felix in Pincis, an overzealous schoolmaster who was stabbed to death by his students. The school room is shown complete with text books, slates and inkwells, and the students rebel by attacking the teacher with the instruments of their oppression: styluses and books (fig. 129).

More detailed narrative is made possible by repeating key figures, and this method has the advantage of allowing instructive comparisons to be made. For instance, the miniature of St. Thomas Apostle on fol. 13 of \textit{Bb}, is divided into two sections by a common device, cut-away architecture (fig. 75). Two sequential scenes from the life of the saint are juxtaposed; the King of India commissions St. Thomas to build a new palace, and presents him with money to fulfil the task, and in the second scene the saint is shown distributing the money to the poor and needy. The two events clearly illustrate both St. Thomas' denial of material wealth and his charitable deeds; two traits intrinsic to the character of any saint. Within the manuscripts of the \textit{Légende dorée} miniatures with a similar binary structure are quite common, and they usually involve the repetition of principal characters. The depiction of St. Euphemia on fol. 90 of \textit{Mb}, (M.675), includes scenes from her torture in addition to her martyrdom, within a single frame (fig. 140). The picture is divided by a centrally placed hillock and church building into background and foreground. Behind, St. Euphemia withstands torture on the wheel, while her attackers fall, overcome by flames. In the foreground, she resists the serpents which pull one of her enemies to his death. In this same scene the executioner is shown poising his sword, preparing for the saint's martyrdom, Euphemia's final reward for her faith.

\textsuperscript{87} Such as the use of shop models and \textit{moduli}, which in some cases may have limited the artists' choice of iconography. See Chapter Three.
Another example from the same manuscript, *Mb* (M.674), fol. 357v., which represents St. Germain (Germanus) of Auxerre, serves to stress the almost diagrammatic quality of the binary form (fig. 137). Although the juxtapositions are ostensibly depicted within a naturalistic or spatially and logically coherent picture, the relationship between the scenes is based on the priorities of the text rather than on the aesthetics of naturalism.⁸⁸ The division between the two regions in this miniature is architectural; at left, within the walled city of Auxerre, St. Germain, then Governor of the city, is chastised by the bishop, St. Amator, for his pride in hunting and for his custom of hanging the heads of slaughtered animals from a pine tree. To the right, outside the city walls, St. Germain is shown being consecrated bishop of Auxerre. This takes place within a church, and the scene is made visible by the absence of a church wall. In a naturalistic scheme the picture as a whole is illogical; the cathedral of Auxerre is placed outside the walls of the city, and it is disproportionately large in comparison to the city ramparts. Although the ground and skylines are shared, the picture is divided into two quite distinct halves. The two depicted episodes are placed side by side, and contrast the sins of Germain’s youth with his atonement and elevation to the rank of bishop; in effect encapsulating a moral lesson on the nature of saintliness and salvation.

Not all the narratives are binary, however. The narrative in a miniature from *P2*, fol. 179v., is circular (fig. 15). The subject is St. Cecilia’s conversion of her spouse, Valerian. In an interior setting, in the foreground left, Cecilia bids her new husband to seek the proof of her faith in the tombs of the martyrs. He departs on his quest, through a door pictured at right. In the background, the scene encountered by Valerian is represented. St. Urban, who is hiding among the tombs, prays, and an angel appears holding a book bearing the words *unus deus, una fides, una baptisma*. In the text narrative, Valerian is subsequently baptised by Urban, an event suggested by a bowl of water resting on the floor. Valerian then returned to Cecilia, whom he finds conversing with an angel. As a symbol of their faith and chastity, the angel crowns the pair with garlands of roses and lilies. This crowning is depicted in the miniature, using the same figures of the first episode, and so completing the narrative circle.

The artist of this miniature, like those of the other miniatures discussed, is selective in the episodes chosen for illustration. The most commonly depicted events are conversion, torture, martyrdom, and miracles. This selectivity could be seen as symptomatic of the nature of the text; as a hagiographical

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⁸⁸ M. Camille, "The Book of Signs", op. cit., argues for a semiotic approach to medieval book illustration to explain the "space between what can be written as language and represented to picture it". Like the linguistic components of the text, the miniature of St. Germain in *Mb* can be divided into visual units, but which use a separate code of referential models. This often bears little relationship to "naturalism" as expressed by the sequential narrative of the text; in this case, the artist’s presentation is logically in opposition to the textual narrative. See also M. Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy", *Art History*, I/8 (1985), 26–49; M. Schapiro, *Words and Pictures: On the Literal and Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text* (The Hague, 1973).
narrative, the *Légende dorée* is concerned with these same episodes common to the *passio* and *vita* models. As Reames has observed, the narratives of the *Legenda aurea* are not highly discursive and tend to keep to the bald facts of the saint's life. Nevertheless, some of the texts are quite lengthy, and there would appear to be some potential for digression in their illustration.\(^8^9\) That many episodes are never illustrated is indicative of the strength of the pictorial traditions but also of the artists' and programme planners' deliberate selection of the most relevant and emblematic scenes to represent the particular saint.

\[\text{c. The Temporal}\]

Not all miniatures in the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* represent the saints, for the text includes the feasts of the Temporal in addition to those of the Sanctoral cycle. In keeping with their relative importance in the calendar, these feasts are usually illustrated, often with a full-page miniature. The subjects, such as Advent of the Lord, the Crucifixion, and the Nativity, are among the most frequently represented in Christian art, and consequently had very strong pictorial traditions. Most professional illuminating workshops kept their own models of these common illustrations, and inserted them when required, regardless of whether the manuscript was a breviary, a book of hours, a *Bible historiale* or a *Légende dorée*.\(^9^0\)

However, within the group of *Légende dorée* manuscripts there is evidence that the artists did occasionally use the text as a source for new iconographic material. The 10 full-page miniatures in *P2*, which illustrate the feasts of the Temporal cycle, are each divided into several sections in order to depict different sections of the text. The miniature for the Purification of the Virgin on fol. 76 (MS 244) for example, includes a pictorialisation of Voragine's description of the pagan origins of the festival,\(^9^1\) in

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\(^{8^9}\) As a source of iconography, the *Legenda aurea* was almost certainly a very important text, although no major studies have been carried out on its direct influence. The currency of many "iconic" images and scenes owe much to Voragine's dissemination of the often apocryphal narratives; for example, the image of St. George on horseback as the warrior, fighting the dragon was not common prior to the 13th century, although it does appear, in the tympanum of the Cathedral of Ferrara, and on a capital at Vézelay, both dating from the 12th century. See L. Réau, *op. cit.*, tome III, vol. 111, 571–579. The text also provided iconography for picture cycles, such as Cimabue's frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi and Giotto's frescoes in Padua. See J.H. Stubblebine, "Cimabue's Frescoes of the Virgin at Assisi", *Art Bulletin*, 49 (1967), 330–333. It certainly was the source for the cycles of St. Katherine and St. Paul and St. Antony in the early 15th century French manuscript by the Limbourgs, *Les Belles Heures*, for several lines from the Latin text appears under each miniature. M. Meiss, *Les Belles Heures de Jean duc de Berry* (New York, 1974). The artists of the *Légende dorée*, however, did not often avail themselves of the iconographic opportunities provided by the text.

\(^{9^0}\) See the following chapter on artists and workshops for a discussion of these methods.

\(^{9^1}\) Ryan and Ripperger, *op. cit.*, 151ff. Voragine describes the pagan origins of the feast of the Purification, also known as Candlemas. In honour of the goddess Februa the Romans lit up the city with candles on the first days of February. At this time they also honoured Pluto and his conquest of Proserpine. In memory of Proserpine Roman women went in procession with candles, recalling her parents' fruitless search. Pluto and Proserpine are depicted in the lower right miniature. Behind them are shown people searching the caves with candles. The lower right miniature represents a
addition to the more usual scene of the Virgin's Purification in the temple (fig. 10). Another miniature clearly modelled on the text appears in Mb (Mâcon MS 3), fol. 18, the feast of All Saints. The feast was instituted in 835, in part to honour those saints who were unrecognised, and consequently not given a special feast day. The earliest illustration dates from the 10th century, and is based on passages from the Book of Revelation, which describes the vast congregation of saints and angels adoring the Lamb. In the 14th century the Lamb was replaced by the Trinity or by the Virgin seated alongside the godhead. The miniature from this Légende dorée represents, as do miniatures from other manuscripts, the saints and angels adoring the Trinity. However, the artist of Mb has added an extra detail which relates directly to Voragine's text, and which does not appear in other depictions of All Saints. Below the saints, resting on the ground is an altar upon which are placed small figures, representing idols. The idol in the centre is taller than the several which flank it, and two have their backs turned towards the taller idol. This cryptic image, not found in traditional images of All Saints, derives from Voragine's description of the Roman origins of the feast. According to his account, this feast was instituted in part to commemorate the dedication of the Church of Sancta Maria Rotunda, which in the past had been a Roman temple, the Pantheon. In the middle of this temple the Romans placed a statue of their god, and around him in a circle placed statues of the gods of all the provinces. If any of the provinces rebelled, by the power of evil magic, the idol turned its back on the Roman god, and so warned the Roman rulers to dispatch troops to the upstart province. Subsequently the temple was cleansed, and Pope Gregory dedicated the temple to all the saints.

In general, while some artists are responsive to the text, the miniatures which illustrate the feasts of the Temporal cycle are derived from examples of standard iconography which may be found decorating a variety of religious texts. Sometimes the iconography of these illuminations has been influenced by the text of the Legenda aurea, such as the Coronation of the Virgin, but the influence is a century or more old, and does not represent a new reading of the text on the part of the artists of the Légende dorée. There is no doubt that the 13th century Latin text of the Legenda aurea, was an important source of new iconography in Christian art, but there is not a great deal of evidence in the manuscripts of the Légende dorée to suggest that the miniatures of the Temporal feasts represented a fresh reading of the text.

miracle associated with the feast, where a noble woman dreams she attends Mass with SS. Vincent, Laurence and the Virgin Mary.

92 The relevant passages from the Book of Revelation are 5:11–13 and 7:9–14. The earliest miniature is from a 10th century sacramentary, Gottingen, Bib. Univ.
94 The Coronation of the Virgin is first represented in the 13th century, in the portals of Gothic cathedrals at Notre Dame, Senlis, Chartres and Amiens. For the influence of the Legenda aurea see P. Verdier, "Les textes de Jacques de Voragine et l'iconographie du couronnement de la Vierge", B. Dunn-Lardeau ed., Legenda Aurea: Sept Siècles de
It is often thought that amplified narrative in manuscripts at this time was an expression of the owners’ desire for display of wealth and status. Other factors may have contributed to this tendency, not the least being the general increase in literacy and the consequent booming book trade, a highly developed industry which encouraged, within certain limits, artistic diversity and experimentation. Possibly, the development of pictorial, text-based narrative also reflected a change in the way the text and pictures were regarded by the audience. Assessing a change in reader perception through analysis of the illustration is not easy, as other writers have found.\textsuperscript{95} The main obstruction in the way of interpretation is the practice of artistic workshops. Artists’ work was rarely the result of a careful reading of the text in front of them, for they were bound by the expediencies of the organised, commercial artistic workshop. The following chapter will discuss the artists of the manuscripts of the \textit{Légende dorée}, their division of labour within each manuscript, their models and interdependence, in order to clarify these working processes.

\textsuperscript{95} E. Salter and D. Pearsall, \textit{op. cit.}
CHAPTER THREE

The Artists and their Workshops

In this chapter I will consider the artists of the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* and the nature of their organisation. The first section deals with illuminators' relative roles in decorating a manuscript; some were clearly entrusted with the execution of the principal illumination while other less skilful artists painted miniatures of secondary importance. Section two examines these roles in more detail with specific examples from the manuscripts under study. It is found that several models of workshop collaboration and organisation apply, including both a fixed hierarchical atelier of artists working on a single manuscript and a looser arrangement where unrelated, independent artists contribute to the one manuscript. This is followed by a study of compositional sources and methods of transmission. It can be seen that with some exceptions the artists of the *Légende dorée* manuscripts relied primarily on patterns and *moduli* available within the workshop. They did not, for example, use other available manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* as sources for models. Consequently, attempts to construct a pictorial *stemma* in accordance with the text *stemma* devised by Hamer and Russell prove fruitless. Finally, the illustration of the legend of the Volto Santo of Lucca is examined with a view to establishing a discrete pictorial tradition. Evidence suggests that the limited examples and distinctive iconography used in these miniatures permit the identification of a traceable tradition, if not a *stemma* proper.

3.1 The Illuminators

The illumination of the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* represents a stylistic summary of the major Parisian and to a lesser extent, the late Flemish, schools of illumination from the mid-14th to the late 15th century. Several artists can be identified by name, or by their work in other manuscripts. These include the Pseudo-Jacquemart, the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin, the *Maître du Polycratique*, the Virgil Master, the Master of the Munich *Golden Legend*, Evrard d'Espinques, Maître François and the Chief Associate of Maître François, the Master of the Harley Froissart, and the Master of Margaret of York. Others can be identified by their stylistic allegiances, and can be called "followers" or members of the workshops of influential artists like the *Boqueteaux* Master, the Boucicaut Master, Jean Pucelle, the Master of the Duke of Bedford, Simon Marmion, Willem Vrelant, the Master of Jean Rolin II and Loyset Liédet.
Many of these artists worked largely or exclusively for members of the nobility. The Maître du Polycratique, who illuminated the Légende dorée now in Geneva, Gb, in about 1400, (cat. 22) was employed for many commissions by Charles V and his court, and the artist responsible for illuminating a copy in Paris, P5, (cat. 4) was in the permanent employ of one person, Jacques d’Armagnac, before moving into the private service of another, Jean du Mas. The Virgil Master, who illuminated the frontispiece of P3 shortly before 1404, (cat. 3) illuminated manuscripts for Jean de Berry, and his treasurer Jacques Courau, and the patrons of the illuminators of the late 15th century Légende dorée, P2, included the dukes of Bourbon, Charles VIII and Henry VII of England (cat. 2).

In addition to miniatures by accomplished artists clearly in demand among members of the nobility, many illuminations are by other artists usually referred to as "shop" workers. It is assumed that these artists worked as aides to senior members within a "workshop". Generally, the miniatures by the secondary artists are not of high quality, and they often appear as if they were painted in haste. (figs. 51, 65, 126). The miniatures by these shop artists are usually found in the body of the manuscript, in the form of small, single column-width miniatures throughout the text, while the highly finished miniature of the frontispiece or the larger, more important illuminations are reserved for more skilled hands. It is very difficult to recognise and distinguish the individual hands of many of these shop artists, as they often paint in a derivative manner very close to the principal artist of the manuscript, adopting both iconographic and stylistic patterns. Evidence also suggests that sometimes more than one artist was responsible for a miniature, which complicates individual identification even further.

For example, the principal painter of P2, the Chief Associate of Maître François, was responsible for most of the nine full-page miniatures and the smaller illustrations (cat. 2). From fol. 81 to fol. 174 in the first volume, MS 244, a slightly different style is evident, based on the first but with a duller palette and more flurried, careless technique. However, these miniatures are probably not the work of a single artist, for variations in background and foreground detail suggest that several hands participated, possibly in an "assembly line", with various artists confining their work to particular parts of the picture. While these artists often lack a firm artistic identity, their role is nonetheless important for an

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understanding of the way workshops of illumination operated, and ultimately, this knowledge can shed light on the position of and attitudes to the illuminated manuscripts of the Légende dorée.

3.2 Division of Labour

Not a great deal is known about the organisation of medieval workshops of illumination, and most information is necessarily based on the circumstantial evidence provided by the manuscripts themselves. Some evidence can be gleaned from extant records. Since the early 13th century, the manufacture of books in late medieval Paris was governed by the University, and most practitioners in the trade had to be sworn in by the rector of the University for admission to office. The libraire or book broker, the stationnaire or editor, and the scribe or ecrivain were all under the jurisdiction of the University, and all are recorded as paying taxes. A rare instance of a libraire putting his name to a manuscript appears in a copy of the Légende dorée, P1, dated 1348. (cat. 1) The libraire, Richard de Montbaston, whose name is also recorded in the University statutes, states in the manuscript that his business is situated in the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame, opposite the Cathedral, a traditional centre for sellers of books.

The first reference to enlumineurs being subject to taxes by the University does not appear until 1339, and it is likely that they were exempt from University directives at least until this date. De Winter has suggested that the very small number of illuminators recorded even after 1339 indicates that they were under no direct obligation to the University, but enjoyed a voluntary association, possibly because they did not intrude directly on the business side of production. The copying or sale of a book was managed by the libraires while the co-ordination of production was directed by the stationnaires. De Winter's claim, that the illuminators were usually employed by the ecrivains and stationnaires who operated scriptoria in the Left Bank region of Saint-Andre-des-Arts, does seem feasible, particularly given that many illuminators were located in the same district.  

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XVe siècle (Paris, 1891) reproduce invaluable documentary material.

98 Ibid., 17, 35, 62.
99 This is supported by the listings in the University statutes, ibid.
100 P. de Winter, op. cit. This is supported by the University statutes reproduced by Delalain, op. cit.
101 Stationnaires were also recorded as working on the Left Bank in the rue Saint-Jacques, rue Clos-Bruno, rue de la Parcheminerie, rue de Bièvre, and rue Boutebrie. Scribes and illuminators also appear to have worked in the region around the Sorbonne, in the rue des Enlumineurs (now Boutebrie). Ibid., 60–70. There is some confusion of terminology, for they are often listed as libraire. As Delalain notes, the stationnaire was also commonly called libraire. Ibid., xix. During much of the 14th century illuminators were free from the directives of the University, and were paid directly by the stationnaires, or editors, or sometimes by the scribes. De Winter suggests that the buyers did not generally choose the illuminators themselves. P. de Winter, "Copistes, éditeurs", op. cit., 178.
Because of the paucity of records relating to the structure of illuminators' workshops, the art historian must rely on evidence provided by a close examination of the manuscripts. Around half the manuscripts of the Légende dorée were each painted by a single artist, despite the often large number of illuminations. Others include the work of several different artists, and together, as a representative group of illuminated manuscripts, they offer good potential for insights into the way workshops operated in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Despite their long miniature cycles, several manuscripts were illustrated by a single artist. These include P1, P5, F, B1, Q, W, Ab, Hb, Jb and Nc. The artists of P1, F, Q, W, Ab and Jb may all be termed "followers" of another style. Their art is derivative, and most do not possess a clear artistic identity. Some, like the artist of Jb, (cat. 24), (figs. 123–126), a late imitator of the Boucicaut Master, mimic another's style and iconography so closely that any idiosyncrasies of the artist are lost. As a result their work can generally not be identified in other manuscripts. Such artists do not appear to be in close association with the main practitioner of the styles they imitate; the artist of the Légende dorée now in Jena, Jb, was working c. 1420, too late to be part of the initial thrust of the Boucicaut style, and another late imitator, the Pucellian artist of F (cat. 8) (figs. 38–41) was too late, in 1360, to belong to the Master's immediate circle. These manuscripts would not have been expensive productions, and they are not adorned with ostentatious marks of ownership.

However, other manuscripts painted entirely by one hand are by skilled artists painting in a distinctive style whose work was much in demand. Hb, by the Master of the Munich Golden Legend, is an example (cat. 23), as is P5. P5, which contains 174 miniatures, was illuminated in around 1480 either by Evrard d'Espinques or possibly a close assistant. D'Espinques probably worked in the service of Jean du Mas, and before that, certainly for Jacques d'Armagnac, and we can be confident that this artist was one of a group of artists working in a similar style. Armagnac owned several other manuscripts illuminated in a closely related but not identical manner. Du Mas may have inherited more than one artist from Armagnac, for the illumination in several manuscripts decorated under his patronage shows subtle stylistic variation which suggests that several hands were involved in the workshop (cat. 4).

While manuscripts with long cycles were on occasion illuminated by one artist, it was also common practice for a single manuscript to be illustrated by several hands. Sometimes this involved the participation of artists working in a shared style using the same iconography, such as the artists involved in the decoration of P2. In these cases a hierarchy of artists is often evident; Spencer has
suggested that Maître François aided the Chief Associate on the first two large miniatures. This is difficult to substantiate, but certainly the Chief Associate painted the remaining large miniatures and most of the small, while inferior artists completed the smaller miniatures. A similar hierarchy can also be observed in the decoration of C, which was illuminated in around 1365 by artists working in the style associated with the prolific shop of the Boqueteteaux Master (cat. 7) (figs. 36, 37). The frontispiece was illuminated by an important artist in the Boqueteteaux group, possibly the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, while the less polished miniatures of text are in a similar style but by different artists.

With regard to manuscripts illuminated by one artist or by several artists working in a closely related style, the artists’ organisation is reasonably clear. Evidence suggests that they worked together, probably in the same establishment or "workshop". It is likely that some artists worked in isolation, particularly those who illuminated long manuscripts without assistance, such as the artist of Jb, whose workshop was not affiliated with that of the originator of the style, the Boucicaut Master, and the artist of P1 (cat. 1), whose work cannot be found elsewhere. However, if the workshop was responsible for illuminating a large number of manuscripts, then it would have been economically advantageous to work as a group. Large and successful shops, such as that of Maître François and Evrard d’Espinques, certainly trained artists; the genealogy of Maître François’ shop can be traced from the Master of Jean Rolin II to Maître François, to the Chief Associate of Maître François. Evrard d’Espinques is probably the name of the principal artist, but it appears he was only one of several working in the same workshop. In the case of the Maître François workshop, while each artist retains a certain identity, the essential style and iconography of often repeated subjects like St. Christopher, are passed from master to master (figs. 12, 84, 156, 157).

Within these shops there appear to have been principal and lesser artists: P2, C, and M all have important miniatures such as the frontispiece painted by a master and text miniatures in the same style, but less competently executed. It is possible that several principal artists may have operated within the one workshop; certainly the many practitioners of the complex Boqueteteaux style included several highly competent painters, such as the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, the Master of the Breviary of Charles V and the Maître du Polycratique.103

Establishing workshop structure becomes more problematic when discussing manuscripts which contain stylistically and iconographically disparate miniatures. Some of the most lavishly illuminated

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103 For a discussion of the complex Boqueteteaux style see commentaries for manuscripts M, C, Fb and Gb, in catalogue entries 9, 7, 21 and 22 respectively.
manuscripts of the late Middle Ages included the work of artists trained in different traditions. The number of extant manuscripts illuminated by several artists suggests that stylistic consistency throughout a production was not a major aesthetic consideration.¹⁰⁴

Five manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*, **P3, R, S, Bb** and **Mb**, are the result of so called "collaboration" between two or more illuminators. One, **Bb**, underwent two programmes of illumination with an interval of some thirty years. In around 1460–5, a follower of the Master of Jean Rolin II painted the small miniatures and several large miniatures in the manuscript for an unknown patron. For some reason, although the border decoration was completed, six miniatures distributed throughout the volume were never painted, and the spaces were left blank. The programme was eventually finished, probably shortly after 1485, by a completely unrelated artist strongly influenced by the Northern French style of Simon Marmion. The initials and armorials were dutifully changed to those of the new owners, Philippe de Clèves and Françoise de Luxembourg. A lapse of several years or decades between programmes was not unknown; Jean Colombe completed the *Très Riches Heures* for the Duc de Savoie nearly eighty years after the initial illumination by the Limbourgs.¹⁰⁵

The other four manuscripts all contain miniatures painted more or less at the same time. While the term "collaboration" is sometimes used to describe the participation of two or more artists in a manuscript, the nature of this association varies.¹⁰⁶ While sometimes the artists do appear to be closely involved, on other occasions there is no internal evidence of any consultation or collaboration between the artists.

A *Légende dorée* manuscript now in Paris, **P3**, was illuminated in the first years of the 15th century by two artists (cat. 3). The first, who has been named the Virgil Master by Millard Meiss, painted only the frontispiece, a representation of the Virgin and Child surrounded by the saints and angels (fig. 16). The 79 small miniatures of the text are by a different artist working in a grisaille technique. This artist, also named by Meiss, is called the Medallion Master (figs. 17–21). The frontispiece appears on fol. 1 of the first gathering, a quaternion of four bifolios. Miniatures by the Medallion Master are painted on fol. 4 and fol. 8v. As fol. 1 and fol. 8v. are part of the same bifolio, the Virgil Master and the Medallion

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¹⁰⁴ There are many examples of high quality manuscripts illuminated by artists working in disparate styles. *Les Grandes Heures of Jean de Berry*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 919, "The Salisbury Breviary", Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 17294, and in the Southern Netherlands, the famous *Chroniques de Hainaut*, Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 9241–3, are a few.


¹⁰⁶ Millard Meiss, in his three important volumes, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke, The Boucicaut Master, and The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, (New York, 1967, 1968, 1974) habitually uses the expression "collaboration" to describe the participation of more than one workshop in a manuscript. However, he does not always elucidate their respective roles within an organised workshop.
Master probably enjoyed a close working relationship, and possibly on this occasion worked under the same roof. A feasible alternative is that their workshops were situated in the same street, and once the Virgil Master completed the frontispiece the bifolio was delivered to the Medallion shop. It is important to note that the frontispiece is not a separate folio which has been glued in to the binding, a common practice, and probably most efficient when the respective artists were geographically distant. The argument for the artists' close working relationship is strengthened by other evidence. The two artists both employ Limbourgian models, specifically those of Les Belles Heures, which indicates that they had access to common models. They also shared the illumination of another manuscript, Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 28, which contains an Apocalypse and Histoire extraite de la Bible, in about 1415. The Virgil Master again painted the frontispiece, while the Medallion Master executed most of the miniatures.

There is no such evidence of co-operation between the principal artist of R, the Pseudo-Jacquemart, and the related artists responsible for the majority of the text illustrations (cat. 12). The manuscript, which is dated 1382, contains the earliest dated miniatures by the Pseudo-Jacquemart, so named by Millard Meiss because his work appears in several manuscripts with miniatures by Jacquemart de Hesdin. Only the first three illuminations are by the Pseudo-Jacquemart; St. Jerome on fol. 2, (fig. 52) the frontispiece on fol. 5 (fig. 53), and St. Andrew on fol. 9v. (fig. 54). The remaining miniatures are the work of related artists working in the Boqueteaux style, but independent of the Pseudo-Jacquemart's style and iconography (fig. 55). Unlike P3, where stylistically disparate artists worked on the one gathering, in this manuscript their work is separated by the structure of the volume. The manuscript opens with an inserted page bearing the Beaufort arms, followed by a binion of two bifolios and a quaternion of four bifolios. The three miniatures by the Pseudo-Jacquemart appear in these two gatherings, while the Boqueteaux style illuminations appear in the third and following quaternions. The secondary decoration, consistent through the first several gatherings, must have been completed before illumination. Possibly the first two gatherings were illuminated by the Pseudo-Jacquemart in his workshop, and then reunited with the rest of the manuscript which had meanwhile been illustrated separately by a group of artists working in the Boqueteaux style. The Pseudo-Jacquemart was the more accomplished artist (he was subsequently employed by the Duc de Berry), so it was appropriate that he illuminate the important first few pages of the manuscript. It is very difficult to speculate, and a detailed codicological study of the manuscript is required before any conclusions can be made, about the artists' division of labour and working methods. At this stage however, there is no evidence that the Pseudo-Jacquemart entered into any consultation, artistic or otherwise, with the other artists. The model for co-operation here may well be two quite unrelated artists or groups of artists working on

or the nature of their relationship.
whatever came their way; execution of the iconographically simple miniatures would not have necessitated the direction of a manager. The *libraire* may have distributed the folios almost at random, dependent only on which artists were free.

A codicological study has been carried out on *Mb*, which was illuminated in about 1470, probably in Bruges (cat. 25). No fewer than ten different artists, several of whom were stylistically independent, participated in the illumination of this complex manuscript. The picture which emerges is one of various levels of co-operation presided over by a manager or overseer responsible for issuing directives for iconography.

In her study and subsequent articles, Jean Caswell identified the artists as the Master of the Harley Froissart, the Master of Margaret of York, the Neanderthal or Sapience Master, the St. Denis or St. Catherine Master, the St. Andrew Master, the Soft Master, the St. Hadrian Master, the Strong Master, the White Highlights Master and the Wildflowers Master. The first three artists are stylistically independent, while the other seven are stylistically affiliated with the artists of volume II of the famous *Chroniques de Hainaut*, (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 9243), a manuscript linked with the artist known as Willem Vrelant. Caswell finds evidence of collaboration between artists within single miniatures. These include the Neanderthal/ Sapience Master and the St. Andrew Master, who worked together on several miniatures, including the Nativity excised from fol. xxxvii of M.672, and now in the Wildenstein Collection of the Musée Marmottan in Paris (fig. 158). Caswell also suggests that the St. Andrew Master had a corrective hand in miniatures by the St. Hadrian Master, and several by the Master of the Harley Froissart. The artists worked with varying degrees of independence within gatherings. Miniatures by the Master of Margaret of York appear in closely placed, separate gatherings. This artist worked alone on most gatherings except one, which he shared with one of the artists painting in the style of Vrelant. The Master of the Harley Froissart also works alone on most gatherings. One he too shares with a Vrelant-style artist, and four he shares with the Neanderthal/Sapience Master. The several artists working in the Vrelant style of the *Chroniques de Hainaut* tend to illuminate different bifolios from the same gathering.

Caswell’s evidence for co-operation and independence provides some indication of workshop practice in Bruges. The Vrelant-style artists, given that they are stylistically very alike, and that their work may be found in the same gatherings, probably painted under the one roof in a workshop. It is likely that they habitually painted together, as their collective work is found in other manuscripts. The Neanderthal/Sapience Master worked on gatherings with the Master of the Harley Froissart and with members from the Vrelant-style group. There is no evidence that he worked with these artists on
other manuscripts, and he was probably called upon for this one project. The Master of Margaret of York and the Master of the Harley Froissart appear to work most independently of the other artists. Caswell suggests that they picked up consecutive quires from the large Vrelant-style or "9243" shop to illuminate in their own shops. As each of these artists worked in only one "9243" gathering, and in each case that gathering precedes an unbroken sequence of miniatures by that master, it is possible that when they came to collect work, they were given unfinished bifolios in addition to the next few quires. That the "9243" shop was the place from which quires were distributed and returned is also suggested by the adjustments made to the miniatures of several artists by a member of that shop, the St. Andrew Master.

The illumination of this manuscript of the *Légende dorée* was evidently the result of a complex system of interrelationships among workshops and individual artists, and probably involved, as Caswell suggests, both the "workshop" and "production circle" models customarily used to describe the methods by which manuscripts were illuminated. Caswell also names a shop master; her St. Andrew Master who painted the first four miniatures in the manuscript and the arms of d'Auxy, in addition to providing corrections or amendments to work by the Master of the Harley Froissart and the Neanderthal/Sapience Master. While these attributions, which are based on close stylistic study are not to be disputed, Caswell does not offer an adequate explanation for the management of the total production. If the St. Andrew Master was the shop master, was he in charge of devising the iconography of the miniatures? Nearly every miniature in this manuscript was the result of careful interpretation of the text. There are very few "iconic" or traditional martyrdom scenes which would have been part of the shops' repertoire of stock scenes; at some point every artist was told exactly what was to be represented, although they were at liberty to devise their own compositions. Farquhar has suggested that sometimes the principal artist also constructed the programme, but in this case the task was likely reserved for an educated overseer; possibly the *stationnaire* or *ecrivain*.

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107 J. Caswell, *The Morgan–Mâcon Golden Legend and Related Manuscripts* (The University of Maryland, 1978), 126. The workshop model is where a group of artists work in the same place, in a similar style, and are organised according to a hierarchy, under the direction of a master. This is consistent with findings on the artists of P2. A production circle model, favoured by Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation*, op. cit., 42, on the other hand, is where a group of artists live in the same area, but work independently. The *Légende dorée* manuscript, R, appears to have been painted according to this construct. Artists may have been organised according to a third system, demonstrated by P3. Here evidence indicates that the two stylistically disparate artists, the Virgil Master and the Medallion Master, maintained separate workshops, but occasionally worked under the same roof, which involved the sharing of some shop models.

108 J.D. Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation*, op. cit., 42ff. According to de Winter, "Copistes, éditeurs", op. cit., during the 14th century, illuminators, probably paid by the *stationnaires, or ecrivains* were not really in a position to determine the contents of manuscripts. It is more likely that the entrepreneur, with an eye for marketability, also directed the contents. This situation changed under the reign of Charles VI, when the illuminators were reattached to the University, and probably reflects the growing independence of the illuminators. See also P. Cockshaw, "Mentions d’auteurs, de copistes", op. cit.
It is evident from a study of these manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* that many were illustrated by experienced artists working within the mainstream of the illumination industry. These artists probably operated in a workshop model, organised according to a hierarchy, where the master was responsible for the most important commissions. The workshop was also the training ground for younger artists, who may eventually gain the necessary skill to become masters themselves. These shops were either independent, as de Winter suggests, or they were employed, perhaps only temporarily, by a patron such as Jean du Mas. The coordinator of the programmes may have been the master of the shop, particularly for less challenging commissions, which were not intended for a specific patron, and if new iconographical models were not required. Several manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* were probably produced in this way: P1, B2, F, N, Q, Eb, Fb and Y all contain standard illustrations found in the repertoire of the workshop,

However, the programme of illumination in some manuscripts was the result of careful planning which involved a reading of the text. These include Mb, Nc, P2, Bb, Hb, P5 and in certain miniatures, Cb, Db and P3. While it is possible that the shopmaster was literate, and devised these programmes himself, even to the extent of providing the Latin captions in many miniatures of P2, this model breaks down when more than one shop participated in a manuscript. The programmes of Mb and possibly Db and P3 must have been managed by an educated overseer who directed the work carried out by the different shops. Within these shops, there are indications that artists shared certain models and compositions. There is also evidence to suggest that artists from different shops willingly exchanged or shared models. Sometimes the participating artists appear quite independent. In these cases it was possible that artists grouped together only for the illumination of a particular manuscript, or independently painted sections from their own workshop premises. This would account for the diversity of styles evident in so many manuscripts.

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109 Moduli usually refer to single figures or components of scenes which can be rearranged according to the desired composition. Models relate to commonly used scenes such as the Nativity, which are reproduced in their entirety. Insertion of shop models or moduli would not have required the close attention of a programme overseer. The absence of detailed directions concerning the subjects of these miniatures is demonstrated by the mistakes which occur. For example, fol. 116v. of B1 depicts St. John Before the Latin Gate being doused in boiling oil, but the artist has omitted the fire beneath the tub. On fol. 28 of R, St. John the Baptist is shown instead of St. John the Evangelist, and on fol. 137 of Gb, St. James the Less and St. James the Greater are confused. Such mistakes are common, and it is likely that the artists miscopied their models and/or misinterpreted very brief written directives.
The following section will examine the incidence of model use and exchange, both among the artists of the *Légende dorée* and among artists of manuscripts of other texts. This serves to highlight the difficulties involved in a study of artists’ interpretation of the text. Richard Hamer and Vida Russell have proposed a text *stemma* for several lives from the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*, and consequently have textually related certain manuscripts to others. Identifying the shared models of the artists of these manuscripts also provides an opportunity to compare the transmission of picture and text, which in turn reveals and consolidates what is known about the practices of manuscript illumination.

### 3.3 Compositional Models: Sources and Transmission

Only a few pictorial cycles of the manuscripts in this study were executed with close regard to the narrative of the text. Most miniatures in other cycles, particularly those of commonly represented saints, are simply constructed in an “iconic” or monoscenic form often not relating directly to the content of the narrative. Illustrations almost identical in iconography and composition appear in liturgical books, breviaries, Books of Hours and other texts. Evidence suggests that artists often possessed model books or *moduli*, which provided a repertoire of easily accessible schema, and which were employed as guides for reproduction of these standard miniatures. They were either drawn in freehand or traced, sometimes with the aid of marginal notes which gave a brief description of the picture. Often the illuminations, such as many in the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*, are also accompanied by an additional guide in the form of a caption or rubric placed below or above the miniature. Sometimes the evidence for the use of models by copying or tracing is quite clear, particularly within large artistic workshops which employed several artists and produced many illuminated manuscripts. On other occasions the evidence for transmission is more circumstantial and the intervention of now lost intermediary models must be assumed.

Several manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* were illuminated wholly or in part by artists associated with the *Maître aux Boqueteaux*. Among these related shop members is the artist who illuminated the frontispiece of a *Légende dorée*, M (cat. 9) (fig. 42), in about 1370. He has been related to the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI after a miniature this master painted in the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 2813, fol. 3v.) (fig. 159 ). The frontispiece of the *Légende dorée* manuscript, representing the Coronation of the Virgin surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists, is clearly based on the same models used for two compositions by a closely related artist from the *Boqueteaux* school in the *Grandes Heures* of Philippe le Hardi (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Library MS 3-1954 and Brussels, Bibl. Royale MS 11035–37). The central scene of the Coronation from the
Légende dorée also appears on fol. 24v. of the Grandes Heures (fig. 160), where it illustrates the canonical Hours of the Virgin. The other components of the Légende dorée miniature, the outer symbols of the Evangelists, are used on fol. 27 for a representation of the Maiestas Domini (fig. 161). These two motifs, the Coronation scene and the four Evangelists’ symbols, are used often in compositions by various members of the extended Boqueteaux atelier. For example, the Master of the Breviary of Charles V employed the symbols of the Evangelists for the canon page from a missal inserted into a copy of Eusebius (Oxford, Bodleian Auct. 7 Q 2-13) (fig. 191), and the Coronation scene is used by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy in a Cité de Dieu (Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Typ 201, fol. 288), (fig. 162) and also by an artist related to the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI in another Légende dorée, C, (cat. 7) (fig. 36). Despite some stylistic differences, the similarity in composition of these motifs suggests the use of pattern books or models within the large Boqueteaux and related workshops. It seems that compositions were not always copied in their entirety, but like the Coronation scene and the surrounding Evangelist symbols, were treated as separate elements. This indicates the use of moduli, or patterns of individual figures and scenes or parts of scenes, which the artists could use when required, either singly or in combination. There are other instances of the use of moduli in the manuscripts of the Légende dorée illuminated in the Boqueteaux style. 110

The entry for the Decollation of St. John the Baptist in Q (cat. 11), fol. 204, is prefaced by a standard miniature for the subject (fig. 50). At right the executioner presents Salome with the Baptist's head, and at left, Herod and Herodias feast at a banquet, waited upon by a servant. Precedents for a royal banqueting scene existed in the contemporary Grandes Chroniques de France (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS 2813), on fol. 394 and fol. 473v., which were painted by another member of the Boqueteaux shop, a close disciple of the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy. The two miniatures represent Jean le Bon founding the Order of the Star and a reception for Emperor Charles IV, and elements from each can be found in the Légende dorée miniature. The bearded, kneeling servant holding out a plate in the first miniature is clearly based on the same model as the servant attending Herod and Herodias (fig. 163), while their pose behind the table resembles that of the similarly seated figures of the second miniature. Herod and Herodias are also accompanied by an unidentified third figure, suggesting that the artist mistakenly inserted an additional figure from his model. The method of transferring these 110 The use of pattern books and moduli have been discussed by A.M. Stones, The Illustration of the French Prose Lancelot in Flanders, Belgium and Paris 1250–1340 (Ph.D. thesis, London, 1970), 29–30, and "Secular Illumination in France", Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism (Chapel Hill, 1976), 83–102; A.H. van Buren and S. Edmunds, "Playing Cards and Manuscripts: Some Widely Disseminated Fifteenth-Century Model Sheets", Art Bulletin, LVI/1 1974, 12–30; L. Lawton, "The Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts, With Special Reference to Lydgate's 'Troy Book'", Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth Century England, D. Pearsall, ed., (Bury St. Edmunds, 1983), 41–60; D.J.A. Ross, "A Late Twelfth-Century Artist's Pattern Sheet", J.C.W.I., 25 (1962), 119–128; R.W. Scheller, A Survey of Medieval Model Books (Haarlem, 1963); H. Buchthal, Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Illustration (London,
models is difficult to determine, but the wavering quality of line in the *Légende dorée* miniature suggests a tracing. It is evident from this example that at least where *Boqueteteaux* shop models were concerned, little distinction was made between the illustration of devotional and secular works.\textsuperscript{111}

Another large workshop which commonly reused certain compositions was that of the Master of Jean Rolin II/Maître François/Chief Associate of Maître François. It appears that over several decades this shop was inherited in succession by the latter two artists; a conclusion in part based on their continued use of stylistic and compositional patterns. For example, St. Christopher, an often represented saint, is invariably depicted in the standard scene, carrying the child Christ across a river. As has been mentioned, in its essentials, this scene varies little throughout the history of the shop, appearing in miniatures by the three artists and their followers (figs. 12, 84, 156, 157). The main elements of the composition do not vary much from picture to picture; the saint strides across the water in the foreground, usually with bandages tied around his knees, hands fixed firmly on the staff. Land appears in the lower left corner of the picture, and St. Christopher looks back to the opposite shore, to the monk who guides him with a lantern. The spires of a city can be seen in the distance. The miniatures by the various artists are not the result of a single prototype, for they differ in many details, such as Christopher’s garments and the position of the monk. Possibly several moduli were used, each with variations, or the artists may have copied freestyle from an exemplar. It is significant that the least similar version, by a follower of the Master of Jean Rolin II, from \textit{Bb}, fol. 161, is stylistically more distant from the main artists, indicating perhaps that the artist did not have access to the models shared by the immediate shop. Like the *Boqueteteaux* school example discussed, the composition of St. Christopher is used to illustrate manuscripts of different texts; in this case, books of hours and the *Légende dorée*

However, not only artists working in a similar style shared compositions. One striking example was referred to in the last section; the frontispiece of a *Légende dorée*, \textit{P3}, (cat. 3), representing the Virgin and Child in a mandorla, surrounded by adoring saints and angels (fig. 16). The manuscript is dated 1971). See D.J.A. Ross, “Methods of Book Production in a XIVth Century French Miscellany (London, B.M. MS Royal 19.D.1),” *Scriptorium*, 6 (1952), 63–75. There are no clear examples of these guides for the artists in the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*. It is more likely that the artists used written notes and not the rubrics beneath each picture. On fol. 284 of \textit{Ab} a miniature representing St. Elizabeth of Hungary heads the text relating to that saint. Whoever was responsible for the rubric has made a mistake; it reads "\textit{mere de St. Jehan Baptist}". If this was inserted before the artist painted the miniature, it did not function as a pictorial guide, as the picture is correct. However, the confusion surrounding the illustration of St. Blaise is difficult to interpret. The saint, which appears in the text after the Purification is labelled Basile or sometimes Basil, a saint listed elsewhere in the *Légende dorée*. The subject of the illumination is sometimes St. Blaise (\textit{P2}), sometimes St. Basil (\textit{C}), regardless of the rubric beneath; there does not seem to be any correlation between picture and rubric, which suggests that either the artist paid no attention to the rubric, or that the rubric was added after the miniature.
1404, and Meiss has identified the artist as the Virgil Master. This miniature is so similar to a miniature by the Limbourgs in Les Belles Heures, that it must be assumed that one was copied from the other, or that a common model was used. While the Virgil Master and the Limbourgs did not share illumination of any extant manuscript, they did share a patron; the famous bibliophile, Jean duc de Berry, who may have provided the means for the transmission of the compositions by giving artists in his employ access to books he owned.\textsuperscript{112} Alternatively, the notion of individual ownership of designs may not have existed, at least to the extent of modern notions of copyright, and compositional models may have been freely exchanged among shops.\textsuperscript{113}

A miniature in another manuscript of the Légende dorée Nc, (cat. 27) dating from about 1480 and illuminated by a follower of the style of Loysit Liédet, provides another instance of transmission of a composition. The miniature, on fol. 8v of the first volume, represents the martyrdom of St. Andrew (fig. 148). Around the saint, who is fastened to the saltire cross traditionally assigned to the saint, a small crowd is gathered to hear him preach. The composition of the saint and crowd closely resembles an illumination also depicting St. Andrew, from a copy of the La Fleur des histoires (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 9232, fol. 9), painted by the Mansel Master in the early 1450s (fig. 222). This is the only miniature in this Légende dorée which closely resembles a composition in the La Fleur des histoires, which indicates the use of an intermediary model rather than direct copying from manuscript to manuscript. This cannot be supported by provenance, as the original patron or owners of the Légende dorée are unknown. However, on the basis of style and iconography, it is likely that manuscript was produced in the Southern Netherlands, possibly Bruges. On examination, it appears that the avenue of transmission

\textsuperscript{112} An example of an owner providing artists with models or manuscripts can almost certainly be found in a miniature from the Breviary of Jean sans Peur (London, Brit. Lib., MS Add. 35311 and MS Harley 2897), illuminated by an artist known as the Breviary Master, either for Jean sans Peur or his wife, Marguerite de Bavière, c. 1413–7. Fol. 333v. represents the Crucifixion. The composition is closely modelled on a miniature by Jacquemart de Hesdin from the Brussels Hours, (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 11060–1, p. 190), which was illuminated shortly before 1402. There is no evidence that the two artists worked closely together; however, the Brussels Hours was in the possession of Jean sans Peur when he commissioned his Breviary, and it is very likely that he directed the Breviary Master to include this miniature in the new work. See M. Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries, op. cit., 235, figs. 611, 612.

\textsuperscript{113} M. Meiss, ibid., provides many examples of stylistically unrelated artists using the same compositional models. The Breviary Master, who seems to have managed his own workshop, adopted Limbourg designs after working on the Très Riches Heures (232ff.). Other artists who shared or adopted each other’s models include the Epître and the Cité des Dames Masters (figs. 141, 12), the Andria and Luçon Masters (who both illuminated manuscripts owned by Jean de Berry; see n.17) (figs. 189, 193), and the Roman Texts and Luçon Master (figs. 226, 228 and 227, 229). The Duc de Berry was not typical in employing his craftspeople directly. Most owners purchased their books commercially, through a libraire. There is at least one documented case of a dispute over ownership of patterns. Jacquemart de Hesdin and the artist John of Holland were involved in a legal wrangle where Jacquemart and his brother-in-law were accused of having “brisié et rompu son coffre estant ou chastel de la ville de Poitiers...pris et emporté certaines couleurs et patrons estans en icelui”. This suggests that some permission to use patterns was necessary or perhaps John of Holland was objecting to the manner of their appropriation. See M. Meiss, The Late 14th Century, op. cit., 226. The relevant document appears in Paul Guérin, “Recueil des documents concernant le Poitou, VI (1390–1403”, Archives Historiques du Poitou,
of this composition were artists moving from workshop to workshop, carrying designs with them, possibly in the form of a model sheet. Delaissé has suggested that early in his career Simon Marmion was associated with the workshop of the Mansel Master in Amiens. Marmion in turn may have been involved in the early training of Loysit Liédet, who finally settled in Bruges, where this *Légende dorée* was probably illuminated. More research into the relationships between these shops is necessary before conclusions can be reached, but the reappearance of the composition of St. Andrew in a miniature by a follower of Liédet suggests that peripatetic artists may have been responsible for the transportation of compositional models from shop to shop.

Finally, another example of transmission reveals that artists or workshops involved in other artistic media on occasion used the same models for both activities. The miniature illustrating the Crucifixion on fol. 82 of *Bb* (cat. 17), was painted in around 1485 by a follower of Simon Marmion, possibly in Valenciennes or the Southern Netherlands (fig. 77). Part of the composition is modelled on a panel painted by Marmion sometime between 1470–80 (Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection), probably for the Abbey of Saint-Bertin at St. Omer in Northern France. As only several figures and not the entire composition of the miniature are copied from the panel, the means of transmission may have been a workshop model sketch of individual figures or components, rather than the artist's first-hand exposure to Marmion's painting.

This survey of pictorial sources for miniatures illustrating the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* has sought to indicate the various means by which artists obtained and constructed their compositions. Many compositions from the Sanctoral and Temporal cycles of the *Légende dorée* were used widely in other manuscripts of both devotional and more secular, vernacular texts. There is also evidence to suggest that on occasion, panel painters and manuscript illuminators shared workshop patterns. It appears that these compositions were transferred via *moduli* or workshop pattern books, which depicted both entire scenes and their components, such as individual figures, which could be used according to context. These models were shared by stylistically similar artists with common workshop affiliations, but also sometimes by artists from different workshops.

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115 This panel is discussed by E.W. Hoffman, "Simon Marmion or 'The Master of the Altarpiece of Saint- Bertin'"
According to present knowledge of the working practices of medieval commercial scriptoria and illuminating workshops, it seems that for the most part, they operated independently. Manuscripts of the same text executed in the same scriptorium did not necessarily contain pictures by the same workshop. Although there are instances of illuminations by the same workshops in different manuscripts of the Légende dorée, these manuscripts do not have script or secondary decoration in common. Manuscripts closely related textually, such as cases where one manuscript was copied from another, can contain dissimilar illustrations, which also argue for independent scriptoria and workshops. These practices have implications when considering the artists’ interpretation and response to the text, for it implies that in many cases this response was minimal.

3.4 Transmission of Text and Pictorial Composition in Manuscripts of the Légende dorée: constructing a stemma

In the course of their work towards editing the Gilte Legende, a 1438 English translation of the Legenda aurea drawn "out of Frensshe into Englishe" by a "synfulle wrecche", Richard Hamer and Vida Russell have constructed provisional stemmata for the manuscripts of the Légende dorée. Four chapters distributed throughout the text were selected for investigation: St. Nicholas, St. George, St. Bartholomew and All Saints. The results, published in 1989, reveal close affiliations between several manuscripts. Overall however, the picture which emerges is very complex. There is a great deal of variation among the texts studied, and no two chapters have the same stemma. Russell and Hamer conclude that because of the high demand for manuscripts of the Légende dorée, the libraire may have had one or more working copies divided into sections or chapters which were then distributed among copyists. Destrez and others described a similar system called the pecia, used to produce books in Latin within the University during the 13th and 14th centuries. To meet the increased demand for books, pecia or sections of a manuscript were rented out to copyists who marked in the margin or text of their main copy where they ended and began each pecia.


116 P.M. de Winter, "Copistes, éditeurs et enlumineurs", op. cit.; J.D. Farquhar, op. cit. It is almost certain that scriptoria and illuminating workshops were not part of the one organisation, and did not work under the one roof. However, they both participated in the industry of book-making, and to some extent worked in conjunction. If the scriptorium had a role in determining the illuminators of a manuscript, then it would be expected that certain allegiances would develop. In her study of the Légende dorée manuscript, Mb, Caswell has shown that the scribe and artists also worked together on several other manuscripts, which may suggest affiliation between the scriptorium and the illuminating workshop. The Morgan–Mâcon Golden Legend, op. cit., chapter V.


118 R. Hamer and V. Russell, "A Critical Edition of Four Chapters from the Légende Dorée", Mediaeval Studies, op. cit. I thank the authors for providing me with the draft for this article prior to publication.

The stemmata constructed for the four chapters of the *Légende dorée*, while suggesting complex copying procedures, also reveal several close affiliations relevant to the study of the illuminated manuscripts. According to the four chapters, Bb is possibly a direct descendant of B2. B1 is a copy of N. Mb was probably copied from Ab. Eb is a copy of Cb. Ab and Gb share a common source, as do Cb and Q, but only for the life of St. Nicholas. P1, dated 1348, is the earliest and purest extant version of the original text.

It can be shown that these correspondences do not apply to the illumination. For example, when the scribes copied from one manuscript into another, they did not also copy the spaces reserved for the miniatures in the exemplar. The scribe of B1 has added 19 miniatures and omitted one from his exemplar N, and Eb has only two miniatures compared to 44 for Cb. Only the scribes of Ab and Mb have left spaces for miniatures in almost the same places. Even the four chapters on which Russell and Hamer based their findings do not correspond; B1 includes an illustration of St. Bartholomew and St. George while N does not, and while Cb illustrates St. Nicholas and St. Bartholomew, Eb does not. It appears that the scribes did not simply leave the same spaces for miniatures as those which appeared in their exemplar. They must have been functioning under the directives of an overseer, perhaps the stationnaire, who devised the total programme. This overseer must have worked in some consultation with the illuminators, and possibly also according to the specific desires of a patron. Some deliberation was involved when workshops were selected to illuminate particular manuscripts. Apart from unfinished manuscripts left with blank miniature spaces, there are few instances where the illuminators were unable to provide a suitable miniature. It is surely no accident that manuscript Y (cat. 15), decorated with only one miniature of a secular nature, representing Jean de Vignay presenting his work to the Queen, was given to the *Cité des Dames* workshop for illumination (fig. 66). There are no other spaces left for miniatures. This workshop specialised in decorating secular texts, not religious, and probably did not possess available, accessible models for illustration of much of the *Légende dorée* text. Consultation between the libraire and the scribe and artists is also evident in their successful co-ordination in complex cycles like Mb and P2.

It is very likely that the text of Mb was a direct reworking of Ab. Spaces left for illustrations do agree, but this may not be significant, as nearly every chapter in both manuscripts is provided with an illustration, which could be based purely on patrons' orders. Influence must not be totally discounted however; Ab, which was illuminated c. 1420 appears in the 1467 inventory Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, (cat. 10) and Mb was produced in 1470 for one of Philippe's counsellors, Jean d'Auxy (cat. 25). The coincidence of time and place confirms that Ab could well have been the exemplar of Mb.
Even if this was the case, the iconography and composition of the miniatures in the two cycles bear no appreciable resemblance to each other, and neither do the cycles of the other manuscripts and exemplars, B1 and N, Eb and Cb.

This is not very surprising, as we have seen that iconography and compositions in the manuscripts of the Légende dorée were usually taken from models available within the illuminating workshop. It is generally acknowledged that the process of illumination is independent of the scriptorium; the same craftspeople did not usually perform both tasks, and one scriptorium did not consistently pass all work to the same illuminators. Hence each cycle usually has more in common with the style and iconography of the workshop which produced it than it has with other manuscripts of the text. It is possible to construct a separate stemma of illustration, as M. Alison Stones has shown in her study of the manuscripts of the French prose Lancelot. However, this can only be easily achieved when the compositions and iconography of the cycle are unique to a particular group of manuscripts. This is certainly not the case with the illustrations of the saints and temporal feasts in the Légende dorée; the iconography of most saints was based on centuries-old custom, and the compositions could be used by workshops in books of different texts over a period of decades.

There are a few examples of miniatures so close in style and composition that they must derive from the same workshops. However, their identification does not allow for the construction of a stemma, but offers further evidence for the wide currency of models or pattern books. Db (cat. 19) is decorated with 219 miniatures which date from the early 15th century. Critical attention has hitherto been focused on the frontispiece, which represents the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 102). Once considered to be an early work by the Limbourgs, the artist has since been named the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin by Meiss. The remainder of the manuscript is decorated with small grisaille miniatures by at least two related Parisian illuminators who work for the most part in separate gatherings. Cb is contemporary with Db and contains 44 grisaille miniatures by the one hand. Several miniatures in these two manuscripts, which are very close in style and composition, can be attributed to the same illuminating workshop, if not the same artist. These illuminations include St. Christopher: Cb, fol. 190; Db, fol. 149 (figs. 100, 107), St. Stephen: fol. 24v and fol. 16v. (figs. 99, 105), St. Anastasia: fol. 23v. and fol. 15v. (figs. 98, 104), the Nativity: fol. 20v. and fol. 13 (figs. 97, 103), and the miracle of the Volto Santo and the poor musician: fol. 415v. and fol. 328 (figs. 101, 108). While not identical in every detail, the similar stances in the two manuscripts of St. Anastasia’s torturer, despite his different clothing, and of one of St. Stephen’s assassins indicate a shared model. The artist of the Nativity of Cb has omitted

120 See n. 21.
121 M.A. Stones, "Secular Manuscript Illumination in France", op. cit., 96.
the Virgin’s breast, which appears in Db and undoubtedly also in the prototype. St. Christopher crossing the river is virtually identical in the two examples. The use of traced moduli is suggested by the very similar but reversed figure of St. Stephen in the two miniatures, and the likelihood that the five pairs of illustrations derived from the same models is suggested by their congruent sizes.

Although these miniatures from the two manuscripts were produced in the same shop at around the same time, there is no evidence that one was directly copied from another. They closely resemble each other, but most miniatures in the two manuscripts differ in iconography and composition, which indicates that one entire cycle was not copied from the other. Those miniatures which are similar tend to be common saints like St. Christopher and St. Stephen, whose frequent representation would be aided by the use of shop models for the entire scene. Other more rarely depicted saints may not have had specific models in the shop repertoire, and the composition of their miniatures was probably newly devised for each manuscript, aided by the use of moduli. Evidence for moduli can be found in the many similar individual figures arranged in different configurations which appear in miniatures from both manuscripts. The two manuscripts were almost certainly not produced in the same scriptorium, as the ruling and script are dissimilar, as is the decoration of the large initials. The picture which emerges is that each manuscript was illuminated independently, without reference to each other or to any other copy of the Légende dorée. The artists’ compositions were not based as much on a careful appraisal of the text as on the availability of workshop models and moduli.

3.5 The Cycles of the Volto Santo of Lucca

The majority of illustrations found in the manuscripts of the Légende dorée are derived not from the cycles of illumination of other copies of the text, but from models and moduli currently employed by the artistic workshops. The prevalence of many illustrations of saints and feasts from the Temporal cycle – they were used frequently in most devotional books – meant that it was much simpler for artists to keep a stock of commonly used patterns for ready reference, than repeatedly to turn back to a completed cycle. Consequently, to construct a stemma of illumination taking into account workshop practices, the details of which are by no means clear, is a virtually impossible task.

The “b” version manuscripts of the Légende dorée are distinguished by the addition of texts known as the Festes nouvelles. According to a note in Gb, the Festes nouvelles were translated by Jean Golein, who was a theologian and member of the ecclesiastical entourage of Charles V. The date of the translation is variously given in the manuscripts as 1401 or 1402. The texts include lives mostly of French saints or saints relevant to the French, not included in the original “a” version, and a longer text
relating the narrative of the *Volto Santo* of Lucca.122 The *Volto Santo*, or Holy Image, is a life-size wooden crucifix, showing Christ wearing a tunic, which has been venerated since the early Middle Ages in the cathedral of San Martino in Lucca, Tuscany. The face of the statue was supposedly carved by an angel in the true image of the Lord. A narrative of the Image’s creation, rediscovery and the miracles it performed was composed in the 12th century by the Lucchese deacon Leobinus.123 The story mirrors the legend of the True Cross, and for this reason the Volto Santo is celebrated on September 14, the feast day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Leobinus’ Latin text is extant in several manuscripts, including the 14th century Bibl. Vat., MS Reg. Lat. 487, fols. 1–26. The French translation exists separately in only one manuscript, Bibl. Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 1988, and in the “b” manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*. Apart from simple devotional pictures the Latin manuscripts do not appear to be illuminated. The French example in the Vatican is illuminated with 27 miniatures by French artists, c. 1410 (fig. 164).124 The narrative is also illustrated in 7 manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*, in cycles varying from one miniature to 12.

As a group these narrative cycles have not hitherto been considered by art historians.125 The story of the *Volto Santo* had been known in France since the early Middle Ages, but while devotional images of the crucifix were quite common, medieval depictions of the narrative were not, and so far have been located only in the *Légende dorée* and Vatican manuscripts. Because of this limited pool of iconographic models available to artists, it should be possible to suggest some relationships between the different cycles of illustration.

The narrative cycle of the *Volto Santo* almost certainly entered the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* through the dealings of the Rapondi brothers with French and Burgundian aristocratic bibliophiles. The Vatican manuscript was commissioned by members of this wealthy Lucchese merchant family,

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122 See Chapter One, n.50.
123 The narrative of the *Volto Santo* has not been edited or published. I thank Mary Scrafton of Flinders University, South Australia, for providing me with a translation of the longer French version, Vatican, Bibl. Vat. MS Pal. Lat. 1988.
124 The illuminations of this manuscript have been discussed by: I.B. Barsali, "Le Miniature della 'Légende de Saint Voult de Lucques' in un Codice Vaticano Appartenuto ai Rapondi". G. Giordano, ed. Lucca, il Volto Santo e la Civiltà Medioevale (Lucca, 1982), 122–156; Universität Heidelberg, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteca Palatina, E. Mittler et al (eds.), (Heidelberg, 1986), Vol. 1, 315–316, Vol. 2, 213–215. In this exhibition catalogue the author attributes the illumination to the artist named by Meiss the Coronation Master. However several artists participated in the decoration and only the first miniature is in the style of the Coronation Master. See also K. Christ, "Die altfranzösischen Handschriften der Palatina", *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt Bibliothekswesen*, XLVI (Leipzig, 1916), 100–104.
125 I.B. Barsali, op.cit., makes reference to a manuscript of the *Légende dorée* sold to Philippe le Hardi by Giacomo Rapondi in 1400, and mentioned in the Duke’s inventories (n.36). She suggests that the Vatican manuscript was copied from this volume of the *Légende dorée*. The only manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* containing the *Volto Santo* legend that Barsali is aware of are listed by Christ (op.cit.P, and include Ch, Eb, Fb, Gb, Ab. Christ briefly describes the illumination in these manuscripts. Depictions of the Volto Santo other than these narrative cycles are discussed and reproduced by W. Förster, "Le Saint Voult de Lucques", *Mélanges Chabeneau Romanische Forschungen*, XII (1907) 1–56.
evidently for their own use. Although the artists were French, they either painted under certain specific instructions or they were provided with an Italian model, for the illustrations include precise references to Lucca, and details like the jewelled ornamentation of the Christ figure recall older, Italian representations. At the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries the Rapondi family, brothers Dino, Filippo and Giacomo, were principal suppliers of books, jewels and other deluxe items to French and Burgundian aristocracy, including the dukes of Burgundy Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, and Philippe le Bon. The Rapondi had bases in Bruges, Paris, London and Montpellier, and according to Durrieu functioned not only as merchants but as manuscript entrepreneurs. Durrieu suggests that like the libraire they may have directed the entire production, including script, illumination and binding. Included among their commissions are some of the most luxurious manuscripts of the time: Philippe le Hardi’s Cleres femmes (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 12420) and a copy of Hayton’s Fleurs des histoires (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 12201), bought from Giacomo in 1403 by the Duke, and presented to Jean de Berry in the same year. In 1400 Dino Rapondi sold to Philippe le Hardi for 500 scudi of gold, a Légende dorée, "Hystoriee de belles histoires, a chacun son histoire et par dehors une Annunciation, S.Jehan et Saincte Katharine". Unfortunately this volume does not appear among the extant manuscripts of the Légende dorée, but it is tempting to speculate that, being a Rapondi production, it was supplied with a full cycle of illustrations depicting the narrative of the Volto Santo.

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126 The frontispiece of the manuscript depicts two figures praying before the Volto Santo. Painted beneath are two coats of arms which I.B. Barsali, op. cit., has identified as belonging to the Rapondi family of Lucca, and to the city of Lucca. The text on the page is a motto or prayer: "Vous qui cestui livre lisiez – ou il a maint ensiegnement – je vous pri que pour moy priez – qui lay donne devotement".


128 P. Durrieu, ibid. A 1407 document (Archives de la Côte-d’Or, B. 1547, fol. 142b.) cited by Durrieu records that Jacopo Rapondi was reimbursed from the Burgundian treasury for payments he made to a painter and two illuminators (Jacques Coene, Ymbert Scanier, Hanslein de Haguenu) for the decoration of a manuscript. This suggests that Rapondi played a role in the co-ordination of the total project. P. de Winter (1985), op. cit., 104ff. also discusses the Rapondi in this capacity.


130 P. Cockshaw, op. cit., 133.

131 At least two manuscripts Giacomo Rapondi supplied to the French royal family in 1403 were illustrated with miniatures by an artist Meiss named the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin. These include Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 12420, a copy of Boccaccio’s Cleres et nobles femmes and a manuscript of the Fleurs des histoires, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 12201. The first Rapondi gave to Philippe le Hardi, the second Philippe presented to Jean de Berry. A manuscript of the Légende dorée,Db, is decorated with a frontispiece also painted by the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin, c. 1403. This manuscript, which contains 219 miniatures, does not conform closely to the volume described in the inventories of Philippe le Hardi. It is not known for whom it was commissioned but possibly it was also supplied by the Rapondi. M. Meiss, The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries, 383.
After the Vatican manuscript, the most complete cycles of the Volto Santo appear in the Légende dorée manuscripts Ab, Db, and Mb, which have 12 miniatures, Hb which has 11, Gb which has 2, and Jb and Cb which have one each. No cycles are identical, although several contain miniatures which clearly derive from a common source. The most similar to the Vatican manuscript is Db, which was illuminated in about 1402 for an unknown patron. The artist of the frontispiece has been named the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin, after this miniature. As the Coronation Master and his workshop also illuminated books commissioned by the Rapondi: the Cleres femmes given to Philippe le Hardi, and the Fleurs des histoires given to Jean de Berry by Philippe in 1403, the possibility that this Légende dorée was also sponsored by the Rapondi must not be discounted. The artist of the Volto Santo cycle in Db was a shop worker, not as distinguished as the Coronation Master. He is, however, stylistically related to the artist of the Vatican cycle. Certain miniatures are compositionally also very close, which leads to the conclusion that they shared a common exemplar; possibly the lost Rapondi Légende dorée.

Two manuscripts contain miniatures of the Volto Santo which have been extracted from a longer pictorial cycle. The narrative in Cb is illustrated with only one miniature, which is placed at the beginning of the text (fig. 101). It represents the miracle of the poor pilgrim, who unable to give any material offering to the crucifix, gave praise on his instrument. After his sweet playing and singing one of the Holy Image's silver shoes fell into his lap. The miniature does not accompany this narrative, which is recounted later in the text, but appears with a description of the Volto Santo's construction. The artist has failed to represent the most important part of the story, the silver shoe, which suggests that the miniature has been used without any real understanding of its relevance to the text. Judging from its stylistic and compositional similarity to miniatures of the same subject in the Vatican manuscript and Db, this illustration shares a common source. The narrative in Gb is accompanied by two illustrations: a devotional picture of the Volto Santo, and a depiction of the divinely steered ship containing the Image on its voyage to Italy from the Holy Land. The second miniature, which does not adequately represent the text of the "First History" it precedes, resembles illustrations in Db and the Vatican volume, and must be derived from a common source. This is of interest regarding the date of Gb. A date in the 1390's as suggested by some critics, is at odds with the date of Golein's translation of the Festes nouvelles, may be even more unlikely, though not impossible, by the fact that no Volto Santo prototype cycle exists from this time. The devotional pictures of the Volto Santo in Gb and Jb are not significant in terms of a pictorial cycle, for such images were commonly represented on pilgrims' badges and other media quite extrinsic to Leobinus' narrative.

132 The date is discussed in the commentary of catalogue entry 22.
Apart from the Vatican example and Db, three longer cycles of 11 or 12 miniatures appear in Hb and Mb and Ab. Many miniatures of Ab, which can be dated c. 1420, resemble those already discussed, and seem to stem from the same tradition, but in several respects the miniatures of Mb and Hb are more distant iconographically and compositionally. This is not surprising, as several decades and probably the development of different exemplars lie between these two manuscripts and those illuminated at the turn of the century. There is some evidence in Mb that the iconography is drawn from the text, which seems to be consistent practice in this manuscript. With more detailed attention it may be possible to untangle the narrative tradition – both pictorial and textual – of the Volto Santo, and perhaps further illustrated examples of the text outside the Légende dorée will be located. The illuminated Volto Santo narratives of the Légende dorée are of interest not only because they have never been considered as a group, but also because they provide an illustration of the considerable influence the Rapondi exercised over the aristocratic book business in France and the Burgundian states, particularly in the early 15th century. It is a measure of their influence that the story associated with the crucifix, a symbol of their hometown of Lucca, and a narrative which was not widely known in the North, appears in manuscripts owned by French nobles. Finally, its presence in the Festes nouvelles of the Légende dorée raises questions about attitudes to the text as a whole. That such a lengthy and discursive non-hagiographical narrative should appear in a compendium of otherwise concise accounts, suggests perhaps a tendency other than the purely devotional. While the value of the text for the pious worshipper who was prepared to read through some 25 pages must not be underestimated, the story of the acquisition and miracles of this popular pilgrim attraction also smacks of Lucchese propaganda.
CHAPTER FOUR

Defining the Manuscripts of the Légende dorée

In defining a genre for the manuscripts of the Légende dorée, it is convenient to characterise them under two main headings. As the manuscripts contain narratives and illustrations of saints' lives, they may be classified "hagiography". However, as a generic term "hagiography" is not particularly useful, for it covers a wide range of manuscripts. This definition can be divided into several subheadings: Latin libelli, vernacular lives, devotional and liturgical hagiography, and hagiographical compendia. The second method of describing the manuscripts, focusing on form and social aspects rather than content, situates them within the context of late medieval, illuminated, vernacular manuscripts.

4.1 Hagiographical Texts and their Illustration

a. Hagiography as Endorsement – libelli

The earliest illustrated manuscripts in the West which contain a single hagiographical narrative date from the 10th century. Known as libelli, they are small books, written in a liturgical script and in addition to the life and miracles of the saint in Latin, often contain the prayers, Masses, and musical portions of the Office pertaining to that saint. Closely associated with the foundation of important monasteries during the early Middle Ages, libelli were composed in honour of the particular saint buried or venerated in the abbey. The shrine of the saint was often the site of important and, for the abbey, potentially lucrative pilgrimage, and it has been suggested that the libellus furnished evidence for the authenticity of the saint, functioning almost as a title-deed for the institution. According to Wormald, the libellus was not kept in the library, but in the sacristy, along with precious liturgical books and chalices.

As valued objects, libelli were frequently illustrated, and the illustration served to affirm the authenticity of the saint and consequently the importance of the shrine. A late 11th-century life of St. Amandus (Valenciennes, Bibl. mun. MS 502), made for the abbey of Saint-Amand, contains 32 scenes

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134 F. Wormald, op. cit., 262.
135 Ibid.
divided into tiers. In accordance with the text, which emphasises the miraculous events in life of the saint, the illustrations are structured to demonstrate the transition of miracles through the juxtaposition of consecutive events, or as Pächt expresses it, the pictures are “interlocked like question and answer”. 

136 Fragments of another *libellus*, an early 11th century life of St. Agatha (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 5594) indicate that this manuscript, the provenance of which is unknown, was densely illustrated with a frieze-like narrative of scenes at the foot of each page. The scenes, which concentrate on the interrogation, torture, resistance and triumph of the saint in a "continuously repeated cycles of confrontations" reflects the classic Latin *passio* structure of the text. 

137 Like the St. Amandus manuscript they are arranged in pairs which usually demonstrate transitions of a miraculous nature. For example, the pictures at the foot of fol. 70 first show St. Agatha being visited in prison by an old man and a youth. At right her torn breasts are restored by the man, who identifies himself as an Apostle of Christ, and she falls to the ground in gratitude (fig. 165).

b. Hagiography in the Vernacular: Royalist Propaganda?

The flowering of vernacular epic and romance literature in France in the 12th century was accompanied by the development of the vernacular saint's life. The first vernacular lives such as the 9th century *Cantilene de Saint Eulalie* and several plays were written in verse, and it has been suggested that they may have been used for liturgical purposes. 

138 Many later verse lives were read aloud as devotional literature in the refectories of monasteries and convents, while others reached the lay community through the songs of the *jongleurs*, an avenue of dissemination which was sanctioned by the Church. 

139 In general verse lives were written to provide the faithful with examples of piety and devotion, and many, such as a 13th century life of St. Barbara, declare this intent. 

140 Nevertheless, the
sharp loss in popularity suffered by verse lives in the 14th century was in part due to their perceived lack of truthfulness and their association with the far more frivolous and ribald fabliaux of the jongleurs.\textsuperscript{141} They were replaced by lives in prose, a form shared by "factual" religious texts, chronicles and histories. Most prose lives were translated directly from Latin originals, also indicating a desire to return to authentic sources. These lives appear to have been used by members of the educated lay community, although there are exceptions, such as the \textit{Vie et passion de Saint Denis} (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 696), made in the Abbey of Saint-Denis in the late 13th century.\textsuperscript{142}

Because of the cost involved in illumination, most volumes containing a single narrative of a saint's life were not illustrated. The usefulness of books read aloud to clergy or used during the liturgy was not markedly increased by the addition of elaborate picture cycles. Consequently, those manuscripts which were illustrated usually held special significance for the patron institution, whether it be an abbey or an individual. Manuscripts produced for a religious house include several of Anglo-Norman origin, such as a copiously illustrated life of St. Alban by Matthew Paris (Dublin, Trinity College MS E.1.40). Written in octosyllabic couplets of French verse and Latin hexameters, the manuscript belonged to the abbey of Saint-Alban in the 13th century.\textsuperscript{143} A later French prose work, the \textit{Vie de Saint Quentin} (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS II.3189), which is decorated with 43 expressive pen drawings describing the life and miracles of St. Quentin also belonged to an institution dedicated to the saint; the church of Saint-Quentin in Louvain.\textsuperscript{144}

Si viegne avant por moy oyr”
Reproduced by J.P. Jones, \textit{Prologue and Epilogue in Old French Lives of Saints Before 1400} (Philadelphia, 1933), 22, who unfortunately does not give his source.\textsuperscript{141} The authors of many verse saints' lives are at pains to disassociate their work from profane literature. See J.P. Jones, ibid, 43f. P. Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques", op. cit., 335, notes that hagiography in verse was quite outmoded by the 15th century. Parodies of the form, such as St. Raisin, St. Oignon and St. Haren appeared, probably disseminated by jongleurs. P.F. Dembowski, "Literary Problems of Hagiography in Old French", \textit{Medievalia et Humanistica}, 7 (1976), 117–130, argues that verse became obsolete because the internal structure was exhausted. However, prosification saints' lives were only part of a general trend; The \textit{Chanson de Roland} and the \textit{Tristan} of Thomas and Beroul were also put into prose at this time.

\textsuperscript{142} For verse lives' association with untruth see J.P. Jones, op. cit., 43f. P. Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques", op. cit., 378 ff., discusses the audience of prose lives and the texts' fidelity to the Latin originals. The manuscript containing the life of St. Denis includes several other texts relevant to the saint, in addition to annals to the year 1278. Judging from the opening address, "mi seigneur et mi compaignon" it was intended for the abbot and monks of the abbey. It is illustrated with several historiated initials. Bibliothèque Nationale, \textit{La Librairie de Charles V} (Paris, 1968), 77.

\textsuperscript{143} F. Wormald, op. cit., 263f. This manuscript was written in a vernacular rather than the liturgical hand which characterises libelli. Of the difference between libelli and liturgical books, Wormald makes the comment that "What was in the twelfth century a holy book as one would write the Gospels, has, in the middle of the thirteenth century, been supplanted by something which is much more related to a romance." 263–4.

was to provide illustrations appropriate to edifying literature, and the events from the life of the saint chosen for illustration are invariably the torture, martyrdom and miracles.

The most lavish cycles of illumination of single vernacular lives are to be found in manuscripts belonging to wealthy lay-people, particularly royalty. Many commissioned their own translations, and the subjects of the hagiographic narratives were usually closely associated with the political fortunes of the patron.

The content of these narratives differs from those belonging to religious institutions, for the emphasis has changed: the owner of the manuscript, rather than the saint, has become the main focus of the text. La estoire de Saint Aedward le Rei (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59) by Matthew Paris, is a lavishly illuminated Anglo-Norman manuscript dating from about 1250.\(^\text{145}\) The translation was a versification of a Latin prose life, and this manuscript was probably the presentation copy for Queen Eleanor of Provence. The text was of particular relevance to the current political situation. It was probably made shortly after 1241, when Henry III instituted a new shrine for the remains of the saint at Westminster, the pre-eminent symbol of the English monarchy. The continuing interest of the English in France is reflected in a section devoted to the history of Normandy, and the line of succession to the English throne, which leads to Henry, is stressed by an account of the King's ancestry.

The illustrations of this narrative, like many libelli, are structured as a series of twin scenes. However these scenes do not offer "before" and "after" juxtapositions of torture and martyrdom or miraculous events. The illustrations, like the text, present a measured chronological sequence through the life of a great man; the intent is more to glorify every action of this prototype of the current king than to impart a firm impression of the Confessor's saintly attributes.

One of the most richly illustrated examples of a vernacular hagiographic text is the French manuscript the Vie de Saint Denis (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS. fr. 2090–2 and MS lat. 13836), which was begun at the instigation of Jean de Pointoise, Abbot of Saint-Denis, for Philippe IV, but not completed until 1319, when it was presented to Philippe V le Long. The text of the manuscript, which is a long prose account of the life of the saint and a history of France, is illustrated by 77 full-page miniatures.\(^\text{146}\) These miniatures are enshrined within heavy ornamental frames, and represent subjects relating to the patron saint of France's infancy, conversion, torture and martyrdom. However, the concerns of the contemporary monarchy are never far away, for the lower half of each miniature is devoted to

\(^{145}\) M.R. James, La Estoire de Saint Aedward le Rei (Roxburghe Club, 1920). The life of Edward is 4,606 lines in length. James reproduces many of the manuscript's illustrations.

detailed Parisian genre scenes (fig. 166). It has been suggested that these scenes, representing mainly business activities, are a pictorial treatise on the effects of good government under the Capetian dynasty. The scenes from the life of the saint, probably excerpted from a longer cycle, do not form a fluid continuous narrative. Instead, as symbols of France herself, they function almost as backdrop to the real concerns of the artist, the wise and beneficent government of the monarchy.

c. Devotions to the Saints: Books for Mass and Office

Devotions to the saints are included in most service and prayer books. Unlike libelli, which preserved the record of a narrative, or hagiographical manuscripts which commemorated a religious or lay institution, the texts of devotional books honour each saint within the cycle of the liturgical year.

The missal, used by the priest to celebrate the most sacred moment of worship, the Eucharist, was not generally profusely illustrated. The Canon of the Mass, the most important and frequently consulted part of the missal, was also the most lavishly illustrated; usually a full-page illumination representing the Crucifixion or Christ in Majesty. As the missal was the vehicle for a Sacrament, and was not intended to provide reading material, the pictures were symbolic rather than illustrative. In this way they can be compared to the icon, which itself carries the significance of the holy object it represents. Miniatures of the saints, when included in the Sanctoral, were usually small and unobtrusive, and often presented in the form of a historiated initial at the beginning of the relevant text. The subjects are generally limited to a standing, facing saint holding a customary attribute or to a paradigmatic, conventionalised scene from a narrative, such as the lapidation of St. Stephen in a 14th century French missal (fig. 167).

Prayers to the saints were also included in the Sanctoral of the breviary, the service book for the series of daily devotions of the Divine Office. The Offices of the Sanctoral formed an important part of the breviary, particularly since an Office from the Sanctoral could be substituted for the lengthy obligatory prayers of the ferial Office. This encouraged the addition of material from the lives of the saints, much of which derived from apocryphal sources. Breviaries were used by priests but also by monks, nuns and the laity. Those produced under the patronage of wealthy members of the laity were sometimes richly illuminated. The Salisbury Breviary (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 17294), decorated soon after 1420 for

148 For references to the icon see Chapter 2 n.18. C. de Hamel, A History of Illuminated Manuscripts (London, 1986), 190–1, refers to the illustration of missals in relation to icon painting, and suggests that when the priest was reciting the Canon the miniatures were the subject of literal veneration. Smudged miniatures indicate that they were kissed by the priest.
John Lancaster, Duke of Bedford and Regent of France, is an exceptional example. 36 scenes taken from the lives of the saints illustrate the Sanctoral and Common of the Saints; sometimes the iconography derives from the accompanying lessons, sometimes from other sources. The narrative is very complex, and far more involved than any miniatures in manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*.

Other sumptuous, illuminated breviaries decorated for lay patrons include the 15th century Grimani Breviary (Venice, Marciana MS lat.1.99) and the c. 1370 Breviary of Charles V (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1052), which contains 243 miniatures.

Despite these exceptions, the Sanctoral of most illustrated breviaries is decorated with small, iconographically predictable pictures. These are usually a small miniature, one text column in width, either forming part of a historiated initial or placed above the large initial introducing the lesson. They are generally monoscenic: within the single miniature, narrative is rarely depicted. The illustrated saints are either posed with an attribute, or they are involved in an idiomatic scene from a traditional narrative, usually torture or martyrdom. In appearance these miniatures are very much like many found in the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*, and the same saints are frequently represented by the same iconography. For example, a depiction of the martyrdom of St. Hippolytus between two horses in a Parisian breviary of the late 13th century (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 1.023, fol. 395) is a similar depiction to that seen in a *Légende dorée*, R, fol. 209v., which was illuminated nearly a century later. Narrative in breviary illumination did not evolve much, and traditional "iconic" forms persist even in those manuscripts illuminated for the laity. A late 15th century breviary belonging to Jean d’Amboise (Chaumont, bibl. mun., MS 32) is illuminated with small, concise pictures like the "iconic" depiction of St. Philip holding an axe, which appears as part of an historiated initial on fol. 418. Otherwise the manuscript is a luxury production, and includes elaborate border decoration.

While the iconography of certain saints did undergo some modification, the presentation of most saints in breviaries and lectionaries was consistent throughout the medieval period. The persistence of these forms relates very much to function: as aids to ritualised devotions, the pictures reminded the worshipper of the reasons for paying homage to a particular saint. The representations helped focus attention on the particular prayer: St. Martin dividing his cloak for a beggar represented his charity, the torture of St. Agatha and the twisting off of her breasts recalled the strength of her faith, and St.

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150 V. Leroquais, op. cit, tom. VI, pl. Cl.
George astride a horse battling a dragon was a metaphor for defeat of evil. Often the characteristics of the saint were abbreviated into a small attribute, such as St. Katherine's wheel, St. Andrew's saltire cross, and St. Quentin's nail. These attributes, which related to the saints' tortures and martyrdom, could also recall their powers of intercession, and they were invoked for these abilities in the prayers.

While breviaries were used by laypeople, the prayer book most relevant to the layperson in the late Middle Ages was the Book of Hours, which contained several devotional texts designed to be read by the owner in private. Because these books were often structured according to the personal requirements of the owner, the contents varied. However, the Book of Hours usually opened with a calendar, followed by four short readings from the Gospels and two prayers to the Virgin. The most important text, the Office of the Virgin came next, and included prayers and psalms to be read at each of the canonical Hours of the day. Other texts could be included, such as the Penitential Psalms and Litany, the Office of the Dead, the Hours of the Holy Ghost, the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Trinity and the Suffrages of the Saints. The Suffrages or Memoriae invoked the saints, in the order of their hierarchy, rather than according to their feast days, with short devotions consisting of an antiphon, verse, response and prayer. The number of saints in the Suffrages could range from only a few to around one hundred in exceptional cases, and their selection often reflected the personal choice and circumstance of the manuscript's owner.\footnote{The classic study of Books of Hours is by V. Leroquais, \textit{Les livres d'heures; manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale}, 3 vols., (Paris, 1927). See also J. Harthan, \textit{Books of Hours and Their Owners} (London, 1977); R.G. Calkins, \textit{Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages} (London, 1983); C. de Hamel, op. cit., ch. 6.; L.M.J. Delaissé, "The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book" \textit{Gatherings in Honour of Dorothy Miner} (Baltimore, 1974). The personal interest of the owner is reflected by the inclusion of certain saints in the Suffrages. Included in the Boucicaut Hours (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, MS 2) are St. Martin, who was the patron of Boucicaut's church in Tours, St. Honoratus, who was the patron of his confessor, and St. William of Gellone and St. George, who like the maréchal de Boucicaut, were soldiers. The maréchal is shown kneeling before one of his special patrons, St. Katherine, on fol. 38v. See M. Meiss, \textit{French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Boucicaut Master}, op. cit., 9–10.}

Books of hours were often illustrated, in part through pride of ownership, but also to provide visual aids for devotion. The Hours of the Virgin and the Suffrages of the Saints are the sections of the book most likely to include miniatures. Because the texts of the Suffrages were supplications to the saints, succinct prayers for specific purposes, unrelated to their feast days, the illustrations of the saints rarely included details from the Acts or other narratives of their lives. The prayers to the saints in books of hours usually involved seeking their intercession, and each saint was called upon for a particular reason. For instance, St. Apollonia was called upon for toothache and St. Liberata for the disposal of unwanted husbands.\footnote{St. Liberata was not often represented. She appears on fol. 125v. of Vienna, Nationalbibliothek cod. 1857, a Book of Hours which belonged to Mary of Burgundy, decorated by several Flemish artists. The origins of the saint have been studied by G. Schnürer and J. Ritz, \textit{Sankt Kümmernis und Volto Santo}, (Düsseldorf, 1934).} St. Roch was often called upon as an intercessor against the pestis or bubonic...
plague, as was St. Sebastian. Sometimes these associations related to a narrative, such as the story of
St. Liberata, a Portugese princess who avoided marriage by imploring God to give her a beard. The
connection between St. Sebastian and the plague is more remote, but seems to be related to his
attribute, the arrow, as a metaphor for pestilence.\textsuperscript{153}

The saints in books of hours are represented according to the devotional concerns of the text, and the
depictions do not differ very much from those in missals, breviaries and other devotional books. They
are shown standing with an attribute, or a familiar scene from a narrative is represented. Because the
Book of Hours was the foremost prayerbook of the wealthy laity, many are quite elaborately
illuminated, and consequently their presentation tends to be more sumptuous than that of breviaries.
Books of hours were also considerably shorter in length, and more easily provided with full illustration.
While the picture of the saint in a breviary usually appears as a small miniature inserted into one
column of a double-column text page, in a Book of Hours it occupies a more emphatic position on the
page. Often only a few lines of text appear below the miniature, and the only other element on the
page is a decorative border. In some books of hours, like the early 15th century Boucicaut Hours (Paris,
Musée Jacquemart-André, MS 2), the miniature appears without any text.\textsuperscript{154} This "show-piece"
quality, while a symptom of wealthy patronage, is not accompanied by complication of iconography;
the saints, such as St. Leonard on fol. 9v., are still primarily devotional images – in this case, a facing,
standing figure accompanied by his traditional attribute of two kneeling prisoners (fig. 168). Only
occasionally are the Suffrages illustrated as a narrative. Each large miniature of the saints in the
Sobieski Hours (Windsor Castle, Royal Library), illuminated in the 1420’s by the Bedford Master and his
associates, includes a number of scenes from the particular saint's life (figs. 211–214).\textsuperscript{155} Another
exception is Les Belles Heures, illuminated by the Limbourgs brothers for Jean, duc de Berry. Although
not part of the Suffrages, this manuscript includes three unprecedented picture cycles of St. Jerome,
St. Katherine, and the story of St. Antony Abbot and St. Paul Hermit.\textsuperscript{156} Of interest in the hagiographic
illustrations of both the Sobieski Hours and Les Belles Heures is that the iconography of the pictorial
narrative was probably derived from the text of the Legenda aurea, or possibly the Légende dorée.\textsuperscript{157}

\textsuperscript{154} M. Meiss, \textit{The Boucicaut Hours}, op. cit., figs. 1–27.
\textsuperscript{155} Miniatures from the Sobieski Hours have been reproduced and discussed by E. Spencer, \textit{The Sobieski Hours, A
Manuscript in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle}, (London, 1977). The Suffrages are illustrated by 31 miniatures, the
iconography of which appears to be taken from the Legenda aurea. Saints are represented by nine framed episodes on
a single folio.
\textsuperscript{156} See M. Meiss, \textit{Les Belles Heures de Jean Duc de Berry}, (New York, 1974).
\textsuperscript{157} The miniature cycles from Les Belles Heures are accompanied by four lines of Latin text which Meiss claims is taken
from the Legenda aurea. French Painting in the time of Jean de Berry, \textit{The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries} (New
York, 1974), 113ff.; M. Meiss, \textit{Les Belles Heures}, op. cit., 14, 254. For this commentary, Meiss has consulted a manuscript
d. Compendia of Saints' Lives

The final form of hagiographical text to be considered is the compendium of saints' lives. Early compendia included the legendary or passional and the martyrology. The martyrology, first compiled in the 5th century, was a catalogue of saints ordered according to the date and place of death, and functioned as a liturgical calendar. The Council of Aachen in 817 ordered that the appropriate section of the martyrology be read after the daily Office of Prime, and a rubric appears to this effect in the Roman breviary. Over the centuries the text evolved into a long compedium which included short historical notices; until shortly before the Council of Trent, the most widely used martyrology in the late Middle Ages was an historical version by Usuard which included 1170 names.

The legendary was a collection of entries which recounted the life, martyrdom, miracles and translations of the saints. Early legendaries drew on various sources, like the "Acts of the Martyrs" by Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great's Dialogues and Gregory of Tours' Vitae Patrum. The number and selection of lives varied according to the requirements of the religious institution, and they were usually though not always, ordered to the liturgical calendar. Generally lengthier than the martyrology, in addition to readings at Prime, the legendary was used for the longer lessons at Matins and for the clergy's edifying public and private reading. After the 13th century the number of legendaries being produced dwindled, and the readings, in a shortened form, passed into the newly developed breviary.

At about the same time, considerably abbreviated legendaries appeared. Unlike the older legendaries, the new abridged forms did not provide lessons to the liturgical Office, or supply material for private or community reading in monasteries. The stated aim of the compilers of these works was usually to give preachers edifying readings with which to illustrate their sermons, and it is no coincidence that most of these legendaries were compiled by members of the great preaching Order, the Dominicans. As

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160 Ibid., 60.
161 A. Poncelet, op. cit., 5f.
reference books, these compilations were easily accessible. They were usually ordered according to
the liturgical year and the entries concise and to the point, or as Poncelet expresses it, including "dans
quelques paragraphes, le plus de faits possible." Among the most popular examples of the genre, all
appearing in the 13th century, were Bartholomew of Trent’s *Epilogus in gesta sanctorum* and Jean de
Mailly’s *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum*. Other abridged legendaries by Bernard Gui, Guy
de Chartres, Pierre Calo and Pierre Natal followed these early examples. Vincent de Beauvais’
*Speculum Historiale* also deserves mention; although it was more a history than a legendary, 900 of its
3800 chapters relate to the lives of the saints, and it was an important source for other compilers of
hagiography, including the author of the *Legenda aurea*, Jacobus de Voragine.

Most of the manuscripts, of both Latin and vernacular texts, were not illuminated. Their purpose,
whether it was to provide lessons during the devotions of the Office, to be read aloud in the monastic
refectory, or to be used as a sermon source-book, was practical. When they are illustrated, the
miniatures are in the form of small, summary pictures of saints with attributes or in characteristic
scenes, placed at the beginning of the relevant text entries. While these illustrations may have
functioned as an aid to devotion, their most useful role would have been to act like rubrics, as place
markers for easy reference.

4.2 The Tradition of Late Medieval Vernacular Illuminated Manuscripts

Before assessing the place of the *Légende dorée* in reference to hagiographical illustration, another
appropriate categorisation can be suggested; that of late medieval vernacular illuminated manuscripts.
This definition covers a wide range of texts; Jean de Vignay’s various translations are a good example,
as they include a classical military treatise, a 14th century account of voyages throughout Asia, a
chronicle which included the life of St. Louis, and the *Légende dorée*. However, despite the diversity of
content, the appearance and structure of the manuscripts often have much in common. Although
these different vernacular texts may be categorised into *genres* of chronicle, romance or classical

\[162\] Ibid., 14.
\[163\] Ibid., 20f.
\[164\] Examples of illustrated hagiographical compendia in Latin include a 14th century *Vitae sanctorum* which belonged
to the Abbey Saint-Pantaléon in Cologne, now Brussels, Bibl. roy. MS 329–341. This manuscript is decorated with several
historiated initials, such as the "iconic" St. Augustine on fol. 93. C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, op. cit., 242, fig. Lila. Included in
the text is St. Pantaleon, patron of the abbey. Vernacular compendia, when illuminated were also decorated with small,
usually simple miniatures. They generally belonged to abbeys, monasteries or convents although some probably
belonged to individuals. For example, a manuscript entitled "La Légende dorée", but in fact a collection by Wauchier de
Denain (Brussels, Bibl. roy. MSS. 9225, 9229–30), belonged to a Carthusian monastery in Zeehem in the early 14th
century. It appears in the 1467 inventory of Philippe le Bon. The first volume, which contains the lives of the saints, is
treatise, the shared circumstances of their production and readership contributed as much to the presentation of the manuscripts and their illustrative programmes as any coincidence of content.

Like the Légende dorée, which was commissioned by Jeanne de Bourgogne, many late medieval works were written or translated under the patronage of aristocratic women and men. The manuscripts of these texts were owned by the same social group, and many were embellished with lavish illumination. These manuscripts, which may be classified as "fashionable reading", included texts like the works of Christine de Pisan. Shortly after 1410 a manuscript of her collected writings was especially written and illustrated for Queen Isabeau de Bavière. Illuminated manuscripts of Christine’s works were popular within the French court of the early 15th century, and owners included Louis d’Orléans, Philippe le Hardi, the Duc de Berry and the Duc de Bourgogne. In the libraries of the wealthy and influential, the works of Christine de Pisan found a place alongside other vernacular works like Laurent de Premierfait’s translation of Boccaccio’s Des casibus virorum illustrium, St. Augustine’s La Cité de Dieu in the translation by Raoul de Praelles, and classical works such as Titus Livius’ Histoire romaine, translated in the mid-14th century by Pierre Bersuire, probably for Jean le Bon.

Regardless of their content, the manuscripts of these vernacular texts were often luxurious presentations, written on fine vellum and extravagantly decorated. A high proportion of manuscripts of each text is illustrated by illuminators much in demand by the elite. From around 1400 the text of these manuscripts is usually written in a textualis cursiva script, in double or sometimes triple columns. From the 13th century the programme of illumination generally opens with a miniature which is distinguished from others in the manuscript. Sometimes it is much larger, and can be divided into several compartments. The page may also be marked by a series of miniatures. Alternatively the opening miniature is historiated and the remainder of the illumination is not, or vice versa. The opening page is also customarily decorated with a bar border composed of ivy leaf, or later with rinceau, acanthus or various trompe l’œil devices. In secular manuscripts the ¾ or 4/4 bar border is usually confined to the frontispiece, or if the text is divided into major sections, to the opening page of illuminated with numerous miniatures. See C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, op. cit., 259.

165 Characteristics of late medieval vernacular manuscripts have been discussed by M.A. Stones, "Secular Manuscript Illumination in France", op. cit.. See also her "Sacred and Profane Art: Secular and Liturgical Book Illumination in the Thirteenth Century", H. Scholler ed., The Epic in Medieval Society (Tübingen, 1977), 100–112; L. Lawton, "The Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts, With Special Reference to Lydgate’s Troy Book", op. cit.


167 L. Lawton, op. cit., makes the same comment about the Troy Book.

168 See M.G.I. Lieftinck, op. cit.
each division. Occasionally the book is decorated by only a frontispiece, but usually this page is
followed by smaller miniatures distributed throughout the text. These text miniatures are often square
or rectangular, and one column in width. They may also be long and rectangular, extending over the
two or three text columns; a layout, as M. Alison Stones remarks, that allowed the representation of
narrative, and which appears to be without parallel in liturgical illumination. 169 Finally, capital letters
often serve to distinguish parts of the text, and they are often decorated with dentelle or foliate
designs.

A characteristic programme in a late medieval illuminated vernacular text can be demonstrated by a
brief description of one manuscript. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, MS Felton 3 is a copy of
Pierre Bersuire’s 14th century translation of Livy’s Histoire romaine originally undertaken for Jean le
Bon. 170 Over 80 manuscripts of the translation survive, and many are illustrated. 171 This manuscript,
which dates from the first years of the 15th century, was owned by Antoine, Grand Bâtard de
Bourgogne and possibly by his father Philippe le Bon and by Jean sans Peur. The book is composed of
fine vellum and is written in double columns in the elegant textualis cursiva script common in secular
works around the turn of the century. It is decorated with 30 miniatures by the Parisian workshop of
the Master of the Cité des Dames and by the Maître du Polycratique, who incidentally was also
responsible for the illumination in the contemporary Légende dorée now in Geneva, Gb (cat. 22). Three
of these miniatures, which introduce the Three Decades of the text, are afforded special attention.
They are large, occupying about half the page, and are surrounded by a ¾ bar-border of ivy leaf and
rinceau. These miniatures are divided into four quatrefoils, each containing a different scene from the
ensuing narrative (fig. 169). The 27 remaining miniatures are square, but enclosed within a quatrefoil,
and are placed within a single text column. They introduce chapters in the text, and are accompanied
by a large foliate initial and a single bar border. These small miniatures usually represent only one
scene from the narrative.

169 M.A. Stones, "Secular Illumination in France", op. cit., 95.
171 Manuscripts of the text are discussed by I. Zacher, Die Livius-Illustration in der Pariser Buchmalerei (1370–1420)
(Berlin, 1971).
4.3 The Place of the Manuscripts of the Légende dorée
In the Tradition of Illuminated Books

a. Audience, Presentation and Structure of the Illustrative Programmes

The very fact that most of the manuscripts of the Légende dorée are illuminated associate them with the privileged and elite. They were made for those who could afford to pay for lavish illumination. In the case of libelli these motivating agents were Church institutions; with the elaborate Vie de St. Denis it was the monarchy; and books of hours, while often humbler, were frequently purchased or commissioned by individuals in part as symbols of status and power. The manuscripts of the Légende dorée were owned by aristocrats, and their use by this social group must distinguish them from Latin preachers' legendaries like Jean de Mailly's and Bartholomew of Trent's compilations, not to mention the Legenda aurea, despite the close similarities of contents.

It is clear that with regard to audience and also to presentation, the manuscripts of the Légende dorée must be classified alongside vernacular texts for fashionable reading. The circumstances and processes of production and illumination are, in most cases, very similar to manuscripts of this genre. As a group the manuscripts are essentially aristocratic; the translation was undertaken for a Queen and most of the manuscripts were owned by nobles. A high proportion of manuscripts of the text are illuminated and the layout, secondary decoration and illumination follow certain patterns common to many fashionable vernacular texts.

Most open with a frontispiece depicting either a single or a composite scene. Occasionally the frontispiece is divided into several compartments; P2, Ab, and R are all composed of two or more discrete scenes (figs. 52, 67). The frontispiece of R, which is presented as four quatrefoils is in structure very similar to the frontispieces of many late 14th century illustrated secular manuscripts, the Melbourne Livy, for example. The frontispiece is usually followed by small miniatures one column in width, which is also consistent with the decoration in secular manuscripts. However, there are some exceptions to this pattern in the manuscripts of the Légende dorée. The feasts of the Temporal cycle in the earliest example, P1, are illustrated by long miniatures extending across the double column page. Several are divided in two by means of contrasting background and frame colours. This format was used frequently until the mid-14th century in vernacular, non-liturgical manuscripts; for example (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 5080), a copy of Vincent de Beauvais' Miroir Historiale illuminated around 1335, shortly after the text was translated by Jean de Vignay. 172 This type of miniature was also often

employed in romances like the story of Lancelot, where it allowed for the depiction of extended battle scenes and narrative episodes. It was rarely, if ever, used in liturgical and devotional books, in part because the representation of narrative was not often a priority. In the miniatures of the Temporal cycle in P1, which represent scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin, long miniatures are used with varying degrees of success. For example, the Nativity of the Virgin, fol. 236v. appears alongside a group of gesticulating men which are not part of the customary iconography (fig. 7). This group may have been added from the repertoire of shop moduli in order to fill the space created by the long miniature; otherwise the reason for their presence is obscure.

While the framing and positioning of these miniatures in the manuscript relates to contemporary vernacular, secular illumination, the emphasis given to the subjects of the Temporal cycle over those of the Sanctoral belongs to the tradition of service and devotional books. In such books the relative importance of these feasts in the liturgical year is often reflected in the large size of the miniatures, which can occupy a full page. Representations of saints were generally confined to small illuminations within the text. In one other manuscript of the Légende dorée, Bb, miniatures for the feasts of the Temporal are also distinguished from the others by their large size and elaborate marginal decoration, in contrast to the much smaller miniatures of the saints. Although this clear distinction is made in only two manuscripts, in no copies of the Légende dorée is a saint honoured with a full page illumination. Consistent also with the practice of many illuminated service and devotional books is the customary placing of only one miniature before each saint’s text entry. In a formal sense this also follows the presentation of aristocratic, vernacular books, where one small miniature prefaces each section of text. Only very rarely in the Légende dorée is more than one miniature used to illustrate each entry, despite the wealth of potential iconographic material in the narrative. In this respect these illustrations do not belong to the tradition of extended hagiographical narratives of the libelli and other lives glorifying the institutions of the Church, King and France, where much emphasis was given to serial illustration of the saint’s achievements.

The picture that emerges from the nature of the patronage, layout and presentation of the manuscripts of the Légende dorée, is that they can be placed within at least two traditions of manuscript production and illumination. Firstly, they belong to the class of fashionable illustrated vernacular manuscripts popular among the upper echelons of court society in the 14th and 15th centuries. This is reflected both in the circumstances of the translation and patronage and in the formal presentation of the manuscripts. Secondly, however, the illustrative programmes also conform

173 M.A. Stones, "Secular Illumination in France", op. cit., 95.
to the practices of illuminated Latin service and devotional books in the hierarchy and distribution of miniatures. There is a certain tension created by these two traditions, which is also evident in the artists' approach to narrative and iconography. That the manuscripts should reveal such hybrid characteristics is perhaps not surprising, given the radical transition of the text from a Latin preachers' sourcebook for the indoctrination of recalcitrant Christians to what appears to be a French aristocratic picture-book.

b. Iconography and Narrative

Many hagiographical illustrations in the manuscripts have been described as "iconic" representations: standing or seated saints facing the viewer, accompanied by a small attribute or subsidiary pictorial unit. The attribute does not necessarily represent the narrative or relate in any way to the contents of the text, and in this sense its function is primarily symbolic. Although in some cases, like St. Felix's stylus and St. Katherine's wheel, the attribute may stress the divine characteristics of the saint by making a direct reference to martyrdom, in others like St. Antony's pig, the derivation is more obscure and meaning is multi-layered. Ultimately however, the meaning and source of the attribute is not as important as its close identification and association with the saint. Hence the success of the image of St. Nicholas raising the three boys, despite the absence of the relevant narrative in the text. This gap between representation and text has already been observed in connection with workshop practice, and can be attributed to the varying availability of appropriate shop models. While this may well apply to the hagiographical illustrations in the manuscripts of the Légende dorée, and examples can be cited, it does not really affect, on one level, the response of the reader or viewer. The history of the "iconic" representation in manuscript illumination suggests that their function was primarily devotional. Such depictions occur commonly in books associated with the liturgy and services of the Church, such as missals and breviaries, in personal books of hours and sometimes in compendia of saints' lives. As an aid to devotion, the picture had to recall the saint to the mind of the worshipper; to act as an object for address. While the content of the picture and text may coincide, for devotional purposes this was not necessary. The pig of St. Antony, for example, was not mentioned in the prayers to the saint but was nevertheless an important identifying attribute.

Most miniatures of the saints in most manuscripts of the Légende dorée are almost indistinguishable from hagiographic illustrations in devotional books. Iconography is shared among these books, not to mention other artistic media, and as analysed in the chapter on artistic workshops, the same patterns and models are used to illustrate both devotional books and the Légende dorée. The structure of the text of the Légende dorée, arranged according to the liturgical year, aligns it with similarly arranged
devotional books like the breviary. The contents, however, are not devotional in tenor. Voragine’s analysis of the worth of sources sometimes resembles a theological treatise. In other respects the descriptive narrative has more in common with the heroic accounts of a Romance. This narrative did, on occasion, provide iconographic material for the artists of the manuscripts, and their approach to the narrative is revealing in what it tells us about their attitude to the function of the manuscripts.

It has already been suggested that an important factor in the elaboration of narrative was the demand of an aristocratic clientele, who not satisfied with simple and predictable "iconic" pictures, desired more elaborate illuminations. These illuminations, the iconography of which was usually based on the text, represented the narrative in different ways: details suggest the passage of time, key figures are repeated, the coherent space is divided into regions by architecture or natural forms, or the frame is divided into two or more separate sections. The scenes represented were not selected arbitrarily from the text, but according to principles consistent with a devotional viewpoint. Single scenes invariably depict an important moment in the life of the saint; martyrdom, torture or a miracle. Divided miniatures which represent more than one scene often juxtapose "before" and "after" events which emphasise the inherent qualities of the saint. These events include the performance of a miracle, the passing from ignorance into a state of grace, as in the miniature of St. Germain (Germanus) of Auxerre in Mb (fig. 137), or the saint's passing into the kingdom of Heaven through torture and subsequent martyrdom. For the pious reader such miniatures provide an illustration of the most important elements of the saint's life. The picture offers a congruent commentary on the life, which is where it differs from the "iconic" mode, which provides a separate focus of address. These depictions of narrative can be compared to hagiographical illustration in other texts, but they are characteristic of the Légende dorée.

Early medieval libelli contain illuminations similar in certain respects to some in the manuscripts of the Légende dorée which illustrate the miracles or martyrdom of the saint with two contrasting scenes. In both books the frame is divided in two, and the narrative stresses the miraculous and extraordinary qualities of the saint. This is consistent with the status of the libellus as a document of verification; the painted martyrdom or miracle is witnessed by the viewer. It differs from the Légende dorée illumination in emphasis. The cycle of the illustrated libellus was generally quite long, and in some cases the pictorialisation of the life assumed an importance equal to the text, perhaps on the principle that the more explicit the pictorial narrative, the clearer the saint's claim to authenticity. The Légende dorée miniature on the other hand, is not part of an extended narrative, as each saint is illustrated by only one miniature. However, the similar binary structure of the illustrations in the two types of books reveal a like interest in the processes of sainthood.
In their approach to narrative the miniatures of the *Légende dorée* do not have much in common with the richly illustrated vernacular saints' lives like the *Vie de Saint Denis*, despite the similar hagiographic themes. Because these narratives in effect glorify the institution of the monarchy, the miniatures reflect this bias by laying less emphasis on the reasons and processes of sainthood and more on the saint as individual. For example, the miniatures decorating an early 14th century copy of the *Vie de Saint Louis* by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 5716) tend to regard the episodes in the life of the King with equal emphasis rather than highlighting only those germane to his reputation as saint; the stress is on the King as a saint as opposed to defining the saint as a King.\(^{174}\) This is also true of depictions of royal saints in other texts. The *Grandes Chroniques de France*, composed at the end of the reign of St. Louis by Primat, a monk of Saint-Denis, became the official history of the French monarchy. Charles V owned a particularly lavish copy (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 2813), which includes a miniature on fol. 265 divided into a series of six separate scenes from the life of St. Louis, representing his birth, education, and examples of his charity, humility and penance (fig. 170). Such an illumination would never appear in a manuscript of the *Légende dorée*, where the saint is represented by only a single miniature depicting either an iconic image *Gb*, or a scene relevant to his determination as a saint, such as his death, *Mb*.\(^{175}\) His birth, in itself unremarkable, is never shown.

In the arrangement of its contents, Voragine’s text has clear structural affinities with devotional books such as the breviary, which also follow the order of the liturgical year. Many representations of the saints, in iconography and form, are also closely modeled on devotional types. However, with a few rare exceptions found in very lavishly illuminated books of hours and breviaries, saints in these books tend to be presented in iconic or traditional scenes, and there is usually little emphasis on narrative representation. This is consistent with the devotional contents of the texts, and distinguishes them as a group from the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*, which do, on occasion, include miniatures which illustrate the narrative. However, the custom of emphasising the feasts of the Temporal cycle with miniatures of a greater size, found in several *Légende dorée* manuscripts, is derived from devotional books, as is the iconography of most of these miniatures. The important Temporal feasts in both the *Légende dorée* and devotional books are Advent, The Nativity, The Circumcision, Epiphany, The Purification of the Virgin, The Annunciation, The Passion, The Resurrection of the Lord, The Ascension of the Lord, Pentecost and The Assumption of the Virgin. In the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* these feasts are nearly always represented by a miniature. The most variable in subject is the

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174 *Les Fastes du Gothique*, op. cit., 299–300. Scenes include the education of the king (fol. 24v.), and Louis venerating the relics of the True Cross and Crown of Thorns (fol. 67).
175 St. Louis of France is represented in the *Festes nouvelles* of *Ab, Bb, Gb, Hb, Jb, Mb*, and *Nc*.
miniature for Advent, which also usually functions as a frontispiece. Subjects include most commonly, the *Maiestas Domini* surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists, the Coronation of the Virgin, and Christ the Judge and the Resurrection of the Dead. The image of the *Maiestas Domini* was used in a range of books, including Bibles, psalters, to illustrate the Canon of the Mass in missals, books of hours, breviaries, and also in vernacular manuscripts, such as the *Bible Historiale*, where it usually served as a frontispiece.\(^{176}\) Both the Coronation of the Virgin and Christ the Judge with the Resurrection of the dead customarily illustrated Compline in the Hours of the Virgin in books of hours.\(^ {177}\) Other subjects include the Tree of Jesse, which is also widely represented in liturgical and devotional manuscripts, such as the Gospels, where it often opened the Book of St. Matthew.\(^ {178}\) All are appropriate subjects for the illustration of the Advent of the Lord and as frontispieces to the *Légende dorée*; the *Maiestas Domini* is a general devotional image of the Godhead, the Last Judgement represents the final coming or advent of the Lord, and the Tree of Jesse anticipates the Advent of the Lord in the flesh. The Coronation of the Virgin, while not directly related to the texts for Advent, symbolises the Church or *ecclesia*, seated alongside the Godhead and attended by heavenly subjects, the saints. A description of the Coronation is also included in the *Légende dorée* text for the Assumption of the Virgin. Also appropriate to the text is the frontispiece of one manuscript, *Fb*, which is a customary representation for the feast of All Saints, showing the congregation of saints adoring the Godhead.

The remaining miniatures illustrating the feasts of the Temporal are, for the most part, faithful to the traditional iconography found in liturgical and devotional books. In some cases, it can be shown that the same shop models were used for the illumination of manuscripts of both these texts and the *Légende dorée*. However, as with the hagiographical pictures, there is some indication that artists were resorting to the text for new iconography, representing a move away from established traditions. Miniatures such as the Purification of the Virgin in *P2* (fig. 10), which represents Voragine's analytical description of the pagan origins of the feast day are unique to the text and to the manuscript, and were clearly not derived from books of hours or breviaries. Likewise, two frontispieces do not belong to the pictorial traditions of devotional books, but were taken from iconography more common to secular works. The frontispiece of *Fc* is an author portrait, which could be interpreted as representing

\(^{176}\) The *Maiestas Domini* is used for the frontpieces representing Advent in the *Légende dorée* manuscripts *P1, B2, W*. The Coronation of the Virgin appears in *B1, C, M, Q, Db, Gb, F, Jb*; Christ the Judge and the Resurrection of the Dead appears in *Mb, Ab*.

\(^{177}\) The Coronation of the Virgin is also used in vernacular manuscripts, such as a *Cité de Dieu*, (Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Typ 201), fol. ccclxxviii. (fig. 162). For the iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin, see P. Verdier, “Les textes de Jacques de Voragine et l'iconographie de la Vierge”, B. Dunn-Lardeau ed., *Legende Aurea: Sept Siècles de Diffusion* (Montréal and Paris, 1986), 95–99.

\(^{178}\) The Tree of Jesse appears in two manuscripts. In *Cb* it serves as the frontispiece, and in *P2* as part of a full page
Vignay in his study, in the process of translating Voragine's work (fig. 144). The single, opening miniature of Y shows Vignay presenting his completed work to his patron, Jeanne de Bourgogne (fig. 66). The iconography of the author as writer or donor is commonly found in secular manuscripts, usually those recently composed or translated. These two miniatures are not illustrations of Advent, but of Vignay's prologue which precedes the entry for Advent. The frontispiece of Sc, which dates from around 1475, combines this secular and religious iconography; the Virgin and Child accompanied by the saints is represented with an author portrait, and in the foreground, a version of the Visitation (fig. 155).

The dual character revealed by the structure and layout of the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* is also apparent in the artists' approach to narrative and in the nature of their iconographical sources. Although many illuminations are consistent with those found in breviaries and prayerbooks, and in many cases are indistinguishable from them, some artists have illustrated the manuscripts with a close regard for the narrative of the text. This is not in character with most devotional books, which were illustrated with "iconic" or fixed scenes customarily associated with the feast or with the saint. In these books the symbolic representation of the saint, by means of an attribute or conventional scene, serves best the devotional contents of the text. When the narrative illustration in the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* is compared with illustration in other hagiographic texts, it most closely resembles pictures in early medieval *libelli*. Although these manuscripts are separated by several hundred years and provided for quite a different audience, the similar preoccupations of the miniatures with processes intrinsic to a saintly character such as conversion, torture and martyrdom suggests a common view of the hagiographic narrative. The purpose of the *libellus* was in part to give support and authority to the saint as a religious ideal, and while there was no such need to authenticate the saints in the *Légende dorée*, the similar pictorial emphases point to an allegiance to like saintly ideals. In contrast, contemporary illuminated vernacular hagiographic texts which offer a closer parallel to the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* in terms of audience and presentation tend to be more concerned with the saint's relevance to monarchy and state than with abstract religious concepts.

miniature it introduces the Nativity of the Virgin (MS 245, fol. 74).
CONCLUSION

This study of the illuminated manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* has found that from the perspective of both illustration and presentation the manuscripts can be placed within at least two *genres*. The high proportion of manuscripts illustrated, the often sumptuous illustration, the vernacular text and the predominantly aristocratic ownership are all consistent with late medieval courtly manuscript traditions. In addition to providing what was most probably recreational reading material, such volumes were also valued for the intrinsic beauty of their illustration. *Légende dorée* manuscripts such as *Mb* and *P2*, with their long, carefully planned programmes of illumination are examples of luxurious books owned by high-ranking nobles.

The other category or *genre* which accommodates the *Légende dorée* is the devotional book such as the breviary. Many artists of the *Légende dorée* derived their models foremost from traditions of devotional illustration. The "iconic" saint and traditional scenes, such as St. Nicholas raising the three boys from the brine tub, are the most common methods of representing saints in these manuscripts. Such pictures were derived from the fund of workshop patterns; which were also used to illustrated devotional manuscripts such as Books of Hours, breviaries, and missals. The pictures to be found in the *Légende dorée* manuscripts, determined by tradition, did not necessarily bear a direct relationship to Voragine's text. As essentially devotional images their meaning and the power of their address to the pious viewer was not dependent on the narrative.

The structure of the text is also in keeping with devotional books; for instance, the inclusion of feasts of the Temporal cycle, and the arrangement according to the Church year seems to suggest that the *Légende dorée* manuscripts were referred to for specific feasts and saints' days. The nature of the illustration and the approach to narrative, when based on the text, might be expected to indicate that the text was read from a pious viewpoint; like *libelli* the episodes chosen for illustration are finely attuned to the process of a particular saint's martyrdom or saintly status, and not, as in some illuminated lives of royal saints, to the glorification of the monarchy or the Church (as it reflected the concerns of the monarchy). Similarly, it is significant that in nearly all manuscripts the saints are illustrated by only a single, usually compositionally simple, picture. While the text of the *Legenda aurea* was a source of extended cycles of illustration, such as the series in *Les Belles Heures* and the Sobieski Hours, the illuminated manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* were evidently not considered appropriate for long pictorial cycles. Again, the limitation of one illustration for each saint is more characteristic of
hagiographical illustration in devotional texts like breviaries than of hagiography in vernacular aristocratic manuscripts.

In the light of Sherry Reames' doubts about the reception of vernacular translations of the *Legenda aurea*, it is now possible to suggest ways in which the text was perceived in 14th and 15th century France. As a text composed in the 13th century for the specific purpose of challenging heretical and lay threats to the primacy of the Church, it would not be expected that the *Legenda aurea* retained relevance a century or more later. While the manuscripts in the French translation were owned by the noble and wealthy, who had them adorned with numerous illuminations, the repetitive and simplified text, designed to remind 13th century Christians of their duties to an unforgiving and vengeful God, would not have provided them with hours of diverting and entertaining reading. This apparent contradiction, a dense and in some respects irrelevant text translated into French, presumably for lay readers, is reconciled if we consider that the manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* may not have been read with attention, if read at all. Evidence supports this contention for the manuscripts, on the whole, are surprisingly clean and unmarked. This is contrary to Reames' predictions that the vernacular translations would be riddled with corrections and indignant remarks of an audience unsympathetic to the concerns which preoccupied Voragine in the 13th century. However, this "silence" on the part of the later vernacular readers does not imply tacit agreement with the contents. It may simply indicate that the text was not read very closely. This is supported by Russell and Hamer, who have found that that many scribal errors in the manuscripts remain uncorrected. If the *Légende dorée* was not read attentively, why then was it translated and how can its evident popularity among the aristocracy be accounted for? It was suggested in the first chapter that the enormous success of the *Legenda aurea* was in part the result of concerted promotion by the Church to establish it as the official abridged legendary. The numerous manuscript copies extant, compared to a bare twenty each of other 13th century legendaries, furnish some evidence of this deliberate bias. If the *Legenda aurea* was regarded as the abridged legendary sanctioned by the Church, then it is not surprising that this particular version was chosen for translation. Manuscripts of the French translation were targeted specifically at royalty and nobility, and the translation itself was undertaken for a Queen. This audience was probably unlikely to question the validity of an "official" hagiographical compendium; particularly if they did not read it on a daily basis. It seems that one or more manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* were regarded as essential items in an aristocratic library, but it is likely that they were seen as fashionable or stylish accessories rather than serious, pious literature. Perhaps they may be compared with a modern set of encyclopedia, often regarded as essential to a home library, and given a prominent position in the study or living room, but consulted only occasionally. Certainly the *Légende dorée* was encyclopedic in its proportions; maybe inhibiting the casual reader. As repositories of knowledge, the manuscripts of
the *Légende dorée* were highly regarded, and in many cases illuminated accordingly. While in this sense prized aristocratic books, much of their appeal for this audience lay in the reputation of the *Legenda aurea* as the compendia favoured by the Church above all others. Consequently, in accordance with this attitude the manuscripts were often illuminated as *objets d’art*, but always in keeping with the traditions of illustration of devotional and pious texts.

Although Reames was mistaken in her predictions for the French manuscripts of the *Legenda aurea* – that they would be found unacceptable by their vernacular audience – she was not badly mistaken; the audience’s apparent indifference to the text suggests that it was indeed unsuitable for the 14th and 15th century reader. There are no well-thumbed, thoroughly read manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* comparable to the many extant Latin copies. It would be interesting to discover if other vernacular translations of the *Legenda aurea* were received in this way. What is remarkable in the case of the *Légende dorée* is that a text created specifically as a 13th century preacher’s manual successfully made the transition to late medieval France and to a select, elite audience, despite, or perhaps because of, the rarified nature of its contents.

This thesis has sought to characterise the role and audience perception of the *Légende dorée* in the milieu of 14th and 15th century France. As these manuscripts have not been considered before as a group, and many never studied individually, part of my task has necessarily been to examine each manuscript in detail. This has lead to my identification of artists responsible for several previously unattributed manuscripts such as Evrard d’Espinques in P5, the Master of Jean Rolin II follower in Bb, the Master of the Cité des Dames shop in Y, and the important Boqueteaux style artist of C, related to the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI. In some cases past scholarship has been brought into question, such as the dating of the career of the *Maître du Polycratique* and the date of the frontispiece of P3, which closely resembles the miniature for All Saints from *Les Belles Heures*.

I hope that some groundwork has been laid for future research. Neither the Master of the Munich *Golden Legend* nor Evrard d’Espinques, both highly original artists, has been adequately studied. The identification of hands associated with the style of the *Maître aux Boqueteaux* is highly complex and still requires further exploration. The discovery of the illustrated narrative of the *Volto Santo* in the Vatican Library, MS Pal. Lat. 1988, and its close relationship with the *Volto Santo* cycles in the “b” version manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* bring into focus the integral role played by the Rapondi in the early 15th century book trade, and questions the extent of their influence over the contents of the books they dealt with. The organisation and structure of illuminating workshops have
been considered in the context of the artists' use of *moduli* and patterns, but further research is required to clarify the degree of cooperation and collaboration among artists.
PART TWO

Catalogue and Commentaries
1. **B1: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9226**  
(Figs. 27–33)


On fol. 312v. is the inscription: "Cest le livre appelle la legende doree traictant de la vie des sains. ou il y a soixante-quinze histoires. le quel est a Monseigneur Charles de Croy comte de Chimay. (Signed) Charles". The Croy armorials are painted on the lower border medallion of the frontispiece, fol. 1. Charles de Croy, member of the Golden Fleece, was a bibliophile noble of the Burgundian court. He died in 1521. His grandfather, Antoine de Croy, had been a counsellor to Philippe le Bon. As there is no indication that the volume was inherited from his father, Philippe le Croy, Gaspar and Lyna suggest that it was one of Charles’ personal acquisitions. The manuscript later belonged to Margaret of Austria, and it is entered in the royal inventories for 1523. On her death it became the property of Marie of Hungary, whose *ex-libris* appears in the inside front cover. From 1796 to 1815 the volume was held at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, after which it entered the library of Leopold I and then the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

**Decoration:** 78 miniatures, including a frontispiece (182 x 122) and 77 smaller column-width miniatures (80 x 66–72). When an etymology precedes the text the miniatures appear after it. Otherwise they are placed at the beginning of each corresponding text. Palette is light and bright, with liberal use of gold. Gold paint is also mixed with ochre pigment used for garments and furniture. Deep blue, dark pink, orange, grey, mauve, pink and several shades of green are also used. Ground is typically mid-green decorated with sprigs of blue, red and white flowers. Backgrounds are diapered, usually in gold, plum and blue, and decorated with white dots and lines, or in the case the frontispiece, with tiny fleur-de-lis placed in each square. The frames of the miniatures consist of a gold bar outlined in black, enclosing a line of blue or plum through which is drawn a single white line. The frontispiece is decorated with a ¾ bar border of entwined ivy and a repeating fleur-de-lis pattern. Seven historiated medallions, one at each corner and one at the centre of each bar, decorate the border. One medallion contains the de Croy arms; the remaining six contain grotesques in the acts of drinking, firing a sling-shot, or music-making. Extending from the bars into all four margins is a loose rinceau of ivy-leaf and fanciful blue, red, mauve, green and gold flowers. The frontispiece is accompanied by a five-line foliate initial. Each miniature is accompanied by a three or five-line foliate initial, and the prologue or etymology to each entry by a two or three-line foliate initial. The prologue and text of each

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1 Measurements used throughout the catalogue are in millimetres. For ruling measurements the numbers in brackets refer to the text space. Ruling measurements are given width x length. Measurements for the manuscript are given length X width. The system of measurement is taken from L. Gilissen, “Un élément codicologique top peu exploité: la régulure”, *Scriptorium*, 22 (1969), 150–161
unillustrated entry is accompanied by a two or three-line foliate initial. Three sprigs of ivy decorate each of these initials. One-line dentelle initials appear in the calendar and throughout the text. Blue and plum line-endings decorated with white tracery patterns appear in the calendar and throughout the text.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 1: Jean de Vignay's Preface. Frontispiece, the Coronation of the Virgin; fol. 3: Advent. Christ the Judge with the Virgin and St. John the Baptist; fol. 5: St. Andrew is tied to a saltire cross; fol. 12v.: St. Thomas Apostle is martyred as he causes an idol to melt as wax; fol. 15v.: The Nativity; fol. 19: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 21: St. John Apostle and Evangelist holding the poison cup; fol. 26v.: St. Thomas of Canterbury is martyred as he celebrates Mass; fol. 34: The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 38: St. Hilary the Bishop; fol. 40: St. Antony, seated, and accompanied by his attribute, the pig, holds a bell and a tau shaped crutch; fol. 41v.: St. Sebastian is shot with arrows; fol. 43v.: St. Agnes is martyred while tied to the stake; fol. 48v.: St. John the Almoner; fol. 52: St. Paula, Roman matron; fol. 59v.: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 67: The Chair of St. Peter. St. Peter preaches to a small gathering; fol. 69: St. Matthias is beheaded; fol. 80v.: The Annunciation; fol. 83v.: The Crucifixion; fol. 87v.: The Resurrection; fol. 96v.: St. George spear the dragon as the maiden kneels in prayer; fol. 99: St. Mark the Evangelist; fol. 104: St. Peter Martyr is beheaded; fol. 109v.: St. Philip holds a large cross; fol. 110: St. James the Less holds a horn, not a usual attribute or part of his narrative; fol. 113v.: Invention of the Holy Cross. St. Helena supervises the excavation of the Cross; fol. 116v.: St. John before the Latin Gate being boiled in oil. The artist has neglected to include the fire beneath the tub; fol. 119v.: The Ascension; fol. 121v.: Pentecost. Descent of the Holy Spirit; fol. 129: St. Barnabas is dragged from the city by a noose around his neck; fol. 131v.: SS. Gervasius and Protasius each hold a book and the martyr's palm, beside their tomb; fol. 132v.: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist; fol. 137v.: St. Peter is crucified upside down; fol. 141v.: St. Paul the Apostle is beheaded; fol. 147v.: St. Theodore the Monk; fol. 149: St. Margaret of Antioch bursts from the dragon; fol. 152: St. Mary Magdalen with her jar of ointment; fol. 157v.: St. James the Greater, wearing a pilgrim's hat; fol. 160v.: St. Christopher carries the Christchild across the river; fol. 162: The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus sleep in a cave; 163v.: SS. Nazarius and Celsus are brought before Nero by soldiers "kicking and whipping them along"; fol. 167: St. Germain of Auxerre; fol. 168v.: St. Eusebius the Bishop; fol. 169v.: St. Peter in Chains. An angel leads the saint from prison; fol. 180v.: St. Laurence is on the gridiron; fol. 186: The Assumption of the Virgin. The Dormition is represented; fol. 195v.: St. Bernard has a vision of Christ on the cross, who leans down to embrace him. The text relates that he saw the Christchild; fol. 200: St. Bartholomew is flayed; fol. 203: St. Augustine holds his attribute the heart; fol. 215: St. Giles and the deer; fol. 216: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 221v.: St. Gorgonius and St. Dorotheus are hanged; fol. 222: SS. Protus and Hyacinthus are beheaded; fol. 223: Exaltation of the Holy Cross. King Heracleius carries the cross into Jerusalem; fol. 225v.: St. John Chrysostom; fol. 229: The martyrdom of St. Euphemia and the lion which refused to devour her; fol. 230: St. Matthew is martyred by a swordsman as he stands in prayer before the altar. A pagan idol is mistakenly represented; fol. 237: St. Michael the Archangel spears the demon; fol. 244v.: St. Francis receives the signs of the stigmata. Three seraphs carry an empty banderole, and the cross is omitted; fol. 249v.: Pelagia the courtesan, dressed in fine clothes kneels before the Bishop Veronus; fol. 251v.: St. Dionysus and his two companions are beheaded; fol. 254: St. Leonard frees a prisoner from his chains; fol. 256: St. Luke the Evangelist; fol. 261v.: SS. Simon and Jude; fol. 263v.: St. Eustace stands in the middle of a stream while a lion and a wolf carry off his sons in opposite directions; fol. 266: All Saints; fol. 274: St. Martin the Bishop; fol. 277v.: St. Brixius the Bishop lifts the front of his garment, referring to the miracle where he
carried burning coals to the tomb of St. Martin, and his vesture remained unscathed; fol. 278: St. Elizabeth of Hungary holds a crown in her hand, symbol of her humility; fol. 284: St. Clement is martyred in the sea, with an anchor around his neck; fol. 288v.: St. Katherine prays as the wheel of her torture breaks up, crushing one of her opponents; fol. 292: The martyrdom of St. James the Dismembered; fol. 294: St. John the Abbot; fol. 300v.: St. Pelagius the Pope holds a large key.

Commentary: While several hands are discernable in the illumination of this manuscript, it can be assumed that the artists were members of the same workshop, as they all painted in the same idiosyncratic, fluid manner. The salient characteristics of this style are strongly modelled, deeply furrowed draperies which fall in pronounced coils, finely drawn, slightly concave faces with hooded eyes and small sensitive mouths, and a fondness for surface pattern. Shadows which define volume are achieved through fine stippling and cross-hatching, and paint mixed with flecks of gold sometimes serve for highlighting. Bearded men typically have a lighter moustache on the upper lip which falls in an arc to either side of the mouth. The taste for decorative pattern is most evident in the wide use of floor tiles, which are either placed parallel to the picture surface, (fig. 27) or recede into the background, (fol. 15v., fol. 132v.). Other miniatures have a green ground sprinkled with sprigs of coloured flowers. Diapered backgrounds, darkened furrows on draperies and water and a reluctance to represent scenes beyond the immediate foreground add to the general effect of surface decoration.

This style is related to that of at least two ateliers active early in the 15th century. The fluidity of the draperies led Meiss to place the manuscript in the outer circle of the artist he called the Luçon Master, named after a commission made in c. 1407 by Etienne Loypeau, Bishop of Luçon, for a Missal and Pontifical intended for the Duc de Berry (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 8886). Meiss was able to trace this style from around 1401 until about 1417, and has recorded some 31 manuscripts illuminated by the Luçon Master and workshop and eight others illuminated by related workshops. One of the principal illuminators in early 15th century Paris, the Luçon Master and his workshop specialised in the decoration of Books of Hours. The shop consistently used certain patterns and compositional types which rarely varied, and "development" within the shop style is difficult to identify. Stylistically the Luçon work can be aligned with the elegant, courtly "International Style" widespread throughout early 15th century Europe. Like the other main French exponents of the style, the Limbourg brothers, the Luçon Master's figures are fluid, mannered, and attired in elegant garments in jewel-like colours.

The artists of the Légende dorée owe a certain debt to the Luçon style, but they were not mainstream members of the shop. The pronounced, sinuous draperies in miniatures such as the Dormition on fol.

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186 conform to the "International Gothic" style of the Luçon Master. There is also a like tendency to burnish the draperies by the addition of gold to the paint, and the stippling technique used to create shadow is also characteristic of the style. Parallels can be made also in details of costume. Short boots with stitching up the side, and tasselled shoulder pieces, both worn by men, appear in Luçon illuminations (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 664, fol. 173) and in the Légende dorée (fol. 116v.). The ground sprinkled with flowers is also found in the Luçon workshop, although it is also characteristic of other contemporary illumination. While the Légende dorée artists may have adopted these stylistic details from the Luçon shop, they were not so ready to copy patterns of composition. On the whole, the Luçon artists were very consistent in their use of certain patterns, but these were not taken up by the artists of this manuscript. This serves to confirm their place in the outer rather than inner periphery of Luçon influence.

Closer stylistic parallels can be made between the Légende dorée artists and those responsible for a manuscript of the Cité de Dieu (The Hague, Kon. Bibl. MS 72 A 22), which was illuminated by a follower of the Orosius Master (figs. 186). Although there is some variation in quality, the decoration of two manuscripts can confidently be attributed to the same atelier. The long, gaunt, deeply lidded male faces are very similar, as are certain gestures and the distinct tendency toward decorative patterning. Draperies on both cycles are so strongly modeled they appear stylized, as do regions of water, which are represented by dark, flowing striations. Both artists are fond of tiled floors and other patterned surfaces such as the edges of the benches depicted on fol. 1 of the Légende dorée and the ornate decoration of the pagan altar in the miniature from the Cité de Dieu.

The workshop of the Orosius Master specialised in the illumination of classical and historical texts, and may have had stylistic affinities with Bohemian illumination. While the style of the immediate Orosius shop is more cleanly volumetric and crisper than the sinuous style of the Légende dorée and the Cité de Dieu, there are points of comparison which indicate that the artists of these manuscripts were influenced by this Master. The unusual headdress worn by the maid in the Nativity of John the Baptist, fol. 132v. of the Légende dorée was a favorite motif of the Orosius shop. The long, tapering train which trails from a winged headdress worn by a woman who averts her face appears in a copy of the Terence de ducs, (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 664, fol. 209v.), in a volume of Terence's Comedies (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 7907A, fol. 81), and also in a folio now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nantes, which was

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3 See M. Meiss (1968), 45, 82, 142; (1974), 398–400. The Hague Cité de Dieu is discussed by Meiss (1967), 357; (1974), 400; Byvanck (1924), 30, pls. XIII–XIV.
4 M. Meiss (1974), 398. He suggests that the artist's historiated initials in a breviary for Pope Benedict XIII are very Bohemian in style, which may indicate early training in Prague.
originally part of the manuscript in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.\textsuperscript{5} There are also similarities in some facial types, such as the hooded, hawkish face of St. Nazarius' tormentor in the \textit{Légende dorée} fol. 163v. and the expression of Syra on fol. 99v. of another Terence illuminated by the Orosius shop (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 7907 A, fol. 99v.) (Figs. 32, 187).

Stylistically, the artists of this \textit{Légende dorée} were influenced by both the Luçon and Orosius shops. Their proximity to these two shops, which shared the illumination of at least one manuscript, is uncertain.\textsuperscript{6} However, the existence of the manuscript at The Hague illuminated in the same idiosyncratic style suggests that these artists formed an independent atelier.

From the perspective of iconography, the small text illustrations are conservative and uninventive. Most saints are depicted in simple standing poses, or they form part of a traditional scene used to indicate the particular saint. This often has little in common with the details expressed in the text and expresses only a minimum regard for the narrative. Absence of detail renders some compositions illogical; for instance, Saint John the Evangelist, fol. 116v., believed to have been boiled in oil, is duly represented but without the essential flames beneath. In a sense, detail is unnecessary in these small illuminations. Most were so commonly used that some schematisation of the original composition did not affect recognition. Many of these compositions were widely current in Parisian ateliers of the early 15th century, and there is some evidence that related \textit{moduli} or workshop models were used by stylistically independent shops. The prostrate figure of St. Nazarius on fol. 163v. is oddly positioned, as if floating above the ground. It appears to be superimposed on the picture, not fully integrated into the scene (fig. 32). The discovery of very similar figures in other manuscripts suggests that they were derived from common models, possibly via a pattern book, and transferred onto the page by tracing. The prone figure appears in another manuscript of the \textit{Légende dorée}, S (fol. 177v.), by an artist related to the \textit{Maître du Polycratique} (fig. 61), and also in a \textit{Propriété des choses} decorated by the Boucicaut Master (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 9194, fol. 29v. Reproduced in Meiss (1968), fig. 448). The figure from the contemporary S represents St. Apollinaris being beaten, and it is likely that this \textit{modulus} was brought out when the subject demanded a naked, prostrate male figure.

The frontispiece, which illustrates the theme of the Coronation of the Virgin, is the most iconographically unusual composition (fig. 27). Unlike most representations of the subject, this is a very earthly interpretation of a transcendent event. Rather than standing or kneeling in reverence, the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{5} These miniatures are reproduced by M. Meiss (1974), figs. 164, 197 and 203.
\item \textsuperscript{6} According to M. Meiss (1974), 336f., the two artists participated in the decoration of Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 664, a copy of Terence's Comedies. He suggests that the Luçon Master was in charge of the project.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
saints sit comfortably on long obliquely angled benches, and witness the Coronation which takes place on their own level, evidently on the same tiled floor. No cherubim or seraphim are in attendance, and the Virgin is crowned by Christ himself rather than the more usual angel. While the text of the *Légende dorée* does not describe this event in detail, much of this depiction is at odds with the French tradition of the representation of the Coronation of the Virgin. Given that it fails to communicate that the Coronation took place in Heaven, this version is also inappropriate. It may be compared to other examples from manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* such as fol. 1 of Db where the celestial nature of the scene is conveyed by the seraphim which appear in a framing diaphragm of cloud and by angels attending the Virgin’s Coronation (fig. 102). Alternatively, in the *Légende dorée* in Geneva, Gb, the scene is divided into two tiers, with the Coronation appearing above the congregation of standing, facing saints (fig. 1). Again, angels, seraphim and scalloped cloud indicate the heavenly significance of the scene above. These 15th century illuminations derive from earlier representations of the Coronation found in relief on the façades of French cathedrals which also emphasise the transcendence of the act. For instance, in the tympanum at the Cathedral of Amiens, the Virgin, attended by angels, shares the throne of Christ in the upper register of two tiers. Like the Geneva miniature Heaven is indicated by a pattern of scalloped clouds on the ground line of the upper tier. In the lower tier of the tympanum are depicted the episodes which occurred before her Assumption into Heaven.

The frontispiece of this manuscript of the *Légende dorée* does not conform to traditional representations of the Coronation of the Virgin because it owes its basic composition to images which customarily illustrate Pentecost: the Descent of the Holy Ghost. As described by Voragine, this event which occurred ten days after the Ascension of Christ, took place in a secret room in Jerusalem. While a parallel can be made here with the Coronation of the Virgin, which occurred after her Assumption into Heaven, the connection is formal rather than thematic. The Holy Ghost appeared to the twelve Apostles, who "were endowed with humility, wherefore it is said they were sitting". Although they are not mentioned in the Acts, the Virgin and Mary Magdalene are sometimes represented with the Apostles, with the Virgin as the personification of the Church appearing in the centre of the group. The triangular seating plan was common in representations of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and can be found in manuscript illumination from the Carolingian period and before. While the *Légende dorée* illumination has obviously been modified to include additional saints and the centrepiece of the

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7 In the 14th century Christ crowning the Virgin appears more often in Italian representations of the Coronation. However, this iconography can be found in France, particularly in sculpture of the 13th century. See L. Réau, *Iconographie de l’Art Chrétien* (Paris, 1957) tom. II (iii) 621–626; M. Meiss (1967), 122; E. Mâle, *The Gothic Image* (New York, 1972), 246ff.

Coronation itself, the composition has much in common with examples of the Descent of the Holy Ghost by the Boucicaut Master and shop. In the illumination for Pentecost in the Boucicaut Hours (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André MS 2, fol. 112v.), the Virgin appears, slightly elevated in the centre of the obliquely angled, seated group of Apostles, as she does in the *Légende dorée*. Also similar are the two apostles to her left, engaged in conversation, one with his hand raised in a gesture of surprise.⁹

The illumination of this *Légende dorée* cannot be conveniently given to any recognised atelier of artists. Doubtless the artist or shop responsible for this programme did illuminate other manuscripts, as the closely related style of The Hague *Cité de Dieu* suggests. Although the artists' style is related to that of the Luçon and Orosius workshops, the inappropriate composition of the frontispiece, despite the prevalence of more fitting models in other workshops, together with the highly traditional nature of the text illustrations suggest that the shop was small and did not possess a wide repertoire of artistic models.¹⁰

**Bibliography**

*Van den Gheyn (1909), t.V 393–94; Brussels, Bibl. Roy (1940) 32; Gaspar and Lyna t.II (1947) 15–18, pl. CXVIII; 15–18; Knowles (1954), 380; Manning (1970), 43; Meiss (1956), 193 n.23; Meiss (1967) 359; Meiss (1974), 397; Russell (1986); Maddocks (1986), fig. 2; Hamer and Russell (1989).*

⁹ M. Meiss (1968), fig. 38.
¹⁰ As the artists of this manuscript were affiliated with the Orosius workshop, which specialised in the decoration of secular texts, it is also possible that religious iconography such as the Coronation of the Virgin was not included among the predominantly secular workshop patterns.
2. **B2: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 9227**
   (Figs. 34, 35)

Fols. 1–373: *La Légende dorée* in the “a” version of the translation by Jean de Vignay. Paris, c. 1400, vellum. 373 folios and two fly leaves, 365 X 265. Ruling: 24.(75.22.75).69 X 53.5.(214).93. 41 lines of text in two columns. Script in black ink fading to brown, rulings in faint black line. Script: a *littera cursiva textualis* in several hands of varied quality. Foliaetion in blue and red Roman numerals at head of each folio recto. Black Arabic numerals also appear at top right of each folio. Rubrics in red, 18th century binding in red morocco bearing the arms of Louis XV. "Legende doree" in gold letters on spine.

The manuscript bears no marks of ownership.

**Decoration:** Two miniatures, including a frontispiece 180 X 160, and a column-width miniature 74 X 62. The frontispiece appears before the text for Advent, and the miniature appears after the etymology but before the body of the corresponding text of the Nativity. Palette is bright, with mid-green, pink, orange, ochre, red, dark brown, yellow and deep blue the principal colours. The background of the frontispiece is composed of gold, plum and blue checks decorated with white dots. The background of the lobes of the quatrefoil is pale orange decorated with a gold foliate pattern, set on a dark blue and black acanthus ground. The background of the small miniature is gold. The interior diamond of the frontispiece is framed by a tricolour red, blue and white band, while the outer frame consists of plum band with white dentelle decoration with small gold quatrefoils set at each corner. The small miniature is framed by a narrow inner band of plum and blue enclosed by a band of gold from which extend loose double sprigs of gold ivy-leaf. The frontispiece page is decorated with a ¾ bar border in gold, red and blue stiff ivy-leaf form standard in French illumination of the late 14th century. A similar border, but only extending vertically down the left margin, appears on fol. 1, where it accompanies the text of Voragine's Prologue. To both of these bar borders is attached a seven-line foliate initial which introduces the respective textual passages of Prologue and Advent. The three-line initials which introduce the entries throughout the text are blue with red decorative penwork. The prologue or etymology to each life, where it appears, is announced by a two-line gold initial with blue penwork. Small one-line initials in alternating colours of red and blue appear throughout the text. One-line initials in alternating colours of gold and blue with blue and red penwork appear in the table of contents.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 4: Advent. Christ as *Maiestas Domini* holding the orb of the world, on which is painted the earth and the sea, is set in a diamond surrounded by four lobes, each containing an Evangelist's symbol; fol. 19v.: The Nativity.

**Commentary:** This short programme of only two miniatures was painted c. 1400 by a conservative artist working according to patterns of composition and iconography current in the 1370s and 80s. The quatrefoil structure of the frontispiece (fig. 34), with the four Evangelists' symbols contained in the lobes, and the *tricolore* border, appear in manuscripts of the Boqueteaux circle such as a *Légende*
dorée, M, which was painted in the last quarter of the 14th century (cat. 9), (fig. 42).\textsuperscript{11} The composition of the miniature representing The Nativity (fig. 35), with the diagonally placed crib, recumbent Virgin, and disregard for spatial recession also belongs very much to the 14th century. The conservative artist has also not adopted the iconography influenced by the writings of St. Bridget of Sweden, which emphasised the Virgin’s adoration of the Christchild. This type, where the Virgin is shown kneeling before the Child, was first represented in France in the 1380’s by the Parement Master in the Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame (Turin, Museo Civico, Heures de Milan, fol. 4v).\textsuperscript{12} At the turn of the century the adoring Virgin was a common feature in French depictions of the Nativity. However, the artist of this Légende dorée, who illuminated the manuscript around 1400, has chosen to remain with the old-fashioned iconography.

The miniatures in this manuscript have been executed without great care, suggesting that the volume was a standard, low-cost book produced for the general market. The marked emphasis on black pen to express contour indicates hasty execution, as does the way the miniature of the Nativity is unevenly set into the page. The frontispiece, often the most competently painted miniature in a manuscript, has also been given more attention by this artist. Christ’s draperies have been modelled rather than simply outlined, and his face is delicately sculpted in fine, pale brown strokes. This face, with its finely modelled nose and lips, and almond shaped eyes, is one of the few indications that the illumination should be dated around 1400. The subtle stippling of paint forming these features is reminiscent of the work of the artist named by Meiss the Luçon Master, who was active in Paris during the first two decades of the 15th century (see cat. 5).

The stiff ivy-leaf bar borders of the table of contents and frontispiece are typical of the mid-14th century, and show little of the more relaxed sprays which became more common as the century progressed. The text however, is executed in a formal cursive script which was rarely used in France before 1400, particularly in illuminated manuscripts.\textsuperscript{13} From this time the littera cursiva formata and its slightly freer form, littera cursiva textualis were common, particularly in fashionable books produced for the court. A cursive script meant that not only could the scribe work with more speed, but the text

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\footnote{\textsuperscript{11} It has been suggested by Gaspar and Lyna (377–78) that the tricolore border indicates that the book came from the library of Charles V, as these colours appeared in many manuscripts belonging to the King and members of his court. However, as this manuscript post-dates the reign of the Charles V, the border must be regarded as a persisting fashion, and not an indication of original patronage. See also Delisle (1880) and (1907).}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{12} See R. Schilling, "The Nativity and Adoration of the Child Christ in French Miniatures of the Early Fifteenth Century", Connoisseur, 129/30 (1952), 167–69, 22.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{13} See M.G.I. Lieftinck, "Pour une nomenclature de l’écriture livresque de la période dite Gothique", Nomenclature des Ecritures Livresques du IXe au XVIe siècle (Paris, 1953), 15–34.}
\end{footnotes}
could also be read with greater facility. Liturgical books and devotional books like Books of Hours, on the other hand, were not read for meaning, as the text was already familiar. These books tended to be written in a more formal, grandiose script better suited to the solemn formalities of liturgical ceremony and worship.

Apart from suggesting that the artist of this Légende dorée was conservative, it is difficult to assign him to any particular school or atelier. A retrogressive style is by definition derivative, and in this case the mixed artistic sources result in a vaguely Boqueteaux-like manner updated to the early 15th century by the odd telling detail. The workshop responsible for these two miniatures also painted the frontispiece of another manuscript of the Légende dorée, also dating from around 1400, W (cat. 14), (fig. 62). The two miniatures are almost identical, although the miniatures decorating the text are not as closely related. This suggests that the composition of the Maiestas Domini was included among the standard models of this shop.

**Bibliography**

3. **C: Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 735**
(Figs. 36, 37)


In the 18th century the volume belonged to the Oratoire de Paris and was acquired by the Musée Condé in 1856. On the verso of the last folio a note is written in a contemporary cursive hand, in English: "And if my penne were better, better schuld be my letter".

**Decoration:** 88 miniatures, including a frontispiece (142 X 130), 1 column-width miniature (58 X 60) and 84 smaller historiated initials (42 X 44). Miniatures appear after the etymology of the corresponding text. The palette is vivid, with bright orange details in nearly every miniature. Pink, pale blue, olive green and dark brown also predominate. Backgrounds are varied diaper patterns, foliate designs, stars, or solid colour. The nine-line historiated dentelle initials are either pink on a blue ground or blue on a pink ground. The foliate initials on fol. 1 and fol. 3v. are blue and pink on a gold ground. Small one-line initials in alternating colours of red and blue decorated with contrasting red and blue penwork appear in the table of contents and throughout the text. Each miniature, including the frontispiece, is surrounded by a ¾ bar border decorated in stiff ivy sprigs, which extend from each corner and mid-way down each side. A vertical bar also extends down the page between the two text columns. Sometimes the bars terminate in a small dragon in the upper margin of the page. Blue and red line-endings in a "zig-zag" pattern appear throughout the text.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 1: Vignay's Preface. St. Jerome surrounded by symbols of the four Evangelists; fol. 3v.: Advent. The frontispiece. The Coronation of the Virgin, with male and female saints, surrounded by the four Evangelists in *tricolore* outlined quatrefoils; fol. 8: St. Andrew holds a small saltire cross; fol. 11v.: St. Nicholas raises three boys; fol. 16: The Incredulity of St. Thomas; fol. 19: The Nativity; fol. 22: St. Anastasia; fol. 23: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 25v.: The John Evangelist. St. John the Baptist is represented; fol. 28: The Massacre of the Innocents; fol. 28v.: The martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury at the altar; fol. 34v.: The Circumcision; fol. 38: Epiphany. The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 41v.: St. Remy worships; fol. 42v.: St. Hilary the Bishop; fol. 43v.: St. Macarius the monk, erroneously dressed as a bishop; fol. 44v.: St. Marcellus the Pope, erroneously represented as a monk, cradling flames in his arms; fol. 44v.: St. Antony Abbot, with flames at his feet; fol. 46v.: St. Sebastian shot with arrows; fol. 49: St. Agnes; fol. 50v.: The Lord appears to St. Vincent the Deacon; fol. 52: The Holy Ghost appears to St. Basil; fol. 54v.: St. John Almoner erroneously represented as St. John the Baptist baptising Christ; fol. 57v.: The Conversion of St. Paul; fol. 58v.: St. Paula the Virgin; fol. 61: St. Julian raises three men from the dead; fol. 68: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 72: St. Basil battles the Devil for the soul of a young man. The caption and illustration refer to St. Basil, but the text is for St. Blaise; fol. 73v.: St. Agatha; fol. 75 St. Vaast cures two beggars; fol. 75v. St. Amandus and King Dagobert; fol. 76 The beheading of St. Valentine; fol. 77: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 79v.: Christ selects
St. Matthias, "the small and lowly one"; fol. 81v.: St. Gregory dictates his works; fol. 88: St. Longinus is beheaded; fol. 92: St. Patrick accidentally pierces the foot of the King of Scotland; fol. 93v.: The Annunciation to the Virgin; fol. 96v.: The Crucifixion; fol. 102v.: The Resurrection; fol. 108: St. Mary of Egypt as penitent; fol. 109v.: A swarm of bees flies into the mouth of the sleeping St. Ambrose; fol. 114: St. George and the dragon; fol. 116v.: St. Mark Evangelist; fol. 119v.: St. Marcellinus refuses to sacrifice to false idols; fol. 120: St. Vitalis erroneously shown being beheaded; fol. 122v.: The martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr; fol. 129: St. Philip Apostle; fol. 130: St. James the Less, erroneously represented as St. James the Greater; fol. 134: St. Helena recovers the Holy Cross; fol. 138: St. John Evangelist is boiled in oil; fol. 140v.: The Ascension of Christ; fol. 144v.: Pentecost. Badly damaged; fol. 152: The Lord appears to St. Urban; fol. 154v.: The Lord appears to St. Barnabas; fol. 158: SS. Gervasius and Protasius are brought before the Count Astasius; fol. 165v.: The Crucifixion of St. Peter; fol. 171: St. Paul; fol. 180v.: St. Margaret of Antioch bursts from the belly of a dragon; fol. 184: Christ appears to St. Mary Magdalen; fol. 191: St. James the Greater; fol. 195: St. Christopher carries the Christchild; fol. 207: An angel releases St. Peter from prison; fol. 210: The Invention of St. Stephen. Gameliel, erroneously haloed, appears to the priest Lucian; fol. 112v.: St. Dominic holds a lighted torch; fol. 222v.: St. Laurence on the gridiron; fol. 229: The beheading of a member of St. Hippolytus' household; fol. 230v.: The Assumption of the Virgin; fol. 247v.: The Lord appears to St. Bartholomew; fol. 251v.: The Lord appears to St. Augustine; fol. 259v.: The beheading of St. John the Baptist; fol. 265v.: The Lord appears to St. Lupus; fol. 267: St. Giles with his attribute, the deer; fol. 268: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 277: The Exaltation of the Holy Cross; fol. 286: St. Matthew Evangelist; fol. 282v.: SS. Cosmas and Damian with their attributes, medicine jars; fol. 295: St. Michael Archangel battles the devil; fol. 300v.: St. Jerome in his study; fol. 313: St. Dionysus is beheaded; fol. 318: St. Luke Evangelist; 324v.: SS. Simon and Jude Apostles; fol. 327: St. Quentin, tortured with nails through his fingers and toes; fol. 330: All Saints; fol. 341: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar; fol. 354: St. Clement holds his attribute, the anchor; fol. 359v.: St. Katherine of Alexandria holds her attribute, a small spiked wheel.

Commentary: Several artists working in the style of the Maître aux Boqueteaux participated in the illumination of this manuscript, the script of which, as the note on fol. 386 suggests, was the work of one of the numerous English scribes practising in Paris in the mid-14th century. The first two miniatures, the frontispiece (fig. 36) and the illumination of St. Jerome, are the most competently painted in the book, and are probably the work of a senior artist in the workshop. The remaining miniatures, in the form of historiated initials (fig. 37) are not of good quality and must be attributed to shop aides.

The frontispiece, which represents the Coronation of the Virgin, has been painted with careful attention to the fall of luminous draperies and modelling of forms, particularly the figures of Christ and the Virgin. However, the technique is strongly linear. Objects are determined by a firm black outline,

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14 J. Dupont and C. Gnudi, *Gothic Painting* (London, 1979), 43, note that from 1316 to 1350, out of 92 scribes or booksellers recorded in Paris, as many as 19 were English. These records are reproduced by P.A Delalain, *Etude sur le libraire Parisien du XII au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1981).
and details such as hair and facial features are carefully delineated. Stylistically, this miniature resembles others painted by the Boqueteaux atelier, such as fol. 2v. in a manuscript of the Cité de Dieu (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 22912) (fig. 188). Like the Légende dorée frontispiece, this miniature is executed with attention to linear qualities but also with sensitivity to the modelling of cloth. Parallels can also be made between the figure types; the smooth oval face and high forehead of the Légende dorée Virgin finds a counterpart in the kneeling figure of the Virgin from the upper tier of the Cité de Dieu miniature. Her gesture of humility, with her long, attenuated hands crossed over her breast, also appears in the former miniature, in the attendant female saint to the far left of the Virgin. All the figures in both miniatures are long and slender, with large heads poised on well-defined necks and large, expressive hands.

As is discussed in the entry for the Légende dorée manuscript M (cat. 5), the Boqueteaux style, first identified by Henri Martin, is a convenient tag which describes the work of a large number of artists whose paintings were by no means stylistically homogenous. For example, this Légende dorée frontispiece should be differentiated from the dynamic, economically painted scenes from the Life of St. Louis in the Grandes Chroniques de France (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 2813, fol. 265) (fig. 170), or the Coronation of the Virgin from a manuscript of the Cité de Dieu (Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Typ 201, fol. 288) (fig. 162). The stylistic variations within the Boqueteaux oeuvre have been recognised by several writers, and these two miniatures have been attributed to the immediate workshop of the artist responsible for the deft little compositions in the Bible of Jean de Sy (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 15397). Avril has also suggested that the miniature from the Paris Cité de Dieu be attributed to the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, named after a miniature in the same manuscript of the Grandes Chroniques de France mentioned above, fol. 3v. (fig. 159). The atelier of this artist was also

15 H. Martin, La miniature Français du XIIIe au XVe siècle (Paris, 1924), 44ff., figs. LXXXIII–LXXXV. The Maître aux Boqueteaux has been identified by some writers as Jean Bondol of Bruges; E. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting (New York, 1971), 38ff. This attribution, based on only one documented illumination in a manuscript of the Bible Historiale (The Hague, Musée Meermanno-Westreenianum MS 10 B 23, fol. 2), has been disputed by François Avril, Les Fastes du Gothique (Paris, 1982), 331–2 and Manuscript Painting at the Court of France (London, 1978), 110.


17 The frontispiece to the Grandes Chroniques, representing the Coronation of the young Charles VI, was probably added to the manuscript shortly after 1380. The miniatures by the same artist in the Cité de Dieu were painted in the late 1370's. This artist is discussed by Avril in La Librarie de Charles V, op. cit., n.177, 195; Les Fastes du Gothique, op. cit., 329–30; Manuscript Painting at the Court of France, op. cit., 109. See also P. de Winter, "The Grandes Heures of Philip the Bold", Speculum, 57 (1982), 786–842.
entrusted with the task of painting the miniatures in another manuscript of the *Légende dorée*, M (cat. 5). The *Grandes Chroniques* miniature has much in common with the frontispiece of the Chantilly *Légende dorée*: the same fluidity of finely modelled draperies, the large, expressive hands and oval faces with small, pointed chins. The baldacchino-like structure above the heads of the Virgin and Christ in the Coronation scene appears in virtually the same form in the miniature from the *Grandes Chroniques* representing the Coronation of Charles VI.

This miniature of the Coronation of the Virgin should be attributed to the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, or to his immediate workshop. A characteristic of this artist is his disregard for the depiction of three dimensional space. For example, despite the painstaking attention to the folds of the Virgin’s mantle, the artist has neglected to seat her on a spatially convincing bench. This tendency together with the old-fashioned historiated initials, rigid ivy-leaf borders and slightly brittle miniature style, suggest that the frontispiece should be dated several years prior to the confident, fluid work of the *Grandes Chroniques* (1380), the Paris *Cité de Dieu* (1376–80) and the other manuscript of the *Légende dorée*, M (1375).18

The historiated initials were not painted by the atelier of the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI. Two distinct hands can be recognised and they usually though not always paint in different gatherings. The first artist paints in a lacklustre variation of the *Boqueteaux* style, with a sketchy, careless line, and figures of elongated proportions with small heads. The second, more confident hand, represented by the miniature of the Nativity, places greater emphasis on linear qualities, and the compact, animated figures are reminiscent of those by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy. The compositions of the historiated initials are simple, depicting a minimum of detail. There is a preponderance of beheading scenes and "iconic" scenes, and the several iconographic mistakes made, such as confusing John Evangelist and John the Baptist, or St. James the Greater with St. James the Less, suggest that the artists were working from a model book or pattern sheet. The artists who contributed to the style of the *Maître aux Boqueteaux* have yet to be fully investigated. However, the evidence provided by the historiated initials of this manuscript suggests that the shops which practised the style worked with some independence. The compositions of these miniatures do not appear to have been based on the same patterns. For example, each artist has painted the scene of St. Helena supervising the excavation of the Holy Cross, but according to different models (fol. 134 and fol. 277). However, as the two artists occasionally worked on the same gatherings, the possibility that they did have certain workshop affiliations must be considered.

18 For further discussion on the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, and the style of the *Maître aux Boqueteaux*, see this catalogue, entry 5.
Bibliography

Chantilly (1928), 152; Meurges (1940), 44–46, pl. XXXI; Knowles (1954), 380; Manning
4. **F: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS McClean 124**

(Figs. 38–41)


The manuscript bears no marks of ownership. It was no. 44 in the sale at Sotheby's in 1899.

**Decoration:** 49 miniatures, including a frontispiece (146 x 174) followed by 48 column-width miniatures distributed throughout the text, (62 x 83). Miniatures appear after the etymology of each entry and before the main text. Palette is rich, with an emphasis on deep blue, orange, plum, olive and ochre. Backgrounds to the miniatures are variations on a diaper pattern, designs on a trellis, and foliate designs, all in red, blue or orange. Occasionally the background is a plain gold ground. The half-page frontispiece miniature is framed by a red, white and blue quatrefoil set on a gold ground. The outer frame is alternating blue and red decorated with a white tracery pattern. The frontispiece page is framed by a ¾ gold, blue and red bar border terminating in stiff red, blue and gold ivy-leaf extensions at each corner and midway down the right hand side. The smaller text miniatures are framed by narrow gold and white bands, usually with sprigs of gold ivy extending from the corners and sides. Sometimes small gold quatrefoils are drawn in at each corner of the frame, but left incomplete. Two-line foliate initials introduce the prologue of each entry and four-line foliate initials the body of each text. One line initials alternating blue and red appear in the table of contents page on fol. 1

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 3: Frontispiece. The Coronation of the Virgin; fol. 6: St. Andrew holding his attribute, the saltire cross; fol. 9: St. Nicholas raises the three boys from the tub of brine; fol. 12: The Incredulity of St. Thomas; fol. 14: The Nativity; fol. 17: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 27v.: The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 33v.: St. Sebastian is shot with arrows; fol. 40v.: The Conversion of St. Paul; fol. 47v.: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 53v.: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 55: St. Matthias; fol. 64v.: The Annunciation; fol. 66v.: The Crucifixion; fol. 70v.: The Resurrection; fol. 77v.: St. George spears the dragon; fol. 87: St. Philip Apostle; fol. 87v.: St. James the Less slides down a slope on all fours. Possibly his precipitation from the Temple. Erroneously wears the pilgrim's hat of St. James the Greater; fol. 90: St. Helena directs the Invention of the Holy Cross; fol. 92v.: St. John Evangelist; fol. 94v.: The Ascension; fol. 97: Pentecost; fol. 102v.: St. Barnabas; fol. 105v.: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist; fol. 109v.: St. Peter holds his attribute, the key; fol. 113: The Conversion of St. Paula. Same as for fol. 40v.; fol. 121: St. Mary Magdalen holds an ointment jar; fol. 125v.: St. James the Greater holds a book and a pilgrim's staff; fol. 128: St. Christopher carries the Christchild; fol. 135v.: St. Peter in Chains. The Saint leaves his prison, holding a book and a key; fol. 145: St. Laurence holds a small gridiron; fol. 150: The Assumption of the Virgin; fol. 161: St. Bartholomew stands holds a book and a knife; fol. 163v.: St. Augustine holds a book; fol. 168v.: The beheading of St. John the Baptist. Salome presents the head of the Baptist to Herod and Herodias; fol. 174: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 179v.: Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Heraclius kneels in worship before a gold cross; fol. 185: St. Mark the Evangelist; The text entry is for St. Matthew; fol. 191: St. Michael Archangel spears a demon; fol. 194v.: St. Jerome in his study; fol.

94
202v.: St. Dionysus holds his own head; fol. 206: St. Luke the Evangelist; fol. 210: SS. Simon and Jude hold books; fol. 213v.: The congregation of All Saints; fol. 216v.: All Souls. A funeral service; fol. 220v.: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar; fol. 229: St. Clement the Pope holds his attribute, the anchor; fol. 232v.: St. Katherine of Alexandria holds a book and a small spiked wheel; fol. 249: The Dedication of a Church.

**Commentary:** A single artist is responsible for the entire programme of illustration of this manuscript. A late follower of Pucelle, this artist is associated with the principal inheritor of the Pucellian tradition, the Passion Master, so named by Meiss after his work in the Hours of the Passion in the *Petites Heures* of c. 1380, (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS, lat. 18014).

Meiss recognizes the early style of this artist in the Hours of Yolande of Flanders (London, Brit. Lib. MS Yates Thompson 27), painted after her marriage in 1353, and also in the Breviary of Charles V (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1052), illuminated sometime before 1380. The Passion Master appears to have stopped working around 1385, for his work cannot be found after this date. It has been suggested that he should be identified with Jean le Noir, an artist who is recorded as being in the service of Yolande of Flanders at the time of her marriage. Jean le Noir was also later employed by Charles V and then by Jean de Berry, possibly around the time of the Passion Master's main commissions. Avril is willing to attribute the work of this artist, whom he calls the Master of the Breviary of Charles V to Jean le Noir, and he adds several other manuscripts to the output of the atelier, including a Missal (Lyon, Bibl. mun. MS 5122), an Epistolary (London, Brit. Lib. MS Yates Thompson 34), and an Evangeliary (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 161). However, these manuscripts, dating from early in the Passion Master's career, may also be the work of the ageing Pucelle, or possibly the result of the Master's supervision of his youthful protégé.

The Passion Master, who may be Jean le Noir, is distinguished by his sensitivity to narrative and emotion. His stocky, dynamic figures exploit all the emotional intensity of Pucelle's Italianate compositions; for example, in the *Petites Heures*, fol. 76, the Passion Master interprets Pucelle's scene of the Betrayal in the *Heures de Jeanne d'Evreux* (New York, Cloisters Museum), fol. 15v., with even

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20 M. Meiss, op. cit.

21 Documents place Jean le Noir successively in the service of Yolande of Flanders, Charles V and Jean de Berry. The style of Meiss' Passion Master appears in manuscripts belonging to all three patrons. See Meiss, op. cit. Meiss and Morand op. cit., suggested that the artist should be identified with Jean le Noir. F. Avril, "Trois Manuscrits de l'entourage de Jean Pucelle", *Revue de l'Art* 9 (1970), 37–48 called the artist the Master of the Breviary of Charles V. He later agreed that the documented Jean le Noir was most likely the same artist. See his *Fastes du Gothique*, op. cit., n.287, and *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France*, op. cit., 22.

22 F. Avril, "Trois Manuscrits", op. cit.
more regard for the characterisation of evil, with the contorted, darkened faces of the soldiers and howl of the injured servant contrasting with the compliant expressions of the apostles and insinuating, unctuous face of Judas. The Passion Master's compositions are strongly rhythmic, and narrative scenes are depicted with a fluid grace. This is particularly evident in the marginal illustrations representing scenes from the trial and Crucifixion of Christ and the Last Judgement in the Hours of Yolande of Flanders (London, British Library, MS Yates Thompson 27). The Passion Master is unabashed in his close rendering of Pucelle's compositions. While he is stylistically more robust and volumetric, probably due to the influence of the Boqueteaux style, his whole career was virtually a homage to Pucelle. Compositional correspondences are numerous; Pucelle's Belleville Breviary (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Lat. 10483–4) provided models for the calendar of the Hours of Yolande of Flanders and the Petites Heures in addition to miniatures in the Breviary of Charles V (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 1052). The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux was the source for miniatures in the Petites Heures and the Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg, (New York, The Cloisters Museum), which Avril also attributes to the atelier of Jean le Noir. It does seem likely, as suggested by Kathleen Morand, that the Passion Master inherited the model books of Pucelle, his teacher and mentor, on the Master's death in 1334.

This manuscript of the Légende dorée was illuminated around 1360, and while the artist was under the influence of the Passion Master, he is neither accomplished enough nor stylistically close enough to the Master to be properly considered as one of the master's disciples or a member of his workshop. There is no evidence of the Passion Master's dynamism and sense of narrative in his work. This artist's technique is dry and sketchy, reliant on hurriedly drawn striations for definition, and lacking any sense of volume and depth. Details such as hands are often clumsily executed; for example the artist has considerable difficulty with the left hand of Christ on the frontispiece (fig. 38). Figures, which tend to be elongated rather than compact, are sometimes grossly disproportionate. The bent arm of St. Laurence on fol. 145 for example, is at least as long as his entire body. The representation of eyes is distinctive, the pupil being placed too far over, giving the faces a bug-eyed expression. However, despite the artist's shortcomings, there is plain evidence of his debt to both Pucelle and the Passion Master. The seated Christ of the frontispiece is derived from the type found in the frontispiece of a Bible Historiale, (Geneva, Bibl. Pub. et Univ. MS fr. 2), dated around 1330 (fig. 189). While this illumination is usually attributed to the atelier of Pucelle, Avril has made a case for giving it to Jean le Noir. The same figure reappears several decades later in the Petites Heures, fol. 53, in a composition

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23 F. Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France*, op. cit., 35. He suggests that the painting was carried out by Jean le Noir's chief collaborator, his daughter, Bourgot.
24 K. Morand, op. cit.
more convincingly the work of the Passion Master. The *Légende dorée* example is a close interpretation of this Christ in Majesty; only the position of the legs is reversed. The wavy lines which represent the feet are an attempt to mimic the febrile line of the other two examples, and the unsuccessful fingers of Christ's left hand could be seen as the result of adapting the book he holds in the Paris and Geneva pictures to a globe in the *Légende dorée*.

One of the more successful and skilled compositions in the *Légende dorée* manuscript is the Adoration of the Magi on fol. 27v. Based on a Pucellian model, it appears in the Belleville Breviary (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Lat. 10483–10484), fol. 258v., and the *Heures de Jeanne d'Evreux* (New York, Cloisters Museum), fol. 69. The Passion Master inherited the composition, and he used it in several commissions, including the Hours of Yolande of Flanders, fol. 74v., the Breviary of Charles V fol. 39v., an Evangelary, (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 161), fol. 13, and the Missal at Lyon, fol. 20. These examples by Pucelle and the Passion Master represent the Magi approaching the Virgin from the left, while the *Légende dorée* artist reverses the composition, suggesting that he used a tracing. The illumination in the Lyon Missal resembles most closely the *Légende dorée* miniature. In addition to the essentials of the composition it is also stylistically similar, with the same shadowy outline around the forms, and the same attenuated, sketchy hands, and fluted patterns of the Virgin's draperies. Of significance also is the strange leafy twig which grows from the Virgin's bench in the *Légende dorée*. It is repeated, in a more decorative, sophisticated form in the Lyon miniature, where it appears as an acanthus-like flourish (fig. 190). The Passion Master had a particular fondness for this feature, and used it elsewhere, such as on the bench of the Christ in Majesty of the *Petites Heures*, fol. 53, and also on the benches of the Trinity in the Breviary of Charles V, fol. 154., and Christ of the *Maiestas Domini* page inserted into a Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Lib. MS Auct. 7 Q2. 13) (fig. 191). The twig in the *Légende dorée* miniature is a rather poor interpretation of the Passion Master's scroll, and this derivativeness is typical of the cycle as a whole.

This artist, while reliant on the style and selected compositions of the Passion Master, could not convincingly be called a member of his workshop or immediate circle. The influence is not consistent; some miniatures, like the Adoration of the Magi or the Resurrection fol. 70v., are obviously modelled on Pucellian compositions, and these are also the most technically successful. Others resort to basic forms such as the facing, standing saint holding the attribute, and it is here where the artist often encounters difficulty in execution. This patchiness indicates that Passion Master models were not always available, suggesting that the *Légende dorée* artist did not have the access granted to a full member of the shop. For this reason he should be called an "imitator of the Passion Master".
Bibliography

5. **M: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 1729**
(Figs. 42–44)


It is not known who commissioned this manuscript or who the first owner was. However, Delisle has noted that the pair of facing lions which originally formed part of a coat of arms in the lower margin of fol. 1 also appears in several books which originally belonged to the large library of Charles V. In 1561 the manuscript belonged to Dorleans, "civis Parisiensis", who may be the 16th century writer of this name, author of numerous religious pamphlets. The volume subsequently belonged to the convent des Minimes de Nigeon.

**Decoration:** 15 miniatures, including a frontispiece (154 X 140) and 14 column-width miniatures (53–62 X 64). Miniatures appear after the etymology of each entry. Palette is tinted grisaille, with pink skin tones, ochre hair and details in red, gold, deep blue and green. Backgrounds are various grid patterns or vegetal arabesques in gold, plum, orange, blue, olive green and red. The frontispiece has a blue and gold frame and the smaller miniatures are framed in plum, white and gold. Two double leafed ivy sprigs extend from each corner of the small miniatures. The frontispiece is surrounded by a ¾ bar border. Sprays of stiff blue, plum and gold ivy leaf extend from the corners and sides, and a pair of facing dragons emerges from the upper extensions of the bars. Each entry of the text, illustrated or not, is introduced by a four or five-line, or on fol. 1 only, a six-line foliate initial. A vertical ivy leaf bar, attached to the initial, extends the length of the page. One-line dentelle initials appear in the table of contents and throughout the text. Line endings are patterned blue, plum and gold.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 1: Advent. The Coronation of the Virgin in a quatrefoil, surrounded by symbols of the four Evangelists; fol. 34: Epiphany. Adoration of the Magi; fol. 49v.: St. John the Almoner gives clothing to the poor; fol. 74: St. Gregory dictates through divine inspiration to a scribe; 84v.: The Annunciation; fol. 87: The Crucifixion. St. Longinus’ eyes are healed; fol. 124v.: The Ascension; fol. 139v.: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist; fol. 157: St. Margaret emerges from the belly of a dragon; fol. 190: St. Laurence on the gridiron; fol. 227: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 242: St. Matthew the Evangelist; fol. 263v.: St. Dionysus and his two companions are beheaded; fol. 286v.: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar; fol. 309: St. Baarlam kneels before the pagan king and his son, Prince Josephtat.

**Commentary:** The illumination in this manuscript is in the style of one of the leading artists of late 14th century Paris. He was named by Henri Martin the *Maître aux Boqueteaux* after his characteristic
clumps of umbrella-shaped trees. The presence of certain stylistic traits which are Flemish in character have led Meiss and Panofsky to suggest that the artist should be identified with Jean Bondol or Bandol of Bruges, who in 1371 signed and dated the frontispiece of a Bible Historiale (The Hague, Musée Meermanno Westreenianum MS 10 B.23) (fig. 192). However, as this attribution has been disputed, it is best to remain with Martin's original Boqueteaux Master, although it must be acknowledged that more than one principal artist contributed to the style, which dominated the capital from the 1360’s to around 1380. Avril has identified several streams within the broad atelier, such as the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, the Master of the Coronation Book of Charles V, and the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI.

The Boqueteaux style represented a departure from the mannered formality bequeathed by the Pucellian tradition. In contrast to Pucelle’s artificial elegance, the new style was insistently three-dimensional with emphasis on plastic, compact form, deft movement, and naturalistic detail. The 15 smaller miniatures in this manuscript have been attributed by Patrick de Winter to the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, named by Avril after a miniature added to the Grandes Chroniques de France (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 2813) shortly after 16 September, 1380 (fig. 159). The Légende dorée miniatures are consistent with this style, which is distinguished by elongated figures, fluid draperies and large, long-fingered, expressive hands (figs. 43, 44). These characteristics may also be found in the frontispiece of the Légende dorée, C (fig. 36), which was painted by a workshop associate of the master. The frontispiece of M, representing the Coronation of the Virgin, does not possess the same fluid quality of line and luminous draperies as the miniatures of the text, but should be attributed to a senior member of the Boqueteaux shop.

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26 For a discussion of the Boqueteaux style also see the entry for Légende dorée manuscript C, cat. 3.
27 E. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, op.cit., 35f. and M. Meiss, The Late Fourteenth Century, op.cit., 21, 100, 113, are happy to identify the Boqueteaux style with the Jean Bondol recorded in the 1371 Bible Historiale. However Avril rightly points out that no surviving miniature in this style equals the monumentality, gravity and control of perspective found in the illumination of Charles V receiving the Bible from Jean de Vaudetar. See Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France, op.cit.
29 P. de Winter, "The 'Grandes Heures' of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy: The Copyist Jean L'Avenant and His Patrons at the French Court", Speculum 57/4 (1982), 786–842; 797, 806–7. De Winter’s description of this manuscript on page 806, n.66, stating that it includes 34 miniatures, and is signed by Humphrey of Gloucester, is an error, and must refer to a different manuscript.
30 This artist is undoubtedly a principal illuminator in the Boqueteaux shop. Anne van Buren names him the "Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy" and regards him as the head of the workshop. Patrick de Winter, op. cit., sees him as the "principal illuminator of the atelier of the Maître aux Boqueteaux".
Distinguishing the artists who contributed to the Boqueteaux style is complicated by their frequent use of the same compositional patterns. Components of the frontispiece of this manuscript (fig. 42) appear in the Grandes Heures of Philip le Hardi (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3–1954 and Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 11035–37). The double quatrefoil frame enclosing the Evangelists' symbols is repeated on fol. 27 in conjunction with a representation of the Maiestas Domini (fig. 161). A very close rendition of the interior Coronation scene is found without the quatrefoil surround, introducing the Canonical Hours of the Virgin on fol. 24v. of the same manuscript (fig. 160). The stylistic and compositional relationships among these three miniatures are so close that they are surely the product of the same workshop. However, the Evangelists' symbols also appear in a miniature by a different artist, the Master of the Breviary of Charles V, sometimes identified with Jean le Noir, in a folio from a missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. 7Q 2.13) (fig. 191). As the workshop of the Passion Master, or Jean le Noir (see cat. 4) is not usually associated with the Boqueteaux style, it appears that workshop patterns were copied or exchanged among stylistically disparate shops.

The miniatures illustrating the text, while technically proficient, are generally simple in composition. This may be in part a response to the subject matter, but it is also the result of the artist's reliance on shop models and patterns. Several of these compositions are also used by the Boqueteaux-style artists of Q, a Légende dorée manuscript dated 1375 (cat. 11). Similar miniatures include those for St. John the Almoner, St. Gregory, and The Crucifixion. However, the illumination in M is of considerably better quality, locating it in the mainstream of the Boqueteaux atelier. As de Winter has suggested that the Grandes Heures of Philip the Bold was completed in 1378, a date of c. 1375 is suggested for the closely related frontispiece of the Légende dorée. This is also consistent with the activity of the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, whose mature style is represented by the Coronation miniature from the Grandes Chroniques, almost certainly painted shortly after the event in 1380.

Bibliography

Delisle (1880), 230; Moliner (1892), 200–1; Delisle (1907) I, 285; Martin (1924) 146; Knowles (1954), 380; Manning (1970), 42; de Winter (1982), 797, 806–7, fig. 5; Russell (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).

31 Artists working in the Boqueteaux style did not invariably use the same models. See the entry for Légende dorée MS C, and P. de Winter, "The Grandes Heures", op. cit., 807.

6. **N: Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal MS 3705**  
(Figs. 45–47)


The manuscript came from the library of M. de Paulmy "Histoire" no. 1057 A77.

**Decoration:** four miniatures including a frontispiece (156 X 119) and three smaller miniatures (35 X 40–42). Spaces are left for additional miniatures never completed. Miniatures precede the corresponding text and etymology. Palette is grisaille coloured with red, pink, orange, yellow, blue and grey wash. Drawings are applied to the bare vellum, without background decoration. Frames consist of a simple black line lightly coloured in pale yellow wash. Sprigs of ivy extend from the frame, also coloured in pale yellow. There is no marginal decoration. A four-line dentelle initial in blue and purple on a gold ground introduces Vignay’s Preface. two and three-line red and blue flourished initials with contrasting penwork introduce each text entry. One-line flourished initials appear in the table of contents and throughout the text.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 1: Vignay’s Preface. Frontispiece divided into four compartments representing the Coronation of the Virgin; Male Saints; Christ of the Last Judgement with St. John Evangelist and the Virgin; and Female Saints; fol. 3: Advent. An author portrait, depicted in his study; fol. 7: St. Andrew holds a saltire cross; fol. 16v.: The Nativity.

**Commentary:** This manuscript is a modest production decorated with only four miniatures, although the numerous spaces left for miniatures never completed, indicates that the original plan was more ambitious. The first three illustrations are little more than simple pen drawings coloured with thin watercolour wash (figs. 45, 46). No background detail is included, and the scenes are set onto the blank vellum. The artist was interrupted during his work on the fourth miniature, a preliminary sketch for the Nativity (fig. 47). Unlike the other miniatures, this sketch is not framed, indicating that the artist was responsible for both miniatures and frames. The style of these drawings is French and akin to the miniatures in *Cb* and *Db*, also executed in grisaille c. 1400 (cat.18, 19). This artist is perhaps more old-fashioned, for the pert figures are reminiscent of *Boqueteaux* school illumination of the 1370’s.  

The conception of the frontispiece, divided into four compartments representing the Coronation, Last

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33 I thank Anne van Buren for her suggestion that this manuscript was illuminated by the artist responsible for decorating a copy of Deguilleville’s *Pèlerinage* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 823). She names this artist the Master of the *Pèlerinage* of 1393. However, while there are similarities in the line technique I am not convinced that the rather pedestrian miniatures of this *Légende dorée* can be identified with van Buren’s Master.
Judgement and male and female saints, was a format used in another manuscript of the *Légende dorée*, R, by the Pseudo-Jacquemart in 1382 (fig. 52).

**Bibliography**


The manuscript bears no marks of ownership. On the front and back inside covers, in a contemporary littera textualis are written two notes. The first reads: "Richart de Monbaston libraire a fait escrire ceste legende des sains en francois lan de grace nostre seigneur mil.ccc.xlviii". The note on the back cover records the same information but adds the place of production: "Richart de Montbaston libraire de mo-t a paris enlarue neuue nostre dame --- escrire ceste legende en francois lan de grace nostre seigneur mil.ccc.xlviiij".

**Decoration:** 132 miniatures, including 2 historiated initials (54 X 51), a frontispiece (200 X 200), eight miniatures (80 X 200), 121 column-width miniatures (80 X 90). Miniatures appear before the corresponding text, after the etymology. The palette is rich, with emphasis on orange-red, deep blue, gold, slate blue and very pale pink for skin tones. Backgrounds, which are diapered or solid colour, are gold, blue and mauve. Miniature frames are decorated with white tracery patterns, and the four sides are coloured alternatively in pink and blue. Decorative sprays of single gold ivy leaves extend into the page from each border. Secondary decoration is sparse. seven-line foliate initials in gold, red and blue, and sometimes orange and mauve, mark the body of text of each entry. two-line initials in blue or red decorated with contrasting pen flourishes mark the etymology prefacing the text entries. Similar one-line initials appear in the table of contents on fol. 1v–fol. 3.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 1: Jean de Vignay’s Preface. Two historiated initials represent an author reading his work to a small gathering; fol. 3v.: Frontispiece. Christ as **Salvator Mundi**. St. John Evangelist and the Virgin kneel beside him and symbols of the four Evangelists are represented in the four outer corners; fol. 7: Christ calls St. Andrew; fol. 10v.: St. Nicholas raises three boys to life; fol. 13v.: St. Lucy and her mother; fol. 14v.: Christ appears to St. Thomas Apostle; fol. 17: The Nativity; fol. 20: A prefect attempts to undress one of St. Anastasia’s maids; fol. 21: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 23v.: St. John Evangelist is tortured in boiling oil; fol. 25v.: Massacre of the Innocents; fol. 26v.: Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury at the altar; fol. 28: St. Sylvester’s enemy, Tarquin, has a fishbone caught in his throat; fol. 31v.: The Annunciation to the Virgin; fol. 34v.: Epiphany. Two related miniatures at head of each column - Purification of the stables, Adoration of the Magi; fol. 37: St. Paul the Hermit in a cave; fol. 37v.: St. Remy prays for the infant of King Clovis; fol. 38v.: St. Hilary and bishops defend Gaul; fol. 39: St. Macarius uses a pagan’s corpse as a pillow; fol. 40: St. Felix is martyred by his pupils; fol. 40v.: St. Marcellus serves in a stable; fol. 41: The Temptation of St. Antony; fol. 42: St. Fabian is chosen as Pope; fol. 43: St. Sebastian comforts the wives of condemned Christians; fol. 44: St. Agnes resists the prefect’s son’s advances; fol. 46: St. Vincent is beheaded; fol. 47: A tongue of fire issues from St. Basil’s mouth; fol. 49: St. John the Baptist (should be St. John the Almoner); fol. 52v.: St.
Paul witnesses the lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 53: St. Paula; fol. 55v: St. Julian and his wife ferry Christ across a river; fol. 57v.: Septuagesima. Two men converse; fol. 58: Pope Melchiades and St. Sylvester institute Sexagesima; fol. 59: Quinquagesima. The Last Supper; fol. 59v.: Quadragesima. Christ preaches; fol. 60: Lent, instituted by Pope Callixtus; fol. 61: St. Ignatius and St. John Evangelist; fol. 62: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 65: St. Blaise escapes persecution in a cave (wrongly called Basille in rubric); fol. 66v.: St. Agatha resists Quintianus' advances; fol. 68: St. Vaast cures two cripples; fol. 68v.: St. Amandus baptises the king's son; fol. 69: St. Valentine is summoned by the emperor Claudius; fol. 69v.: St. Juliana is stripped and beaten; fol. 70: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 72: St. Matthias with Ciborea and Ruben; fol. 74: St. Gregory is approached by an angel in the guise of a shipwrecked sailor; fol. 79v.: A man kneels before St. Longinus; fol. 79v.: St. Benedict is followed by his nurse; fol. 83: St. Patrick pierces the foot of the king of Scotland; fol. 85v.: St. Secundus is beheaded; fol. 96v.: St. Mary of Egypt accepts Zosimus' mantle; fol. 98: A swarm of bees fly into the mouth of the infant St. Ambrose; fol. 101v.: St. George and the maiden lead the docile dragon; fol. 104: St. Mark and St. Peter; fol. 106v.: St. Marcellinus is beheaded; fol. 107: St. Vitalis is buried alive; fol. 107: The Virgin of Antioch; fol. 109: St. Peter Martyr appears in a basket of flowers; fol. 114v.: St. Philip refuses to worship a false idol; fol. 115v.: St. James the Greater celebrates Mass; fol. 119: Page-width miniature divided into two sections: The Invention of the True Cross; St. Helena searches for the Cross in Jerusalem; fol. 122: St. John Before the Latin Gate is plunged in boiling oil; fol. 122v.: The Litanies. St. Gregory the Great; fol. 124v.: Page-width miniature: The Ascension of Christ; fol. 128: Page-width miniature: The Descent of the Holy Ghost; fol. 133: St. Gordian is beheaded; fol. 133: St. Nereus and St. Achilles are buried; fol. 134: St. Pancratius is beheaded; fol. 134: The Time of Pilgrimage; fol. 135: St. Petronilla is cured by St. Peter; fol. 135v.: St. Peter the Exorcist in prison; fol. 136: St. Primus and St. Felicianus are beheaded; fol. 136v.: St. Barnabus and St. Paul; fol. 138: St. Vitus' father offers a golden bull to Jupiter; fol. 139: St. Marina shelters an illegitimate child; fol. 139v.: St. Quiricus and St. Julitta before the prefect; fol. 140: St. Gervasius and St. Protasius give their goods to the poor; fol. 141: Nativity of St. John the Baptist; fol. 144v.: St. John and St. Paul with Constantia; fol. 145: The Virgin appears to St. Leo; fol. 146v.: St. Peter; fol. 151: St. Paul is beheaded; fol. 157v.: St. Felicitas and her Seven Sons before the prefect; fol. 158: The Devil appears to St. Theodora; fol. 159v.: St. Margaret of Antioch is beheaded; fol. 161: St. Alexis sleeps under the stairs; fol. 163: St. Mary Magdalen with St. Lazarus and St. Martha; fol. 167v.: St. Apollinaris is beaten; fol. 168v.: St. Christina is martyred; fol. 169v.: St. James the Greater preaches; fol. 173: St. Christopher carries Christ across a river; fol. 175: The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus; fol. 177: The baptism of St. Nazarius; fol. 179: St. Martha receives Christ; fol. 181v.: St. Germanus the bishop; fol. 183: The Holy Machabees and their mother; fol. 184: St. Peter in Chains. St. Peter with a pagan; fol. 186 Invention of St. Stephen. Gamaliel appears to the bishop Lucian; fol. 188: St. Dominic converses; fol. 197: SS. Laurence and Sixtus; fol. 202v.: St. Hippolytus is tortured with iron rakes; fol. 204: Page-width miniature: The Dormition; fol. 209: The Body of the Virgin with five Apostles; fol. 214: St. Bernard preaches to his Brothers; fol. 219: St. Bartholomew is flayed; fol. 222v.: St. Augustine converses; fol. 229v.: The decollation of St. John the Baptist; fol. 234v.: St. Lupus gives to the poor; fol. 235v.: St. Giles gives a sick man his cloak; fol. 236v.: Page-width miniature is divided into two sections: The Nativity of the Virgin; Several men converse; fol. 244v.: The Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Heraclius battles the son of Chosres; fol. 247: St. John Chrysostom preaches; fol. 252v.: St. Matthew preaches to two magicians; fol. 254v.: St. Maurice and the Archbishop of Lyons; fol. 258: St. Cosmas and St. Damian; fol. 260: St.
Michael the Archangel appears to the bishop of Sipontus; fol. 264: St. Jerome preaches; fol. 266v: St. Remy and King Clovis; fol. 267v: St. Leger and St. Childeric; fol. 268v: A demon appears to St. Francis; fol. 275v: St. Dionysus the Areopagite; fol. 278v: St. Leonard with two prisoners; fol. 280: St. Luke the Evangelist; fol. 284: The 11,000 Virgins; fol. 286: St. Simon and St. Jude; fol. 288v: St. Eustace with two children snatched by wild animals; fol. 291: All Saints. Several male saints depicted; fol. 295: All Souls. Commemoration of the dead; fol. 300: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar; fol. 304: St. Brixius and St. Martin; fol. 305: St. Elizabeth of Hungary prays before an image of the Virgin and Child; fol. 309: St. Cecilia and St. Valerian; fol. 311: St. Clement is martyred with an anchor; fol. 316: St. Katherine prays before a wheel of torture; fol. 319: St. Saturninus is martyred; fol. 321: St. Pastor and his mother; fol. 324: St. Baarlam and a monk with the king; fol. 329: St. Pelagius converses with two men; fol. 338: The Dedication of a Church.

**Commentary:** The medieval owners of this manuscript cannot be identified, but two inscriptions provide the name of a person involved in its manufacture. Notes inserted onto the front and back covers in a contemporary *textualis* script, record that a Richart de Montbaston, *libraire*, "fait escrire" the book in the year 1348, in the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame in Paris.

The name of Richart de Montbaston survives in Parisian documents of the period. He is first recorded on August 24, 1338 in the *Cartulaire de l'Universite de Paris* as "Richart dit de Montbaston du diocese de Lisieux, cler, libraire et enlumineur". In a statute dated October 6 1342, he is listed among the *libraires* and *stationnaires* who had taken the oath which allowed them to practise their trade. It can be assumed that he died sometime before 1353; his widow, Jeanne, is mentioned in the *Cartulaire* of that date as "enlumineuse, libraire juree de l'Universite". The rue Neuve-Notre-Dame, opposite the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, was a traditional centre for book-sellers or *libraires*. The role appears to have been largely entrepreneurial; the seller acting as a broker, finding buyers for manuscripts received in deposit, and hiring books out for copying. According to de Winter, the artisans responsible for the actual manufacture of the book, the *stationnaire* or managing editor, the *ecrivain* or copyist, and the *enlumineur*, were situated in the quarter of Saint-Andre-des-Arts on the Left Bank.

Richart de Montbaston and his wife, while acting in the managing capacity of *libraire*, were according to the statutes, also involved in the artisan's roles of scribe or *clerc*, and illuminator. It is difficult to

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35 Ibid., 35.
37 A. P. de Winter, "Copistes, éditeurs, et enlumineurs de la fin du XIVe siècle la production à Paris de manuscrits à
speculate on the size or nature of the de Montbaston business, or even to assess how common the combined role of scribe, illuminator and *libraire* was, as illuminators at this time were not bound by law to the jurisdiction of the University, and consequently are rarely mentioned in the statutes. However, the inscriptions in this manuscript of the *Légende dorée* serve to confirm the operation of de Montbaston as a *libraire*, and it is tempting to suggest that he or his wife, in their capacity as illuminators, were also involved in the decoration.

The numerous miniatures are consistent in style and presentation, and appear to have been painted by a single artist. The style of this artist is conservative, and the miniatures are more characteristic of the second decade of the century than of 1348. Archaic features include the custom of overlapping the thick frame with figures and architecture to create an illusion of space, and the pendulous architectural motif sometimes placed in the centre of the upper frame. This decorative feature is a descendant of the ornate frames of the 13th century Psalter of Saint Louis (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 10525), and while it reappears throughout the following century, its use was generally confined to earlier manuscripts. The heavily outlined, flattened figures gesture theatrically with large, stiff hands. Their naive and clumsy quality is removed from the elegant Pucellian tradition of contemporary Parisian artists such as Jean le Noir. The artist of this manuscript of the *Légende dorée* is more indebted to the monumental tendencies found in miniatures from earlier manuscripts such as the 1317 *Vie de Saint Denis* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 2090–2092) and in a *Decretum gratiani* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 3898), completed soon after 1314. The thick, heavily decorated frames of the *Légende dorée* illuminations and the absence of attenuated ivy-leaf bar borders so common in Parisian illumination of the 1330's and 40's also indicates the conservative nature of the decoration.

While the artist frequently uses common iconography, such as St. Nicholas raising the three boys (fol. 10v.) or the flaying of St. Bartholomew (fol. 219, fig. 6), he also often bypasses familiar iconography in favour of groups of gesticulating figures. For example, the standard scene of St. Sebastian pierced with arrows does not illustrate the feast for that saint. Instead the saint is pictured with a man and two women (fol. 43, fig. 4), possibly representing Sebastian and the wives of two Christians condemned to death, although the figure of the man cannot be easily identified. Similar groups of gesturing figures can be found in the miniatures for the Nativity of the Virgin (fol. 236v., fig. 7) and Septuagesima (fol. 57v.), and neither group can be easily interpreted in terms of the text. This manuscript contains many scenes of animated figures seemingly engaged in conversation. One reason for their inclusion in favour

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of more easily recognisable, traditional depictions may be the unavailability of shop models for even 
commonly represented saints, and the insertion of shop moduli or non-specific groups and figures. 
Although this could result in ambiguous scenes, like the miniature of St. Sebastian, there is some 
indication that the artist was working in response to his own or to the programme devisor’s 
interpretation of the text. Many miniatures which at first glance seem obscure in content can be 
understood on a reading of the text, although on occasion the task proves too difficult, such as the 
illustration for Septuagesima, where the complex narrative of the origins and meaning of the feast did 
not easily lend itself to illustration.

The apparent inaccessibility to the artist of compositions commonly used in Légende dorée and 
devotional manuscripts may indicate that the artist was not accustomed to illuminating a large number 
of volumes. He or she may even have worked alone or with only a few assistants. This is consistent 
with the conservative style of the illumination, which suggests an artist unfamiliar with current trends, 
and may argue for the identification of Richart or Jeanne de Montbaston as the artist of this 
manuscript.

Bibliography

Paris, vol II (1838), 254; Delalain (1891), 17, 35, 39; Butler (1899), 10, 35ff.; Knowles (1954), 380; 
Manning (1968) 45, fig. 1; Russell (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).
8. **P2: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 244–5**

(Figs. 8-15)


In the borders of the nine full page miniatures are painted the arms and entwined initials of Antoine de Chourses, Seigneur de Maigne and Royal Chamberlain, and his wife Katherine de Coëtivy. Much of de Chourses’ library found its way into the Musée Condé, but this volume appears to have been in the possession of the Cardinal de Bourbon in the 16th century, and then to have become no. 240 in the Bibliothèque de Versailles, before being deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1795.

**Decoration:** 90 miniatures including 10 full page miniatures (350–5 X 244–8) and 80 smaller column-width miniatures (86–104 X 75). The miniatures are placed before the corresponding etymology and text. The palette is quite bright, with preference given to deep blue, bronze, dark green and emerald green, yellow, mauve, browns, pale pink. Orange and gold are used for highlighting and for details. From fol. 81 to fol. 180v the palette is slightly milkier and paler. Nearly all the small miniatures are framed by a gold diaphragm arch supported by two marble columns in pink, green blue or grey. As the colours of the columns correspond to those used in each miniature, it is likely that they were executed by the miniaturist at the same time. Differences in the miniatures, which reflect a number of hands at work, correspond to variations in the frames, also supporting this view. The first two small miniatures, St. Andrew on fol. 9 and St. Nicholas on fol. 14 are surrounded by a bar border which also encompasses the text column. These two borders are decorated in a loose rinceau of gold ivy, acanthus and flowers in red, pink, blue and mauve. The other small miniatures are bordered by bracket panels which extend vertically beyond the measurements of the miniature until parallel with the initial. Most of these borders are compartmentalised into various repeating patterns such as hearts, diamonds, quatrefoils, squares, banderoles, and semi-circles, which appear on a gold ground. They contain a similar foliate rinceau to the other borders. The nine full-page miniatures are framed by marble columns which separate the different tiers and scenes. A three or four-line initial introduces each etymology and each life, whether illustrated or not. These initials are of several types, such as a gold acanthus letter with blue vine pattern interior on a red ground, or a letter in the form of knotted branches. The letters are sometimes composed partly of small animals, such as a lizard, a dragon, a snail, and birds. The most common form is the initial composed of acanthus, and while colours used correspond to the miniature, the designs are fairly constant, suggesting that the artists coloured in already sketched initials. The full page miniatures have a small text panel floating or suspended in the centre of the page. Each panel is introduced by a five or four-line initial of white with tracery or of simulated wooden twigs. Contained within each initial are subjects which occasionally bear a relationship to the main miniature. These include a chained monkey, a man’s face, a trumpet blowing angel, a lion, a man’s bust and the head of Christ. One-line initials in alternate gold and blue decorated
with contrasting dark blue and red pen flourishes appear in the calendar and throughout the text. Line endings in blue and gold also appear throughout the text.

**Subjects of Miniatures: MS fr. 244**: fol. 1: Voragine's Prologue. Full page miniature divided into three tiers representing left to right: The Temptation in the Garden of Eden; a group of men and women kneel in prayer. Beside them St. John Evangelist writes the Revelations; Moses, holding the tablet of the Law, points to the brazen serpent on a pole. Men and women gathered around look up at the serpent; a group of men including pilgrims and soldiers kneel in prayer; a scribe writes in his study; A Dominican preaches from a lectern; fol. 4: Advent. Full page miniature divided into three tiers representing left to right: Five shepherds kneel in prayer; The Virgin kneels in prayer as the Christchild, holding a cross, descends from Heaven; In prison, five men kneel in prayer; A group of men pray from a large pit in the ground; A group of men pray from prison; A group of men pray in a darkened room; A group pray from a ship at sea; Figures appear in the Mouth of Hell; fol. 9: St. Andrew is crucified; fol. 14: St. Nicholas. The miniature is divided into three scenes; Nicholas stands in his bath on the day of his birth, A neighbour with three daughters he wishes to sell into prostitution, and St. Nicholas passing a bag of gold through his neighbour's window; fol. 20: At a banquet, St. Thomas is struck across the cheek by a steward, and a Hebrew maiden sings to him in Hebrew. A dog carries the hand of the steward into the dining hall; fol. 24: The Nativity. Full page miniature divided into three scenes; The Adoration of the Child with the Annunciation to the Shepherds in the background; Joseph tends to the fire while the Virgin bathes the Child; The Virgin suckles the Child; fol. 29: The lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 32: St. John Evangelist is boiled in oil; fol. 27(bis)v.: The Massacre of the Holy Innocents, and the Flight into Egypt in the background; fol. 29(bis)v.: The martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury; fol. 35v.: The Circumcision; fol. 39v. Epiphany. The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 47v. St. Antony is tormented by demons; fol. 54v.: St. Vincent, tied to a burning grill, is tortured with iron rakes; fol. 62v. The Conversion of St. Paul; fol. 66v.: St. Julian is consecrated Bishop of Le Mans; fol. 76: The Purification of the Virgin. Full page miniature divided into four scenes reading: The Purification of the Virgin at the temple; the procession of the faithful at Candlemas; Pluto, god of the underworld crowns Proserpine as his wife. In the background figures look for her with candles; The dream of a noble lady, that she celebrates Mass on the feast of the Purification with the Virgin and Christ; fol. 81: St. Blaise and his companions are beheaded; fol. 86v.: St. Leo the Pope with his congregation; fol. 89: St. Matthias is chosen as an Apostle by St. Peter, while Judas hangs from a tree in the background; fol. 92: As commanded by St. Gregory, a procession marches around Rome, in an attempt to stop the raging plague, represented by arrows raining from the sky; fol. 99v.: Scenes from the life of St. Benedict: Workmen construct the church of Montecassino; a maid with a sieve, which had been made whole by St. Benedict; A priest brings food to St. Benedict's retreat; fol. 104v.: Nicholas, a nobleman, stands at the entrance to a hole into Purgatory. In the background, St. Patrick points to a man pulling another from a well. This image is not explained by the text, but probably refers to Purgatory; fol. 107: The Annunciation. Full page miniature divided into three scenes representing: The Holy Trinity watches over the Annunciation to the Virgin. On either side are figures labelled Misericordia, Veritas, Justicia and Pax, which are not mentioned in the text; the marriage of the Virgin and St. Joseph; The Visitation; fol. 111: The Crucifixion; fol. 118: The Resurrection. Full page miniature divided into three scenes representing: The Resurrection of Christ, with the arrival of the Three Maries and two angels on the tomb who announce that Christ has risen. Two disciples, which refer to Christ's appearance on the road to Emmaus, stand nearby; Christ leads the saints of the Old Testament out of Limbo; After his Resurrection Christ appears to Mary Magdalen; fol. 124v.: St. Mary of Egypt appeals to the abbot
Zosimus. In the background, as a prostitute she finds she is unable to enter a Church; fol. 125v.: St. George spears the dragon; fol. 128v.: St. Mark Evangelist is dragged through the streets of the city; fol. 132: St. Marcellinus Pope is beheaded. In the background, St. Peter requests St. Marcellinus' successor, Marcellus, to undertake to bury the saint; fol. 135v.: St. Peter Martyr and his companion are martyred on the way to Milan; fol. 140v.: St. Philip Apostle is stoned and crucified. In the background he restores three men to life and preaches; fol. 141v.: St. James the Less is stoned and martyred with a fulling stock; fol. 146: Invention of the Holy Cross. St. Helena supervises the excavation of the three crosses. In the background, Constantine accompanied by soldiers, dreams of the sign of the cross, which is carried by an angel above; fol. 150: St. John Evangelist's head is shaved in preparation for his martyrdom. In the background, the saint on the island of Patmos; fol. 153: The Ascension; fol. 158: Pentecost. Full page miniature divided into three scenes representing: The Holy Ghost is sent down to the Apostles and the Virgin in tongues of fire; St. Peter preaches to a group of men and women; Three other apostles preach and teach God's word; fol. 168v.: St. Barnabas is dragged through the city by a noose around his neck. In the background, he preaches to a group; fol. 172v.: St. Protasius is brought before the Count Astasius and St. Gervasius lies dead on the ground; fol. 174: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist; fol. 180v.: St. Peter is crucified upside down; fol. 186v.: St. Paul is brought before the Emperor Nero. Through the doorway, he is seen being beheaded; fol. 195v.: St. Theodora rejects a messenger bringing her gifts from a rich suitor. In the background, Brother Theodore is given a child a wanton girl has accused him of fathering; fol. 197: St. Margaret of Antioch bursts from the belly of a dragon. At right, she is beheaded; fol. 200v.: St. Mary Magdalen washes the feet of Christ with her tears and hair. In the background, as a penitent the saint prays in a mountain cave; fol. 207v.: St. Christina's flesh is torn with hooks and she is shot with arrows. Her wheel of torture stands beside her; MS fr. 245: fol. 1: St. James the Greater heals a cripple while being led to his execution by a rope around his neck; fol. 5v.: St. Christopher carries the Christchild across the river; fol. 8: Soldiers hunt out Christians in the city of Ephesus. In the background, the emperor Theodosius finds the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus in their cave; fol. 12v.: St. Martha, having received Christ into her house, asks Christ to tell her sister Mary to help her serve. This episode is not in the text but relates to Luke X: 38–42; fol. 15: St. Germain asks a dead disciple, who sits up in his tomb, if he wishes to be restored to life. Four beggars approach, referring to the when the saint gave all his goods to the poor; fol. 18v.: St. Peter in Chains is lead from prison by an angel; fol. 20v.: Gamaliel appears to the priest Lucian, showing him three gold baskets and one silver. In the background, Lucian and the bishop John of Jerusalem find the bodies of four saints, including that of St. Stephen; fol. 23: A paper containing the arguments of St. Dominic against the heretics springs forth from the fire. In the background, the Virgin presents St. Dominic to Christ; fol. 31v.: St. Sixtus is brought before Decius and Valerian to offer sacrifice to the idols; fol. 34: St. Laurence is grilled alive at the order of Decius; fol. 40v.: St. Hippolytus' household is beheaded in his sight. In the background, St. Hippolytus is martyred between untamed horses; fol. 43: The Assumption of the Virgin. Full page miniature divided into three scenes representing: The Death of the Virgin, with St. John before an open book, referring to his account; Annunciation of the Virgin's death; The Apostles appear before the Virgin's door; fol. 55: The parents of St. Bernard, Tescelin and Aleth, dedicate their six sons to be monks; fol. 61v.: St. Bartholomew is flayed alive; fol. 65v.: St. Augustine and the bishop Valerius refute the Manichaean heretics. In the background, St. Monica has a vision; fol. 74v.: Salome receives the head of St. John the Baptist. In the background, Salome dances; fol. 80v.: St. Lupus gives alms and invites the poor to eat at his table. When the steward indicates that the wine has finished, a messenger appears at the door announcing a hundred more casks are ready; fol. 84: The Nativity of the Virgin. Full page miniature divided into three scenes representing: The Tree of Jesse; The Virgin
standing up in her bath after her birth; the ancestry of St. Anne; fol. 89v.: St. Adrian’s legs are broken on an anvil, witnessed by his wife Nathalia. Behind, his companions are tortured; fol. 93v.: Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Chosroës, King of the Persians, seats himself as the Father, with the Holy Cross to his right as the Son and a cock to his left as the Holy Ghost. In the background, Heraclius carries the True Cross into Jerusalem; fol. 97: St. John Chrysostom preaches to a gathering, in condemnation of women. In the background a man, possibly the counsel Eutropius, is beheaded; fol. 102: St. Euphemia is tortured on a burning wheel; fol. 104: St. Matthew is approached by two magicians accompanied by two dragons who slay all around with their sulphurous breath. Outside, the saint raises to life the son of the king; fol. 109: St. Justina blesses two poor cripples. In the background, the deacon Proclus, who converted her, reads from the Gospel. St. Justina is represented making the sign of the cross, at which a demon flees the house. Outside, the devil gives her suitor Cyprian a love potion; fol. 111: St. Cosmas and St. Damian are beheaded at the order of Diocletian. In the background the two saints are bound to stakes, but the arrows turn upon the archers; fol. 114: St. Gregory preaches to a group concerning St. Michael the Archangel. In the background, on Mount Gargano, Garganus is shot by a poison arrow he aimed at an errant bull; fol. 119v.: St. Jerome tends to a wounded lion in the monastery, to the horror of the monks. Outside, the lion carries a faggot of wood to the monastery; fol. 122v.: St. Remy baptises Clovis, king of the Franks; fol. 124v.: St. Francis receives the stigmata; fol. 132: St. Margaret Pelagius is imprisoned when an errant nun accuses her of making her pregnant; fol. 135: St. Dionysus and his companions are beheaded. St. Paul discusses the Altar of the unknown God with a philosopher. In the background St. Dionysus carries his head to Montmartre; fol. 141: St. Luke Evangelist in his study with his portrait of the Virgin; fol. 145v.: St. Chrysanthus is locked in a room with damsels who attempt to seduce him. Behind, the Christian virgin Daria is seated in a brothel. In the background a man who attempted to corrupt Daria is seized by a lion; fol. 148v.: St. Simon and St. Jude are brought before the King and requested that they sacrifice before an idol; fol. 152: the bishop of Rome baptises St. Eustace and his family. In the background St. Eustace while hunting encounters a stag with a crucifix between the antlers; fol. 156: All Saints. Full-page miniature. The Trinity, the Virgin and music-making angels in Heaven, separated by a layer of cloud from four tiers of saints arranged according to their importance: the Apostles (with Adam and Eve, Moses and David), the Martyrs, the Confessors and the Virgins; fol. 162: All Souls. Souls suffer the fires of Purgatory while four figures kneel in prayer; fol. 169: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar; fol. 175: St. Elizabeth of Hungary administers to the sick and the poor; fol. 179v.: An angel crowns St. Cecilia and St. Valerian with garlands. At right, Valerian is represented again, leaving the room to visit the tomb of the martyrs. In the background the bishop Urban hides in the tomb of the martyrs. An old man appears above, holding a book; fol. 188v.: St. Clement taps a spot where a lamb stands and a stream springs forth; fol. 189: St. Katherine of Alexandria kneels before the headsman. Beside her lies a broken wheel and the orators are shown burning at the stake; fol. 193: St. Saturninus is tied to an ox which is driven down the steps of the capitol. In the foreground a woman sews up the saint's shroud; fol. 206v.: The king of the Longobards finds seven infants in a pond, left to die by their mother, a whore, who is shown fleeing. One of the infants grabs the end of the king's spear. In the background, St. Pelagius the Pope sits in a chamber.

Commentary: The arms and entwined initials "A" and "K" which are painted onto the borders of the ten full-page miniatures of this manuscript indicate that it was owned and probably commissioned by Antoine de Chourses, Seigneur de Maine and Chamberlain to Louis XI, and his wife Katherine de
Coëtivy. As the marriage of Katherine and Antoine took place in 1477, just several years prior to Antoine's death in 1485 or 1486, it is possible to place the programme of illumination between these two dates.

The ten full-page miniatures and 80 small miniatures are painted in the style of Maître François. Three main hands constitute the group style. The earliest artist is known as the Master of Jean Rolin II, the second is Maître François, and the third, who was the principal artist of P2, is known as the Chief Associate of Maître François. The history of the identification of these hands is complex, and is still not fully resolved. Writing in 1892, Durrieu attributed this manuscript together with others in the group style, to a Jacques de Besançon. He named MS 244–5 as the masterpiece of Besançon's Last Manner, which he characterized as degenerative because of an over-lavish use of rich colours and gold hatching. In her revision of Durrieu's work in 1931, Eleanor Spencer reclassified the large oeuvre he attributed to Besançon, regarding it as the work of two artists, the Maître Français and his assistant, Jacques de Besançon. These attributions were based on documentary evidence published shortly after Durrieu's seminal work, which firmly associated the "egregius pictor Franciscus" with a Cité de Dieu illuminated in about 1473 for Charles de Gaucourt, then governor of Paris. This manuscript is now fr. 18–19 in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fig. 171). In her thesis Spencer gave the Légende dorée to Jacques de Besançon, with the exception of the first two full-page miniatures, where she suggests Besançon received the help of Maître François. While maintaining the role of Maître François in the Légende dorée, in later publications Spencer modified the name of the main artist of the manuscript, preferring to call him the Chief Associate of Maître François. Jacques de Besançon, who Durrieu originally identified by a colophon to MS 461 in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, which names "Jacques de Besançon, enlumineur", is more recently described by Spencer as a painter of borders and capitals rather than miniatures.

Earlier illumination associated with several liturgical books produced for the Bishop of

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38 P. Durrieu, *Jacques de Besançon et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1892)
40 E. Spencer, "Dom Louis de Busco’s Psalter", 232. This is based on the distinction between an *enlumineur* which Spencer claims painted only borders and capitals, and the painter or *historieur*. More recently, however, Nicole Reynaud has returned to naming the Chief Associate Jacques de Besançon. See Glasgow University Library, *The Glory of the Page*, 120. The Chief Associate of Maître François is also discussed by J. Plummer in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, *The Last Flowering. French Painting in Manuscripts 1420–1530* (1982), entries 89, 90; and by O. Pächt and D. Thoss, Vienna, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (1974), 85, 92–3.
Autun, Jean Rolin II, in the 1430's and 40's, which Spencer tentatively attributed to the youthful Maître François, are now given to a different but related artist, known as the Master of Jean Rolin II.\footnote{The style of the Master of Jean Rolin II was first identified by Spencer in 1931. See also her "L'Horloge de Sapience", \textit{Scriptorium}, XVII (1963), 277–279 and XIX (1965), 104–109. See also the following by Peter Rolfe Monks: "The Influence of the Master of Jean Rolin II on a Master of the Vienna 'Girart de Roussillon' Codices Manuscripti", II (1985), 1–8; "Pictorial Programmes in Manuscripts of the French Version of Suso's Horologium Sapientiae", \textit{Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum} LVII (1987), 31–43; "Reading Fifteenth-century Miniatures: The Experience of the <<Horloge de Sapience>> in MS Brussels, B.R., IV.II", \textit{Scriptorium} 40 (1986), 242–248; \textit{The Brussels Horloge de Sapience} (Leiden 1990).}

The style of the Chief Associate appeared in the 1480's and 90's, probably late in the career of Maître François. He collaborated with the Master at least twice, according to Spencer, in this \textit{Légende dorée} and in a \textit{Cité de Dieu} now divided between The Hague, (Musée Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 A 11), (fig. 172) and Nantes (Bibliothèque municipale MS franc. 8). The Chief Associate was a prolific artist, and his activity into the late 1490’s suggests that he was the chosen successor of Maître François, whose work cannot be found much after the late 80’s. In addition to illuminating manuscripts, in the last stages of his career the Chief Associate also appears to have been involved in illuminating printed books for Antoine Vérard.\footnote{E. Spencer, \textit{The Maître François and his Atelier}, op. cit., 131, gives a list of 29 incunabula illuminated by the artist she then named Jacques de Besançon.}

The Chief Associate adopted the workshop compositions of Maître François, and stylistically the two artists are closely related. However, the stylistic idiosyncrasies of the Chief Associate allow his work to be distinguished from that of the Master. This is well demonstrated with a miniature from a manuscript in Vienna (Natbibl. cod. 2637), a copy of the Institution and the Order of the Statutes of St. Michael, dating from the late 1480’s (fig. 173).\footnote{I thank Anne van Buren for her suggestion that the architectural framing and costumes in the miniatures of Vienna MS 2637 date it to the mid 1490s.} The figures in this composition are elongated and languid, lacking the nervous and vigorous gestures of the characters in the Gaucourt \textit{Cité de Dieu}. Movements are dream-like and facial expression is generally absent. Male faces in particular are longer and more pear-shaped, with the eyes positioned high under low foreheads. Mouths are small, and the faces have a delicacy not often associated with those by Maître François which tend to be swarthy and thick-lipped. The Chief Associate's female faces have broad, high foreheads, and their appearance is sometimes slightly moon-faced. His figures have a monumental quality, and resemble in this respect the style of Bourdichon more than the Bedford-derived style of Maître François. Also similar to Bourdichon are details like the artist's tendency to line the interior walls with marble rather than plain stippling. Other manuscripts illuminated in a style close to the Vienna example are another copy of the Statutes of the Order of St. Michael, (New York, Pierpont Morgan M.20) and a Psalter, (New York, 41 42 43
Pierpont Morgan M.934) (figs. 174, 175). These manuscripts have been dated 1490 and 1495–8 respectively, which accounts for their close stylistic resemblance to the similarly late Vienna manuscript.

The *Légende dorée* was illuminated in part by the Chief Associate. He was aided by an assistant or assistants who were responsible for the small miniatures from fol. 81 St. Blaise to fol. 174 Nativity of St. John the Baptist in MS 244. These artists mimic the style of the Chief Associate, but the flurried, uncontrolled technique, and lack of attention to detail clearly give them to inferior shop aides. The first two full-page miniatures and the small miniatures up to fol. 81 are somewhat problematic, and will be discussed later.

In most of the other miniatures in the *Légende dorée* the unmistakable style of the Chief Associate can be recognised. In all large miniatures except for the first two, and all small illuminations from fol. 174 in MS 244 and throughout MS 245, the style belongs to this artist. The characteristic monumentality appears in The Nativity on fol. 24, where the figures dwarf the surrounding buildings (fig. 8). The vacancy of expression, large broad faces and sense of weighty calm of the saints in the full-page miniature of All Saints on fol. 156 of MS 245 contrasts with the animated, compact figures of Maître François in miniatures like fol. 3v. from the Gaucourt *Cité de Dieu* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 18) (figs. 14, 171). In other miniatures, figures are more elongated and move languidly in interiors lined in the coloured marble invariably used by this artist. Maître François, on the other hand, preferred a stippling effect for interior walls (fig. 176).

In addition to the stilted, dream-like movements of his characters the Chief Associate has a tendency to represent staged narratives. In the full-page miniature of The Annunciation on fol. 107 of MS 244, the upper scene represents the Annunciation and the *Procès du Paradis*, an allegory popularised in 15th century Paris by Arnoul de Gréban's mystery play *Le Mystère de la Passion*. This composition, where personifications of Mercy and Truth, Justice and Peace are reconciled, was a favourite of Maître François and his followers. This example is unusual because it takes place on a stage-like enclosure surrounded by a brick wall. While this structure may have been inspired by the staging of Greban's play, the wall placed in the middle background was a device often employed by the Chief Associate and his aides.

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44 See M. Manion, *The Wharncliffe Hours*, (1972), 18–19, and (1981), 14f. The scene from *Le Mystère de la Passion* appears also in the Wharncliffe Hours (Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Felton MS 1, fol. 15), the Gulbenkian Hours (Lisbon, Gulbenkian Collection, fol. 13), the Egerton Hours (London, British Library, MS Egerton 2045, fol. 25, and a Book of Hours (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 73, fol. 7)
The palette used by the Chief Associate in the *Légende dorée* is generally rich, but the colours are often muted. He shows a preference for deep blues, deep pink, dark green and bronze. Backgrounds are pale blue and soft olive green with distant cities in pale cream with light brown roofs. Orange is used sparingly and nearly always in the foreground, especially for details like hats and boots. Sometimes, such as in the full-page scene of the Nativity on fol. 24 of MS 244, where the colour scheme is based on pale browns and pinks, it is not used at all. In contrast, the palette of the Chief Associate’s aides is harsher and less subtle, relying more heavily on gold for highlights and details. The distant background, which is often indistinct, is uniformly blue, and foreground colours are bright blue and pink rather than the orange often favoured by the Chief Associate.

In her 1931 unpublished study of the art of Maître François, Eleanor Spencer claimed to detect the hand of the Master himself in the *Légende dorée*, in MS 244, in the first two large miniatures, and fols. 9, 14, 20, 27v.bis, 29v., 35v., 54v., 62v., 66v.⁴⁵ All other illustrations, with the exception of the shop work described above, which concurs with her findings, Spencer attributes to the Chief Associate or Jacques de Besançon, as she named him in 1931. The quality of the miniatures up to fol. 81 varies even within each composition, and it is difficult to separate the hand of the Chief Associate from that of Maître François himself. The finest miniatures are the first two full-page illuminations which illustrate the Prologue and Advent, and the small miniatures on fol. 9 (St. Andrew), fol. 14 (St. Nicholas), fol. 20 (St. Thomas), fol. 32 (St. John Evangelist), fol. 35v. (Circumcision), fol. 39v. (Epiphany), and fol. 55 (St. Anthony). This omits several which Spencer attributed to Maître François, such as fol. 27v.bis (The Massacre of the Innocents), fol. 29v.bis (St. Thomas of Canterbury), fol. 54 (St. Vincent), fol. 62v. (Conversion of St. Paul) and fol. 66v. (St. Julian). Others, including fol. 32 (St. John), fol. 39v. (Epiphany) and fol. 55 (St. Antony) can be added to Spencer’s list. Among those miniatures attributed to Maître François by Spencer are the miniatures for St. Vincent (fig. 9) and St. Julian. These miniatures are not highly finished and should not in any details be attributed to Maître François. The turned face of one of the torturers of St. Vincent is awkwardly absent, in the manner of other figures by the Chief Associate, (MS 245, fol. 188v. St. Clement) and the device of the wall, which he uses for a similar effect elsewhere, (fol. 34 of MS 245, St. Laurence), conveniently eliminates the need to depict landscape and spatial recession.

A fine miniature not attributed to Maître François by Spencer, is MS 244, fol. 39v. Epiphany, in which is depicted a spired, walled city in the background very similar to the city represented in the St. Andrew miniature on fol. 9, which she does give to the Master. Alternatively, the distant domes in fol. 27v.bis, Massacre of the Innocents, which Spencer gives to Maître François, is not typical of the artist, who

⁴⁵ E. Spencer, *The Maître François and his Atelier*, op.cit., 257.
preferred delicate, misty spires. Although discrepancies exist, these first several miniatures do have characteristics in common which are more typical of the work of Maître François than of the Chief Associate. Interior walls are not marbled but are stippled in shades of pink and brown. In fol. 9 St. Andrew, the green grassy ground becomes lighter in distinct patches as it recedes. This is very characteristic of Maître François in miniatures such as The Annunciation to the Shepherds in the Wharncliffe Hours (Melbourne, National Gallery Felton MS 3, fol. 37). The first two large miniatures of the _Légende dorée_, fol. 1 Prologue and fol. 4 Advent are very fine, particularly in the landscape details, and it is difficult not to see the hand of the Master contributing here. The distant city of fol. 1, which is reflected in the surrounding moat is not repeated in this manuscript but appears in a similar form in the Wharncliffe Hours. Recession into depth is created easily by rocky rises and lightening colour in the manner of the Master, without the Chief Associate's recourse to middle distance walls. While the palette does not vary from the miniatures by the Chief Associate, colour is more evenly and effectively distributed. Red and bright orange are used freely for foreground detail, while neutral browns are reserved for the middle ground and background.

As Spencer suggested, it appears that Maître François collaborated with the Chief Associate on the first two large miniatures and on several of the smaller illuminations. While it is very difficult to separate the two hands with confidence, Maître François seems to have contributed in varying degrees, and his influence is felt to some measure in the first two full-page miniatures and in most of the illuminations before fol. 81. There is other evidence that these miniatures should be regarded as a separate group. It seems that the miniaturists were also responsible for painting the framing columns, for they differ slightly according to the style of illumination. The columns in the small miniatures prior to fol. 81 are uniformly plain and solid, and lack the decorative infill in the upper corners seen elsewhere in the book. Likewise, the three tiered structure of the first two full-page miniatures is more complex than others in the manuscript, and the miniature for St. Nicholas on fol. 14 is also unique in its two tiered arrangement. Finally, it is appropriate and customary that the master of an atelier illuminate the beginning of a book. Often, as in several other volumes of the _Légende dorée_, it is the frontispiece that receives special attention. Here it is the opening section, while the rest of the volume is decorated by other artists in descending order of importance; the Chief Associate is given the other large miniatures and most of the smaller miniatures, and his aides the remainder of the small illumination.

Several compositions used in this _Légende dorée_ are drawn from the repertoire of shop patterns of the Maître François group. Some, like the commonly depicted St. Christopher carrying the Christchild across the river, are employed with only minor variations over several decades by the Master of Jean Rolin II, Maître François and the Chief Associate (figs. 12, 84, 156, 157). Similar repetitions can be
found for Adoration of the Magi (MS 244 fol. 39v.), St. Peter Martyr (MS 244, fol. 135v.), the scene of the Procès du Paradis (MS 244, fol. 107) (fig. 11) and the Tree of Jesse (MS 245, fol. 84). However, these standard compositions are the exception rather than the rule, for most illuminations were designed specifically for the text of the Légende dorée. The illuminations are usually a careful illustration of the textual narrative, and understanding is often aided by labels and speech scrolls.

The illustration for St. Cecilia on fol. 179v. of MS 245 is a compressed narrative where, in a single room, four moments of the narrative are depicted and another is implied (fig. 15). One figure, Valerian, is represented twice, three figures are labelled, and a scroll bearing the words “Unus deus, una fides, una baptismas” issues from the mouth of an old man. All the labels and the scroll are pertinent to an understanding of the narrative in the text. On rare occasions the illustration does not relate directly to the text. In the representation of St. Martha, fol. 12v. of MS 245 the saint is shown receiving Christ and his disciples in her house. Her sister Mary sits on the floor at Christ’s feet, while Martha, tired after serving the meal declares to Christ, “dominus non est tibi cure qui soror mea reliquit mea sola ministrare”. This episode is not included in the Légende dorée, which concentrates on her miracles, both during her life and posthumous. The source for the illustration and caption is Luke 10: 38–42, and it likely that on this occasion the artist turned to a workshop pattern or an illustration already produced for another text. But generally, the artist constructed his pictures according to Voragine’s text. In some illustrations, like the full-page illumination for the Nativity, fol. 24 MS 244 (fig. 8), the artist has attended more to the text than to usual workshop representations. The Adoration of the Child takes place in a town square edged with disproportionately small houses. This unusual location is described in the text of the Légende dorée as a public meeting place, “entre deux maisons”, also used as a market area. Details in the miniature for the Purification of the Virgin on fol. 76 of MS 244 (fig. 10) also clearly relate to the text. With characteristic pedantry Voragine describes in detail the pagan origins of the feast of Candlemas, when the Romans honoured the gods of the underworld. After Proserpine’s abduction by Pluto her parents searched fruitlessly for their daughter with lighted candles. In her memory Roman women went in procession with candles, a custom which was transferred to Christianity, but in honour of the Virgin. The old meaning is depicted in the lower left compartment of the page, contrasting with the Christian ceremony in the upper right.

The complexity and careful planning of the iconography of this Légende dorée indicates that it was an important production of the Maître François workshop. Although the hand of Maître François may be detected in several miniatures at the beginning of the manuscript, the bulk of the illumination was executed by his Chief Associate, who later replaced the Master as head of the workshop. A successful example of artistic collaboration, this programme helped launch the career of the Chief Associate, who
represented the final phase of the atelier style which had originated some fifty years before in the Bedford workshop.

**Bibliography**

*Durrieu (1892) 33ff.; Delisle (1907) I, 259 II, 355; Spencer (1931) 8, 113ff., 256–7; Knowles (1954), 380; Manning (1970); Spencer (1974); Spencer (1976); Manion (1962) 81; Manion (1972) 18, pl. XIXa.; Manion (1981) 15; Hamer (1986); Russell (1986), Maddocks (1986), fig. 6; Hamer and Russell (1989).*
(Figs. 16–21)


The original owner of the manuscript is unknown. In the second half of the 15th century it belonged to Louis de Bruges, seigneur of La Gruthuyse and Counsellor and Chamberlain of Philippe le Bon. His arms, together with the initials L and M appeared on fol. 1. Louis married Margaret de Borselle in 1455 and died in 1492. His arms were painted over with the arms of France when this volume passed with other books from his library, into the library of Louis XII.

**Decoration:** 80 miniatures including a frontispiece (159 X 155) and 79 column-width or 2/3 column-width (after fol. 103v.) (70 X 50), (50–60 X 50). Miniatures usually but not always appear after the etymology of each entry and before the main text. The frontispiece is painted in bright, vivid colours with emphasis on deep blue, red-orange, gold, mauve, pink and mid-green. The smaller miniatures are executed in a grisaille technique, coloured in washes of plum, pale olive green-grey, brown, ochre, mauve, deep blue, pale blue and pale pink. White is used for highlights. The smaller miniatures have patterned backgrounds in a variety of designs which employ the same colours as the miniatures, in addition to deep blue, gold and black. The frontispiece page is decorated by an elaborate ¾ bar border in four different repeating patterns, surrounded by a rinceau of ivy-leaf. The miniature introducing Advent on fol. 4 is accompanied by a single bar border on the left margin of the page. The frontispiece is framed by decorated bands in alternate blue and red, with a gold square at each corner. The miniatures of the text are framed by a gold band outlining bands in alternate blue and red. The frontispiece, which introduces the Prologue, is accompanied by a five-line foliate initial, and the Advent miniature by a three-line foliate initial. The remaining miniatures are accompanied by a two or three-line and occasionally larger initial in blue, red or gold, decorated by elaborate pen-work flourishes in a contrasting colour. The etymology of each entry is introduced by similar initials decorated with pen-work flourishes. Each entry is similarly marked, illustrated or not. Small one-line flourished initials appear in the table of contents and throughout the text.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 1: Vignay’s Prologue. The Court of Heaven; fol. 4: Advent. The Last Judgment; fol. 8v.: St. Andrew is tied to a saltire cross; fol. 13: St. Nicholas raises to life three boys from a tub of brine; fol. 16v.: St. Lucy visits the shrine of St. Agatha, with her ailing mother Euthicia; fol. 18: St. Thomas Apostle; fol. 21: The Nativity; fol. 24v.: St. Anastasia secretly visits Christians in prison; fol. 25v.: The lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 28v.: St. John Evangelist, holding the martyr’s palm and a small barrel; fol. 31v.: The Massacre of the Innocents; fol. 33: St. Thomas of Canterbury washes the feet of the poor; fol. 35: St. Sylvester is consecrated bishop; fol. 39: The Circumcision; fol. 42v.: The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 46: Searching for St. Paul in the desert, St. Antony is directed by a centaur; fol. 47: St.
Remy dines with three doves at his table; fol. 48: St. Hilary brings back to life a child that had died without baptism. At right, St. Hilary banishes snakes on the island of Gallinaria; fol. 49: St. Macarius is threatened by a demon wielding a scythe; fol. 50v.: St. Antony abbot, accompanied by his attribute, the pig, is threatened by demons in the desert; fol. 52v.: St. Sebastian is shot with arrows; fol. 55: St. Agnes rejects the son of a prefect; fol. 57: The governor Dacian has SS. Vincent and Valerius brought before him; fol. 61v.: Pity, in the form of a fair maiden wearing a crown of olive, appears to St. John the Almoner as he prays; fol. 64v.: The Conversion of St. Paul; fol. 68v.: St. Julian, Bishop of Le Mans, raises three men from the dead; fol. 76: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 82: The consul Quintillianus orders that St. Agatha be struck in the face; fol. 86: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 88v.: Christ selects St. Matthias to replace Judas among his apostles; fol. 91: Christ, in the guise of a shipwrecked sailor, appears to St. Gregory, who orders the steward of the monastery to give him alms. At right, inside the monastery, the saint writes at a lectern; fol. 98v.: At left, a nurse drops a sieve from a table, causing it to break in two. At right, St. Benedict prays and the sieve becomes whole again; fol. 103v. St. Patrick accidentally pierces the foot of the King of Scotland; fol. 105: The Annunciation; fol. 108v. The Crucifixion; fol. 115: The Resurrection; fol. 120v.: St. Mary of Egypt, clad in her own hair; fol. 122v.: A swarm of bees flies into the mouth of the infant St. Ambrose as his father, a Roman prefect, watches; fol. 127v.: St. George and the dragon; fol. 130: St. Mark Evangelist accompanied by his lion, writes on a scroll; fol. 137: St. Peter Martyr writes “credo”, the symbol of his faith, on the ground as he is struck by an assailant; fol. 143v.: Pagans try to force St. Philip to offer sacrifice to a statue of Mars; fol. 144v.: St. James the Less, mistakenly wearing the pilgrims garb of St. James the Greater, sits with Christ; fol. 156: The Ascension; fol. 160v.: Pentecost; fol. 171: St. Barnabas gives alms to the poor; fol. 176v.: The Nativity of John the Baptist; fol. 180v.: SS. John and Paul. A youth appears to Gallinarius, bearing the cross upon his shoulders; fol. 183: Christ hands the keys to St. Peter; fol. 189: A dragon bites St. Paul on the hand without harming him; fol. 199v.: St. Margaret of Antioch bursts from the belly of a dragon; fol. 203: St. Mary Magdalene holding her ointment jar; fol. 210v.: Sent by Hermogenes, demons fly through the air to St. James the Greater; fol. 214v.: St. Christopher carries the Christchild; fol. 221: St. Martha subdues a man-eating dragon by sprinkling it with Holy water; fol. 223: St. Germain gives to the poor; fol. 226v.: Angels bearing hammers fly to release St. Peter from prison; fol. 232: Heretics throw St. Dominic’s screed against heresy into the fire, but it springs out unburnt; fol. 242: St. Laurence on the gridiron; fol. 250: The Assumption; fol. 262: The infant Jesus appears to St. Bernard; fol. 268: St. Bartholomew wards a demon away from the ill at the temple of the idol Astaroth; fol. 272: St. Augustine writes at a lectern; fol. 280v.: The beheading of St. John the Baptist; fol. 289: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 307: St. Matthew converts a eunuch from Ethiopia; fol. 316: St. Michael the Archangel battles with a demon; fol. 321v.: St. Jerome and his lion; fol. 324: A miller drives St. Remy off his land; fol. 326: St. Francis receives the stigmata; fol. 332v.: On St. Margaret Pelagius’ death, monks and nuns discover that she is a woman; fol. 335: The martyrdom of St. Dionysus and his two companions; fol. 340v.: St. Luke Evangelist; fol. 348: SS. Simon and Jude make the sign of the cross upon the foreheads of the lawyers; fol. 354v.: All Saints; fol. 359v.: All Souls. A funeral service; fol. 366: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar; fol. 372: St. Elizabeth of Hungary gives to the poor; fol. 380: St. Clement the Pope with his attribute, the anchor; fol. 386: St. Katherine of Alexandria refutes the learned doctors.

**Commentary:** The frontispiece of this manuscript, which depicts the theme of the Court of Heaven or the Virgin and Child in Glory, has attracted more critical attention than any other single illumination
from a *Légende dorée* manuscript (fig. 16). The composition, with the half-length Virgin and Child in a central mandorla, surrounded by the congregration of saints, martyrs, Evangelists and the Holy Trinity is rare in contemporary illumination. A similar theme is illustrated in the frontispiece of *Bb* (cat. 17), but is otherwise unknown in manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*.

The figures of the Virgin and Child in a mandorla supported by seraphim and cherubim, with the golden rayed red and gold sun below, relates to the legend of the *Aracoeli* or altar of Heaven. The text, which appears in the *Légende dorée* in the entry for December 25, describes how on the day of Christ’s birth, at midday, the Sibyl revealed to Caesar Augustus a golden ring around the sun. In the centre appeared the Virgin and Child, and a voice was heard which said “This woman is the Altar of Heaven”. Augustus then knew that there would be one greater than himself, and he rejected his own deification. An early illustration of the legend appeared sometime before 1402 in an initial in the Brussels Hours, (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 11060–1, p. 83). Several years later, around 1406, the legend was illustrated in a copy of Christine de Pisan’s *Epître d’Othéa* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 606, fol. 46), and it also appeared in *Les Belles Heures* of 1405–8 (New York, The Cloisters, fol. 26v.), where it illustrated the prayer to the Virgin, *O Intemerata*. The Limbourg brothers also used the legend for an illumination in *Les Très Riches Heures* (Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 65 fol. 22), also for the prayer *O Intemerata*.

Jean, Duc de Berry was drawn to the legend of the *Aracoeli*, possibly through a personal identification with the Emperor Augustus. In addition to owning medals of Augustus and three other Roman Emperors it was Jean de Berry who was responsible for promoting the image of the *Aracoeli*. *Les Belles Heures*, *Les Très Riches Heures* and the Brussels Hours were commissioned by the Duc, and he acquired the *Epître d’Othéa* after the death of the original owner Louis d’Orleans in 1407.

Removed from the narrative of Augustus and the Sibyl, the motif of the half-length Virgin and Child illuminated by the golden rays of the sun began to appear in other contexts. Although the presence of a crescent moon indicates some confusion with the woman of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse, "robed with the sun, beneath her feet the moon and on her head a crown of twelve stars", the composition on fol. 26v. of the Boucicaut Hours (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-Andre MS 2), contemporary with *Les Belles Heures*, is clearly related to the *Aracoeli*. The separate motif is also used again in *Les Belles Heures*, fol. 209, this time illustrating the Mass of the Virgin. Finally, it is employed for four very similar compositions which clearly derive from a common prototype. These are the frontispiece of this

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47 Ibid., 140–1.
Légende dorée, fol. 218 of Les Belles Heures (1405–8), where it illustrates the Mass for All Saints, (fig. 177), fol. 29v. of the Rohan Hours (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 9471), (c. 1415–16) where it accompanies the prayer to the Virgin, Obsecro te (fig. 178), and also in a Book of Hours in the Spitz Collection in Chicago, dating from c. 1422. The principal artist of the Spitz Hours was greatly indebted for many of his compositions to the works of the Limbourg brothers in both Les Très Riches Heures and Les Belles Heures. His version of the Aracoeli type Virgin and Child with the saints is extremely close to the Les Belles Heures miniature, and may be assumed to be a copy. Likewise, the master of the Rohan Hours also derived several details and entire compositions from the two Books of Hours by the Limbourgs, and there is no reason for not including the Virgin and Child among his direct borrowings. The miniatures by the Rohan Master and the Limbourgs are very similar, and of almost identical proportions, whereas the Légende dorée miniature is broader in width, including saints not depicted in the other compositions.

The Légende dorée frontispiece has preoccupied art historians on two counts: whether or not it was used as model for the Limbourg brothers in Les Belles Heures and the question of the artist’s identity. In 1953 and again in 1959 Jean Porcher attributed the work to the youthful Pol de Limbourg and dated it January 3, 1405, prior to the execution of its counterpart in Les Belles Heures. Philippe Verdier (1961) agreed with Porcher, and Marcel Thomas (1973 and 1979) also considered the illumination to be a Limbourg model, executed in 1405, although he offered no attribution. These findings were dismissed by Millard Meiss (1963a and b), who rejected the idea that the innovative and sophisticated Limbourgs used the clearly less accomplished Légende dorée frontispiece as a model. Instead he suggested that an early, now lost Limbourg composition was used by Légende dorée artist and later repeated in Les Belles Heures. Later, writing in 1974, Meiss strengthened his argument by dating the Légende dorée to 1407, which more convincingly reduced the likelihood of it being used as a model for Les Belles Heures. He suggested that the latter was illuminated during 1405–8 before being presented to the Duc de Berry in 1408 or 1409. He named the artist the Virgil Master after his work in a volume of the works of Virgil (Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana MS Med. Pal. 69).

This manuscript of the Légende dorée bears the date of 1404 on the "samedi apres la nativite nostre dame", which fell in September. For some reason this was misread by Porcher and others as January 3, 1405. Meiss concedes that the volume is dated, but suggests that it indicates the date of a

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48 The Rohan Hours are discussed by Meiss (1974), 140, fig.390; M. Thomas, The Rohan Book of Hours (New York, 1973), pl. 34. Meiss (1974), 238, fig.391, discusses the Spitz Hours.

49 The Virgil Master is discussed by Meiss (1974), 15f., 138f., 408–12.
version of the text rather than the manuscript itself.\textsuperscript{50} This is incorrect, as the first version of the Vignay text, of which this manuscript is an example, was completed in about 1333.

The stylistic evidence supports Meiss' rejection of the attribution of this miniature to the Limbourg brothers. The technique is looser, and the thin layer of paint gives a sketchy quality unlike early works by the Limbourgs. The artist's limitations are evident in his inadequate painting of details like hands, which appear either crabbed or flat, and in his shallow and crowded spatial construction. The Virgil Master was active during the first two decades of the 15th century, and appears to have specialized in the illumination of classical and historical texts, of which the Duc de Berry owned several copies.\textsuperscript{51} A good example of the Virgil Master's work can be seen in his illustration of a manuscript relating the Fall of Richard II (London, British Library, Harley MS 1319) (fig. 223). Despite its technical shortcomings, the \textit{Légende dorée} frontispiece compares well with these miniatures and is a superior example of the Virgil Master's work.

While the original owner of this \textit{Légende dorée} is unknown, considering his interest in manuscripts illuminated by the Virgil Master, it is feasible that it belonged to Jean de Berry. This would also account for the composition of the frontispiece, so clearly derived from the \textit{Aracoeli} legend favoured by the Duc, and included in the text of the \textit{Légende dorée}. The date of the manuscript is 1404, and despite Meiss' arguments to the contrary, there are no firm reasons why the Limbourgs should not have drawn upon this frontispiece for the later composition in \textit{Les Belles Heures}, particularly if both artists were employed by Jean de Berry. One of Meiss' arguments for attributing the original composition to the Limbourgs, that the prominent positions occupied by John the Evangelist and John the Baptist in the miniature refer to Jean de Berry, can be discounted if the \textit{Légende dorée} was also commissioned by the Duke.

The use of the same composition by stylistically distinct artists, the Virgil Master and the Limbourgs, brings into question the nature of the co-operation between their workshops. This problematic issue is further compounded by certain similarities observed between the illustrations of the text of the \textit{Légende dorée} and other miniatures from \textit{Les Belles Heures}. The seventy-nine small miniatures in the \textit{Légende dorée} are executed in an assured grisaille technique well suited to the expressive and vigorous

\textsuperscript{50} Meiss (1974), 139, suggests that "the date in the colophon in the \textit{Légende dorée} ... could provide the date of the completion of a version of the text rather than of the particular manuscript".

\textsuperscript{51} Included among the manuscripts illuminated at least in part by the Virgil Master, which were owned by Jean de Berry are: Brussels, Bibli. Roy. MS 9555–9558; London, British Library MS Add. 29986; London, British Library MS Harley 1319; London, British Library MS Harley 4381–2; London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern; Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 282. See Meiss (1974), 409–11.
scenes depicted (figs. 17, 20). The artist is equally adept at suggesting the subtle fall of cloth, sudden movement and emotional anguish. He has a sophisticated grasp of spatial representation, and three-dimensional buildings and forms are depicted with confidence. The energetic technique recalls certain contemporary illumination from the North with similar strong graphic tendencies, such as the illumination in a copy of the Pèlerinage de la vie humaine, (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 10176–8) and it is likely that this artist received his early training in the Netherlands. Meiss has named him the Master of the Chantilly Medallions, after his work in another manuscript containing the Apocalypse and extracts from the Bible (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 28). Meiss has dated this manuscript, purely on stylistic grounds, 1412–15. Only one other manuscript illuminated in the style of the Medallion Master has been located, a copy of the Roman de la Rose (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 371). The Medallion Master and the Virgil Master evidently enjoyed a close working relationship despite the difference in styles, for the Virgil Master also illuminated the frontispiece to the Chantilly Apocalypse. It can also be demonstrated that both artists used compositions in common with the Limbourgs.

The work by the Medallion Master in the Légende dorée is accomplished and independent, and stylistically unrelated to both the Virgil Master and the Limbourg brothers. However, the composition of three miniatures by this artist suggests a link with the illumination by the Limbourgs in Les Belles Heures, although the nature of the relationship is by no means clear. The miniature which illustrates the text for St. Paul the first Hermit, on fol. 46, represents St. Antony asking a centaur for directions to the hermit's cave (fig. 18). Pointing to a road leading into the background, the centaur tells him to proceed to the right. This episode is not illustrated in any other manuscript of the Légende dorée. It does appear however, on fol. 192 of Les Belles Heures, where it illustrates the narrative of St. Antony and St. Paul (fig. 179). While the compositions of these two miniatures are similar, a discrepancy in the text is reflected in the illustration. The Légende dorée, faithful to Voragine's Latin, relates that St. Antony encountered a centaur, or "un home demy et demy cheval", and this is duly depicted in the miniature. However, the text accompanying the miniature in Les Belles Heures specifies a satyr, or half man, half goat, as is illustrated above. This suggests that the Medallion Master did not slavishly copy the figure from the Limbourg miniature, but modified an existing workshop pattern to suit the text. Meiss does not mention the miniature of St. Antony and the centaur, but cites another, St. Katherine confounding the doctors, on fol. 386 (fig. 21), as providing "absolute confirmation" that the programme is dependent on the Limbourg manuscript. The composition of the equivalent illustration in Les Belles Heures is similar, though not overwhelmingly so, and should not be regarded as proof of influence one way or the other (fig. 180). The third similarity, also pointed out by Meiss, is the motif of the ill man leaning on his crutch, which appears in both fol. 268 of the Légende dorée (fig. 19) and fol.

52 For the Medallion Master, see Meiss (1974), 398, 252ff., figs. 789, 794–8, 800, 802–4, 810, 812.
189v. of *Les Belles Heures* (fig. 181), in two miniatures unrelated in subject. This motif, which was used by several artists, does not constitute adequate evidence of a direct relationship, as it could have existed in the pattern repertoire of several ateliers.\(^{53}\)

The relationship between the *Légende dorée* and *Les Belles Heures* is further complicated by the inclusion in the latter of four lines of Latin text from the *Legenda aurea* beneath each miniature in the St. Katherine and St. Paul cycles. Specialised textual research would be required to locate the particular manuscript from which this text was taken, and it may even be found that it was translated from the *Légende dorée*. Certainly, the inclusion of a satyr rather than a centaur suggests that Voragine’s original Latin text, which specifically indicates a half-man, half-horse, was not closely followed.\(^{54}\)

To conclude, there are no convincing reasons for assuming on the basis of a few similarities in composition, that the artists of the firmly dated *Légende dorée* copied from *Les Belles Heures*, which appears to have been illuminated at a later date, and not vice versa. The Limbourgs were exceptional artists, but the artists of the *Légende dorée* were also highly accomplished, and did not necessarily copy their most successful designs from more skilled artists. The compositions from *Les Belles Heures*, which were also employed by the stylistically unrelated Medallion and Virgil Masters in the *Légende dorée* highlights the apparent complexity of medieval workshop organization. The Virgil and Medallion Masters contributed to two manuscripts, and were both affiliated with the Limbourgs through certain compositions. This suggests that the Virgil and Medallion artists worked in some collaboration, although they probably formed separate workshops. Their relationship with the Limbourgs is difficult to establish, for although they shared certain compositions neither artist worked on any extant manuscript illuminated by the brothers. However, the Virgil Master and the Limbourgs shared a patron, the Duc de Berry, who may have provided the forum for artists’ exchange of patterns and compositions. As several compositions from the *Légende dorée* were also used by the Limbourgs, probably through workshop patterns, it is possible that the first owner of this manuscript was the famous bibliophile, Jean duc de Berry.\(^{55}\)

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\(^{53}\) The motif of the cripple leaning on his crutch has been studied by Meiss (1974), 274f., figs. 890–95. It was also used by Jean Pucelle, the Master of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, the workshop of the Master of Marguerite d’Orléans, and the Master of Catherine of Cleves.

\(^{54}\) The Limbourgs depicted St. Antony’s meeting with the centaur in another manuscript, (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS nouv. acq. lat. 3093, p.240), the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*. The miniature, attributed by Meiss to Paul, may have been painted shortly after the completion of *Les Belles Heures*. The composition does not resemble either the miniature in that manuscript or the illustration in the *Légende dorée*. On this occasion, a centaur and not a satyr is represented.

\(^{55}\) The manuscript cannot be identified in the duc’s inventories. See M. Meiss, ”The Bookkeeping of Robinet d’Estampes and the Chronology of Jean de Berry’s Manuscripts”, *Art Bulletin*, LIII (1971), 225–35.
Bibliography

Delisle (1868–81), vol. I, 142; Porcher (1953), 91; Knowles (1954), 380; Porcher (1955); Porcher (1959); Verdier (1961); Meiss (1963a) 51; Meiss (1963b) 169 n. 45; Manning (1970), 46; Thomas (1973), 34; Meiss (1974) 138 ff., 408, figs. 388, 437, 809, 892; Thomas (1979); Russell (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).
10.  **P5: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 6448**

(Figs. 22–26)


On the front cover is written “*De M LE MARQUIS DE LA VIEUVILLE*”. An ownership note of fol. 378 reads "*Cette Legende dorée est a Jehan dumas seigneur deLile on quela cent soixante-seze histoyres*” signed by du Mas. The arms of du Mas appear in the borders of fols. 1, 9, 26, 58v., 104, 108, 130, 150v., 153, 164v., 177, 194, 216, 231v., 236v., 241v., 258, 274, 290, 298v., 305v., 316, 333v., 337v., 345, 364v., 373, the large initials on fols. 11v., 137, 169v., 202, 254, 281 and in the miniatures on fol. 45v. St. Marcellus, fol. 180 St. Alexien, and fol. 262 The Nativity of the Virgin, where the shield is painted into the lintel above the doorways.

**Decoration:** 175 miniatures, including a frontispiece (200 X 185) and 174 smaller column-width miniatures (82 X 80). When an etymology introduces the text the miniature appears after it. Otherwise the miniature is placed at the beginning of the corresponding text. The rather sombre palette is limited, with emphasis on deep blue and shades of purple. Slate blue, olive green, light green, light blue, ochre, pale pink and dark to mid-brown are also used. Red-orange and silver oxidised to black are used for details. Gold is used liberally for modelling draperies and in the background to represent distant paths. The miniatures are framed by a narrow gold bar. The frontispiece is accompanied by a full rinceau panel border composed of deep blue and gold acanthus, red carnations, blue violets, blue fuchsias, mauve thistles, red strawberries, green foliage and spiked gold ivy leaves. Each smaller miniature is accompanied by a bracket-left or bracket-right panel border. These are basically of the same type as on fol. 1, except for stylistic differences attributable to different artists. In several borders near the end of the manuscript drolleries appear, such peacocks, a man with the body of a dog, and mounted humanoid grotesques aiming arrows at birds. The panel border on fol. 19, The Nativity, is unique in the manuscript. It is a solid panel enclosing the miniature and one text column, and is composed of purple diamonds on a blue ground decorated with gold acanthus. Within each diamond a flower sprig, of the types found in the other borders, is outlined in gold. Each illustrated entry in the text is introduced by a large six or seven-line initial. These are in various combinations of gold, blue and red, with infills of acanthus and other flowers or vegetation executed in silver, white and gold tracery. Etymologies are introduced by two-line dentelle initials. One-line dentelle initials appear in the calendar and throughout the text. Line endings in purple and dark blue with white tracery designs appear throughout the text.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 1: Vignay’s Preface. The translator in his study; fol. 3v. Advent. The Last Judgement with the Virgin and St. John the Baptist; fol. 7v.: The crucifixion of St. Andrew; fol. 11v.: St. Nicholas raises three boys from a brine-tub; fol. 15: St. Lucy with her neck pierced by a sword; fol. 16 St. Thomas the Apostle; fol. 19: The Nativity; fol. 22v.: St. Anastasia is tortured by fire; fol. 23v.: The lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 26: St. John Evangelist on the island of Patmos; fol. 28v.: The Massacre of
the Innocents; fol. 30: St. Thomas of Canterbury is martyred at the altar; fol. 31: St. Sylvester the Pope with the dragon he rendered harmless; fol. 35v.: The Circumcision; fol. 38v. Epiphany. The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 41: Two lions dig a grave for the body of St. Paul, who kneels in prayer even in death; fol. 42v.: St. Remy baptises King Clovis of the Franks; fol. 43: St. Hilary at the council of the bishops. The artist has represented deacons rather than bishops; fol. 44: St. Macarius is attacked by a demon armed with a scythe as he passes through a swamp; fol. 45: St. Felix is martyred by his students with their compasses; fol. 45v.: St. Marcellus the Pope tends to a horse in the stables where he was made a slave; fol. 45v.: Demons, in the form of savage beasts, a unicorn and a lion, attack St. Antony in his cell; fol. 47v.: St. Fabian is beheaded; fol. 47v.: St. Sebastian is pierced with arrows; fol. 50: St. Agnes clad in her hair and accompanied by an angel who protected her from the advances of the prefect’s son; fol. 51v.: St. Vincent is tortured with iron rakes; fol. 53v.: The Devil shows St. Basil a paper with which a young man signed over his soul; fol. 55v.: Pity, as a fair maiden, appears to St. John the Almoner; fol. 58v.: The Conversion of St. Paul; fol. 59v.: St. Paula and her two companions kneel before an open tomb; fol. 62: St. Julian the bishop raises a person from the dead; fol. 64v.: Septuagesima. Labouring in the vineyard of the soul; fol. 65v.: Sexagesima. A man sows a crop and another kneels in prayer; fol. 66: Quinquagesima. Christ blesses a beggar; fol. 67: Quadragesima. A man prays, and outside Christ meets the Devil on a path; fol. 68 St. Ignatius is attacked by two lions in the circus; fol. 69: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 73v.: St. Blaise is tortured with iron spikes; fol. 75: St. Agatha’s breasts are twisted off; fol. 76v. At the gate to the city, St. Vaast makes two beggars whole; fol. 77: King Dagobert kneels before St. Amandus the monk; fol. 77v.: St. Valentine makes a blind girl see; fol. 78: While in prison, St. Juliana beats a demon who visited her in the guise of an angel; fol. 79: The Chair of St. Peter. With St. Paul, St. Peter brings a dead boy back to life from the tomb; fol. 81: St. Matthias is beheaded with an axe; fol. 83v.: On Easter day, St. Gregory lead a procession bearing the picture of the Blessed Virgin, to rid the city of the plague; fol. 89v.: St. Longinus is beheaded; fol. 90 St. Benedict is provided with food by a monk who lowers it to him from a mountain; fol. 94: St. Patrick, tracing a circle with his staff, opens a pit to Purgatory; fol. 95v.: The Annunciation; fol. 98: The Crucifixion; fol. 104: The Resurrection; fol. 108: An angel leads St. Secundus from prison; fol. 109: Zosimus administers the Sacrament to St. Mary the Egyptian; fol. 110v.: St. Ambrose in his study; fol. 115: St. George vanquishes the dragon; fol. 117v.: St. Mark is dragged by the neck; fol. 120: St. Marcellinus the Pope is beheaded; fol. 120v.: St. Vitalis is buried alive; fol. 121: The Virgin of Antioch; fol. 123: Accompanied by a friar, St. Peter Martyr is murdered on the road to Milan; fol. 129v.: St. Philip, forced to pray to a false idol, causes a dragon to emerge from the base, killing his captors; fol. 130: St. James the Lesser is martyred with a fulling stock; fol. 134: St. Helena supervises the Invention of the Holy Cross; fol. 137: Before the Latin Gate, St. John is boiled in oil; fol. 140: The Ascension of Christ; fol. 144: Pentecost. The Descent of the Holy Ghost; fol. 149: St. Gordin is beheaded; fol. 149v.: St. Nereus, St. Achilles, and their mistress Domitilla are sent into exile by boat, to the island of Pontus; fol. 150v.: Inside, St. Pancratius swears his allegiance to Christ before the Emperor. Through the doorway, he is being beheaded; fol. 151: Times of Reconciliation. Two pilgrims; fol. 151v.: St. Urban the Pope are forced to worship a false idol, but the idol falls and crushes the pagan priests; fol. 152: St. Petronilla lies in bed with fever, attended by her father St. Peter; fol. 152v.: St. Peter the Exorcist exorcises the daughter of his gaoler. Through the doorway, he is seen being beheaded with his companion; fol. 153: SS. Primus and Felicianus with two lions, who leave them unharmed; fol. 153v.: St. Barnabas is dragged from the city by a noose around his neck; fol. 155v.: SS. Vitus and Modestus exorcise a demon from a child; fol. 156: St. Julitta is beaten and her son St. Quiricus is hurled from the tribunal, and his brains spilt on the steps; fol. 156v.: St. Marina, as the monk Marinus, with the child she was accused of fathering; fol. 157v.: SS. Gervaisius and
Protaus are beheaded; fol. 158v.: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist. At left, Gabriel appears to Zachary at the temple. At right, the birth of St. John the Baptist; fol. 162: SS. John and Paul are given a statue of Jupiter. The headsmen waits for them in the background; fol. 163v.: The Blessed Virgin restores the hand of St. Leo the Pope; fol. 164v.: In the background, St. Peter is crucified upside down. Simon Magus falls from a tower at the command of SS. Peter and Paul, who kneel in the foreground; fol. 169v.: Divided picture. At left, St. Paul is brought before Nero. At right, with Plautilia's veil tied around his eyes, he is beheaded; fol. 176v.: The Seven Sons of St. Felicitas are beaten with various instruments before their mother; fol. 177: St. Theodora, as the monk Theodore, with the child she was accused of fathering. The devil, in the semblance of her husband, appears before her; fol. 179: St. Margaret of Antioch bursts from the belly of the dragon; fol. 180: Pope Innocent approaches the dead St. Alexien, who holds a scroll fast in his hands; fol. 181v.: St. Praxedes gives burial to a Christian; fol. 182: The angels bear St. Mary Magdalen up to Heaven; fol. 186v.: St. Apollinaris is beaten with rods; fol. 187v.: St. Christina is shot with an arrow; fol. 188v.: Two demons bring the magician Hermogenes before St. James the Greater; fol. 192v.: St. Christopher carries the Christchild across the river; fol. 194: St. Emperor Maximian meets the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus in their cave; fol. 196: St. Nazarius is thrown from a boat into the sea, and behind, St. Celsus walks on the waves; fol. 197v.: St. Felix the Pope is expelled by Constantius from the bishopric; fol. 198: St. Simplicius is beheaded and the body of his brother, St. Faustinus floats in the Tiber; fol. 198v.: St. Martha with the now docile dragon who has just consumed a man; fol. 200: Lions and bears refuse to attack St. Abdon and St. Sennen at the circus, so the two saints are speared to death; fol. 200v.: St. Germain of Auxerre restores his ass to life, even though he is presented with a fine horse; fol. 202: St. Eusebius, in his church, is beaten by Arian heretics; fol. 203: The Holy Machabees are beheaded; fol. 203v.: An angel appears to St. Peter in prison; fol. 206v.: The Invention of St. Stephen. Gamaliel appears to Lucian the priest as he sleeps, showing him three gold baskets and one silver; fol. 208v.: As St. Dominic prays in his church, St. Peter and St. Paul appear to him; fol. 216: Divided in two. At left, St. Sixtus is elected Pope. At right, The Transfiguration, which is celebrated on the same day; fol. 216v.: A dragon, which pollutes a spring, twists its tail around St. Donatus' ass. The St. blesses it; fol. 217v.: St. Cyriacus exorcises a demon from the king's daughter; fol. 218v.: St. Laurence is grilled alive; fol. 224v.: St. Hippolytus, tied by the feet to the necks of horses, is dragged over thorns and thistles; fol. 231v.: The Assumption of the Virgin. She is carried by angels from her open tomb; fol. 236v.: St. Bernard exorcises a demon from a woman; fol. 241v.: The torture of St. Timothy; fol. 241v.: St. Simphorius is lead to the headsmen's block; fol. 242v.: St. Bartholomew is flayed alive; fol. 246v.: St. Augustine sees the Devil with a book on his shoulders, in which were written the sins of men; fol. 254: St. John the Baptist is beheaded while Herod and Herodias feast; fol. 257v.: St. Felix blows into the face of a pagan statue, which collapses; fol. 258: St. Savinianus is fired at with arrows which refuse to pierce his body. Instead one pierces the eye of the King, blinding him; fol. 259v.: King Clothaire falls at the feet of St. Lupus the bishop; fol. 260: St. Mamertinus kneels before St. Germain the bishop; fol. 261: St. Giles and his hind are approached by mounted archers; fol. 262: The Nativity of the Virgin. Four scenes are included: Joachim attempts to make an offering at the temple, the Presentation of the Virgin, the Conception of the Virgin, and the Annunciation to Joachim; fol. 267: St. Hadrian has his legs broken on an anvil; fol. 269: St. Gorgonius' body is torn with scourges and hooks; fol. 269v.: St. Prothus and St. Hyacinthus are dragged to the temple; fol. 271: Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Heraclius mounted on his horse takes the True Cross towards the gates of Jerusalem; fol. 274: St. John Chrysostom is banished from the sight of the emperor; fol. 278v.: St. Cornelius is beaten; fol. 279: St. Euphemia is tortured by wheel filled with burning coals; fol. 280: St. Lambert is martyred as he prays; fol. 281: St. Matthew is martyred as he
prays at the altar; fol. 283: St. Maurice is martyred in his battle against pagan soldiers; fol. 285v.: Cyprian spills magic ointment from a jar to win the love of St. Justina. In the guise of different people the Devil attempts to seduce her, but without success. They leave at right; fol. 287: St. Cosmas and St. Damien hold their attributes, medicine jars; fol. 288v.: St. Fursey lies dead in bed, as demons and angels fight for his soul in the sky above; fol. 290: St. Michael the Archangel battles with the Devil; fol. 295v.: St. Jerome beats his breast with stones in penance. He is accompanied by an ass, a lion and a pile of sticks; fol. 297v.: Angels bear the body of St. Remy to the crypt; fol. 298v.: Soldiers put out the eyes of St. Leger; fol. 299v.: St. Francis receives the stigmata; fol. 304v.: St. Pelagia, as the hermit brother Pelagius, reads at the entrance to her cell; fol. 305v.: St. Margaret Pelagius in the cave of her exile; fol. 306: St. Thais the Courtesan kneels before the Abbot Paphnutius; fol. 307v.: The body of St. Dionysus, holding the saint's head, is guided by angels to Montmartre; fol. 310: St. Callixtus the Pope is cast into a well, with a stone tied around his neck; fol. 310v.: St. Leonard, patron of prisoners, frees a man from his manacles; fol. 312v.: St. Luke in his study; fol. 316: St. Chrysanthus and St. Daria are crushed by stones in a pit; fol. 316v.: In a ship, St. Ursula covers the 11,000 Virgins with her cloak. On the shore, one of the Virgins is martyred; fol. 318v.: SS. Simon and Judas are speared as they kneel before false idols, which break into pieces; fol. 321: St. Quentin is tortured by nails driven through his body from shoulders to legs, and through each finger; fol. 321v.: St. Eustace stands in the middle of a river, while on opposite banks a wild animal carries his two sons away; fol. 324: All Saints. The saints and Trinity suspended in a mandorla; fol. 328: All Souls. Angels pull souls to Heaven from the mouth of Hell; fol. 332v.: The Four Crowned Martyrs are beaten with scourges; fol. 333: St. Theodore is martyred by fire; fol. 333v.: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar; fol. 337v.: A child brought before St. Brixius denies that the saint is his father; fol. 338v.: St. Elizabeth of Hungary gives to a beggar; fol. 342v.: Valerian finds St. Cecilia with an angel, who places a crown on each of their heads; fol. 345: St. Clement is thrown into the sea, an anchor around his neck; fol. 349v.: St. Chrysogonus is brought before Diocletian; fol. 350: St. Katherine kneels before two barbed wheels, and an angel above prepares to destroy them; fol. 353v.: St. Saturninus is dragged through the street by his feet. The text relates that he was led rather than dragged; fol. 353: St. James the Dismembered is tortured by having his fingers and limbs cut off; fol. 355v.: St. Pastor the Abbot refuses to admit his mother into the church; fol. 356v.: St. John the Abbot, after spending a week in the desert, seeks admittance to the house of his brother; fol. 357: St. Moses the Abbot drags a basket of sand, symbolising his sins which follow him always; fol. 357v.: St. Arsenius the Abbot is visited by a woman, who prostrates herself at his feet; fol. 358v.: St. Agathon the Abbot with two of his brothers; fol. 359: St. Barlaam appears before the King; fol. 364v.: St. Pelagius the Pope; fol. 373: The Dedication of a Church.

**Commentary:** The ostentatious marks of ownership which appear throughout this manuscript leave little doubt as to the identity of the first owner. The arms which appear in many borders and initials belong to Jean du Mas, seigneur de l'Isle, whose signature also appears on the last written folio of the manuscript. The volume was almost certainly specifically illuminated for du Mas, as his arms are painted above the doorways represented in three miniatures, on fol. 45v. (fig. 23), fol. 180 and fol. 262.
The numerous miniatures, which were executed by a single artist, are peopled by stocky, clumsy figures with squarish heads and large, poorly articulated hands and feet. Bodies, particularly when engaged in action, seem boneless and puppet-like. The artist has a tendency to distort perspective constructions. This is most evident with his characteristic paved floors, which are often drawn on a sharply angled grid, implying illogically huge interiors. Objects like the brine-tub in the miniature for St. Nicholas on fol. 11 are also over determined in the angle of foreshortening, which results in a distorted oval rather than round appearance (fig. 22). The artist has a distinctive palette, with a predilection for sombre, murky shades of purple, blue and green. Gold is used very liberally for modelling and embellishments, and flesh tones, particularly for women, are a very pale matte pink. His landscape backgrounds, which are executed in a summary fashion, are composed of blue hills dotted with dark blue daubs to represent trees, and blue towers, all heavily highlighted in strokes of gold. The middle distance is generally indicated by an expanse of choppy blue water and green fields, sometimes separated from the foreground by a rocky outcrop. Generally the artist's style has a harsh, strident quality, and the technique is broad and sweeping, with little attention given to subtleties of detail. In most respects the work of this artist is unexceptional, yet he holds a privileged position in the history of 15th century illumination.

Unlike most manuscript illuminators, who are known only by their works, the name of this artist, Evrard d’Espinques, has survived in several documents. Two were published in 1887 by de Cessac.\(^56\) The first is a 17th century copy of Theodoric d’Espinques’ genealogy where we learn that his son Evrard studied in Paris at the time of the wars of Jeanne d’Arc against the English. Later, at the time of Louis XI, Evrard was in the service of Jacques d’Armagnac, duc de Nemours, comte de la Marche, employed for "son industrie et expérience en l’art d’allimerit (d’enlumineur)…". The second document published by de Cessac, like the first undated and incomplete, is a request presented by the widow of Evrard to the comte de la Marche, asking that the pension paid to her each year by the treasurer of la Marche, be continued. This request recalled that the duc de Nemours had granted to Evrard and his wife a pension "pour aucuns bons et agréables services qu’il luy faisait chacun hour de son mestier de enlumineur…".

Other important documents relating to d’Espinques were found and published by Guibert in 1893–4.\(^57\) These included the artist's will, dated 12 May 1494, his son Jacques' marriage contract and a mémoire, probably autograph, dealing with the execution of two works for an important unnamed patron.

\(^{56}\) P. de Cessac, "Evrard de Pinques, peintre enlumineur de Jacques d’Armagnac", Mémoires de la Société des Sciences Naturelles et Archéologiques de la Creuse, VI (1887) 60–63.

Evrard's mémoire specifies that his work on the two manuscripts took place in 1479 and 1480. As Jacques d'Armagnac was executed for treason in 1477 these works, a Tristan and a Proprietaire, must have been carried out for another patron. The mémoire, in addition to providing valuable information about the nature and cost of the artist's materials, also gives some indication as to Evrard's new employer. Identification of both the patron and the manuscripts was suggested in 1895 by Thomas. The mémoire states that illumination of the two manuscripts began in Lisle and Thomas convincingly argues that they were commissioned by Jean du Mas, seigneur de l'Isle. Among the evidence he provides is the identification of "Monsieur de Chaseauben", who determined the tax on Evrard's indemnity, as Jean du Mas' brother Pierre.

Thomas suggested that the Tristan Evrard illuminated for du Mas is now at Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 315–317, and the Propriétés des choses is now MS fr. 9140 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Both manuscripts bear the arms of Jean du Mas and, importantly, both are illuminated in a style related to the Légende dorée.

These two manuscripts are just as ornately and grandiously embellished with du Mas' arms as the Légende dorée. The illumination in these volumes is very similar in style to the work in the Légende dorée, and must be attributed to the same artist or workshop. All have the same sense of exaggerated perspective, such as the vast tiled floors of the medical scene in the Propriétés des choses fol. 120v. (fig. 182), and in the four interiors in fol. 1 in the Chantilly Tristan, MS 317. Figure types are very close, as are details like the striations drawn onto background walls, the now oxidised silver windows, and decorative features like the series of dotted rosettes which appear both on the canopy in fol. 150v. of the Propriétés and on St. Justine's bed on fol. 285v. of the Légende dorée (figs. 183, 25). There are certain differences in the styles which may suggest different hands. Although the artist favours the dull purples and greens used in the Légende dorée, the palette used in the Propriétés is brighter. The expanse of bright orange-red used for the bed on fol. 120v. does not appear in the miniatures of the Légende dorée, where it is reserved for details like boots and caps. Possibly the high cost of the pigment "vermilion" may have prevented its lavish use in this manuscript. The work in the Légende dorée...


59 Reproduced in Loomis, op. cit., fig. 296.

60 The cost of Evrard's pigments is recorded by Guibert, op. cit. Unfortunately it is difficult to judge quantities and relative prices.
*dorée* is not as carefully executed as in the other two manuscripts, which is consistent with the notion that it was a less expensive production. However, the distinctive style of the illumination in the *Légende dorée* clearly derives from the same shop, belonging either to the master or possibly to a member of d'Espinques' immediate workshop.

In July 1477, Jacques d'Armagnac, duc de Nemours, was executed in Paris for treason under the order of Louis XI. This event provides a *terminus post quem* for the illumination of the *Légende dorée*, for it seems that on his death many books from Armagnac's library, his scribe Gilles Gatien, and evidently his illuminator Evrard d'Espinques, were appropriated by Jean du Mas.\(^{61}\) The illumination in two manuscripts discussed by Pächt and Thoss, which belonged to Armagnac, relate to the style identified as d'Espinques', although they are not by his hand.\(^{62}\) One is a copy of the French translation by Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse of the *Valerius Maximus* (Vienna, Natbibl. cod.2544) dating from c. 1470, the other is a manuscript of the chronicle of Jehan de Coursy, *La Bouquechardière* (The Hague, Musée Meer. West. MS 10.A17), dated c. 1460 by Byvanck.\(^{63}\) Compared to the manuscripts attributed to d'Espinques by Thomas, the style of this earlier illumination is sharper, more controlled, and more indebted to the art of Fouquet. There are however, stylistic similarities which suggest that these artists and d'Espinques shared common origins, perhaps at one stage being members of the same workshop. A miniature from the *Valerius Maximus*, fol. 254 (fig. 184), and the *Légende dorée* composition of St. Nicholas on fol. 11v. illustrate a similar tendency to distort perspective. On similar tiled floors which recede abruptly into a spacious room, a tub containing three figures is also angled accordingly, into an egg shape which points to the back right corner of the room. In the Vienna miniature this is consistent with the vanishing point of the tiled grid, which would also be in the back right corner. In the *Légende dorée* miniature the artist has not placed the floor tiles on the same axis, but has attempted to achieve a similar effect by distorting the angle of the back wall of the room. The result is not as successful, because the artist is not consistent in the degree of distortion of the tub and the room, which appears irregular and illogical in proportion. Yet despite the difference in the artists' abilities, their aims and methods are very similar.

The manuscript in The Hague is illuminated in the same style and possibly by the same hand as the Vienna *Valerius Maximus*. Both these volumes were produced for Jacques d'Armagnac, as were several others, illuminated in styles related to that Thomas attributed to Evrard d'Espinques. These other manuscripts include Arthurian texts: Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 120; MSS. fr. 113–6; and MS fr. 112. Like

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62 O. Pächt and D. Thoss, op. cit.
the other two Armagnac manuscripts the illumination is more sophisticated than the volumes attributed to d'Espinques, with a more developed sense of space and landscape. Nevertheless, the similarities are obvious especially in the clumsy figures with their over-large hands like those on fol. 425v. of MS fr. 115, which represents a scene from the adventures of Sir Agravain (fig. 185).

It is likely that d'Espinques formed part of the workshop responsible for illuminating these manuscripts for Jacques d'Armagnac. Remaining documents do not indicate his status in the Armagnac shop. However it is likely that although an esteemed artist, he was only one of several illuminators employed by the duc de Nemours. The mémòire published by Guibert, probably relating to Evrard's work for Jean du Mas, suggests that the artist either worked alone for du Mas or headed his own workshop. Certainly, the du Mas volumes, including the Légende dorée, while weaker in conception and style, are stylistically more consistent than those executed for Armagnac.

D'Espinques' will states that he was born in the Cologne diocese. His work however, is indebted to the artistic traditions of Paris, where he received his early training. He was also influenced by the art of the Bourges master Jean Colombe, with whom he was roughly contemporary. D'Espinques appears to have had links with Bourges; his mémòire includes mention of a trip to the town. This influence, which is largely stylistic, is evident in the relaxed technique, liberal use of gold for hatching and in the large gold letters which sometimes adorn draperies and benches. D'Espinques' distribution of figures also recalls Colombe's compositions. The miniature of the martyrdom of St. Maurice on fol. 283v. of the Légende dorée (fig. 24), with the fallen figure in the foreground and the evocation of a huge battle by the depiction of a sea of darkened overlapping heads interrupted by raised spears and flag poles, owes much to miniatures like Colombe's "David's Victory" on fol. 95 of the Très Riches Heures. This scene also recalls d'Espinques work in miniatures of a secular nature, like the Paris Lancelot and Tristan. Echoes of Colombe can also be found in figures and physiognomies. The heavy, bearded male faces and large pale faces of women, with their high foreheads and small eyes are similar in the two artists' works. Both also represent figures with large, unarticulated hands, and dumpy men whose bodies are obscured by long, straight gowns.

Colombe's influence was not pervasive, as his predilection for bright colours is not reflected in d'Espinques' more sombre tastes. Nor do his compositions and iconography appear to have been generally taken up by d'Espinques. Although no books of hours or religious texts decorated by

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64 L. Guibert, op. cit. Thieme and F. Becker, op. cit., suggest that the artist was born in nearby Bingen.
65 For the work of Jean Colombe, see C. Schaefer, "Les débuts de l'atelier de Jean Colombe: Jean Colombe et André Rousseau, prêtre, libraire et 'escrivain'", Gazette des beaux-arts, 90 (1977), 137–50.
d'Espinques have been located, it seems likely that he relied on his own repertoire of commonly used compositional patterns.

As Jacques d'Espinques' contract of marriage, dated 1 January 1500, does not mention his father, we can assume that Evrard died where he spent much of his adult life, in Ahun, sometime between the date of his testament in 1494 and 1500. Despite this and other important documentary evidence which remains concerning Evrard d'Espinques' activities, this problematic artist is rarely mentioned in current studies. The existence of two manuscripts convincingly attributed to his hand, and this new attribution of a manuscript of the *Légende dorée* make the artist's life and work ripe for a full reexamination.

**Bibliography**

*Knowles (1954) 380; Manning (1970), 41; Hamer (1986); Russell (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).*
(Figs. 48–51)


The manuscript once belonged to "Charles d'Aniou Comte du Maine et de Montaigne gouverneur de languedoc". This inscription appears on the back flyleaf, in a later hand. The manuscript was acquired by the British Museum from Thomas Rodd in 1847.

Decoration: 54 miniatures including a frontispiece (178 X 158) and 53 historiated initials (40–50 X 45). Miniatures appear at the beginning of the corresponding text, after the appropriate etymology. Palette is bright but not rich, with pale pink, olive, mauve, pale blue, orange and dark blue dominating. Backgrounds of the miniatures are diapered or checked with a variety of designs, or are decorated with foliate patterns, in dark blue, plum, and gold with black, orange or light blue details. The 10-line initial incorporating each miniature is of the dentelle type, either pink or blue decorated with white tracery. The frontispiece is accompanied by two four-line foliate initials. The etymology of each life is introduced by a three-line dentelle initial, usually in gold on a blue or plum ground. Unillustrated saints are introduced by either a three-line dentelle initial, or a five-line foliate initial. Small one-line initials in blue or red with contrasting decorative pen-work appear in the table of contents and throughout the text. The frontispiece on fol. 1 is accompanied by a ¾ bar border in blue and plum, with stiff ivy-leaf extensions in blue, plum and gold. Each historiated initial and each five-line foliate initial, which both introduce entries in the text, are attached on the left side to a single bar border extending the length of the page and terminating on stiff ivy-leaf sprigs. Line endings in a zig-zag pattern of blue and red penwork appear in the table of contents and throughout the text.

Subjects of Miniatures: fol. 1: The Coronation of the Virgin set in a diamond, with the four Evangelists in the corners of the rectangular ground. The faces of Christ and the Virgin are badly rubbed; fol. 7: St. Andrew tied to a Latin cross; fol. 10: St. Nicholas raises three boys from the tub of brine; fol. 12v.: St. Lucy holds the martyr’s palm and a book; fol. 14: The Incredulity of St. Thomas; fol. 16: The Nativity; fol. 20: The lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 22: St. John Evangelist writing; fol. 24v.: The Massacre of the Innocents. Very badly rubbed; fol. 33: Epiphany. The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 46v.: St. John the Almoner gives his mantle to a shipwrecked sailor; fol. 56v.: Lent. A bishop preaches to a small gathering of bishops; fol. 57: The emperor Trajan orders that St. Ignatius the Bishop be fed to the lions; fol. 58: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 65: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 66v.: St. Matthias holds a book; fol. 68v.: St. Gregory, inspired by the Holy Ghost, dictates his works; fol. 74: St. Benedict preaches to a gathering of monks; fol. 78: The Annunciation to the Virgin; fol. 80v.: The Crucifixion; fol. 85: The Resurrection; fol. 94: St. George spears the dragon, while the maiden holds her girdle which is attached
to the dragon’s neck; fol. 96: St. Mark Evangelist; fol. 101: A soldier smites St. Peter Martyr with a sword, who stands with his companion a Dominican friar; fol. 106: St. Philip holds a book; fol. 106v. St James the Less is consecrated bishop; fol. 110: The Invention of the Holy Cross. St. Helena supervises the excavation of the Cross; fol. 114v.: The Ascension of Christ. Badly rubbed; fol. 118: Pentecost; fol. 125: St. Barnabas holds a book; fol. 128v.: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist; fol. 133: The Crucifixion of St. Peter; fol. 137v.: St. Paul. The miniature has been excised; fol. 147v.: St. Mary Magdalen holds her jar of ointment; fol. 153: St. James the Greater as a pilgrim; fol. 165: St. Peter in Chains, holding a key, is released from prison by an angel; fol. 167: The Invention of St. Stephen. Gamaliel shows the priest Lucian four baskets, one containing red roses, two white roses and the other silver. In the miniature are represented Lucian, St. Stephen and several bishops, and only three baskets are represented; fol. 176v.: St. Laurence holds a small gridiron. Badly rubbed; fol. 186v.: The Assumption of the Virgin. A pencilled note records that the miniature had already been cut out at the time of purchase; fol. 194v.: St. Bartholomew holds a knife. Badly rubbed; fol. 198: St. Augustine preaches to a gathering of monks; fol. 204: The decollation of St. John the Baptist. At left, Herod and Herodias, seated before a table, are waited upon by two servants. At right, Salome receives the head of the Baptist from the swordsman; fol. 210v.: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 224: St. Matthew standing, holds a book and preaches to three men; fol. 231: St. Michael the Archangel spears the dragon; fol. 244: St. Dionysus and his two companions are beheaded; fol. 248: St. Luke. This miniature has been removed; fol. 253v.: SS. Simon and Jude standing, holding a sword and a spear respectively; fol. 258: All Saints. The Virgin and Child stand amid a gathering of saints, including SS. Paul and Peter; fol. 261v.: All Souls. A funeral service; fol. 266v.: St. Martin divides his cloak with the beggar; fol. 277v.: St. Clement holds his attribute, the anchor; fol. 281v.: St. Katherine of Alexandria holds her attribute the wheel; fol. 298v.: The Dedication of a Church. This initial is foliate rather than historiated.

**Commentary:** The artists of this *Légende dorée* cycle must be placed within the broad sphere of influence of the *Boqueteaux* group. Several closely related artists are responsible for the miniatures. The first, who executed the frontispiece and the vast majority of the historiated initials, has a poor sense of draughtsmanship often resulting in weak, inert figures and badly conceived compositions. A second artist paints in the same style as the first, but exercises more care in the execution of the miniatures. He was responsible for St. Andrew, fol. 7 and St. Benedict, fol. 74. These two miniatures are distinguished by delicate modelling, particularly of the face and hands, and a confident, sure line. In contrast, the first artist relies on a harsh black line for definition, with a minimum of tonal modelling. The overall flabbiness of his painting gives the strong impression that he was hurriedly tracing or copying from a prototype. For example, in the miniature representing the Nativity of the Virgin, fol. 210v., hands are expressed by a series of parallel lines and the Virgin’s arms are sausage-like (fig. 51). A common *Boqueteaux* device, particularly in Nativity scenes, is the hanging curtain. Here it appears without the supporting rod, which is surely a case of neglect rather than of misinterpretation. The eyes of these characters appear to be almost vacant, a result of the pupil being placed too far over.

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66 For the *Boqueteaux* shop see the commentary and notes for M (cat. 5) and C (cat. 3).
Sometimes, as in the depiction of St. Peter Apostle, fol. 101 (fig. 49), the pupil is placed outside the circle of the eye, which suggests both poor tracing technique and hasty execution.

Despite these shortcomings, the artists are clearly affiliated to the Boqueteaux style, although it is difficult to point to any particular hand they may have used as a stylistic and compositional model. The soldier attacking St. Peter on fol. 101 is of the same type as those of the Grandes Chroniques de France of 1375–9 (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 2813), fol. 66v., representing Clothaire and Dagobert (figs. 49, 193). The artist of this composition is related to Avril’s Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy. Also related to a miniature in the Grandes Chroniques is the Beheading or Decollation of John the Baptist on fol. 204 (fig. 50). At the center of this somewhat confused composition is a kneeling servant offering a bowl at the table of the banquet of Herod and Herodias. Exactly the same figure appears in fol. 394 of the Grandes Chroniques, serving at the banquet of the Order of the Star for Jean le Bon (fig. 163). This miniature has also been attributed by Avril to an associate of the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy. Several other miniatures of this Légende dorée can be related to the cycle of the Légende dorée M (cat. 9), which was illuminated by a hand related to the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI. In addition to similar miniatures mentioned in the context of M, the Adoration of the Magi, fol. 33 in Q and fol. 34 in M, is basically the same composition, only executed with different degrees of success. The artist of the London miniature has neglected to leave adequate space for the third magus, and has been forced to squash him into the corner of the picture frame. Another magus points to the star, which is not included, possibly also due to space limitations.

M has been dated to the 1370’s, which makes it contemporary with the London volume. Like many other copies of the Légende dorée both manuscripts open with a frontispiece which depicts the Coronation of the Virgin. The Coronation of M is in the mainstream Boqueteaux style, by an accomplished artist close to the principals of the atelier, and in style and composition can be related to other miniatures from the Boqueteaux group. Since the historiated initials of the London manuscript are Boqueteaux-based, it might be expected that the frontispiece, which is by the main artist of the smaller miniatures, would also be drawn from the patterns available within the circle. However, this is not the case. In the London Coronation the Virgin and Christ sit upon a large high-backed throne (fig. 48). Cherubim and seraphim witnessing the scene peep over the back, while Christ, holding the orb of the world, places the crown of Heaven on the Virgin's head with his right hand. The usual Boqueteaux circle (which includes associated artists such as the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI and the

67 Les Fastes du Gothique, op. cit., 329–331. Also see entries 280, 282, 283, 285. See also La Librarie de Charles V, op. cit., entries 177, 195; Manuscript Painting at the Court of France, op. cit., 27f., pls. 29–36 for other works by or related to the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy.

Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy) representations of the Coronation of the Virgin as represented by the *Légende dorée* frontispiece compositions in *M*, *C*, the *Grandes Heures* of Philip the Bold (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Library, MS 3–1954 fol. 24v.) and a manuscript of the *Cité de Dieu* (Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Typ 201 fol. 288), depict Christ and the Virgin seated on a backless bench rather than on a throne (figs. 42, 36, 160, 162). In these examples Christ does not crown the Virgin himself; rather an angel flies down to perform the task or the Virgin is represented already crowned. Voragine is not specific in his description of the Coronation, which appears in the entry describing the Assumption of the Virgin. While Christ crowning the Virgin is not foreign to French tradition, it does not usually appear in representations of the theme by the *Boqueteaux* shop. The monumentality of the throne and general composition of the miniature is not from the *Boqueteaux* repertoire, although identification is not aided by the poor condition of the work. Whatever this artist's source for the Coronation of the Virgin, his use of this iconography suggests that he did not operate from the heart of the workshops which formed the style. In addition, the derivative, technically unsure historiated initials which seem to draw from several artists of the *Boqueteaux* circle also offer evidence for the artists' non-mainstream status. Possibly they can be seen as artistic scavengers, who emulated, often badly, the styles of the more prestigious shops, copying their compositions only when they were available.

**Bibliography**

*Madden (1847), 319–20; Knowles (1954), 380; Russell (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).*

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69 "Then Christ, singing more fairly than all, intoned: 'Come from Libanus my spouse, come from Libanus, come; thou shalt be crowned!'". G. Ryan and H. Ripperger, op. cit., 451.

70 The Coronation where Christ crowns the Virgin is found in French art, such as the relief on Sens Cathedral and the *Légende dorée* manuscript B1 (cat. 1). However it is perhaps more characteristic of Italian art, appearing in Torriti’s apse mosaic in Sta. Maria Maggiore and Giotto’s frescoes at Padua.
(Figs. 52–55)


On the inserted flyleaf at the front of the volume are illuminated the arms of Beaufort, with the motto "*Me sovent sovant*”. On fol. 5 is the autograph inscription "*My trust ys. Arundell*" of Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (1488–1524). Gilson suggests that the manuscript was no. 119 of the MSS. of Henry VIII at Richmond Palace in 1535.

**Decoration:** 80 miniatures including a frontispiece (148 X 144), one miniature the width of a text column (76 X 60) and 78 miniatures approximately ¾ the width of a text column (48–62 X 40–56). Miniatures appear after the etymology and before the body of text of each entry. Palette is light and bright, with frequent use of bright orange, pink, rich dark blue, mauve, pale green-blue and light grass green. Backgrounds are a variety of diapered and checked patterns, foliate designs and solid colour, in different combinations of dark blue, gold, black, red, orange and plum. The four different scenes in the frontispiece are each framed by a red, white and blue tricolour quatrefoil. The spaces between are gold, decorated with black ivy patterned outline. The rectangular picture space is framed by a band in alternate colours of red and blue, decorated with white tracery. This in turn is framed by a very narrow band of gold. The smaller miniature on fol. 2 is similarly framed by a single *tricolore* quatrefoil, red and blue bands with white tracery and narrow gold band. Each corner is marked by a small gold quatrefoil. The remaining miniatures are framed in two different ways. The miniature on fol. 7 is framed by an outer narrow band of gold, then a narrow blue band which surrounds a white line. From fol. 7 to fol. 55v, the frames are wider, and like the miniature on fol. 2, include white tracery on a ground of red and blue. From fol. 55v until the end the borders revert back to the type first found on fol. 7. The gold quatrefoils only appear in the corners of miniature borders up to fol. 22. Fol. 2 is decorated with a ¾ bar border with an extension down the center of the text columns, in blue and pale red with white tracery. Stiff ivy sprays in red, blue and gold extend from the corners of the border. The central bar terminates in a dragon in the upper margin. The frontispiece page, fol. 5, is bordered in the same way, except that the ivy extensions are more ornate, and the central bar is absent. Each miniature in the body of the text is accompanied by a bar border extending vertically down the page to the left of the miniature. This border also often appears with the initial which introduces a feast, even when the text is not illustrated by a miniature. Unillustrated saints are often accompanied by more elaborate initials than illustrated saints, as if to compensate for the absence of the miniature. The initial which begins the life of St. John and St. Paul on fol. 151v. is not the foliate initial used elsewhere, but contains a large blue fish, no doubt a symbol of Christ. The prologue on fol. 2 is introduced by a five-line foliate initial
and the frontispiece for Advent on fol. 5, by a six-line foliate initial. The etymology of each following entry (except St. John and St. Paul on fol. 151v) is introduced by a four-line foliate initial which forms part of the bar border. The body of each entry begins with a two-line foliate initial. This initial, attached to the upper right of the miniature, is, like the miniature, separate from the bar border. Small one-line initials in red or blue, decorated with contrasting pen work appear in the calendar page and throughout the text. Line endings are used frequently. They take the form of a zig-zag pattern in red and blue penwork.

Subjects of Miniatures: fol. 2: Vignay's Preface. St. Jerome at his desk receives an inscribed banderole from an angel; fol. 5: Advent. Picture square is divided into four compartments representing clockwise starting from upper left: The Coronation of the Virgin, Male saints, The Last Judgement with the Virgin and St. John Evangelist, the congregation of female saints; fol. 9v.: St. Andrew stands with small saltire cross; fol. 14: St. Nicholas with the three boys in the tub of brine; fol. 18v.: The Incredulity of St. Thomas; fol. 21v.: The Nativity; fol. 26: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 28: St John Evangelist is mistakenly depicted as St. John the Baptist; fol. 30v.: The Massacre of the Innocents; fol. 33v.: St. Thomas of Canterbury; fol. 36v.: The Circumcision of Christ; fol. 39v.: The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 44: St. Hilary the bishop, fol. 46: 1. St. Marcellus celebrates Mass with a converted noblewoman, 2. St. Antony Abbot with flames at his feet; fol. 48: St. Sebastian is pierced with arrows; fol. 50: St. Agnes with her attribute the lamb; fol. 51v.: St. Vincent, in deacon's dalmatic holds book; fol. 55v.: St. John the Almoner is visited by Pity in the form of a beautiful maiden; fol. 59: St. Paula visits the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem; fol. 61v.: St. Julian murders his parents as they sleep; fol. 63v.: Septuagesima. A bishop preaches to a small gathering; fol. 68: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 73: St. Agatha, locked in prison, is visited at midnight by St. Peter and a child carrying a torch. Her mutilated breasts are restored; fol. 76v.: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 78v.: St. Matthias, in the background, is chosen to take the place of Judas among the Apostles; fol. 80v.: St. Gregory writes according to Divine inspiration; fol. 86v.: St. Benedict is consecrated Bishop; fol. 91: The Annunciation to the Virgin; fol. 94: The Crucifixion with Virgin and St. John the Evangelist; fol. 99: The Resurrection; fol. 105: The consecration of St. Ambrose as Bishop; fol. 109: St. George and the dragon; fol. 111: St. Mark Evangelist; fol. 113v.: The beheading of St. Marcellinus; fol. 116v.: St. Peter Martyr is assassinated; fol. 122: St. Phillip refuses to make sacrifice to a statue of Mars and a dragon emerges from its foot, slaying the son of the pagan priest; fol. 122v.: St James the Apostle; fol. 126: Invention of the Holy Cross. St. Helena supervises the excavation of the Cross; fol. 129: St. John Evangelist is boiled in oil; fol. 131v.: The Ascension of Christ; fol. 135: Pentecost; fol. 141v.: Difference in Time; Times of pilgrimage. Instead of a miniature, a pattern in red, gold and blue diaper and ivy leaf; fol. 143: St. Barnabas; fol. 148: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist; fol. 153v.: The Crucifixion of St. Peter; fol. 159: St. Paul holds his attribute, a sword; fol. 167v.: St. Margaret bursts from the belly of the dragon; fol. 168v.: St. Alexis is brought into a church by the warden; fol. 170v.: St. Mary Magdalen holds her attribute, the jar of ointment; fol. 176v.: St. James the Greater as a pilgrim; fol. 180: St. Christopher carries the Christchild; fol. 186: St. Martha overcomes the dragon with her aspersgillum; fol. 190v.: St. Peter is released from prison by an angel; fol. 193: The Invention of St. Stephen. Upon discovery, the body of St. Stephen is buried in Jerusalem; fol. 204: St. Laurence, dressed in a dalmatic, holds a book and a small gridiron; fol. 209v.: St. Hippolytus is tortured between two horses; fol. 216: The Assumption of the Virgin; fol. 220v.: St. Bernard instructs a small gathering from the pulpit; fol. 225v.: St. Bartholomew holds a knife; fol. 235v.: Salome presents to Herodias the head of John the Baptist on a plate; fol. 240v.: St. Lupus the Bishop; fol. 242: St. Giles with his attributes, the deer and arrow; fol. 243: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 253v.: St. John Chrysostom
holds up one of his works; fol. 260: St. Mark Evangelist fol. 266: SS. Cosmos and Damian seated, each hold a jar; fol. 268v.: St. Michael the Archangel fights the devil; fol. 276: St. Remy the Bishop; fol. 277v.: St. Francis preaches to a small gathering; fol. 283v.: St. Margaret Pelagius sits with a book at the entrance to a small church in a clearing; fol. 285v.: St. Dionysus and his two companions are beheaded; fol. 289: St. Leonard with two kneeling manacled prisoners; fol. 291: St. Luke Evangelist; fol. 297: St. Simon holds a spear while St. Judas holds a book; fol. 302: All Saints. A congregation of male saints is represented; fol. 306v.: All Souls. A funeral scene; fol. 312: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar; fol. 323: St. Clement stands with St. Peter, whom he succeeded as Pope. Both hold a key; fol. 327v.: St. Katherine holds the martyr's palm and has a small barbed wheel at her side.

**Commentary:** This manuscript was illuminated by several artists. The first three miniatures: the frontispiece, St. Jerome and St. Andrew, are by the Pseudo-Jacquemart while the remaining less accomplished illustrations were painted by artists associated with the large Boqueteaux circle. According to Millard Meiss, this *Légende dorée* has the distinction of containing the earliest dated paintings of the artist he called the Pseudo-Jacquemart71 (figs. 52–54). While Meiss named this painter on the basis of his frequent collaboration with Jacquemart de Hesdin, the northern artist employed by Jean de Berry for several important commissions, and earlier writers like Martin placed his work in the *oeuvre* of Jacquemart, the Pseudo-Jacquemart's style is distinct from that of his more eminent namesake.72 His career spanned over 25 years, from this *Légende dorée*, dated 1382 to the *Grandes Heures* of 1409 (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 919), and possibly even later. Working mainly under the patronage of the Duc de Berry, his other commissions included a major role in the *Petites Heures* of 1384–90 (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 18014), participation in the Psalter of Jean de Berry (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 13091), a Lectionary (Bourges, Bibl. mun. MS 33–36), and Evangeliary (Bourges, Bibl. mun. MS 48), both probably for the Duke and originally belonging to the Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges.73 Several other manuscripts associated with Bourges were illuminated by the Pseudo-Jacquemart, which suggests that as part of Jean de Berry's stable of permanent artists, he resided for long periods at this centre of the Berry court.

While the Pseudo-Jacquemart contributed to the three major commissions for Jean de Berry, the *Grandes Heures*, the Psalter and the *Petites Heures*, he was not the principal illuminator of these volumes. Although he illuminated a greater proportion of the *Petites Heures* than any other single artist, it was not the lion's share in terms of relative importance. The calendar and most of the smaller

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71 M. Meiss, "The Exhibition of French Manuscripts", op. cit, 192. Also his *The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, op. cit., 188f.
72 M. Meiss, ibid., esp. 151f., 179–191. For Jacquemart de Hesdin see also E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, op. cit., 43–9, where he attributes the miniatures of *Les Grandes Heures* to the workshop of Jacquemart de Hesdin. Also see H. Martin, *La Miniature Française*, op. cit.
73 M. Meiss, *The Late Fourteenth Century*, 263f.
miniatures were due to the Pseudo-Jacquemart, while Jacquemart de Hesdin executed the miniatures for the more important Hours of the Virgin. Several years later the Pseudo-Jacquemart contributed several calendar and most of the smaller miniatures to the Grandes Heures, but probably not the seventeen large miniatures, since lost, nearly certainly by Jacquemart de Hesdin. Likewise, the artists responsible for the major work in the Duke’s Psalter were Andre Beauneveu and Jacquemart de Hesdin, with the Pseudo-Jacquemart contributing the least impressive, smaller miniatures. The Pseudo-Jacquemart’s role in these three programmes appears to have been that of a dependable supporting artist, entrusted with much of the pedestrian bulk of the illumination but not with the showpiece compositions, which were reserved for the real artistic stars.

The Pseudo-Jacquemart’s current reputation was partly conferred on him by Meiss’ naming, but it is also justified by the derivative nature of his work. A master collaborator, the artist painted in conjunction with several other painters, including Jacquemart de Hesdin in the Grandes Heures, the Petites Heures, and the Psalter of Jean de Berry, the Boucicaut, Bedford and Egerton workshops, and Andre Beauneveu. He borrowed elements of style and composition from these and other artists, rather than developing his own independent designs. For example, several of his compositions for the Grandes Heures are closely copied from Jacquemart’s work in the earlier Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame (Brussels, Bib.Roy. MS 11060–11061), in addition to illuminations by various other artists. This is consistent with his status as the "workhorse" of the programmes for Jean de Berry.

The Pseudo-Jacquemart was, however, the major artist for the Légende dorée, R. He painted the opening three miniatures of the programme, leaving the remaining illustrations to a number of less accomplished artists. The four scenes of the beautiful frontispiece of fol. 5 represent the Coronation of the Virgin, the Last Judgement and two representative gathering of male and female saints (fig. 52). The preceding miniature, on fol. 2, is smaller and introduces the translator’s Preface with a depiction of Saint Jerome (fig. 53). Following this is a still smaller illumination prefacing the life of St. Andrew (fig. 54). Delicately executed and highly finished, these miniatures were painted early in the Pseudo-Jacquemart’s career, around the same time as his participation in the Petites Heures. The colouration is characteristically vivid, with emphasis on orange, yellows, deep blue and red, contrasting with Jacquemart’s preference for paler, pastel colours. The style is also more linear than Jacquemart’s, with forms, faces and hair expressed in outline rather than the smooth, tonal, more Italianate modelling by the master. Stylistically, the animated, gestural figures of the Pseudo-Jacquemart are

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74 Ibid., 227f.
75 M. Thomas, Les Grandes Heures de Jean Duc de Berry (London, 1971). Thomas gives a brief description of the iconographic sources of the artist. The Pseudo-Jacquemart also drew upon miniatures from the Breviary of Charles V, which was acquired by Jean de Berry in 1407 or 1408, and from the Petites Heures.
essentially from the *Boqueteaux* tradition. Coupled with the *Boqueteaux* vigour are the individual characteristics of this artist, such as the distinctive golden-haired figures with small, well-modelled heads poised upwards on a long neck, of which the figure of St. John the Evangelist in the Frontispiece is a typical example, and beady eyes emphasised by strong black lids.

At this stage and throughout his career the Pseudo-Jacquemart was uninterested in the depiction of space, as the confused, ambiguous interpretation of St. Jerome’s chair on fol. 2 testifies. He also maintained the same basic figure types in later years; the standing St. Andrew on fol. 9v. of the *Légende dorée* is repeated in the calendar on fol. 1v. of the *Petites Heures* and later in the figure of St. James on fol. 2 of the *Grandes Heures* (figs. 194, 195). Several motifs and compositions used by the Pseudo-Jacquemart in the *Légende dorée* are borrowed from other artists. The structural division of the frontispiece into four quatrefoil frames had already been used by the *Boqueteaux* group in a copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 2813). The Coronation of the Virgin of the frontispiece is based on *Boqueteaux* types, as are the small angels supporting the backcloth in this composition and in the St. Jerome miniature.  

Two hands were responsible for the remaining 78 small miniatures. The first artist, who painted most miniatures up to fol. 159v., is clearly a shop worker of the *Boqueteaux* circle, and the compositions by this artist are generally standard patterns common within the group. The diagonally placed crib, the Virgin’s litter and rising, sometimes rocky background found in the illumination representing the Nativity on fol. 21v. also occur in the *Grandes Heures* of Philip the Bold (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 3–1954) c. 1376, and in the Gotha Missal of 1372 (Cleveland Museum of Art, William H. Marlatt Fund, Acc.62.287). Both these illuminations were painted by the *Boqueteaux* school several years prior to the decoration of the *Légende dorée*. The pointing King and the executioner in the Massacre of the Innocents on fol. 30v. (fig. 55) resemble figures in a miniature representing the Parables of Solomon, fol. 1 of the second volume of a *Bible Historiale*, MS Royal 17.E.VII in the British Museum. Meiss dated it on the late 1350’s and called the artist an "associate of Bondol". The second artist is characterized by a weakness of drawing, small boneless bodies and a greater interest in details of landscape and architecture. Despite these differences this artist must also be categorized within the *Boqueteaux* shop group. The text miniatures are accurate in their depictions of the textual subjects, except for one error.

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76 The Cité des Dames shop also frequently used the quatrefoil, in manuscripts such as the Tite-Live (Geneva, Bibl. Publ. et Univ., MS fr. 77). For the Boqueteaux shop Coronation of the Virgin, see this catalogue, entries 3 and 5.
77 This miniature is reproduced by M. Meiss, The Late Fourteenth Century, fig. 384. See also his fig. 386, a similar scene representing the Massacre of the Innocents from the Bible of Jean de Vaudetar (The Hague, Mus. Meerm.-Westreen. MS 10 B 23, fol. 467), attributed to the "Bondol Workshop".
which is common among manuscripts of the Légende dorée prior to 1400. This is the illustration of St. John the Baptist on fol. 28, instead of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist as demanded by the text.

The Pseudo-Jacquemart's assignment as the major artist of this Légende dorée suggests that the programme was intended as a serious but not a first-rate undertaking. It is unlikely, for instance, that Jean de Berry would have specially commissioned the manuscript from a shop worker like the Pseudo-Jacquemart. The conservative nature of the small text illustrations, which are often based on patterns up to 30 years old, supports the view that the manuscript was produced either for the commercial market, or perhaps more likely, in view of the artist's court affiliations, for a member of Jean de Berry's courtly entourage.

Bibliography

13. **S: Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 266**  
(Figs. 56–61)

Fols. 1–357: *La Légende dorée* in the “a” version of the translation by Jean de Vignay. Paris, c. 1400, vellum. 362 folios, 395 X 300. Rulings not known, as MS has only been examined from microfilm. 40 lines of text in 2 columns. Script: *littera textualis*. Original foliation in Roman numerals in middle of upper margin of each folio, beginning fol. I on the third folio. On the final written page, fol. 357 a signature, possibly that of the scribe and a brief note, illegible on microfilm appear.

The manuscript contains no marks of ownership

**Decoration:** 159 miniatures including a frontispiece on fol. 1. Miniatures are placed before the corresponding etymology and text. Palette is not known. Backgrounds are decorated with diaper patterns of various bold designs, foliate designs and rarely, a landscape (St. Macarius, fol. 40). The text miniatures are framed by a narrow gold band from which extend several loose sprigs of ivy-leaf decoration. The frontispiece is only slightly larger than the text miniatures, and is framed by a narrow gold band. The first folio, which contains the text of Vignay’s Prologue, is decorated by a bar-border extending down the left hand margin of the page. The frontispiece, on fol. I is decorated with a ¾ bar border of ivy-leaf rinceau. Each bar surrounding the text is decorated with a different repeating foliate design. The central vertical bar resembles acanthus leaf and terminates in the upper margin with a small dragon. Each text entry, illustrated and unillustrated, is introduced by a two-line dentelle initial. The text of Vignay’s Preface is introduced by a six-line foliate initial, and the frontispiece is introduced by a nine-line foliate initial. Each entry in the text is first introduced with a coloured rubric, which frequently appears directly below the miniature. Patterned line-endings appear, but only rarely.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 1: Advent. Frontispiece. Two figures bear scrolls inscribed with words in Latin from the scriptures, quoted by Voragine; fol. 5: St. Andrew holds a small saltire cross; fol. 8v: St. Nicholas raises three boys from the brine tub; fol. 11v: St. Lucy is speared in the throat; fol. 13: The Incredulity of St. Thomas; fol. 16: The Nativity; fol. 19: St. Anastasia is fed in prison by St. Theodora; fol. 20: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 22v: St. John Evangelist is immersed in boiling oil; fol. 25: The Massacre of the Innocents; fol. 26v: The martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury at the altar; fol. 28: The election of St. Sylvester as Pope; fol. 31v.: The Circumcision; fol. 35: Epiphany. The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 39: St. Hilary warns off snakes on the island of Gallinaria; fol. 40: St. Macarius uses the body of a pagan as a pillow; fol. 41: St. Felix the Pope is beheaded. This is contrary to the text; fol. 41v: St. Marcellus is brought before the Emperor; fol. 41v.: St. Antony is tormented by demons; fol. 45v: St. Agnes with her attribute, the lamb; fol. 47v: A devout woman retrieves the body of St. Vincent from the sea; fol. 49: St. Basil and the column of fire reaching up to Heaven; fol. 51: St. John the Almoner has a vision of Pity; fol. 54: The Conversion of St. Paul Apostle; fol. 55: St. Paula gives alms; fol. 57v: St. Julian encounters a woman with a lamp, possibly representing the wayfarer; fol. 59v: Septuagesima. Christ with a labourer; fol. 60v: Sexagesima. Christ preaches to a small group; fol. 61v: Quinquagesima. Christ with three of his disciples; fol. 62: Quadragesima. Christ holds an orb, representing the four regions of the world; fol. 63v: St. Ignatius gives one of his letters to a messenger; fol. 65: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 68v: Birds supply St. Blaise with food; fol. 70: St. Agatha’s breasts are twisted off with pincers; fol. 71v: St. Vaast the Bishop; fol. 72 St. Amandus the Monk; fol.
72v.: St. Valentine, miniature excised; fol. 73: St. Juliana and the Prefect; fol. 73v.: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 75v.: St. Matthias. St. Matthew is represented; fol. 78: St. Gregory preaches to a gathering; fol. 84: St. Longinus’ eyes are healed by the blood of Christ; fol. 84v.: St. Bernard; fol. 88: St. Patrick pierces the foot of the King of Scotland; fol. 89v.: The Annunciation; fol. 92v.: The Crucifixion; fol. 97v.: The Resurrection; fol. 101v.: St. Mamertinus; fol. 102v.: Zosimus and a lion bury St. Mary of Egypt; fol. 104: St. Ambrose; fol. 108: St. George vanquishes the dragon; fol. 110v.: St. Mark the Evangelist; fol. 113v.: St. Marcellinus is beheaded; fol. 113v.: St. Vitalis is buried alive, headfirst; fol. 114: The Virgin of Antioch; fol. 116v.: St. Peter Martyr; fol. 122v.: St. Philip Apostle preaches to a small gathering; fol. 123: St. James the Less erroneously depicted wearing a pilgrim’s hat; fol. 127: The Invention of the Holy Cross. St. Helena supervises the excavation of the cross; fol. 130v.: St. John Apostle and Evangelist holds the poison cup; fol. 131: The procession of the Greater Litany; fol. 133: The Ascension; fol. 136v.: Pentecost. Descent of the Holy Spirit; fol. 142: St. Gordian is beheaded; fol. 142: SS. Nereus and Achilleus are baptised by St. Peter the Apostle; fol. 143: St. Pancratius is brought before the Emperor; fol. 143v.: St. Urban the Pope; fol. 144: The soul of St. Petronilla is taken to Heaven; fol. 144v.: St. Peter the Exorcist with the gaoler and his daughter; fol. 145: SS. Primus and Felicianus are beheaded; fol. 145v.: St. Barnabas; fol. 147: St. Vitus is brought before the Emperor; fol. 148: St. Quiricus scratches the Emperor’s face as his mother St. Julitta is whipped; fol. 148v.: St. Marina with the child she was accused of fathering; fol. 149: SS. Gervasius and Protasius; fol. 150v.: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist; fol. 155: St. Leon the Pope; fol. 161: St. Paul; fol. 168v.: The Seven Sons of St. Felicitas appear before the Emperor; fol. 169: St. Theodora with a suitor; fol. 170: St. Margaret of Antioch bursts from the belly of a dragon; fol. 171v.: St. Alexis with his parents; fol. 173: St. Praxedes; fol. 173: St. Mary Magdalen washes the feet of Christ; fol. 177v.: St. Apollinaris is beaten with rods; fol. 178v.: St. Christina is shot with arrows; fol. 180: St. James the Greater and his scribe are beheaded; fol. 183v.: St. Christopher carries the Christchild across the river; fol. 185v.: The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus; fol. 187v.: St. Nazarius preaches to a small group; fol. 188v.: St. Felix the Pope is beheaded; fol. 189: St. Simplicius and St. Faustinus are beheaded; fol. 191: SS. Abdon and Sennen are protected by lions and bears; fol. 193: A woman begs the forgiveness of St. Eusebius; fol. 194: The Seven Holy Machabees and their mother; fol. 194v.: St. Peter in Chains is fastened upside-down to a cross; fol. 197: The Invention of St. Stephen. The magician Gamaliel appears to the priest Lucian; fol. 199v.: St. Dominic; fol. 207: St. Sixtus and his companions are beheaded; fol. 207v.: St. Donatus raises a man from a hole in the ground; fol. 208: St. Cyriacus and his companions are beheaded; fol. 209: St. Laurence is roasted on the gridiron; fol. 214v.: St. Hippolytus is torn with iron rakes; fol. 215v.: The Assumption of the Virgin; fol. 225v.: St. Bernard preaches to a small gathering; fol. 230: St. Timothy and his companions are beheaded; fol. 230v.: St. Symphorianus is beaten and cast into prison; fol. 231: St. Bartholomew holds his attribute, the knife; fol. 234v.: St. Augustine holds his attribute, the heart; fol. 241v.: The beheading of St. John the Baptist; fol. 245: St. Felix the priest, erroneously depicted as Pope, is beheaded; fol. 245v.: An angel appears to St. Savinianus; fol. 246v.: St. Lupus the bishop gives alms to the poor; fol. 247v.: St. Mamertinus encounters St. Sabinus; fol. 248: St. Giles, with his attribute, the hind; fol. 249: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 253v.: St. Hadrian is beheaded; fol. 255: St. Gorgonius and St. Dorotheus are beaten; fol. 255v.: St. Protus and St. Hyacinthus lie beheaded. Eugenia walks unharmed on the water of the Tiber; fol. 257: The Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Two angels flank the Cross; fol. 259v.: St. John Chrysostom preaches to a small group; fol. 263v.: SS. Cornelius and Cyprian are beheaded; fol. 264: St. Euphemia is freed from the burning wheel by angels; fol. 265: St. Lambert the Bishop; fol. 265v.: St. Matthew the Apostle with two magicians; fol. 268: St. Maurice the soldier on horseback; fol. 269v.: St. Justina with the Devil disguised as a maiden; fol. 270v.: St. Cosmas and St. Damian; fol. 271v.:
Angels and demons fight for the soul of St. Fursey; fol. 274: St. Michael vanquishes the demon; fol. 278v.: St. Jerome in his study; fol. 280v. St. Remy the Bishop; fol. 281v.: St. Leger with Childeric; fol. 282v.: St. Francis receives the stigmata; fol. 287: Pelagia the wanton is brought before the bishop Veronus; fol. 288: St. Margaret Pelagius is imprisoned in a cave; fol. 289: Thais the Courtesan with St. Anteny; fol. 293: St. Leonard preaches from his monastery in the forest; fol. 295 St. Luke Evangelist; fol. 298: St. Chrysanthus and St. Daria; fol. 299: Three of the 11,000 Virgins are beheaded; fol. 300v.: SS. Simon and Jude; fol. 303: St. Quentin, his body driven through with nails; fol. 303: The two sons of St. Eustace are abducted by two wild animals running in opposite directions; fol. 306: All Saints; fol. 309v.: All Souls. A funeral; fol. 322: The Four Crowned Martyrs are beaten to death with leaded scourges; fol. 322v.: St. Theodore burned at the stake; fol. 323: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar; fol. 327: St. Brixius the deacon; fol. 315: St. Cecilia with her suitor, Valerian; fol. 317v.: St. Clement the Pope; fol. 330: St. Chrysogonus is beheaded; fol. 330v.: St. Katherine of Alexandria; fol. 333v.: St. Saturninus is tied by the feet to a bull; fol. 334v.: St. James the Dismembered is brought before the King; fol. 335v.: St. Pastor the Abbot with his mother; fol. 338v.: St. Baarlam with Josephat the King; fol. 344: St. Pelagius the Pope with three followers; fol. 352: The Dedication of a Church.

Commentary: Several artists participated in the illustration of this volume. While they painted in two disparate styles, their use of compositional models deriving from a common pool suggests that they worked in association. Most miniatures in the volume are by at least two artists working well within the mainstream traditions of contemporary French illumination.

The other style, appearing more frequently in the first part of the volume, does not conform as clearly to the stylistic conventions used by the other artists. In contrast to their patterned, two-dimensional designs this painter’s representation of volume in space is more developed, expressed through deep, luminous drapery folds and a greater willingness to show receding tiled floors and landscape backgrounds. Figure proportions are also distinctive, often with comparatively small heads and long graceful bodies, such as St. Macarius on fol. 40. Other figures, like those in the following miniatures of the Martyrdom of St. Felix on fol. 41 and the Martyrdom of St. Vitalis on fol. 113v, are stockier and robust, with large splayed hands and feet (figs. 58, 60). These miniatures are executed with a sketchy, often dynamic technique, without regard for the mannered elegance of the French tradition. Vegetation and hatching for example, in the Temptation of St. Antony on fol. 41v., are expressed by thick, undisciplined strokes of the brush (fig. 59).

In the absence of colour it is difficult to form conclusions about the origins of this style, except to suggest that it is in some respects foreign to French tradition. Some parallels in technique and figure proportions can be made with the style of Meiss’ Apocalypse Master, active in Paris from around
The artist of the earlier folios of S, who predates the Apocalypse Master, also has something in common with illumination from Flanders and Holland. The attention to volume and space, the physiognomies and sketchy technique recall unspecific Northern illumination, and it is likely that this artist or artists, like several of their contemporaries, received early artistic training in the Netherlands.

The other style present in the manuscript is mainstream French, and is related to the Boqueteaux school. It is represented here by at least two artists, one of whom is closely affiliated with the artist named by Avril the Maître du Polycratique. The Maître du Polycratique was a late member of the Boqueteaux group, and his illuminated works include the Légende dorée manuscript in Geneva, Gb which dates from about 1400. His style is distinguishable from other Boqueteaux group artists by the characteristic double-bridged nose, almond-shaped eyes with a beady black pupil placed in the corner, sweet expressions and a liking for flat, opaque colours which do not suggest a sense of depth and volume. While the colour cannot be assessed, his work in this manuscript is characteristic except for more elongated figure proportions, which may indicate a closely related but separate hand.

Although the artist of the Geneva Légende dorée and the Polycratique artist in this manuscript are clearly related stylistically, they do not share compositional and iconographic models. However, several compositions in this manuscript closely resemble those in another volume of the Légende dorée, Db (cat. 19). This manuscript, which dates from the early 15th century, was illuminated by three French artists, one of whom was the artist called by Meiss the Coronation Master. The Coronation Master was responsible for the frontispiece of Db, while two inferior French artists executed the text miniatures. Compositions by both these artists are repeated in the Rennes manuscript. Miniatures in both the Polycratique style and the first style share compositions with the text artists of Db. St. John the Almoner on fol. 51, St. Marcellinus on fol. 113v, both by the Northern style artist, and St. Petronilla and St. Peter the Exorcist on fol. 144v., by the Polycratique follower, all have close compositional parallels in the Paris Légende dorée. As these are all too close to be accidental, it must be assumed that all artists derived their prototypes from a common pool. This implies that the stylistically unrelated artists who decorated the Rennes Légende dorée worked with some collaboration on this project, possibly using the same set of models for their compositions. While they do not appear to have worked on the same gatherings, the shared model source indicates that they may have been provided

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78 See M. Meiss, The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries, op. cit., 368f., figs. 780, 782–790.
79 The Maître du Polycratique is named after his work in a copy of Le Polycratique by John of Salisbury, in Denis Foullechat's French translation, (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 24287). The manuscript is dated 1372. See La Librairie de Charles V, op. cit., entry 206. See also this catalogue, entry 22, for Gb.
80 For the Coronation Master and his shop see M. Meiss, The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries, op. cit., 383f. and this catalogue, entry 19.

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with the one set of exemplars by the directing *libraire* or scribe, who may have brought these freelance artists together only for the decoration of this manuscript.

**Bibliography**

14. **W: Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 630**
(Figs. 63–65)

Fols. 1–334v. *La Légende dorée* in the “a” version of the translation by Jean de Vignay. Paris, c. 1400. Vellum. 334 folios. As the manuscript has only been examined from microfilm measurements are unknown. 36 lines of text in two columns. Script: *littera cursiva textualis*. Old foliation in Roman numerals in upper right of each folio. Modern foliation in Arabic numerals also in upper right of each folio. Many folios appear to be missing.

The manuscript bears no marks of ownership.

**Decoration:** 102 miniatures including a frontispiece and 101 column-width miniatures. The miniatures are placed before the corresponding text and after the relevant etymology. The palette is not known. The text miniatures, which are drawings coloured with ink wash, do not have painted backgrounds. The centre rectangle of the quatrefoil of the frontispiece has a tessellated background. The backgrounds of the four lobes of the quatrefoil are decorated with a foliate pattern. The small miniatures are framed by a simple outline of three lines, of which only the outer bar is sometimes coloured in. Occasionally the frame has been omitted altogether. The frontispiece is framed by a narrow gold bar. The folio is bordered by a bar-border extending vertically down each side of the margin. The bar is decorated with white dentelle work. Stiff ivy-sprigs extend from the border into the side and upper and lower margins, terminating in the lower right in a stylised dragon. Looser ivy tendrils also extend from the border into the margins. Each illustrated entry in the text is introduced by a two to four-line undecorated dentelle initial. The etymologies are introduced by a two-line undecorated dentelle initial. Unillustrated entries and etymologies are also introduced by 2–three line undecorated dentelle initials. Occasionally the initials are omitted. Coloured rubrics describing the subject of the following text precede each etymology or main entry when no etymology exists.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 3: Advent. Frontispiece. Christ in Majesty appears at the centre of a quatrefoil, and the symbols of the four Evangelists in the four surrounding lobes; fol. 8: St. Nicholas raises three boys from the tub of brine; fol. 10: St. Lucy with book and martyr’s palm; fol. 11v.: The Incredulity of St. Thomas; fol. 17: St. Anastasia imprisoned by her husband; fol. 18v.: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 22v.: The Massacre of the Innocents; fol. 25v.: St. Sylvester the Pope; fol. 28v.: The Circumcision of Christ; fol. 33v.: St. Paul the Hermit prays from a cave; fol. 34v.: St. Remy baptizes King Clovis; fol. 35v.: St. Hilary raises an infant back to life; fol. 36: St. Marcellus the Pope cares for horses like a slave; fol. 36v.: St. Antony gives to the poor; fol. 38v.: St. Fabian is made Pope of Rome; fol. 39: St. Sebastian is shot with arrows; fol. 40v.: St. Agnes with her attribute, the lamb; fol. 42: St. Vincent holds a book and the martyr’s palm; fol. 44: St. Basil opens the Church doors with a touch of his crook; fol. 53v.: Septuagesima. A man receives a blessing; fol. 54: Sexagesima. The Holy Trinity; fol. 54v.: Quinquagesima. fol. 55v.: Quadragesima. Receiving Holy Communion; fol. 57: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 62: St. Blaise is torn with iron spikes. Scribe has written ”Blaise” as ”Basille”; fol. 64: St. Vaast the Bishop makes two beggars whole; fol. 64v.: St. Amandus banishes a serpent from the monastery; fol. 65: St. Valentine is brought before the Emperor; fol. 65v.: St. Juliana prepares for beheading and banishes a demon; fol. 66v.: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 70v.: St. Gregory the Pope; fol. 75v.: St.
Longinus’ tongue is cut out; fol. 76: St Benedict receives his bread from a basket lowered from the top of the mountain; fol. 83: The Crucifixion; fol. 88: The Resurrection; fol. 90v.: The priest Zosimus, aided by a lion, buries St. Mary of Egypt; fol. 92: An Arian woman tries to drag St. Ambrose away; fol. 96: St. Mark the Evangelist; fol. 98v.: Saint Marcellinus the Pope burns incense before a pagan altar; fol. 99: St. Vitalis is buried alive; fol. 99v.: The Virgin of Antioch; fol. 102: St. Peter is martyred as he traces "credo" in the sand; fol. 105: St. Philip the Apostle banishes a dragon; fol. 105v.: St. James the Less; fol. 112: St. John before the Latin Gate. The saint refuses to sacrifice to false gods; fol. 114: The Ascension of Christ; fol. 117v.: Pentecost. The Descent of the Holy Spirit; fol. 121v.: St. Gordian; fol. 122: St. Nereus and St. Achilles. St. Domitilla and her milk-sisters are burned alive in their house; fol. 123: St. Pancratius is beheaded; fol. 123v.: St. Urban the Pope; fol. 124v.: St. Petronilla fastened to a saltire cross; fol. 128: St. Vitus converts a prefect to the Faith; fol. 129v.: St. Marina with the child she was accused of fathering waits at the monastery door; fol. 130: St. Gervasius and St. Protasius; fol. 131v.: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist. The Archangel Gabriel appears to St. Zachary in the temple; fol. 134v.: St. John and St. Paul. Constantia, daughter of Constantine is represented; fol. 136: The Virgin appears to St. Leo the Pope and restores his hand; fol. 137: St. Peter is crucified upside down; fol. 140v.: St. Paul; fol. 147v.: St. Theodora; fol. 149v.: St. Margaret of Antioch bursts from the belly of a dragon; fol. 151: St. Alexis beneath the stairs of his father's house; fol. 152v.: Christ appears to St. Mary Magdalen; fol. 158: St. Apollinaris exorcises a demon from a young woman; fol. 159v.: St. Christina is beheaded; fol. 161: The James the Greater as a pilgrim; fol. 164v.: St. Christopher carries the Christchild; fol. 167: The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus asleep in the cave; fol. 169v.: SS. Nazarius and Celcus. A Pope is represented, probably St. Linus, who baptised St. Nazarius; fol. 171: St. Felix Pope; fol. 171v.: SS. Simplicius and Faustinus are beheaded; fol. 172: St. Martha tames a dragon which is devouring a man; fol. 173 Instead of eating them, wild bears and lions guard SS. S. S. St. Gervasius and St. Protasius; fol. 175v.: Angels prevent a noble lady from entering the bedchamber of St. Eusebius; fol. 190: St. Laurence is roasted on the grid-iron; fol. 197: The companions of St. Hippolytus are beheaded; fol. 204: The Assumption of the Virgin. The crowned Virgin seated alongside The Lord; fol. 209: St. Bernard; fol. 215: St. Bartholomew exorcises a demon from a king's daughter; fol. 220v.: St. Augustine; fol. 228: The Decollation of St. John the Baptist; fol. 234: St. Giles, with his attribute, the hind; fol. 235: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 238: St. Hadrian is beheaded; fol. 243v.: St. John Chrysostom; fol. 248: St. Matthew the Apostle; fol. 255v.: SS. Cosmas and Damien as doctors; fol. 258v.: St. Michael the Archangel spears the demon; fol. 264: St. Jerome; fol. 266: St. Leger the Bishop; fol. 268v.: St. Francis; fol. 276v.: St. Margaret Pelagius. St. Margaret of Antioch bursting from the dragon is mistakenly represented; fol. 278v.: St. Dionysus; fol. 282v.: St. Leonard, patron of prisoners, with two chained men; fol. 285: St. Luke; fol. 292v.: SS. Simon and Jude the Apostles; fol. 296: All Saints. An assembly of saints in Heaven with the Lord; fol. 326v.: St. Katherine of Alexandria with her attribute, the wheel; fol. 328: St. Saturninus is tied to a bull and dragged over steps; fol. 329: St. James is beheaded.

Commentary: The frontispiece of this manuscript, which depicts the figure of Christ in Majesty surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists (fig. 62), closely resembles the frontispiece of another copy of the Légende dorée, B2 (cat. 2) (fig. 34). The artists of the two miniatures have employed the same traditional iconography with only a few minor differences. Similarities include the
fall of Christ's draperies and St. Luke's ox in the bottom right lobe of the quatrefoil and the background tessellations of the central rectangle and foliate pattern of the four lobes. The resemblance is so marked that the two miniatures must be attributed to the same artistic workshop, and possibly to the same hand. The repetition of two small motifs also indicate a common workshop; The roundel decoration on Christ's throne in the Arras miniature is also depicted in the vertical margins of the quatrefoil in the Brussels frontispiece, and the small quatrefoil morse which fastens the Arras Christ's cloak at the neck appears on the four corners of the Brussels miniature's frame.

The two miniatures are painted in the manner of the Boqueteaux Master. They may both be compared to Boqueteaux shop miniatures such as the frontispiece of another Légende dorée, M, and a related composition from the canon pages of a Missal inserted into a copy of Eusebius (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. 7Q2.13) (figs. 42, 191). Both these manuscripts date from the 1370s. However, the rather flat and formalized composition of the Arras and Brussels frontispieces lack the fluidity and delicacy of shading characteristic of the best Boqueteaux style work. Instead they appear to have been painted by a late follower of the Boqueteaux school.

The miniatures which illustrate the text are roughly executed pen and ink wash drawings. The artist has not dwelt on detail or finish, and the impression is that the drawings were produced very quickly, and probably traced from shop prototypes. Apart from the suggestion of a ground line, these almost diagrammatic pictures are placed on the bare vellum without any decorative background, and occasionally without even a frame, such as the miniature of St. Thomas Apostle on fol. 11v. The artist of the text drawings was also influenced by the Boqueteaux shop, as is revealed by the scene of the Lord blessing the Virgin on fol. 204, which illustrates the Assumption of the Virgin (fig. 64). This composition is closely modelled on Boqueteaux versions of the subject, such as the aforementioned frontispiece of the Légende dorée M, which dates from the 1370s. The style of the other text drawings are also indebted to Boqueteaux work of the 14th century, evident in the small and animated yet gracefully posed figures. However, there is evidence to suggest that these miniatures should be dated later than the 1370s and 80s, which represented the most intense period of activity for the Boqueteaux shop. The plain, undecorated frames are more characteristic of miniatures painted after around 1400 than illumination from the 14th century, which tends to be framed by broad, filigreed bands adorned with stiff ivy-leaf sprigs. This later date is also indicated by a knowing use of the simple frame to create a sense of space and perspective. For example, the scene of the midwife bathing the Virgin on fol. 235 is placed firmly outside the main framed scene of the recumbent St. Anne, which appears as a flat two-dimensional backdrop behind (fig. 65). Finally, the cursive script of the text was

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81 For the Boqueteaux style see this catalogue, entries 3 and 5.
not widely used in this type of manuscript prior to the late 14th century, but was quite common by the early 15th. 82

While the frontispieces of the Arras and Brussels *Légende dorée* manuscripts are clearly related, the relationship between the two volumes in their entirety is not as well defined. Script, bar borders, frames and initials are dissimilar, and the only text miniature in the Brussels manuscript, The Nativity on fol. 19v. is not copied in the Arras volume. However this miniature stylistically resembles the line drawings of the other programme and should probably be attributed to the same shop. The Brussels miniature and frontispiece appear to be by the same hand responsible for the Arras frontispiece. This suggests that the manuscripts were written and the secondary decoration completed in different *scriptoria* before being given to the same illuminating shop. The artists inserted appropriate miniatures from the repertoire of shop patterns, but did not necessarily refer to each others' work. In this way the illustrative programme of each manuscript was an independent enterprise. Because of the brevity of one cycle but also because of the common currency of many of the images, the inclusion of selected miniatures seems to have been based on the patterns available within the particular artistic workshop rather than the result of interchange between artists illustrating the same text. The fact that both manuscripts contained the *Légende dorée* was incidental when it came to their illustration, and in view of the dissimilarities evident in the illustration of the text, the repetition of the Christ in Majesty frontispiece has more to do with both volumes emanating from the same workshop than the coincidence of the text's content.

Bibliography

*Manning (1970), 42; Russell (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).*

82 See M.G.I. Lieftinck, "Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture", op. cit.
15. **Y: London, British Library MS Phillipps loan 36/199**
(Fig. 66)


The original owner is unknown. On the inside front cover a bookplate records that the volume belonged to Anne Therese Ph:D’Yve. On fol. 1 in the centre margin there is a signature and a the date 5 July, 1763. Another indecipherable signature appears on the last written page. A note in the top margin reads "Collegii Parisiensis Societatis Jesu".

**Decoration:** One miniature, 74 X 136. Palette is bright, using orange, red, gold, mid-blue, greens, plum. The miniature background is tessellated in gold, blue and plum squares. The miniature is enclosed by a frame of gold encircling another of plum. Fol.1 is decorated by a bar border which extends down the left margin. Extending from the bar is a loose rinceau of ivy leaf, flowers, strawberries and a frond of blue acanthus. Attached to the border, and beginning the Preface of Jean de Vignay, is a six-line foliate initial. Each entry and respective etymology in the text is introduced by a two or three-line dentelle initial decorated by a few sprigs of ivy and small flowers.

**Subject of Miniature:** fol. 1: A presentation scene, presumably representing Jean de Vignay giving his work to the Queen, Jehanne de Bourgogne.

**Commentary:** This manuscript is decorated with only one miniature, which also serves as the frontispiece to the text (fig. 66). The subject, of the author or translator formally presenting the completed work to an aristocratic patron, is common in secular manuscripts but unique among illuminations decorating copies of the *Légende dorée*. It is however quite appropriate for the text, for it precedes Vignay's preface, where he describes the long task of translating undertaken at the request of "ma dame Jehanne de Bourgoigne".83 In addition to illustrating the text, this miniature is indicative of the difference between Vignay's translation and the several other French versions of the *Legenda aurea*. Unlike most other French translations of Voragine, this one was specially commissioned for aristocratic use; a characteristic demonstrated by both the text and illustration.84

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83 Vignay’s dedicatory preface is recorded in full in Appendix III.
84 See Chapter One, 1.6, for the differences between Vignay’s translation and other French translations of the Legenda aurea.
The miniature, unfortunately now quite damaged, was painted by one of the most prolific ateliers in early 15th century Paris, the *Cité des Dames* shop.²⁵ The *Légende dorée* miniature is typical of the *Cité des Dames* style. Like nearly all miniatures by the workshop, the subject is secular.²⁶ The emphasis is on courtly elegance, with well-dressed ladies and courtiers posing gracefully in appropriate settings, exemplified by a miniature from a manuscript of the works of Christine de Pisan (fig. 196) (London, British Library, MS Harley 4431, fol. 81). The *Légende dorée* miniature is also comparable to another dedication frontispiece by the Master, also from the Harley manuscript, fol. 3, representing Christine de Pisan presenting her works to Queen Isabeau de Bavière (fig. 197). The same elements are present; the ladies of the court in their high-waisted gowns and elaborate headdresses, the seated Queen in her ermine lined cloak and the ubiquitous dogs.

The *Légende dorée* frontispiece, while of good quality, does not represent the best of the atelier work. The setting of the scene lacks cohesion and detail; the door to the right leads to a chamber undefined as being inside or outside. Compared to the luxurious chambers of the Queen depicted in the London miniature, the unstructured rooms of Jeanne de Bourgogne reveal a paucity of rich tapestries, carpets and other trappings of the wealthy. The plain green floor is not even decorated with tiles, which is uncharacteristic of the highly decorative effect achieved by of the illumination from the *Cité des Dames* atelier. Interior scenes, and scenes which include architecture are usually remarkable for the range of surface pattern and willingness of the artists to depict three-dimensional structure.

The unexceptional quality of the frontispiece and the absence of miniatures illustrating the text of this manuscript indicate that it was not primarily intended as a showpiece volume. In addition, the vellum from one gathering has been ruled, scraped and reused, resulting in a grid of lines which would have been unacceptable in a deluxe manuscript.²⁷ In several borders a contemporary and a later hand have both recorded remarks in black and red pen, which strongly suggests that at different stages the book was used for the purpose of study and contemplation.

**Bibliography**

*Knowles (1954), 380; Manning (1970), 45; Russell (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989)*

²⁵ The *Cité des Dames* Master, who illuminated several manuscripts of the works of Christine de Pisan, was discussed by M. Meiss, *"The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the XIII–XVI Centuries"*, op. cit., 193–94 where he named the artist the "Christine Master", and also in *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, op. cit., 10f., 377–382.

²⁶ Meiss has found only two Books of Hours by the shop of the *Cité des Dames* Master; op. cit., 377.

²⁷ The folios of the gathering numbered XX VIII IX to XX VIII XVI have been reused.
16. **Ab: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 9228**

(Figs. 67–73)


The manuscript contains no marks of ownership. According to Gaspar and Lyna, it is first mentioned in the 1467 inventory of Philippe le Bon, and appeared in all subsequent inventories. From 1794 to 1815 the volume was held by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The red stamp of the Bibliothèque Nationale has been removed from fol. 7 and fol. 414v.

**Decoration:** 233 miniatures, including a frontispiece (190 X 187) and 232 smaller column-width miniatures (70–80 X 85). When an etymology precedes the text the miniature appears after it. Otherwise the miniature is placed at the beginning of the corresponding text. The palette is limited to several colours. Draperies are orange, deep blue, musk pink or white with pale green or blue shading. Browns, black and greens are reserved for the landscape, with a mid-blue used for rare depictions of sky. Silver, oxidised to black, is occasionally used for details. Backgrounds are generally diapered in gold, plum and blue with white lattice or dot decoration. The miniatures are framed by a gold bar outlined in black which encloses a line of blue or plum through which is drawn a single white line. Several loose sprigs of gold ivy-leaf extend from each frame. The frontispiece miniature is surrounded by a similar frame. Bar borders do not appear in the decoration of the manuscript. Each miniature is accompanied by a five, six or seven-line blue and gold initial decorated with red and blue pen flourishes. Etymologies are introduced by two or three-line red or blue initials with contrasting pen flourishes. One-line initials in blue or red decorated with contrasting pen flourishes appear in the table of contents and throughout the text. Line-endings in red and blue appear throughout the text.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 1: Vignay’s Preface. St. Jerome; fol. 7: Advent. Frontispiece divided in two. At left, The Last Judgement. At right, The Annunciation; fol. 11: St. Andrew holds a small saltire cross; fol. 14v.: St. Nicholas the Bishop raises three boys from a brine-tub; fol. 17v.: The servants of the prefect Paschasius are unable to move St. Lucy ;fol. 18v.: The Incredulity of St. Thomas; fol. 21: The Nativity; fol. 24: St. Theodora supplies the imprisoned St. Anastasia with manna; fol. 25: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 27: St. John Evangelist writes the book of Revelation on the island of Patmos; fol. 29v.: The Massacre of the Innocents; fol. 31: The martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury; fol. 32: St. Sylvester the Bishop; fol. 35v.: The Circumcision of Christ; fol. 38v.: Adoration of the Magi; fol. 41: St. Paul the Hermit sits in a glade with an open book suspended in midair and a small stream gushing from the ground before him. Not related in the text; fol. 42: St. Remy baptises Clovis, king of the Franks; fol. 42v.: St. Hilary commands the snakes on the island of Gallinaria not to draw near him; fol. 43v.: St.
Macarius seated on the ground, reads from a book; fol. 44: Felix, the brother of the saint also called Felix, refuses to sacrifice to false idols; fol. 44v.: St. Marcellus the Pope on a large throne; fol. 45: St. Antony Abbot, holding book and tau staff, on large throne as flames lick around his feet; fol. 46v.: The beheading of St. Fabian; fol. 46v.: St. Sebastian is pierced by arrows of two archers; fol. 48v.: St. Agnes, covered in the hair that grew when she was forced to enter a brothel, holds a book; fol. 50: St. Vincent; fol. 51v.: St. Basil the Bishop sits facing on a bench. A dove, symbolising divine inspiration, flies to his ear; fol. 53v.: St. John the Almoner sees Pity with a garland of olive on her head; fol. 56: The Conversion of St. Paul; fol. 57: St. Paula stands holding a book and the martyr's palm; fol. 59: St. Julian the Bishop; fol. 61 Septuagesima. The commemorative procession; fol. 62: Sexagesima. Pope Melchiades, who named the feast; fol. 62v.: Quinquagesima. The procession to an altar bearing the sacrificial lamb; fol. 63v.: Quadragesima. A woman kneels before a seated ecclesiastic; fol. 64: Lent. Pope Calixtus, who instituted the fast; fol. 65: St. Ignatius the Bishop accepts a letter from a disciple, or possibly Ignatius the disciple gives a letter to St. John Evangelist; fol. 66: The Purification of the Virgin. Represented is the Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple; fol. 69v.: Birds deliver food to the cave of the hermit St. Blaise; Erroineously labelled "Basile"; fol. 70v.: Angels prepare the corpse of St. Agatha; fol. 72: St. Vaast the Bishop makes the beggar who kneels before him whole; fol. 72v.: Walking in the monastery, St. Amandus commands a serpent to leave by offering a prayer; fol. 73: St. Valentine the priest is beheaded; fol. 73v.: St. Juliana captures a demon who appears to her in the guise of an angel; fol. 74: The Chair of St. Peter. St. Peter in jail; fol. 76: St. Matthias; fol. 78: St. Gregory the Pope in a large chair; fol. 83: The conversion of St. Longinus; fol. 83v.: St. Benedict accompanied by the blackbird he made vanish with the sign of the cross; fol. 87: St. Patrick traces a circle with his staff, opening a deep pit to purgatory; fol. 88: The Annunciation; fol. 91: The Passion. Christ carries the Cross; fol. 96v.: The Resurrection of Christ; fol. 99v.: The beheading of St. Secundus; fol. 100v.: Zosimus gives St. Mary of Egypt his robe to cover her nakedness; fol. 102: St. Ambrose the Bishop; fol. 105v.: St. George spears the dragon; fol. 108: St. Mark Evangelist; fol. 110v.: St. Marcellinus is beheaded; fol. 111: St. Vitalis is buried alive, head downwards; fol. 111: The Virgin of Antioch holds a book and a palm frond; fol. 113: St. Peter Martyr with a knife embedded in his head; fol. 118v.: St. Philip Apostle; fol. 119: St. James the Less; fol. 122v.: Seth plants a branch from the Tree of Mercy from the Garden of Paradise over the grave of his father, Adam; fol. 125v.: St. John Evangelist; fol. 126: Rogationtide procession; fol. 128: The Ascension of Christ; fol. 131: Pentecost; fol. 136: The beheading of St. Gordian; fol. 136: St. Nereus and St. Achilles; fol. 137: The beheading of St. Pancratius; fol. 137v.: The Times of Pilgrimage. Four figures, one holding a lit taper, approach a church; fol. 138: St. Petronilla; fol. 138v.: St. Peter the Exorcist; fol. 139: St. Primus and St. Felicianus; fol. 139v.: St. Barnabas; fol. 141: An eagle guards the bodies of SS. Modestus and Vitus on the bank of a river; fol. 141v.: St. Julitta is beheaded while her son St. Quiricus is hurled to the ground; fol. 142: St. Marina, who lived in the guise of a monk, holds the child she was wrongly accused of fathering; fol. 142v.: St. Gervasius and St. Protaus; fol. 143v.: The Nativity of John the Baptist; fol. 146v.: SS. John and Paul; fol. 148: The Virgin restores the hand of St. Leo the Pope; fol. 148v.: St. Peter kneels before an open book; fol. 153: St. Paul holds a sword; fol. 159: The Seven Sons of St. Felicitas. St. Felicitas; fol. 159v.: St. Theodora; fol. 161: St. Margaret of Antioch bursts from the belly of a dragon; fol. 162: St. Alexis; fol. 163v.: St. Mary Magdalen holds a jar of ointment; fol. 167v.: St. Apollinaris; fol. 168: St. Christina; fol. 169v.: St. James the Greater, as a pilgrim; fol. 172v.: St. Christopher carries the Christchild across a river; fol. 174: The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus lean sleeping against each other; fol. 176: St. Nazarius holds a book bag; fol. 177: St. Felix the Pope; fol. 177v.: SS. Simplicius and Faustinus; fol. 178: St. Martha with the dragon she captured with her girdle; fol. 179 SS. Abdon and Sennen; fol. 179v.: St. Germain the Bishop; fol. 181: St. Eusebius the Bishop; fol. 182: One
of the Holy Machabees; fol. 182v.: An angel clasps a recumbent St. Peter in Chains, although there are no chains and he is not obviously imprisoned; fol. 184v.: St. Stephen Pope; fol. 185: St. Stephen the First Martyr with a stone balanced on his head; fol. 186v.: St. Dominic is beheaded. This is erroneous, as he was not beheaded; fol. 193: St. Sixtus the Pope is beheaded; fol. 193v.: St. Donatus delivers a boy possessed of the devil; fol. 194v.: St. Cyriacus; fol. 195: St. Laurence holds a small gridiron; fol. 200: St. Hippolytus tied by the feet to the necks of untamed horses; fol. 201v.: The Assumption of the Virgin. Represented is Descent of the Holy Ghost, with the Virgin present; fol. 206: Manner of the Assumption. The Dormition is represented; fol. 210v.: St. Bernard; fol. 214v.: St. Timothy on his deathbed is offered the crown of martyrdom; fol. 215: St. Simphorianus is beheaded; fol. 215v.: St. Bartholomew holds the instrument of his martyrdom, the knife; fol. 219: St. Augustine the Bishop; fol. 225v.: The beheading of St. John the Baptist; fol. 228v.: The beheading of St. Felix; fol. 229: The beheading of St. Savinianus and St. Savina; fol. 230v.: St. Lupus the Bishop; fol. 231: St. Mamertinus; fol. 231v.: St. Giles. A hind with an arrow in its chest leans on him. The text states that he received the arrow, not the hind; fol. 232v.: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 236v.: St. Hadrian; fol. 238v.: St. Gorgonius and St. Dorotheus brought before Caesar; fol. 239: St. Proclus; 240v.: The Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Two censing angels flank a jewelled cross; fol. 243: St. John Chrysostom; fol. 246v.: St. Cornelius Pope; fol. 247: St. Euphemia bound to the spokes of a burning wheel; fol. 248: St. Lambert the Bishop martyred as he kneels in prayer; fol. 248v.: St. Matthew Evangelist. A book lies open on the ground; fol. 250v.: St. Maurice as a soldier sits upon a horse; fol. 252v.: St. Justine; fol. 254: St. Cosmas and St. Damien. Each holds the medicine jar of their profession; fol. 255: St. Fursey the Bishop sees three angels coming to bear away his soul; fol. 256v.: St. Michael the Archangel battles with a demon; fol. 260v.: St. Jerome stands with his wounded lion; fol. 262v.: St. Remy the Bishop holds the Holy Ampoule; fol. 263v.: St. Leger the Bishop; fol. 264v.: St. Francis. His right hand bears a wound, but no cherubim is represented; fol. 269: St. Pelagia; fol. 270: St. Margaret in the guise of the monk Pelagius; fol. 270v.: St. Thais the Courtesan. A bearded man is represented; fol. 272: St. Dionysus holds his severed head; fol. 274: St. Calixtus Pope; fol. 275: St. Leonard holds his attribute, a pair of manacles; fol. 276v.: St. Luke Evangelist; fol. 279v.: St. Chrysanthus; fol. 280: The 11,000 Virgins. St. Ursula is represented; fol. 282: St. Simon; fol. 284: St. Quentin holds the instrument of his martyrdom, a nail; fol. 284v.: St. Eustace. On either side, a lion and a wolf carry off one of his sons; fol. 287: All Saints. A gathering of unidentified saints; fol. 291: All Souls. A funeral service; fol. 295v.: The Four Crowned Martyrs; fol. 296: St. Theodore sets fire to the pagan temple; fol. 296v.: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar; fol. 300v.: St. Brixius the Bishop; fol. 301v.: St. Elizabeth of Hungary; fol. 305: St. Cecilia; fol. 307v.: St. Clement the Pope holds his attribute, an anchor; fol. 311v.: St. Chrysogonus; fol. 312: St. Katherine of Alexandria. Beside her stand three of her attributes, an intact wheel, a sword, and a lectern to indicate her great learning; fol. 315v.: St. Saturninus the Bishop; fol. 316: St. James the Dismembered; fol. 317v.: St. Pastor Abbot; fol. 318v.: St. John Abbot; fol. 318v.: St. Moses Abbot; fol. 319: St. Arsenius Abbot; fol. 320: St. Agathon Abbot; fol. 320v.: SS. Baarlam and Josephat. St. Baarlam is represented; fol. 326: St. Pelagius Pope; fol. 334: Dedication of a Church. A nobleman sits beside the altar of a Church. Les Festes nouvelles: A folio is missing between fol. 338 and fol. 339. It probably included the illustration of St. Eloy; fol. 339v.: St. Simeon the Stylist; fol. 341v.: The Conception of the Virgin. Joachim and Anna embrace at the Golden Gate; fol. 343v.: St. Aignan the Bishop; fol. 344v.: St. Mor the monk; fol. 346: St. Fuscien; fol. 347: St. Polycarp the Bishop; fol. 348: St. Baudeur the nun; fol. 348v.: St. Scholastica the nun; fol. 349v.: St. Euphemia holds the martyr's palm; fol. 350v.: St. Cecilia holds the martyr's palm; fol. 351v.: St. Quiriace the Bishop; fol. 352v.: St. Soupplice of Bourges; fol. 353v.: St. Remy the Bishop; fol. 355v.: St. Medard of Vermandois; fol. 355v.: St. Sebastian; fol. 357v.: St. Guillaume of Bourges; fol. 358: St. Eutropie with
the instrument of his martyrdom, a saw, embedded in his head; fol. 359v.: St. Ansebert the monk; fol. 360: St. Avitus of Orleans; fol. 360v.: "Hystoire de St. Karileph et St. Avint" a landscape, with rocks and trees and a stream running through the foreground; fol. 361: St. Germain of Paris; fol. 362: St. Nazarien; fol. 363v.: St. Canci and St. Cancien, and another saint; fol. 363v.: St. Paulinus of Nola. A woman kneels before the bishop saint; fol. 364v.: St. Peronelle; fol. 365: St. Maturin the Bishop exercises a woman; fol. 365v.: St. Januaire performs baptism; fol. 366: St. Gaius the Pope; fol. 367: St. Arnoul of Metz baptises King Dagobert; fol. 368v.: St. Donat of Chalons converts a man; fol. 370: St. Turian of Brittany; fol. 371: St. Fiacre of Meaux holds his attribute, the spade; fol. 373: St. Justin; fol. 373v.: St. Victor the soldier astride his horse; fol. 374: St. Martial of Limoges. Christ is represented, relating to the legend that St. Martial was a disciple of Christ; fol. 376v.: St. Demetriien; fol. 377: St. Rigobert the Bishop; fol. 378: St. Landry the Bishop; fol. 378v.: St. Mellonin of Rouen; fol. 379: Sacrament. A priest administers the Host to a kneeling figure; fol. 381: St. Thomas Aquinas; fol. 383 Leboinus the Deacon reads from an open book; fol. 384: The First History of the Volto Santo. Nicodemus cuts down a certain tree, as instructed by an angel; fol. 385v.: The Second History of the Volto Santo. As he carves the statue, Nicodemus falls asleep. An angel fashions the face of the Volto Santo; fol. 386: The Third History. An angel appears to Bishop Galefroy in a dream to tell him the whereabouts of the Volto Santo; fol. 387: The Fourth History. Through the grace of God Galefroy finds the Volto Santo where it had been hidden for a long time; fol. 388: The Fifth History. Resolved to transport the Volto Santo to Italy, Galefroy loads it onto a ship at Joppa; fol. 389: The Sixth History. The Volto Santo on the ship; fol. 389v.: The Seventh History. The boat carrying the Volto Santo is propelled by the grace of God to the port of Luni; fol. 391: The Eighth History. John, the Bishop of Lucca is told in a dream to transport the Volto Santo from Luni to Lucca; fol. 392v.: The Ninth History. Attached to a cart bearing the Volto Santo, two young bullocks set off by themselves to Lucca; fol. 393v.: The Tenth History. The Lucchese people greet the Bishop and the Volto Santo at the gate to the city; fol. 395 The Volto Santo of Lucca; fol. 396: St. Genevieve with her attribute, the demon who tries to extinguish her taper with a pair of bellows; fol. 405v.: St. Yves of Treguier; fol. 408v.: St. Louis of France holds a gold sceptre; fol. 413: St. Louis of Marseilles, as a Bishop, holds a crown in one hand.

Commentary: Nearly every saint and feast is illustrated in this exceptionally long cycle of over 230 illuminations. Many of the compositions are repetitive and the treatment of many saints summary and even iconographically erroneous and it seems likely that the single artist was requested to provide an illumination for every entry.88 Stock figures from limited shop patterns were inserted, and particularly for obscure saints without established iconography, little regard was shown for variety or accuracy of representation.89 The original owner who may have issued these directives is unknown.

88 I thank Anne van Buren for her comment that two hands contributed to the illumination. However I can clearly discern only one.

89 One such mistake appears on fol. 186v., the miniature of St. Dominic, in which he is depicted being beheaded. See W.F. Manning, "Three Curious Miniatures of the Life of St. Dominic", Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum, 38 (1968), 43–45. While Manning suggests that the artist may have been following the orders of a patron, or even referring back to an Old French verse life, he concludes that the "artist was motivated by his own predilection for scenes of decapitation".
The miniatures of the text appear to have been produced hurriedly, with a minimum of care. In style and iconography the illumination is also deeply conservative. The great majority of miniatures retain the traditional diapered backgrounds, and landscape is limited to a few jagged Boucicaut-style rocks and spindly trees. The narrow ground line limits movement and narrative, and most saints are represented simply, with an attribute or in a standard beheading scene (fig. 73). Figures' extremities sometimes overlap the frame, which by the early 15th century is a rather archaic way of indicating volume in space. The artist is not very confident technically, and his attempts to represent perspective frequently falter. There is also a careless quality to the linework, which could be attributed to a lack of time given to complete the programme. For example, in the illustration for Nativity on fol. 21 the roof of the hut suffers from distortion of perspective, and the lap of the midwife is made incredibly long in order to accommodate the Child (fig. 68). The frontispiece, by the same artist as the text miniatures, is the most carefully planned and the most accomplished miniature in the cycle (fig. 67). It introduces the text for Advent and is divided in two, with the representation of the Last Judgement facing The Annunciation. This provides a concise illustration of the text, which stresses that the most important of the four-fold coming of Christ are His Advent in the Flesh, and His Advent at the Last Judgement.

Gaspar and Lyna dated this cycle c. 1405, on the basis of a comparison with another manuscript of the Légende dorée, B1 (cat. 1), illuminated at the beginning of the century. While the script, borders and initials of Ab are consistent with this date, closer stylistic analysis indicates that it was illuminated some years later. In some respects The Annunciation of the frontispiece is similar in type to the same subject in the Boucicaut Hours, which is dated 1405–8 (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André MS 2, fol. 53v.). While the iconography of the Boucicaut Master is more adventurous, the basic ecclesiastic setting is the same. However, stylistic differences indicate that the artist was not directly influenced by the Boucicaut Master. The light, almost insubstantial architecture of the Boucicaut miniature is quite unlike the more solid structure in the Légende dorée, with its weighty entablature and spandrels. Similar monumental qualities do appear in the ecclesiastic buildings of Annunciation scenes by the Boucicaut Master's main rival, the Bedford Master and shop, such as the miniature in a Book of Hours illuminated c. 1420 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.1004) (fig. 198). The semi-circular dome in the upper right of the building in the Légende dorée miniature appears several times in illuminations associated with the Bedford shop, all dated after 1420. These include the Pierpont Morgan Annunciation, the Annunciation of the Bedford Hours (London, British Library, MS Add. 18850, fol. 32, c. 1422), the Annunciation in a Book of Hours in Vienna (Nationalbibliothek MS 1855 fol. 25, c. 1420–22), and in

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90 Gaspar and Lyna, op. cit., 22, recognise that the frontispiece is of better quality than the miniatures of the text, and attribute it to a different artist. However the illumination throughout the manuscript is consistent stylistically, and should be given to the same hand working with varying degrees of care.

91 Gaspar and Lyna, op. cit., 21.
another miniature also representing the Annunciation, the Sobieski Hours (Windsor Castle, Royal Library, fol. 24, c. 1420–25). The figures of the Virgin and the angel Gabriel in the Légende dorée miniature also have a debt to the Bedford style. Like the Pierpont Morgan example, a robust and lively Gabriel gestures to the Virgin with a flexible hand, with thumb and forefinger almost at right angles. The Virgin in both examples is represented with the thick, heavy strands of golden hair favoured by the Bedford shop. It is not possible to be as specific when discussing the text miniatures of the Légende dorée. Influences here are diverse; some miniatures such as St. Martha, fol. 178, recall the elegant work of the Luçon Master (fig. 71), while others such as St. Theodore, fol. 296 and The First History of the Volto Santo, fol. 384, have the solid, expressive figures associated with the Bedford style. As Millard Meiss and Eleanor Spencer have shown, the "Bedford style" encompasses several different hands probably working together in a manner which probably derived its vitality and strength of expression from the Netherlands.\(^{92}\) The term "Bedford Trend" is used to describe the group style discernible in manuscripts dating from about 1409 to 1415.\(^ {93}\) The hand of the artist called the Bedford Master, who was not necessarily the preeminent artist of the group, appears to be associated with later work such as the Bedford Hours in the British Library, c. 1422 and the Salisbury Breviary (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 17294, c. 1424–35).

On style alone it is difficult to suggest a date for this manuscript. While the artist was influenced by the Bedford group, he was certainly not directly involved in the main workshop. However, the illumination should be dated later than the 1405 suggested by Gaspar and Lyna, and in view of similarities between the architecture of the Annunciation and Bedford school examples of the same subject, it may well date as late as c. 1420. The difficulty lies in the conservative nature of the artist, which coupled with technical limitations, did not easily permit experimentation with current artistic trends. The picture that emerges is that this artist belonged to a second-rate shop which did not possess a firm artistic identity. A single artist illuminated all of this vast cycle, probably not a common practice in large shops, which could afford an "assembly-line" mode of production, with several artists responsible for the bulk of illumination. Alternatively, to speed the process, the manager of production, who may have been the libraire or scribe, sometimes distributed gatherings among different artists or workshops. This did not occur in the illumination of this manuscript, and the repetitive images of beheadings and "iconic" saints, together with numerous iconographical mistakes, suggests that in his quest to complete his task, the artist compromised on quality.

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\(^{93}\) The "Bedford Trend" is discussed by M. Meiss (1968), op. cit., 36 and (1974), op. cit, 363.
Bibliography

Delisle (1880), 229–30; Van den Gheyn (1905), t.V, 395–6; Doutrepont (1909), 230; Gaspar and Lyna (1947), 18–22, pl. CXIX; Knowles (1954), 380; Manning (1968), fig. 3; Manning (1970), 44; Hamer (1986); Maddocks (1986), fig. 3; Russell (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).

In the rinceau borders of several large miniatures are painted the initials PF, joined by a tasselled cord and accompanied by a coat of arms belonging to Philippe de Clèves, seigneur de Ravenstein and his wife, Françoise de Luxembourg, who he married in 1485. The manuscript appears in the inventories of Philippe de Clèves. From 1796 to 1815 the manuscript was in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Decoration: 63 miniatures, including 10 large half-page (180 X 170) and 53 smaller column-width miniatures (57 X 78). The miniatures are placed before both the corresponding text and etymology. The manuscript is decorated in two different styles of illumination. The first artist was responsible for all the small miniatures and four large miniatures, 57 in all. The second artist painted only six large miniatures, on fols. 3, 82, 87, 188v., 324, 350. The palette of the first style is dark and the harsh colours lack subtlety. Dark plum, bright to mid green, mid-to vivid blue, gold-brown, greys, and browns predominate, with the occasional detail in orange. Gold hatching is used to model draperies. The palette of the second style much more muted, with emphasis on a pale apricot pink, pale yellow, mid-blue, light green and ochre. All miniatures are framed by a narrow gold bar, which is sometimes serrated on the arch of the upper margin. The large miniatures together with the area of text are framed on two sides by a bar of plum and blue decorated with white tracery pattern. On the outer margins the page is decorated on all sides by a loose rinceau spray pattern of ivy, deep blue and gold acanthus, red strawberries and carnations with green foliage, and other flowers in blue, mauve and pink. The small miniatures are not accompanied by any marginal decoration. The large miniatures are accompanied by foliate initials ranging from three to six lines in height. The colour of the initial varies according to the artist and relates to the respective miniatures. Initials that correspond to the miniatures of the first artist are plum and gold, with plum foliage on a blue ground. Those of the second artist have a blue letter on a dull pink ground. Each entry, whether illustrated or not, is introduced by a two or three-line dentelle initial of gold on a blue and plum ground. Feasts in the table of contents are marked by one-line gold or blue initials.

Subjects of Miniatures: fol. 3: Advent. The Resurrection of the dead; fol. 6v.: The Crucifixion of St. Andrew; fol. 13: The king of India gives St. Thomas money which he then distributes to the poor; fol. 15: The Nativity and the Annunciation to the Shepherds; fol. 19v.: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 21v.: St. John Apostle and Evangelist on Patmos; fol. 29v.: The Circumcision of Christ; fol. 38: Demons with clubs attack St. Antony Abbot; fol. 39v.: St. Sebastian is shot with arrows; fol. 48: The Conversion of St. Paul; fol. 57v.: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 61: St. Blaise is tortured with iron rakes; fol. 65: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 66v.: St. Matthias is chosen as an Apostle; fol. 79: The Annunciation; fol. 82: The Crucifixion; fol. 87: The Resurrection; fol. 98v.: St. Mark Evangelist; fol. 109: St. Philip is brought before a false idol. A dragon emerges from the statue and slays his oppressors; fol. 109v.: In the
temple James the Less is martyred by being beaten on the head with a fulling stock; fol. 113: The Invention of the Holy Cross. St. Helena supervises the excavation of the three crosses; fol. 116: St. John Apostle and Evangelist is boiled in oil at the Latin Gate; fol. 118v.: The Ascension of Christ; fol. 122: Pentecost; fol. 133: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist; fol. 134: The Crucifixion of St. Peter Apostle; fol. 142v.: The beheading of St. Paul; fol. 150: The beheading of St. Margaret of Antioch; fol. 152v.: St. Mary Magdalen holds her attribute, the ointment jar; fol. 158: Two demons bring the magician Hermogenes before St. James the Greater; fol. 161: St. Christopher carries the Christchild across the river; fol. 166: St. Martha subdues the dragon with her girdle and aspersgillum while the townsfolk put it to death; fol. 170v.: St. Peter in Chains is led from prison by an angel; fol. 172v.: The Invention of St. Stephen. Gamaliel appears to the priest Lucian and shows him three gold baskets, one filled with red roses, two with white, and one silver basket filled with saffron; fol. 182v.: St. Laurence on the gridiron; fol. 188v.: The Dormition; fol. 194: The Assumption of the Virgin; fol. 198: St. Bernard standing on a demon; fol. 202v.: St. Bartholomew is slain alive; fol. 206: St. Augustine at his lectern holds his attribute, a heart; fol. 219v.: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 226v.: The Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Heraclius carries the Cross into Jerusalem; fol. 234: St. Matthew Apostle blesses the leashed dragons of two magicians; fol. 239v.: SS. Cosmas and Damian cast into a raging fire, which does not harm them; fol. 241v.: St. Michael the Archangel combats the demons; fol. 249v.: St. Francis receives the stigmata; fol. 254v.: The discovery, on her death, that St. Margaret known as Brother Pelagius is a woman; fol. 256v.: St. Dionysus is converted by St. Paul; fol. 260v.: St. Luke Evangelist; fol. 264v.: The martyrdom of the 11,000 Virgins; fol. 266v.: At the request of the King, SS. Simon and Jude throw serpents at two magicians; fol. 271v.: The congregation of All Saints; fol. 280: During Mass, two angels bring golden bracelets to St. Martin; fol. 284: St. Elizabeth of Hungary receives the paper which bears the name of St. Peter. Wrongly labelled "sainte elizabeth mere saint jehan baptiste" although the text refers to Elizabeth of Hungary; fol. 295: St. Katherine of Alexandria is beheaded. Her broken wheel lies nearby; fol. 324: Conception of the Virgin. St. Anna and St. Joachim embrace at the Golden Gate; fol. 326v.: St. Mor; fol. 336v.: St. Eutropie of Saintes is sent to Gaul; fol. 343v.: St. Fiacre of Meaux holds his attribute, the spade; fol. 350: The Holy Sacrament. Celebration of the Eucharist; fol. 353v.: St. Genevieve heads a convoy of boats bringing supplies to the besieged people of Paris; fol. 375: St. Yves of Treguier prays before an altar; fol. 378 St. Louis of France shares his royal table with a group of beggars.

Commentary: This manuscript of the Légende dorée was subject to two programmes of illumination painted some twenty years apart. While the majority of the illumination was completed around 1460, several blank spaces were left for unfinished miniatures. The original owner of the manuscript, who had his or her initials and arms painted into several rinceau borders, is unknown. These initials have been read both as "F C" and "R C". The later owners, who were probably also responsible for the second commission of illumination, replaced these identifying marks with their own. This second set of initials reads "P F", and Lyna has suggested that they stand for Philippe de Clèves, whose signature also appears on fol. 383v., and his wife, Françoise de Luxembourg. Philippe de Clèves, seigneur de

94 In his unpublished notes on this manuscript, shelf no. III 828, Lyna suggests that the original initials were F.C., while G. Dogaer, "Miniatures flamandes ajoutées à une Légende dorée enluminée en France", Revue des Archéologique et Historiens d'Art de Louvain IV (1971), 158, believes they were R.C.
Ravenstein (1469–1527), married Françoise in 1485, and it is possible that the manuscript was acquired and the illumination completed as a celebration of their marriage.95

The artists of the first programme of illumination were affiliated with the atelier of the Master of Jean Rolin II. This artist was identified and named by Eleanor Spencer after she distinguished his hand in two missals commissioned by Jean Rolin II, cardinal of Autun. She has also located other manuscripts illuminated in this hand, including two other missals for the use of Autun, at least twelve horae, and several non-liturgical works such as a copy of Suso's *Horloge d'E Sapience* now in Brussels.96 Spencer's Master of Jean Rolin II is one of three related artistic personalities she separated from the oeuvre of the artist named by Durrieu in 1892 as Jacques de Besançon, on the basis of a colophon in Paris, Bibl. Maz. MS 461 recording "Jacques de Besancon, enlumineur". The principal artist in this group is known as Maître François, whose work in one manuscript was documented in a 1473 letter addressed to Charles de Gaucourt. The letter referred to Gaucourt's copy of the *Cité de Dieu*, now MS fr. 18–19 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which provides a firm basis for the identification of Maître François' style. The other main artist of the shop appears to have inherited the position from Maître François. He was first identified by Spencer as Jacques de Besançon, but she later revised her terminology to name him Chief Associate of Maître François. The Chief Associate, whose style was greatly indebted to Maître François, collaborated with the Master on several commissions, including a copy of the *Légende dorée*, P2. Maître François and his successor, the Chief Associate, have been discussed in relation to this manuscript (cat. 2).

Durrieu gave the 47 manuscripts and 33 incunabula he attributed to Jacques de Besançon a chronology which ranged from the 1460s to the 1480s. Believing that the variations within the style over these decades were due to the natural evolution of the artist, he divided the work into early, middle and late periods.97 In Spencer's reclassification and augmentation of Durrieu's list, she recognised the hand of

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95 For the life of Philippe de Clèves see G. Dogaer, op. cit., 156 n.7. Another manuscript which evidently underwent a second programme of illumination after being purchased by Philippe de Clèves is now in the Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor, MS B. See L.M.J. Delaissé, J. Marrow. J. de Witt, The James A. Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor. Illuminated Manuscripts, (Fribourg, 1977), 154–80.
97 J. Durrieu, op. cit.
the Master of Jean Rolin II within the early period of c. 1449–60, when she suggests he exercised an important influence on the as yet unestablished Maître François.

Stylistically, the group as a whole, and particularly the Master of Jean Rolin II, was dependent on the Parisian traditions of the Master of the Duke of Bedford. While Maître François and his Associate tended to a more elegant, relaxed manner, the Rolin Master retained all the heightened activity of the Bedford Master’s stocky, gestural figures. This is evident in one of the Rolin Master’s most important commissions, the *Horloge de Sapience* (Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS IV.III) (fig. 199). The scope of the narrative, compositions and facial and figure types recall the Bedford style of the Salisbury Breviary. Male figures are active and determined, with characteristic sour, downturned mouths and bulbous noses. They populate ambitiously complex settings where architecture is often used as a narrative device. Structures and figures within the picture are sometimes disproportionate to each other, and the narrative tends to be read on the picture surface rather than into depth. However, the Master of Jean Rolin II lacks the lushness of Bedford work. His forms are flat and harsh in comparison, and the technique drier and harder.

On comparing the illumination of the *Horloge de Sapience* and the *Légende dorée*, it is obvious that the style, while related, differs considerably in quality. Yet the distinguishing characteristics of the Rolin Master are also present in this work, which must be attributed to either a close follower or to a lesser member of the Master’s workshop. Figures are stocky and gestural, with similar mouths, noses and small round ears. The faces of women, which are smooth and oval in the *Horloge* are almost parodied in the white masks of the *Légende dorée* miniature of the Nativity on fol. 15 (fig. 76) While the artist does not dare attempt complex architecture, an echo of the Master’s structures in the service of narrative appears in the miniature of St. Thomas on fol. 13 (fig. 75). He also mimics the vaulted interiors, columned diaphragm arches and landscape backgrounds of the Rolin Master. While these features are common to the Maître François–Jean Rolin group, this follower has copied specific details peculiar to the Rolin Master. These include the distinctive floor tile described by Spencer as "one-in-nine", seen in the *Légende dorée* St. Elizabeth on fol. 284 (fig. 92), and in the dinner scene on fol. 18v. of the *Horloge* (fig. 200), and the reluctance of the artist to use orange as liberally as Maître François. Frequently the *Légende dorée* artist offers a bad copy of the Rolin Master’s compositions. This can be seen in their respective treatments of St. Christopher (figs. 84, 12). While the basic compositions are similar, the details in the *Légende dorée* miniature, like the saint’s billowing cloak and the walled city in the background seem infantile and derivative.
Many compositions used by the Rolin follower, like St. Christopher, were among a repertoire of patterns used successively by the Master of Jean Rolin II, Maître François, and the Chief Associate of Maître François. For example, the large miniature of the Nativity on fol. 15 of the Légende dorée recalls the composition of the same subject by the Chief Associate in P2 (figs. 8, 76). The representation of St. Sebastian on fol. 39v. is similar to the St. Sebastian by the Master of Jean Rolin II in a Book of Hours in Vienna (Nat.Bib. cod. s.n. 13237, fol. 263v.). The composition of the Trinity on fol. 271v. of the Légende dorée was also used often by the group without a great deal of variation (figs. 91, 14).

These common compositional patterns, which were employed by artists over a span of some three decades, suggests that the Master of Jean Rolin II stood at the beginning of a dynasty of illuminators, followed firstly by Maître François and then the Chief Associate, who inherited both the style of the Master and the shop patterns. Although the Légende dorée artist is hackneyed and undeniably second-rate, his work falls solidly within the traditions of the Master of Jean Rolin II, and he must be considered as a peripheral member or a close follower of this large and thriving atelier.

The second programme of illumination which was added some twenty years after the first, is stylistically related to the late work of the Valenciennes master, Simon Marmion.98 The artist of the Légende dorée has adopted the pastel tones of pale greens, pinks, blues and ochre, and has also learnt his painterly, almost fluffy technique from Marmion. Also like Marmion, his figure types, have a monumental quality yet are often slender and delicate. The coherent landscape vistas, with winding roads leading to distant cities on a high horizon are also characteristics of Marmion’s later manner. However, unlike Marmion, the Légende dorée artist, while competent, is not highly skilled. This is most

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The identification of the frequently documented artist Simon Marmion with the body of work traditionally assigned to him is controversial, as no document exists firmly connecting the artist to extant works. Hoffman (1973) suggested that works hitherto attributed to Marmion should be divided into groups by anonymous Masters: the Altarpiece Master, the Tondal Master and the Louthe Master. Van Buren, "The Master of Mary of Burgundy and his Colleagues: the State of Research and Questions of Method", Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 37–8 (1974–5), 286–309, has suggested that several can be attributed to the "Ghent Associates". Other scholars have, on the other hand, chosen to support the traditional identification of Marmion with the style of the Altarpiece of Saint-Bertin. Otto Pächt, for example, subscribes to this view, on the basis of a "signed" watercolour of a bird study in Vienna. See his article "Simon Mormion myt der handt", Revue de l'art, 46 (1979), 7–15. See also Charles Sterling, "Un nouveau tableau de Simon Marmion". Revue de l'art canadienne, 8 (1981), 3–18. For a summary of the problem, together with an appendix of all manuscripts related or attributed to Marmion and these anonymous masters, see Sandra Hindman, "The Case of Simon Marmion: Attributions and Documents", Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 140 (1977), 185–204.
evident in his attempts at perspective effects such as the over-foreshortened body of the Virgin in the Dormition on fol. 188v. (fig. 86).

Marmion’s career spanned from the late 1440’s until his death in Valenciennes in 1489, and while he was employed predominantly as a manuscript illuminator, he was also a painter of large panels. His illuminating career went through several stages of development. In his early to mid-career he participated in several programmes of illumination including the cycles in La Fleur des Histoires of c. 1460, where he collaborated with the Mansel Master (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 9231–2) and the Grandes Chroniques de France (Leningrad, Nat.Lib. MS 88). The illumination in these two manuscripts reveal his great debt to the French narrative traditions of the Bedford Master and the Mansel Master. The picture space accommodates complex narrative scenes by compartmentalisation of space, usually by architectural structures which are viewed through cross-section, room by room. While this is a legacy of his French predecessors, Marmion’s personal achievement was to construct these narrative scenes within a spatially coherent and unified picture, although each individual scene usually had its own system of perspective. The Marmion style miniatures in the Légende dorée are not based on these early manuscript paintings, where the human participants in the compositions are somehow subordinate to the total spatial and architectural logic of the miniature. Rather they are indebted to his late period of c. 1480, when influenced by the landscapes of panel painters such as Dirk Bouts, Marmion developed more integrated, less panoramic landscapes. In manuscripts such as the volume known as La Flora (Naples, Bibl. Naz. MS 1851) which was partly illuminated by Marmion and his workshop, single compositions like St. Jerome on fol. 230v. were more often constructed according to a single viewpoint, in contrast with the several vanishing points found in the early narrative miniatures. Like later works by Marmion and his workshop, the Légende dorée illuminations do not depict a narrative, but represent only a single episode seen from one viewpoint. The large and imposing figures have a monumental quality, and occupy the space with a gravity and solemnity strongly reminiscent of contemporary panel painting.

Indeed, the artist of the Légende dorée appears to have been indebted to panel paintings for his compositions. While the Crucifixion on fol. 82 of the Légende dorée (fig. 77) is similar in several respects to the earlier Marmion work from the Pontifical of Sens of c. 1460 (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 9215) (fig. 201), it has far more in common with a panel painting by Marmion from 1470–80, now in the Johnson Collection, New York, which may have been originally painted for the Abbey of St. Bertin (fig. 202). The group of figures on the left of Christ in the Légende dorée miniature is closely modelled on this panel. The background, while not a close copy, is similar, with gentle hills and in the panel a

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99 This panel is discussed by E.W. Hoffman, "The Master of the Altarpiece of Saint-Bertin", op. cit., 280.
road, leading the eye to a city in the distance. The spatial construction in the illumination from the Pontifical, which is an early work, is rather different. In a manner which recalls the Boucicaut Master the background fans out into all-encompassing vista of several towns, wide lakes, a mountain and several hills. The sudden transition between the foreground and the background lacks the spatial logic of the panel and the Légende dorée miniature, and the figures, which appear to be in danger of toppling backwards, forego the sense of drama inherent in the other pictures.

Other compositional parallels can be made with Northern panel painting, including the bearded figure in the brocade tunic in the Crucifixion, which is based on types by Rogier van der Weyden. The Resurrection on fol. 87 of the Légende dorée (fig. 79) also resembles a composition by Rogier on a side panel from the c. 1450–55 Deposition Altarpiece made for the Capilla Real, Granada and now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. The Death of the Virgin on fol. 188v. is similar in conception to a panel by Hugo van der Goes, the c. 1481 Dormition in the Groeningemuseum, Bruges. These debts to Flemish panel painters do not necessarily imply that the Légende dorée artist worked in the northern Burgundian provinces, for Marmion himself also borrowed extensively from the panel painting of Van der Weyden, Bouts and van der Goes.

Another source of influence which should not be discounted is that of the artists associated with the early stages of the Ghent-Bruges school of illumination, who were themselves greatly indebted to the style of Simon Marmion. One in particular active in the 1480s and 90s and known as the Master of the Older Prayerbook of Maximilian I, adopted Marmion’s colours and monumentality, and like the Légende dorée artist, sometimes relied on panel painters like the Ghent-based Hugo van der Goes for compositions. His Death of the Virgin on fol. 520v. of the Breviary in the Musée Meyer Van den Bergh in Antwerp, is also based on the van der Goes panel in Bruges. However, the Ghent-Bruges Master’s shop employed the same shop compositions repeatedly, and apart from this example, there are few similarities with the Légende dorée miniatures. The Master of the Older Prayerbook is also more sophisticated in his construction of space, and his figures also tend to be more robust than the often slender proportions favoured by Marmion and the Légende dorée artist. While the stylistic links

100 For example, the second figure from the right in a copy by van der Stoc after van der Weyden of a panel representing the Descent from the Cross, now in the Alte Pinakothen in Munich. Reproduced in E. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, op. cit., fig. 393.
102 The period of the Ghent-Bruges school, originally named by Durrieu in La miniature flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne (Paris, 1921), has been recently discussed by P. de Winter, “A Book of Hours of Queen Isabel la Catolica”, The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, lvii (1981), 342–427. De Winter argues that Marmion heralded the style, begun in Flanders in the 1470s. See also Anne H. van Buren, op. cit.
between Marmion and the early illuminators of the Ghent-Bruges school are undeniable, the connection remains problematic, for Marmion was not documented as having worked in either Bruges or Ghent. There has also been controversy over the identification of works from Marmion's last style. A large body of work exists from late in the master's career, although many works were probably not by his hand. Several artists from Marmion's circle may have been responsible for disseminating the style in the thriving centres further north. While it is possible that the Légende dorée was illuminated in Flanders, it appears more likely, on the basis of style and compositional parallels that the artist was primarily influenced by Marmion's immediate atelier. He should be termed a "follower of Marmion" rather than a member of the atelier and his artistic workshop located to north-eastern France.

Bibliography

Van den Gheyn (1909), 396–7; Lyna (Brussels, Bibl. Roy., unpublished); Knowles (1954), 380; Delaissé (1959), 160; Manning (1970), 44; Dogaer (1971); Liebaers (1972), II 70; Hoffman (1973); Hindman (177), 204; Hamer (1986); Maddocks (1986), figs. 4, 5; Russell (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).

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105 As G. Dogaer, "Miniatures flamandes ajoutées à une Légende dorée", op. cit., 162, suggests, the Légende dorée Crucifixion can be compared to the frontispiece of the l'Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu (Brussels, Bibl. Roy., MS 9510). Similarities include the pink toned colouration, the summary treatment of backgrounds with stretches of pale lime-green, and the pebbled, pale-brown foreground. E.W. Hoffman (1973), op. cit., 273 n.49 also links these two miniatures, together with a Crucifixion from the "Missal of Claudio Villa" (Turin, Bibl. Gia Reale, MS Var 186).

The original owners of the manuscript are unknown. During the reign of Charles VII it belonged to Raoul de Gaucourt, a royal chamberlain. His arms are depicted on the fore-edge of the manuscript. On fol. 429v. a 17th century explicit records that the volume was given to M. Moreau, seigneur d'Auteuil, by M. du Blanmesnil.

Decoration: 44 miniatures, including a frontispiece (178 X 190) and 43 column-width miniatures (65–95 X 83). Miniatures appear after the etymology of each entry, but before the main text. The illuminations are executed in grisaille and sparingly coloured in grey, ochre, olive green, light green, brick red and orange-red washes, with gold and silver used for some details. Draperies are modelled in grey wash, and pale pink is used to highlight cheeks, necks and hands. The narrow ground line is coloured in olive green wash. Only the frontispiece miniature is set against a background, which is composed of fine gold, blue and plum tessellations. The remaining miniatures are set on blank vellum. The frontispiece page, fol. 5, is decorated with a dense ivy-leaf rinceau ¾ bar border. The scribe portrait, on fol. 1, which introduces Vignay’s Preface, is accompanied by a vertical bar-border extending down the left margin. The frame of the frontispiece is narrow bands of alternating blue and plum, decorated with a white tracery pattern and set on a gold ground. The other miniatures are framed by a narrow gold frame, from which extend several sprigs of gold ivy. The frontispiece and the first miniatures are accompanied by a six-line foliate initial, introducing the text. The etymology of each entry in the text is introduced by a two-line dentelle initial, and the main text by a three-line foliate or dentelle initial decorated with two stiff ivy sprigs. One-line dentelle initials appear in the calendar and throughout the text. Line endings are in plum and blue, with a variety of gold and white tracery patterns.

Subjects of Miniatures: fol. 1: Vignay’s Preface. The author dictates his work to a scribe; fol. 5: Advent. The Tree of Jesse; fol. 9: St. Andrew holds a saltire cross; fol. 13: St. Nicholas raises three boys from a brine tub; fol. 16: St. Lucy is brought before the consul; fol. 17v.: St. Thomas Apostle, commanded to offer sacrifice to an idol, calls to the demon which resides in the statue; fol. 20v.: The Nativity; fol. 23v.: St. Anastasia is burned at the stake; fol. 24v.: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 27: St. John Evangelist is brought before the King; fol. 29v.: The Massacre of the Innocents; fol. 30v.: St. Thomas of Canterbury is martyred at the altar; fol. 36: The Circumcision; fol. 39: The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 42: St. Antony finds St. Paul the first hermit dead, in the attitude of prayer, while behind, two lions dig a grave for the Saint; fol. 45v.: St. Antony abbot, with his attributes, the pig and flames at his feet; fol. 55: St. John the Almoner; fol. 58: The Conversion of St. Paul; fol. 61v.: St. Julian the Bishop is attacked by a soldier; fol.
74: St. Agatha is brought before the consul; fol. 79v.: St. Matthias holds a club, an erroneous attribute; fol. 94: The Annunciation; fol. 97: The Crucifixion; fol. 102v.: The Resurrection; fol. 113v.: St. George spears the dragon; fol. 116: St. Mark Evangelist; fol. 128: St. Philip Apostle calls forth the resident demon of an idol, which then strikes down his oppressors; fol. 128v.: St. James the Less is stoned and beaten on the head with a fulling stock; fol. 136v.: St. John before the Latin Gate is boiled in a tub of oil; fol. 139: The Ascension of Christ; fol. 156: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist. The saint is represented baptising Christ; fol. 162: St. Peter Pope holds a key; fol. 167v.: St. Paul holds the sword of his martyrdom; fol. 176v.: St. Margaret of Antioch emerges unharmed from the belly of the dragon; fol. 180: St. Mary Magdalen holds the jar of ointment; fol. 186v.: St. James the Greater is beheaded with St. Josias the scribe; fol. 190: St. Christopher carries the Christchild; fol. 215v.: St. Laurence on the gridiron; fol. 239: St. Bartholomew exorcises a demon from the King's daughter; fol. 242v.: St. Augustine, inspired by the Holy Ghost, dictates to a scribe; fol. 281: St. Michael the Archangel spears the Demon. Les Festes nouvelles: fol. 370: St. Eloy, bishop of Noyon, holds his attribute, the goldsmith's hammer. His employer, King Clothaire II stands nearby; fol. 411: The Holy Sacrament. Mass is celebrated; fol. 415v.: The legend of Saint Voult. The poor musician plays before the image of the Volto Santo of Lucca.

Commentary: The grisaille miniatures in this manuscript including the frontispiece, the smaller miniatures in the text, and the three miniatures of the Festes nouvelles were executed by a single artist. This artist's style, which is characterised by a confident line and stocky, active figures coloured by transparent washes in a limited colour range appears in another manuscript of the Légende dorée, Db (cat. 19). Although the rulings, script and secondary decoration of the two manuscripts are dissimilar, it is clear that the illustration was the work of artists from closely related workshops. Miniatures related both in style and composition include St. Stephen, St. Christopher, the Nativity, St. Anastasia, and the Volto Santo (figs. 99, 100, 97, 98, 101). Some miniatures, such as the Nativity and St. Anastasia, are particularly close in composition, while others like St. Stephen and St. Anastasia have details in common. All pairs appear to have derived from common prototypes. The style is characterised by a naturalism not common in the elegant Boucicaut tradition dominating Parisian art in the early 15th century. The tusked boar in St. Anthony, fol. 45v. for example, reveals close attention to detail. This naturalism, together with the stocky vigorous figures which lend themselves to narrative representation suggest that the style was Northern in derivation, and that the artists were part of the influx of Flemish trained miniaturists who arrived in Paris around the turn of the century. The style, which is not dissimilar to that of the Master of Berry's Cleres Femmes and the Cité des Dames Master, can also be found in manuscripts of the Histoire ancienne (1974 Kraus catalogue) (figs.

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106 The links between Cb and Db are also discussed in Chapter 3.4.
107 The presence of Netherlandish artists in Paris c. 1400 has been discussed by M. Meiss, The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries, op. cit., 96f., 373ff., 383f. See also B. Martens, Meister Francke, (Hamburg, 1929), for her "Master of 1402", identified by Meiss as the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin and the Master of Berry's Cleres Femmes.
108 These artists are discussed by M. Meiss, op. cit., 377f. and 373f. See also P. de Winter, The Patronage of Philippe le
203, 204), the Grandes Chroniques (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W 139) and in a Histoire du monde (London, British Library MS Add 25884).

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[I.B. Barsali, “Le Miniature della 'Légende de Saint Voult de Lucques', op. cit. Also see Chapter 3.5.
H.P. Kraus, Monumenta Codicum Manucriptorum (New York, 1974), entry 27.]

The manuscript bears no marks of ownership.

Decoration: 219 miniatures including a frontispiece (153 X 182) and 218 small column-width or ¾ column-width miniatures (60–70 X 78 and 50–62 X 57). Miniatures appear after the etymology of each entry, but before the main text. Only the first two illuminations are painted in full colour. The palette of the frontispiece is deep and rich, with emphasis on deep blue and a deep red-orange. Other predominant colours include mauve, pink, mid-green, ochre, white, and gold for details. The second miniature on fol. 1 is the work of a different artist. While the colouration lacks the subtlety of the frontispiece, it is also bright, with a similar use of deep blue and red-orange. The remaining miniatures are all executed in a grisaille technique. The only colours used are an olive green wash on ground and vegetation, grey, brown and ochre washes used to model draperies, and pale apricot pink for faces. A transparent mid-blue is used to represent water and clouds, and small quantities of brick-red paint indicate blood and fire. All miniatures have diapered backgrounds. That of the frontispiece is composed of very fine blue, red, gold and white checks. The second miniature has a similar, if coarser background. The remaining miniatures have backgrounds of a solid colour: blue, plum, olive, or red-orange, overlaid with a variety of predominantly gold trellis patterns. The frontispiece page, fol. A, and fol. 1 are both decorated by a ¼ bar border. The bar border of the frontispiece page is more ornate. The bar, which is several centimetres wide, is composed of a repeating plant-like pattern. A dense ivy-leaf rinceau extends from the bar. Fol.1 is embellished with a less elaborate border; the ivy rinceau which grows from the narrow gold bar is slightly more sparse than the rinceau of the frontispiece. The narrow inner frame of all miniatures is gold outlined in black surrounding a narrower strip where a white line runs through a ground of blue or plum. Several loose ivy-leaf sprigs extend from frames of the smaller miniatures. An incomplete five-line foliate initial introduces the Prologue on fol. A, and a six-line foliate initial attached to the bar border introduces Advent on fol. 1. A two, three or four-line, and occasionally larger foliate initial with stiff ivy-leaf extensions accompanies the miniature in introducing the main body of text for each entry. A three or four-line dentelle initial introduces the prologue of each saint and feast, and also the main text of unillustrated entries. One-line dentelle initials appear in the calendar and throughout the text. Line-endings are plum or blue, decorated with a variety of gold and white tracery patterns.

Subjects of Miniatures: fol. A: Vignay’s Preface. The Coronation of the Virgin attended by an assembly of saints. The four Evangelists with their symbols appear amid clouds in the corners; fol. 1: Advent. The Annunciation; fol. 4: The Ethiopians bind St. Andrew by the hands and feet, and drag him by his feet.
from a horse; fol. 7: St. Nicholas raises the three boys from the tub of brine; fol. 9v.: St. Lucy, with a knife protruding from her neck, receiving Holy Communion from a priest; fol. 10v.: The Lord appears to St. Thomas the Apostle; fol. 13: The Nativity; fol. 15v.: St. Anastasia is burned at the stake; fol. 16v.: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 18v.: St. John Evangelist on the island of Patmos; fol. 20v.: The Massacre of the Innocents; fol. 22: St. Thomas of Canterbury is martyred at the altar; fol. 23: St. Sylvester the Pope addresses a small gathering; fol. 26: The Circumcision; fol. 23v.: Epiphany. The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 31: St. Paul the first hermit reads a book in a small cave; fol. 31v.: St. Remy, who converted Clovis, the king of the Franks, receives the Holy Ampoule from a dove; fol. 32v.: St. Hilary on the snake-infested island of Gallinaria; fol. 33: In the desert, St. Macarius uses the body of a pagan as a pillow; fol. 34: St. Felix is forced by pagans to sacrifice to an idol, whereupon the statue topples; fol. 34v.: St. Marcellus; fol. 34v.: St. Antony. One of his tempters in the desert, a small demon, appears at his feet; fol. 36: St. Fabian the Pope is beheaded on the order of Decius; fol. 36: St. Sebastian is shot with arrows; fol. 38: St. Agnes is brought before the prefect; fol. 39v.: The body of St. Vincent, even though weighed by a great stone, floats on the sea and returns to the shore, where a devout woman finds it; fol. 40v.: St. Basil. The miniature mistakenly depicts St. Blaise holding his symbol of martyrdom, the spoked comb; fol. 42v.: Pity, in the form of a fair maiden, appears to St. John the Almoner, patriarch of Alexandria; fol. 45: The Conversion of St. Paul; fol. 45v.: St. Paula stands facing; fol. 47v.: St. Julian the Hospitaler and his wife, who did penance by transporting travellers across a river, carry a leprous stranger in their boat, who later appears as an angel; fol. 52: Saint Ignatius hears angels singing antiphons on the summit of a mountain; fol. 53: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 56: St. Blanda is tortured with spiked combs; fol. 57: St. Agatha's breasts are torn off with pincers; fol. 58v.: St. Vaast banishes a wolf from a weed and bramble-covered deserted church; fol. 59: St. Amandus sees a serpent, which disappears after he prays; fol. 59v.: St. Valentine is beheaded; fol. 59v.: St. Juliana binds a demon who appeared to her in the guise of an angel; fol. 60v.: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 62: St. Matthias is beaten with a club. This detail does not appear in the text; fol. 64: A dove flies to St. Gregory's ear as he writes; fol. 68v.: St. Longinus is beheaded; fol. 69: Romanus lowers a basket of bread into the cave where St. Benedict dwells; fol. 72: St. Patrick preaches to the King of Scotland; fol. 73: The Annunciation to the Virgin; fol. 75v.: The Crucifixion; fol. 79v.: The Resurrection; fol. 83: At left, St. Secondus is beheaded. At right, angels carry his body away; fol. 83v.: Zosimus finds Mary of Egypt in the desert; fol. 85: An angel directs St. Ambrose as he writes; fol. 88: St. George spears the dragon; fol. 90: St. Mark Evangelist writes, accompanied by his lion; fol. 92v.: St. Marcellinus the Pope is beheaded; fol. 92v.: St. Vitalis is buried alive, head first; fol. 93: The Virgin of Antioch stands facing, holding the palm of martyrdom; fol. 95: St. Peter Martyr stands facing, holding the instrument of his martyrdom, a knife; fol. 99v.: Pagans compel St. Philip the Apostle to offer sacrifice to an idol, whereupon a dragon emerges, slaying the pagans; fol. 100: In Jerusalem, a Jew leaps upon the preaching platform and hurls St. James down; fol. 103: The Invention of the Holy Cross; fol. 105v.: St. John before the Latin Gate is boiled in oil; fol. 106: The celebration of the Litanies; fol. 107v.: The Ascension; fol. 111: Pentecost; fol. 115: St. Gordian is beheaded; fol. 115: St. Nereus or St. Achilles preach the faith to Domitilla; fol. 116: The 14 year old St. Pancratius is captured and brought before the emperor; fol. 116v.: St. Urban the Pope is brought before the Prefect; fol. 117: In her bed, St. Petronilla surrenders her soul to God. Two angels carry her soul upwards; fol. 117 St. Peter the Exorcist converts the gaoler and his daughter; fol. 117v.: SS. Primus and Felicianus are beheaded; fol. 118: St. Barnabas the Apostle is beaten with sticks; fol. 119v.: The child St. Vitus is brought before the Emperor Valerian; fol. 120: The prefect Alexander attempts to comfort the baby Quiricus while his mother, St. Julitta is beaten; fol. 120v.: St. Marina, in the guise of Brother Marinus, holds the child she was accused of fathering; fol. 121: St. Gervasius is beaten to death, and St. Protasius is beheaded; fol. 122v.: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist; fol. 125: SS. John and Paul are beheaded; fol. 126: The Holy Virgin restores the hand which St. Leo cut off; fol. 127: St. Peter Apostle is crucified upside down; fol. 131: St. Paul is beheaded; fol. 136v.: St. Felicitas and her seven sons appear before the prefect Publius; fol. 137:
St. Theodora, in the guise of Brother Theodore, holds the child she was accused of fathering. The Devil appears to her in the semblance of her husband; fol. 138v.: St. Margaret of Antioch bursts from the belly of a dragon; fol. 139v.: St. Alexis is discovered dead under the stairs at his father's house, clutching the story of his life. The detail of the stairs is not included in the text; fol. 141: St. Mary Magdalen washes the feet of Christ with her tears; fol. 144: St. Apollinaris is beaten with rods; fol. 145: St. Christina prays from within an oven-like structure, possibly intended to be the iron cradle in which she was tortured; fol. 146: Three demons, bound with fiery chains by the angel of God, appear to St. James; fol. 149: St. Christopher carries the Christchild across the river; fol. 150v.: St. Malchus, one of the Seven Sleepers, leaves his cave and attempts to buy bread with old coins. The breadsellers seize hold of him, believing that he has discovered treasure; fol. 152: St. Nazarius preaches to a small gathering; fol. 153: St. Felix Pope is beheaded; fol. 153v.: SS. Simplicius and Faustinus are beheaded; fol. 154: St. Martha, with the half-animal, half-fish dragon which she captured with her girdle; fol. 155: SS. Abdon and Sennen with their supposed attackers, two lions and two (four in text) bears, who circled them as guards; fol. 155v.: St. Germain the Bishop; fol. 157: A noblewoman who tried to seduce him falls on her knees, begging St. Eusebius for forgiveness; fol. 157v.: A scribe writing the Second Book of Machabees; fol. 158: An angel leads St. Peter in Chains from his prison; fol. 160: Soldiers approach St. Stephen Pope, who is celebrating Mass; fol. 160: The Invention of St. Stephen, the first Martyr. Gamaliel appears in a dream to St. John the Baptist; fol. 162: St. Dominic stands with a knife buried in his chest. Not in the text; fol. 167v.: St. Sixtus the Pope stands holding a key; fol. 167v.: St. Donatus rides upon his ass to a poison spring, to purify it. A terrible dragon rushes out at him; fol. 163v.: St. Cyriacus drives a demon from the daughter of Diocletian; fol. 164: St. Laurence holds a small gridiron, the symbol of his martyrdom; fol. 173: St. Hippolytus is lacerated with iron rakes; fol. 174v.: The Assumption of the Virgin; fol. 182: St. Bernard holds a book; fol. 185v.: St. Timothy and another Christian are beheaded; fol. 185v.: St. Simphorianus is beheaded, witnessed by his mother; fol. 186: St. Bartholomew holds the instrument of his martyrdom, the flaying knife; fol. 189: St. Augustine writes at his lectern with a dove, representing Divine inspiration hovering near his ear; fol. 194v.: The decollation of St. John the Baptist. Salome holds his head on a plate; fol. 197: St. Felix is led to a sacred tree where he is to be forced to perform sacrifice. He blows upon the tree, which is uprooted, crushing the idol; fol. 197v.: An angel appears to St. Savinianus, asking him to be baptised; fol. 198v.: St. Lupus the Bishop stands, holding a book; fol. 199: St. Mamertinus, still a pagan, is directed to St. Germain by St. Savinus; fol. 199v.: St. Giles stands with his symbol, the hind; fol. 200v.: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 203v.: Nathalia bars the door to her husband, St. Hadrian, thinking he has fled from martyrdom; fol. 205v.: The bodies of SS. Gorgonius and Dorotheus are torn with iron hooks; fol. 205v.: St. Eugenia, upon being cast into the Tiber tied to a huge stone, walks on the water after the stone falls apart. SS. Protus and Hyacinthus, beheaded, lie on the bank; fol. 206v.: The Exaltation of the Holy Cross. An ecclesiastical procession; fol. 208v.: St. John Chrysostom preaches to a small gathering; fol. 211v.: St. Cornelian the Pope is beaten with small balls attached to a stick; fol. 211v.: St. Euphemia is placed on a wheel, the spokes of which are filled with burning coals. However the wheel destroys its maker, and she stands on it unharmed, with two angels; fol. 212v.: St. Lambert the Bishop is slain by soldiers after he casts his own weapon from his hands; fol. 213: St. Matthew writes, accompanied by his symbol, the angel; fol. 215: A mounted St. Maurice, with two members of his holy legion; fol. 216v.: St. Justina with the devil in the guise of herself; fol. 217v.: SS. Cosmas and Damian, physicians, treat two children; fol. 218v.: Angels and demons argue over the soul of St. Fursey; fol. 219v.: St. Michael the Archangel combats the Devil; fol. 223v.: St. Jerome in his study, accompanied by his lion; fol. 225: St. Remy baptises King Clovis; fol. 225v.: Upon beheading St. Leger, the assassin is snatched up by a demon; fol. 226v.: St. Francis stands, revealing the signs of the stigmata on his hands; fol. 230: St. Pelagia and her retinue encounter the Bishop of Heliopolis; fol. 231: St. Margaret, or Pelagius is discovered dead in a cave by monks and nuns; fol. 231v.: St. Thais the Courtesan falls at the feet of the abbot Paphnutius; fol. 232v.: St. Dionysus and his two companions are beheaded; fol. 234v.: St. Callixtus the Pope is
thrown from a window and cast into a well; fol. 235: St. Leonard with two prisoners, whom he helped to set free; fol. 236v.: St. Luke Evangelist with his symbol the lion; fol. 239: An ornately dressed Daria enters the chamber of St. Chrysanthus; fol. 239v.: The son of the King of Britain sends an embassy to St. Ursula's father to request her hand; fol. 241: SS. Simon and Jude stand facing; fol. 243: St. Quentin has two nails driven through his body and ten through his fingers; fol. 243: St. Eustace encounters a hind in the forest which bears a crucifix between its antlers; fol. 245: The assembly of All Saints; fol. 248v.: All Souls. A funeral procession; fol. 252: The Four Crowned Martyrs are brought before Diocletian; fol. 253v.: St. Theodore is martyred by being burned at the stake; fol. 253v.: St. Martin the Bishop stands facing; fol. 256: St. Brixius stands facing; fol. 256v.: St. Elizabeth of Hungary stands facing; fol. 259: St. Cecilia is brought before the prefect Almachius; fol. 261v.: St. Clement the Pope holds his attribute, the anchor; fol. 265: St. Chrysogonus is beheaded; fol. 265v.: St. Katherine disputes with the learned Doctors; fol. 268: St. Saturninus the bishop stands facing; fol. 268v.: St. James the Dismembered is interrogated by the King; fol. 269v.: St. Pastor in the desert with his mother; fol. 270v.: St. John the Abbot stands facing; fol. 276v.: St. Pelagius Pope enthroned accompanied by two deacons; fol. 283: The Dedication of a Church. The Mass is celebrated. *Les Festes nouvelles*: fol. 287: St. Eloy holds his attribute, the smith's hammer; fol. 288: St. Simeon Stylite as a youth, kneels before an elder saint; fol. 290: The Conception of the Virgin. Joachim and Anna embrace at the Golden Gate; fol. 291: St. Nicaise of Rheims is beheaded; fol. 292: St. Mor the monk stands facing; fol. 293v.: St. Fuscien and his companions hold their own decapitated heads; fol. 294: St. Polycarp is burned at the stake; fol. 295: St. Baudeur, Queen of King Clovis, sees a ladder to heaven in a dream; fol. 295v.: St. Scholastica sups with her brother, St. Benedict; fol. 296: After being thrown into a pit, St. Euphemia is protected by three wild beasts intended to kill her. An assassin plunges a sword into her side; fol. 297: St. Cecilia converts St. Tiburtius, after which he sees an angel of God; fol. 298: St. Quiriac is brought before the prefect; fol. 299: St. Soupplice, bishop of Bourges, stands facing; fol. 300v.: St. Losmer of Orleans, the shepherd, kneels in prayer; fol. 301: St. Medard, bishop of Vermandois stands facing; fol. 301v.: The parents of the brothers SS. Mark and Marcellin, the mother with her breast bare, try to persuade the saints to renounce their faith in Christ; fol. 303: St. Guillaume, Bishop of Bourges; fol. 303v.: St. Eutropie, Bishop of Bordeaux; fol. 305: St. Leuffroy, monk of Evreux; fol. 305v.: St. Amand the monk; fol. 306: St. Germain, bishop of Paris; fol. 307: St. Nazarian is beheaded with his companion, St. Celsus; fol. 308: St. Canzi and his two companions; fol. 308: St. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola; fol. 309: St. Felicule and St. Peronelle receive Holy Communion; fol. 309v.: St. Maturin of Sens exorcises a demon from a woman; fol. 310: St. Gordien is beheaded; fol. 310v.: St. Tiburcius and his two companions; fol. 311: St. Arnoul, Bishop of Metz; 312v.: St. Donat Bishop of Chalons is beheaded; fol. 314: St. Turien, Bishop of Brittany; fol. 314v.: St. Fiacre of Meaux holds his attribute, the spade; fol. 316: St. Justin the martyr is stabbed by two pagans; fol. 316v.: St. Victor the martyr is beheaded; fol. 317: St. Martial of Limoges heals a child; fol. 319: St. Demetrien is martyred within a fortified enclosure; fol. 320: St. Rigobert, Bishop of Rheims; fol. 320v.: St. Landry, Bishop of Paris; fol. 321: St. Mellonin, Bishop of Rouen; fol. 321: Sacrament. The celebration of the Eucharist; fol. 323: St. Thomas Aquinas is visited by two angels; fol. 324v.: Prologue to the story of the Volto Santo, written by Leboinus the Deacon. Leboinus writing at his lectern; fol. 325v.: The First History of the legend of the Volto Santo. How it was placed in the great cathedral of Saint Martin at Lucca. A group of ecclesiastics view the statue which is housed in a small building; fol. 327: The Second History. An angel fashions the face of the Volto Santo while Nicodemus sleeps; fol. 328: The Third History. The miracle of the poor musician who receives a silver shoe from the Volto Santo; fol. 328: An angel visits the sleeping Bishop Galefroy and tells him the whereabouts of the Volto Santo; fol. 329: The Volto Santo is loaded onto a ship for transportation to Italy; fol. 329v.: The Volto Santo in transit; fol. 330: Angels guide the unmanned ship; fol. 331v.: The ship evades the people of Luni who attempt to capture it; fol. 333: John, the Bishop of Lucca places the Volto Santo in a cart led by two young bulls. They proceed by themselves along the road to Lucca; fol. 334: A miracle which occurred in 1334, concerning an innocent man sentenced to death for murder.
After he prays to the Volto Santo the blows to his neck do not harm him, and he is subsequently released; fol. 335v.: A bishop and two monks stand before the Volto Santo.

**Commentary:** The beautiful frontispiece of this manuscript has received considerable scholarly attention because of its supposed association with the work of the Limbourg brothers (fig. 102). Porcher (1953) and Thomas (1979) considered that this miniature, which represents the Coronation of the Virgin, with the Virgin in a kneeling posture, her train supported by an angel, served as the immediate model for the Limbourg's Coronation of the Virgin in the Très Riches Heures (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, fol. 60v.) (fig. 205). However, while the two compositions certainly have elements in common, they are not particularly close in other respects, and it cannot be assumed that the Légende dorée was the main source of inspiration for the Limbourgs in the Très Riches Heures. The motif of the kneeling Virgin appears elsewhere, such as the Coronation of the Brussels Hours, (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 11060-1) by Jacquemart de Hesdin, painted before 1402, and although the Légende dorée frontispiece is a very early example of the angelic support of the Virgin's train, the motif later became common, appearing in several examples by the Boucicaut shop, in a circular panel in the Staatliche Museum in Berlin dated c. 1405 and in a relief sculpture at La Ferté-Milon, at the chateau of Louis d'Orléans. Millard Meiss (1967), in disagreement with Porcher and Thomas, chose to recognise this relief as the principal source for the Limbourgs in the Coronation of the Très Riches Heures. However as the La Ferté-Milon relief is now in poor repair, it is difficult to find Meiss' evidence fully convincing. All that can be stated with any certainty is that train-holding angels were used in depictions of the Coronation of the Virgin during the first two decades of the century, by several artists, including members of both the Limbourg and Boucicaut circles.

Stylistic analysis provides better evidence for suggesting that the Légende dorée frontispiece was not associated with the Limbourg shop. Indeed, the style of the miniature is more closely related to the Boucicaut tradition. Millard Meiss has given the artist a separate identity, after the Légende dorée miniature which was completed early in his career, the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin. He locates this artist in the capital, active from just before 1400 until only 1405, and suggests that he was

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111 See M. Meiss, The Late 14th Century, op. cit., 149f., 387 n.67; The Boucicaut Hours, op. cit., 64f. P. de Winter (1985), op. cit., 98–99, figs. 204, 205, attributes both the Berlin panel and the Légende dorée frontispiece to the Master of the Livre des Femmes nobles et renomeés de Philippe le Hardi.
112 M. Meiss, The Late 14th Century, op. cit., 147.
The work of this Master is light and delicate, and he has a slightly sketchy, stippled quality to his technique. Figures are slender, and the small oval heads have delicate features gently highlighted in white and modelled by pale pink around the cheeks and jawline. Eyes are characteristically small and round, with small black pupils often directed into the corner of the eye. While the artist has a predilection for pale, subtle colouration, he is not averse to using rich blues and reds, even for prominent details like the red-orange canopy of the *Légende dorée* frontispiece. The Coronation Master is also adept at the representation of airy, expansive space. This is created in the *Légende dorée* by the diaphragm of clouds, the solemn procession behind the Virgin, and the gradual recession, although not according to a system of one-point perspective, of the small floor tiles. The delicate colours, stippled technique and sense of atmosphere created by the Master can also be seen in one of his major works, a copy of Boccaccio’s *Des cleres et nobles femmes*, given to Philippe le Hardi on New Years Day, 1403, by the Lucchese merchant Jacopo Rapondi (fig. 206).

The spacious, almost impressionistic atmosphere created by the Coronation Master finds a parallel in the early work of the Boucicaut Master, such as the hazy distance of the Visitation miniature of the Boucicaut Hours, (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, MS 2, fol. 65v.). Other stylistic elements in common include the delicate featured, oval heads and a like tendency to stipple the paint, indicate that the two artists emerged from a shared background. The Coronation Master however does not share the other Master’s firm sense of volume, illustrated by his mastery of interior structures and control of perspective in miniatures such as The Vigils of the Dead, fol. 142 of the Boucicaut Hours. The

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113 For the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin see M. Meiss, *The Late 14th Century*, op. cit., 355 and *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, op. cit., 383f. J. Porcher, op. cit., suggested that the artist of this frontispiece was also responsible for the frontispiece of P3, since attributed by Meiss to the Virgil Master.

114 B. Martens, Meister Francke (Hamburg, 1929), 241. Martens attributed two copies of Boccaccio to this Master, Paris, Bibl. Nat., fr. 598 and fr. 12420. M. Meiss, *The Late 14th Century*, op. cit., 252f. attributed each manuscript to a different artist, the Master of Berry’s Cleres Femmes and the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin respectively. He suggested that they originated in the North. See also P. de Winter, (1978), op. cit., 379f., 562, and (1985), op. cit., 98ff. Contrary to Meiss, de Winter believes that the "1402 group" originated in Southern Germany. This is in part based on de Winter’s interpretation of the inscription “hort het wort” on fol. 48v. of Paris, Bibl. Nat., fr. 598, as low German. Other scholars such as Anne van Buren believe these words to be Dutch. While Meiss suggests that it is Dutch, he concedes that it is not original. See The Boucicaut Master, op. cit., 152 n.17 and The Late 14th Century, op. cit., 282. Certainly, the light forms and round faces of the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin resemble those of certain German artists like the Master of the Paradise Garden or Master of the Middle Rhine, but it is difficult to see more direct correlations.

115 This manuscript is discussed by Meiss, *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, op. cit., 287f. P. de Winter, (1985), op. cit., 206, prefers to call the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin the Master of the Livre des Femmes nobles et renommées de Philippe le Hardi after his work in this manuscript, Bibl. Nat. fr. 12420, which he considers the artist’s most important work. He also attributes to the artist the Berlin panel referred to in n.2.
italianizing characteristics of the Boucicaut Master’s art, inherited from the late work of Jacquemart de Hesdin and probably consolidated by time spent in Italy, are evident in a comparison of the grave and monumental Coronation of the Virgin from the Boucicaut Hours fol. 95v., with the Coronation Master’s lighter, rather more joyous, and very French interpretation. Similarly, the Coronation Master is at odds with the principal exponents of International Gothic, the Limbourg brothers, sharing little of the naturalism, solemn grandeur and pervasive Italianism of this style.

The Coronation Master’s relationship with the Boucicaut Master may have been in the capacity of student-teacher, or more likely, given the decided differences in the style, they were colleagues who trained together, possibly in the North. As a member of Martens’ "1402 group", the Coronation Master was associated with the Master of Berry’s Cleres Femmes. Together they helped revitalise Parisian illumination, bringing a new luminosity of colour and atmospheric, albeit unconstructed, space.

The numerous miniatures distributed throughout the text were painted by at least three artists working in three distinct styles. The miniature on fol. 1, depicting the Annunciation, is the only smaller miniature executed in colour, and as such functions as a second frontispiece. In style it is reminiscent of the artist named by Meiss the Luçon Master. The atelier of this artist, which specialised in the illumination of Books of Hours was active in the capital from around 1401 until about 1417. A main French representative of the "International Style", the Luçon style is characteristically elegant and sinuous, seen here in the coiling draperies and supple bodies of the Virgin and the Annunciate angel.

The second artist is responsible for fol. 4–23, 34–40v., 99v., 100, 115, 116, 117–120v., 137–335v. In the second half of the volume the miniatures by this artist are noticeably less controlled, and this appears to be the result of another artist tracing over his preliminary drawing. This other artist is probably the same hand which completed the manuscript, as many illustrations are drawn in the sketchy line characteristic of the manuscript’s third artist, but to the second artist’s designs. Otherwise these two hands are quite distinct, and there is usually little difficulty distinguishing them.

The grisaille miniatures of the second artist reveal a firm control of line and a close attention to the narratives related by the text. The stocky, gesticulating figures have characteristically large, round heads executed with a confident sense of volume. While the use of space is not sophisticated, the artist does show a willingness to extend the ground line back in order to accommodate his action, and

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116 For the Master of Berry’s Cleres Femmes see Meiss, ibid., 287f. and 373f. The Master is named after the copy of Boccaccio’s Cleres et nobles femmes presented to Jean de Berry in February, 1404.

117 For the Luçon Master see M. Meiss, The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries, op. cit, 393f. and also this catalogue, entry 1.

182
sometimes decorate the background with umbrella-like trees, rocky outcrops and simple architectural structures. This artist is especially adept in his naturalistic depiction of animals. Horses, in particular, such as those in the miniature for St. Maurice, fol. 215, are drawn as large animals with a gravity not often given them in French illumination. These illustrations often represent figures involved in an action intrinsic to the text rather than symbolic of it, and it is evident that in these cases the text has been closely studied. For example, St. James fol. 100, is represented in accordance with a fairly insignificant detail in the text; he is hurled from his lectern by an angry Jew. This portrayal of the saint is neither traditional nor a standard representation. Another example of close observation is the illustration for the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, on fol. 150v. Upon waking after many years in his cave, depicted at right, one of the brothers attempts to buy bread from a shop, but is refused angrily when he offers ancient coins. The shop and shopkeepers, round loaves of bread, and coins are all represented, along with the shopkeeper’s irritated rejection and the sleeper’s distress, conveyed by his open mouth. In contrast, the usual illustration of these saints is the static and easily recognizable one of them curled up together asleep in the cave. The style of this artist appears in at least three other manuscripts of a secular nature. The most accomplished are six leaves from a Histoire Ancienne listed by Kraus in 1974, no.28. Like the illustrations in the Légende dorée the technique is grisaille and coloured wash. Although these miniatures are of a better quality than those in the Légende dorée the same characteristics are evident, such as attention to naturalistic detail, rocky backgrounds and umbrella trees, and similar details of architecture (figs. 203, 204). The artist was also responsible for the illumination in a Grandes Chroniques, (Baltimore, Walters MS 139), and a Histoire du Monde (London, British Library, MS Add. 25884). It is not without significance that these are all secular texts; the narrative nature of many of the Légende dorée artist’s compositions indicates that he was accustomed to illustrating texts read for the power of the narrative rather than for devotional piety. This artist, or a member of the same shop, also contributed to another manuscript of the Légende dorée, Cb (cat. 18). As discussed in the entry for Cb, several standard shop compositions are repeated in both manuscripts (figs. 103–105, 107, 108). The sense of gravity and volume of the figures in space, naturalistic details and attention to narrative place this artist in the milieu of early 15th century artists like the Cité des Dames Master and his circle.

The illuminations of the third artist working on the Légende dorée are closer in style to the wispy manner of the Coronation Master. Conservative in composition, most of his illustrations are standard beheading scenes or simple facing and standing saints (fig. 106). While there is some evidence of the

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118 H.P. Kraus, Monumeta Codicum Manuscriptorum (London, 1974), entry 27. For this artist also see this catalogue, entry 18.

119 Similarities can be observed in Cité des Dames work such as the miniatures in volume of Boccaccio’s Decameron, Vatican, Bibl. Vat., Pal. Lat., MS 1989. See fig. 224 and this catalogue, entry 18.
regard for the text seen in the work of the second artist, this artist’s lack of skill hampers the narrative potential. Figures are boneless and slender, with small heads and insipid features. More so than the second artist, this artist is an inheritor of the graceful French tradition of the 14th century. This was also an integral element in the art of the Coronation Master, and this third, often inept artist should be regarded as one of his imitators.

This long and densely illustrated manuscript was the result of an enterprise involving several artists. The most celebrated artist, the Coronation Master, illuminated the most important frontispiece miniature. Although the Coronation Master appears to have enjoyed only a brief career, he illuminated manuscripts for both the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy. The remainder of the manuscript was entrusted to several minor artists, including a follower of the Luçon Master, an imitator of the Coronation Master, and the most proficient, an artist whose atelier specialised in grisaille illumination of secular works.

**Bibliography**

Porcher (1953), 9ff.; Knowles (1954) 380; Meiss (1963), 169; Meiss (1967), 252, 355; Meiss (1968), 63ff., fig. 458; Manning (1968) fig. 2; Manning (1970), 40–1; Meiss (1974), 383ff.; Thomas (1979), 26, fig. XV; De Winter (1985), 98–99; Hamer (1986); Russell (1986); Maddocks (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).
(Figs. 110, 111)


The manuscript contains no indications of ownership. A signature, possibly the scribe, “Thomas”, appears on fol. 417.

**Decoration:** Two miniatures including a frontispiece (153 X 208) and a column-width miniature (74 X 90). The miniatures are placed before the corresponding text. The palette is bright but not vivid, based on dark blue, red, violet, greens, pink, olive, ochre and bronze. Gold is used for details. The background of the small miniature is an interior in bronze, and violet-blue with olive green and pink detailing. The background of the frontispiece is a diaper pattern of gold, blue, red and black squares with pale yellow and white interior decoration. Both miniatures are edged by a narrow gold frame which surrounds an interior coloured frame. In the case of the frontispiece the interior vertical frames are decorated with white dentelle work. The frontispiece is also bordered by a ¾ bar border in three different patterns in variations of gold, blue and red ivy and acanthus. A loose ivy leaf rinceau surrounds the border on all four sides. Included in the rinceau are gold “bugs”, green and red carnations, red strawberries, blue fuchsias and other fanciful flowers. In each corner a sprig of red, pink, green and blue acanthus extends from the bar-border into the rinceau. The other miniature is bordered by a blue and pink bar which extends the length of the left margin. An ivy-leaf rinceau of the same type as above extend from the bar into the left margin and upper and lower margins of the first text column. Fronds of pink, green and red acanthus extend from the top and bottom of the bar. The small miniature and the frontispiece are accompanied by a five-line foliate initial. Throughout the text each entry is introduced by a three-line initial alternating in red or blue with penwork flourishes of the contrasting colour. The etymologies of the saints’ lives are introduced by a two-line initial of the same type. The exception is the life of St. Eloy, which marks the beginning of the *Festes nouvelles* and is introduced by a six-line initial. One-line flourished initials appear in the table of contents and throughout the text. Line endings in blue and red appear throughout the text.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 1: Vignay’s Preface. A haloed figure, possibly meant to be St. Jerome, but represented in a dark blue robe rather than in the traditional dalmatic, reads from a book to three seated students; fol. 4: The frontispiece depicting Advent. The Trinity with angels and Evangelists appears in Heaven, represented by scalloped blue and red clouds. They are accompanied by St. John the Baptist and St. John Evangelist. Below, male saints kneel on a grassy ground before the Virgin and Child, represented on a gold cusp.
**Commentary:** The two miniatures in this manuscript were painted by a follower of the Boucicaut Master. The artist is of average ability, and while he has adopted the Master's physiognomies and poses, the characteristic glowing colour, luxuriant draperies and carefully constructed compositions are absent. The elongated proportions and small heads of the figures recall other illuminations by followers of the Boucicaut Master, such as the miniature representing God the Father in a missal (Paris, Musée de Cluny, MS 11316, fol. 237)\(^{120}\) (fig. 207). The haphazard quality of much of the drawing in this *Légende dorée*, in particular the poorly articulated hands and draperies, is not representative of the Master's immediate workshop.\(^{121}\)

The frontispiece, which introduces the text for Advent, represents the Trinity, Evangelists and angels supported by blue and red scalloped clouds above St. John the Baptist and St. John Evangelist who kneel on wisps of blue cloud. On the ground, below male saints kneel before the Virgin and Child. As a frontispiece to the *Légende dorée* the composition is standard, except for one unusual detail. The Virgin and Child are enclosed within a fiery mandorla supported by a gold cusp balanced on a small gold orb resting on the ground. The cusp, representing the moon, and the orb the sun, derives from the description of the woman of the twelfth chapter of The Apocalypse, "robed with the sun, beneath her feet the moon and on her head a crown of twelve stars". Since the 13th century and the writings of Bonaventura, the woman had been identified with the Virgin, and as such was a symbol for the Church. The representation of the Virgin and Child in a mandorla relates also to the legend of the *aracoeli*, already described in relation to the frontispiece of P3 (cat. 9).\(^{122}\)

The Virgin and Child in a mandorla were represented on several occasions in manuscripts of the early 15th century, usually as the *aracoeli*, without the sickle moon. One such example is the frontispiece to P3, painted by the Virgil Master. Occasionally the moon also appears, linking the Virgin to the Woman of the Apocalypse. The Boucicaut Master used this type, in the Boucicaut Hours, (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, MS 2, fol. 26v.), to illustrate the Seven Heavenly Joys of the Virgin, and while the composition differs in detail from this *Légende dorée* miniature, it is likely that the follower derived his iconography from similar miniatures by the Boucicaut workshop.

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\(^{120}\) The Cluny folios are described by M. Meiss, *The Boucicaut Master*, op. cit., 130–1. He calls the artist a "somewhat mannered follower".

\(^{121}\) For the Boucicaut Master see Meiss, ibid. See also this catalogue, entries 21 and 24.

\(^{122}\) The legend of the aracoeli is related in the *Legenda aurea*, in the entry for the Nativity. See Ryan and Ripperger, op. cit., 49. On the day of Christ's birth, Caesar Augustus saw a gold ring around the sun and in the centre, a vision of the Virgin and Child. He then heard a voice proclaiming her the "altar of Heaven".
The first miniature, which introduces Vignay's Preface, while a standard author portrait, is also related in composition to Boucicaut shop representations of the Funeral Service, usually accompanying the text for Vespers in books of hours. Two such examples appear in manuscripts from Brussels (Bibl. Roy., MS 10767, fol. 166v.) and (Bib. Roy., MS 11051, fol. 138). In all three miniatures three figures at right attend to a reading from an open book at left. Like the artist of the Jena Légende dorée, Jb, (cat. 24) although this artist has adopted elements of the Boucicaut shop's style and iconography, his treatment is at best an imitation of the Master's work. For this reason the illumination is attributed to a follower or imitator of the Boucicaut Master.

Bibliography

Delisle (1881), I, 149; Knowles (1954), 380; Manning (1970), 41; Hamer (1986); Russell (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).

123 These miniatures are reproduced in Meiss, ibid., figs. 139, 140.
(Figs. 112–115)


The manuscript bears no marks or inscriptions of ownership.

**Decoration:** Originally the manuscript was decorated with 26 column-width miniatures (56–73 X 55–58) and a frontispiece (164 X 130). Four of the small miniatures have since been excised. The miniatures are placed after the relevant etymology, but before the corresponding text. The palette is vivid, with deep, rich shades of blue and orange, dark red, greens, pink, lilac and purple. Backgrounds are either finely diapered in gold, blue, green and plum or are decorated with a foliate design in purple, blue and gold. A naturalistic background appears only on MS 416 fol. 84, St. Michael, where an intense blue sky lightens to the horizon. Outdoor scenes have a grassy green ground which darkens with distance. Middle distance is represented in the St. Michael miniature by a jagged pale ochre rocky outcrop. Each miniature is framed by a narrow plum and blue band within a slightly wider gold frame. The frontispiece is decorated by a ¼ bar border of a repeating blue, plum, gold and green foliate design on a scalloped gold ground. A loose rinceau spray of gold ivy, green "bugs", red strawberries, and several simple flower varieties in blue, purple and red extend from the bar into all four sides of blank vellum. Each miniature is bordered by a single bracket left or right bar extending vertically down the centre margin from which extends a similar ivy rinceau. The frontispiece is introduced by a four-line foliate initial. Each entry, illustrated and unillustrated, is introduced by a two, three, four or five-line foliate or dentelle initial. One-line dentelle initials appear in the table of contents and throughout the text. Line endings in purple, blue and gold appear throughout the text.

**Subjects of Miniatures: MS 415:** fol. 5: Frontispiece; Advent of the Lord. The congregation of the saints represented as for All Saints below a mandorla containing God the Father surrounded by cherubim, seraphim and music making angels; fol. 27v.: The Nativity. The Virgin and midwife prepare to bathe the Christchild; fol. 98v.: Purification of the Virgin; fol. 132: St. Patrick accidentally pierces the foot of the King of Scotland with the point of his staff; fol. 134v.: The Annunciation to the Virgin; fol. 139: The Crucifixion; fol. 148: The Resurrection; fol. 158v.: St. Ambrose seated as Bishop; fol. 165: St. George vanquishes the dragon; fol. 169: St. Mark Evangelist. The miniature has been excised; fol. 178: St. Peter Martyr is murdered on the road to Milan; fol. 187v.: St. Philip the Apostle holding his attribute, the cross, and St. James the Less who holds a fulling stock. St. James is not mentioned in Voragine’s entry for St. Philip; fol. 189: St. James the Less holds the instrument of his martyrdom, the fulling stock; fol.
189: St. Helena supervises the Invention of the Holy Cross; fol. 200v.: St. John before the Latin Gate is bathed in boiling oil; fol. 204v.: The Ascension; fol. 210v.: Pentecost; fol. 230: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist. The adult saint is depicted holding the lamb and a reed cross; fol. 271v.: St. James the Greater as a pilgrim; fol. 312: St. Laurence holds the martyr's palm and the instrument of his torture, the gridiron. **MS 416**: fol. 1: The Assumption of the Virgin. The Dormition is depicted; fol. 48v.: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 84: St. Michael the Archangel vanquishes a demon; fol. 107: St. Dionysus. The miniature has been excised; fol. 130: All Saints. The miniature has been excised. **Les Festes nouvelles**: fol. 207v.: St. Eloy as a bishop holds his attribute, the smith's hammer; fol. 265: Holy Sacrament. The miniature has been excised; fol. 271: St. Yves of Treguier. This page has no border decoration, which suggests that the saint was not illustrated. The large initial has been excised.

**Commentary:** The miniatures in this manuscript, which were of a good quality, are unfortunately now in a poor condition due to rubbing and flaking of paint. They were executed in about 1415 by a member of the atelier of the Boucicaut Master, named by Millard Meiss after his work in the Hours of the Maréchal Jean de Boucicaut (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, MS 2)\(^1\)\(^{24}\). The oeuvre of this master was first identified in 1906 by Paul Durrieu.\(^1\)\(^{25}\) In the absence of documentary evidence, Meiss has dated the manuscripts according to style, suggesting that the Master was active in the capital from around 1405–1420. According to Meiss the earliest manuscript illuminated by the master is the splendid Boucicaut Hours of 1405–8, and one of the last a Book of Hours now in New York (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 1000), dated around 1420. Within these fifteen years over fifty manuscripts were illuminated by the master and his workshop in addition to numerous others indebted in some respect to the Boucicaut style.\(^1\)\(^{26}\)

While the Boucicaut Master was at different times in the employ of several noble and royal patrons, and his services were obviously in demand, he does not appear to have worked consistently for any one employer. As a freelance artist rather than one beholden to the whims of a single patron the Boucicaut Master undoubtedly enjoyed a measure of artistic freedom and was also in a position to exploit the potential offered by the open market. Unlike his competitors, the Limbourg brothers, the *Cité des Dames* Master and others who worked mainly for one individual, the Boucicaut Master seems to have employed a large shop of assistants and followers who systematically illuminated Books of Hours and other popular texts, often with miniatures of indifferent quality. Most of these were probably not produced to order, but for the general market. The *Paris Légende dorée*, *Fb*, appears to have been such an enterprise. The absence of any heraldry or distinguishing marks suggests that it was

\(^{124}\) For the Boucicaut Master see M. Meiss, *The Boucicaut Master*, op. cit. Also see this catalogue, entries 20 and 24.

\(^{125}\) P. Durrieu, "Le maître des Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut", *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* XIX (1906), 401–415 and XX (1906), 21–35.

not made specifically for a patron. The illumination is not by the hand of the master, but is competent shop work. The cycle was planned with a minimum of effort and attention to the specifics of the *Légende dorée* text. The subjects and compositions of the miniatures, which were nearly all drawn from the repertoire of shop models, can be found in other manuscripts illuminated by the shop.

The 23 remaining miniatures in this *Légende dorée* are but a dim reflection of the Boucicaut Master's originality and skill as displayed in works like the Boucicaut Hours. The master's extraordinary representation of aerial perspective, where distance is suggested by a hazy, shimmering background landscape, and where colour dissolves into a golden light, can be seen only in diluted form in the *Légende dorée* miniature of St. Michael on fol. 84 of MS 416 (fig. 114). Here the intense blue sky lightens towards the horizon, and the haze of distance is suggested by small wispy clouds. Concomitant with the Boucicaut Master's interest in light and the atmospheric effects of distance was his attention to colour. He exhibited a fondness for glowing reds, oranges and blues, which seem glazed with light, resembling, as Meiss has remarked, the art of enameling or orfèvrerie popular among noble patrons and collectors. The artist of the *Légende dorée* has learned much from the master about colour, for he favours similar rich blues, oranges and reds. Attention is also paid to the green of the landscape, which becomes dappled with brown into the distance, and is punctuated in the Boucicaut manner with jagged ochre hills in the middle ground. The Boucicaut Master's lessons of perspective have also not been completely ignored by this artist. While some constructions are rather awkward, like the shed in The Nativity on fol. 27v. of MS 415 (fig. 113), the carefully executed light and dark green floor tiles, while not meeting at a single vanishing point like the floors in the Boucicaut Hours do recede at an oblique angle like other floors by members of the workshop (Bourges, Bibl. Mun. MS 34 fol. 46v., 138v.), (Bourges, Bibl. Mun. MS 35 fol. 17v.), of c. 1410 and (Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. MS 260 fol. 27), c. 1415.127

Although his control of perspective is not equal to the master, the artist is competent in his depiction of draperies, which are carefully moulded into graceful folds, and in his use of vivid colour. Other details, such as the poor articulation of hands and the simplicity of several settings are not typical of the best Boucicaut work, and these shortcomings serve to reaffirm the artist's position among members of the master's workshop. Use of certain motifs and patterns also align the artist with the Boucicaut shop. For instance, the alternating pattern of the floor tiles in the *Légende dorée* Nativity closely resembles those in the Baltimore and Bourges shop miniatures, as do other details like the sprig

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127 The Bourges miniatures are reproduced in Meiss, ibid., figs. 64, 66. The Baltimore Annunciation is reproduced in fig. 130.
pattern on the Virgin's bed coverlet (Geneva, Bibl. Pub. et Univ. MS fr. 165 fol. 7, c. 1412)\textsuperscript{128} and the peacock feather pattern on the canopy above the Virgin in The Annunciation which is repeated on the robe of Charles VI in the same miniature in the Geneva manuscript.

Compared to several other copies of the text, this example of the \textit{Légende dorée} is not profusely illuminated. The subjects chosen for illustration are also commonly represented in Books of Hours and breviaries, and the compositions are drawn from set patterns used by the Boucicaut shop. As a result these subjects are not always strictly appropriate for the text. For example, the miniature for St. Philip Apostle on fol. 187v of the first volume represents the saint accompanied by St. James the Less, who is not mentioned at all in the text below. However, because the two saints are commemorated on the same day, May 1, they are represented together in other Boucicaut miniatures such as fol. 91v. of a Book of Hours (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1070). The \textit{Légende dorée} artist has evidently turned to such compositions as source models without regard for the precise contents of his text. Other compositions, such as the Virgin testing the bath water in The Nativity on fol. 27v. of the first volume (fig. 113), is a workshop pattern which refers to the Nativity but represents an extra-textual event. This particular composition helps date the manuscript, for it first appeared in a miniature revealing strong Boucicaut influence in the Missal of Saint-Magloire of 1412 (Paris, Bibl. de l’Arsenal MS 623 fol. 15).\textsuperscript{129} Subsequently it was used in several other manuscripts illuminated by the Boucicaut workshop, dating around 1415 and 1416, and was adopted by other artists such as the Rohan workshop in the c. 1416 Hours of Rene d’Anjou (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1156A fol. 48) and the Master of the Munich Golden Legend in a Book of Hours from around 1430 (Vienna, Nationalbib. MS S.n. 2614 fol. 63).\textsuperscript{130} The closest composition to the \textit{Légende dorée} example is the miniature (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS A.L. 1646–1902 fol. 56v.) of c. 1415, where the shed is similarly depicted obliquely, unlike other examples where it is seen frontally. The \textit{Légende dorée} miniature is unusual, for it depicts the Virgin’s bed where other representations show only a litter. It appears that the artist has adapted the bed from Boucicaut compositions of the Adoration of the Magi, such as (Paris, Bibl. Maz. MS 469 fol. 61v.), combining it with the shop pattern for the Nativity.

\textsuperscript{128} See Geneva, Musée Rath, \textit{L’enluminure de Charlemagne à François 1er} (Geneva, 1976), 87f. Reproduced by Meiss, op. cit., fig. 69.


\textsuperscript{130} Other examples include Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Lat. 10538 fol. 63, (reproduced by E. Panofsky, op. cit., fig. 72), and Paris, Charnacé Collection (Reproduced by Meiss, op. cit., fig. 272). Also, a c. 1415 miniature from Baltimore, Walters Library, MS 260, reproduced by Meiss, op. cit., 270. The miniature by the Master of the Munich Golden Legend is reproduced by O. Pächt and D. Thoss, \textit{Die illuminierten Handschriften} (1974). op. cit., fig. 249. See also R. Schilling, "The Nativity and Adoration of the Child Christ in French Miniatures of the Early Fifteenth Century", \textit{Connoisseur} 129–30 (1952), 167–169, 221, figs. 1, 9. Schilling remarks that the Boucicaut Shop commonly illustrated the Nativity in two ways; the Adoration, represented by the Boucicaut Hours, and the Bathing of the Christ Child.
From this miniature of the Virgin testing the bath water of the Child, it is possible to date the manuscript around 1415 or possibly even later. Although the borders do not include the acanthus corners common at this time, the loose rinceau and floral decoration are consistent with this date. The competence of the work, and the artist's understanding, albeit limited, of the Boucicaut Master's innovations in space and atmosphere and appreciation of colour, point to a painter attached to the workshop rather than to a follower practising outside the mainstream.

Bibliography

Knowles (1954), 380; Manning (1970), 41; Hamer (1986); Russell (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).

The original owner of the manuscript is not known. In the early 16th century the volume belonged to Aymar de Poitiers, who had his arms painted at the base of fol. 1. The binding bears the arms of Alexandre Petau, the 17th century Counsellor of the Grand’ Chambre of the Parlement of Paris and noted bibliophile. 88 volumes from the Petau library came into the possession of Ami Lullin, a Genevois theologian, in the 18th century, and on his death in 1756, into the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva.

Decoration: 94 miniatures, including a frontispiece (142 X 154) followed by 93 column width miniatures (45–70 X 64–70). Miniatures appear after the relevant etymology and before the corresponding text. Two hands participated in the illumination. The first illuminated the text up to fol. 395v.; the second the remainder of the programme. The first employs a rich palette of deep blue, deep red-orange, pink, pale blue, grey-green, pale yellow and gold. Skin tones are pale, modelled in pink. The palette of the second artist is more limited, but is characterized by liberal use of a luminous dark blue not used in the first part of the manuscript. Backgrounds are in same colours as the miniatures, in a variety of geometric designs, including checks, patterns within square and diamond grids, solid colour and foliate designs. The frontispiece miniature is framed by a narrow gold bar outlined in black. Each miniature is framed by narrow lines of gold and blue or red, both outlined in black. Loose sprigs of gold ivy extend from several of these frames near the beginning of the volume. The frontispiece is decorated by a ¾ bar-border, incorporating a five-line foliate initial. The horizontal bar is gold, patterned with a series of blue and red quatrefoils, the vertical bars are decorated with a red and blue "pinecone" pattern. Stiff ivy leaf coils extend from the corners and right centre of the bar border, while looser, smaller gold ivy sprigs decorate the left side. The entries which are marked with a large initial and a miniature are decorated with a vertical bar border which terminates in stiff ivy leaf branches in the upper and lower margins. The bar borders are attached to the large initials. While the miniature often appears beneath the large initial this is not always the case, and it is sometimes placed in the adjacent column. Line-endings in the form of oblong blue or red bars, decorated with white tracery, appear throughout the text. The text for Advent following the frontispiece is introduced by a five-line foliate initial. The etymology of each life is introduced by a two-line foliate initial to which is attached two stiff ivy leaf sprigs in blue, red and gold, extending several lines up and down the margin of the page. The main text of each illustrated entry is introduced by a 4, 5, or in the case of Purification of the Virgin or The Ascension a six-line foliate initial. The main text for unillustrated entries is marked by a
two-line foliate initial. Appearing in the table of contents and throughout the text are one-line alternating red and blue dentelle initials on a gold ground.

Subjects of Miniatures: fol. 1: Frontispiece. The Coronation of the Virgin and the assembly of saints; fol. 6v.: St. Andrew is tied to a saltire cross by two men; fol. 11v.: St. Nicholas blesses the three boys in the tub of brine; fol. 16: The Incredulity of St. Thomas; fol. 19v.: The Nativity; fol. 23: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 26v.: St. John Apostle and Evangelist, holds the poison cup and the palm of martyrdom; fol. 29v.: The Massacre of the Innocents; fol. 32v.: St. Silvester as bishop; fol. 36v.: The Circumcision; fol. 40: Epiphany. The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 47: St. Antony Abbot stands with vivid orange flames at his feet; fol. 49: St. Sebastian, pierced by innumerable arrows, is flanked by two archers; fol. 53v.: St. Vincent holds a book and three swords, representing "the three things in the world which he had to conquer"; fol. 57v.: St. John the Almoner distributes bread among the poor; fol. 61v.: St. Paula kneels before an altar bearing a crucifix; fol. 64: St. Julian the Bishop; fol. 68 Quadragesima. A monk kneels in prayer before a clergyman; fol. 69v.: Lent. Pope Calixtus, who instituted the feast, explains it to a group of laymen; fol. 72: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 77v.: St. Agatha tied to a pillar, flanked by two assassins who twist her breasts with pincers; fol. 81v.: The Chair of St. Peter. Christ hands the seated St. Peter a large key; fol. 83v.: The beheading of St. Matthias. Several large stones lie on the ground, alluding to hisstoning; fol. 86v.: St. Gregory writes at a lectern; fol. 93v.: St. Benedict, as a monk; fol. 99: The Annunciation; fol. 102: The Crucifixion; fol. 108: The Resurrection of Christ; fol. 115v.: St. Ambrose the bishop; fol. 120: St. George spears the dragon as the maiden watches; fol. 123: St. Mark Evangelist writes at lectern; fol. 129v.: St. Peter Martyr kneels. A sword protrudes from his back, another from his forehead; fol. 136: St. Philip Apostle tied to a cross; fol. 137: St. James the Less erroneously depicted as St. James the Greater, the pilgrim; fol. 142v.: The Invention of the Holy Cross. St. Helena supervises the excavation of the Holy Cross; fol. 145: St. John Before the Latin Gate. St. John stands, holding the Poison Cup as in the miniature for St. John Apostle and Evangelist on fol. 26v. The story of the poison cup is recounted in the first but not in this entry; fol. 148: The Ascension; fol. 152: Pentecost; fol. 159: St. Pancratius dressed erroneously as a bishop; fol. 161v.: St. Barnabas; fol. 166 Nativity of John the Baptist; fol. 172: St. Peter Apostle holds a key and a book; fol. 177: St. Paul Apostle holds the instrument of his martyrdom, the sword; fol. 187: St. Margaret of Antioch bursts unharmed from the belly of the dragon; fol. 190v.: St. Mary Magdalen holds her attribute, the ointment jar; fol. 197: St. James the Greater is beheaded; fol. 200v.: St. Christopher carries the Christchild across the river; fol. 206v.: St. Martha, as an elderly matron holds a book; fol. 211v.: An angel of God releases St. Peter in Chains from prison; fol. 214v.: Invention of St. Stephen. Gamaliel the magician points to three baskets. Two are filled with white roses; the third carries the head of St. Stephen alluding to its symbolic representation of the coffin of the martyr; fol. 226: St. Laurence on the gridiron; fol. 237v.: The Assumption of the Virgin. The Dormition is depicted; fol. 243v.: The Manner of the Assumption. The Coronation of the Virgin is represented; fol. 248v.: St. Bernard dressed as a Cistercian; fol. 254: St. Bartholomew is flayed alive; fol. 258: St. Augustine as bishop; fol. 266: The Decollation of St. John the Baptist. The executioner hands the head to Salome; fol. 274: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 285v.: St. John Chrysostom the bishop; fol. 291v.: St. Matthew Evangelist; fol. 295v.: St. Michael the Archangel speaks the demon; fol. 301: St. Jerome the Deacon seated with book; fol. 311v.: St. Margaret Pelagia as a nun; fol. 313v.: The beheading of St. Dionysius and his two companions; fol. 318v.: St. Luke Evangelist seated at lectern; fol. 323: The 11,000 Virgins; fol. 325v.: SS. Simon and St. Jude; fol. 328v.: St. Eustace sees the Crucifixion between the antlers of a stag; fol. 331v.: All Saints represented as a large gathering of saints; fol. 336: All Souls. A funeral; fol.
342: St. Martin blesses the beggar who is covered by his divided cloak; fol. 348: St. Elizabeth of Hungary is erroneously represented as St. Elizabeth, mother of St. John the Baptist in the Visitation; fol. 355v: St. Clement the bishop; fol. 361: A crowned St. Katherine of Alexandria stands holding a small barbed wheel and the martyr's palm; fol. 377: St. Pelagius Pope; fol. 386v: Dedication of a Church. Les Festes nouvelles: fol. 393: St. Eloy, the metalsmith, forges a horseshoe; fol. 394v: St. Simeon Stylite receives the infant Christ presented at the Temple; fol. 392: The Conception of the Virgin. Joachim and Anna embrace at the Golden Gate; fol. 400v: St. Genevieve, patron saint of Paris. She holds a lit candle, which a small demon tries to extinguish with bellows. An angel above holds a taper, ready to relight the candle; fol. 413v: St. Mor the Abbot; fol. 419v: St. Euphemia is beheaded; fol. 423v: St. Soupplice (Sulpice) Bishop of Bourges; fol. 429v: St. Guillaume of Bourges as a knight; fol. 433v: St. Germain Bishop of Paris; fol. 439: St Yves of Treguier, the Hermit, holds his attribute, a spade. A woman kneels before him; fol. 461: St. Martial of Limoges; fol. 466v: The Holy Sacrament. A monk stands before an altar, holding a wafer; fol. 469: St. Thomas Aquinas preaches from a lectern; fol. 471v: The Volto Santo with a gold chalice at the foot of the statue; fol. 473: A covered boat transports the Volto Santo to Luni.

Commentary: The miniatures of this Légende dorée have been attributed by François Avril to an artist he names the Maître du Polycratique, after an illuminated copy of John of Salisbury's work, (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 24287). Illuminated for Charles V, this manuscript is dated 1372 and includes the earliest work attributed to the artist (fig. 208). It would appear that the Maître du Polycratique was active in the capital for at least another thirty years, during which he participated in the illumination of dozens of manuscripts for members of the royal family and the nobility.

Before Avril recognized the distinctive hand of the Maître du Polycratique, the artist's work was placed in the oeuvre of the so-called Maître aux Boqueteaux. Some problems involved in the separation of the several hands now believed to form the Boqueteaux style have been discussed in connection with other manuscripts of the Légende dorée (cat. 3, 5, 11). While the extent of their cooperation remains uncertain, these artists undoubtedly shared certain characteristics of style and composition. With the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, and the Master of the Livre du Sacre, the Maître du Polycratique conforms to the general Boqueteaux mould. Pert,

131 B. Gagnebin, Geneva, Musée Rath, L’enlumineur de Charlemagne à François Ier, (Geneva, 1976), 78–79. Gagnebin also refers to a manuscript by F. Avril, Notes sur le maître du Polycratique de Charles V (unconsulted).
133 According to Avril, the Maître du Polycratique illuminated manuscripts for Charles V, Philippe le Hardi, Jean de Berry, Louis d’Anjou, Louis d’Orléans, Jean de Blaisy, and Jean Pastoureau. It is known that Louis d’Orléans owned a copy of the Légende dorée, sold to him in 1397 for 40 écus of gold. This manuscript cannot be identified with this or any extant copy of the Légende dorée. P. de Winter, “Copistes, éditeurs et enlumineurs”, op. cit., 189.
134 See H. Martin, La Miniature Française, op. cit.
gesticulating figures populate a narrow foreground with an abstracted background. The painting technique emphasises the linear, with hair and draperies being represented by dark striations. Certain details common to nearly all *Boqueteaux* group artists also appear in the miniatures of this *Légende dorée*. The pointing figure of authority addressing a small assembly,\(^{135}\) the characteristic frog-like profile of male faces, and a prevalence of depictions of knights are all typical of the *Boqueteaux* style. The *Maître du Polycratique*, as represented by the *Légende dorée* resembles most closely one of the lesser *Boqueteaux*-style artists working on the *Grandes Chroniques* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 2813. fol. 409v.) (fig. 209)\(^{136}\) Both rely on economical line rather than tonal modelling, and both choose simple compositions with a minimum number of figures on a narrow frontal ground-line.

However, while the *Maître du Polycratique* resembles other *Boqueteaux* group artists, he also has a distinctive style of his own. The figures of the *Légende dorée* are not firmly articulated, appearing boneless and slight. Heads are small, and the faces of both males and females are coloured in a very pale, flat pink with only a tinge of darker colour in a small V outlining the cheekbone. The eyes have small black pupils and a long, oriental upper lid. Noses, represented by two parallel lines, have the appearance of being flat along the bridge. In terms of composition patterns the *Maître du Polycratique* is not as distinctive, for in addition to preferring very common and simple compositions such as the single facing saint who holds a traditional attribute, he draws upon basic *Boqueteaux* group types. For example, the compositions of the miniatures representing the Nativity (fol. 19v.), the Adoration of the Magi (fol. 40), and St. George (fol. 120) among others, appear without much variation in other *Boqueteaux* manuscripts. The artist also conforms to type both in his selection of saints and feasts and in the particular episodes chosen for illustration. Like the other manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* illuminated by artists associated with the *Boqueteaux* circle, only one scene or episode is represented in each miniature. The subjects are usually standard; for instance, St. Nicholas raises the three boys from their brine tub and St. George spears the dragon in all these *Boqueteaux* examples, and scenes of martyrdom by decapitation scenes are very common.

Although Avril has attributed the illumination of this manuscript to the *Maître du Polycratique*, two artists were involved in the programme. The second was responsible for the illumination of the second section, the series of 45 additional saints called the *Festes nouvelles*. The *Festes nouvelles* are illustrated with 18 rather shakily drafted miniatures, by a hand not associated with the *Boqueteaux* shop. The figures are elongated and languid, lacking the dynamism of the gestural *Boqueteaux* manner.

\(^{135}\) This figure can be found in many manuscripts illuminated in the *Boqueteaux* style. For example, the frontispiece of the *Grandes Chroniques* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 2813), and the Massacre of the Innocents from *Légende dorée* MS R, fol. 30v.

found in the miniatures of the first section. They appear to be later in style; late enough to have escaped the pervasive influence of the Boquetateaux school which dominated Parisian illumination during the 1360's and 70's. These more solid forms have more in common with artists of the early 15th century such as the Boucicaut Master and his contemporaries. These compositions are generally very simple in conception, and most saints are shown standing, facing the viewer in an "iconic" stance. This is probably due both to the artist's limitations and to a scarcity of available pictorial models for these often rather obscure local French saints like St. Guillaume of Bourges and St. Soupplice (Sulpice) of Bourges.137 It is possible that the section containing the Festes nouvelles was illuminated separately from the first part of the manuscript. While the rulings and script are consistent enough throughout the volume, indicating that the two parts were planned as one enterprise, some discrepancies in decoration appear. In the Festes nouvelles large initials mark unillustrated saints, rather than the small initials typical of the first part, and they are not accompanied by the bar border also characteristic of the first section. In addition, large initials are not joined to the bar borders throughout the Festes nouvelles. The vellum is thinner in the second part, the first entry in the Festes nouvelles, St. Eloy, appears at the beginning of a new gathering, and catchwords marking the gatherings only exist in this second section. The table of contents for the Festes nouvelles on fol. 2 follows the table of contents of the Légende dorée on fol. 1 and fol. 1v., but the folio has been sewn in and the script is in a different hand. Together, these discrepancies between the two texts of the manuscript suggest that the whole volume was ruled in preparation, and possibly scripted, and then the two parts sent to two different shops for decoration and illumination. This does not account for the different quality of vellum, which points to the possibility that the two sections were prepared and decorated independently, but according to common directives.

The contribution to the volume by the Maître du Polycratique dates from c. 1400, but in a style which reached its apogee some two decades earlier. One reason for the late dating lies in the composition of the frontispiece, representing the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 1). Unlike previous Légende dorée frontispieces depicting the same subject, the crowned Virgin is not seated but kneels before Christ to receive His blessing. These two figures are placed under a canopied structure supported by two columns. The whole composition is two-tiered; the congregation of saints flanks the Coronation scene and also assembles below, standing on scalloped clouds. According to the findings of Millard Meiss, the canopy was introduced into scenes of the Coronation by the Boucicaut Master in the c. 1405 Boucicaut Hours (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André MS 2, fol. 95v.).138 The kneeling Virgin is also a feature which

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137 In his list of saints illustrated in Books of Hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Leroquais finds Guillaume of Bourges depicted once, in a Books of Hours for the use of Bourges, and St. Soupplice (Sulpice) not at all. V. Leroquais, Le livres d’heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1927), I, Lff.

138 M. Meiss, The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries, op. cit., 278. The canopy also appears in a French circular panel
did not appear in Coronation miniatures until around the turn of the century. This form evolved from
the Italian Madonna of Humility current from the late 13th century, and as far as is known, was first
used in French Coronation scenes in about 1401. Meiss suggests that the earliest example of the
kneeling Virgin of the Coronation in France is in the Barcelona Hours (Barcelona, Bibl. Cent. MS 1850,
fol. 90.), illuminated by the Luçon Master and dated 1401. Others of this type followed, including the
aforementioned Boucicaut Hours of 1405, the Très Riches Heures of c. 1411–16 (Chantilly, Musée
Condé MS 65, fol. 60v), and the frontispiece of a Légende dorée, Db of c. 1402 (cat. 19).

Additional evidence suggests that the Légende dorée should be dated to the early 15th century,
despite Avril's estimation that the Polycratique Master's career spanned the years 1372 until
c. 1395. The artist's work appears in hitherto unattributed miniatures in a copy of Livy's Histoire
Romaine (Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, MS Felton 3). The Maître du Polycratique is the
lesser artist participating in this programme. His more innovative collaborator belongs to the atelier of
the Cité des Dames Master. This school, which specialized in secular manuscripts, contributed to over
40 programmes of illustration during the years 1400 to 1425. The illumination in the Melbourne
manuscript relates most closely to the early work of the school, and consequently the volume has
been dated c. 1400–1403. The work by the Maître du Polycratique is consistent with the miniatures of
the Légende dorée. Figure types, faces and the flat, bright colours are very alike in both volumes,
and the artist uses the same motif on soldiers' shields, a bisecting diagonal line flanked by two circles
(fig. 210).

A final factor suggesting a post-1400 date for the Légende dorée is the presence of the Festes nouvelles
at the end of the text. Ten manuscripts are extant of this second version of the Légende dorée, and
four of these, although not the Geneva volume, give a date for the Festes nouvelles of either 1401 or
1402. The differences observed between the decoration of the first part of the manuscript and the
Festes nouvelles suggest the possibility that the Festes nouvelles were added to the volume several
years after the original version was completed. However, the consistency of rulings and script,
together with the evidence of the Maître du Polycratique's activity into the 15th century, indicates that the entire manuscript was planned and decorated some time around 1402, but that the two sections were decorated and illuminated by two workshops working independently of each other.

For an artist working in the early 15th century, the Maître du Polycratique is conservative, harking back to the thirty year-old traditions and shop models of the Boqueteaux school. Possibly he was the inheritor of one of the main Boqueteaux workshops. Certainly, his work for notable book collectors such as early in his career, Charles V, is a good indication that he was not a minor shop artist. In this late work, the Maître du Polycratique is the principal artist, responsible for the large frontispiece and the majority of the illuminations, as might be appropriate for the head of a once thriving Parisian atelier.

Bibliography

Senebier (1779), 318–320; Aubert (1911), 65–69; Knowles (1954), 380; Manning (1970), 45–6; Gagnebin (1976) 78–9; Hamer (1986); Russell (1986); Maddocks (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).
23. Hb: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS Gall 3
(Figs. 116–122)


The manuscript contains no marks of ownership.

Decoration: 227 column-width miniatures (70–76 X 93). The miniature is placed at the beginning of the corresponding text and etymology. The palette is deep and rich, favouring a deep, brilliant blue for garments and skies, orange-red for details, and other use of greens, blues, pink, mauve, ochre and gold. Backgrounds are sometimes dark blue or, when sky is represented, a brilliant blue lightening to horizon. Both types are studded with large gold stars characteristic of this artist. Abstracted backgrounds include bold acanthus, foliate and repeating circle or diaper designs. The patterns are predominantly in gold, set against a darker shade for the greatest contrast. Miniatures are framed by a narrow gold border edged in black. Each entry and respective etymologies in the text are introduced by a three to five-line foliate initial. The colour of the ground in the initials corresponds to the colour of the rubric below the miniature. A spray bar border extends approximately half-way down the left hand border from each large foliate initial. The loose spray is composed of gold ivy, blue and red flowers and sparse green foliage. Small one-line dentelle initials and narrow line-endings in gold, blue and red appear throughout the text.

Subjects of Miniatures: folio numbers follow the original Roman numerals. fol. 4: The Crucifixion of St. Andrew; fol. 6v.: St. Nicholas raises three boys from the brine tub; fol. 8v.: St. Lucy, burning at the stake, is pierced through the throat by a spear; fol. 9: The Incredulity of St. Thomas; fol. 9v.: The martyrdom of St. Thomas; fol. 11v.: The Nativity; fol. 13v.: St. Anastasia is burned at the stake; fol. 14: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 16: In the presence of the proconsul, St. John Evangelist makes the sign of the cross over the poison cup; fol. 17v.: The Massacre of the Innocents; fol. 18v.: The martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury; fol. 19v.: St. Sylvester disputes with two Jews; fol. 22: The Circumcision; fol. 24: Epiphany. The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 26v.: St. Remy Baptises King Clovis of the Franks; fol. 26v.: A crow brings a loaf of bread to St. Paul the Hermit; fol. 27v.: St. Hilary resists a snake on the island of Gallinaria; fol. 28: St. Macarius, mistakenly depicted as a bishop; fol. 28v.: St. Felix, mistakenly depicted as a bishop; fol. 29: St. Marcellus upbraids the emperor Maximian; fol. 29: St. Antony, with fire at his feet, accompanied by his attribute the pig; fol. 30: St. Fabian Pope is beheaded; fol. 30v.: St. Sebastian is pierced with arrows; fol. 31: Fastened to a burning stake, St. Agnes is martyred by a spear thrust into her throat; fol. 33: St. Vincent is tortured with iron rakes; fol. 34: St. Basil orders the doors of the church to open at the touch of his crook; fol. 35v.: A fair maiden, Pity, appears before St. John the Almoner; fol. 37: The conversion of St. Paul; fol. 38: St. Paula; fol. 39v.: St.
Julian the bishop is mistakenly depicted being beheaded; fol. 43: Salt is rubbed into the wounds of St. Ignatius; fol. 44: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 46v.: St. Blaise is tortured with iron spikes; fol. 47: St. Agatha has a breast torn off; fol. 48v.: St. Vaast the bishop makes whole a blind man and a lame man; fol. 48v.: King Dagobert requests St. Amandus to baptise his son; fol. 49: St. Valentine is beheaded; fol. 49v.: St. Juliana is beheaded; fol. 50: St. Peter preaches to a gathering; fol. 51: St. Matthias is beheaded with an axe; fol. 53: The body of Christ appears to St. Gregory during Mass. The text refers only to his finger; fol. 57: St. Benedict in his retreat; fol. 57: The tongue of St. Longinus is cut out; fol. 60: St. Patrick opens a pit to Purgatory with his staff; fol. 61: Annunciation to the Virgin; fol. 63: The Crucifixion; fol. 66v.: The Resurrection; fol. 69v.: St. Secundus is beheaded; fol. 70v.: A lion digs the grave of St. Mary of Egypt, observed by the priest Zosimus; fol. 71: St. Ambrose at his desk; fol. 74: St. George conquers the dragon; fol. 75v.: St. Mark Evangelist; fol. 77v.: St. Marcellinus is beheaded; fol. 78: St. Vitalis is buried alive, but not head first, as specified by the text; fol. 78v.: The Virgin of Antioch; fol. 80: St. Peter Martyr is martyred by a sword blow to the head; fol. 84: St. Philip Apostle is crucified, and on either side of the cross were buried his two Virgin daughters; fol. 84v.: St. James the Less is martyred by a blow to the head with a fulling stock; fol. 90: St. John Before the Latin Gate. The legend of the poison cup is depicted, which does not pertain to this text; fol. 90v.: The Litanies. The procession of the Lesser Litany; fol. 92: The Ascension of Christ; fol. 98v.: St. Gordian and St. Epimachus are beheaded; fol. 98v.: St. Nereus and St. Achilles preach the faith to their mistress Domatilla; fol. 99: St. Pancratius is beheaded; fol. 99v.: St. Urban is beaten by a rod laden with lead; fol. 100: St. Petronilla, daughter of St. Peter, lies in bed with a fever; fol. 100v.: St. Peter and St. Marcellinus are beheaded fol. 101 Boiling lead is poured into the mouth of St. Primus, witnessed by St. Felicianus; fol. 101: St. Barnabas is beaten; fol. 102v.: St. Vitus is tortured in a red-hot oven; fol. 103: The bodies of St. Julitta and her son St. Quiricus are dismembered, limb by limb; fol. 103v.: St. Marina holds the child she was wrongly accused of fathering. The real mother confesses, and the devil leaves her body; fol. 104: St. Protasius is beheaded. Philip buries the body secretly in a marble tomb; fol. 105: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist; fol. 107v.: SS. John and Paul are beheaded; fol. 108v.: St. Peter is crucified upside down; fol. 108v.: St. Leo the Pope preaches; fol. 112v.: St. Paul is beheaded; fol. 117v.: The Seven Sons of St. Felicitas are beheaded; fol. 118: St. Theodora with the child she was wrongly accused of fathering; fol. 119: St. Margaret of Antioch bursts from the belly of a dragon; fol. 120: The parents of St. Alexis mourn at the discovery of their son’s body; fol. 121: Angels carry away the souls of St. Praxedes and St. Pudentiana; fol. 121: St. Mary Magdalen with her parents; fol. 124v.: St. Apollinaris is martyred with blows; fol. 125: St. Christina is shot with three arrows; fol. 125v.: St. James the Greater and his scribe are beheaded; 128v.: St. Christopher carries the Christchild across the river; fol. 130: One of the Seven Sleepers is captured with a rope around the neck, after he attempted to buy bread with ancient coins; fol. 131: St. Nazarius and St. Celsus are beheaded; fol. 132: St. Felix is beheaded; fol. 132v.: St. Simplicius is beheaded, and Beatrice sews up the corpse of St. Faustinus in order to give them a Christian burial; fol. 133: St. Martha subdues a dragon with Holy Water and the monster is speared; fol. 134: SS. Abdon and Sennen, accompanied by the wild beasts who refused to kill them, are stabbed to death; fol. 134: St. Germain escapes a fire, which refuses to burn him; fol. 135v.: St. Eusebius; fol. 136: The Holy Machabees with their Mother; fol. 136v.: St. Peter is cast into prison; fol. 138: St. Stephen Pope is beheaded; fol. 138v.: The Invention of St. Stephen. The body of St. Stephen is exhumed; fol. 140: St. Dominic preaches; fol. 144v.: St. Sixtus and his companions are beheaded; fol. 145: St. Donatus raised a dead man; fol. 145v.: St. Cyriacus is beheaded; fol. 146v.: St. Laurence on the gridiron; fol. 150: St. Hippolytus is attached by the feet and hands to untamed horses; fol. 151: The Dormition; fol. 154v.: The Manner of the Assumption. A monk preaches to a small gathering; fol. 157v.:
St. Bernard blesses a woman; fol. 160v.: St. Timothy and his companion are tortured and beheaded; fol. 161: St. Simphorianus is beheaded; fol. 161: St. Bartholomew is flayed alive; fol. 163v.: St. Augustine, preaching before a small group, holds a small image of the Trinity in his hand; fol. 168v.: The beheading of St. John the Baptist; fol. 170v.: St. Felix is crucified and St. Aduactus is beheaded. The text relates that both saints were beheaded; fol. 171: St. Savinianus is tortured by flames while St. Savina lies dead nearby; fol. 172: St. Lupus with King Clotheaire of the Franks; fol. 172v.: St. Mamertinus discovers serpents under the tomb of St. Concordian; fol. 173: St. Giles with his attribute, the hind; fol. 173v.: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 176v.: On the shore, St. Hadrian's limbs are cut off. In a boat at sea, Christians flee with the Saint's hand (not represented); fol. 178: St. Gorgonius and St. Dorotheus are hanged on a gibbet; fol. 178: St. Protus and St. Hyacinthus are beheaded; fol. 179: Heraclius carries the True Cross into Jerusalem; fol. 181: St. John Chrysostom is beheaded. This is not included in the text; fol. 183v.: St. Cornelius is beaten with scourges, and St. Cyprian is beheaded; fol. 184: St. Euphemia is tortured on a burning wheel; fol. 185: St. Lambert is speared in the back as he prays; fol. 185: St. Matthew Evangelist is martyred by a spear driven into his back; fol. 187: St. Maurice as a knight of the Holy Legion; fol. 188v.: St. Justina is tortured in a cauldron filled with wax, pitch and sulphur; fol. 189v.: St. Cosmas and St. Damian are beheaded; fol. 190v.: Angels and demons battle for the soul of St. Fursey; fol. 191: St. Michael the Archangel as the weiger of souls. Not based directly on the text; fol. 194v.: St. Jerome tends to a lion's wounded foot; fol. 196: Two monks bear the body of St. Remy in a litter; fol. 196v.: St. Leger is beheaded. Another saint, unaccounted for in the text, has a stake driven through his chest; fol. 197v.: St. Francis receives the stigmata; fol. 201: St. Pelagia is baptised; fol. 201v.: St. Margaret Pelagius in the cave of her exile, is fed bread and water by a monk; fol. 202: St. Thais the Courtesan seeks forgiveness at the feet of the abbot; fol. 203: St. Dionysus and his companions are beheaded; fol. 205: St. Callixtus is thrown into a well, and his companion Palmatius is beheaded; fol. 205v.: St. Leonard, patron of prisoners, with two men bound in chains; fol. 206v.: St. Luke Evangelist; fol. 209: St. Chrysanthus and St. Daria are placed in a pit and crushed with earth and stones. The artist has represented the woman Daria as a man; fol. 209v.: The 11,000 Virgins are beheaded and St. Ursula is driven through with arrows; fol. 211: SS. Simon and Jude are martyred at a pagan temple; fol. 213: St. Quentin is tortured by two nails driven through his body from head to legs; fol. 213v.: St. Eustace stands in a stream while wild animals carry off his two sons in opposite directions; fol. 215: All Saints. The congregation of saints with the Virgin and Child. St. Katherine and the Christchild are in poses which recall the mystic marriage of St. Katherine; fol. 218: All Souls. The body of a man is buried; fol. 222: The Four Crowned Martyrs are placed alive into leaden chests and thrown into the sea; fol. 222: St. Theodore is martyred at the stake; fol. 222v.: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar; fol. 226: St. Brixius carries burning coals in his vesture; fol. 226v.: St. Elizabeth of Hungary tends to a sick bedridden man; fol. 229: St. Valerian and St. Tibertius lie decapitated beside St. Cecilia, struck by an executioner as she sits in her bath; fol. 231: St. Clement; fol. 234v.: St. Chrysogonus is beheaded; fol. 235: An angel destroys the wheels of St. Katherine's torture; fol. 237v.: St. Saturninus is dragged by the feet by a bull, while St. Satyrus is devoured by a lion; fol. 238v.: St. James the Dismembered has his fingers cut off; fol. 239v.: St. Pastor the Abbot instructs his brethren; fol. 240v.: St. John the Abbot lies dying, attended by his brethren; fol. 240v.: St. Moses the Abbot counsels a monk; fol. 241 St. Arsenius the Abbot, offended by a woman who threw herself at his feet, lifts her up; fol. 241v.: St. Agathon the Abbot counsels two monks; fol. 242: St. Baarlam converts King Josephat; fol. 246v.: St. Pelagius the Pope instructs his flock; fol. 253: The Dedication of a Church. Les Festes nouvelles: fol. 257: St. Eloy holds his attribute, the smith's hammer, and blesses a man shoeing a horse; fol. 258v.: St. Simeon Stylite hands his tunic to a monk; fol. 260: The Conception of the Virgin.
St. Ann and St. Joachim embrace at the Golden Gate; fol. 261v.: St. Nicaise, bishop of Rheims is beheaded by barbarians; fol. 262v.: St. Mor heals a cripple; fol. 263v.: St. Fuscien and his companions are beheaded; fol. 265: St. Baudeur the nun; fol. 264v.: St. Polycarp is tortured with fire; fol. 266: St. Euphemia is martyred by a sword driven through her neck; fol. 265v.: St. Scholastica with her brother St. Benedict; fol. 267: St. Tybircien and St. Valerian are beheaded; fol. 268: St. Quiriac is boiled alive and his companion is hanged from a tree; fol. 269: St. Soupplice, bishop of Bourges, blesses a man; fol. 270v.: Soldiers kneel before St. Remy; 271: St. Medard, bishop of Vermandois, gives his tunic to poor man; fol. 271v.: St. Sebastian is shot with arrows; fol. 273: St. Guillaume of Bourges blesses a small child; fol. 273v.: St. Eutropie is sawn in half; fol. 275: St. Leuffroy of Evreaux kneels before a man on a horse. The horse’s side is ripped open; fol. 275v.: St. Avitus of Orleans clasps hands with a monk saint; fol. 276: St. Germain of Paris; fol. 276v.: St. Cani and his companion are beheaded; fol. 278: St. Paulinus of Nola addresses three saints; fol. 278: St. Paulinus blesses a woman; fol. 279: St. Felicule is beaten with sticks; fol. 279v.: St. Maturin exorcises a woman; fol. 280: St. Januare baptises a couple; fol. 281: St. Arnoul, bishop of Metz; fol. 282v.: St. Donat, bishop of Chalons, subdues a dragon; fol. 284: St. Turien of Brittany preaches; fol. 284v.: St. Fiacre of Meaux reads to a crippled woman; fol. 286: St. Justin counsels two men; fol. 286v.: St. Victor is captured; fol. 287v.: St. Marciel of Limoges resurrects two men; fol. 289v.: St. Demetrius is martyred in prison; fol. 290: St. Rigobert preaches; fol. 290v.: St. Landry counsels a man; fol. 291: St. Mellonin of Rouen preaches; fol. 291v.: The Holy Sacrament. Eucharist; fol. 293: St. Thomas Aquinas preaches; fol. 295: St. Yves of Treguer requests that a rich man give money to a cripple; fol. 297: St. Louis of France sails with his army to the Crusades; fol. 300v.: St. Louis of Marseilles, with his crown in his hand; fol. 302: St. Genevieve holds her attribute, the taper which a demon attempts to extinguish; fol. 310: The First History of the Volto Santo. An angel instructs Nicodemus to cut down a certain tree; fol. 311v.: The Second History of the Volto Santo. An angel fashions the face of the statue in the image of Christ, while Nicodemus sleeps; fol. 312: The Third History. The miracle of the poor musician; fol. 312v.: The Fourth History. The Bishop Leuffroy discovers the statue of the Volto Santo after many years; fol. 313: The Fifth History. The Volto Santo is carried to a ship bound for Italy; fol. 314: The Sixth History. The Volto Santo on board the ship; fol. 314v.: The Seventh History. A young German makes a golden table to go above the altar of the Volto Santo; fol. 315v.: The Eighth History. On reaching Italy, The Volto Santo is unloaded from the ship by the bishop of Lucca; fol. 317: The Ninth History. Unguided, oxen pull a cart carrying the Volto Santo towards the city of Lucca; fol. 317v.: The Tenth History. The boat bearing the statue is greeted by the people of Luni; fol. 319: A man prays before the Volto Santo of Lucca.

Commentary: The numerous miniatures of this manuscript represent the most ambitious commission undertaken by the artist named by Eleanor Spencer the Master of the Munich Golden Legend. The origins and career of this prolific artist have not been explored in depth, but it seems that the style associated with him appeared in Paris around 1420 and disappeared in about 1450. Many manuscripts illuminated in the distinctive, decorative style are extant; Pächt and Thoss (1974) located 11, 144

145 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, O. Pächt and D. Thoss op. cit., 140, list Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 1158; Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 13288; Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Nouv. Acqu. lat. 3111; Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 70; Naples, Bibl. Naz. MS I B 27; Einseideln Codex 291; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS I 1.6.23; Baltimore, Walters MS 288; the Sobieski
Spencer (1977) alluded to 25, and Plummer (1982) added several others to Pächt and Thoss' original list. The identification of this artist's individual style and the suggestion that he formed his own workshop is only relatively recent. Writing prior to Spencer's attribution, Pächt and Thoss considered the artist to be a member of the Bedford atelier, and Millard Meiss related the style both to the work of the Egerton Master and to the Master of the Harvard Hannibal. Spencer, while recognizing that the work of the artist should be given the status of a distinct style, could not differentiate shop hands, and concluded that the artist worked in isolation. Plummer however, does acknowledge certain differences in the body of work executed in the Master's style, and rightly attributes these variations to the activity of several artists participating in a workshop situation.

If the number and importance of his commissions is any indication the artist was a major artistic force in post-1420 Paris. In addition to the Munich Légende dorée, the style appears in the sumptuous Sobieski Hours (Windsor Castle, Royal Library), along with illumination by the Bedford Master and the Fastolf Master (figs. 211–214). The master or his workshop contributed to at least one other manuscript with artists from the Bedford shop, a Book of Hours for the use of Rouen (Naples, Bibl. Naz. cod. 1.B.27), and his work or the work of a close follower appears with the style of the Master of Jean Rolin II in another Book of Hours (Naples, Bibl. Naz. cod. 1.B.30). There is evidence to suggest that the Golden Legend Master's skills also extended to the painting of large panels. Spencer has claimed that a panel now in the Musée de Cluny in Paris, depicting the family of Jouvenal des Ursins at prayer, was executed by this artist (figs. 215–216). The work is stylistically very similar to the Golden Legend Master’s illumination, particularly in female figure types and headdresses and overall decorative qualities, and the date of 1445–9 is consistent with the later stages of the artist’s career. If not attributable to the same artist responsible for the manuscript, it is surely the work of a closely related artist trained in the same tradition.

While the identity of the Munich Golden Legend Master, like that of so many other medieval artists, remains a mystery, in the Munich Légende dorée there is an intriguing clue to the name of the artist.

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146 Unfortunately Spencer, The Sobieski Hours (op. cit.), does not list these 25 manuscripts.
149 E. Spencer, The Sobieski Hours, op. cit., 55.
Written in the open book of St. Mark on fol. 75v. are the unfortunately undecipherable words "Dor---Lo---talions fecit".  

Characterised by a striking boldness of design and colour, the style is quite distinctive and easily recognizable. In the Munich Légende dorée the artist’s predilection for the effects of patterning sometimes approach a form of expressionism, where nearly every element of the composition is exploited as a decorative feature. Backgrounds, when abstract, are not composed of discrete tessellations, but of bold repeating designs in bright colours on a dark background, which effectively propel the background into the level of attention customarily reserved for foreground action. The sky of landscape backgrounds, which is usually an intense dark blue studded at regular intervals with large gold stars, is visually just as arresting. While clothing is nearly always plain, floor-tiles, bed-coverings, wall-hangings and canopies are decorated in patterns as bold as those used for the background. In the miniature for the Nativity of the Virgin on fol. 173v. of the Légende dorée it is difficult at first glance to distinguish the background from the similarly patterned coverlet of the Virgin’s bed (fig. 122). Elements of nature of also used for their decorative potential. Tongues of golden flames form a stylised aura around St. Vitus, fol. 102v. (fig. 118), and sprigs of light green grass writhe like the flames behind which envelope St. Justine on fol. 188v. On occasion the artist uses pattern with some wit, which suggests that he was fully aware of the effects he was creating. In the miniature of St. Cyriacus, on fol. 145v. the plant sprigs of the foreground are echoed in the background design and on fol. 118 the rosettes in the background, which are found only in this miniature, are a reference to the window above the door of St. Theodora’s church, and to ecclesiastical architecture in general. This extensive use of pattern serves to flatten the pictorial space, reducing it to a play of two-dimensional design. It is a tendency that is also characteristic, though perhaps not as marked, in the other manuscripts illuminated in the same style. For example, a miniature representing the Annunciation from a manuscript in Einsiedeln, (cod. 291) includes six different repeating decorative patterns, some of which also appear in the Munich Légende dorée (fig. 217).  

The figure types in the Légende dorée are stocky, with heavy-lidded eyes and bulbous noses in large heads often depicted in profile. Despite the scenes of torture and martyrdoms, the figures have a well-rounded, docile quality. This is partly achieved by the rather linear technique, in which forms are

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150 Pächt and Thoss, op. cit., suggest that the inscription reads “Dorace Loma —talion fecit”. The miniature is reproduced by the authors, fig. 49.  

151 A characteristic pattern used frequently by the Master of the Munich Golden Legend is the design on the backdrop curtain in the Einsiedeln Annunciation. It appears in the Légende dorée on fol. 22, Circumcision and 35v. St. John the Almoner, in the background. It is also used by the Bedford atelier (Salisbury Breviary, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 17294, fol. 228v.), which may argue for the Munich Golden Legend Master’s links with the Bedford shop.
distinguished by a firm outline which is slightly shaded to indicate volume and weight. This tendency is also evident in the Louvre panel, in the well defined necks and facial features of the kneeling figures. Overall, it gives an impression of stolidity which is somewhat at odds with the stocky yet energetic figures of the Bedford tradition. Landscape, when it makes a rare appearance, is composed of twisted crags and leafy trees with slender knotted trunks and foliage highlighted in pale green. Characteristic of the artist in the Légende dorée, although he doesn't do it consistently, is the construction of a narrow earthy ledge in the immediate foreground of the miniature.

The style which is attributed to the Master of the Munich Golden Legend has been described, and manuscripts illuminated in the style have been identified, but two issues associated with the artist remain unresolved. The origins of the style have not been fully explored, and the structure of the Master's workshop, if indeed he had one at all, is uncertain. Both these problems are complex, and the following points can offer only a summary of areas which should be the subject of closer attention.

Although Spencer claimed that the Munich Golden Legend style was not indebted to Parisian traditions, it does in fact owe much to contemporary Parisian illumination. While his style is distinctive, several features were not used by him exclusively, which suggests some degree of artistic interchange. The backgrounds of the Bedford Master and the Fastolf Master in the Sobieski Hours employ similar pale green tipped trees and fractured, rocky outcrops. The star studded skies so characteristic of the Golden Legend artist also appear in the miniatures by the Bedford Master, such as the calendar scenes in the Bedford Hours (London, British Library, MS Add. 18850). The artist's strong ornamental sense is matched by the Egerton Master, who contrasts surface patterns in a similar fashion. The bold decorative acanthus backgrounds of the Golden Legend artist also appeared previously in miniatures by the Egerton Master. The figure style, while distinct from the Bedford tradition, is also rather similar in the rounded, stocky forms and full faces. At least one gestural expression common in the Golden Legend master's work, hands outstretched in surprise, appears also in the Bedford style and is probably derived from it. Parallels can also be made with the Master of the Harvard Hannibal, particularly in the decorative qualities, female faces and impression of volume and weight. The artist's iconography offers little indication as to his origins, for like much of his style, it conforms to common Parisian practice. Nevertheless, the exaggerated patterning and stylization

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152 Spencer finds no links with the Bedford style, and suggests that stylistic parallels may be found in German panel painting, although she does not specify which ones. Evidence from the manuscripts illuminated by the Master also suggests links with Brittany and Rouen. New York, Pierpont Morgan M.241, is located by Plummer to Le Mans or Angers. Included in the litany of the Sobieski Hours is St. Tugouale of Treguier, spelt in the Breton fashion, and the manuscript includes an illumination of Mont Saint-Michel, fol. 204v. Two books of hours with miniatures by the Master of the Munich Golden Legend were made for the use of Rouen: Naples, Bibl. Naz. MS I.B.27, and Minneapolis, Private Collection.
evident in some of his work does suggest that he was influenced, perhaps during his training, by non-French traditions. Possibly these were Bohemian or German, but this artist is so well adapted to the customs of French illumination that he has left very few characteristics which might betray foreign origins.

The second issue centres on the artist’s working methods. Spencer believes that the master worked in isolation, without the aid of an organized workshop of assistants. Plummer on the other hand, has found "numerous manuscripts with derivative miniatures" which suggest that a shop consisting of several artists contributed to the style of the Master of the Munich Golden Legend. Plummer’s view is probably closer to the truth. The workshop situation appears to have been the more common practice, especially for artists employed as often as this Master. Certainly, rationalization of labour makes more sense economically in a thriving business. There are minor stylistic variations within the style which may be attributable to different hands. For instance, the Munich artist sometimes uses a frog-like, ugly profile view, such as the figure of Gabriel on fol. 61 and the Virgin on fol. 22, which does not appear in other seemingly more competent manuscripts such as the Sobieski Hours. Naming the artist or style after the Munich Légende dorée is somewhat misleading, for although the manuscript contains the longest cycle of illumination it is not necessarily the most highly finished. Possibly the subject matter called for summary illustration, but most of the compositions are quite simple, with detail and architectural indicators of setting usually omitted. For example the Annunciation on fol. 61 does not take place in a recognizable church interior, as it does in the same subject in Einsiedeln codex 291. The attention received by the glowing, heavy draperies of the Virgin in the Einsiedeln miniature is not matched in the other miniature in the Munich manuscript. The quality of illumination in the Munich Légende dorée is uneven. Some compositions, like the Circumcision on fol. 22 are poorly planned, and figures such as the Virgin are badly proportioned. St. Katherine’s wheel on fol. 215 has been misunderstood in the model by a careless illuminator who incorporated it awkwardly into her robe. There are examples of more competent work, yet even these illuminations tend to be rather simple in composition. These variations in style and quality suggest the participation of more than one artist both in the Munich Légende dorée and in the workshop. At least two other manuscripts with illumination in the Golden Legend style may be added to the existing lists of the workshop’s oeuvre. Both Books of Hours, (Einsiedeln cod. Misc. 1108 and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 63) are not by the same hand, yet they exhibit the style's main tendencies.

There is a wide diversity of compositional schemas within manuscripts illuminated in the Golden Legend style, which could constitute another argument for the involvement of several artists. Most manuscripts in the style are Books of Hours, and while the miniatures retain the salient features of the
style, the compositions vary considerably. For instance, the Nativity on fol. 11v. of the Munich *Légende dorée* differs in composition and in iconography from the examples in Baltimore, Walters MS W.288 fol. S2v., London, British Library Add. MS 18192, fol. 52, Vienna Nat. Bibl. Codex S.n. 2614 fol. 63, and the Sobieski Hours, Windsor Castle, fol. 104v. These compositional differences are particularly evident and perplexing when the Sobieski Hours and the Munich *Légende dorée* are compared. The unmistakable style of the Master of the Munich *Golden Legend* appears in many miniatures in the Sobieski Hours, including several which illustrate the lives of the saints. These miniatures are divided into several sections to form pictorial narratives exceptionally complex for a Book of Hours (figs. 211–14). Not surprisingly, in many cases the source for these narratives appears to be the text of Voragine’s *Legenda aurea*. It might be expected that the Master, responsible for both the Munich *Légende dorée* and the Sobieski Hours, would have used similar models for the pictorial subjects shared by both manuscripts, such as the Finding of the True Cross, the Life of the Virgin, the Life of St. Bartholomew, and the lives of other saints. This is not the case, for all the compositions are different, and there is no firm evidence that the artist referred to one manuscript when illuminating the other, or even drew upon the same repertoire of models. For example, the miniature depicting the life of St. Bartholomew, fol. 209v. of the Sobieski Hours, shows as the final scene, the flaying of the saint (fig. 214). This standard martyrdom scene also appears in the *Légende dorée*, fol. 161 (fig. 121), and although the two miniatures are similar, they do not employ the same model. This situation is quite puzzling, for workshops generally developed a repertoire of patterns which were used repeatedly. It is, for example, possible to refer to a Bedford group type of Annunciation, or a Maître François type of Adoration of the Magi. The compositional variations within the *Golden Legend* style may reflect a fairly loose workshop structure where the individual artists enjoyed a measure of independence, but at this stage it difficult to satisfactorily explain without a more thorough examination of the relevant manuscripts. It does seem reasonable to suggest though, that the diversity of compositions in the style is beyond the ingenuity and scope of a single artist.

Although the Munich *Légende dorée* is an accomplished example of the *Golden Legend* style, it is not as sophisticated in style and composition as the illumination in works like the Sobieski Hours. It is true that the *Légende dorée* was not generally decorated with complex pictorial narratives, and this tradition must be considered in regard to the often simplified compositions of the Munich manuscript. While the illumination may be the work of the Master, the quality of some of the miniatures tends to suggest that assistants were also employed for the commission. However, identification of the different hands, and an outline of the development and chronology of this distinctive style must await a more extensive study.
Bibliography

Leidinger (1912), 26; Olschky (1932), 10, pl.VI; Meiss (1956), 195 n.30; Meiss (1967), 358; Manning (1970), 45; Meiss (1974), 387; Pöcht and Thoss (1974), 139–141, fig. 49; Spencer (1977); Plummer (1982); Russell (1986); Hamer (1986).

The manuscript is prefaced by a page bearing the arms of the prince elect Frederick the Magnanimous (1503–1554). The manuscript passed from the possession of the prince to the Jena Universitätssbibliothek at the time of its foundation.

**Decoration:** 66 miniatures including a frontispiece (260 X 217) and 63 column-width miniatures (69–95 X 99–101). The miniatures are placed before the corresponding text and after the relevant etymology. As the manuscript has only been studied from microfilm the palette is not known. The small miniatures are surrounded by a narrow gold frame, the frontispiece by a narrow gold frame which encloses a wider bi-coloured frame decorated with white tracery. The miniature introducing Vignay's Preface on fol. 2 is accompanied by a bracket right bar border and the miniature introducing Advent on fol. 6 is accompanied by a ¾ bar border. Each miniature, with the exception of the frontispiece is introduced by a three to five-line foliate initial from which extend sprigs of gold ivy leaf, decorated with gold “bugs” and small flowers. The etymologies are introduced by two-line initials decorated early in the volume with pen flourishes in a contrasting colour. Later on these flourishes are omitted. One-line flourished initials appear throughout the text. Line endings in a repeating abstract design appear throughout the text.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** fol. 2: Vignay's Preface. A scribe portrait; fol. 5: Frontispiece. Appears without accompanying text. The crowned Virgin and the Lord appear above the congregation of the saints; fol. 6: Advent. The Virgin adores the Child; fol. 9: St. Andrew holds his attribute, the saltire cross; fol. 16: St. Thomas the Apostle; fol. 18v.: The Nativity; fol. 24: St. John Evangelist on the island of Patmos; fol. 31v.: The Circumcision; fol. 34: The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 50: The Conversion of St. Paul; fol. 53v.: Septuagesima; fol. 54v.: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 57v.: St. Matthew Evangelist; 58v.: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 79: The Annunciation; fol. 81v.: The Passion. Christ carries the Cross; fol. 86: The Resurrection; fol. 95: St. George vanquishes the dragon; fol. 97: St. Mark Evangelist; fol. 106v.: St. Philip Apostle in prayer; fol. 107: St. James the Less holds his attribute, the fulling stock or club; fol. 110v.: The Invention of the Holy Cross. The Dream of Constantine; fol. 113: The Rogations. Men lie struck by the pestilence; fol. 115: St. John Evangelist holds the poison cup; fol. 115v.: The Ascension; fol. 118v.: Pentecost fol. 125v.: St. Barnabas; fol. 129v.: The Nativity of St. John the Baptist; fol. 134v.: The Crucifixion of St. Peter Apostle; fol. 139: St. Paul Apostle; fol. 149: St. Mary Magdalen; fol. 154: St. James the Greater as a pilgrim; fol. 157: St. Christopher carries the Christchild across a river; fol. 166: St. Peter in Chains. The saint is depicted enclosed in stocks; fol. 168: St. Stephen Pope; fol. 177v.: St. Laurence holds his attribute, the gridiron; fol. 182v.: The Dormition; fol. 189v.: St. Bernard; fol. 195v.: St. Augustine; fol. 201: The Decollation of St. John the Baptist; fol. 207: The Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 213v.: The Exaltation of the Holy Cross; fol. 220: St. Mark Evangelist; fol. 227: St. Michael the Archangel spears the demon; fol. 231v.: St. Jerome; fol. 235: St. Francis displays the stigmata; fol. 242v.: St.

Commentary: In style and iconography the miniatures of this volume are clearly modelled on illumination by the atelier of the Boucicaut Master. However, the general quality of work in the manuscript is derivative and should be attributed to a follower of the Boucicaut Master rather than to a member of the immediate workshop or to an associate.\(^1\)\(^5\)\(^3\)

The artist of this Légende dorée has adopted several of the Master's stylistic trademarks, but his technique is weak and most miniatures are carelessly executed. This is evident even in the frontispiece, which is customarily the most highly finished miniature of a programme (fig. 123). The sketchy technique is unsubtle and the paint seems hastily applied with little care or skill. Figures are long and ungainly and lack substantiality. This artist does not have a sophisticated control of spatial representation, and his buildings, such as the structure in the Circumcision fol. 39v. (fig. 125), are ill-conceived and spatially ambiguous. The influence of the Boucicaut Master is everywhere apparent, for the Légende dorée artist is a slavish imitator who lacks the skills to copy well or to adapt and transform the style to make it his own. An indication of this literal-mindedness is his willingness to mimic the small details of Boucicaut Master's work. In the frontispiece of this manuscript, the striped pattern of the celestial throne, landscape features like the background and foreground trees, jagged rises and grassy platform in the immediate foreground are all characteristic of the Master's style in the Boucicaut Hours (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André MS 2), c. 1405–8. Drapery folds, which appear fussy and overworked without achieving a substantial and voluminous effect, are an attempt to reproduce the sinuous, weighty garb like the Virgin's robe in The Adoration of the Magi on fol. 83v. of the Boucicaut Hours. Predictably the artist has not attempted any of the Master's innovations in space and perspective. There is no hint of aerial perspective, atmospheric effects or the diaphragm arch, these

\(^{153}\) M. Meiss, The Boucicaut Master, op. cit., 139 lists the Jean manuscript under "miniatures of the Boucicaut circle", suggesting that the artist was a late follower, c. 1425. For the Boucicaut Master see Meiss, ibid. The Master was active in Paris from around 1400 to 1420. One of the latest manuscripts illuminated by his workshop is New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M.1000, a Book of Hours of c. 1420. The identification of the artist with Jacques Coene, discussed by Meiss, ibid., 60ff., is out of the scope of this catalogue. For the Boucicaut style see this catalogue, entries 20 and 21. 211
being avoided through simplicity of composition, where a single figure is set in a formularized landscape against a tessellated background.

In most instances, iconography and composition as well as style are clearly modelled on the work of the Boucicaut Master and workshop. The draped throne of the frontispiece, surmounted by a fringed canopy supported by four angels appears in a miniature representing David's vision of the Lord in the Boucicaut Hours, fol. 125v. (fig. 218). It is used again by the Master and his workshop in a later miniature, fol. 252 in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS 770, although here without the four supports. This miniature also represents a celestial scene similar to the Légende dorée example; Christ and the Virgin in Glory with the faithful below.\textsuperscript{154} The Légende dorée miniature for The Nativity, on fol. 6, derives from the Nativity scene of fol. 73v. of the Boucicaut Hours.\textsuperscript{155} Unlike the Nativity miniature in the Légende dorée MS Fb (cat. 21), also illuminated in the Boucicaut style, this composition does not represent the Virgin testing the Child's bath water. Rather it depicts another subject favoured by the Boucicaut Master and shop, the Virgin kneeling in adoration of the Child (fig. 123).\textsuperscript{156} The components and composition of the Légende dorée illumination are drawn from the Boucicaut Hours example, although much of the detail, like the innovative perspective of the shed, the book, angels, ass and ox are omitted. Yet other details are very close, such as the arrangement and decorated trim of the Virgin's draperies and the position of the Child on the bed. This composition was part of the repertoire of the Boucicaut shop, and appears in a later Book of Hours by the workshop, (Baltimore, Walters MS 770, fol. 139v.).\textsuperscript{157} Other miniatures in the Légende dorée are abbreviated and sometimes misunderstood versions of Boucicaut compositions. The structure of the Circumcision, fol. 39v. (fig. 125) is a poor interpretation of the sort of architectural vault seen in the Boucicaut Hours Presentation in the Temple (fol. 87v.). The Virgin and handmaid, who are viewed through a window, are misrepresented, as they should be moving through the customary doorway seen in other standard Boucicaut shop manuscripts.

Most compositions in the Légende dorée show minimal detail. Architectural setting is nearly always omitted, and many saints are represented by the simple "iconic", standing figure holding an attribute. For those saints not represented in this way the artist has usually managed to draw on Boucicaut patterns. For example, The Passion (fol. 81v.) is illustrated by a miniature depicting the Way to Calvary, which is an unusual subject for this entry in manuscripts of the Légende dorée, but a composition seen

\textsuperscript{154} Reproduced by Meiss, ibid., fig. 342
\textsuperscript{155} Reproduced by Meiss, ibid., fig. 31.
\textsuperscript{156} See the discussion by R. Schilling, "The Nativity and Adoration of the Child Christ in French Miniatures of the Early Fifteenth Century", op. cit.
\textsuperscript{157} Reproduced by Meiss, The Boucicaut Master, op. cit., fig. 340.
in other Boucicaut workshop manuscripts such as a book of hours (Berlin-Dahlem, Staat. Museen, MS 78 C4, fol. 214).\textsuperscript{158} Contrary to the textual description and to pictorial custom, in which an angel is depicted releasing him from prison, St. Peter in Chains on fol. 166 is represented seated in stocks (fig. 126). It is likely that the artist employed Boucicaut patterns for this miniature, as a precedent for the depiction of stocks appears in a Boucicaut shop manuscript of Boccaccio's \textit{Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes} (New York, Coll. Francis Kettaneh).\textsuperscript{159}

While it is clear that this manuscript is illuminated in the manner of the Boucicaut Master, the range of artists who may lay claim to the style through their collaboration with, assistance to and imitation of the Master, complicate efforts to locate the illumination more precisely. However, the poor quality of the work and the naivety of interpretation of the Master's compositions suggest that we are dealing with an imitator rather than an artist conversant with shop techniques and patterns. Stylistically the artist's work is sketchier and the figures more awkward than the usually elegant Boucicaut tradition, and in this way it resembles miniatures by the Boucicaut shop in the \textit{Merveilles du monde} (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 2810), c. 1412. The impression of rapid sketching and thin layers of paint in the miniatures of this manuscript and also in the \textit{Légende dorée}, appear to have been influenced by the illumination of innovative younger Parisian artists such as the Rohan Master and the Apocalypse Master, who used a similar technique almost as a form of expressionism. They were active until 1420 and beyond, and for this reason it would be wise to follow Meiss' suggestion and date the programme of illumination late, possibly c. 1425, when the Boucicaut style was no longer new or challenging, enabling this conservative illuminator to consciously imitate it with relaxed hindsight.

**Bibliography**

\textit{Jena, Universitätsbibliothek} (1907); \textit{Olschky} (1932), 27–28; \textit{Meiss} (1968), 139; \textit{Hamer} (1986); \textit{Russell} (1986); \textit{Hamer and Russell} (1989).

\textsuperscript{158} Reproduced by Meiss, ibid., fig.233.

\textsuperscript{159} Reproduced by Meiss, ibid., fig. 398.
La Légende dorée in the “b” version of the translation by Jean de Vignay. La Légende dorée: Morgan M.672, fols. 1–124v.: Vignay’s Preface—Septuagesima. M.673, fols. 125–270: Sexagesima—Pentecost. M.674, fols. 271–408v.: St. Peter the Exorcist—Assumption of the Virgin. M.675, fols. 1–155v.: Assumption of the Virgin—St. Luke. Mâcon MS 3, fols. 1–127: St. Chrysanthus and St. Daria—The Dedication of a Church. Les Festes nouvelles: Mâcon MS 3, fols. 127v.–272: St. Simeon—St. Louis of Marseilles. Southern Netherlands, probably Bruges, c. 1470. Vellum. Morgan M.672: 124 folios. M.673: 146 folios. M.674: 128 folios. M.675: 155 folios. 375 X 270. The ruling measurements for the Morgan volumes vary no more than a few millimetres from 40.(156).74 X 31.(250).94. Mâcon M. 3: 272 folios. 393 X 270. Ruling: 48.(156).76 X 38.(250).105. All volumes have 30 lines of text in one column. Rulings in red or purple ink. Script in black ink. Script: *littera bastarda* probably by a single scribe. Foliation in red Roman numerals in the centre of the upper margin of each recto. Modern foliation appears in the upper right corner. Rubrics in red. Jean Caswell has established that the manuscript was originally planned as two volumes. The first volume would have ended at the final gathering of the present M.674 where the explicit on fol. 408v. states "Icy fine le premier volume de la legende doree...", and the second volume at the end of Mâcon MS 3 where the explicit reads "Icy fine le IIe et derrenier volume de la legende doree...". However, during production a decision was made to bind the manuscript as three volumes, the present Morgan M.672 and M.673 composing the first, Morgan M.674 and M.675 the second, and Mâcon MS 3 the third volume. The present binding of five volumes dates from the 19th century. The Morgan volumes are bound in 19th century dark red morocco with gold lettering "*Voragine La Légende Dorée*" together with the respective shelf numbers stamped on the spines. The Mâcon volume is bound in brown calf with "*La Légende Dorée MS Tom. III*" stamped in gold on the spine

The previous owners of the manuscript are well documented. Arms appear on the first folios of Morgan M.672, 674 and Mâcon MS 3. These belong to Jean IV, Sire and Baron d’Auxy (1422–1474), Counsellor and Chamberlain of Philippe le Bon and Chamberlain of Charles le Temeraire. It must be assumed that d’Auxy commissioned the manuscript. From 1540–52 it belonged to Charles de Chabannes, Seigneur de la Palisse. In 1651 or 1665 Louis de Valois or his wife Henriette de la Guiche willed the manuscript to the monastery of the Minims at La Guiche, Saône-et-Loire. After the Revolution, in 1794, it belonged to the Department of Saône-et-Loire, and in 1835 the City of Mâcon purchased the manuscript at the Moreau Sale. Volume III is preserved intact as Mâcon MS 3 in the municipal library. In 1849 the Earl of Ashburnham purchased the first two volumes from the collection of J. Barrois. In 1901 they were sold to Quaritch, from 1902–11 they were in the Leboeuf de Montgermont Collection in Paris, and in 1912 the Pierpont Morgan Library purchased the newly rebound four volumes from the Parisian book dealer Edouard Rahir.

Decoration: 221 miniatures 80–160 X 155–158. Most miniatures measure between 110 and 130 cm in height. Throughout the manuscript several miniatures have been removed, including M.672, fol. 37 which contained The Nativity, St. Lambert from fol. 92v. MS 675 and fol. 150 also from M.675, which would have contained the miniature for St. Luke. From the Mâcon volume the missing folios which
Subjects of Miniatures: Morgan M. 672: fol. 1: Vignay's Preface. Jean de Vignay translates the work in his study; fol. 5: Advent. Christ the Judge and the Resurrection of the dead; fol. 13v.: The Crucifixion of St. Andrew; fol. 22: St. Nicholas raises three boys from the brine tub; fol. 28v.: A sword is plunged into St. Lucy's throat; fol. 31: St. Thomas the Apostle is martyred before a crumbling idol; fol. 43v.: St. Anastasia and her companions are martyred at the stake; fol. 44v.: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 50: St. John Evangelist on Patmos; fol. 55: The Crucifixion of the Virgin; fol. 58: The martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury; fol. 61: St. Sylvester Pope counsels the leprous Constantine using a portrait of SS. Peter and Paul; fol. 68v.: The Circumcision; fol. 75: Epiphany. The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 80v.: In the wilderness St. Antony finds St. Paul the Hermit; fol. 82: St. Remy baptises Clovis, king of the Franks; fol. 83v.: St. Hilary brings an unbaptised boy back to life; fol. 85v.: On his way to his cell, St. Macarius encounters the Devil; fol. 87: St. Felix is martyred by his students; fol. 88: St. Marcellus celebrates Mass; fol. 88v.: St. Antony tormented by demons; fol. 91v.: St. Fabian is beheaded; fol. 92v.: St. Sebastian counsels imprisoned Christians and their families; fol. 96v.: St. Agnes and the prefect’s son, whom the Devil has throttled; fol. 100 St. Vincent is tortured on the grill with iron rakes; fol. 103: St. Basil saves a young man from the Devil; fol. 108: St. John the Almoner gives to the poor. In the background the saint arises from his tomb and hands a woman a paper which records the forgiveness of her sins; fol. 113v.: The Conversion of St. Paul; fol. 115v.: St. Paula leaves for the Holy Land; fol. 118v.: St. Julian the Hospitalier mistakenly slays his own parents as they sleep; fol. 123: Septuagesima. Departure into exile. Morgan M. 623: fol. 125: Sexagesima. Pope Melchiades and St. Sylvester institute Sexagesima; fol. 126: Quinquagesima. The Procession; fol. 127v.: Quadragesima. The Mass on Quadragesima Sunday; fol. 129: Lent; A group congregates before a cathedral; fol. 130v.: St. Ignatius the Bishop is imprisoned; fol. 133: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 140: St. Blaise is beheaded; fol. 143: St. Agatha’s breasts are twisted off; fol. 146v.: At the gates of Arras St. Vaast makes two beggars whole; fol. 147: St. Amandus baptises the son of King Dagobert; fol. 148v.: St. Valentine restores sight to the daughter of the emperor. The beheading of St. Valentine; fol. 149v.: St. Juliana subdues a demon. St. Juliana is beheaded; fol. 151: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 155: St. Matthias Apostles is stoned and beheaded; fol. 159v.: The Mass of St. Gregory; fol. 170v.: St. Longinus’ tongue is cut out and he is beheaded; fol. 171v.: St. Benedict blesses the body of the disobedient monk so he may be buried; fol.
178v.: St. Patrick and the pit to Purgatory; fol. 181: The Annunciation; fol. 186v.: The Crucifixion; fol. 196v.: The Resurrection; fol. 204: St. Secundus is tortured with burning pitch and resin and then beheaded; fol. 206v.: St. Mary of Egypt receives the Sacrament from the priest Zosimus; fol. 209v.: St. Ambrose with his followers; fol. 217: St. George vanquishes the dragon; fol. 222: St. Mark Evangelist in his study; fol. 226: St. Marcellinus is beheaded; fol. 227v.: St. Vitalis is buried alive; fol. 228v.: St. Peter Martyr resuscitates a dead child; fol. 238v.: The Philip Apostle is martyred on the cross; fol. 240: St. James the Less is martyred with a fulling stock; fol. 247v.: The Invention of the Holy Cross. St. Helena brings back the Cross and the nails to Constantine; fol. 253v.: St. John Evangelist with his attribute, the poison cup. The saint is thrown into prison; fol. 255: The Rogations. St. Gregory celebrates the Greater Litany; fol. 258v.: The Ascension; fol. 265v.: Pentecost. The Descent of the Holy Ghost. Morgan M.674: fol. 271: SS. Peter the Exorcist and Marcellinus are beheaded at the entrance to a forest. Their companions are stoned; fol. 272v.: SS. Primus and Felicianus are tortured with nails and boiling lead and finally beheaded; fol. 273v.: SS. Barnabas and Paul preach; fol. 276v.: SS. Vitus and Modestus flee by sea. The saints refuse to sacrifice to false idols. The saints die on the banks of a river; fol. 278: The brains of St. Quiricus are split upon the steps of the tribunal and St. Julitta is whipped and beheaded; fol. 279v.: St. Marina lives as a monk; fol. 280v.: SS. Gervasius and Protasius refuse to worship an idol. St. Protasius is beheaded; fol. 283: Zachary offers incense at the altar. The Visitation. The birth of St. John the Baptist; fol. 289 SS. John and Paul refuse to worship an idol. The two saints are beheaded; fol. 292: St. Leo sins during Communion. He relates his sin to the congregation; fol. 293v.: St. Peter is released from prison by an angel. The saint is crucified upside down; fol. 303v.: St. Paul in the sight of Nero brings a dead man to life. The saint is beheaded; fol. 309v.: St. Felicitas and her seven sons are brought before the prefect; fol. 310: St. Theodora rejects a suitor. She is received in a monastery; fol. 313v.: St. Margaret bursts from the belly of a dragon. She is beheaded; fol. 316: St. Alexis’ father and mother are stoned and thrown into the Tiber; fol. 228: St. Martha and her companions set adrift in a boat. The death of St. Martha; fol. 356v.: SS. Abdon and Sennon contemn false idols. The two saints are stabbed to death; fol. 357v.: St. Germain and the bishop of Auxerre before a pine tree decorated with the heads of wild beasts slain by Germain. St. Germain is consecrated Bishop of Auxerre; fol. 360: St. Eusebius crosses a river in a boat and is met by Bishop Denis of Milan. The saint is stoned to death; fol. 362: The tortures of the Holy Machabees; fol. 363 The empty prison from whence St. Peter in Chains escaped. The faithful kiss the chains of St. Peter; fol. 368 St. Stephen Pope prays that the pagan temple fall down. The saint is beheaded after he finishes Mass; fol. 369: Gamaliel appears to the priest Lucian. Lucian and the bishops find the bodies of St. Stephen, Gameliel, Nicodemus and Abidas; fol. 373v.: St. Dominic beside his church. The death of the saint; fol. 382: St. Sixtus and his companions are beheaded; fol. 383v.: St. Donatus exorcises the Emperor’s daughter. The saint is beheaded; fol. 384v.: St. Cyricus is dragged along the ground and then beheaded; fol. 386v.: St. Laurence is martyred on the gridiron; fol. 396: St. Hippolytus is stripped and beaten. He is martyred by being dragged over stones by wild horses;
St. Brixus denies that he is the father of a child; fol. 46: St. Elizabeth of Hungary gives alms to the poor. She stands holding her attribute, the triple crown; fol. 54v.: St. Urban buries St. Cecilia among the bishops. St. Cecilia is beheaded in a boiling bath; fol. 60v.: St. Clement baptizing; fol. 69v.: St. Chrysogonus refuses to sacrifice to false gods and is beheaded; fol. 71: An angel causes St. Katherine's wheel of torture to collapse. The saint is beheaded; fol. 72: St. Felix blows into the face of an idol, causing it to collapse. The saint is beheaded; fol. 52: St. Savinianus is beheaded. The king's blind eye is healed with the martyr's blood; fol. 55: St. Lupus rings the Church bell of Sens, alarming the attacking enemy; fol. 56v.: St. Mamertinus adores false idols. The saint enters the monastery of St. Germain; fol. 58v.: St. Giles is shot with an arrow while protecting a hind. The saint prays for the king at Mass; fol. 60v.: Joachim attempts to offer sacrifice at the temple. The Annunciation to Joachim; fol. 69v.: St. Hadrian is martyred by having his limbs cut off upon an anvil; fol. 73v.: St. Gorgonius and St. Dorotheus are roasted on a gridiron and then hanged on a gibbet; fol. 74v.: SS. Prothus and Hyacinthus are beheaded; fol. 77: Heraclius, clad in his shirt, carries the Holy Cross into Jerusalem; fol. 82: St. John Chrysostom in his study. The translation of the saint's remains to Constantinople; fol. 89: St. Cornelius and his companions are beheaded; fol. 90: St. Euphemia is tortured in a serpent pit and on a burning wheel, then beheaded; fol. 92: St. Matthew Apostle is martyred after Mass. The king attempts to burn to death Ephigenia and her companions; fol. 96v.: St. Maurice and the Theban army in battle. The body of St. Innocent is found in the river Rhone; fol. 100: St. Justina and St. Cyprian are tortured in a cauldron then beheaded; fol. 103v.: SS. Cosmas and Damian are tortured by fire then beheaded; fol. 106: Angels and demons fight for the soul of St. Fursey; fol. 109: The appearances of St. Michael; fol. 118: St. Jerome and the lion; fol. 122: St. Remy and the miller. The saint warms himself by the burning mill; fol. 123v.: St. Leger's eyes are put out. The saint is beheaded and his executioner thrown into a fire; fol. 125v.: The temptation of St. Francis. The saint receives the stigmata; fol. 134: St. Pelagia and the Bishop of Heliopolis. The death of the saint; fol. 136: The marriage of St. Margaret Pelagius. On her death she is discovered to be a woman; fol. 137v.: Abbot Paphnutius converts St. Thais the Courtesan then shuts her in a small cell as penance. The abbot consults St. Antony; fol. 140: St. Dionysus and his companions are beheaded; fol. 145: St. Callixtus is whipped and thrown from a window into a well; fol. 146v.: St. Leonard consults the king, who hunts in the forest. Mâcon MS 3: fol. 11v.: St. Chrysanthus and St. Daria are bound in stocks then crushed to death in a pit; fol. 3: St. Ursula shelters the 11,000 Virgins and the bishops under her cloak; fol. 7: SS. Simon and Jude Apostles fill their mantles with serpents. The two saints order two Ethiopians to shatter the false idols; fol. 11v.: St. Quentin is tortured with nails. A noble lady finds his body in the river; fol. 12v.: A crucifix appears to St. Eustace between the antlers of a hind. The saint and his family are martyred in an iron bull; fol. 18: All Saints. The Holy Trinity and the assembly of saints. The Roman battlement upon which was placed statues representing each of the provinces; fol. 25v.: The Commemoration of All Souls. The protesting dead rise from the cemetery. Death visits a couple in bed; fol. 35: The Four Crowned Martyrs are tortured with leaden scourges. They are placed alive in leaden chests and thrown into the sea; fol. 35v.: St. Theodore sets fire to the pagan temple. The martyrdom by fire of St. Theodore; fol. 36v.: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar. A globe of fire appears over the saint's head during Mass; fol. 44v.: St. Brixus denies that he is the father of a child; fol. 46: St. Elizabeth of Hungary gives alms to the poor. She stands holding her attribute, the triple crown; fol. 54v.: St. Urban buries St. Cecilia among the bishops. St. Cecilia is beheaded in a boiling bath; fol. 60: St. Clement baptizing; fol. 69v.: St. Chrysogonus refuses to sacrifice to false gods and is beheaded; fol. 71: An angel causes St. Katherine's wheel of torture to break apart; fol. 78: St. Saturninus the bishop is thrown from the steps of the capitol; fol. 79v.: The limbs of St. James the Dismembered are cut off; fol. 82v.: St. Pastor Abbot counsels two brethren. The
saint prays in the desert; fol. 84: St. John Abbot is afflicted by flies and wasps in the desert. He appears to his brother; fol. 84v.: St. Moses Abbot is instructed by a brother; fol. 85v.: St. Arsenius Abbot and a noble woman. The saint prays in the desert; fol. 87v.: St. Agathon Abbot counsels three brothers; fol. 88v.: St. Barlaam with the King, father of St. Josepht; fol. 100: The king finds seven infants in a pond. St. Pelagius Pope; fol. 117v.: The Dedication of a Church. The painting of 12 crosses. **Les Festes nouvelles**: fol. 127v.: St. Simeon Stylite cures a woman; fol. 132: Conception of the Virgin. St. Joachim and St. Ann meet at the Golden Gate. The Annunciation to St. Joachim; fol. 135v.: St. Aignan and his companions are beheaded; fol. 137v.: St. Mor blesses a woman and child; fol. 141: St. Fuscien and St. Victorius of Amiens are beheaded; fol. 143: St. Polycarp is martyred at the stake; fol. 145: St. Baudeur of Chelles donates a church; fol. 146v.: St. Scholastica and her brother St. Benedict; fol. 149v.: An angel gives crowns to St. Cecile and St. Valerien; fol. 151v.: St. Quiriace is martyred in a boiling bath; fol. 154: St. Soupplice of Bourges is consecrated Bishop; fol. 158: St. Remy of Rheims blesses the king; fol. 160: St. Medard of Noyon gives a robe to a man; fol. 160v.: St. Sebastian is shot with arrows; fol. 164v.: St. Eutropie, Bishop of Saintes, is tortured by burning torches and martyred with a saw; fol. 168: Miracles of St. Ansebert and St. Leuffroy of Evreux; fol. 169v.: St. Avitus of Orleans and St. Carilleff; fol. 171: St. Germain of Paris heals the sick and crippled; fol. 173v.: St. Nazarien and St. Celsus are beheaded outside the gates of Rome as a Christian prepares his grave; fol. 176v.: St. Canci and St. Cancien with their tutor Protus; fol. 177: St. Paulinus of Nola becomes a slave to liberate a widow’s son; fol. 179v.: St. Maturin of Sens and the dream of his mother; fol. 181: St. Januaire and St. Gordian are punished; fol. 182: St. Giaus ordains monks; fol. 184: St. Arnoul of Metz and the miracle of the ring; fol. 188: St. Donat of Chalons at Mass; fol. 197v.: St. Turien of Bretagne raises a woman from the dead; fol. 193: St. Fiacre of Meaux builds a church; fol. 197: The martyrdom of St. Justin; fol. 198v.: St. Victor refuses to offer sacrifice. The saint is beheaded; fol. 200: St. Marcel of Limoges baptises several men and women. Christ preaches; fol. 205v.: The martyrdom of St. Demetrien; fol. 207: St. Rigobert of Rheims is made Archbishop; fol. 208v.: St. Landry of Valenciennes gives alms; fol. 210: St. Mellonin of Rouen is consecrated Pope St. Stephen; fol. 211: Procession of the Holy Sacrament; fol. 215v.: St. Thomas Aquinas counsels and preaches; fol. 219v.: The Good Deacon, Leboinus; fol. 222: The First History of St. Voult. An angel appears before the sleeping Nicodemus; fol. 225v.: An angel carves the face of the *Volto Santo*; fol. 227v.: The Second History. An angel appears before the sleeping bishop Galefroy; fol. 228v.: After many years, the *Volto Santo* is rediscovered; fol. 230v.: The *Volto Santo* carried to the port of Joppa; fol. 232v.: The Image is transported by boat; fol. 233v.: The people and bishop of Luni greet the boat; fol. 237: The bishop of Luni removes the vial of Holy Blood; fol. 240v.: The *Volto Santo* is miraculously transported to Lucca by oxen; fol. 243: The *Volto Santo*’s arrival in Lucca; fol. 246v.: The *Volto Santo* performs a miracle at an execution; fol. 248: St. Germain of Auxerre preaches to the St. Genevieve; fol. 256v.: St. Yves of Treguier adjudicates in court; fol. 261v.: The death of St. Louis of France.

**Commentary:** This manuscript of the *Légende dorée*, now divided between New York and Mâcon, has been the subject of a full codicological and stylistic study by Jean Caswell.** Contrary to her claim that this particular text is unusual, it is a standard b type, with the *Festes nouvelles* added to Vignay’s translation of the *Legenda aurea*. She has relied on Butler’s contents list, with its mistakes and

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omissions, which has led her mistakenly to conclude that certain saints commonly included in the
*Festes nouvelles*, such as Genevieve, Yves of Treguier, Louis of Marseilles and Louis of France,
represent the personal taste and selection of the patron, Jean d’Auxy. Hamer and Russell have
ascertained that the text of this manuscript was copied from *Légende dorée MS Ab* (cat. 16).\(^1\) It is
also likely that the latter, illuminated at least thirty years before the Morgan/Mâcon example, was
available to copyists, for it appears in the 1467 inventory of Jean d’Auxy’s employer, Philippe le Bon.\(^2\)

The Morgan/Mâcon manuscript, as Caswell has convincingly shown, was originally planned as two but
bound into three volumes, is of the grandiose proportions favoured by the Burgundian court in the
middle of the 15th century. The cursive *bastarda* script, with its large, widely spaced letters, the single
text column and the large unframed miniatures are also characteristic of these courtly and somewhat
ostentatious manuscripts.\(^3\)

The programme of illustration is complex, with ten different artists participating in a number of styles
and techniques including grisaille gouache, watercolour and full colour gouache. Each miniature usually
includes several different scenes from the narrative of Voragine’s text, and the space is arranged
accordingly into several sections which do not disturb the spatial unity of the picture. Generally, the
depicted narratives are very close and intelligent renditions of the text, and not, as was often the case
with hagiographical representation, standard and sometimes inappropriate shop patterns inserted for
the occasion. Obviously, the completed manuscript was the result of a highly organised and considered
cooperation between craftspeople and literate project co-coordinators.

The identity of the artists has been disputed. The file on the manuscript at the Pierpont Morgan Library
in New York attributes the miniatures to well-known artists like Philippe de Mazerolles, Loyset Liédet,
Guillame Vrelant, and artist related to the *Maître de Wavrin*, and several other nameless
miataturists.\(^4\) The author of the file purports to find several artists’ signatures in the miniatures, such

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\(^1\) R. Hamer, "Jean Golein’s *Festes Nouvelles*", op. cit., 254–255; V. Russell, "Evidence for a Stemma", op. cit. Also see
130–204.


\(^3\) Similar to the *Légende dorée* is the script in a copy of the *Première guerre punique* by Leonardo Bruni (Paris, Bibl.
Nat., MS fr. 10777) and a manuscript of Christine de Pisan’s *Epître d’Othéa* (Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek MS 2361).
Caswell, *The Morgan-Mâcon “Golden Legend*”, op. cit., claims that the same scribe was responsible for all three
manuscripts. This type of book is often associated with the work of the scribe-translator David Aubert, who appears to
have followed the court, working in Brussels, Bruges and Ghent. An example of his script can be seen in the *Chroniques
et conquêtes de Charlemagne* (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 9066), illuminated by Jean le Tavernier. See L.M.J. Delaissé,

\(^4\) File at New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, cat. no. V–2 3 B.
as *LOYZIT* written on the hem of an acolyte on fol. 88 of M. 672, St. Marcellus, and *A. ESCIES* on a shop hoarding in the miniature on fol. 28v., St. Lucy, of the same volume (fig. 128). These attributions are repeated in the catalogue of an exhibition at the Detroit Institute of the Arts in 1960. Caswell, writing in 1978 and later, is rightly more circumspect in recognizing that none of the miniatures are by the hand of the above recognized artists, but are the work of, on the whole, less proficient followers. The previous interpretations of the "signatures" are often fanciful, particularly in the case of Loyset Liédet. Others, such as the "AE" or "AF" on the tunic of St. Vitalis' persecutor on fol. 227v. of M. 673 (fig. 132) are probably quite meaningless, and simply the embellishments of an artist bestowing to his work a sense of importance.

While it is not possible, with one exception, to attribute the miniatures to known artists, many of the ten hands in this *Légende dorée* can be likened stylistically to the work of documented artists. The first artist Caswell has christened the Neanderthal Master, after his characteristic facial type of deep-set eyes shaded by an overhanging brow and a long, straight nose. This master worked in grisaille gouache with gold highlights, and his hand can be found in 42 miniatures throughout M.672, M.673 and Mâcon MS 3. The style is distinctive for the unrelenting harshness of line and the awkward gestures of the figures. There is also a simplicity about the narrative settings by the Neanderthal Master; while the space is well defined in miniatures such as St. Lucy, and St. Felix, fol. 87 (fig. 129) of M.672, there is usually only a single act represented, such as the moment of the saint's martyrdom. Several miniatures in the manuscript in this style have been attributed to the Bruegeois painter Loyset Liédet, who died in the city in 1478. While this is a mistaken attribution, for the styles are quite distinct, the two artists have certain characteristics in common, such as the hard, brittle line described by Durrieu as "en bois" and the heavily set faces. As an artist Liédet is far more skilful and his figures possess a grace and charm rarely found in the awkward, puppet-like Neanderthal Master characters. The individuality of the Neanderthal Master is confirmed by Caswell's location of two other manuscripts illuminated in this style, a copy of *La doctrine du disciple de sapience* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbib. MS gall 28), and a manuscript of Brunetto Latini's *Le Tresor de sapience* (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS fr. 191) (fig. 219).

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167 The miniatures by the Neanderthal Master are listed in detail by J. Caswell, *The Morgan-Mâcon Golden Legend*, op. cit., 497ff. She later changed this artist’s name to the Sapience Master. See “The Wildenstein Nativity”, op. cit.
The second artist participating in the programme was first named the Valentine Master by Caswell (figs. 130, 131). She related this artist to the style of the Master of Guillebert of Mets and the Cité de Dames Master, but was unable to locate other manuscripts illuminated by the artist. The file at the Pierpont Morgan Library relates the style to the idiosyncratic and original Lille artist known as the Maître de Wavrin. While both styles emphasise the linear, and share similar figure proportions and a certain stylization of representation, the relationship is fairly remote. As Caswell acknowledges in a later article, the artist is to be identified as the Master of the Harley Froissart, named after his most accomplished work in a copy of Froissart's chronicle (London, British Library, Harley MS 4379–4380). In addition to this manuscript, the artist's hand may be found in a copy of Le Livre des bonnes moeurs by Jacques Le Grand (Geneva, Bibl. Pub. et Univ. MS fr. 164), a Lancelot (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 121), a Fleurs des toutes vertus (Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 660), a Book of Hours (Princeton, University Library MS 87) and several other manuscripts. He appears to have specialised in the illustration of romances and moral treatises, and his employers included Philippe de Comines and Louis de Gruuthuse.

In the Harley Froissart the work of the Master is light and gay (fig. 220). His miniatures are painted in clear, pale colours and he displays a preference for bustling crowd scenes of aristocratic pageantry and celebrations. His figures are small and pert, often placed in mannered poses and wearing the stylish poulains and houpelards favoured by the elite. The miniatures are distinguished by a sense of pattern and order. Most scenes are decorated with patterned wall hangings, and the floors are paved with coloured tiles. The sea is represented by even striations, and mens' tunics are often reduced to a fan-like pattern of lines. Ground vegetation is depicted by regularly spaced, triangular clumps of grass. There is a sharpness about the forms and gestures of the figures, or as Plummer puts it, a "concern with points and edges" in the hard, brittle outlines and absence of softening modelling. This tendency extends also to architecture; slender projecting turrets and towers commonly punctuate the urban street-scapes.

The 44 miniatures by the master distributed throughout M.672, M.673 and Mâcon MS3 are not as highly finished as the work in the Harley Froissart, but they are quite consistent with the work of the Master. They are executed in a linear style with a grisaille or coloured wash in similar clear shades of pale greens, blues and ochres. There is the same decorative sense, with the patterned hangings, triangular vegetation clumps, water and drapery striations and identical floor tile designs. Women

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wear the same tight, high-waisted dresses, and men similar tunics and hats. As the subject matter of the Légende dorée is somewhat less aristocratic than the Froissart in emphasis, there are no scenes of pageantry, but the artist still reveals a preoccupation with crowds and architecture.

The artist appears to have stylistic links with the workshop of the French artist known as the Master of Jean Rolin II (see cat. 17). Particularly similar are the small, active figures, the costumes of the women, hard-lined edges, and a predilection for patterned floors and textiles. These resemblances have led Plummer to suggest that the artist worked in Paris during the 1450's before travelling to Flanders in about 1460.

The third artist of the Morgan/Mâcon Légende dorée is known as the Master of Margaret of York. Caswell did not originally identify this artist by name, calling him a follower of Philippe de Mazerolles, the French trained artist who died in Bruges in 1479. She later offered a more specific attribution to the artist already identified by Winkler as the Master of Margaret of York. A study of illumination by this master, such as Jean Gerson's Oeuvres, (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 9305–6) reveals his indebtedness to the innovative Philippe de Mazerolles, and it is likely that both artists were based in Bruges.

Like Philippe de Mazerolles, the Master of Margaret of York's primary concerns are with space and atmosphere. Also like de Mazerolles and several of his contemporaries, he uses a variety of gouache and watercolour grisaille techniques rather than flat areas of opaque colour to gradate light and shade. The picture space is divided into several sections, each accommodating a different scene from the narrative. Faces and bodies are individualized and expressive, with sketchy lines used to subtly describe weight and volume. A sophisticated use of architecture both divides and sets the narrative. In miniatures such as fol. 82v. in the Mâcon volume of the Légende dorée, which represents St. Pasteur, the space of the room is extended behind and to the side by clever perspective construction. The device of an adjacent brick wall enclosing an additional scene is repeated in a structurally similar illumination from the Brussels Gerson, fol. 76, showing the author presenting his work to two nuns. Narrative is also explored in the illustration of St. Euphemia, fol. 90 of M.675 (fig. 140), where the background, foreground and middle ground all provide the stage for different moments of the narrative. This same miniature also demonstrates the artist's mastery of facial characterization, ranging from the agony of the man being dragged into the serpent pit, to the vindictive leer on the face of the

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173 Caswell, ibid.
174 The miniature from Gerson's Oeuvres is reproduced by Delaissé, Le siècle d'or, op. cit., pl.45.
emperor and Euphemia's stoic resignation. The Master of Margaret of York contributed some 27 miniatures to M.673, M.675 and Mâcon MS 3.\textsuperscript{175} In his control of space and narrative and technical skill, this artist is the most confident of those working on this Légende dorée. However, his contribution in number of illuminations is not large, and there is no evidence to suggest that he performed the role of master or head of the artistic operations.

The seven remaining artists who worked on the illustration of this manuscript are identified by various names by Caswell, but all are grouped under the 9243 shop. As the name suggests, these artists are stylistically related to the illumination in the Chroniques de Hainault (Brussels, Bib. Royale MS 9243). Documentation attributes the manuscript to a "Guillaume Wyelant", who has been identified as the artist Willem Vrelant documented in Bruges.\textsuperscript{176} However, as James Douglas Farquhar has convincingly demonstrated, the identification of the "Wyelant" style with the artist Vrelant is by no means conclusive, particularly as the Chroniques de Hainault was not illuminated by a single artist.\textsuperscript{177} However, for the sake of clarity we will persist here in describing the Chronique as representing the style of Willem Vrelant. The relevant documents suggest that Vrelant was born in Utrecht, and, attracted by the flourishing book industry, went to Bruges in the 1440's or early 50's. For thirty years he was an influential member of the Bruges artistic community, until his death in 1481. His Dutch training provided him with a naturalistic style based on close observation of landscape and the human form, and Vrelant introduced these concerns into a milieu which had not hitherto been preoccupied with issues of naturalism. The representation of the arrival of St. Waudru in Hibernia, fol. 115 from the famous Chroniques de Hainault, is typical in several respects of the so-called Vrelant style (fig. 221). The figures, varied and expressive in pose, are diversely dressed in courtly, fashionable attire including the characteristic long pointed poulains. The slightly smiling faces are large and well-drawn, with comparatively small, agile, fine-boned bodies. The figures inhabit a wide well-populated vista with several towns set in a treed landscape. This space is very deep, stretching to a pale horizon which appears very high on the picture plane. The overwhelming impression is of order and control, right down to the regularly spaced wavelets on the sea. The colour, particularly the deep blue and red and pale green of the landscape is typical, although Vrelant occasionally also used a grisaille technique.

\textsuperscript{176} The documents relevant to Vrelant and the Grandes Chroniques have been studied by J.D. Farquhar in his important article "The Vrelant Enigma: Is the Style the Man?", Quaerendo, IV/2 (1974), 100–108.
\textsuperscript{177} See Farquhar, ibid., and also Creation and Imitation. The Work of a Fifteenth Century Manuscript Illuminator (New York, 1976).
Caswell has separated the Vrelant style in this *Légende dorée* into several hands, and in doing so has made an important contribution towards solving the "Vrelant enigma". She has named these artists the St. Andrew Master, the Soft Master, the St. Hadrian Master, the St. Denis Master, the Strong Master, the White Highlights Master, and the Wildflowers Master. At least three she claims worked on the *Chroniques*; the St. Hadrian Master, the Strong Master and the Wildflower Master.

Stylistically the members of the 9243 shop are consistent, but certain characteristics serve to distinguish them. The St. Andrew Master’s figures tend to be larger and closer to the surface of the picture plane. The work of this artist probably also appears in the illumination depicting Philippe le Bon praying before St. Andrew in the Breviary of Philippe le Bon (Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 9511 fol. 398).

According to Caswell, there are indications that this artist acted as the co-coordinator of the illumination of the manuscript. She suggests that he corrected the work of at least two other artists, and he painted the first four miniatures in the manuscript traditionally assigned to the shop master, and probably also the arms of Jean d’Auxy.

The Soft Master tends to divide each miniature into two or three scenes, which represent different moments in the narrative. These divisions are usually in the form of architectural devices, such as diaphragm arches and doorways. The St. Hadrian Master also separates scenes in this way, with architecture or with natural landscape formations. His work is marked by a penchant for pale mauve and peach colours. The Strong Master is so named for his well developed modelling and characterization of human faces and bodies. He is particularly adept at painting cityscapes, and Caswell identifies him as the author of the St. Waudru miniature from the *Chroniques de Hainaut*. The rocks, trees, water and figure types in the St. Christopher miniature on fol. 340 of M.674, by the same artist, are certainly similar, and there is no reason to dispute this attribution (fig. 136). The St. Denis Master painted only one miniature, St. Dionysus, on fol. 140 of M.675 (fig. 143). This artist also painted miniatures in the *Vie de Saint Catherine* (Paris Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 6449), attributed by Durrieu to Vrelant, which was made for Philippe le Bon. The White Highlights Master and the Wildflowers Master both work within the tradition of the *Chroniques*, each with the idiosyncrasies suggested by their names.

Of the ten artists who participated in the Morgan/Mâcon *Légende dorée*, only the Neanderthal Master, the St. Philip Master and the Master of the Harley Froissart appear to have worked independently. They do not share the shop schema and Vrelant-related style of the 9243 Group, and their miniatures

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178 This was suggested by J. Caswell, *The Morgan-Mâcon Golden Legend*, op. cit., 110–111.
179 For Caswell’s suggestion that the St. Andrew Master was shopmaster of the 9243 group see ibid., 113–114.
180 Caswell, ibid., 99f.
tend to be contained within separate gatherings. As Caswell has ascertained, miniatures by the St. Philip Master occur in three runs found in adjacent or nearby gatherings. The artist worked alone on all quires except one, which he shared with a 9243 shop member. The Master of the Harley Froissart also worked alone on all gatherings except for one which he also shared with a 9243 artist. Like the St. Philip Master, his miniatures appear in adjacent quires. The Master of the Harley Froissart and the Neanderthal Master do work together in four quires, and Caswell finds stylistic similarities which suggest that they were in some association. The Neanderthal Master also worked in several gatherings with members of the 9243 shop. A member of this shop, the St. Andrew Master, was responsible for "corrections" or overpainting of several miniatures by the Neanderthal Master. An example of this is the Wildenstein Nativity, a miniature now in the Wildenstein Collection at the Musée Marmottan in Paris, which was excised from the manuscript sometime around 1835 (fig. 158). The members of the 9243 group did work in close collaboration. In addition to working in a related style, they illustrate different bifolios from the same gatherings, and sometimes cooperate within the same miniature. Caswell has also finds evidence for their shared participation in illumination other than that of the Morgan/Mâcon Légende dorée.

Caswell's detailed examination of the distribution of miniatures in this complex manuscript suggests that the artists were organised in at least two ways. The Neanderthal Master, St. Philip Master and Master of the Harley Froissart were probably given whole gatherings at once to take away to illustrate. The stylistic similarities which can be detected between the Master of the Harley Froissart and the Neanderthal Master, and their participation in the same gatherings, may indicate that they were based, perhaps only for this project, in the same illuminating shop. The complicated relationships existing among the seven 9243 artists, and their close stylistic links, strongly suggests that they operated out of the same, centralised shop, and their work organised and distributed under the direction of a shop leader. The other artists, who appear to have executed complete gatherings, or long uninterrupted series of miniatures probably operated outside the 9243 shop. Under the directives of a libraire or publisher, unpainted or unfinished gatherings were passed out to them to complete and return. The advantages of this method were speed and variety to the finished product.

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181 The removal of this miniature and others from the manuscript is described by J. Caswell, "The Wildenstein Nativity", op. cit. See also Paris, Musée Marmottan, La Collection Wildenstein, n.d. The Nativity from the Légende dorée illustrates the front cover.

182 Manuscripts illuminated by one or more of the artist contributing to the 9243 shop in the Légende dorée are discussed by Caswell, The Morgan-Mâcon Golden Legend, op. cit., 80ff., and many are dealt with in detail, 380ff.
Caswell’s codicological study of this manuscript of the *Légende dorée* provides insights into the complex and organised production of illuminated books in Bruges c. 1460. Just as importantly, the high quality and careful planning of the numerous miniatures also gives an indication of the importance afforded Vignay’s translation of the *Legenda aurea* in the milieu of the Burgundian court in the second half of the 15th century.

**Bibliography**

*Pierpont Morgan Library file V–2 3 B; Catalogue général, VI, 347; Knowles (1954), 380; Detroit Institute of Arts (1960), 379–381, 2 plates; De Ricci and Wilson (1961), II, 1480; Ryan and Ripperger (1969), pls. 1, 3; Manning (1970), 46; Caswell (1978); Caswell (1980); Caswell (1985); Hamer (1986); Russell (1986); Hamer and Russell (1989).*
26. **Fc: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 22**

(Figs. 144–147)

Fols. 1–268: *La Légende dorée* in the “c” version of the translation by Jean de Vignay. Northern French or Flemish, c. 1500, vellum, 268 folios, preceded and followed by three fly-leaves. 393 X 300. Ruling: 41.(87.28.87).57 X 12.15.18.(279).69. 38 lines of text in two columns. Rulings in red or violet, script in black ink fading to brown. Script: *littera bastarda*. Filiation in red Roman numerals upper margin of each folio recto, starting folio XIX. Two sets of modern Arabic pagination in pencil appear in upper right of each folio recto and verso, starting fol. 1. The most recent pencil pagination is two numbers lower than the other. Rubrics and headings in red. Headings end on p. 167. Bound in old red velvet bearing the imprint of clasps.

On fol. 2 appear the arms of the family of Oettingen, princes of the Holy Roman Empire.

**Decoration:** 143 illustrations including 2 full-page miniatures (200 X 190), 14 large miniatures two text columns in width, and 127 smaller column-width miniatures. Miniatures appear before the corresponding text. Palette is garish, bright green used for the ground, with bright blue, pink, ochre, plum, and gold used liberally for hatching and highlighting. Backgrounds are representational, with distant blue and pink buildings set in a green landscape. Narrow miniature frames are gold and brown. The frontispiece, p.1, is surrounded by a border of simulated wood set with eight roundels. The ground of the border is strewn with flowers: carnations, sweet peas, irises and violets. Lattice of white vine acanthus, Strawberries, birds tugging over a worm, an owl and an illusionistic fly also appear in the border. The full-page miniature on p.3 is accompanied by a similar border. The six-line initial on p.1 and p.3 is composed of illusionistic twisted twigs and flowers. One to five-line initials appear throughout the text, in gold on a pink or blue ground, decorated with acanthus. Line-endings decorated with acanthus appear occasionally.

**Subjects of Miniatures:** p.1: Vignay's Preface. Scribe portrait, surrounded by eight roundels depicting the Four Evangelists, St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome and St. Augustine; p.2: St. Bernard seated before a chapel; p.3: Advent. Full-page miniature. Mary and Joseph adore the Child, two shepherds approach from right. Also depicted is the Last Judgement. In the border are represented the throned Lord surrounded by Apostles and saints; souls in Limbo; The Temptation from the Garden; a figure reading in a study; p.4: Adam in hairy garment kneels before the Lord. Eve spins in the background; p.5: Pax, Justicia, Misericordia and Veritas, personified as women, before the Lord; p.6 Naked souls pray; p.6: Men chained and imprisoned; p.7: David with sceptre and harp; p.7 David plays harp; p.7: people *in umbra mortis* kneel in cave; p.8: *O Emmanuel* Six men kneel under a nimbed Christchild in a mandorla; p.8: The Virgin adores the Christchild; p.9: St. Bernard; p.10: Page-width miniature. Three compartments representing; Rising of the sea and stars falling to earth; St. Luke pointing to right; Red moon with black and red clouds. Stars and planets fall to earth; p.12: The Fifteen Signs: The Sea rises; p.12: Sea sinks behind mountains; p.12: Fish appear in sea with open mouths; p.12: Sea sends up flames and smoke; p.13: Birds, including a peacock, goose and duck lie bloodied on the ground; p.13: Castle and buildings shaken below fiery clouds; p.13: Falling rocks; p.13: Men and horse fall on road; p.14: The empty, dusty earth; p.14: Figures emerge from caves, speechless; p.14:
Graveyard, with bones lying on tombs; p.14: Stars fall on beasts in a meadow; p.15: Men and beasts lie dead in a field; p.15: Earth and sky on fire; p.15: Naked figures rise from the burnt earth; p.15: The Antichrist preaches; p.16: The Antichrist raises a dead man; p.17: The Antichrist invites men to take gold from a chest; p.17: The Antichrist watches two bound men being scourged; p.17: Christ on rainbow watches hellfire; p.18: Double-column miniature. Christ as Judge above damned and saved souls; p.20: Christ as Judge, with sword, above the saved and the damned, who disappear into Hell; p.21: The Cross in landscape; p.21: Man reads in room, Christ the Judge appears through the window; p.23: The Accusation of Man. Three devils argue with Christ the Judge. Nude men on cloud; p.24: Guardian angel with man and Christ the Judge. Above, old man as Conscience; p.24: Christ the Judge with the Virgin and John the Baptist above Devils on earth and men mourning in caves; p.25: St. Jerome as Cardinal; p.26: The Nativity; p.27: The Temple of Peace; p.27: Three magi kneel before Christchild in mandorla; p.28: The sibyl shows Octavian the "Ara Coeli"; p.29: Three shepherd see angels in the sky; p.29: Men, guilty of impurity, are swallowed up by the earth; p.30: Double-column miniature. The Circumcision; p.33: Naked Christchild holds scourge; p.34: Naked Christchild, with Cross behind, holds scourge and whip; p.35: Circumcision; p.36: After the Circumcision; p.39: Double-column miniature. Circumcision. At right, women and man hold candles; p.45: Three kings kneel before Christchild in a star; p.47: Herod speaks to three Kings; p.49: Adoration of the Magi; p.55: Double-column miniature. Septuagesima. Monk preaches outside Church; p.57: Double-column miniature. Quinquagesima. Seat seated priest confess men and women; p.63: Double-column miniature. Lent. Pope with cardinals, abbots, bishops, priests, monks, doctors and deacons; p.67: Agony in the Garden; p.68 The Betrayal and Arrest of Christ; p.69: Christ before Annas; p.70: The buffeting of Christ; p.79: The Crucifixion with St. Bernard; p.72: Christ crowned with thorns, with St. Bernard; p.73: Christ before Pilate; p.74: Scourging of Christ; p.76: Ecce Homo; p.77: Christ carrying the Cross; p.79: St. Bernard points to Christ on the Cross; p.79: St. Bernard directs kneeling men to scene of the Temptation; p.80: Christ, crowned, on the Cross; p.81: Double-column miniature. Pilate and his brother. Pilate kills his brother with a club; p.82: Pilate on the island of Pontus; p.83: Pilate kills Judas of Galilee; p.83: Pilate receives a letter bidding him to send Christ to the Emperor; p.84: Veronica shows the Holy Face to Volusian; p.84: Veronica shows the Holy Face to Tiberius; p.85: Pilate stripped of purple robe; p.86: Two men with a cask containing Pilate throw it into the river; p.86: Two men cast the cask into a well on a mountain; p.90: Noli me Tangere; p.91: Christ appears to three women at the tomb; p.92: Christ appears to St. Peter; p.97: Double-column miniature. Christ appears to eleven Apostles; p.98: Christ appears to the Virgin; p.99: Christ delivers a men chained to a gridiron in Hell; p.106: The Litanies; p.107: Three Acolytes, priest and bishop; p.113: The Ascension; p.114: The Ascension. Christ extends hand to kneeling figures in clouds; p.120: Intercession; p.122: St. John Evangelist with angel; p.126: Baptism of Christ; p.128: Transfiguration; p.131: Apostles heal two lame men and a child; p.133: Pentecost; p.134: St. Dominic preaches; p.136: Nimbed dove in glory; p.138: Pentecost and Tongues of Fire; p.140: St. Gregory and David, with dove in Glory; p.141: St. Peter and the Dove; p.142: Double-column miniature. Mass; p.143: Introit. Priest reads at altar; p.144: Gloria in Excelsis. Priest before altar; p.145: Dominus vobiscum. Priest blesses; p.147: St. John the Baptist; p.147: The Resurrection; p.148: St. Jerome and St. Augustine; p.149: Priest at the altar; p.150: Priest reads the Gospels to the left of the altar; p.158: Priest consecrating at the altar; p.159: Priest offers the Host; p.160: Priest elevates the Chalice; p.167: Double-column miniature. Third part of Mass. Priest holding the paten reads; p.168: Priest breaks the Host; p.170: Priest holds the Host and kisses the Pax offered by Acolyte; p.171: Double-column miniature. Breaking the Host; p.172: Priest drinks the wine; p.173:

Commentary: Apart from Nc, which is not a true “c” version of the Légende dorée, this manuscript is the only “c” type decorated with more than one illumination. In this revision of the “b” version, undertaken in the late 15th century, several entries were added, and the contents rearranged so that the Temporal preceded the Sanctoral cycle. Not all miniatures have been completed in this manuscript. The Temporal, from Advent to Pentecost, followed by the Ten Commandments (fig. 147) and Twelve Articles of Faith is profusely illustrated, sometimes with up to four small miniatures a page, such as those on p.12, representing four of the fifteen signs of the Apocalypse. Only two saints are illustrated: St. Andrew and St. Nicholas, both by several miniatures. If completed, the programme of illumination would have been extraordinarily dense. The text of the manuscript itself is incomplete, only including saints to Valerian, for June 1.

Several sketches remain, such as that for Lent on p. 60, accompanied by a marginal note: "Coument nostre seigneur fut tempte du diable ou desert et voloit quil muast une pieire en pain et coument il le porta ... temple". Similar sketches and notes appear on p.66, 88, 24, 152, and were probably intended as guides for the artists.

At least two artists were responsible for the illumination of the manuscript, painting in a style resembling the manner of artists practising in Ghent and Bruges around 1500; the Master of the Prayerbook of 1500, the Master of the Older Prayerbook of Maximilian I and the Master of the

183 The c version of the text is discussed in Chapter 1.6. See also the entries for other “c” version manuscripts, cats. 27 and 28.
Figures in miniatures such as *O Emmanuel*, p.8, are swarthy and squat, with heavy faces and crumpled draperies. Naked bodies, such as those in the miniature on p.18, representing Christ the Judge, are reminiscent of the plastic, smooth bodies of the Master of the Older Prayerbook of Maximilian I in manuscripts such as the Hastings Hours (London, British Library, Add. MS 54782). The catalogue of the Fitzwilliam Library suggests that the work is North-Eastern French. This possibility that the second artist was French, although not necessarily from the North-East, must not be discounted, as the faces and figures of miniatures such as Moses and the Burning Bush (fig. 146) have a smooth quality recalling French illuminators like Bourdichon.

However, the rounded Italian-style script and the border decoration are consistent with the Ghent-Bruges school c. 1500. The *trompe l’œil* flowers and insects which cast shadows on the page, white acanthus latticework, simulated wooden frames and borders incorporating several scenes without divisions are typical of work by the artists mentioned above, in the Hastings Hours and other manuscripts.

The subjects of the miniatures in this *Légende dorée* are unlike any other manuscript of the Vignay translation, and cannot be placed in the same iconographical tradition. The pictures are too numerous and too complex to be discussed in any depth here, but if not devised for this manuscript, probably derive from an illustrated Bible or breviary.

**Bibliography**


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184 See P. de Winter, "A Book of Hours for Queen Isabel la Catolica", op. cit.
27. \textit{Nc: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 3682–3} (Figs. 148–154)

\textit{La Légende dorée} in the translation by Jean de Vignay: 2 vols: MS 3682 : fols. 1–328; MS 3683 : fols. 1–365. Most of the first volume is the “a” version of the Vignay translation, but somewhere between fol. 175v. and fol. 199v. the scribe started copying from a “c” version of the text, continuing through the second volume. The table of contents beginning each volume lists the usual a version text entries. Southern Netherlands, probably Bruges c. 1480–5, vellum, 328 and 365 folios. MS 3682 missing fols. 1, 6, 224, 229, 255, 262. Fols. 256–270 have been placed between folios 294 and 295. The first folio from MS 3683 is missing. MS 3682: 431 X 323. MS 3683: 433 X 315. Ruling: MS 3682: 35.(86.30.86).86 X 19.8.22.(290).92. MS 3683: 45.(86.30.85.).69 X 12.8.22.(290).101. When a panel border appears on the left margin of the text page the left and right margin measurements are reversed to accommodate the 60mm panel. 37 lines of text in two columns. Rulings in fine red-brown line, script in black ink. Script: \textit{littera bastarda}. Foliation in upper right of each folio in red Roman numerals. Rubrics in red. Both volumes bound in brown calf with the title "Vies des Saints" on the spine.

The manuscript came from the library of M. de Paulmy, shelf nos. 13538 and 13529.

\textbf{Decoration:} 52 column-width miniatures (98–110 X 90). The miniatures are placed before the corresponding text and where relevant, the etymology. The palette is rich rather than bright. Predominant colours are mid-green, red, deep dark blue, pink, grey and ochres. Gold is used for highlights, and occasionally silver oxidised to black. The colour scheme does not include orange. Summarily painted background landscapes in blue, greens and yellow. The miniatures are enclosed within a gold frame outlined in black and pink. Each miniature is accompanied by a panel border 60mm wide and 290mm long extending vertically down the right or left margin, and containing blue and gold acanthus, red strawberries, red carnations, pink and red flowers with green foliage, small bunches of dark blue grapes and the occasional bird. Each entry, whether illustrated or not, is introduced by a three-line initial, usually in gold or blue with contrasting blue or red pen flourishes. Sometimes, as for St.Thomas fol. 21v. and Nativity fol. 26, the initial is of the dentelle type. One and two-line flourished initials appear in the table of contents of each volume and throughout the text, often to mark the etymologies. Blue and gold line endings appear throughout the text.

\textbf{Subjects of Miniatures:} MS 3682: fol. 8v.: St. Andrew crucified on a saltire cross; fol. 21v.: St. Thomas Apostle is martyred by the sword; fol. 26: The Nativity; fol. 32: The Lapidation of St. Stephen; fol. 35: St. John Apostle and Evangelist is boiled in oil before the Latin Gate. He holds a chalice from which emerges a small snake, referring to the legend of the poison cup; fol. 39: The Massacre of the Innocents; fol. 43: St. Sylvester the Bishop addresses four figures; fol. 49: The Circumcision; fol. 53v.: Epiphany. The Adoration of the Magi; fol. 60v.: St. Hilary appears before the council of bishops; fol. 64: St. Antony accompanied by his attribute, a pig. An aristocratic lady stands before him, handing him a chalice. (Unexplained by the text); fol. 72v.: St. Vincent is tortured with iron rakes; fol. 84: St. Jerome is depicted writing the epitaph of St. Paula while through the doorway the body of the saint is discovered by her daughter; fol. 87v.: St. Julian and his wife carry Christ across a river in their boat; fol. 96v.: The Purification of the Virgin; fol. 98: The naked St. Ignatius dead on the ground. The two lions which Trajan
ordered to kill the saint crouch behind; fol. 106v.: The torture of St. Agatha. Her breasts are twisted off; fol. 112: The Chair of St. Peter; fol. 115: St. Matthias holds his attribute, the axe; fol. 119: The Mass of St. Gregory. The miracle represented does not conform in detail to the text; fol. 129: In the background, St. Benedict rolls in brambles to overcome lust. In the foreground the saint blesses a small child. The relationship between this incident and the text is unclear; fol. 135: St. Patrick pierces the foot of the King of Scotland with his staff; fol. 137v.: The Annunciation; fol. 142: The Crucifixion; fol. 150v.: The Resurrection; fol. 159: St. Mary of Egypt kneels before Zosimus, who administers Holy Communion. The river Jordan flows nearby; fol. 160v.: St. Ambrose in his study; fol. 167: St. George is tortured in a bath of molten lead; fol. 171: St. Mark Evangelist in his study; fol. 188: St. Philip Apostle, witnessed by his two daughters, is nailed to a cross; fol. 189: St. James the Lesser, represented as St. James the Greater; fol. 194v.: Invention of the Holy Cross. Judas brings forth a cross from the ground. St. Helena holds another of the three crosses Judas exhumed; fol. 205v.: St. Barnabas is dragged by a noose from the city. In the background the fire on which he will perish burns; fol. 206: The Ascension; fol. 278v.: The Nativity of John the Baptist. Represented is the Baptism of Christ; fol. 284: St. Peter Apostle in his study holds his attribute, the key; fol. 301: St. James the Greater baptises a scribe. At left a figure with a sword prepares to behead both St. James and the scribe. MS 3683 fol. 15v.: St. Dominic; fol. 32: St. Laurence the Bishop holds a small gridiron; fol. 81: The decollation of St. John the Baptist; fol. 93v.: The Nativity of the Virgin. In the background, the Conception of the Virgin. In the foreground, two angels guide either St. Ann or the Virgin up several steps of a church, where another angel awaits her; fol. 105: The Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Two figures kneel before a cross in the form of the Volto Santo of Lucca; fol. 117: St. Matthew Evangelist in his study; fol. 128v.: St. Michael the Archangel battles with a demon; fol. 159v.: St. Luke Evangelist paints a portrait of the Virgin and Child. (Not included in the text); fol. 168: SS. Simon and Judas hold their attributes, the sword and a hook-like object. The text does not relate the method of their martyrdoms; fol. 176: All Saints. A gathering of saints with St. Katherine in a prominent position; fol. 190: St. Martin divides his cloak for the beggar; fol. 210v.: St. Katherine, accompanied by attributes a book, palm, sword and a well; fol. 253: St. Eloy holds his attribute, the smith's hammer; fol. 330: St. Louis of France; fol. 355: St. Barbara seated on a grassy bench writes in a book. Two towers with only two windows rise behind.

Commentary: The text of this Légende dorée is unique. The first part of the manuscript follows the “a” version of Vignay’s translation, but somewhere between the entries for St. Marcellus and St. John before the Latin Gate, the scribe changed his exemplar to a “c” version of the text.¹⁸⁶ The reasons for this change are unknown; perhaps the scribe wished to include the Festes nouvelles and in the absence of a “b” text exemplar compromised with the “a” and “c” versions.

The illustration follows the usual programme of “b” version manuscripts, although with some oddities in iconography.¹⁸⁷ The last illumination represents St. Barbara, a popular saint in Flanders and the


¹⁸⁷ In addition to the miniatures discussed in the commentary, unusual iconography includes: The miniature for
Netherlands, whose entry appears only in the text of a manuscript of the *Légende dorée*. The iconography of St. Barbara and several other illustrated saints and feasts suggest that the artist had contacts with Flanders, and more specifically with Bruges. The seated St. Barbara, as represented in this manuscript (MS 3683, fol. 355) (fig. 154), is a type commonly found in Flemish art; for instance, the grisaille panel executed by Van Eyck around 1437, now in the Musée des Beaux-arts in Antwerp. St. Luke, represented on fol. 159v. of the same manuscript, is shown painting the portrait of the Virgin and Child. This theme was particularly popular in Flanders in the 15th and 16th centuries, often in association with the painters' guild of St. Luke. A scene similar in some respects to the *Légende dorée* example appears in a panel attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, painted c. 1435, possibly in Bruges (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts). Another scene familiar in Northern art is Christ nailed to the Cross, which formed the basis for the *Légende dorée* miniature of the martyrdom of St. Philip Apostle (MS 3682, fol. 188) (fig. 153). The manuscript can also be connected with Bruges through the unusual iconography for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (MS 3683, fol. 105) (fig. 151). The illustration for this feast, which falls on September 14, depicts two men kneeling before a statue of the *Volto Santo* of Lucca. The narrative of the discovery and translation of the *Volto Santo* mirrors the story of the discovery of the True Cross, and it is also celebrated on September 14. This life-size Crucifix of Christ clad in a tunic has particular significance for the city of Bruges as Lucchese merchants in this prosperous trading centre had a chapel dedicated to the *Volto Santo* in the Church of the Holy Cross.

Epiphany, MS 3682, fol. 53v., representing the Adoration of the Magi, includes an additional standing magus, considerably smaller than the other three. Possibly this figure depicts a donor. In the miniature for All Saints, MS 3683, fol. 176, St. Katherine is taller than the other saints and prominently placed at the centre of the group. St. Martin, fol. 190, MS 3683, is illustrated by the standard picture of the saint dividing his cloak for the beggar at the gates of Tours. However, St. Martin, rather than using his sword to cut his cloak, with the pointed end raises the cap of one of the beggars a few inches off his head.

A seated St. Barbara is also represented by the Master of Mary of Burgundy, in the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 219–220, fol. 36). She appears in the Hastings Hours (London, British Library, MS Add. 54782, fol. 70v.) standing in front of a grassy bench. The grassy bench, which is depicted in the Arsenal *Légende dorée*, appears in another Flemish miniature from the Musée Mayer van den Bergh, Hss. 946, fol. 611. In this case St. Barbara has been replaced by a seated St. Katherine. The significance of the grassy bench has been discussed by S. Knight, "Turf Bench and Gloriet: Medieval Gardens and Their Meaning", *Meanjin*, 47/3 (1988), 388–396.


Hulin de Loo suggested that this panel was painted for the painters' guild in Brussels. Dürer inspected a similar picture there in 1520. While Panofsky locates the panel to Bruges the matter is far from resolved. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, op. cit., 253.

Christ nailed to the Cross appears in earlier French manuscript illumination, such as *Les Grandes Heures de Jean de Berry* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 919, fol. 74), but also in later Netherlandish painting, for instance Gerard David's panel in the National Gallery, London. See also J.H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Kortrijk, 1979)

The *Volto Santo* is discussed in this thesis, Chapter 3.5. Possibly the Arsenal miniature depicts the Lucchese merchant family, the Rapondi, at prayer in their Bruges chapel. The Crucifix flanked by two men in prayer also appears in a manuscript containing the narrative of the *Volto Santo* and bearing the arms of the Rapondi family (Vatican, Bibl. Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 1988, fol. 1v.)

233
Stylistically the illumination in this manuscript can be related to work of Loyset Liédet, whose career began in Hesdin and ended in Bruges, with his death in 1478. Although the Légende dorée artist is a vastly inferior painter, like Liédet he is striking for the brittle, crisp quality of his line. Stylised drapery folds are heavily accentuated and highlighted in gold. Heads are large, with heavy, deep eyelids and brows, and a long firm nose exaggerated by shading on both sides and a strip of white highlight along the bridge. The cheekbones of male figures are so high and strongly modelled they appear as bony ridges beneath the eyes. The egg-shaped faces of the women are paler and smoother, modelled only by smudges of red on the cheeks. The landscapes and interiors of the Légende dorée artist are also reminiscent of Liédet. For example, the room in which St. Eloy stands (MS 3683, fol. 253) with deeply set windows and heavy textile hangings recalls Liédet’s work in Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 9307, fol. 1. The two artists also share elements of background landscape, in particular the outcrops of fractured rock in the mid-distance, and round bushes and spires dotting the distant hills.

The artist’s stylistic connection with Liédet is strengthened by the observation that the miniature on fol. 8v. of the Légende dorée was copied from the Crucifixion of St. Andrew in a copy of the La Fleur des histoires (Brussels, Bibl. Roy., MS 9232, fol. 9) (figs. 148, 222). The text of the La Fleur des histoires was composed between 1446 and 1451 by Jean Mansel for the Duke of Burgundy. The beautiful illuminations of this manuscript, which was probably completed in the early 1450’s, represent the principal work of an artist named the Mansel Master. Trained in Paris, the Mansel Master formed his style under the influence of the Bedford atelier. Delaissé has suggested that the Mansel Master in turn sponsored Simon Marmion, who was resident first at Amiens and later Valenciennes. The two artists collaborated on several manuscripts, and the influence of the Mansel Master is evident in Marmion’s compositions and colouration. The early work of Loyset Liédet has been linked to Marmion and hence to the Mansel Master. On the 29 March, 1460, in Hesdin, Liédet was paid for the illumination in a copy of the Tite-Live. This has been identified with the translation by Jean Mansel, Les histoires romaines (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 5087–8). An early work, the illumination in this manuscript differs from Liédet’s Bruges output of a decade later. The pastel colours, compositions, and certain facial and figure types recall Marmion, which has lead Delaissé, in support of Winkler’s contention, to

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193 L.M.J. Delaissé, Le siècle d’or, op. cit., 69f., 101f.
194 This manuscript is discussed by Delaissé. ibid., cat. 58. See also Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Le livre illustré en Occident (Brussels, 1977), 58. The same composition appears in another copy of La Fleur des histoires illuminated by the Mansel Master, Vienna Schottenstift Bibliothek, MSS. 139–140, fol. 1. This miniature is reproduced by S. Hindman, "The Case of Simon Marmion: Attributions and Documents", Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 40 (1977), fig. 19.
196 Ibid., 61, for the collaboration of Marmion and the Mansel Master in La Fleur des histoires. See also E.W. Hoffman, "Simon Marmion Reconsidered", op. cit., 247ff.
197 L.M.J. Delaissé, Le siècle d’or, op. cit., 69. This manuscript of the Histoires romaines is discussed in cat. 64–65.
suggest that Liédet passed his apprenticeship or part of his early professional career in Marmion's
studio, in Amiens or Valenciennes.198 At least five manuscripts illuminated by Liédet in this style are
extant, two of which are, significantly, manuscripts of Jean Mansel's La Fleur des histoires.199

Apart from background details, such as the ochre rocky outcrops and pale green trees, the illumination
of the Légende dorée does not significantly resemble Marmion's pastel coloured, spatially complex
compositions. Colours are harsher and more vivid, in the manner of Liédet's Bruges illumination,
figures larger, and pictures are generally monoscenic, unlike the ultimately Bedford inspired scenes of
his Hesdin work, such as Les histoires romaines of 1454–60.

In Bruges, Liédet's production increased, and with the participation of shop assistants, the quality of
the illumination often did not meet the standards of earlier work. The quality of illumination of the
Légende dorée does not warrant attribution to the Master's immediate assistants, but can be given to
a "follower of Liédet". This artist possibly had access to Liédet's shop patterns, such as the St. Andrew
miniature, which may have found an avenue of transmission via the Mansel Master and Simon
Marmion. While speculative, the discovery of this shared pattern offers further evidence to support
Delaissé's proposition that Loyset Liédet was indeed trained in the workshop of Simon Marmion.200

Bibliography

Martin (1887); Knowles (1954), 380; Manning (1970), 42; Hamer (1986); Russell (1986); Hamer and
Russell (1989).

198 Ibid., 69. F. Winkler, "Die Nordfranzösische Malerei Im 15 Jahrhundert und Ihr Verhältnis zur Altniederländischen
199 Ibid. 69, 70. They have not been consulted, but possibly Liédet's illuminations to these manuscripts are based on the
Mansel Master's in Brussels, Bibl. Roy, MS 9232.
200 For controversy surrounding identification of the works of Simon Marmion see this catalogue, entry 17, n.5.
28. **Sc: London, British Library MS Stowe 50–51**
(Fig. 155)


On fol. 1v. a note, largely illegible, includes the words "*conte del Flandres*". On the final page of MS 51, in a 16th century(?) hand, Jacques Losien is recorded as the owner of the manuscript.

**Decoration:** One miniature (112 X 88). Palette is pale and the paint very thin. Pale green, pink, ochre, blue and brick red predominate. The miniature is enclosed within a narrow plum coloured frame. The upper margin of the frame is arched and serrated. The frontispiece is bordered on all sides by a panel containing a loose vegetal spray pattern on a plain vellum background. Included in the spray are red carnations, strawberries, unidentified red flowers, green foliage, gold ciliate "bugs" and small fronds of blue and ochre acanthus. The Preface of Jean de Vignay is introduced by a four-line dentelle initial. Entries throughout the text are introduced by a two or three-line initial in blue or red without filling or surrounding decoration. One-line initials alternating red and blue appear in the calendar.

**Subject of miniature:** fol. 1: Vignay's Preface. The Virgin and Child are surrounding by a gathering of saints. In the foreground are an angel, a seated scribe, and what appears to be a version of the Visitation.

**Commentary:** The text of this manuscript is an example of the c version of Vignay's text, in which an unknown reviser rearranged the “b” version and added several passages. Included among the additional saints are St. Waudrut, St. Walerei, St. Barbara and St. Tillon, all of whom enjoyed special veneration in Flanders. It is likely that the “c” version was developed for use in the North, as the other two manuscripts of this text are illuminated by Flemish artists, and an edition was printed in Flanders c. 1472–5. The likelihood that this manuscript was also illuminated in Flanders is indicated by the ownership inscription and by the style of the frontispiece.

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The illumination is technically clumsy. Figures are defined by thick, dark outline with little sensitivity for spatial modelling. Faces are flat and bland, and colour is applied in adjacent patches without subtle gradation. The artist’s origins in the Southern Netherlands are evident in the hard, brittle line and smooth, oval faces of female figures, with their small, delicate features, beady black eyes and high foreheads. These characteristics and the cloudy, atmospheric haze of the background, have parallels in contemporary Flemish illumination. For example, the illustration of St. Barbara in a book of hours from the Southern Netherlands, c. 1450–70 (National Library of Australia, Clifford Collection MS 1097/9), exhibits the same stylistic tendencies. The pastel colouration of the Légende dorée, which contrasts with the deeper hues of this other manuscript, may be the result of influence from North-eastern French traditions.

The artist’s lack of technical skill suggests that he was something of an amateur illustrator. The unusual iconography employed in the frontispiece also indicates that the artist was working either in isolation or with a small group without access to standard, appropriate artistic models. The secondary decoration in the manuscript, such as borders and initials, are usual for the time and place, and competent enough to suggest that this aspect of the decoration was professionally executed. Iconographically the frontispiece is an amalgam of several different themes (fig.155). In the background the crowned Virgin, as Queen of Heaven, holds the Child and stands amid the gathering of saints. In the foreground, a seated scribe probably meant to signify Vignay, is engaged in writing. In the centre foreground two female saints greet each other and an angel to the right witnesses this meeting. This would usually indicate the Visitation, although here both women wear the long, flowing hair usually reserved for the young. The customary representation shows Elizabeth as a matron wearing a white headdress in contrast to the youthful Virgin. Unlike many examples from both French and Flemish illumination, the women do not openly examine the signs of each other’s pregnancy, and the resulting composition is very ambiguous.

The frontispiece precedes the text of Vignay's Preface, in which he describes his reasons for undertaking the translation. Following this text is the entry for Advent describing the four-fold coming of the Lord: in flesh, with mercy into our hearts, in death and at the Last Judgement. The representation of the scribe relates to the Preface and the Visitation refers to the Advent of the Lord in the Flesh. The crowned Virgin surrounded by saints is the Regina Coeli and as such represents the Church and servants of the Church.

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203 A more direct influence may have been the Ghent-Bruges style of illumination. See cat.17.
Although the figures of the Visitation are not clearly distinguished it is possible to relate each unit of the frontispiece composition to the text. However the composition as a whole does not provide a coherent interpretation of this text. The components are meaningful in isolation but the resulting composition is confusing as it lacks an adequate pictorial tradition. It appears that the artist has, without much discrimination, combined several pictures in an effort to create an imposing frontispiece to the volume. This suggests that he worked without the directives and guidance which we may assume would have been provided by a large, well run illuminating workshop.

Bibliography

### APPENDIX I

**ILLUMINATION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *LEGENDE DOREE* ACCORDING TO STYLISTIC GROUPS**

**Maître François/ Chief Associate/ Master of Jean Rolin II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANUSCRIPT</th>
<th>ARTIST</th>
<th>DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P2: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 244–5</td>
<td>Maître François and the Chief Associate of Jacques de Besançon</td>
<td>c.1480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bb: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 9282–5</td>
<td>Artist associated with the workshop of the Master of Jean Rolin II</td>
<td>c.1460</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Boucicaut Master**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANUSCRIPT</th>
<th>ARTIST</th>
<th>DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jb: Jena, Universitätsbibothek MS El.f.86</td>
<td>Follower of Boucicaut Master</td>
<td>c.1420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eb: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 243</td>
<td>Follower of Boucicaut Master</td>
<td>c.1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fb: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 415–6</td>
<td>Workshop of Boucicaut Master</td>
<td>c.1415</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Master of the Boqueteaux and his Workshop**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANUSCRIPT</th>
<th>ARTIST</th>
<th>DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb: Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire MS fr. 57</td>
<td>The <em>Maître du Polycratique</em></td>
<td>c.1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 1729</td>
<td>Leading artist working in <em>Boqueteaux</em> style/ Master of the Coronation of Charles VI</td>
<td>c.1375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 735</td>
<td>Master of the Coronation of Charles VI/ Two <em>Boqueteaux</em> style artists</td>
<td>c.1365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N: Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal MS 3705</td>
<td>Follower of <em>Boqueteaux</em> style</td>
<td>c.1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q: London, British Library MS Add. 16907</td>
<td>Followers of <em>Boqueteaux</em> style</td>
<td>1375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Bedford Master/ Master of the Munich Golden Legend

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
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<th>Role</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 9228</td>
<td>Artist influenced by Bedford style</td>
<td>c.1420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb</td>
<td>Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS Gall 3</td>
<td>Master of Munich Golden Legend</td>
<td>c.1430</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Flemish artists

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<th>Role</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mb</td>
<td>New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M.672–5/ Mâcon Bibliothèque municipale MS 3</td>
<td>Ten artists including the Master of the Harley Froissart, the Master of Margaret of York, and followers of Willem Vrelant</td>
<td>c.1470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fc</td>
<td>Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 22</td>
<td>Flemish or Northern French</td>
<td>c.1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nc</td>
<td>Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 3682–3</td>
<td>Flemish artist related to style of Loyset Liédet</td>
<td>c.1480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc</td>
<td>London, British Library MS Stowe 50–51</td>
<td>Flemish artist</td>
<td>c.1470–80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 266</td>
<td>Artist influenced by Flemish illumination</td>
<td>c.1400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### The Passion Master or Jean le Noir

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS McClean 124</td>
<td>Follower of Passion Master</td>
<td>c.1360</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Evrard d'Espinques

| P5: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 6448 | Evrard d'Espinques or workshop | c. 1480 |

### Parisian artist c.1350

| P1: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 241 | Possibly Richart or Jeanne de Montbaston | 1348 |

### Parisian artists c. 1400

| P3: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 414 | Virgil Master/Medallion Master | 1404 |
| B1: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9226 | Artists under influence of Luçon Master and Orosius Master | c. 1405 |
| Db: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 242 | Master of the Coronation of the Virgin/Imitator of Coronation Master | c. 1402 |
| Cb: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 184 | Artist working in grisaille active in Paris c. 1400 | c. 1402 |

### The Pseudo-Jacquemart


### Master of the Cité des Dames

| Y: London, British Library MS Phillipps loan 36/199 | Workshop of the Master of the Cité des Dames | c.1410 |

### Simon Marmion

| Bb (Brussels, B.R. ms. 9282-6) | Artist related to style of Marmion | c.1485 |
APPENDIX II

ORDER OF CONTENTS OF THE LEGENDA AUREA AND THE LEGENDE DOREE

(The order of entries in the Legenda aurea and the Legende doree is slightly variable. Vignay’s Légende dorée is shown in blue italics. The dates refer to the feast days according to the Roman calendar)

De Vignay’s Preface
Voragine’s Prologue Voragine’s Prologue
Advent Avenèment
Andrew the Apostle André
Nicholas Nicolas
Ambrose
Lucy Lucie
Eusebius
Thomas the Apostle Thomas apostre
The Difference in Time Temps de réconciliation
The Nativity Nativité
Anastasia Anastase
Stephen Estienne
John Apostle Jean apostre
The Holy Innocents Innocents
Thomas of Canterbury Thomas de Canterbury
Sylvester Sylvestre
Circumcision Circoncision
Epiphany Epiphanie
Paul Hermit Paul Ermit
Hilary Hilaire
Felix in Pincis Félix
Macarius Maicre
Marcellus Marcel
Fursey
Antony Antoine
Fabian Fabien
Sebastian Sébastien
Agnes Agnès
Vincent Vincent
John the Almoner Jean L’Aumônier
Timothy
Conversion of Paul Conversion St. Paul
Paul Paul
Julian Julien
Septuagesima Septuagésime
Sexagesima Sexagésime
Quinquagesima Quinquagésime
Quadragesima Quarantaine
Lent Jeunes de iv temps
John Chrysostom
Ignatius Ignacien
Purification Purification
Blaise Blaise
Agatha Agathe

November 30
December 6
December 7
December 13
December 16
December 21
December 25
December 25
December 26
December 27
December 28
December 29
December 31
January 1
January 6
January 10
January 13
January 14
January 15
January 16
January 16
January 17
January 20
January 20
January 21
January 22
January 23
January 24
January 25
January 26
January 27
January 27
February 1
February 2
February 3
February 5
VaastVaast February 6
AmandusAmand February 6
ApolloniaFebruary 9
ValentineValentin February 14
JulianaJulienne February 16
Chair of St. PeterChaise St. PierreFebruary 22
MatthiasMathias February 24
GregoryGrégoire March 12
LonginusLongin March 15
PatrickPatrice March 17
BenedictBenoît March 21
AnnunciationL’Annonciation March 25
PassionPassion
The Difference in TimeTemps de Réconciliation
ResurrectionRésurrection
SecundusSecond March 29
Mary d’Égypte
Ambrose
MamertinusMarch 30
Mary of EgyptApril 2
LeoApril 11
GeorgeGeorges April 23
Mark the EvangelistMarc Evangeliste April 25
MarcellinusMarcellin April 26
VitalisVital April 28
Vierge d’Antioche
Peter MartyrPierre martyr April 29
Philip ApostlePhilippe apostre May 1
James the LessJacques apostre May 1
Invention of the Holy Cross
InventionSte Croix May 3
John Before the Latin GateJean ap. et évangeliste May 6
RogationsLitaniés
Gordian and EpimachusGordien et Ep. May 10
Nereus and AchilleusNérin et Achille May 12
PancratiusPancrace May 12
BonifaceMay 14
Ascension
Pentecost
Difference in TimeTemps de Pèlerinage
UrbanUrban May 25
PetronillaPéronelle May 31
Peter ExorcistPierre Dyacre June 2
Primus and FelicianusPrime et Felicien June 9
BarnabasBarnabé abbe June 11
BasilJune 14
Vitus and ModestusVict et Modeste June 15
Quiricus and JulittaQuirite et Julitte June 16
MarinaMarine June 18
Gervasius and ProtasiusGervaise et Prot. June 19
Nativity of John the Baptist
Nat. Jean Baptiste June 24
John and Paul Jean et Paul
Peter Pierre apostre
Paul Paul apostre
Seven Sons of Felicitas Vij frères
Théodore
Alexis
Margaret of Antioch Marguerite
Alexien

Praxedes Praest
Mary Magdalen Marie Magdalen
Apollonaris Apollinaire
Christina Christine
James the Greater Jacques apostre
Christopher Christophe
Seven Sleepers of Ephesus Vij dormans
Nazarius and Celsus Nazarien
Felix Pope Félix Pape
Simplicius and Faustinus Simplicien et F.
Martha Marthe
Abdon and Sennen Abdon et Sennen
Germanus of Auxerre Germain d’Auxerre
Holy Machabees Machabées
Peter in Chains Pierre aux liens
Stephen Pope Estienne Pape
Invention of Stephen Inv. St. Estienne
Dominic Dominique
Sixtus Sixte
Donatus Donat
Cyriacus Cyriaque
Laurence Laurent
Hippolytus Hippolyte
Assumption of the Virgin L’Assomption
Bernard Bernard
Simphorianus Simphorien
Bartholomew Berthélemy
Augustine Augustin
Beheading of John the Baptist
Décollation Jehan Baptiste
Félix et Adint
Savinianus and Savina Savinien et S.
Felix and Adauctus
Lupus Leu
Mamertin
Giles Gilles
Nativity of the Virgin
Nativité Nostre Dame
Hadrian Adrien
Gorgonius and Dorotheus Gorgonien et D.
Protus and Hyacinthus Prothus et Jacinte
Theodora
Exaltation of the Cross L’exalt. de Ste C.
Jean Chrisosthome

June 26
June 29
June 30
July 10
July 17
July 20
July 21
July 22
July 23
July 24
July 25
July 27
July 28
July 29
July 29
July 29
July 30
July 31
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August 6
August 7
August 8
August 10
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August 22
August 24
August 28
August 29
August 29
August 30
September 1
September 1
September 8
September 8
September 8
September 11
September 11
September 14
Cornelius and Cyprian  *Cornélien et C.*  September 14

Euphemia  *Euphémie*  September 16

Lambert  *Lambert*  September 17

Eustace  September 20

Matthew Apostle  *Mathieu apostre*  September 21

Maurice  *Maurice*  September 22

Justina  *Justine*  September 26

Cosmas and Damian  *Cosme et Damien*  September 27

Michael Archangel  *Michel l'archange*  September 29

Jerome  *Jérôme*  September 30

Sophia  September 30

Remy  *Rémy*  October 1

Leger  *Léger*  October 2

Francis of Assisi  *François*  October 4

Pelagia  *Pélagienne*  October 8

Margaret Pelagius  *Marguerite*  October 8

Thais  *Thais*  October 8

Dionysius  *Denis*  October 9

Callixtus  *Calixte Pape*  October 14

Léonard  October 18

Luke Evangelist  *Luc*  October 18

*Chrissant*  October 21

11,000 Virgins  *xjm. Vierges*  October 25

Chrysanthus and Daria  October 28

Simon and Jude Apostles  *Simon et Jude*  October 31

Quentin  *Quentin*  November 1

All Saints  *Toussaint*  November 2

All Souls  *Tous Loyaux Tr.*  November 6

Leonard  November 8

Four Crowned Martyrs  *iiij couronnes*  November 9

Theodore  *Théodore*  November 11

Martin  *Martin*  November 13

Brixius  *Brice*  November 19

Elizabeth  *Elizabeth*  November 22

Cecilia  *Cécile*  November 23

Clement  *Clément*  November 24

Chrysogonus  *Crisogone*  November 25

Katherine of Alexandria  *Catherine*  November 25

*Saturnin*  November 27

James Dismembered  *Jacques martyr*  November 27

Barlaam and Josephat  November 29

Saturninus  November 29

Pastor Abbot  *Pasteur abbé*  November 29

John Abbot  *Jean abbé*  November 29

Moses Abbot  *Moïse abbé*  November 29

Arsenius Abbot  *Arsénien abbé*  November 29

Agathon Abbot  *Agathon abbé*  November 29

*Balalain et Josephat*  November 29

Pelagius Pope  *Pélagien Pape*  November 29

Dedication of a Church  *Dédication de l'Eglise*  November 29
**APPENDIX III**

**JEAN GOLEIN'S FESTES NOUVELLES**

The order of saints as found in “b” and “c” version manuscripts of the *Légende dorée* are shown below together with local feast days. (From: Richard Hamer, "Jean Golein's Festes nouvelles: A Caxton Source", *Medium Aevum*, LV/2 (1986), 25)

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APPENDIX FOUR

JEAN DE VIGNAY’S PREFACE TO THE LEGENDE DOREE

Cy commence le prologue de frere Jehan du Vignay de lordre de saint Jaques du hault pas sur la legende doree laquelle il translata de Latin en francois a linstance et requeste de tres haulte noble et puissante dame ma dame de bourgoinge par la grace de dieu royne de france.

Mon seigneur saint Geroime dit ceste auctorite fay tousjours aucune chose que la dyable ne te .rnisse oyseur Et mon seigneur saint augustin dist ou liure de loeuure des moynes que nul homme poissant de labourer ne doit estre oyseur. Pour la quelle chose quant Joy parfait et acompli le mirouer des hystoires du monde ed translate de latin en francois a la requeste de tres poissant ed noble dame ma dame Jehanne de Bourgoigne par la grace de dieu Royne de France Je fu tout esbahy a laquelle euure faire Je me mettroye apres si tres haulte et longe euure comme Je auoye faite par deuant Et pour ce que oysivete est tant blasmee que monseigner sa int bernart dit quell e est mere des truffes marrastre de vertus et telle qui trebuche les fors hommes en pechie et fait estaindre vertus et nourrir orgueil et fait la voye daler en enfer Et Jehan cassidore dit que la pensee de celluy qui est oyseux ne pense a autre chose que aux viandes pour son ventre Et monseigneur saint Bernart dit en une epistre quant il nous conuiendra rendre raison du temps oyseux quelle raison en pourrons nous rendre quant en oysiuete ne en temps oyseux na cause de nulle raison Et prosper mesme dit que cil qui vit en oyseuse vie vit en maniere de beste mue Et pour ce que Jay veu les auctoritez qui blasment et despisent oyseuse vie ne vueil plus estre oyseux maiz ne vueil mettre a telle oeuvre fez comme jay acoustume Et pour ce que monseigneur saint augustin dit sur un pseaume que bonne euure ne doit pas estre faite par paour de paine maiz par amour de droitre Et que cest vraye et souueraine franchise Et pour ce quist mest aduis que cest souuerain bien faire entendre aux gens qui ne sont pas lettres La natiuite les vies les passions et les mors des sains et aucuns autres faiz notoires des temps passes me suis mis a translater en francois la legende des sains qui est dicte la legende doree Car aussy comme lor est le plus noble sur touz les autres Si depri le glorieux pere de paradis quil lui plaix a moy donner sens temps et espace de parfaire deuement cest euure commencee si que ce soit a la louenge de son glorieux nom et de toute la comt celestiel et au prouffit de lame de moy et a ledification de tous ceulx et celles qui ce liure liront et orront.

(From Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 414)
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Maddocks, Hilary Elizabeth

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