Chapter One

Locating and Dating the Manuscripts:
Towards a Specific Methodology

A relatively complete set of medieval accounts from Poissy, dating from 1340 to 1589, was still in the monastic archive (together with documents of later date) at the time of the Revolutionary inventory, in May 1792:

'66 gros volumes reliés en veau et parchemin, qui sont tous les anciens registres de compte des recettes et dépenses de la maison le premier de l'année 1340 fini en 1352 et le dernier de l'année 1583 fini en 1589.'

Unfortunately none of these early documents survives, in the first instance because the nuns refused to give them to the Poissy municipal authorities as a dismissive reply from the nun-archivist, Melanie Sanguin, makes clear:

'.....comme nous sommes fondées depuis l'année 1304 tous ces anciens comptes plus gros que les livres de l'église, écrits en lettres Gothiques ne seroient que vous embarasser...'

In this thesis I have catalogued some seventy manuscripts which were held at Poissy. As a consequence of the loss of relevant monastic records, like those above, almost all entries refer to volumes that are still extant, and which can be associated with the monastery only from evidence contained in the books themselves. Since, however, identification is not self-evident in all cases and sometimes depends on recognition of particular liturgical or other distinctive features relating to the house, I shall describe in some detail the methods for determining a Poissy provenance that I have developed during the course of this project. These criteria have proved successful in associating significantly more books with the monastery than previously, as well as in identifying others which up until now have been mistakenly put into that category. They should be readily adaptable for research on the book holdings of other religious houses, especially those of the Dominican Order. Firstly, though, it is necessary to examine to what extent the books from Poissy either remained in

1 Yvelines, III Q 60, 25 May 1792, Inventory of Archives.
2 Ibid., 30 May 1792, Letter from St de Sanguin to Municipal Officers. For piecemeal survival of later accounts see n. 43 below.
situ or were dispersed, both before and at the Revolution, and how this affects the task of locating the manuscripts formerly at the house.

1. Historical background and scope of the problem

Religious institutions in France, with the limited exception of those housing nuns occupied in public welfare, were dissolved and their land and goods confiscated and sold in accordance with a series of edicts issued by the Revolutionary authorities between 1789 and 1792. The taking of monastic vows by both males and females was prohibited in February 1790 and religious who intended to leave their congregation were obliged to declare this to their local municipal officers. After further deliberations by the National Assembly, resulting in various short-lived arrangements to combine smaller with larger institutions with which many nuns refused to comply, it was finally ruled in August 1792 that the vast wealth of the buildings and landholdings of both male and female religious should be realised by the state and the institutions themselves be vacated and sold. Religious might take their personal property, but common goods had to remain.

The National Assembly had already decreed, in September 1789, that each establishment make an inventory of valuable and historical possessions, including the manuscripts and printed books owned by the community, cautioning against misappropriation of any goods by individuals. The list was to be deposited at the local municipal registry, after which the officers of the municipality were instructed, in March 1790, to make their own summary inventory of common goods, including 'des effets de la sacristie, bibliothèque, livres, manuscrits, in the presence of all incumbents. Earlier in the same month all possessions held in common had been declared alienated to the state. Edicts issued between August 1790 and May 1791 advised directors of départements to collect the manuscripts and printed books into depositories and instructed them as to the care of the materials and how cataloguing details should be filled out.

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5 26 Mar 1790 (Assemblée constituante, n. 3 above, 153); 9 Sept 1790, art. 8; 25 Sep 1790, art. 23; made law 14 Oct 1790; reiterated 4 Aug 1792 (Archives parlementaires, 18, 1884, 670; 19, 1884, 240; 47, 1896, 456).
6 14 Sep 1789 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms 6487, Détails sur le travail des comités de l’assemblé relativement à tout le mobilier des maisons ecclésiastiques et religieuses... I. Décrets et decisions des comités, f. 3).
7 14 Nov 1789 (Archives parlementaires, 10, 1878); 26 Mar 1790 (Assemblée constituante, n. 3 above, 153-154).
8 14 Mar 1790 (Assemblée constituante, n. 3 above, 150-151).
9 In decrees dated 13 Aug 1790, 22 Sep 1790, 24 Mar 1791, 15 May 1791 (Arsenal 6487, n. 6 above). The work continued into 1792 (2 Jan 1792, art. 1-3; Archives parlementaires, 37, 1891, 1-2).
The municipality at Poissy set these policies in motion for the monastery of Saint Louis. Between 11 and 18 June 1790 its officials made an inventory of all valuable objects owned by the house according to the decrees of the National Assembly, including books and manuscripts: 'du mobilier, argenterie, argent monnoyé, effects de la Sacristie, Bibliothèque, livres, manuscrits, médailles, en un mot du mobilier le plus précieux de la maison'. Books were noted in three locations, with no distinction being made between manuscript and printed materials and with no precise reference to textual contents:

1. Monastic library: 2200 volumes of varied format including devotional and religious material and church history.

   'Une bibliothèque...dans laquelle nous avons trouvés deux mille deux cent volumes, tous formats en livres de piété, histoire ecclésiastique, et voyages sermonnaires, œuvres mêlées, écriture sainte, et autres.'

2. Nuns' refectory: Three books of prayers in a cupboard and a 'Lives of the Saints'.

3. Nuns' choir ('Choeur des Soeurs' and 'Cour des Dames'): Two missals and a pulpitary in one cupboard; ten large chantbooks for lectern use ('dix gros volumes de chants, servant pour le lutrin') in another; a number of chantbooks distributed around the choirstalls ('plusieurs livres de chants, placés sur les différents pupitres des stalles').

In addition, the Municipality may have had a list of individual volumes that were in the library, for in October 1790 Angélique de Villers, a nun who had made known her decision to leave the house, gave an undertaking to return the library books recorded as being in her possession. There is no mention in the inventory of books in the chapterhouse or the community room ('salle de communauté') while the nuns merely gave their word that the contents of their dormitory cells contained only private effects.

The formal, large library at Poissy was a recent institution; it had been established in 1733 by the prioress Jeanne Mailly in a former dormitory where she had a carpenter install shelves. The first acquisitions included multi-volumed pious works by the Abbé du Guez.

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10 Yvelines, III Q 60, Expedition du procès verbal d'inventaire du Prieuré Royal de St Louis de Poissy, 11-18 June 1790.

11 This is twice the average number of books held by female houses in Paris or the Dominican nuns at Dijon (1019 volumes in 1768), although less than the outstanding 3000-volume collections of Parisian Cistercians and Carmelites. The subject matter matches that of other nuns' holdings. See D. Dinet, "Les bibliothèques monastiques de Bourgogne et de Champagne au XVIIIème siècle", Histoire, économie et société, 1983, 284, 287-288; C. Jolly, "Unité et diversité des collections religieuses" in Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. II. Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530-1789, ed. C. Jolly, Paris, 1988, 19-20; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal n° 6487, ff. 22-31, 'Observations sur les propositions de MMrs du Directoire du Départements de Paris. À l'égard des 80 maisons occupées par cydevants religieuses...'.

12 Yvelines, III Q 60, Procès-verbal, 18 Oct 1790.

13 In accordance with the decree of 25 Sep 1790, art. 23 which allowed nuns who would leave, like male religious, to remove goods from their own rooms and cells, and other belongings which were exclusively for their personal use with permission of the municipal authorities (Archives parlementaires, 18, 1884, 670; 19, 1884, 240).

14 '...a Charles de Lorme menuisier a Poissy...garni un Dortoir de Planches pour servir de Bibliothèque a la communauté...' (Yvelines, 73 H 21, Accounts for 1733).
and the Abbé Fleury’s ecclesiastical history. Surviving records are incomplete, but additions seem to have continued until 1786. At the time of the inventory the library was set up for comfortable browsing and access to the books with ‘une table couvert de toile sirée, et deux tabourets foncés de pailles, un marchpied et différentes tablettes sur lesquelles sont les livres.’ Evidence either for or against the inclusion of older manuscript books is lacking, though the nuns claimed at the time of the inventory that the volumes in the library were those which former nun-owners had bequeathed to the community at their death.

The sale of goods at Poissy began in 1791 with the disposal of items which had been used by the friars: no books or library are documented. The next year, in September, seals were placed on the nuns’ communal areas, after the books in the library had been checked against the inventory and those in the church choir placed in the sacristy. In the ensuing auction, in May 1793, ‘12 livres d’Eglise’ were sold. The small sum they fetched, 3 livres 7 sous, suggests that they were of modest quality.

The valuable items and the other books were destined for deposit at S. Germain-en-Laye, where they arrived in the course of 1792 despite resistance by the nuns. An edict issued in September 1792 required that manuscripts, printed books, antiquities and other beaux-arts be catalogued and either conserved or sold, fulfilling an earlier declaration that the ecclesiastical libraries would form the basis of, or enrich, the public collections established in each département.

But no manuscripts from Poissy are identifiable in the collection catalogued at the Bibliothèque Municipale at S. Germain-en-Laye, and indeed no manuscripts at all were

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15 'Paye par MM l’Abbé Donnant demeurant a Paris la somme de quarante huit livres pour plusieurs livres qu’il a acheté par ordre de Mme pour mettre dans la Bibliothèque, savoir dix huit tomes du traité sur la passion de Jesus Christ, par M. l’Abbé du Guez, quatre tomes des ses lettres, un tome de l’idée de la conversion du pecheur, et un sur l’Esperance Chrétiéenne, le tout par le dit auteur; dans la ditte somme cy dessus et compris le port de la cassette ou estoient les dits livres... Misse entre les mains de St Charlote de l’Annion Officiere, la somme de trois cinquante livres pour achepter par ordre de madame nombre de livres pour la Bibliothèque, savoir deux cent quatre livres pour trente quatre tomes de l’Histoire de l’Eglise par M. l’Abbé Fleury, et cent quarte six livres pour plusieurs autres livres de piedé...’ (Yvelines, 73 H 21, n. 14 above).

16 In 1786 the library officer bought for six livres ‘la continuation de l’histoire de France’. No purchases are recorded in succeeding years. Prior to this, in the years 1768-69-74-75-76 the librarian purchased unidentified books costing 30, 12, 6, 8 and 48 livres (Yvelines, 73 H 24-31, Accounts for 1768-1770, 1773-1790).

17 Expedition d’inventaire, n. 10 above.

18 ‘Après cet inventorie les dites Dames ont déclarées qu’il n’y a jamais eu de fonds de Bibliothèque dans cette maison et que les livres qui s’y trouvent ne sont autres que ceux que la maison a recueillis à titre de succession à la mort de chaque Dame Religieuse.’ (Expedition d’inventaire, n. 10 above).

19 The friars’ quarters were sealed on 20 Jan 1791 and their communal property sold on 22 May 1791; neither books nor library are mentioned, either as part of these proceedings or during the earlier inventory (Expedition d’inventaire, n. 10 above; Yvelines, III Q 60, Procès verbal d’apposition des scelles au moment des religieux Dominicains désaverts l’abbaye de Poissy, Vente des meubles et effets des convent reverser peres dominicains de l’abbaye de Poissy).

20 Yvelines, III Q 61, Récollement d’inventaire et apposition de scellés en la cy-devant abbaye de Poissy, 29 Sep 1792; Yvelines, III Q 60, Vente des meubles, 12-23 May 1793.


22 10 Sep 1791, art. 1-2; 3 Sep 1792, art. 3-5 (Archives parlementaires, 30, 1888, 407; 49, 1896, 327).
registered in the earlier lists sent from this district to the Comités-réunis in February 1791. It is therefore likely that library volumes from the monastery, manuscript or otherwise, were either sold directly or, as occurred with books in the Dépôt S. Louis-la-Culture in Paris, exchanged for other texts considered more desirable for a public collection. Possibly, too, the community had not revealed the true extent of the collection to the authorities, as was the case with the Dominican friars of the Novitiate at rue S. Germain in Paris who in 1790 understated their library by a factor of two.

More remarkable than the 'disappearance' of the 2000-volume library is the fact that no manuscript from Poissy appears among the most notable goods — including library holdings — compiled by the Revolutionary authorities for each religious institution, despite the prominence on the list of liturgical manuscripts and 'beaux livres' from other houses. Yet one of the finest of French manuscripts, the extensively illustrated Psalter of Saint Louis (BN lat 10525), must still have been at the monastery at this time. It had been removed from the royal collection in about 1400 to be given by Charles VI to his daughter Marie de France, a nun at Poissy. Though she died in Paris, in 1439, the psalter stayed at the monastery. It appears to have been owned corporately at this stage since it was lent out to Charlotte de Savoie, some time before her decease in 1484, by 'la dame de Poyssy', doubtless the prioress who presumably assumed jurisdiction over the treasured memento of the patron saint on its owner's death. The volume has retained the silk covers (though now fragmentary) described at this time, an indication that it was rarely used, if ever, during its stay at Poissy over the succeeding three centuries. It is therefore likely that it was kept with the monastic treasure as has been claimed. In about 1793 the psalter was sold in Paris by the bookseller-bibliophile Chardin whose high prices meant that he tended to keep richly bound, finely ornamented books on vellum for some little time. It was then taken to

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24 Books were chosen by two booksellers in exchange for a set of 'Registres Manuscrits du Parlement de Paris' for the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 6488, f. 164). Others were sold in quantities of hundreds or thousands at 15 sous a folio volume, 7 sous 6 deniers a quarto (ibid., ff. 173, 177, 187, etc.).

25 They declared only 12-13,000 of their actual holdings of 24,000 volumes (P. and M.-L. Biver, Abbayes, monastères et couvents de Paris des origines à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, Paris, 1970, 380).

26 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 6487. For Poissy, only stone sculpture from the church is mentioned: tombs and the c. 1300 statues of St. Louis and his family (ibid., ff. 51-83, Relevé des cartes de dépouillements relatifs aux lettres, aux sciences et aux arts..., f. 61).

27 See individual Catalogue entry for elaboration of the manuscript's history.

28 Anselme, Histoire généalogique, 1, 1726, 114.

29 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms fr 15538, f. 53, published in Delisle, Cabinet, I, 91 (see Catalogue entry). Charlotte de Savoie was the second wife of Louis XI, whom she married in 1451.


31 T. F. Dibdin, A Bibliographical Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany, London, 1821, II, 400-402.
Russia and returned to France as a gift to the king, by which roundabout means it entered the national collection.\footnote{32}

The time sequence of the above events indicates that the Psalter of Saint Louis left Poissy with the nuns, the last of whom departed in October 1792.\footnote{33} Since the book had once been owned privately, it may perhaps have been argued with some justification that, as a volume which only after its owners' death had passed into the general collection, it was not, properly speaking, commonly owned. The same argument may have been applied to other books for it might be expected that a well-made, illustrated manuscript like the processional now in a New York private collection, which at some time after 1753 belonged to 'l’office de chantre',\footnote{34} would have entered the national collection. However, its private ownership in recent times suggests that it, too, was taken by the nuns when they left and sold only later. But how many books might each nun take with her? By fortunate chance the goods taken by one of the oldest of the twenty-nine nuns present during the inventory of 1790 were later itemised. Louise Fossard was eighty-two when in 1792 she rented two modest rooms in the town of Poissy. At her death in 1793 her twenty-eight religious books occupied one small lockable bookcase while she kept ten historical works in a display-cabinet. She also owned two more empty small bookcases.\footnote{35}

Of course one cannot determine how many books the other nuns took with them. But assuming each of the twenty-nine, all but one younger than Fossard, left with a similar quantity to the thirty-eight she had at her death, then over 1000 volumes accompanied them. What proportion of these would have been manuscripts is impossible to gauge; neither is it clear whether the former nuns selectively removed more valuable items from the house so that their sale might supplement the pension they were to receive.\footnote{36} Fossard's empty bookcases, for example, might point to her disposal of the books they had previously contained.

Not all manuscripts, however, remained at the monastery until the departure of the nuns. There is evidence that at least 30 of the 65 complete volumes whose whereabouts are known today or whose provenance has been well documented, ie. more than 45%, had left the

\footnote{32}{Dibdin, n. 31 above, 168.}

\footnote{33}{R. Labarraque, Poissy à travers les âges, Alençon, 1948, 119; N. Noel, Poissy et son histoire, Poissy, 1976, 225.}

\footnote{34}{It was then given for use by a novice nun whose name was later crossed out, presumably when the volume reverted to the office bearer's keeping. See individual Catalogue entry for details.}

\footnote{35}{'...une petite bibliothèque fermant à clef, vingt huit volumes de différentes livres de religion, deux petites bibliothèques fermant à clef, et rien dedans...'; [in 'une devanture d'armoire'] '...dix volumes traitant de différentes histoires...' (Yvelines, III Q 61, Claude Michel Sortier Juge au Paix de la Ville de Poissy...sur la requission de Marie Anne Françoise Priure, fille domestique de Mme Louis Faussard cy devant religieuse...â l'intent à l'apposition de nos scellés sur les meubles, effets..., 4 Feb 1793);

'... quarante volumes de différentes livres de piété'... (ibid., Inventaire fait après le deces de Mad' Louise Françoise Fossart, 22 Apr 1793). The hearing concerned an inheritance claim by a relative.}

\footnote{36}{The sliding scale depended on age: choir-sisters received 500, 600 or 700 livres respectively at age 50 or less, 51-60, or over 60; decreed 28 Jul 1792, art. 15-16, reiterated 4 Aug 1792, art. 1 (Archives parlementaires, 47, 1896, 245, 545).}
Table 1.1. MANUSCRIPTS OUTSIDE POISSY BEFORE ITS DISSOLUTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript contents</th>
<th>Poissy owners</th>
<th>Later owner</th>
<th>Date outside Poissy</th>
<th>Present location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Breviary</td>
<td>Nuns, private</td>
<td>Mareschalle de Bretagne</td>
<td>1473</td>
<td>Chantilly 804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breviary</td>
<td>Nuns, private</td>
<td>Grenoble Dominicans</td>
<td>s. xvi</td>
<td>London, Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humbert of Romans, miscellanea</td>
<td>Prior, autograph</td>
<td>Paris, Dominicans at S. Jacques</td>
<td>By s. xvi</td>
<td>Mazari 1397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradual—Processional</td>
<td>Nuns, private</td>
<td>Goyet</td>
<td>c. 1650</td>
<td>Bourke 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belleville Breviary</td>
<td>Nuns, private</td>
<td>Louis XIV (?)</td>
<td>1643-1715</td>
<td>BN lat. 10483-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horae—Processional</td>
<td>Nuns, private</td>
<td>Bouchard</td>
<td>1675</td>
<td>Sotheby 83; 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalter—Office of Dead</td>
<td>Nuns, private</td>
<td>Grenoble Dominicans</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Edinburgh, 7122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diurnal</td>
<td>Nuns, private</td>
<td>Bishop Manneville of Rouen</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Rouen Y 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemplative works</td>
<td>Nuns, private and common</td>
<td>Queen Christina of Sweden</td>
<td>Before 1689 (perhaps 1693)</td>
<td>Reg. Int. 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life of Margaret of Hungary</td>
<td>Nuns, common</td>
<td>Paris, Dominican Novitiate</td>
<td>s.xvii/xviii</td>
<td>Arsenal 1072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breviary (Winter)</td>
<td>Nuns, private, or lay resident (?)</td>
<td>Baluze</td>
<td>Before 1709</td>
<td>BN lat. 1313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita Sororum d'Unterlinden</td>
<td>Nuns, private</td>
<td>Baluze</td>
<td>Before 1709</td>
<td>BN lat. 5642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horae—Processional</td>
<td>Nuns, private?</td>
<td>Foucault</td>
<td>Before 1721</td>
<td>Rawl. Liarg. f. 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meditations Vitae Christi</td>
<td>Nuns, common</td>
<td>Picard, then Mannheim</td>
<td>Before 1763</td>
<td>Clm 10155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartholomeus Anglicus</td>
<td>Friars' library</td>
<td>Lauragnas</td>
<td>Before 1770</td>
<td>Hunter 391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalter</td>
<td>Nuns, private</td>
<td>Cottren</td>
<td>By 1781</td>
<td>Boston 80.304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breviary</td>
<td>Nuns, private, then subprioress</td>
<td>Paulmy</td>
<td>Before 1785</td>
<td>Arsenal 602-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breviary</td>
<td>Nuns, private</td>
<td>Paris, Dominican Novitiate</td>
<td>Before 1790</td>
<td>Arsenal 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalter—Hymnal</td>
<td>Nuns, private, then subprioress</td>
<td>Paris, Dominican Novitiate</td>
<td>Before 1790</td>
<td>Marzari 381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalter—Office of Dead</td>
<td>Nuns private, then use in choir</td>
<td>Paris, Dominican Novitiate</td>
<td>Before 1790</td>
<td>Arsenal 604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processional</td>
<td>Nuns, private</td>
<td>Premonstratensians</td>
<td>Before 1790</td>
<td>Soissons 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossed Solomonic Books</td>
<td>Friars' library</td>
<td>Mannheim</td>
<td>By 1790s</td>
<td>Clm 10008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmonia evangelarum, Bernard of Clairvaux</td>
<td>Nuns, common</td>
<td>Mannheim</td>
<td>By 1790s</td>
<td>Clm 16025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossed Gospels</td>
<td>Friars' library</td>
<td>N. Schweighart, then Mannheim</td>
<td>By 1790s</td>
<td>Clm 10026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brito, Gilbert de la Porrece</td>
<td>Friars' library</td>
<td>Bookseller Chairphey, then Mannheim</td>
<td>By 1790s</td>
<td>Clm 10066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humbert of Romans, Bernard of Clairvaux</td>
<td>Nuns, common</td>
<td>Bookseller Chairphey, then Mannheim</td>
<td>By 1790s</td>
<td>Clm 10154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life &amp; Miracles BVM</td>
<td>Nuns, common</td>
<td>Mannheim</td>
<td>By 1790s</td>
<td>Clm 10156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtues and Vices, etc.</td>
<td>Friars' library</td>
<td>Mannheim</td>
<td>By 1790s</td>
<td>Clm 10157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liber capitularis</td>
<td>Nuns, common</td>
<td>Mannheim</td>
<td>By 1790s</td>
<td>Clm 10170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See individual Catalogue entries for further details of ownership.
house before its dissolution (Table 1.1). Among them are six manuscripts from a group of ten that in the seventeenth-century were obviously owned communally, since each was inscribed at the time with 'Ex bibliotheca fratrum praedicatorum de pisciacio'. These six were sold in the following century and are among nine volumes from Poissy to enter the Palatinate collection at Mannheim, almost certainly during the librarianship of the Abbé Nicolas Maillot de la Treille, between 1756 and his death in 1794. Details of the order or years of acquisition of the volumes are not known, but all bear the library signatures used at Mannheim for theological books: the letter 'A' followed by a number, then sometimes a superscript numeral. Since this classification system was already established in 1757, the task of ordering and applying these cataloguing shelfmarks for the Palatinate library can be presumed to predate this librarian's death by some years. Four of the nine books actually give indication of owners intermediate between Poissy and Mannheim: the Paris collector Charles Adrien Picard held Clm 10155 until 1762, an N. Schweighart owned Clm 10026, while Clm 10066 and Clm 10154 bear the identical eighteenth-century bookseller's autograph 'Achete de Chairpere libraire a St Germain en Laye'. This latter establishment was also patronised by the nuns for their binding needs: in 1733 they paid a considerable amount, 42 livres, to 'Chairpere relieur a St Germain' to have choirbooks re-covered. It will be noted that the new library, with its first purchases of large matching sets of books, was established in the same year as the choirbooks were effectively renewed. Could it be that older, unprepossessing manuscript volumes were sold at about this time to make way for new books? The conveniently-located Chairpere might well have met the varied needs of the monastery for a libraire, including that of the sale of manuscripts no longer useful or valued. Disposal of handwritten books in order to buy printed volumes to build up library holdings is documented for other Dominican houses. When their spacious but no doubt

37 The evidence firmly contradicts the suggestion that Poissy's manuscript holdings were only dispersed during the French Revolution (see M. M. Manion and V. F. Vines, Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian Collections, London, 1984, 178; L. M. C. Randall, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, I, France 875-1420, Baltimore and London, 1989, 177).

38 It does not necessarily follow, though, that all ten were in the one library belonging to the friars. See Chapter 6 for discussion of the library or libraries and other book holdings at Poissy in this and previous centuries.

39 The six are Clm 10008, 10025, 10026, 10066, 10156, 10157. There is no indication whether or not the other four (Évora ms, Add. 32579, BN fr 12483, BN lat 11281) remained at Poissy until the Revolution. However notes inscribed in the first two of these in the eighteenth century — in Latin in the first (Vitae Patrum) recommending to the recipient a useful section for sermons; in French in the second concerning previous misbinding — may point to their exit before this time. All were rebound after the 1790s, the last two while in the library of King Louis-Philippe (1830-1848). For the establishment and classification of the Mannheim collection, which was transferred to Munich in 1802-3, see E. Remak-Honnert and H. Hauke, Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. IV: 1. Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Mannheimer Hofbibliothek Clm 10001-10930, Wiesbaden, 1991, ix-xviii.

40 Ibid., x.

41 30 Mar 1733, 'Payé par les mains de Sr de St Hermine la somme de quarente deux livres au nomme de Chairpere relieur a St Germain pour la reliure de plusieurs livres de chants qui servent au chœur' (Yvelines, 73 H 21). Records from Poissy of other binding or repairs do not mention the establishment concerned.
empty-looking library was established, the Poissy nuns may have followed a similar course of action.\(^{43}\)

Individually owned books also left the monastery before the nuns were forced to leave. An ornately decorated Dominican breviary with extra liturgical material (Chantilly 804) was sold outside the Order as early as 1473 for 80 écus, by the survivor of a pair of nuns who owned a second, illustrated breviary whose contents were more appropriate for worship at Poissy (Arsenal 107); and an early illustrated diurnal (Rouen Y 233) later appears in the possession of a relative of its nun-owner.\(^{44}\) The Belleville Breviary, given Marie de France by her uncle Jean, duc de Berry, is said to have re-entered the royal collection during the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715).\(^{45}\)

Some volumes were taken to other religious houses, mainly Dominican, and possibly in later decades when the nuns employed outside celebrants and preachers from their own and other Orders.\(^{46}\) Four such manuscripts found their way to the Dominican Novitiate in the rue S. Germain in Paris, which had quickly built up a very large library after its inception in 1632, and implemented a policy of collecting ancient manuscripts in exchange for more recent volumes.\(^{47}\) It may be of consequence here, also, that the Master General Nicholas Ridolphi, who in 1629 had instigated the establishment of the reformed Novitiate, was at Poissy in October 1632, reportedly to give the last rites and sacraments to a particularly pious nun-confidant of his, Eleonore de Botie.\(^{48}\) Other volumes entered the renowned private libraries of Queen Christina of Sweden in the seventeenth century and of the celebrated French collectors Baluze, Foucault, Picard, Lauragais and Paulmy, in the eighteenth.

The result is that the manuscripts from Poissy were widely and unpredictably dispersed, unlike, for instance, those from the Dominican convent at Toulouse, many of which are now

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\(^{43}\) Documentation is unavailable for twenty years either side of the library's establishment since the surviving account books, even from this late period, are sparse. Those until 1766 have been preserved only at 20-year intervals (viz. 1653, 1673, 1693, 1713, 1733 and 1753), although all from 1622-1789 were extant in 1792. See Yvelines, III Q 60, 15 May 1792, *Inventaire des archives*; H. Lemoine (ed.), *Département de Seine-et-Oise. Inventaire -Sommaire des Archives Départementales antérieures à 1790, Archives Ecclésiastiques - Series H*, Corbeil, 1944, 73 H 1 - 73 H 126.

\(^{44}\) The circumstances surrounding such losses of manuscripts to the monastery, namely the deliberate sale of books no longer required and the cutting up of others, plus the effects of diminishing numbers of choir-sisters, periods when the full liturgy was not followed, the availability of appropriate printed books, and the recurring periods when the nuns took refuge with their families and elsewhere, during war or plague or their own illness, are discussed in Chapter 6 Part 2.

\(^{45}\) According to Dibdin, n. 31 above, 174. His information is, however, not always reliable (see J. Backhouse, "Two Books of Hours of Francis I", *British Museum Quarterly*, 31, 1966-67, 91-92).

\(^{46}\) Payments for ecclesiastical services in the surviving accounts for the years between 1713 and 1786 were made to various Capuchins, Carmelites, Premonstratensians and others in addition to Dominicans from Paris houses who sometimes stayed for periods up to a month (Yvelines, 73 H 20 - 30).

\(^{47}\) P. Gasnault, "Les collections et leurs enrichissements" in *Bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime*, n. 11 above, 349.

in that city's Municipal Library. The evidence indicates that books left the monastery at various periods and through different agencies, and that those remaining at the Revolution were sold, either by the St. Germain authorities or the former nuns and their inheritors. The unpredictability of the present location of Poissy manuscripts has meant that, in most cases, only those which actually name the monastery in the text or in an added inscription have until now been recognised as coming from the house. Contributing to this problem are those volumes from which endpapers have been removed or otherwise lost or which have been rebound to incorporate new, pristine endpapers; an owner like Baluze, moreover, deliberately erased the inscriptions of previous owners. The lost ownership inscriptions or library signatures which were untidily written or crossed-out, although unwanted by a later possessor, might have been of considerable value in assigning a volume to a particular place or owner at a particular time. Where they are absent, evidence stemming solely from a book's contents becomes an invaluable means of establishing its provenance and dating its history.

2. First premises and associated pitfalls

The sixty-nine extant manuscripts and single leaves listed as of Poissy provenance in this thesis are held in diverse public and private collections throughout Europe, the United States and Australia. Consultation of earlier catalogues of individual collections has therefore been essential for the reassembly of such a dispersed group. Certain entries in these catalogues, however, have failed to recognise or at least to record a Poissy provenance where appropriate, and some liturgical books are not even classified as Dominican. A few catalogues err in the opposite direction, wrongly assigning manuscripts to the monastery through a misunderstanding of particular characteristics of Dominican worship in France. On the other hand, certain scholars have employed stylistic comparison and analysis as a means of attributing ownership to Poissy; in several instances this can now be confirmed through the presence of liturgical elements proper to the nuns' worship.

A number of features that distinguish the foundation at Poissy provide a starting point for identifying its manuscripts. As a Dominican monastery, founded by a French monarch in honour of his ancestor St. Louis and situated only 30 km from Paris, Poissy was characterised throughout by its close ties with royalty, and its nuns were required to be nobly born. The only other Dominican foundation located in the Paris region from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the late sixteenth century — the period of manuscript production with which this thesis is concerned — was the friars' convent at St. Jacques. The closest nuns' houses were at Montargis (nearer Orléans), Rouen, Arras and Lille, all considerable distances from the capital. This means that any liturgical manuscript for Dominican use which emphasises St. Louis, and which was made of fine materials and

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50 Bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, n. 11 above, 175.
perhaps illustrated in Paris, is well worth investigating in order to ascertain if it was made for nuns and whether there are other indications which point to Poissy.

But caution is required when considering any of these features in isolation. Merely the inclusion of a feast of St. Louis, for example, at the rank of totum duplex (ordinarily celebrated by the Dominican Order as simplex), and/or the inclusion of his name in the litany of saints, does not confirm that a Dominican liturgical manuscript was made for the nuns at Poissy. Certain other French Dominican houses also honoured the saint in special ways. The friars of the convent at Evreux, which had been founded with Louis IX's encouragement in 1278, immediately moved to re-dedicate their church to him upon his canonisation in 1297; this was achieved as early as 1299. Likewise, the church of the Dominican monastery at Val des Anges, near Bruges (part of the French province since 1266), was re-dedicated to St. Louis although the monastery itself remained dedicated to St. Michael (understandably so since it was built on the site where heavenly choirs of angels had been heard). The convent at Carcassonne in Provence, which had benefited generously from the saint during his lifetime, also consecrated a chapel to him in 1299-1300. Louis, too, had founded the Dominican monastery at Rouen in 1269, endowing it with a thorn from the Crown of Thorns in its first year. Although the nuns there retained the original dedication to St. Matthew, they accorded their sainted founder special honours, celebrating his feast from an early stage at the highest rank of totum duplex, and, by the fifteenth-century at least, with a procession. It would be surprising, also, if the Dominican monastery la Thieuloye at Arras, founded by Mahaut d'Artois' in 1324, did not immediately render to St. Louis the same high degree of liturgical recognition. Indeed, the countess seems deliberately to have emulated Louis' own gift to Rouen by supplying her nuns at Arras with a richly worked reliquary for a thorn from the Crown of Thorns at their foundation. She also gave them a silver gilt head-reliquary of St. Louis carried by a pair of angels as well as two other images of her sainted grandfather.


52 Chapotin, Histoire, n. 51 above, 523-524, 708.


55 Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale ms A.580, a psalter-diurnal from the beginning of the fourteenth-century: feast of St. Louis is rendered totum duplex in both the calendar listing and the procedure for 1st vespers on f. 329v (see below); Dedication to St. Matthew has been added to the calendar on 12 Jul. The house was still so dedicated in 1511 (see Registrum litterarum Fr. Thomas de Vio Celati OP Magistri Ordinis 1508-1513, ed. A. de Meyer, MOPH, 17, 1935, 63, no. 179).

56 Sydney, State Library of New South Wales, ms Richardson 223, a Dominican processional for use by nuns, whose specifically Rouen saints in the calendar indicate its manufacture for Louis' foundation there (see K. V. Sinclair, Descriptive Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in Australia, Sydney, 1969, 134-135, no. 38). The processional liturgy for this feast differs from that in use at Poissy.

57 On these gifts see J.-M. Richard, Une petite-niece de saint Louis: Mahaut comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne (1302-1329), Paris, 1887, 248, 251, n. 3, 409. On Mahaut d'Artois' establishment and
Apart from these examples of special veneration, however, it is likely that on the
canonisation of Louis IX the French Provincial Chapter voted that his feast should be
celebrated at the rank of totum duplex rather than at the simplex level which was the custom
elsewhere. The deliberations of the French Provincial Chapters do not survive, and it is
unwise to rely too heavily on the pronouncements of the Chapters General simply because
they have been preserved largely intact. Indeed, caution rings out from the Chapters
General themselves: in 1367, for instance, it was declared that the general acts were not
binding on the friars of any Province unless published by their own Provincial Chapter.58
There is, after all, good reason why the feast of St. Louis should have been given the highest
recognition throughout the French Dominican Province, for the king had consistently
supported the Order and his descendants continued the same close relationship.

Not only did Louis IX found, foster and endow their institutions, but he chose Dominicans
to serve among his confessors and chaplains and was personally close to several of them.
His confessor Geoffroy de Beaulieu, who had assisted in his upbringing, later accompanied
him on his campaigns to the Holy Land and his subsequent compilation of St Louis’ life
and miracles provided the main evidence of the king’s sanctity. Louis also encouraged
Vincent de Beauvais — the somewhat ‘freelance’ Dominican who became lector at the
Cistercian Abbey at Royaumont, the king’s richest foundation — providing access to the
libraries of his various monastic foundations and to his own books during the friar’s
compilation of the voluminous Speculum maius. Vincent advised on the education of Louis’
children, writing the treatise De eruditione puororum for this purpose and another, De
morte amici consolatoria, on the death of the king’s eldest son. Humbert of Romans, the
Dominican Master General, acted as godfather to Louis’ last-surviving son, Robert de
Clermont, and the king frequently had Dominicans, including it is said, Thomas Aquinas, at
his table; he also attended the Dominican Chapter General held in 1256.59

Louis further involved the Order in negotiations for and delivery of the supreme relic, the
Crown of Thorns, which he bought from the King of Jerusalem. When he established the

58 ‘Acta capitula generalis non obligant fratres aliarum provinciarum, nisi postquam in suis provinciis in
capitulis provincialibus fuerint publicata’ (ACGQP, II, 409-410).

59 Like their predecessors (including the compiler of the lessons for St. Louis’ feast) the modern
Dominican historians have consistently treated the interactions between the members of their Order and
the king and his successors. The summary here is partly based on such accounts (Chapotin, Études
historiques, n. 51 above, 134-138; idem, Histoire, n. 51 above, 494-505; R. P. Mortier, Histoire des
Maîtres Généraux de l’Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs, Paris, I, 211-212 and II, 347; W. R. Bonnwell, A
History of the Dominican Liturgy, New York, 1944, 114, 202; Hinnebusch, n. 42 above, 183, 256) and
partly based on more general historical considerations (L. K. Little, “Saint Louis’ Involvement with the
St. Louis — his confessor Geoffroy de Beaulieu, his chaplain Guillaume de Chartres and his adviser and
perhaps librarian Vincent de Beauvais — see also the bibliographic-biographical summaries in L’année
dominicaine, Amiens, 1678-1710; J. Quéfil and J. Echard, Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti, I,
Paris, 1719; T. Kaegeli, Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum mediaevi, Rome, 1970-[1980]; M. Paulmier-
Sainte-Chapelle in Paris to house the relic he gave Dominicans and Franciscans charge of two of the three commemorative services to be held there annually. In 1309 his grandson Philippe le Bel expanded this privilege to include St. Louis' feastday, and paid each friar who attended.

The Dominicans, in their turn, accorded Louis IX the same masses and prayers after his death as one of their own Masters General. They were paramount in Philippe le Bel's campaign to have him canonised, and upon its success in 1297 they at once added the feast to their liturgy (1298-1300-01), while one of their number, Arnaut de Prat, composed for King Philippe an office for the new feast. Furthermore, it seems that the Dominicans may have celebrated the feast of St. Louis as totum duplex quite widely in the French Province by the mid-fourteenth century. Evidence for this is provided by the Dominican codex which dates from the reform of the liturgy in the mid-1250s and was produced and copied in Paris. One copy (now London, BL ms Add 23935) was ostensibly made for the Master General to settle any doubts concerning the contents of the manuscripts used in the houses he visited. Whether or not the book was reserved for his use alone, it seems always to have stayed at the convent of St. Jacques in Paris since sections added in the mid-fourteenth century (fols 3-22, 572-579v) reveal the distinctively ornate pen-flourishing style of a Parisian collaborator of Jean Pucelle. The feast of St. Louis is among these additions, although Arnaut de Prat's rhymed 9-lesson office is merely transcribed in its ubiquitous form that makes no reference to the five particular psalms, beginning Laudate pueri (Ps. 112), which always begin first vespers for a Dominican totum duplex feast. But neither is

60 For letters dating between 1238 and 1256 concerning the Crown of Thorns relic and the Sainte-Chapelle see Vidier, n. 54 above, 249-260, nos 1-15. On the yearly celebration at the Sainte-Chapelle see Little, n. 59 above, 128.
61 Vidier, n. 54 above, 287, no. 55.
62 Hinnebusch, n. 42 above, 183.
63 Bonniwell, n. 59 above, 202.
64 The completion of the revision and the readiness of exemplars for copying was announced at the Dominican Chapter General of 1256 (ibid., 84). The so-called 'prototype' manuscript of the complete liturgy and constitutions (now Rome, Santa Sabina, ms XIV. L. 1) was held at the Convent of Saint-Jacques in Paris (ibid., 85-94). The status of this manuscript as Dominican liturgical prototype has recently been challenged by Leonard Boyle and Simon Tugwell on codicological and other grounds at a colloquium on the manuscript held in Rome in March 1995; I am grateful to the Rev. Dr. Tugwell OP for this information.
66 François Avril has identified this calligraphic style in other manuscripts as that of Jacobus Mathe (probably Jacquet Mac) who worked for high royal and ecclesiastical patrons, including the pope at Avignon (F. Avril, "Trois manuscrits de l'entourage de Jean Pucelle", Revue de l'Art, 9, 1970, 37-48; idem, "Un enlumineur ornemaniste parisien de la première moitié du XIVe siècle: Jacobus Mathe (Jacquet Mac?)", Bulletin monumental, 129, 1971, 249-264). For further bibliography, discussion and dating of the additions to Add 23935 between 1358 and 1363 see comments and notes in Catalogue entry for ms Chantilly 804.
67 Bonniwell, n. 59 above, 132-133. The other four psalms are Laudate dominum omnes gentes (Ps. 116), Lauda anima (Ps. 145), Laudate dominum quoniam bonus (Ps. 146) and Lauda ierusalem (Ps. 147) but the usual indication is simply a rubricated cue to the series: 'psalms. laudate pueri etcetera'. Full
any other psalm specified, as is usual for a nine-lesson Dominican feast of lower rank. This suggests that the user needed to apply in situ the appropriate liturgical changes to this office in its universal form. A more unequivocal indicator of elevated rank is the presence of the sequence Regem regum in the mass for the feast, since sequences were only sung in masses of totum duplex rank.  

A sequence in the mass of St. Louis in this archetypal liturgical book, therefore, points to the celebration of his feast throughout French Dominican houses at the highest level, and this occurrence may have led Dreves, surprisingly, to place the finely-made manuscript at Poissy. On the contrary, its continued location at St. Jacques, the pre-eminent house of the French Province, together with additions made in the expensive penmanship of the foremost calligrapher in Paris at the period, mean that it may have become (perhaps de facto) the Provincial archetype codex by this time. Two Dominican liturgical books of Parisian manufacture but unidentifiable provenance, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (the diurnal lat 1324 and the ferial psalter lat 10489), accorded St. Louis the highest rank in the fifteenth century, the former also invoking him in the litany. They offer further indication that the saint received the highest honour in the Province of France.

By the 1330s the celebration of the feast of St. Louis at Poissy had been further heightened by the continuation of his office throughout the octave with 3-lessons at matins on vacant intervening weekdays and 9-lessons on the eighth day. This was despite the mandate forbidding an octave for a patron saint which is set out in the very same breviaries in which the octaval liturgy occurs. The friars at Evreux appear also to have celebrated the feast of their new patron St. Louis with an octave as early as 1298, and it is possible that other houses in or close to Paris accorded him the same honour since an octave is included in a few Paris-produced manuscripts which I have been unable to place at Poissy or another house with any certainty. Moreover, the lessons published for the feast after the Chapter General of 1306 appear not to have been binding upon houses around Paris, and indeed the text of the lessons in these French breviaries, including manuscripts undoubtedly from

distinctions between all the ranks of feasts preface the sanctorale of the Dominican breviary (eg. Arsenal 602, f. 338v).

68 Bonniwell, n. 59 above, 92.

69 'Collect. ms S. Ludovici Pisciacensis ann. 1260-75. Cod. Landinen. Add 23935. c.' (Analecta hymnica, 54, 1915, 31 and passim)

70 As evidenced in Poissy breviaries by the office transcribed in Arsenal 603 (f. 313) and the fifteenth-century compilation Rawl. Liturg. e 2 (f. 151v), and reference to vespers during the octave in Arsenal 107 (f. 401v). The last lacks a Summer volume which would contain the office (25 Aug).

71 Instituted in Humbert of Romans' revised liturgy (Bonniwell, n. 59 above, 117). The identically-worded admonition, 'preter istas octavas nulle alie octave sanctorum sive patronorum ecclesie, sive aliorum quoruncumque', occurs after the list of twelve saints allowed octaves in Arsenal 107 (f. 290), Arsenal 602 (f. 339v) Arsenal 603 (f. 223) as part of the introductory instructions to the sanctorale.

72 Lessons for feast, octave and three intervening days from an unidentified manuscript 'facti Ebrocis, in ecclesia fratum predicatorem', dated 30 Apr 1298, are printed as 'Beati Ludovici vita. E vetert lectionario extracta' in RHGF, n. 51 above, 160-167.

73 Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine ms 374, for instance, contains an earlier nine-lesson set of readings for the feast of St. Louis, associated with the earlier office (f. 402v), plus new readings with the same text as the Evreux manuscript (f. 309). The second set were later divided and reorganised, as shown by markings in the margin, in order to fill out the requirements of the octave. (See Chapter 2 for discussion of the earlier and later offices for the feast.)
Poissy, varies from one manuscript to another.\textsuperscript{74} However, since one religious intoned the lessons while the rest listened it was not strictly necessary that all breviaries contain the exact words that the community would hear, and certainly I have been unable to associate variations in the lessons for this feast with any particular institutions. It is, nevertheless, true that an officework which lacks full celebrations for the octave of the feast of St. Louis is unlikely to have been made for use at Poissy by the 1330s at least.

The inclusion of St. Louis in the litany, on the other hand, was not confined to the Dominican Province of France. In manuscripts from the convent at Toulouse (in the Province of Toulouse) the saint is the last confessor invoked, although his feast is observed only at the universal simplex grade;\textsuperscript{75} the nuns at St. Catherine's in Nuremburg also appealed to the saint in their funerary litany.\textsuperscript{76}

In addition to misinterpretation resulting from the liturgical attention given St. Louis are two other sources of mis-provenance. The first is the ascription of a manuscript (usually Dominican although not necessarily) to Poissy because it is written on fine-quality vellum and richly illuminated and/or illustrated and therefore, perhaps axiomatically, made for a wealthy house. But Poissy was not the only (although arguably it was the most prominent) women's house to attract well-dowered noble females with the resources to acquire expensive books. The Dominican monasteries at Montargis, Rouen and Metz in France and Prouille in Provence were also noted for their noble incumbents, and advertised to no less degree their royally-born nuns who had chosen what they considered to be a life of abnegation and humility in the cloister.\textsuperscript{77} And indeed, the earlier history of female monasticism in France shows it to have been primarily a career of the highly born.\textsuperscript{78} It should be noted, too, that French Dominican monasteries, contrary to the wording of their Constitutions, received papal dispensations that from an early date allowed nuns to keep their possessions and revenues.\textsuperscript{79} Since, also, a Bull of 1265 permitted friars of the Order to acquire, inherit, own and sell goods,\textsuperscript{80} the Poissy nuns were probably unexceptional in this

\textsuperscript{74} For the published lessons see \textit{ACGOP, II}, 21-22.

\textsuperscript{75} For example Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, mss 77, 78, 98 (breviaries and missal from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries).

\textsuperscript{76} Harvard College Library, ms lat 196, f. 7v (Book of exequies, 'Tottenpet', dated c. 1450).

\textsuperscript{77} Chapotin, \textit{Histoire}, n. 51 above, 508, 665; \textit{idem. Études historiques}, n. 51 above, 142, 144. See also biographical entries for individual Dominican nuns taken from tombstones, obituaries and other monastic records in \textit{L'année dominicaine}, Amiens, 1678-1710, passim.


\textsuperscript{79} For example, the French house at Montargis, and Saint-Agnès and other monasteries in Strasbourg received bulls from Innocent IV, dated 8 Apr, 7 May, 4 Jul 1245 (Chapotin, \textit{Histoire}, n. 51 above, 360-361) with the permission 'Ad hec licet eisdem Priorisse, ac Sororibus, redditus, et possessiones recipere, ac easdem libere retine; non obstantibus contraria consuetudine, seu statuto ipsius Ordinis' (\textit{BOP}, I, 148).

\textsuperscript{80} Bull of Clement IV dated 13 Feb 1265 (Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, see \textit{Catalogue Général, II}, 106, no. 3137). Increasing restrictions were, however, placed on ownership, free disposal and inheritance of books and other property by both friars and nuns in ensuing centuries, including a requirement for permission from the Provincial. See, for example, \textit{BOP}, II, 356 (Boniface IX, 5 Jan 1396); \textit{ACGOP}, III, 60 (1396; Avignon Obedience); \textit{ACGOP, III}, 139, 148 (1410 expanded 1417; Rome Obedience);
regard, although no documentation survives. Erroneous attribution can also result from a recognition that a late medieval book is an obvious monastic product which has been sent out to be illustrated professionally, usually in Paris. Though this was common practice at Poissy in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, other French nuns, for example those of the Abbey of Poissy in the diocese of Troyes (Fig. 166) and the Franciscans in Paris (Fig. 164), wrote in a not dissimilar gothic hand on vellum at this period, and produced their own books.

A number of manuscripts previously hesitantly placed at Poissy require reassessment under the above guidelines. A sixteenth-century leaf bears a full-page Parisian illustration depicting what seems undeniably to be a Franciscan nun since she wears a knotted cord around the waist of her grey-brown habit (Shamley Green, private collection: Sotheby's, 5 Dec 1989, lot 30; Fig. 163). It is an unlikely candidate for a Poissy provenance. So are a Dominican processional, probably Flemish (Washington, Dominican College Library ms 1; Fig. 165), and a Dominican prosar (Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale ms 98), both illustrated and dating from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, whose liturgical differences disallow any association with Poissy (see below); this is also indicated, albeit less categorically, by the illustrative subject matter and style of the ornamentation which both differ from known Poissy manuscripts. The very fine manuscript containing La somme le roi, La sainte abbaye and other devotional tracts (preserved in two parts, London, BL mss Add. 28162 and 39843) was richly illustrated, probably in Alsace. Although the owner during the early nineteenth-century had alleged that the manuscript came from the Poissy nuns and was mentioned in an inventory there prior to the French Revolution, the next owner of the first part, le comte de Bastard, could find no evidence to support this provenance despite his research.

Another misconception involves royal emphasis in the manuscripts. References to 'regem nostrum' — in the prayer said during the procession 'Reception of a Secular Prince' and in the second last collect after the litany — have been seen as so distinctively royalist that the house who used these books must have been especially close to the court; so has the

_ACGOP, II, 426 (1498 with papal bull 'De possessionibus habendis'); ACGOP, IV, 35 (1505). In 1530 the Chapter General revoked 'all concessions and indulgences, whoever had given them, which allowed retention of any goods by an individual' (ACGOP, IV, 224).


82 H. Husmann, _Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften (Répertoire international des sources musicales, Bv)_, Munich, 1964, 100.


celebration of the Crown of Thorns on 4 May. The items are, however, simply part of the universal Dominican liturgy and do not point to any individual foundation.

A missal written for the use of Paris (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal ms 608) has continually been misrepresented as associated with Poissy. But its liturgy pertains to Notre-Dame, in particular the commemoration of the relics there on 4 December and the instructions for the Palm Sunday procession, 'congregatis processionibus conventualibus in ecclesia beate Marie...' (f. 1). Even so, the Parisian illustrative style and decorative arrangement is not inconsistent with manuscripts made in the 1330s for the Poissy nuns and, most provocatively, an obit for Philippe le Bel in the calendar mentions the foundation: 'Obitus Philippi, regis Francie, fundatoris ecclesie Pissiaci'. Henry Martin, and others who have followed his provenance, have repeatedly placed the manuscript at the Dominican church of St. Louis, despite Lerquais' subtle demur that the obit would, from the mention, only seem to imply a Poissy provenance ('la mention de l'église de Poissy paraît indiquer que le missel a été à l'usage de cette église'). But there is no indication that the manuscript was ever with the nuns at Poissy, where it would have been of severely limited liturgical use, and, since it was later at the Church of St. Lazare in Paris it seems unlikely that it ever left the city. The reference to the king's foundation at Poissy, which occurs in conjunction with related obits for his wife Jeanne (2 April) and his successors Louis X (4 June) and Charles de Valois (16 December), is merely a statement of his piety, as a similarly worded obit in a copy of an ancient obituary at the Premonstratensian Abbey of Joyenval makes clear: 'Commemoratio domini Philippi, Franciae regis, hujus nominis IV, cognomine Pulchri, sanctimonialium Pisciacensium fundatoris'.

But it would be short-sighted to see all nuns at Poissy at all times as unremittingly subscribing to orthodox Dominican liturgy. Non-Dominican books could have been in use, and today remain unassociated with the house. At certain periods, certainly, worship was lax or nonexistent, and behaviour and dress were secular, though seemingly not by all of the nuns. This provoked the Order into public denunciations and attempts at complete reform at Poissy in 1507, and again in the earlier seventeenth century. There may even have

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85 Sotheby Sales Catalogues, 9 December 1974, 35, lot 60 and 6 December, 1983, 145, lot 90. The wording of both prayers is identical: 'Famulum tuum regem nostrum (occasionally in plural: 'Famulos tuos reges nostros') que sumus domine tua semper protectione...'
86 See Dominican codex, BL ms Add 23935, ff. 81v (calendar, May), 105 (prayer).
87 The calendar also lacks reference to the relics at the Sainte-Chapelle, on 30 September, so could not have been written for use there as has been suggested (M. Bernard, Répertoire de manuscrits médiévaux contenant des notations musicales, III, Bibliothèques Parisiennes, Paris, 1974, 81). See R. Branner, "The Sainte-Chapelle and the Capella Regis in the Thirteenth Century", Gesta, 10, 1971, 21.
89 Lerquais, Missels, II, 246.
90 A. Molinier, Obituaires de la Province de Sens, II. Diocèse de Chartres, Paris, 1906, 297.
91 ACGOP, IV, 67. See also Chapter 5 Part 1.
92 ACGOP, VI, 23-29 (1601); BOP, VI, 38 and 70 (Urban VIII, 26 Sep 1625 and 19 Sep 1629).
been some sort of engagement with Protestantism in the house in the sixteenth century. The
toress Charlotte de Chabannes, who was at Poissy for fifty-one years before her death in
1540, was zealous, ‘praying most ardently to appease God’s anger with his church, which
was cruelly ravaged by the errors and deviations of heretics’. In 1574 the Dominican
Chapter General appealed to the Order, singling out nuns of the northern part of the French
Province — at Poissy, Arras, Lille, Bruges, Brussels and Valenciennes — to persevere in
their faith and fight the heresy. But the manuscripts offer no glimpse of this. There are,
however, occasional inexplicable liturgical aspects here and there which seem not to have persisted in worship at the monastery. Parisian saints such as Geneviève, Julian or Germain,
the Breton Yves and others make minor entries into litany or calendar and may just represent the interests of individual nuns. The feast of the Translation of St Louis — the
commemoration of the removal of the saint’s head to the Sainte-Chapelle from St Denis in
1306 — seems only to have been peripherally celebrated at Poissy even though reference to it is found in three manuscripts, including a perhaps sixteenth-century addition to the Liber capitularius which expands the rubric ‘Beati Ludovici regis et confessoris’ above the gospel
reading with the words ‘Et in translatione eiusdem’. A sequence for the feast of his translation was transcribed in the prosar section of two sixteenth-century manuscripts.
However this was later deliberately removed from Paris private coll., and its placement in
Bourke 52, between proae for the Transfiguration (6 August) and St Denis (9 October),
shows that it was intended to be sung during the normal feast of the saint (25 August) and was not part of any commemoration devoted to the translation itself (27 May). The
martyrology continued to ignore the event.

3. Systematic identification techniques and liturgical dating

Apart from the minor anomalies instanced above, the liturgical manuscripts that I have
catalogued as pertaining to Poissy conform sufficiently to permit documentation of the changing liturgical regime at the monastery based on their contents. These changes reflect fairly predictably those introduced at the Chapters General as well as others specifically permitted the nuns, though some inclusions and alterations in fact pre-date the relevant Chapter. In Appendix 1 I have tabulated the resulting calendar of feasts for four periods covered by the known manuscripts made between c. 1300 and the first half of the sixteenth century. Breviaries, missals and the Liber capitularius are weighted more heavily in its compilation since I consider them to be more reliable than the less institutional compilations such as psalters, processions and horae. Exact details of the manuscripts consulted and arguments governing the four periods preface the tabulation. The notes appended to each month link the changing Poissy liturgy with known documentation.

93 L’année dominicaine, ed. T. Souges, III, 1687, 505.
94 Mortier, n. 59 above, V, 585; Moreau-Rendu, n. 48 above, 182-183.
95 Clm 10700, f. 116v.
96 See catalogue entry for details of the removal.
Comparable compilations have been made for the Dominican Order in general. As an aid to
dating, Lerquais usefully listed the year of the third reading of changes and institutions in
the Dominican liturgy between the foundation of the Order in 1215 and 1408. 97 Bonniwell
documented the calendar in universal use after Humbert's revision of c. 1256 and discussed
the innovations made to it at succeeding Chapters General. 98 My list differs in intention
from these since it focuses on a single house with the purpose of highlighting the
peculiarities in worship there. Furthermore, it begins primarily with the manuscripts
themselves in order to establish the liturgy in use at Poissy, then refers this back to Chapter
decisions in order to explain and discuss the manuscript entries. Letters to the nuns from
the Pope and Dominican Masters General account for some other changes, although
unfortunately the decisions of the Provincial Chapter, with their potential to override those
of the General Chapter, have been lost.

The four chronological divisions of this calendar are referred to frequently in the Catalogue
section of the thesis, most especially as a criterion for liturgically dating a manuscript. The
calendar can also offer a basis for placing books at Poissy, or at least confirm this
provenance. Apart from the unassailable proof of a post-1331 dating and provenance
conveyed in a reference to the consecration of the church of St. Louis on 12 February,
other quite specific celebrations need to be taken into account. A solemn octave for St.
Louis received papal approval in 1405 although, as discussed above, the manuscripts show
this to be already in place as early as the 1330s. A less obvious celebration, the Translation
of St. Nicholas, was permitted the nuns at the highest level in 1484 by the Master General
although the saint's primary celebration among the Dominicans (6 December) continued at
Poissy at its universal rank of duplex. The surviving correspondence indicates that the nuns
requested approval for this feast; 99 and they may have done so in response to a gift from
the Dominican bishop of Auxerre in 1479 of a valuable silver reliquary with an image of
the saint. 100 In the same letter of approval the feast of St. Margaret (normally simplex) was
raised to the highest rank. A like promotion of female saints — Elizabeth of Hungary, Anne
and Agnes — was sanctioned by the next Master General in 1490. 101

These and the many other changes more general within the Order are in large measure
reflected in modifications to the calendar. But only a limited number of manuscripts is
preceded by a calendar: always the breviaries for which it was a liturgical necessity,
sometimes missals, psalters and horae but rarely processions or prosars and never the
antiphonary or gradual. Even so, there is a problem: the late calendars from Poissy are out-

97 Lerquais, Bréviaires, I, c-ci.
98 Bonniwell, n. 59 above, 100-111 et seq. The calendar changes have also been demonstrated in use for
dating specific manuscripts (see P. G. Théry, "A propos les livres choraux des dominicains de Gubbio",
_AFP_, 2, 1932, 252-283; L. Boyle, "Dominican Lectionaries and Leo of Ostia's Translato S. Clementis",
99 See Appendix 1, Calendar, note to 7 May.
100...jocale argenteum continens imaginem Beatissime Nicolai cum reliquiam ejusdem, et est magni
valoris. The bishop, Enguerrand Signart, was also confessor to the Dukes of Burgundy, Philippe le Bon
and Charles le Téméraire. He endowed Poissy with monetary gifts as well, and paid 2 sols annually to
each nun and friar in return for liturgical duties and an obit (Letter from Poissy Archives published in M.-
D. Chapotin, Les Dominicains d'Auxerre, Paris, 1892, 146-147).
101 See Appendix 1, Calendar, notes to 7 May, 20 Jul and 19 Nov.
of-date, presumably because they were copied from much earlier books rather than an approved exemplar from the period. In such cases it is possible to obtain some guidance from the liturgy itself, especially in determining whether a feast was celebrated at the highest grade. The psalms for first vespers of a toton duplex office are, as discussed above, always the same five, beginning with Laudate pueri. Since, also, only a solemn mass of the highest rank was amplified by the chanting of a sequence (prosa), the presence of a particular sequence in a prosar, missal or gradual must mean that the feast involved was commemorated at this level when the book was compiled. I have taken advantage of these liturgical aspects to 'tighten up' the Poissy calendar where required.

But, in addition, the prosae used even for the same toton duplex feasts appear to have had the potential to differ between Dominican houses. In all seven prosars from Poissy, for instance, the sequence for the feast of St. Louis is Regem regum (RH 17115), with an additional chant, Illustrissimi principis, included in two sixteenth-century compilations (Appendix 2). The manuscript Angers, Bibliotheque Municipale ms 98, in contrast, contains a different sequence for this feast, Clarum sydus (RH 3365), a text which never occurs in Poissy manuscripts. Quite obviously each prosar at any particular institution ought to include the same sequences with identical words and music for any hope of communal chant, so we can be fairly certain that the Angers manuscript does not originate at Poissy as has been suggested (see above). This is supported by the different prosae in use for Thomas Aquinas (Poissy: Thoma flos cf. Angers ms: Adest dies), Katherine of Siena (Gaudemater cf. Christo regi) and Katherine martyr (Gaud prole cf. Dulce melos). Lastly, the inclusion of a sequence for St. Matthew, locundetur plebs (RH 9843), a feast commemorated at Poissy with the universal rank of duplex and therefore not represented by a sequence in any known manuscript from the house, means that the nuns for whom the Angers volume was made revered the evangelist especially. Since the monastery at Rouen was dedicated to St. Matthew it is likely that the nuns there owned the book. Appendix 2 lists and identifies the range of prosae in Poissy manuscripts that were written and updated from c. 1300 — when the inclusions differ little from Humbert of Romans' revised compilation to the increasingly larger number in use until c. 1580-90. Transcription of the specific set of sequences in a prosar or missal can be a useful tool for identifying a book as made for Poissy, and sequences for any toton duplex feasts newly added to the Dominican liturgy can also be helpful in dating. I have used both techniques extensively in the Catalogue.

Another liturgical aspect which changes over time at any religious house is the litany, which is often used for dating. The changes at Poissy, which are true of the Dominican invocations in general, modify the confessors and virgins and the collects which conclude the supplications. Appendix 3 is based on the litanies and collects in the manuscripts and I have used it for dating in conjunction with the Calendar.

102 See n. 67.
103 Bonniwell, n. 59 above, 92.
104 The prosae as transcribed for use at Poissy do not necessarily contain all the stanzas published in Analecta Hymnica. It is not my intention to itemise these.
105 BL ms Add 23935, fols 435v-443v.
The large number of extant Poissy processional came as a surprise. Michel Huglo catalogued ten in 1991; further research has confirmed a Poissy provenance for nine of these and I have been able to add another fourteen to the list, including one which had previously been catalogued as a breviary. Liturgically the processional in use at Poissy is characterised by a number of peculiarities which allows ready identification. Firstly, a procession for St. Louis occurs in all manuscripts designed for the monastery by the 1320s at least, earlier volumes differing from the Dominican archetype only in this extension. But even early processions are likely to have had two newer processions added subsequently — for the feasts of St. John the Baptist and the Nativity of the Virgin — which appear to have been initiated at some time in the fifteenth century. The presence of these three feasts is often signalled in catalogue entries and the information points quite precisely to Poissy.

Some processions, in addition, name the altars in the church, which all merited a proper antiphon during the *Ordo altarium abluendum* on Maundy Thursday. The twenty-one altars in the church of St. Louis, already listed by Suzanne Moreau-Rendu, are here reitemised as Appendix 4 with the recognition that one or two of the altars were not instituted until after the mid-fifteenth century. The presence of the less-than-obvious saintly combinations of Augustine and Thomas, Maur and Anthony, Lupus and Giles, Sebastian and Yves or Mary Magdalen and Martha, for instance, is a second sure indication of a Poissy manuscript. Even in the absence of any rubrics, the antiphons themselves specifically indicate a Poissy provenance. Indeed the transcription of one of these, for the later-added altar of Sebastian and Yves, has secured the provenance of a Dominican antiphonary considered by François Avril as likely to have been made for Poissy. The contents of the known Poissy processional, which date from c. 1300 to the mid-sixteenth century, are listed in Appendix 5, and cues for all items in Appendix 6. Even a quick comparison shows that the processional now in Washington which Michel Huglo hesitantly included in his list was not made for use at Poissy since a number of processions transcribed in the manuscript (including Thomas Aquinas, the Annunciation, Vincent Martyr, Pentecost, Peter and Paul and the Archangel Michael) were never part of worship at the monastery, while those peculiar to Poissy are absent. On the other hand, however, the precise concurrence of feasts, and their texts and items, allows one to place at Poissy a number of processions whose actual provenance has previously been mistakenly identified or remained unrecognised. Each is discussed, as appropriate, in the individual Catalogue entries and in Chapter 5.

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106 See Huglo, n. 81 above, 339-346.
107 The nuns at Rouen also had a procession for the feast of St. Louis, although not identical in content. See n. 56 above.
108 Moreau-Rendu, n. 48 above, 56.
109 Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, ms *096 I/R66A.
110 See Huglo, n. 81 above, 346, no. 10.
111 The following manuscripts containing the Poissy processional should be added to those catalogued by Huglo: Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum ms 091/MED/3; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale ms II 262; California, private collection (Sotheby's 6.12.83, lot 78); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum ms 42; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, ms Trübner 112; London, British Library Add. ms. 14845; London, Sotheby's 9.12.74, lot 60; London, Sotheby's 6.12.83, lot 90; London, Sotheby's 20.6.95, lot 108; New
So far, the methods of attribution and dating have focussed on liturgical manuscripts. Most manuscripts known from Poissy fall into this group, and the proportion may reflect the relative ease of their recognition. However, providing an owner wrote her name in a manuscript, and the endpapers have survived subsequent ownership and rebinding, then even though the particular institution might not be referred to, a knowledge of the names of the nuns in that institution will sometimes allow the provenance of the book to be determined. To this end I have compiled a list of names of some 850 nuns known from Poissy, which have been gathered from various documentary sources. The identification of a small number of manuscripts, of which I would otherwise have remained ignorant, has been established for Poissy by this means although probably the greater benefit has been in plotting the history of a book at the monastery by means of its owners. The list has also proved useful in identifying nun-owners who are represented in the manuscripts solely by their heraldic arms.

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The logical basis of most of this methodology relies on the assumption that unknown manuscripts made for a particular institution will comply with those already known. Of course this may not follow, and a lack of recognition of the provenance of some texts may falsely indicate that worship in a house was more homogeneous than was actually the case. Nevertheless, by using the criteria outlined above I have been able to increase significantly the manuscripts which can be ascribed securely to Poissy ownership. Though this is already a large number of survivors for a Dominican house, many more may still be extant, either in private hands or lost in cataloguing vagaries. More than seven have passed through Sotheby’s and other salesrooms in the past twenty years and more might therefore be expected in the future. As public collections are catalogued, or catalogued more adequately and correctly, it can be anticipated that more manuscripts will be identified in these deposits as well. It is hoped that the above methodological reasonings will help in detecting more volumes, and that the criteria outlined above, and tabulated in the Appendices as ‘Liturgical Aids’, may in turn be revised as more information is pieced together on just what was a Poissy manuscript at any particular period.

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112 I intend to render this suitable for deposit at the IRHT, 40 avenue d’Iena, Paris; its present format is a simple database with a generalised source bibliography.
Chapter Two

Philippe le Bel and the Earliest Poissy Manuscripts
(c. 1300)

1. The king's book provisions

Pope Boniface VIII announced the canonisation of Louis IX on 11 August 1297.1 The royal registers disclose the haste with which Philippe le Bel moved shortly afterwards to establish public veneration of his grandfather. During 1298 numerous payments — for transcribing an office and lessons, for the composition of musical chant, and for the provision of vessels and other liturgical necessities — were made to a variety of recipients with a view to the inaugural celebration of a feast in honour of St. Louis later in the same year at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, the oratory built by the saint.2 Another descendant of St. Louis treated the matter of honouring him with like priority: Mahaut d'Artois, the king's cousin at Arras, also had multiple copies of the Office of St. Louis transcribed in 1298.3 Philippe, however, was forced to abandon his papally-sanctioned intention of translating most of the saint's body from the abbey of St. Denis to the Sainte-Chapelle.4 On the day

1 "Bonificii VIII sermones et bulla de canonisatione Sancti Ludovici, regis Francorum", RHGF, 23, 148-160.
3 'pour escrire et noter xvi offices de monseigneur saint Loys' (Ch. Dehaisnes, Histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XVe siècle, Lille, II, 1886, 102; J.-M. Richard, "Les livres de Mahaut, Comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne, 1302-1329", Revue des questions historiques, 40, 1886, 235). Dehaisnes ascribes the payment to Mahaut's nephew Robert, but he was still a young child in 1298.
appointed for the initial celebrations, 25 August 1298, St. Louis' bones were transferred to a golden chasse which the king himself carried in a magnificent processional ceremony; but this was confined to St. Denis, where the chasse was finally placed on the main altar. The celebrations cost the realm more than 19,000 livres. Payments for the addition of the new feast to liturgical books in the royal chapel and for numerous codices containing the office were also entered in the royal accounts during 1299.

Already by November 1297 — as soon as the canonisation had been secured if not before — demolition of buildings had begun on the site at Poissy where the king planned to found a religious institution in honour of the saint-designate. Louis was reputedly born at Poissy, and was certainly baptised there; he is also said to have referred to himself among his intimates as 'Louis de Poissy'. Consequently, the site chosen by Philippe le Bel to glorify his sainted grandfather was, unquestionably, expected to redound to the political advantage of the king himself and to that of the Capetian house.

Philippe le Bel intended the house for Dominican nuns, and presumably had already approached the Order to ensure support for his scheme. Official approval, however, could

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5 Le Nain de Tillemon, La vie de Saint Louis, ed. J. de Gaille, Paris, 5, 1851, 219-221; Excerpta et memorialis historiarum, auctore Johanne Parisiensi, Sancti Victoris Parisiensis canonico regulari, RHGF, 21, 635; E. V. Kosmer, A Study of the Style and Iconography of a Thirteenth-Century Somme le roi, PhD Diss, Yale University, 1973, 165, n. 64.
6 'Pro breviariis Regis de tempore hiemali et estivali portandis ad regem cum 32 codicibus de sancto Ludovico'; 'Pro pluribus historiis et legendis de sancto Ludovico pro capella scribebendis'; 'Pro pluribus reliquias, historiis et legendis de sancto Ludovico, in libris capelle situandis' (Comptes Royaux (1285-1314), ed. R. Fawtier, Recueil des historiens de la France. Documents financiers, III, Paris, 1956, 165-166, nos 3490, 3524-3525). The 'capella' here is surely the 'capella regis', the king's chapel (whose choir followed the liturgical use of Paris) rather than the Sainte-Chapelle as has been alleged (Kosmer, n. 5 above, 173). The modern widespread confusion between the two was given timely clarification in R. Branner, "The Sainte-Chapelle and the Capella Regis in the Thirteenth Century", Gesta, 10, 1971, 19-22.
7 Erlande-Brandenburg, "La priorale", n. 2 above, 91. First payments, made on 26 Nov 1297, were itemised in the royal accounts under the contractors' names: "de operibus inceptis apud Pissiacum a crastino festi Beate Catharine" (Fawtier, n. 6 above, 160) and later inventorised by Robert Mignon: 'pro operibus Pissiaci, a crastino festi Beate Catharine' (Inventaire d'anciens comptes royaux dressé par Robert Mignon sous le règne de Philippe de Valois, ed. C.-V. Langlois, Recueil des historiens de la France. Documents financiers, I, Paris, 1899, 275, no. 2199).
8 It is frequently repeated boldly that Poissy was Louis' birthplace. The earliest historians do not refer to it, only to his baptism at Poissy. Moreover, the lack of any general conviction that Louis IX had actually been born in the royal palace at Poissy is implicit in Philippe le Bel's protestation in the foundation charter of the monastery, dated 1304: 'ô tout le monde sait qu'il avait pris naissance' (Erlande-Brandenburg, "La priorale", n. 2 above, 89 n. 2). Later chroniclers disagree on the matter and the king may have been born at Neuville. For reviews of the different opinions, with further references, see B. de Montfaucun, Les monumens de la monarchie française, II, Paris, 1730, 121; RHGF, 20, 409, n. 8 and E. Bordes, Histoire de la ville de Poissy, Paris, 1925, 33-35 (cf. biased selection in H. Parguez, Saint Louis et Poissy, S. Germaine-en-Laye, 1914, 4). A second modern misconception concerns the superposition of the nuns' church upon Louis' place of birth (Erlande-Brandenburg, "La priorale", n. 2 above, 89). On Louis' baptism in the canonical church of Notre-Dame de Poissy (his Christian birth, and presumably therefore the source of the probable error) and its importance to him as evidenced by his private sobriquet see Guillaume de Nangis, Vie de Saint Louis in RHGF, 20, 409; Extraits des chroniques de Saint-Denis in RHGF, 21, 119; Les grandes chroniques de France, ed. J. Viard, Paris, 1920-1953, VII, 203.
9 Erlande-Brandenburg, "La priorale", n. 2 above, 90; Hallam, n. 2 above, 204-214; Lewis, n. 2 above, 134-183.
not be granted until the next General Chapter, held at Metz in May 1298, the earliest opportunity after the canonisation. A single letter surviving from the king’s correspondence with the Provincial Prior of France, dated 30 August 1299, states that his plan for Poissy to be ‘founded and endowed from royal goods with the munificence of a ruler’ was sanctioned at this time. One year earlier, the diminishing Dominican restrictions on architectural ornament and grandeur had been further eased under the Master Generalship of the art-loving Niccolò Boccasino, an arrangement which Alain Erlande-Brandenburg has argued was not fortuitous but rather the result of Philippe le Bel’s soliciting Boccasino’s approval for his proposed endowment.

Among the accounts of the Royal Treasury are twelve entries which itemise the king’s payment to Dominican friars for books for his new monastery:

19 Apr 1298  #189. Fraters Petrus de Moncello et Robertus de Houdetot, o.P., pro scriptoris librorum ad opus monasterii Pissiacensis, 50 l.t.

30 Jul 1298  #994. Frater Petrus de Moncello, ordinus Predicatormur, pro scriptura librorum ad opus monasterii novi apud Pissiacum de Sancto Ludovico, 50 l.t.

12 Jan 1299  #1902. Frater Petrus de Moncello, de ordine Predicatorum, pro scriptura librorum novi monasterii Pissiacensis, 50 l.p.

29 Apr 1299  #2482. Frater Petrus de Moncello et Johannes de Monasterio, o.P., pro scriptura librorum monasterii Pissiacensis, 50 l.p.


4 Nov 1299  #3515. Frater Petrus de Moncello, o.P., pro libris faciendis ad opus monasterii Pissiacensis, 50 l.P.

11 Jan 1300  #4123. Frater Johannis de Monasterio, o.P., pro operibus librorum monasterii Pissiacensis, 50 l.P.

25 Feb 1300  #4411. Frater Petrus de Moncello, pro libris faciendis ad opus monasterii Pissiacensis, 100 l.t.


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12 Viard, n. 2 above, item numbers as in list; L. Delisle, Notice de douze livres royaux du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle, Paris, 1902, 58. Delisle did not include the entries for 19 Apr 1298, 12 Jan 1299 and 13 Feb 1300, while he dated as 1300 all but the last of the entries for 1301.

The entries give no information as to what texts or how many books were involved. Apart from specific payments for transcription ('pro scriptura librorum'), any distinction between remuneration for books made ('pro libris faciendis') and work on books ('pro operibus librorum') seems impossible, although these descriptions presumably refer to the costs of decorating, illustrating and binding. Records are lacking from 16 March 1300 until 15 April 1301, and again between 30 December 1301 and 13 October 1307; beyond this date all book entries cease. The surviving records document an expenditure that was slightly less for specifically writing books for Poissy (350 l.p.) than for their production in general (380 l.p.).

It can be seen that each payment was made to a Dominican by name. All entries between 1298 and 1300 involve two friars, Pierre de Monceau and Jean Moutier, known to be resident at the convent of St. Jacques in Paris. They were among the 133 friars who signed a statement at St. Jacques (now Paris, Archives Nationales, 479, no. 46) in favour of Philippe le Bel against pope Boniface VIII in 1303 (A. Blanchet and A. Dieudonné, Manuel de numismatique française, II, reprint ed. Paris, 1988, 79).

Furthermore, the situation of the convent, close to the University, was in one of the most highly-concentrated areas of the flourishing Parisian book trade; and a nearby libraire has been shown to have received strong and continuous patronage from the friars during this period. It seems likely, therefore, that the king's entire commission of books for Poissy was administered by the friars at St. Jacques.

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13 For convenience of calculation I have rationalised all payments to livres parisis (l.p.). The stronger livre parisis was equivalent to four-fifths a livre tournois (l.t.); eg. payment for work on Poissy: 'Restant 2750 l.t. valent 2200 l.p.' (Viard, n. 2 above, no. 5416). See also A. Blanchet and A. Dieudonné, Manuel de numismatique française, II, reprint ed. Paris, 1988, 79.
14 They were among the 133 friars who signed a statement at St. Jacques (now Paris, Archives Nationales, 479, no. 46) in favour of Philippe le Bel against pope Boniface VIII in 1303 (A. Blanchet and A. Dieudonné, "Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Province de France. L'appel au concile (1303)"), AFP, 22, 1952, 393).
15 June 1298 (Viard, n. 2 above, no. 657).
As with his building work, the king’s initiation of book production for his foundation preceded the official approval given in May 1298 for the establishment of the house. Payments were made at regular intervals throughout the two periods itemised above, to a total of 730 l.p. (913 l.t.). It is readily seen from Graph 3 that the rate of spending falls into two distinct phases: the first four payments, until the end of April 1299, average 11 livres per month, while from August of that year the payments become more frequent and consistently higher, averaging 31 livres per month during the periods to either side of the gap in records. In relation to the king’s itemised building expenses of 64,415 l.p. over the same two broken periods until the end of 1301 (which likewise increased with time), the books account for only 1% of the total project costs.\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Graph3.png}
\end{center}

\textbf{Graph 3. PAYMENTS MADE BY PHILIPPE LE BEL FOR MANUSCRIPTS FOR POISSY}

When Mahaut d’Artois founded a Dominican monastery at la Thieuloye near Arras, she too engaged friars from St. Jacques to superintend the production of its books; this was despite her own direct patronage of Paris libraires between the years 1313 and 1327 for her personal religious volumes, including replacement breviaries and a missal for her chapel.\textsuperscript{19} Philippe le Bel, on the other hand, in 1299 and 1300 while the above friars were furnishing the books for Poissy, purchased liturgical and other manuscripts, mainly for his sons, through the agency of his former Dominican confessor (now theirs) Guillaume de Paris.\textsuperscript{20}

Mahaut’s more modest establishment at la Thieuloye — which was designed for 50 choir-sisters as against Poissy’s intended 120 — took only three years to complete (1322 to

\textsuperscript{18} Calculated using the minimum figure advanced by Erlande-Brandenburg, "La priorale", n. 2 above, 91. The missing book expenses, from March 1300 to April 1301, may be reasonably estimated at approximately 31 livres per month, the average payment during the second interval. The king’s total expenditure on books for the whole period from March 1298 until the beginning of 1302 would have been, therefore, approximately 1100-1200 livres.

\textsuperscript{19} Rouse and Rouse, "Commercial Production", n. 17 above, 113.

\textsuperscript{20} 5 Mar 1299, 20 l.p. for a missal for his children’s chapel; 5 Nov 1299, 32 l.p. for a breviary and a copy of De eruditione principium for his eldest son, Louis; 4 Mar 1300, 80 l.t. for two bibles for Louis and Philippe (Delisle, n. 12 above, 57-58; Viard, n. 2 above, nos. 2200, 3524, 4480).
In 1324-25 Guillaume de Mâcon OP received two payments of 120 and 30 livres for writing and making choirbooks for the nuns. He later received a further 80 livres; this entry, which occurs in a summary listing of the expenses for furnishing and installation of the nuns at the monastery, probably also refers to books since it is accompanied by one for 47 livres 4 sous for 143 'douzaines' of vellum. Mahaut later provided a further quantity of vellum sheets for bookmaking: the accounts of 1330 (the countess died in 1329) itemise 228 'douzaines de veelin pour les livres des dames de Thieuloye' at a cost of 187 livres 8 sous.

Overall, therefore, Mahaut's spending on manuscripts — more than 460 livres in what appear to be very detailed accounts — was, like that of Philippe le Bel for twice as many nuns, substantial. Delisle has described the king's provision of manuscripts for Poissy as 'une véritable bibliothèque' for which 'il affecta de grosses sommes à la transcription des livres qui devaient en former le premier fonds'. But when one takes into account the larger number of nuns involved, Philippe le Bel's book endowment does not seem to have been disproportionately greater than that of Mahaut for the community at her less ambitious foundation at Arras. Indeed, the costs of setting up both houses with their book needs compare favourably with that of the royal library of Clemente d'Hongrie, the second wife of Philippe le Bel's son Louis X. At the time of her death in 1328, her collection of 37 books was valued at 530 livres 13 sous.

Philippe le Bel paid the Dominican friars for manuscript production for Poissy over a period between three and six years before the nuns' admission. Although building activity had been considerably stepped up by the end of 1301, the monastery seems not to have

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22 "A frère Guillaume de Maiscon pour livres escrire pour le couvent de le Thieulloye, vii* x* lb.;... quod ego frater Guillelmus Matisconensis ordinis et conventis fratrum predictorum Parisiensium pro scribe dictis et faciendis libris choralibus ad opus conventus sororum de Attrebato...xxx lb. par...." (Richard, n. 3 above, 238 and n. 4; *idem*, n. 21 above, 105). A quittance dated July 1327 shows a further small payment of 3 l.p., made to a 'Grant de Monstroel, escrivain des livres de Thieulloye' (Richard, n. 3 above, 239).

23 "A frère Guillaume de Mascon, oultre la somme de 120 lb, qu'il avait eu devant pour la façon de livres bailé iii* x* l'" (Richard, n. 21 above, 407).

24 Richard, n. 3 above, 240. The cost suggests that these vellum sheets were larger or of higher quality than her earlier purchase.

25 Delisle, n. 12 above, 58.

26 Mahaut's undertaking may, nonetheless, have been a resentfully competitive one; her two daughters, Jeanne de Bourgogne and Blanche de Bourgogne had married Philippe le Bel's sons Philippe de Poitiers and Charles de la Marche, only to be disgraced when the king accused them (and their cousin Marguerite de Bourgogne, wife of his eldest son Louis) of adultery and imprisoned them; Jeanne was formally judged innocent but nonetheless kept under guard until after the king's death (E. A. R. Brown, "The Ceremonial of Double Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X", *Traditio*, 34, 1978, 234-237; *eadem*, "Diplomacy, Adultery, and Domestic Politics at the Court of Philip the Fair: Queen Isabelle's Mission to France in 1314" in *Documenting the Past. Essays in Medieval History presented to George Peddy Cattino*, ed. J. S. Hamilton and P. J. Bradley, Bury St. Edmunds, 1989, 53-54).

been ready for habitation until June 1304. Even then, when the founding nuns took up residence, the ambitious church and the central part of the monastery and dwellings were still incomplete. Monastic history has preserved the tradition that the nuns used the smaller church of St. Dominic in the interim, where they buried the first of their number to die:

...les premières Religieuses ont été vint ans avant la parfaite construction de l'église en attendant laquelle on fusoit loffice en cette chapelle St. Dominique...et cest pourquoi ces Dames [Marie et Alix de Mathéféllo] sont inhumée en cette chapel.

The King may, however, have intended the books for use before the nuns actually moved in. His letter to the Provincial of France, dated August 1299, reports the Master General's acceptance of the royal wish to found a regular Dominican monastery and proposes that the friars select suitable postulants for his foundation-to-be, emphasising that 'it is important, above all in the beginning, to choose persons who know how to read and sing, who are robust enough to carry the burden of a religious life and keep the accustomed observances and who are able, in turn, to instruct and efficiently train the new arrivals in the customs, skills and duties of religious life'. He goes on to request that a hundred such persons be found and given a trial period of a year's enclosure in secular dress, under the care of wise and pious friars, and then, that a list of those considered acceptable be sent to him.

Bernard Gui, the contemporary Dominican historian who preserved this text, comments laconically that the proposal as such did not eventuate although the magnificent royal building proceeded as intended; instead, in 1304 nuns were taken from other Dominican monasteries on the order of the Master General.

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28 Dominica ante Nativitatem sancti Johannis Baptiste, posita sunt sorens ordinis fratum Preceptorum apud Pissiacum Carnotensis diecessis, in monasterio noviter a rege Philippo constructo in honore gloriosi confessoria, quondam regis Franciae Ludovici (Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto et anonyma ejusdem operis continuatio in RHF, 21, 23). The account in the Grandes Chroniques is identically worded, in French, except for the substitution of 'monasterio' with 'église' (Grandes chroniques, n. 8 above, VIII, 236).

29 Erlende-Brandenburg, "La priorale", n. 2 above, 92, especially nn. 6 and 7.

30 BN ms fr 5009, fol. 3. This document is a compilation of earlier events at the monastery made by Suzanne Hennequin, nun-archivist at Poissy in the early eighteenth century, based on records and inscriptions then extant.

31 ...cujus monasterii curam venerabilis pater frater Nicolaus, tunc magister ordinis, nunc vero sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae presbyter cardinalis, de consilio et consensu definitorem ac toius capituli generalis, anno Domini M.CC.XCVIII Metis celebrati, precibus nostris humilior annuens, devote suscepit eo modo quod alia monasteria talium sororum vestro ordini sunt annexa; et cum oporteat, maxime in principio, tales eligere personas quae sciant legere et cantare, et quae talem habeant corporis valitudinem quod possint onera religionis portare ac servare observantias suas, et quae in posterum recipiendas in moribus et scientia et debito religiosis verbo et exemplo efficaciter docente et instruente; et quia praedictae personae de facili habere non possent, nisi inquisitione praehabita diligent ac probatione sequenti, quod non credimus melius nec convenientius fieri quam per frares ordinis, qui ad hoc debent specialiter adhibere diligentiam efficaciam; discretionem vestram requirimus et rogamus atente, quatenus ad inquirendum personas praedicto modo idoneas centum vel circa, infra chausuram competentem probandas per annum in habitu saeculari, de discretorum fratum consilio frares maturos, religiosos et discretos per obedientiam deputatis, et illas quas invenerint idoneas redigant in scriptis, et nobis et vobis asportare curent, cum certitudine relaturi de conditionibus personarum.' (Bernard Gui, RHF, as n. 10 above, 190-191).

32 Praedictus autem modus non fuit taliter observatus, sed ad aedificia ibidem regaliter ac magnifice construenda et promovenda interim est processuum. Anno Domini M CCC III, fuerunt sorens de aliaris monasteriis Franciae nostri ordinis assuntae, et illuc adductae et positae, ac inclusae de mandato magistri ordinis fratri Aymerici' (Bernard Gui, RHF, as n. 10 above, 191).
Another of the king's plans for the monastery was to install his cousin Marie de Clermont there, preferably as prioress. A grandchild, like himself, of St. Louis, she was the focus of his design for a community of noble women, as he later conveyed on the occasion of the nuns' entry: 'Belle cousine, je n'ai qu'une fille: je l'ai mariée au roi d'Angleterre pour assurer la paix de notre Royaume. Après elle je n'ai d'autre fille plus proche que vous; je vous donne donc cette maison pour que vous en soyez dame et maîtresse tant que vous vivrez'.

Earlier the king had persuaded Marie's parents to sever her betrothal of three years standing to Jean marquis de Montferrat. She had then, aged fourteen, taken the Dominican habit at Montargis. However the charter drawn up at that time (August 1299) wherein Robert, son of Saint Louis, and Beatrix his wife assign their daughter a yearly sum of money on her entry into the Dominican Order, refers only to the king's foundation at Poissy. There is no mention of Montargis where she in fact remained for five years before entering Poissy as a member of the founding community in 1304.

This document invites some reflection on Bernard Gui's statement concerning the outcome of Philippe le Bel's plan to select nuns for his foundation. The king's very early provision of manuscripts — 600 livres had already been spent on their production by February 1300, only six months after his letter to the Provincial — suggests that they may have been intended for use in the apparently aborted formal training programme that was to precede his new foundation. But was the scheme totally abandoned? Bernard Gui states merely that it was not carried out as such — 'autem modus non fuit taliter observatus'. Poissy monastic tradition records that Montargis and Rouen supplied its first nuns, and Prouille also claims to have sent twenty nuns to the foundation.

It seems possible that a modified version of the king's original plan was carried out within these monasteries.

It is also questionable whether Philippe le Bel's full complement of 120 nuns, as proposed in his foundation charter, actually entered in 1304. It is frequently claimed, without proof, that this was the case, and it has been further proposed that nuns from houses at Metz and Condam were among those who came to Poissy at this time. I have, however, found no evidence that this was so, and, indeed, a number of factors render it unlikely. Firstly, as we have seen, the monastic habitation was incomplete when the first community arrived, and this would have had to provide not only for the 120 choir-sisters but also for the fair number of lay-sisters judged appropriate in an institution primarily intended for the nobly-

33 M.-D. Chapotin, A travers l'histoire dominicaine, ancienne et contemporaine, Paris, 1903, 348.
34 Anselme, Histoire généalogique, I, 1726, 297; R. Labarreque, Poissy à travers les âges, Alençon, 1948, 30-31.
35 Paris, Archives Nationales, P1370/2 cote 1917 and copies in confirmation by Philippe le Bel, June 1300 (P1374/1 cote 2295), etc. Published in full in M. Huillard-Breholles, Titres de la maison ducale de Bourbon, Paris, 1867, 178-179.
36 Anselme, n. 34 above, 297.
38 M. J. Camerlink, Notre Dame de Prouille, Paris, 1927, 70.
born. Secondly, the small chapel of St. Dominic was inadequate for the numbers designed to worship in a formal fashion in the cathedral-sized church of St. Louis (compare areas in Plan 3). One might also consider the fact that only 12 nuns entered la Thieuloye at its inception although the full number of the community was to be 50. Seventeenth-century tradition at Poissy placed the founding number at 80 noble nuns (see Graph 2).

But even if considerably fewer than 120 choir-sisters entered Poissy in 1304, heavy inroads would still have been made on the normal body of nuns at the smaller monasteries from which they came. The community was fixed at 50 for both Montargis and Rouen, although Prouille had been allowed to grow to 160 by this time. While removal of 20 nuns from the normal number at Prouille would have been quite feasible, the only circumstance consistent with a substantial depletion of nuns from the other two houses is a previous increase above their normal complement — one that had been made precisely to provide choir-sisters for Poissy. Indeed, the normal number to leave a 50-nun-strength monastery seems to be indicated by the 12 founding nuns who came from two houses — Montargis and Lille — to la Thieuloye. However, Rouen prayed for Poissy as its daughter-house and is considered to have provided the greater part of the original community. In 1315, a little over a decade after the foundation of Poissy, the nuns at Rouen received a letter from the Master General requiring them to limit their numbers to the foundation level. The date of this reminder might indicate that a temporary increase in nuns at Rouen, approved as part of the provisions for the foundation at Poissy, was in danger of persisting after the extraordinary need had passed.

Montargis supplied Poissy with its founding prioress, Matthée de la Roche, who had been novice mistress at her former house; it also received donations from the king for work on its church in 1300 and 1301. The establishment of some kind of 'proto-Poissy enclave' at Montargis, as possibly occurred at Rouen, would explain the reference to Poissy instead of Montargis in the charter concerning Marie de Clermont's upkeep at this time. If this were the case, then the manuscripts commissioned by the king may have been first used at the

40 The 'needs of the community' was the loose criterion which governed the number of lay-sisters (W. A. Hinniebush, The History of the Dominican Order, I. Origins and Growth to 1500, New York, 1965, 383). In the 1550s there were 147 nuns at Poissy, and 30 lay-sisters; in 1673 the ratio was 10 lay-sisters to 68 choir-nuns, and even higher in later years (BN ms fr 5009, f. 13; Yvelines, 73 H 18).
41 Chapotin, n. 33 above, 260.
42 Fixed for Montargis in letter from Master General Humbert of Romans in 1253 (R. Creyten, "Les constitutions primitives des soeurs dominicaines de Montargis (1250)", AFP, 17, 1947, 46, 83); for Rouen see confirmation by Philippe le Hardi in 1276 of Charter of Louis IX (M.-D. Chapotin, Histoire des Dominicains de la Province de France. Le siècle des fondations, Rouen, 1898, 508).
43 Hinniebush, n. 40 above, 383.
44 See ibid.; Chapotin, n. 33 above, 260.
45 J. L. Callahan, The Dominican Nuns in their Cloister, Philadelphia, 1936, 52.
46 Litterae encyclicae Magistorum Generalium O.P. (1233-1376), MOPH, 5, 1900, 326-327.
47 Chapotin, n. 33 above, 349.
48 On 23 Feb 1300 and 27 Jun 1301 the nuns at Montargis received 200 l.t. and 200 l.p. through the agency of Dominican friars Jean de Nangis and Guillaume de Mâcon (Viard, n. 2 above, nos. 4397 and 4940). The latter later acted for Mahaut d'Artois (see n. 22 above).
two monasteries in accordance with the training programme laid out in the king’s letter to the Provincial.

The long-term purpose of the books was, however, their use at Poissy itself. Philippe le Bel’s foundation charter, issued on the nuns’ entry in 1304, required that the choir-sisters know how to read and sing (‘sciant legere et cantare’), underlining the close relationship between the religious duties of the nobly-born women and the books they needed to carry this out. As discussed in the introduction, the king saw the nuns’ duty as offering ‘sacrifices of praise’ to God on behalf of the French royal family.\(^4^9\) The comparatively large amount spent on the books that would assist them in this intercessory role was thus intended to safeguard the continued well-being of the Capetian house.

2. The surviving manuscripts

   a. Assessing the evidence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liturgical volumes for use in church:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 552 (Breviary - Summer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Add. ms 30072 (Antiphony)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princeton University Library, ms Garrett 41 (Missal—Processional—Prosat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms Y 233 (Diurnal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Books for reading or reference:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow, University Library, ms Hunter 391 (De proprietatibus rerum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Add. ms 32579 (Readings on John the Baptist, Vitae fratum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10156 (Life and Miracles of the Virgin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10170 (Liber capitularius)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In none of the manuscripts listed here as the earliest made for Poissy was the monastery referred to by name at the time of production; they can be claimed to have been there only by virtue of later inscription or addition. Among them are four — three of which contain Dominican liturgical texts — whose illumination is specifically Parisian, while explicit references demonstrate that from the outset they were intended for a female Dominican house. Instructions involving *sorores* are part of the original text of the processional section of the missal Garrett 41 (fols 242v, 248v). A Dominican nun is depicted at prayer in the diurnal, Rouen Y233 (Fig. 9) and in the *Life and Miracles of the Virgin*, Clm 10156 (Fig. 10). In the antiphonary, Add. 30072, a Dominican nun-hybrid animates the border of an added Office of St. Louis in what was probably intended to symbolise the bond between the nuns at Poissy and their patron saint (Figs 2 & 39).\(^5^0\) Since the ornamental design of its folios is virtually identical with those of the original manuscript, this office must be a near


\(^5^0\) The relationship was also represented on the Poissy monastic seal, *Sigillum conventus sororum sancti ludovici de pyssiaco...* made in 1397: St. Louis protects a number of nuns beneath his cloak, in imitation of the *Mater nisericordiae* (see L. Douxt d’Arcq, *Inventaires et documents publiés par ordre de l’empereur. Collection des sceaux*, III, Paris, 1868, 186, no. 9454; impression reproduced on the back cover of Moreau-Rendu, n. 49 above). Processionals from the sixteenth century also represent this intimate association pictorially, the saint surrounded by one or more kneeling nuns (see Chapter 5 Part 4).
contemporary addition (cf. Figs. 1 & 2). Two later transcriptions of the compline chant 'Sorores sobrie estate' (fol. 8) confirm that the volume was associated with a female house. These four manuscripts are all expensive products, made of fine, smooth, bleached vellum. The text is written on gatherings of twelve folios in consistent and legible script within generous margins (now severely cropped), and there is liberal use, in initials and borders, of gold applied over a grey bole and burnished. Each manuscript contains historiated initials.

The decoration on the illustrated pages of the manuscripts (Figs. 1-5) follows a consistent pattern which is also shared by three other volumes of equivalent de luxe production known to have come from the house: a copy of De proprietatibus rerum made for individual study, Hunter 391 (Fig. 6); a Liber capitularius, Clm 10170 (Fig. 7); and another book for public reading which begins with selections concerning John the Baptist, Add. 32579 (Fig. 8). In most instances in these manuscripts an historiated initial is prolonged beside the text as a slender vertical stem (Figs 3 & 4), though at times it issues from a hybrid or other border figure placed beneath the lower left of the letter (Figs 5-7) or runs adjacent to it (Fig. 2). The thin stalk may be punctuated by minimal leaf-shapes along its length (Figs 4 & 5) or by a slight leafy spray (Figs 2 & 7). It is supported at the outer edge by a wider bar in alternating colours which is distinctively ornamented to the left with spiky thorn- or box-like projections, largely of gold. After bifurcating above a cusp at the lower edge, the stem continues as a short projection on the left, usually ending in a spiky angular knob. The right branch extends across the lower margin, via either a whorled or lesser ivy-foliate or spiky geometric pattern, to terminate most often in an ivy leaf spray. This is variously bunched and compact, or rather sparse, with either rounded or slightly elongated leaves.51

Most of the elements of this distinctive pattern inform work associated with the Parisian painter Honoré towards the end of the thirteenth century. The Decrets in Tours (Fig. 13), for example, inscribed in 1288 as purchased from Honoré,52 incorporates a similar narrow stem divided with minute ivy leaves, supporting bars, bifurcations through cusped and spiky geometric areas, spiky thorns and moderate ivy leaf terminals. The superbly proportioned mise-en-page of the breviary BN lat 1023, made for use in the royal chapel by Philippe le Bel and paid for in 1296,53 is embellished with an analogous design (Fig. 14), albeit more

51 I have here deliberately confined the photographic selection and my description to L-shaped borders in order to achieve the most direct comparison. Borders of other shapes and lesser complexity follow a similar pattern (see individual entries in the Catalogue).

52 Kosmer, n. 5 above, 189-191; eadem, "Master Honoré: A Reconsideration of the Documents", Gesta, 14, 1975, 63.

53 J. Havet, "Compte du Trésor du Louvre (Toussaint 1296)", Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 45, 1884, 252, no. 205. Delisle's contention that the manuscript was made for Philippe le Bel has met certain criticism (Delisle, n. 12 above, 59-62; Kosmer, n. 5 above, 201-209; eadem, n. 52 above, 65). However, this has partly been confounded with efforts to disprove Delisle's argument that the Treasury accounts demonstrate Honoré's involvement in the manuscript. Leroquais was circumspect in this regard, calling the manuscript 'dit brévaiire de Philippe le Bel' (Brévaiires, II, 465). Kosmer considered that there was no evidence to associate the manuscript with Philippe le Bel, although she conceded that it was made for a royal user (Kosmer, n. 5 above, 209; eadem, n. 52 above, 65). However, she neglected the sum of evidence within the book itself. The inclusion of offices celebrating the reception of relics at Notre Dame (4 December, fol. 267v) and the Sainte-Chapelle (30 September, fols 444v, 534v) shows that the breviary followed the use of the royal chapel and not the Sainte-Chapelle, according to the guidelines established by Branner (idem, n. 6 above, 21). More particularly, its first owner is depicted: he is the kneeling king who uses the book open at Beatus vir in illustration of this psalm (fol. 8) and who prays by his bed.
ambitious and arresting than that of the Poissy volumes. The Sainte-Chapelle evangelary, BL Add 17341, which has been variously dated between 1275 and the 1290s, uses the same design elements in its lower margin as the Poissy work (Fig. 15). Also similar in style, but lacking any spiky projections, is a Parisian Book of Hours now in Vienna, S.n. 2596 (Fig. 12), which Pächt and Thoss have dated to c. 1300, while François Avril has signalled the presence of distinctive spiky boxes similar to those in the Poissy group in two Parisian manuscripts from the period 1280-90 (BN fr 1457 and fr 1471).

Liturgical features of some of the Poissy group provide corroborating evidence for a date of about 1300 (or just before) which the stylistic comparison with these other manuscripts suggests. In all cases their liturgy includes a celebration for St. Louis, whose feast was incorporated into the Dominican canon over the years 1298-99-1301. But these entries have not yet been inserted in seasonal order, and even take the form of a contemporary addition in the antiphonary and perhaps in the missal. This indicates that in each case they were written not long after the chant was first available, that is before exemplar texts had time to be re-ordered. A lack of consistency concerning other liturgical changes made at this time supports a date of around 1300: the upgrading of the feasts of Nicholas, John the Baptist, Mary Magdalen and Peter and Paul (ratified 1297-98-1300) is either inconsistent within the one manuscript or not undertaken, whereas the feast of St. Ignatius has been raised to 3-lessons (1300-01-02) in most books. That of St. Alexius (1305-06-07) is absent from all.

The three dates referred to in the above examples are the years in which succeeding Dominican Chapters General introduced, approved, and confirmed the liturgical changes. Only at the third, confirmatory reading was the innovation fully received. Nonetheless, in the case of the feast of St. Louis — as Leonard Boyle has stressed in the context of a study of (Italian) Dominican lectionaries — although the celebration itself was confirmed in 1301 the lessons for the office were not published by the Chapter General until 1306, and not until the year of their promulgation is there a terminus for dating a manuscript containing

beneath the image of the Arma christi which begins the penitential psalm, Domine ne in furore (fol. 9). Philippe's reign began in 1285. The imagery for the more obscure feasts directly influenced those in the breviary made for his later successor Charles V, BN lat 1052 (J. M. Pearce, Text and Image in the Salisbury Breviary (Paris BN ms lat 17294), PhD Diss., Australian National University, 1987, 65 n. 61). The consistency of the evidence leaves almost no doubt that this luxury breviary, made in Paris, is indeed that for which Philippe le Bel — who is rarely noted as a purchaser of expensive books for his own use — paid a very large amount of money (107 livres 10 sous) in 1296. For his other books see Kosmer, n. 5 above, 171-176; P. Stirnemann, "Les bibliothèques princières et privées au XIIe et XIIIe siècles" in Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. I. Les bibliothèques médiévales. Du Ve siècle à 1530, ed. A. Vernet, Paris, 1989, 184; S. Lewis, "The Apocalypse of Isabella of France: Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms Fr. 13096", Art Bulletin, 72, 1990, n. 23.

57 For individual details see Catalogue entries for Add. 30072, Clm 10170, Garrett 41 and Rouen Y 233.
This restriction, however, does not obtain here since none of these volumes includes lessons for matins. But even apart from this, the yearly Provisional Chapter appears to have held the right (in theory) to veto or to anticipate pronouncements made by the Chapter General. Unfortunately the records for the Province of France do not survive. However, it should be noted that at the introductory hearing of certain proposed feasts the Chapter General ordered them to be registered in the ordinary and calendar even at this stage, before the propers were generally available. The feast of St. Louis is among these. What is crucial, too, in dealing with the Poissy group is that by 1300 the Paris convent of St. Jacques had become the centre of Dominican liturgical endeavour as already mentioned. The musical theorist Jerome of Moravia had been resident at the house in the thirteenth century, and it was to Paris that the Chapter General of 1257 required friars from other houses to come to make corrected exemplars of Humbert of Romans' revised Dominican liturgy. It is highly likely therefore that liturgical innovation, especially when it concerned a royal French saint who had supported the Order with great fervour and whose canonisation the Dominicans themselves had helped to achieve, would be incorporated into books made in Paris before its pro forma endorsement by the Chapter General.

Not one, but two Offices of St. Louis were transcribed in the Poissy antiphony and diurnal. Codicological analysis reveals that the usual Office in fourteenth-century French Dominican books, namely the rhymed office which the Dominican Arnaut de Prat wrote for the first celebration of the feast in Paris in 1298 and presented to Philippe le Bel, was not the first to be transcribed. Rather, the rare compilation beginning with the vespers antiphon Nunc laudari was copied earlier. This rhymed office also occurs in a French Dominican breviary, now Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 374, a book illuminated in a style of the same or a slightly earlier period than the Poissy volumes (Fig. 16) in keeping with a date before 1303 which the omission of Saints Bernard and Martha from its litany indicates. The inconsistent placement of the lessons and the chant for the Nunc laudari office in Mazarine 374 parallels the 'added-on' treatment of this office in the Poissy books, and again points to a date soon after the office's composition. Later ownership

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59 In 1367 the Chapter General reminded friars that the acts were not binding unless published by their own Provincial Chapter (see Chapter 1, n. 58).
60 The introduction of the feast of St. Louis, at the level of Simplex in 1297, concludes 'et magister ordinis curet de officio providere et annotetur in ordinario et calendario locis suis' (ACOOP, I, 289).
61 As n. 16 above.
62 For transcriptions of this Office (from non-Dominican sources) see Epstein, n. 16 above, 308-334 (all words and music); Analecta Hymnica, 13, no. 74 (words of rhymed items only); A. Heyse, "Antiquissimum officium liturgicum S. Ludovici regis", Archivum franciscanum historiam, 10, 1917, 560-575 (all words).
63 See individual Catalogue entries for details. Words of rhymed items are transcribed from two of the three manuscripts discussed in Analecta Hymnica, 13, no. 71; words and music of Felix regnum (matins responsory 2) are transcribed in Epstein, n. 16 above, 306.
64 Analecta Hymnica, 13, no. 71; Leroquais, Psautiers, II, 287.
65 The chant and lessons (in that order) for the temporale and the sanctorale are arranged separately in Mazarine 374, so that the readings take the form of the Dominican lectionary. The lessons for the Nunc laudare office occur in their seasonal place, between those for the feasts of Saints Bartholomew and Augustine (fol. 403v). The chant for this office, however, is placed right at the end of the lessons of the
inscriptions in the breviary, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, name a number of friars at St. Jacques.\textsuperscript{66} The most plausible explanation, therefore, is that the volume was always at the convent and that the \textit{Nunc laudari} office was common to Dominican houses in the Paris area at an early stage.

Codicological examination proves that in this book, too, the \textit{Nunc laudari} was the first office inscribed for the feast of St. Louis. However, in none of the three manuscripts — the St. Jacques breviary and the Poissy antiphony and diurnal — was it in use for long. Before the mid-fourteenth century the \textit{Ludovicus decus} office, which was more or less ubiquitous in France, was added to all three volumes, just as it was added to the Dominican Master General’s copy of the complete liturgy that was held in Paris.\textsuperscript{67} As is common in Dominican manuscripts the \textit{Ludovicus decus} office was reproduced in its Parisian form with five antiphons for first vespers, whereas it was Dominican practice to have only a single antiphon for the five specific psalms sung during the first vespers of a totum duplex feast.\textsuperscript{68} The \textit{Nunc laudari} office, in contrast, adheres to the Dominican format. The two offices are connected in a literary sense but not musically. The psalms are the same in both and certain responsory-versicle pairs accompany the same lesson in each office. Other pairs, though they occur in both offices, are associated with different lessons, while the music, even for the same set of words, differs completely. Still other responsory-versicle pairs occur in only one of the offices, and antiphons vary in a similar way.\textsuperscript{69} The lessons associated with the \textit{Nunc laudari} office in Mazarine 374 treat the same hagiographical events as those published in 1306; but though similar, the two sets are by no means identical.

The Paris Dominicans had a particular interest in developing as early as possible liturgical texts for the veneration of the first French king to be canonised, and they themselves had actively promoted his cause.\textsuperscript{70} If the liturgical primacy of the Paris house meant that it could make Provincial musical and liturgical decisions in advance of the annual corporate meeting, then it probably produced and transcribed a Dominican mass and office as soon as the feast of St. Louis was introduced in 1298. It may even have done so upon his canonisation in 1297, for in view of the Dominican commitment to St. Louis it would have been inconceivable that the Order would not accept the feast. The date of the Poissy liturgical manuscripts containing the \textit{Nunc laudari} office, or in the case of the martyrlogy

\textit{sanctorale}, after the Daily Office of the Virgin (fol. 462v), though all is written in the same hand. The \textit{Ludovicus decus} office was added later (the lessons this time being integrated into the chant) between new liturgy for St. Ignatius and the 11,000 Virgins (fol. 308), at the end of the chant section of the \textit{sanctorale}. For the placement of these two offices in the Poissy manuscripts see the relevant Catalogue entries (Add 30072 and Rouen Y 233).

\textsuperscript{66} Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 374, fols 333, 475, 475v.
\textsuperscript{67} London, BL ms Add 23935, fols 7-9, 20-21.
\textsuperscript{68} Discussed in Chapter 1 Part 2; see especially n. 67.
\textsuperscript{69} During a very brief examination of photographed folios of Add 30072 John Stinson (Department of Music, La Trobe University) pointed out that the same wording in \textit{Ludovicus decus} is much easier to sing than in the \textit{Nunc laudari}, the intervals in the latter being quite abrupt. I am indebted to Mr. Stinson for his discussion of the two offices and for his reminder that the first-composed office for the feast of Thomas Aquinas was criticised as 'in cantu grave repudiant et in dictamine incomptum' (ACGOP, II, 224).
\textsuperscript{70} See Chapter 1 Part 2 for relationships between the Order and St. Louis.
a short reading passage which would soon be changed and lengthened, can therefore be set at approximately 1300 or very shortly after on all liturgical grounds. This accords with the homogeneous decorative style of the manuscripts; it should be noted that this is slightly later than the range 1280-90s usually given to manuscripts with this style of ornamentation.

The analogous styles of the non-liturgical manuscripts listed in this early Poissy group suggest that they too were made at about this time. Indeed, examination of the historiated initials in four of the books — the diurnal, missal, antiphonary and the Marian compilation — reveals a close stylistic relationship. In all four manuscripts the squared initials are outlined with a green (viridian) line which has spread into the vellum (eg. Figs 17-25), a feature of some earlier French and English book production. Only a few other colours are used: vermilion, burgundy and a deep-blue (which vary little between the manuscripts) plus a limited number of lighter shades, always including grey, that are achieved by mixing the pigment with white (which do vary). There is a tendency to introduce a flat base above the bottom of a round initial (Figs 18-19, 23 & 25) although not consistently within any one manuscript. A similar low bridge-like platform occurs in the 'Honoré-style' illustration of the Te igitur initial in the missal for Saint-Corneille de Compiègne, BN lat 16824 (Fig. 32). Features and hands are drawn in light grey, and there is usually no obvious colouring or marking of the cheeks apart from a V-shape on older males. The grey contours, very often rubbed, are such that it is not easy for the eye to make out exact detail, though they show up in black-and-white photographs as fine, quite decisive lines. Grisaille tones with similar visual effect define features and hands in the imagery of the Sainte-Chapelle evangelary (Fig. 15).

Physiognomies, and hair and beard styles in these four Poissy volumes are frequently similar, for instance in the Joseph in the Nativity of the missal and diurnal (Figs. 17 & 18). This kind of countenance, together with the short grey, slightly forked beard and hair waved around the ear also served for the Christ in the Coronation of the Virgin of the Marian compilation (Fig. 19). Quite distinguishable from this soft type are the more craggy faces, grizzled hair and long beards of the older men depicted in the Tours Decretals and other manuscripts associated with the style of Honoré (Figs 13 & 32). The pouting, rather chinless Virgin of the Poissy missal (Fig. 17) resembles her counterpart in the Coronation of the Marian compilation (Fig. 19) as well as the archangel of the Annunciation in the same book (Fig. 10).

The illustrators of these four manuscripts also use identical compositions and distinctive colour associations. For the Birth of the Virgin in the missal, the antiphonary, and the diurnal, for example, they employ the same extremely simple composition in which a female attendant hands the infant Mary to St. Anne seated in bed (Figs 20-22). In each case the child is centrally placed and held out to her mother across a large empty space which helps to emphasise the thematic subject of the composition. The child's swaddling

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71 I am grateful to Dr. Patricia Sturmsmann and M. François Avril for this information.
72 To compare the colours between manuscripts I have made use of a commercial colour chart (in this case from Winsor & Newton), assigning a number from 1-10 over the light to dark range of the modern water colour which most nearly approached the medieval paint.
73 For 'Honoré-style' see n. 76.
clothes are invariably viridian in colour while the same distinctive colour is also used for the handmaid's cloche.

Despite these similarities, however, the illustrative techniques employed in the three liturgical books are readily distinguishable. Scenes in the antiphony are normally more complex and more artistically competent than their counterparts in the diurnal. Thus in the Dormition of the Virgin (Fig. 23) the antiphonal artist, as well as focusing on the figure of a central Christ who holds the Virgin's soul above her recumbent body, realises effectively the crowded grouping of attendant apostles (although the female who leans with St. John at the foot of the bed is not easy to explain). The diurnal artist's closely related composition reduces the number of visible apostles, and lowers the position of one of them rather awkwardly to the level of the Virgin's shoulder so as to represent the Evangelist (Fig. 24). The antiphonal artist is likewise more proficient in rendering the Three Marys at the Tomb (cf. Figs 27 & 28), characterising all three, not just two, of the women and variously articulating the hunched sleeping postures of the soldiers confined within a trilobed area before the tomb, whose arms overhang the picture frame; the composition is virtually the same as that of the Sainte-Chapelle evangelist (Fig. 15). The Poissy missal, on the other hand, renders the Resurrection proper and shows Christ stepping from the tomb (Fig. 29); nonetheless, the faces of two of the soldiers in the trilobe are cut through at the same level as those in the diurnal (Fig. 28).

Numerous scenes in these manuscripts show a bed extended horizontally across the picture plane. Each of the three artists uses a particular and consistent arrangement of bedding folds and, with just one exception in the diurnal (Fig. 22), these are all rendered in shades of light grey (eg. Figs 17, 18, 20 & 21). The bedding of the antiphony is always stretched over the feet in a few long, ample folds extending from a tuck near the head of the bed, and has painted highlights and shadows (Figs 21 & 23). The diurnal and missal artists prefer to tuck the bedclothes under the knee, the former incorporating deep shadowed pockets in the painted folds (Figs 18 & 24) which contrast with a preference in the missal for a light delineation rendered in pen (Figs 17 & 20). In the martyrology section of a fifth manuscript (CIm 10170), the composition of the Birth of John the Baptist (Fig. 26) is similar to that in the diurnal (Fig. 25), while its maid who holds the new-born child has the same extremely elongated body as her counterpart in the Birth of the Virgin in the antiphony (Fig. 21). The style of the martyrology artist is, however, quite distinct from the artists of the above group: the bedding and other drapery is more tucked and folded with an almost darting movement while, instead of interacting with one another, the figures direct their attention towards their own concerns. The sensitivity of features and the inward-looking mien of St. Matthew in this book (Fig. 30) also characterise the rendition of St. John the Baptist in the Beheading of John the Baptist in Add. 32579 (Fig. 31). The colour-schemes in these two manuscripts differ, as well, from that of the four books discussed above.

Georg Vitzthum considered the artistic style of the antiphony to be influenced by that of late Honoré.74 However, his assumption that this artist's style was extraordinarily widely

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74 G. Vitzthum, Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei, Leipzig, 1907, 58.
influential has sometimes been challenged. In the first place Leroquais and others disputed whether the actual Honoré, tied by inscription to the Decretals (Fig. 13), can be deemed responsible for the breviary lat 1023 (Fig. 14) as Delisle had argued. It has also been questioned whether it is justifiable to consider the illuminator Honoré the foremost Parisian artist of this period. Nonetheless, 'Honoré-stil', a term which encompasses the primary artistic trend in later thirteenth-century Paris that Ellen Beer has recently analysed, provides a satisfactory basis for comparison with the Poissy group. Such a comparison reveals that the illustration in all the Poissy volumes has a much closer affinity to the softly grisaille-visaged, patient figures of the Sainte-Chapelle evangelary (Fig. 15) than to the more nervous, sometimes mannered movement of the full-blown 'Honoré-style' (Figs 13 & 32).

The artistic ties which have been explored above link the extant Poissy liturgical volumes of this period, each of whose contents point to a fairly precise date around or shortly after 1300 — the antiphonary Add 30072, the missal Garrett 41, the diurnal Rouen Y 233 and the Liber capitularius Clm 10170 — with the non-liturgical manuscripts of the group — Clm 10156, Hunter 391 and Add 32579. As already demonstrated, all these manuscripts share the same decorative elements. In addition, except for Hunter 391 whose sole illustration is so rubbed that it cannot be sufficiently well examined, they involved illustrators who worked in related styles. All volumes may therefore be considered as part of Philippe le Bel’s commission which extended between the years 1298 and 1301 or later, but most likely before 1304 when the monastic buildings were sufficiently advanced to permit the founding nuns to enter. It is not surprising to find, since friars from St. Jacques in Paris undertook the commission on the king’s behalf, that these surviving manuscripts were illuminated in that city. Although the illustrators are different for each book, the close relationships between them — especially between the antiphonary and diurnal artists whose styles are also associated with the illustrators of the missal and Marian compilation — point to workshops and artistic techniques that shared the same influences. It is not hard to imagine that these workshops would have been confined to a single locale, probably near the convent of St. Jacques whose friars are known at this period to have patronised nearby stationers for their manuscript needs.

There is, however, one aspect of the Life and Miracles of the Virgin, Clm 10156, which does not fit with this analysis. The compilation, if it was made by Vincent de Beauvais as is nowadays accepted, must predate 1300. The marginal rubrics, however, which ascribe an author to the various quotations in the text include the inscription 'Petrus Episcopus Nivernensis. Super Missus est...' (fol. 24v). Since this refers, though apparently incorrectly, to Pierre Bertrand who held the bishopric of Nevers from 1320 until his appointment to the see of Auxerre in 1325, these rubrics must postdate 1320. Nonetheless, the decorative and

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75 Delisle, n. 12 above, 59-62; Leroquais, Bréviaires, II, 474-475. For evaluation of these and other claims in view of the evidence see Kosmer, n. 5 above, 199-212; eadem, n. 52 above, 63-66.
77 As n. 17 above.
illustrative style of the manuscript seems to be at variance with Parisian work of the 1320s; rather, this concurs with a date around 1300 as shown above. The question then arises as to whether the marginal rubrics were added some twenty years after the main text and linear rubrics were written and illuminated, despite their closeness in scribal style. This cannot be answered without further examination of the manuscript itself.78

The catalogue entries of Delaporte and Leroquais for a now lost liturgical manuscript once in use at Poissy — a Dominican breviary, Chartres 552 (burnt in 1944) — indicate that it, too, may have formed part of Philippe le Bel's commission.79 Again, no location is mentioned in the book until after the dedication of the Poissy church — in 1331. Leroquais dated this volume to the 'end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century' and the descriptions of its illustrative and ornamental patterns point to a manuscript stylistically similar to those considered above. However, not all the liturgical items contained in this breviary were in use at Poissy. The final entries, placed out of seasonal order (fols 666v-676), comprise offices of the 11000 Virgins, Romanus Archbishop, and that of an octave for St. Matthew. The last two of these are not normal Dominican items and seem to refer quite specifically to the Dominican monastery at Rouen. As discussed in Chapter 1, the nuns' church at Rouen was dedicated to St. Matthew and, despite various injunctions against celebrating the feast of a patron saint with a solemn octave, one knows from Poissy texts that this was done.80 It is also clear from the calendar of a contemporary psalter-diurnal (Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale ms A.580) that the feast of St. Romanus, a seventh-century bishop of Rouen,81 was commemorated with a simplex feast on 23 October by the Rouen nuns.82 This psalter-diurnal, moreover, whose calendar has a later inscription for 12 July 'Dedicacio ecclesie Sancti Mathei', provides a source for iconographic and stylistic comparison with the destroyed breviary. As with all the psalter texts made for Poissy the breviary illustrates the eight divisions of the psalter with a 'David' series, in keeping with the normal practice for liturgical books produced in Paris,83 whereas the Rouen psalter-diurnal signals these divisions with scenes drawn from Christ's Passion and Resurrection (see Table 2.1).84

78 For further discussion of authorship, and references, see Catalogue entry for manuscript. I have not been able to re-examine the book since I became aware of this discrepancy. I am grateful to M. François Avril for his confirmation (from photographs) of a likely date of decoration and illustration and Dr. Christopher de Hamel for his comments (on the basis of photocopied microfilm material) on the scribal hands.

79 Y. Delaporte, Les manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres, Chartres, 1929, 112-113; Leroquais, Breviaries, I, 287-288. In the Catalogue entry for this manuscript I attempt to 'reconstruct' its decorative-illustrative design using the two sources.

80 See Chapter 1 Part 2 of this thesis.


82 Omitted from catalogue entry in Leroquais, Psautiers, II, 186-188.

83 G. Haseloff, Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert, Kiel, 1938, 77-94, 104-109 (Tables 4-6). My purpose here is only to establish that the two manuscripts were manufactured according to different traditions. Any discussion of the sources for the different programmes — a literary reading of the psalm texts themselves for the David series as against Christological interpretations of the psalms in exegetical texts — is outside the scope of this study.

Table 2.1. **PSALTER ILLUSTRATION IN ROUEN AND POISSY MANUSCRIPTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psalm</th>
<th>Cue</th>
<th>Rouen nuns' psalter passion series</th>
<th>Psalters made for Poissy nuns 'David' series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Beatus vir</td>
<td>Kiss of Judas/Arrest of Christ</td>
<td>David harping*/David and Goliath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Dominus illuminatio</td>
<td>Christ before Pilate</td>
<td>David points to eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Dixi custodiari</td>
<td>Flagellation</td>
<td>David points to mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Dixit insipiens</td>
<td>Carrying the cross</td>
<td>Fool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Salvum me fac</td>
<td>Nailing to cross</td>
<td>David in water*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Exultate deo</td>
<td>Piercing of Christ's side</td>
<td>David playing bells*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Cantate domino</td>
<td>Entombment</td>
<td>Choristers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Dixit dominus</td>
<td>Christ in limbo</td>
<td>Trinity*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Illustration survived until 1944 in Chartres 552; others were excised from this manuscript.

The style of illumination of these two categories of manuscript also differs. Compositions in the Rouen psalter-diurnal, such as that of *Christ in Limbo* which heads the psalm 'Dixit Dominus...', reveal the ungraceful, linear style of the illustrator and the heavy, ratchet-like quality of the decoration, both of which are in marked contrast to contemporary Parisian illumination (Figs 33-34). In its Parisian decorative style (suggested by the descriptions of Leroquais and Delaporte) and in its iconography, therefore, the destroyed breviary concurs with the manuscripts of the Poissy group, differing markedly from Rouen A.580 which was presumably made for the nuns at Rouen at this time. Given the fact that the larger part of the founding nuns came to Poissy from Rouen — possibly having been schooled there in preparation for their duties at the new house as discussed above — it may be that the destroyed breviary was part of the royal commission of manuscripts intended for eventual use at Poissy, but that specific elements relating to liturgical practice at Rouen were incorporated at the end. This would mean that its owners could use this breviary to participate in the celebration of special Rouen feast days before they took the book with them to Poissy. The absence of the feast of St. Louis from the original transcription, although entered in the calendar by another hand, is indicative of an early date. It is also worth noting that the Poissy martyrology (Clm 10070), like this breviary, illustrates the feast of St. Matthew, Rouen's patron saint, as one of only two or three images of apostles in either book. None of the other books from the king's commission, however, gives similar reason for speculation that it might have been used in another establishment before nuns entered Poissy.
b. Purpose and design of the books

Although only a handful of books survive from what must have been a much larger number they do give some idea of the scope and nature of the king's commission, or at least how it was interpreted by the friars-executors. A missal-processional met the needs of the priest for the celebration of mass, for the conduct of obsequies and benedictions, and for processions. The nuns and novices, seated in the choir-stalls, would sing the office from the breviary or diurnal, while an antiphonary was required by the chantress in leading the choir. The *liber capitularius* had a twofold purpose. Instructions and tables written in small script guided the hebdomadary in drawing up the roster of weekly liturgical duties undertaken by nuns in turn. Mandatory reading for chapter follows in larger script: the daily martyrology, a gospel reading for all 9-lesson feast days, the Rule and the Constitutions. The large, clear hand no doubt contributed to the success with which a different nun each week managed the formidable task of reading publicly the Latin texts. The contents of all these liturgical volumes had been fixed almost fifty years earlier, in the prototypes resulting from the systematisation of the Dominican liturgy under Humbert of Romans.85

More a matter of choice were other texts selected for public reading, either in the refectory or in the communal workroom. The two other public reading books — the *Life and Miracles of the Virgin* and the compilation Add 32579, with readings on John the Baptist, the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* and Gérard de Frachet's *Vitae Fratrum* (a history of the Dominican Order and its extension until the year 1254) — must have been intended for this purpose. Finally, the encyclopaedic *De proprietatibus rerum*, compiled by the English Franciscan friar Bartholomew, provided the friars charged to care for the spiritual needs of the nuns with reference material for their sermons.86 This comprehensive reference work must have compensated to some degree for the lack of an extensive library at Poissy.87 Copies of it were held in other Dominican conventual libraries.88

From these few but representative works it is clear that Philippe le Bel's commission was intended to provide the nuns and their supporting friars with all the books they would need to fulfil the duties of Dominican monastic life. With the same intention the king endowed the monastery with altars and precious relics,89 among which were probably the nose and

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85 The martyrology, processional, breviary, antiphonary and conventual missal of the Poissy group represent five of the fourteen books of the revised liturgy. For complete contents see W. Bonniwell, *The Dominican Liturgy*, New York, 1944, 86-94 (summarised in Brett, n. 16 above, 85-88).

86 It is noteworthy that a pulpit was sited between the nuns' choir and the public space of the transept in the church of St. Louis (see Plan 2; Erlande-Brandenburg, "La proriale", n. 2 above, 98, n. 4; *idem*, "Art et politique", n. 2 above, 514).

87 For this purpose of the compilation see G. E. Se Boyar, "Bartholomeus Anglicus and his Encyclopaedia", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 19, 1920, 178. For overall discussion of the friars' library at Poissy see Chapter 6 Part 1.


89 Referred to in the codicil to his third testament (of 1311) made just before his death in 1314: "omnes reliquias et omnia sanctuaria quas et que ante presentem ordinacionem ipsis traditimus..." (Archives Nationales, J 403, no. 18: E. Boutaric, *Notices et extraits des documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de..."
upper jaw of St. Louis. In similar fashion Mahaut d'Artois supplied her foundation not only with relics and liturgical furnishings but also with the appropriate books to use with them. We might suppose, therefore, that the king also provided a lectionary, large-size choirbooks for use by several nuns in the centre of the choir, and up to forty or so breviaries for shared or individual use. More personal, flexible compilations such as psalter-processionals (or other combinations of these texts) could have been brought with the incoming nuns.

The generous illumination and fine quality of the extant manuscripts indicate that, as with the construction of its church, the books for Poissy were to be 'worthy of a king's munificence'. Nevertheless, none approaches the opulence of Philippe le Bel's own breviary (BN lat 1023), which cost 107 livres 10 sous in 1296. Although the characteristic illumination of both the king's volume and the Poissy liturgical group consists of a small illustration and decorative border, in the Poissy books only certain significant feasts have been selected for this treatment. The pages of the king's breviary are embellished indiscriminately; there are over 160 historiated initials with borders, some of which virtually repeat the same illustrative theme, while smaller decorated initials and border extensions bring the total of very similar ornamental pages to 200. It may not be only a question of royal rank that lies behind this contrast. The king would have used his breviary simply to follow the office as it was being chanted so the relative lack of differentiation between its pages would not have been critical. But a nun had continually to shift between the current office and the full wording of the appropriate psalms and other items as she sang in chorus. The relatively few illustrated feasts in her breviary or diurnal were readily distinguishable because of the quite different subject matter of each. As well as reminding her of the more important celebrations, by gauging the proximity of the current feast to the nearest illustration a nun could use this as a marker to help her find her way back to the day's propers in the limited time available; her familiarity with the book's hierarchy of differently sized decorated initials and script would then alert her to the next item to be sung.

Like the Cistercians from whom they had derived their choral practice, the Dominicans set down requirements for the writing and correction of liturgical texts. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these were frequently copied into the front of noted choirbooks. The Poissy antiphonary includes the regulations:

__France sous Philippe le Bel__, Paris, 1861, 149; L. Douët d'Arcq, "Note sur la mort de Philippe le Bel", *Revue des sociétés savantes des départements*, ser. 6, 4, 1876, 278).

90 Peiresc, after a visit to Poissy in the seventeenth century, described the later reliquary which housed the relics: 'Chef de Saint Louis, d'argent doré, dans lequel se voit la macheoire supérieure et le nez de Saint Louis, avec dédicace du roy Philippe le Bel...' (J. Schopfer, "L'art du moyen âge, la Renaissance Néo-Classique et les travaux de Peiresc", *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, Paris, 1899, 380). See also E. A. R. Brown, n. 4 above, n. 29. On the later reliquary which housed the relic, see Chapter 3 Part 2b and n. 76.

91 Richard, n. 3 above, 238-239; _idem_, n. 21 above, 406-409.

92 See n. 53.


94 Huglo, n. 93 above, 124.
Square notation on four lines is to be used for antiphonaries, graduals and other books of chant and the accompanying words should be either extended or compressed to align with the music. No deliberate alterations are permitted; all letters, music and pause-bars ('virgule pausarum') must be retained, while catch-notes ('puncta') should end each line to signal the first note of the next. Books to be written should follow a corrected exemplar, and on completion are to be read or sung twice and corrections made from such an exemplar.  

The manuscript was written accordingly: its words sit immediately below the notes they will be sung to, pause-bars are entered, and a catch-note occurs at the end of each line (Fig. 1). There is, however, no certification of correction although this could have been removed with the page reduction which accompanies most rebinding. But two manuscripts of the Poissy group do still show the producers' compliance with this requirement: the word 'correctus' is written in small letters in abbreviated form at the end of each gathering of the missal and of all but the first reading selection in Add 32579. The rather cumbersome effort made to write and correct the latter volume is noteworthy. The scribe made innumerable errors throughout the text. Frequently three or four words per page have been scraped away with the utmost care, then meticulously rewritten. This must have occurred after the original transcription since the corrections do not match the ink colour of surrounding text; it may therefore have been part of the final, certifying process. The rigour with which the Dominicans conserved their liturgical texts — comparing newly written transcripts with an exemplar which had been certified as correct — is seen in this manuscript to have also been applied assiduously to other works, in this case not only to the Dominican Gérard de Frachet's history of the Order but to the Bishop of Lincoln, Robert de Grosseteste's treatise as well.  

Illustration of the two books in this group meant for public reading outside chapter is minimal. Only the first item in Add 32579 — the Baptist section — is historiatted and this follows the same convention as the Marian compilation, Clm 10056. Indeed these two anthologies are of the same type, with the first half devoted to selected readings on the subject's life, and the second to their death and subsequent events and miracles. The Marian texts consist almost completely of an amalgamation of Vincent de Beauvais' Liber laudum BVM with extracts from his Speculum historiale. Vincent, himself, had also produced an anthology of readings on John the Evangelist which follows the vita-miracula formula.  

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95 Add 30072, fols 7v-8. The rules conclude the tonary 'Omnis cantus ecclesiasticus...' (also part of Jerome of Moravia's treatise De musica); all aspects follow the prototypal versions. For the text in Latin see van Dijk, n. 93 above, 118; Huglo, n. 93 above, 124. I follow the latter's interpretation of the phrase 'decetero in quocumque libro de novo scribendo'. For the tonary see idem, Les tonaires. Inventaire, Analyse, Comparaison, Paris, 1971, 368-372. This manuscript, and a second antiphonary from Poissy (Melbourne, State Library of Victoria ms *096 ½/R66A) treated in Chapter 3 Part 2, should be added to Huglo's lists of manuscripts which contain these prefatory texts.


97 See Catalogue entry for details.

Possibly, then, both the rearrangement of Vincent's Marian texts and the Baptist compilation, since they too occur within a Dominican context, also had a Dominican origin. Certainly the care taken to name the source of each passage in all three compilations is a Dominican hallmark. In the two Poissy anthologies an illustration of the earliest Christological event involving each saint introduces their Vitae, namely the Annunciation (for Mary) and the Baptism of Christ (for John the Baptist). With similar logic the second section of each book, containing the death and miracles, is marked by a depiction of the event appropriate to the beginning of the heavenly life of each, the Coronation of the Virgin and the Beheading of John the Baptist respectively. These compositions are exactly those used in liturgical texts; the Baptism of Christ in this anthology and in the antiphonary, for example, is identical (cf Figs 8 & 1).

Unlike using the liturgical volumes, the reading of these books was not necessarily tied to a particular season or feast. Presumably they were read straight through, so the limited number of illuminated pages may reflect their greater facility of use and the consequent lack of any need to articulate the major divisions of text. Indeed the purpose of the illustrations seems solely to honour the saint in question for the Dominicans marked their place in the text in other, quite exact, ways: Humbert of Romans' instructions for reading at meals thoughtfully suggested that readers indicate where they had got to in the book with lead or wax or with a weight placed on it so that the next person would know where to continue. A simple decorative pattern was also used for the Constitutions in the Liber capitularius where only the contents table and the beginning of the text are emphasised.

The seasonally-linked liturgical sections of the Liber capitularius — the martyrology and the gospel readings — are, by contrast, punctuated by major illustrative and decorative elements, respectively, at selected feasts. However, fewer feasts merit this treatment than in the liturgical books. This may reflect the user's far lesser need to find a continually changing section in this book than in the volumes used to sing in choir. Furthermore, since


99 The Dominican Nicolas de Gorran (Gorna) may have been engaged in this sort of compilation since he was perhaps responsible for texts appended to Vincent de Beauvais' Marian anthology in BN lat 18134 (Hauréau, n. 98 above, 46). Significantly, he was Philippe le Bel's confessor, in the period before and after the king was crowned in 1285 (J.-A. Pignoli de la Force, Description de Paris, de Versailles...et de toutes les autres maisons et châteaux des environs de Paris, Paris, 1742, V, 161).

100 The rubrics to the lessons of the Dominican breviary take this concern even further, occasionally assuming the form of an elaborate scholarly comment on the more likely of the possible attributions. These have been singled out and reproduced by Delisle and Leroquais from the Dominican breviaries Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms 804 and Paris, BN lat 10483-4, the Belleville Breviary, two manuscripts which happened to come to Poissy (Delisle, n. 12 above, 84-85; Leroquais, Brèvières, III, 200-201). These rubricated introductions were already part of the mid-1250s Dominican archetype BL 23935 where, similar to the breviaries, they occur in the lectionary above the lessons to which they refer (fols 141-248v). They are therefore a normal part of the Dominican breviary of the period and were reproduced in copies made in the fourteenth century for Poissy (Arsenal 107, Arsenal 602-3 and London, private collection).

101 In terminacione vero lectionis debet aliquo signum tunc facere cum plumo, vel cera, vel speram superponere, ut sciat ubi debeat reincipere, vel ostendere successori, sive ali qui legorit loco suum (Humbert of Romans, Opera de Vita Regulari, II, ed. J. J. Berthier, Turin, 1956, 299).
one nun read solo as the others listened, her time constraint in moving between the day's<br>marrytrological and gospel readings was less critical than in the case of the liturgy. The<br>liturgy was intended to be sung responsorially, so it was essential that all sisters in either side<br>of the choir find the appropriate place in their books in time. The fact that the chantress<br>started the nuns off with each new item probably allowed them a small respite as they<br>located the current chant item. Nonetheless, although it was her duty to help any sister who<br>had lost her place or could not find it in her book, neither the chantress in the right stalls<br>nor her counterpart in the left could be expected to help some fifty nuns at the same<br>time.102 I have suggested above that the nuns could have used the variety of illustrations and<br>other decorative elements in their books to assist them in this regard, for their books bear<br>no evidence of tabs or ribbon-markers. However, all these books have lost their medieval<br>bindings so one cannot at this stage ascertain whether in fact the nuns used such aids or any<br>kind of transferable 'placefinder'.103

All of the text of the Marian anthology and the Baptist section of Add 32579 were supplied<br>with small 'ticks' placed over the stressed syllables of polysyllabic words. These were<br>probably inscribed at the time the text was written, since the colour and general appearance<br>of their ink matches that of nearby punctuation marks. Similar stress-marks were not added<br>until after production to the texts of the Liber capitularius. Yet this practice might almost be<br>seen as an essential part of the making of books whose Latin wording was to be read aloud<br>in public by different nuns each week. Since the language was no longer used<br>conversationally, such additions helped preserve to some degree the accentual rhythm of<br>Latin prose.104 Nevertheless no distinction is made in the Poissy manuscripts between

102 I have discussed elsewhere the Dominican chantress' duties in choir in association with the slightly<br>later antiphonary from Poissy, now in Melbourne (J. Naughton, "The Poissy Antiphonary in its Royal<br>Monicst Milieu (Melbourne, State Library of Victoria ms #096 1/R66A)", La Trobe Library Journal,<br>13, 1993, 40). For Humbert of Romans' full instructions for this exacting duty see Capitula VIII and IX,<br>De officio cantoris and De officio succentoris (idem, n. 101 above, 238-246).

103 Though there is no indication that tabs were ever in use on books from Poissy, many volumes are<br>now so severely cropped that the possibility cannot be ruled out. An extensively illustrated and<br>ornamented Dominican psalter (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W115), whose initial owner had<br>associations with the house, was at some stage given tabs (see also Chapter 3 Part 3 and L. M. C.<br>Randall, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, I, France, 875-1420,<br>Baltimore and London, 1989, 155-158, no. 59). In Dominican establishments this type of marker appears<br>to be more important in undecorated liturgical volumes, e.g. leather knobs affixed to selected page-edges of<br>breviaries from the convents at Toulouse and Nuremberg (Toulouse, BM, mss 77-79; London, BL, IA<br>7338). Tabs were, however, also added to decorated volumes, e.g. a large missal owned by the Toulouse<br>friars (Toulouse, BM, ms 96). When effectively arranged such markers could embody a complex<br>codification, for instance on a fifteenth-century psalter-hymnal from Salzburg (Cambridge, University<br>Library, Add 4111) whose eight markers along the upper edge and two rows of thirteen along the front<br>edge are differentiated by their position: by feel and shape (leather or parchment); and by colour (green or<br>pink). But even a relatively simple liturgical book, a German Dominican processional of less than 80<br>folios (Sotheby's, 20th June 1978, lot 2984), was supplied with as many as 11 coloured tabs, while two<br>equally small exequial handbooks owned by nuns at St. Catherine's in Nuremberg (Harvard College<br>Library, ms lat 196 and University of Rochester Library, ms O'), had braided bookmarks incorporated into<br>their original bindings (see C. U. Frye and W. H. Bond, Supplement to the Census of Medieval and<br>Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, New York, 1962, 240, 408).

104 This subject was introduced by Father Leonard Boyle in his lecture "Stress-Marks in Medieval<br>Manuscripts" (1991 Paleography Lecture, King's College, London); see also L. E. Boyle, "Tonic accent,<br>codicology, and literacy" in The Centre and its Compass. Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of<br>Professor John Leyerie, ed. R. A. Taylor et al., Kalamazoo, 1993, 1-10.
syllables differently stressed as occurs in a missal belonging to the Toulouse friars (Toulouse, BM ms 98), where two different accent-marks in red (a diagonal and a squiggle) signal accented long vowels and minor short vowels respectively. Dominican nuns, however, were not generally expected to have the same facility in the language as the friars: their Constitutions required merely they be able to read and sing [the liturgy], a demand that was reiterated in Philippe le Bel's request to the Master General; there was no stipulation that they should necessarily comprehend what they mouthed.\textsuperscript{105} Yet none of the books surviving from the early period at Poissy — either liturgical volumes or those made for reading — includes any vernacular text, so some expectation must have been held of the readers and listeners of these volumes at least. It was, moreover, surely a desideratum in a religious order so concerned for the correct transcription of the text that it then be read aloud in the best possible manner. The presence of accurate stress-marks, entered by the scribe, would guide the sisters towards this goal, in combination with the clear, legible script and carefully defined punctuation marks. With the first letter of each sentence touched in red or other coloured ink, a stroke above all 'i's to remove confusion with other minims, and a hyphen at the end of a line to signal an incomplete word, public reading books like the Marian anthology were designed to give the Poissy nuns every assistance in reading aloud.

Indeed, the design of each type of book in this group anticipates the way it was to be used, and takes the user into account in this arrangement. As customary, the liturgical books are written consistently in two sizes of text. This readily separates the various categories of items, each of which is also introduced with a predictably different range of embellished initials. The height of script is appropriate for use by one or two people while each book is of a size which, though fairly thick and not particularly light, is compact and readily portable. The priest's missal is slightly larger, at 22 x 15 cm, than the nuns' antiphonary and breviary (19 x 13 cm), although the antiphony is the thickest (see Table 3.1). The diurnal is much smaller (13 x 10 cm) and, since it lacks the night offices which were normally obligatory upon all choir-sisters, it was probably intended for novice use. Novices were required to become proficient in singing the words of the office in unison; they were to know by heart the Office of the Dead and the Office of the Virgin, the psalms of the day hours and weekly vespers, but not the night offices.\textsuperscript{106} The contents of this volume serve most of these needs.

The Liber capitularius and the anthology Add. 32579 were written in a large script, appropriate for reading at sufficient distance from a lectern so that the reader's voice would

\textsuperscript{105} The term 'phonetic literacy', the ability to sound aloud written words correctly, has been used to distinguish the lesser skill from the more formidable and rarer 'comprehension literacy' among medieval readers, the capacity to read with understanding (see P. Saenger, "Books of Hours and Reading Habits in the Later Middle Ages", \textit{Scriptura et Civilitas}, 9, 1985, 240-241).

\textsuperscript{106} Cap. XV of the Constitutions states in this regard only that 'novicie et alie sorores que apte sunt in psalmudia et officio divino studiunt diligentem' (Cilm 10070, f. 138). Humbert of Romans' instructions for the teaching of novices spell out the requirements in detail: '...instructendi sunt in canto, et in legendo, qui nesciant, et addiscere possint. In hoc repitendum est ab eis quidquid habent legere vel cantare in conventu; et auscultandum et rectandum cordetenus illud quod de psalterio et divino officio cordetenus scire oportet; videlicet officium mortuorum, et de beata Virgine, psalms de horis diurnis, et vesperearum per ferias' (Humbert of Romans, n. 101 above, 216).
carry to all nuns in a large auditorium. In contrast to the large size of these books (34 x 24 cm), the Marian compilation is small, measuring only 19 x 13 cm., and its script is the size of that of the liturgical volumes. It appears likely, then, that the larger anthology was intended for table reading in the extremely capacious refectory which was designed to seat over one hundred nuns, in a space that was possibly equivalent to that of the chapter house where the identically sized Liber capitularius would have been used. The smaller book with its small script may have been read, again from a lectern, but to a reduced number of nuns silently engaged on a common task in the less capacious workroom.

The design of Hunter 391, on the other hand, reveals its function as a reference book. Though large in size (31 x 22 cm) its script is small and close, and only the introductory page bears an illustration (Fig. 6). Nonetheless, the volume has predictable features that guide the reader in search of a reference or section: running headings, short marginal summaries and illuminated beginnings to each chapter are ordered by means of a complex ruling system into a pattern that allows the user to anticipate where to look for what is required (see Catalogue entry for diagram).

c. Illustrative patterns in the liturgical books

What feasts did the Paris friars consider should be illuminated in books destined for the church of St. Louis, and how do these books compare with contemporary volumes used in other French Dominican houses? One cannot be sure whether the numerous initials that were later excised from the Poissy missal and breviary were historiated or merely decorated with colours and gold. Nevertheless, it is still possible to determine the feasts considered

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107 That the refectory at Poissy held the nuns in just one sitting for meals is shown by its choice as the venue in 1561 for the 'Colloque de Poissy', the debate convened to reach agreement between Catholic and Reformist interests. According to the participant Claude Despence, a major reason for the selection was, apart from Poissy's situation away from the curious, the capacity of this large auditorium to accommodate 120 nuns seated at table (journal published in A. de Ruble, "Le colloque de Poissy (Septembre-Octobre 1561)", Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France, 16, 1889, 11-12). Tortorel and Périsin's contemporary engraving of the debate depicts at least 120 royal, noble and religious participants, clerks, observers and guards seated or at ease in the vast hall with considerable room to spare (printed as frontispiece in D. Nugent, Ecumenism in the Age of the Reformation. The Colloquy of Poissy, Cambridge (Mass.), 1974).

108 No chapter house was depicted on the plan of the monastery drawn up by Pierre François Cassier in 1787 (see Plan 3). Described by a visitor in 1707 only as 'un curieux morceau d'architecture' (Mercure galant, Sept., 1707, 209), it probably abutted the westernmost entry to the church, beneath the dormitory which flanked the cloister at that end. Christine de Pizan described it in 1400, as 'moult bel et gentement ouvré', and situated near the large, bright refectory (P. Pougnet, "Le dit de Poissy de Christine de Pisan. Description du prieuré de Poissy en 1400", Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 18, 1857, 543).

109 Cap. XXVII of the Constitutions in use at Poissy, De labore, stipulates that all nuns, except when involved in prayer, choir, or other necessary occupation, were silently to work with their hands in useful common application (Clel 10070, f. 144). The administrative requirements in running a concern as large as the monastery and church at Poissy, with its extensive landholdings and mercantile interests, no doubt meant that fewer nuns than the total number had time to work on community projects (see Introduction). See also Hinnebusch, n 96 above, 384.

110 On the development and use of methods of ordering the contents of such compilations in the medieval period see Parkes, n. 98 above, 115-141.
worthy of eye-catching embellishment. Table 2.2 shows that the number of these feasts varies somewhat from book to book and according to the overall pattern of ornamental emphasis. Thus, whereas the diurnal uses a combination of two to four historiated and decorated initials for certain of the selected feasts, the other volumes use only one historiated or decorated initial for every chosen feast (except for the Nativity of Christ, with its three masses, and the first feast of the sanctorale in the missal). The patterns of illumination generally emphasise the major feasts but by no means reflect only the liturgical rank. The totum duplex celebrations of Stephen and John the Evangelist (which fall within Christmas week), for instance, are embellished in the missal but not in the diurnal; and whereas the missal assiduously recognises all feasts of the apostles only a select few are highlighted in the other volumes. In all the manuscripts, however, there is considerably more decorative emphasis on the feasts of the sanctorale than those of the temporale. The feasts of the Virgin and John the Baptist are singled out in particular; the three contemporary Dominican feasts (the death and translation of the founder Dominic and the martyrdom of Peter of Verona) are also emphasised, though somewhat less rigorously.

In Table 2.3 it can be seen that illustration of the temporale is predictably confined to the major festive days associated with the birth and resurrection of Christ. The pattern of the sanctorale is more flexible. Only the feasts of the Virgin, the Birth of John the Baptist and the saint’s days for the two Dominicans, Dominic and Peter Martyr, are illustrated in all books used in church. Other important feasts, like those of All Saints, Peter and Paul, the Archangel Michael and the Translation of St. Dominic, are less consistently embellished. The major French saint, Martin, is illustrated only in the breviary. The illumination of the feast of St. Louis in two of the books singles him out as patron saint of the monastery even at this early stage of its development.

The friars responsible for ordering these manuscripts seem also to have made other attempts to personalise them. As well as sometimes including an image of a nun as discussed above, they appear to have explicitly selected a number of female saints for illustration, possibly as exempla for the nobly born nuns who would enter Poissy: Mary Magdalen, who forsook her worldly life to devote herself to Christ; Margaret, reborn from the dragon’s mouth; and, in particular, the royally-born and learned St. Katherine, who preferred the adversities of a life of faith to the worldly acclaim her nobility and intellect would be expected to gain her. In this context, however, it should be noted that the model of the learned preacher, St. Katherine, was often depicted in Dominican works, including books made for friars as well as nuns;111 and, indeed, two of these three examples also illuminate the Poissy missal. Moreover, Dominican veneration for Mary Magdalen was increasing at this time, her feast having been raised to the highest rank by 1300.112 Nonetheless, taken together these three female saints seem to reiterate a consistent precept aimed at the females who would join the

111 Cannon, n. 11 above, 241, 256. A great number of Dominican houses, especially in the German and Italian Dominican Provinces, were dedicated to the saint.

112 In 1295 Pope Boniface VIII invested the Dominicans with the official guardianship of the shrine at Saint-Maximin, believed to contain the saint’s body; her feast was elevated to totum duplex at the Chapters General of 1297-1300. It took some little time for the embarrassing reference to the saint’s ‘other’ body, at Vézelay, to be removed from the Dominican martyrology (Bonniwell, n. 83 above, 204).
Table 2.2. ILLUSTRATION-DECORATION PROGRAMMES OF FEASTS IN 
c. 1300 FOISSY LITURGICAL VOLUMES

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<th>Antiphonary</th>
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<th>Diurnal</th>
<th>Missal</th>
<th>Gospel texts</th>
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<tr>
<td>LOUIS</td>
<td>H</td>
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<tr>
<td>AUGUSTINE</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>[H]</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>[H]</td>
<td>H d d</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>d*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Archangel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[H]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon and Jude</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>[H]</td>
<td>[H]</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL SAINTS</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>d H d d</td>
<td>[H]</td>
<td>d*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commemoration of the dead</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine</td>
<td></td>
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<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Office &amp; mass of the Virgin</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I = Historiated initial & border; d = Decorated initial (* with human head or dragon); [ ] = Illustration excised; 
1 = Outside seasonal range of book; -- = Item not included in book; ? = No illustration catalogued for Chartres 552
Feasts ranked tonum duplex at time of production of the manuscripts are shown in capitals.
See individual Catalogue entries for further information on ornamentation.
## Table 2.3. ILLUSTRATION OF FEASTS IN c. 1300 MANUSCRIPTS FROM POISSY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporale</th>
<th>Antiphonary</th>
<th>Breviary</th>
<th>Diurnal</th>
<th>Missal</th>
<th>Martyrology</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Add 30072</td>
<td>Chartres 552</td>
<td>Rouen Y233</td>
<td>Garrett 41</td>
<td>Clim 10170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Sun. of Advent</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Isaiah</td>
<td>Priest raises soul</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVITY OF LORD</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumcision</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Circumcision</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPHPHANY</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Adoration of Magi</td>
<td>Adoration of Magi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canon of Mass</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Moses and serpent</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EASTER SUNDAY</td>
<td>Angel &amp; Maries</td>
<td>Angel (&amp; Maries?)</td>
<td>Angel &amp; Maries</td>
<td>Resurrected Christ</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASCENSION</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENTECOST</td>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
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<td>HOLY TRINITY</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICN OF CHURCH</td>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanctorale</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th>Martyrdom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Martyrdom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEPHEN</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Stoning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHN EVANGELIST</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Standing saint</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURIFICATION BVM</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Virgin &amp; Child/nun</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANNUNCIATION</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PETER MARTYR</td>
<td>Martyrdom</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Martyrdom</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSLN DOMINIC</td>
<td>Transl’n of relics</td>
<td>Transl’n of body</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>NATIVITY BAPTIST</td>
<td>Baptism</td>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PETER AND PAUL</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saints &amp; attributes</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Emerges ex dragon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARY MAGDALEN</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOMINIC</td>
<td>Saint on ladder</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Burning books</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSUMPTION BVM</td>
<td>Dormition</td>
<td>Dormition</td>
<td>Dormition</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOUIS</td>
<td>Enthroned saint</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVITY BVM</td>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>Vocation of saint</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saint writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Archangel</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL SAINTS</td>
<td>Coronation BVM</td>
<td>Seated saints</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saint in altercation</td>
<td>Saint &amp; attributes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office/mass BVM</td>
<td>Virgin &amp; Child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

[ ] = Illustration excised; — = Item not included in book; / = Outside seasonal range of book;
? = No illustration catalogued for Chartres 552.
Excised initials which probably embellished feasts of John before the Latin Gate and Commemoration of St. Paul in Chartres 552 are not included in table.
Feasts ranked totum duplex at time of production of the manuscripts are shown in capitals.
See individual Catalogue entries for more detailed descriptions.

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monastery, reinforcing the likelihood that such an instructive purpose was part of the pictorial emphasis of the feasts in the books that they were to use and care for.

The predominant decorative schemata appear to have been based on Dominican tradition. Table 3.3 shows that the pattern of illumination of the Poissy antiphonary differs little from that of the corresponding sections of the prototypical volumes produced in Paris in the 1250s: the select number of feasts given emphasis by a larger initial, decorated in gold and colours, that begins the responsory for the first lesson in these volumes is largely coincident with the historiated and decorated initials of the Poissy manuscript.113

While the excision of numerous illustrations hinders the analysis of the illustrative themes used in these manuscripts, Table 2.3 shows that in general the one iconographic treatment of a feast or saint obtains, independent of the text it is placed beside.114 Thus, rather than illustrating the adjacent words in any narrative sense, the imagery alludes symbolically to the overall sense and object of the feast itself.115 The themes are those traditionally used in Paris to illustrate the feasts in question.116 Nevertheless there are occasional differences in the subjects chosen for the one feast, such as the Nativity of John the Baptist which is illustrated either literally by the birth itself or by the Baptism of Christ. The subjects chosen for the primary feast of St. Dominic, too, have not yet been firmly set in the artists' repertoire. The saint's triumph against the Albigensians illuminates the diurnal (the book he throws on the fire remaining unburnt; Fig. 35) whereas his triumph over death is chosen for the antiphonary (the friar of Brescia's vision of the saint's ascent to heaven on a ladder held by Christ and the Virgin; Fig. 37).117 These differences in subject matter occur despite the closely related styles of the artists whose workshops were also probably used to Dominican commissions; they may reflect the wishes of the particular friar-contractor.118 The feast of St. Katherine, likewise not commonly illustrated in Paris, presents this saint in

113 This kind of comparison cannot be made for liturgical volumes other than the antiphonary and gradual since a similarly selective pattern was not used throughout the archetypal volumes. The missal in Add 23935, for instance, singles out only the start of the liturgy for any more definitive embellishment than the unvarying 2-line florished initials used throughout the book. The pattern of ornamentation of a later antiphonary (Melbourne *096 I/R66A), also shown in Table 3.3, is discussed relative to the antiphonary of Philippe le Bel's commission in Chapter 3 Part 2a.

114 As is usual in Dominican examples, ornamental letters begin the first lesson of matins in the breviary, its responsory in the antiphonary, the officium (introit) in the missal (or when this starts with the letter I, the collect as the next item in this example), and the reading passage for the day in the martyrology. The more complex decorative pattern of the Poissy diurnal is not consistent, in part because the same items are not proper to all feasts. See individual Catalogue entries for details.

115 The same observations have been made on the Dominican missal Clermont-Ferrand, BM, ms 62, which is discussed below (see L. Brehier, "Le missel dominicain de la bibliothèque de Clermont" in Trésors des bibliothèques de France, 6, 1938, 114).

116 It is not the place to itemise examples here. The same pictorial subject-matter recurs persistently in thirteenth-century Parisian manuscripts treated, for example, in R. Branner, Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis, Berkeley, 1977; Lerouquis, Bréviaires; idem, Missels.

117 The illustrative theme of St. Dominic on the Ladder which continues in manuscripts made for Poissy in the 1330s is considered in detail in Chapter 3 Part 2a.

118 The close advisory role played by Dominican book contractors at this period, particularly with regard to themes that were not universal, is conveyed in the frontispiece to the Holkham Bible Picture Book where an English Dominican friar personally informs the illuminator of the artistic standard he requires for his client (J. J. G. Alexander, Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work, New Haven and London, 1992, 54).
the same triumphal modes as St. Dominic: she wins a dispute with heathen philosophers in the missal and prevails over torture and death in the diurnal. Again an exemplary function is implicit: a life spent preserving the faith is rewarded by a heavenly afterlife.

Comparison with other Dominican liturgical books made contemporaneously in Northern France gives some measure of how unique was the arrangement and appearance of the volumes that Philippe le Bel commissioned the friars to obtain for Poissy. The near-contemporary, large-sized breviary, Mazarine 374, whose Offices of St. Louis are discussed above, appears to have been made for the use of friars. Like its Poissy counterpart, Chartres 552, the psalter section is illustrated. Small, finely-painted historiated initials emphasise each of its eight divisions with the 'David' series of literal interpretations of the opening words of the psalms which was normal in Paris (Fig. 16).\(^{119}\) The offices, though, are no more than introduced, with a single illustration at the start of Advent, the beginning of the *temporale*. Notwithstanding this, a certain fineness persists throughout, for pen-flourished initials and borders in gold and blue ornament all parts of the book. A thirteenth-century French antiphonary of unknown provenance, now Philadelphia Free Library, ms Lewis 6, is completely unillustrated, yet it too has a refined, even slightly luxurious quality, with initials and borders of richly burnished gold and colours for a number of feasts (Fig. 11).\(^{120}\) An earlier missal made for the Paris friars, BN lat 8884, is more austere: it is illustrated only at the Canon of the Mass with other decoration confined to red and blue pen-flourishing.\(^{121}\)

Humbert of Romans had considered the possession of de luxe books as a vanity improper in a friar, claiming that 'beauty is something juvenile, for boys take pleasure in letters that are flowered and painted in a variety of colours and displaying this sort of prettiness'.\(^{122}\) Yet friars' books could be as extensively illustrated as the Poissy group. A missal of similar expense was made in France in the second half of the thirteenth century for the French Dominican Cardinal Hugues Aycelin (d.1297).\(^{123}\) The historiated initials in this volume are fairly evenly divided between the *temporale* and canon (13 illustrations, including events of the Passion which do not occur in the Poissy group) and the *sanctorale* (11 illustrations, including the feasts of the Virgin and Baptist and the two Dominican saints). Outstanding in Aycelin's manuscript is an emphasis on the Trinity, illustrated once for the feast itself (fol.

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119 See Table 2.1 (but cf. Ps. 26: Christ restores David's sight) and n. 83 above.

120 S. de Ricci, S. and W. J. Wilson, Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, II, New York, 1937 (reprinted New York, 1961), 2032, no. 41; J. Wolf, A Descriptive Catalogue of the John Frederick Lewis Collection of European Manuscripts in the Free Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, 1937, 9, no. 6; The Theory of Music. IV. Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to c.1500 in Great Britain and the United States of America. Part 2. United States of America, ed. M. Hugo and N. C. Phillips, Munich, 1992, 171-172. Usually, all feasts over the Christmas period, including Agnes, the Conversion of St. Paul and Agatha, are emphasised. Reference to the feast of St. Louis ("hic pon[ ] de sancto lud[ ]") is inscribed in the margin of fol. 231; however, I can find no indication that the manuscript was ever at Poissy as speculated by Hugo and Phillips.

121 Catalogued in Leroquais, Bréviaires, II, 104-106, no. 287. For the importance of this manuscript, dated c. 1243, as a source of pre-reform Dominican liturgy see Bonnivet, n. 85 above, 29-35.

122 Humbert of Romans, n. 101 above, II, 448; translation from Hinnebusch, n. 96 above, 196.

123 Clermont-Ferrand, BM, ms 62 (see Leroquais, Missels, II, 120-121; Brehier, n. 115 above, 109-127). Despite a later note written at the Dominican convent in Clermont after Aycelin's death there, that the manuscript was made for the cardinal at Santa Sabina in Rome, the script and ornamentation is French, as Leroquais observed.
134v) and once for the votive mass (fol. 276v). No female saints are depicted. His personal interest, expressed by singling out the Passion and Trinity, contrasts with the Paris friars’ choice of female saints and St. Louis to distinguish the Poissy group.

Two of the Poissy manuscripts include a nun in prayer as part of the illumination of a selected feast (Figs 9 & 10), a relatively common practice in contemporary Dominican illustrated books. In German and English manuscripts the friar or nun is sometimes named (Fig. 66), thus reinforcing a specific association with an individual or a house; such personalisations can be frequent even within the one book in nuns’ illustrated manuscripts from the Province of Germania. The practice in the Poissy manuscripts compares more closely with the way in which large choirbooks made for Flemish nuns around 1300 incorporate anonymous nun worshippers into a single historiataied initial per book. Two of these antiphonaries, illustrated in Franco-Flemish style, depict one or two Dominican nuns in worship before the Virgin and Child (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms 6431, fol. 299v and ms 155, fol. 396v) in similar fashion to the representation in the Poissy diurnal (Fig. 9); a nun also kneels at the foot of the cross in the Crucifixion scene of a gradual (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms 6435, fol. 4). The Paris friars personalised their own books in the same way, to judge from a Bible which was probably made for them in the third quarter of the thirteenth century and which shows a friar kneeling in prayer beneath the introductory scene of the Crucifixion (Sotheby’s, 29 November 1990, lot 98, fol. 4). In like manner a nun kneels at the side of the Annunciation scene which introduces the Poissy Marian compilation (Fig. 10), while such representations of religious in prayer differ only in dress from those of laypersons in their Books of Hours (cf. Figs 9 & 12).

The different tradition represented by the illustrations in the psalter section of a contemporary diurnal made for the Dominican nuns at Rouen (Rouen BM ms A.580) has already been discussed. Moreover, despite the eight depictions of Passion events at the psalter divisions, the six images in the office section of this book illustrate only feasts in honour of Christ and the Virgin. In contrast to the Poissy group no Dominican or other saint is represented. There are textual differences, too, between this and the Poissy diurnal since the latter, as was common, does not contain a complete psalter but only the psalms relevant to the daytime offices.

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126 Sotheby’s Sales Catalogue, 29 November 1990, 124-132, lot 98.

127 Christological feasts (temporale) illustrated in Rouen, BM ms A.580 are Epiphany (fol. 264v) and Resurrection (282). All four Marian feasts (sanctorale) are illustrated: Purification (307v), Annunciation (310), Assumption (328) and Nativity of Virgin (332v).
Another contemporary diurnal (Summer) is associated with the Dominican nuns at Val-Duchesse near Brussels (London, BL, ms Harley 2449), and offers a different contrast to the Poissy group.\footnote{Variously defined as 'Orationes in vigiliis sanctorum' or a breviary, the volume in fact contains the complete day-hours for Dominican worship (cf. Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, II, London, 1808, 692; G. Vitzthum, Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei, Leipzig, 1907, 181). Its provenance is given by an obit added to the calendar on 4 May: 'Simplex. Anniversarium domine sororis Ioannes de Durbuy priorisse sororum vallu ducesse'. Presumably it was made for use by the nuns there. The Offices of St. Louis (1301) and Alexius (1307) are additions to the manuscript which was illustrated by two hands, the minor worker providing only two inferior full-page miniatures which precede the temporale and sanctorale.
} It too is extensively illustrated with a greater stress on the sanctorale than the temporale and uses the same iconography for the feasts of St. Dominic, namely the heavenly ladder for the primary feast (cf. figs 37 & 38) and the miracle of the books which fail to burn for the Translation (cf. figs 35 & 36). This book, though, places a greater pictorial emphasis on the apostles; in addition to Peter and Paul the feasts of another five are illustrated. On the other hand, apart from the usual Marian feasts, female saints are not represented.\footnote{London, BL, ms Harley 2449: illustrations in temporale (7) are Resurrection (fol. 19v), Judgement of Solomon or Massacre of Innocents (full-page miniature, fol. 54v), Ascension (55), Pentecost (64), Entry into Jerusalem (full page miniature, fol. 78v), Trinity (79), Blessing of Church (119). Illustrations in sanctorale (16) are Annunciation (127), Translation of St. Dominic (160), Barnabus (165), Mary at Tomb (full-page miniature, fol. 167v), Angel speaks to Zacharias (Birth of John the Baptist, fol. 168), Peter and Paul (178), Noli me tangere (Mary Magdalen, fol. 195), James (202), Dominic on ladder (210), Doubting Thomas (222v), Assumption BVM (223), Dormition BVM (230v), Bartholomew (231), Nativity BVM (243), Simon and Jude (267), All Saints (269).
} Of significance, too, are the very different arrangements of the illustrated pages. In the Poissy group, and in all other Dominican manuscripts from Paris and Rouen which have been discussed, the illumination occupies only a small proportion of the page. The illustration of this Franco-Flemish diurnal includes full-page miniatures and large historiated initials with border animals and hybrids (Figs 36 & 38). The ornamentation is dominant and the resulting mise-en-page contrasts strikingly to the identically-sized Poissy diurnal (Fig. 35). For whereas the large initials in the Val-Duchesse diurnal are centrally placed between just two lines of rubric and text, commanding attention in a manner characteristic of many Books of Hours,\footnote{Also similar to a Book of Hours is the illustration of the calendar in Harley 2449, a practice absent from the relevant volumes in the Poissy group.
} the modest size and peripheral placement of the initial and subsidiary decoration in the Poissy diurnal, and all the other liturgical manuscripts in this group, means that they remain visually subsidiary to the text.

It can be concluded therefore that although not in the same de luxe category as the breviary arguably made for the king's own use, the liturgical books surviving from Philippe le Bel's commission for Poissy are distinguished by their fine quality and illumination. They fall within the range of manuscripts of equivalent value known to have been made for use by French friars and nuns in Paris and Rouen. The modest size and visual impact of their illustration ensured that these books fulfilled their principal function as an aid to the performance of the liturgy. The supplementary design, including the border which is part of the major ornament and a predictable hierarchy of decorative initial letters, helped the user find a particular section in a complex book.
3. The king's posthumous gifts

Philippe le Bel died at an unexpectedly early age on 29 November 1314. The chroniclers differ in their accounts, but a disinterested report to the Majorcan court has been taken as strong evidence that, having fallen ill while hunting, the king was taken to Poissy to recuperate, although whether to his palace there or to his residence within the monastery is not clear. After ten days, when the king failed to recover, he was transported by boat to his birthplace, Fontainebleau, where he died shortly after. The day after his funeral his heart was deposited at Poissy; there it was later entombed in the centre of the nuns' choir where he had buried his son, Robert, in 1308. The codicil to his third testament, written on 13 November 1314 just before he died, not only ensures continuation of his endowment to the monastery but also records his generosity in small ways to both the nuns and friars, bequeathing them items from his own personal belongings. His gift to the convent, where he had installed his own confessor, Reynaud d'Aubigny, as prior, was the copy of Vincent de Beauvais' Speculum historiale that he had received from his former confessor, the Dominican Guillaume de Paris. The nuns were to receive a number of treasures to ornament the altars that he had supplied: a handsome cross which the Templars had owned, a precious stone called 'camahue,' a large cloth of gold given the king by the Hospitalers, a chalice he had received from his daughter, Isabel, and two further cloths of gold given him by Pope Clement V. In actual fact, however, the king's eldest son, Louis X, kept these treasures for his own use, paying the nuns an annuity of 400 l.t. instead. Though it is likely that the friars did receive their manuscript since it was already in the possession of the prior, no copy of the work in its entirety is known to have survived from the house.

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Philippe le Bel's foundation and endowment of Poissy included provision for books. This commission was mediated by the Dominican friars in Paris who spent considerable sums of money on book production well before the monastery was ready for habitation. The survival of a small number of the manuscripts designed for use in various aspects of

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131 Ch. Baudon de Mony, "La mort et des funérailles de Philippe le Bel d'après un compte rendu a la cour de Majorque", Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 58, 1897, 5-14.
132 The residence, described as situated within the monastic walls ('maisons bâties par le roi dans la clôture de ce monastère'), was complete in December 1312 when the king gave the prior at Poissy responsibility for its protection (Chapoutin, n. 33 above, 347; Moreau-Rendu, n. 49 above, 70).
133 Bernard Gui, "Necnon e chronico regum francorum", RHGF, 21, Paris, 1855, 708.
134 Item librum vocatum Speculum Historiale, quem nobis dedit frater Guillelmus de Parisius, quondam confessor noster, legamus ad usum fratrum apud Pissiacum commorantium, quem quidem librum habet penes se frater Reginaldus, nunc confessor noster' (Archives Nationales, J 403 no. 18; Boutaric, n. 89 above, no. 44; Douët d'Arcq, n. 89 above, 278-279). The book was not given to the Poissy nuns as is often stated.
135 Archives Nationales, J 403 no. 18 (Boutaric, Douët d'Arcq, as n. 134 above). The king also made similar gifts of altar fittings, vestments, etc. to a number of other churches and chapels.
137 Two manuscripts contain extracts from the work: Marian material in Clm 10056; and its final chapters concerning the Antichrist, in Évora, Biblioteca Pública ms CXXIV/1-12.
monastic life at Poissy, both by the nuns and friars, allows some assessment of the scope and nature of the royal commission. All volumes are de luxe productions, illuminated with gold and illustrated; some include nun-portraits. Yet the ornament never overwhelms their primary purpose — the transmission of a text to be read or words to be sung to music. Rather, it acts as an aid to the use of an often complex book. Each manuscript therefore remains very much a functional object with its particular design matched to its purpose. The Dominican requirement for correct, functional texts was thus satisfied, while the fine quality and embellishment of the manuscripts reflect the king's wish that his foundation should display the 'munificence of a ruler'. Philippe le Bel is not known to have supplied the house with any further books apart from his personal copy of the Speculum historiale which he bequeathed to the friars at his death.
Chapter Three

Illuminated Liturgical Manuscripts  
(c. 1335 — c. 1345)

A second closely-related group of books made for use in the choir of the church of Saint-Louis survives from Poissy. In many ways these volumes resemble the earliest manuscripts from the house, those commissioned by the founder. They date more than fifteen years after the king’s death in 1316, by which time the nuns were well-established in the monastery. Small, eminently portable, illustrated psalter-processionals also survive from this time.

1. Celebration and devastation

The consecration to St. Louis of the large Gothic church was the major monastic event during the decade when these books were produced. The long-awaited occasion had been delayed until almost thirty years after the nuns’ entry in 1304. This was despite Philippe IV le Bel’s intention that the church be ready much earlier, at least by 1312 when he petitioned Pope Clement V for, and was granted, indulgences for those who would attend the dedication, its anniversary and on other specified feast days during the inaugural year.1 The two Bulls were later confirmed by Clement V’s successor, John XXII, on the eve of the actual ceremony.2 The next day, 12 February 1331 (n.s.), the Archbishop of Sens, in the presence of King Philippe VI de Valois and twenty-five archbishops and bishops, solemnly dedicated the church to the founder’s grandfather, St. Louis.3 Two years later the saint’s

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1 BOP, I, 1729, 122-123; Regestum Clementis Papae V ex Vaticanis archetypis, Year 7, ed. Monks of St. Benedict, Rome, 1887, 50 (no. 7810), 62-63 (no. 7876); the Bulls were issued from Vienne on 8 April 1312. The selected feasts are defined therein as the major celebrations at Poissy: the Nativity and Resurrection of the Lord, the feasts of the Blessed Mary Virgin, Louis, Dominic and Peter Martyr, Good Friday (and the Dedication).

2 Confirmed by John XXII at Avignon (BOP, I, 1729, 122-123, 193).

3 The future Pope Clement VI, then archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops of Paris and Chartres are among the ecclesiastics known to have taken part in the ceremony (M.-D. Chapotin, A travers l’histoire dominicaine, ancienne et contemporaine, Paris, 1903, 392).
grand-daughter Marie de Clermont became prioress as Philippe le Bel had planned, while at this period the community included a number of other princesses of the French royal house. 4 The richly-endowed foundation was functioning to design.

In 1346, however, the approach of the English army under Edward III caused the nuns to vacate their premises. They fled to Paris for an unknown period while the English king stayed in the monastery itself and the Black Prince took over the royal palace at Poissy. The army's sojourn was short, lasting only while the bridge at Poissy was repaired between 13-16 August. The English spared the monastery, but burnt surrounding towns and countryside. In this richly productive area the incendiary devastation of royal forest and of summer crops ready for harvest was considerable, and it is recounted that the smoke was visible from Paris. 5 This no doubt diminished substantially the income of the extremely well-provided house since the nuns took much of their revenues and daily sustenance from the area and had grazing, silvan and other rights there. 6

The Black Death, which was in the Paris region from mid-1348 to the end of 1349, 7 probably had a similarly adverse effect on the monastic income. Whether the plague directly affected the monastery itself is not known since almost no documents survive for the period. However, a large part of the nuns' royally-endowed income came from the revenues of agricultural production on land owned in the regions of the Ile-de-France and Normandy and from varied riparian mercantile interests such as milling and the supply of goods to Paris via the Seine; very little came directly from the royal treasury. 8 It is likely, therefore, that at least the material well-being of the house was significantly reduced during

4 Marie de Clermont was elected to the prime office on the founding prioress' death in 1333; other princesses at Poissy at this time were Isabeau de Valois, Isabeau d'Alençon and Isabeau d'Artois — also descendants of the patron St. Louis — and the latter's cousin Marie de Bretagne. See, for example, Anselme, Histoire généalogique, I, 1726, 101 (Valois), 270 (Alençon), 451 (Bretagne); M.-D. Chapotin, Études historiques sur la Province de France, Paris, 1890, 139-140; S. Moreau-Rendu, Le prieuré royal de saint-Louis de Poissy, Colmar, 1968, 60-61.


6 For sources of the nuns' revenues see Philippe le Bel's foundation charter, Paris, Archives Nationales, II 2 (published in Moreau-Rendu, n. 4 above, 311-316); C.-V. Langlois, "Registres perdus des archives de la chambre des comtes de Paris". Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques, 40, 1916, 352-378; O. Dufourcq-Latron, Le monastère royal de saint-Louis de Poissy depuis la fondation (1304) jusqu'à l'institution de la Congrégation Gallicane (début du XVIe) in Position des Thèses... École nationale des chartes, Paris, 1929, 82-87. Surviving cartulary documents from Poissy dating from this period (and/or later copies) are catalogued in H. Lemoine, Département de Seine-et-Oise, Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Archives ecclésiastiques, Series H, Corbeil, 1944, 73H.


8 As n. 6 above.
the particularly ravaging effects of the disease on the populations of Paris, Normandy and regions along associated water-routes.

2. Books for mass and office

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Egeron ms 3037 (Missal)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, Private collection - Sotheby's 4.6.74, Lot 2919 (Breviary)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, ms *096 I/R66A (Antiphonary)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 107 (Breviary - Winter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 602-603 (Breviary)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia Museum of Art, ms 45-65-7 (Gradual)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chantilly, Musée Condé ms 804 (Breviary)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Six illustrated liturgical manuscripts made for use in the newly dedicated church have survived from this period. The closely-knit group was produced in Paris and, except for the missal which was designed for the use of the priest-celebrant, the books pertain to the part played by the nuns in the celebration of the Divine Office and the mass. In this section I shall examine the form and embellishment of the manuscripts in order to investigate the requirement of the Poissy nuns for their liturgical books, how this influenced the appearance of the manuscripts, whether this differed from their earlier books and, more speculatively, how the commission might have been carried out. To define more precisely the relationship between the appearance of the manuscripts and their specific function I shall compare them with selected liturgical books made contemporaneously in Paris.

a. Ornamentation and appearance

The group consists of three unnoted breviaries and one antiphonary for the Divine Office, a missal and a gradual-prosar for the mass.9 The breviary now privately owned in London is perhaps the earliest, liturgical dating placing it between 1332 and 1336.10 It is a one-volume compilation. The other two breviaries (Arsenal 107 and 602-3) are divided into separate summer and winter volumes. Together with the missal (Egerton 3037) they date liturgically

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10 The presence of St. Servatius in the calendar and contents indicate that the manuscript could not have been written before 1332 when the addition of the saint's feast to the Dominican liturgy was confirmed (Leroquais, n. 9 above, I, ci), nor very long after 1336 since the feast of St. Martial, confirmed in this year (*ibid.*), was later added to the original text.
to between 1336 and 1348.\textsuperscript{11} Only the winter volume of Arsenal 107 is extant.\textsuperscript{12} In the Dominican calendar which introduces each of the five volumes the Dedication of the Church of St. Louis is inscribed on 12 February, showing that all manuscripts were produced for use in the church at Poissy. In addition, express references to \textit{sorores} in Masses for the Dead in the missal indicate that it was designated for use by the celebrant conducting services for the nuns.\textsuperscript{13} In view of the impact in the years 1346-49 of war and disease on Poissy itself — disruptions to monastic life and decrease in income as discussed above — and the decimating effect of plague in Paris where the manuscripts were produced,\textsuperscript{14} it may be reasonably inferred that all the books were made before the nuns' temporary departure from the monastery in 1346.

The two chant-books in the group, the antiphonary and gradual, are less readily dated and located since they contain only the sung proper items and have no calendar. A Poissy provenance for the antiphonary (Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, ms *096 1/R66A) was first proposed by François Avril, and the late Pucellian-derived style of the illustrations dated to 1335-1345.\textsuperscript{15} The provenance has now been confirmed by the identification of the antiphon to SS Sebastian and Yves (fol. 424) as a processional item pertaining uniquely to an altar at Poissy dedicated to the two saints.\textsuperscript{16}

The liturgy in all these books is, of course, Dominican, as is that of the gradual (Philadelphia, Museum of Art, ms 45-65-7), which has been incorrectly catalogued for the Use of Paris even though it includes the Dominican feasts of Saints Dominic, Peter Martyr and Thomas Aquinas.\textsuperscript{17} Like the other manuscripts, the gradual is illustrated and highlights the feast of St. Louis with a portrait. Here, though, the feast is exceptionally treated since Louis is the only post-biblical saint depicted; not even Dominican saints are thus privileged. The Parisian artistic style reveals late-Pucellian influence (Fig. 41). The text is largely

\textsuperscript{11} The feast of St. Martial (confirmed 1336) is present and that of St. Vincent, which was confirmed at the level of totum duplex in 1348 (\textit{ibid.}), is still ranked at the previous level of semi-duplex.

\textsuperscript{12} It appears that as early as the fifteenth century only the one volume was in existence since the inscribed ownership formula is in the singular, 'Ceste legende est a seurs...'. whereas the known two-volume breviaries at Poissy were inscribed during the same period in the plural, 'Ces legendes sont a seurs...'; once in each volume (Arsenal 602-3) or 'Ces belles legendes appartiennent a seur...' (Belleville Breviary, Paris, BN ms lat 10483-4). It is conceivable that only the winter volume was completed.

\textsuperscript{13} 'Sorores' and 'sororum' are added in the original corrector's hand in the margin of fol. 227v for use instead of 'fratres' and 'fratrum'. In a number of respects a degree of confusion attended the first attempt to transcribe the missal, but omissions and errors were amended before the book's production was complete (see Catalogue entry). A \textit{rituale} for Lent and Easter, inserted in the second half of the fourteenth century, specifically uses the feminine forms 'soror', 'cantrix', etc. (fols 239v-241), thereby reinforcing the connection of the manuscript with the sisters in their choir.

\textsuperscript{14} For the drastic effects of the plague on the capital as described by the chronicler of St. Denis, the chronicler of the Carmelites in Reims, the continuator of Guillaume de Nangis and Jean de Venette see P. Zägler, \textit{The Black Death}, Harmondsworth, 1969, 78; G. Deaux, \textit{The Black Death} 1347, London, 1969, 105; Gottfried, n. 7 above, 55.

\textsuperscript{15} Marion and Vines, n. 9 above, 177-178.

\textsuperscript{16} The altar was added to those first established in the church (see Appendix 4). For further discussion see Chapter 1 Part 3 and Catalogue entry, and J. Naughton, "The Poissy Antiphonary in its Royal Monastic Milieu (Melbourne, State Library of Victoria ms *096 1/R66A)", \textit{La Trobe Library Journal}, 13, 1993, 38-39.

\textsuperscript{17} See Fuye and Bond, n. 9 above, 470.
unabbreviated, stress-marks are placed over even basic Latin words, and a Kyriale with instructions in French was added later. These features point to a destination and continuing ownership at a female house, where neither confidence in the pronunciation of Latin nor a literary comprehension of the language was likely to be universal. There is, therefore, little doubt that the gradual was made for a wealthy establishment of Dominican nuns near (or in) Paris who especially venerated St. Louis; this was almost certainly Poissy. The inclusion of a sequence for St. Louis shows that his feast was celebrated at the highest grade, which was indeed the practice at the monastery. Moreover, a gradual-prosor of a comparable personal size and with similar arrangement of texts was later made by one of the Poissy nuns, indicating that the particular format of this gradual was one established in the house. Stylistically its ornamentation dates to between 1335 and 1345. It is thus contemporary with other manuscripts in the group, all of which were probably made in the period 1332 to 1346.

If it is accepted that these six books — in seven volumes — were destined for Poissy from the outset, then can we discern whether any particular pattern was impressed on their production? In order to compare more readily the imagery in the four types of liturgical compilation I shall, in general, disregard the psalter section of the breviary, apart from noting that the illustrative pattern conforms to 8-partite Parisian (and Poissy) precedent: David harping for Sunday matins (Psalm 1), pointing to his eyes or anointed by Saul for Monday matins (Psalm 26), etc. There are no large choirbooks; the size of the manuscripts ranges from 29 x 20 cm for the antiphonary — just inside the modern A4 sheet — to 17 x 12 cm for the gradual, about three-fifths this size (Table 3.1). The antiphonary and breviaries — the nuns' books — are significantly larger than their counterparts from Philippe de Bel's commission although the size of the missal remains constant (see Table 3.1). The thickness of the volumes increases with their dimensions.

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18 The nuns' Constitutions required only that the choir sisters achieve a phonetic and musical literacy in the range of liturgical texts (CIm 10170, fol. 138). Nonetheless, Latin instructions are the norm in liturgical manuscripts made for Poissy; rubrics in French are confined to late additions. Marks placed over the stressed syllable of polysyllabic Latin words to aid in pronunciation are found in a number of the books. They have been added mostly to passages to be read aloud before the conventual gathering or in church, and include some of the lessons in Arsenal 107, a breviary of the present group. I know of no other Poissy book in which sung texts are so treated, although stress-marks in the Philadelphia gradual are confined to words chanted on a repeated or almost invariant note. See Chapter 2 Part 2b for incorporation of stress-marks during production of books made for reading aloud.

19 All the sequences in the manuscript occur in two other compilations which were made and updated at Poissy in the fourteenth century: the c. 1300 illustrated missal (Garrett 41) which was twice updated c. 1330-1350 and a small, very modestly decorated prosor (Boston 80.504), probably made and updated c. 1330-1360 (then updated further in the fifteenth or sixteenth century): see Appendix 2. Apart from certain commemorations of the Virgin, for which the liturgy was universal, sequences were chanted only during solemn masses for the highest ranked (tutum duplex) Dominican feasts (W. R. Bonniwell, A History of the Dominican Liturgy, New York, 1944, 92).

20 New York, Union Theological Seminary, The Bourke Library, ms DeR 52. The manuscript was made c.1580-90 by Marie de Fortia for her aunt Geneviève de Courtin, both nuns at Poissy. It measures 170 x 107 mm, the textblock 137 x 86 mm. Compare the measurements 168 x 121 mm; 120 x 83 mm for the Philadelphia gradual.

21 See summary tabulation in Table 2.1; for a wider consideration of this illustrative tradition see G. Haseloff, Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert, Kiel, 1938, 21-33, Tables 4-6.

22 The pages of the manuscripts have, however, been cropped during later rebinding. None survives in its original covers.
(Table 3.1) so that each presents as a compact, rather chunky and slightly heavy book, portable but not without some effort. Similarities in their production are manifest. All are written on fine quality vellum, flawless and smooth, in a very clear gothic liturgical hand using two sizes of script; there are few abbreviations even for liturgical instructions. Although transcription is by a single hand throughout each manuscript, most, if not all of the six books involved a different scribe.23 Two quire sizes are used: twelve folios for the breviaries and missal, written in two columns, and eight for the chantbooks, in which the music and text are written in long lines. The hierarchical decorative patterns are similar in all manuscripts, and depend upon the differing size of initials rendered alternately in gold and blue, with pen-flourishing in blue or red. The flourishing is modestly developed and extended into generous margins with the result that there is negligible competition with the text.24 Calligraphic cadels provide another emphatic element in the chant-books (Figs 41 & 58) and clarity is at all times paramount.25 The calendars are unillustrated scribal productions, enlivened with a pen-flourished gold and blue KL monogram for each month; gold, blue and red inks emphasise chosen feasts (Fig. 47).

### Table 3.1. SIZE AND ILLUSTRATION OF MASS- AND OFFICE-BOOKS FROM POISSY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Museum</th>
<th>Size (mm)</th>
<th>Pages with illustration &amp; border</th>
<th>Height x Width</th>
<th>Page thickness</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BREVIARY</td>
<td>London, private collection</td>
<td>215 x 144</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BREVIARY</td>
<td>Arsenal 107 (Winter)</td>
<td>211 x 158</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BREVIARY</td>
<td>Arsenal 602 (Winter)</td>
<td>237 x 161</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BREVIARY</td>
<td>Arsenal 603 (Summer)</td>
<td>235 x 165</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MISSAL</td>
<td>Egerton 3037</td>
<td>285 x 200</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTIMONY</td>
<td>Melbourne 8096 I/R66A</td>
<td>168 x 121</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRADUAL</td>
<td>Philadelphia 45-65-7</td>
<td>180 x 120</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1. NUNS' COMMISSION (1330s-1340s)

### 2. EARLIER COMMISSION (c.1300)

23 Dr. Christopher de Hamel has kindly examined photocopies from each manuscript, cautioning that although there are differences between the hands, the scribes are very similar, and warning that some perceived differences might be due to the different scales involved.

24 For further full-page reproductions of the Melbourne antiphony and London breviary see Manion and Vines, n. 9 above, figs 175, 180; J. Stinson, "The Poissy Antiphonal: A Major Source of Late Medieval Chant", *La Trobe Library Journal*, 13, 1993, figs 7-12, plates 20-21; for the breviary Arsenal 602-3 see Leroquais, n. 9 above, II, plates XL-XLI.

25 See also Manion and Vines, n. 9 above, plate 37, fig. 179.
At a higher ornamental level are the pages on which selected feasts are illustrated, or highlighted by initials painted in a vineleaf pattern in gold, blues and pinks. These are the only pages graced with a border, a narrow bar also painted in gold and colours, and extended to frame the text on at least three sides via unobtrusive vineleaf terminals (Figs 41-44, 46, 58 & 62). Sometimes the borders terminate in dragons, and very rarely a hybrid figure, while small birds perch in a few of the borders of the London breviary (Figs 48-49). Again, there is a minimum of interference with the words and notation, as is appropriate for books whose function was to prompt their users to particular verbal and musical responses at a precisely defined moment, usually in concert with others. The number of illustrated pages ranges from seventeen in the gradual to thirty in the summer breviary (Arsenal 603). Most illustrations, though not all, are about 6-lines high and more or less square. They are very much a minor part of each manuscript; the majority of historiated initials and miniatures occupy little more than one-tenth of a page, continuing the practice in the earlier group of manuscripts (compare the two antiphonaries: Figs 1 & 58). Illustrated pages are limited to only 2-4% of the total number of pages in any one book, with the greatest percentage in the missal, again following the practice in the earlier group (see Table 3.1).

How is this decorative emphasis distributed in the present group of manuscripts? The summary in Table 3.2 points up two distribution patterns. Either the decorative elements are ranged singly and widely or, as in the London breviary and the missal, they are concentrated around selected feasts with the result that these two manuscripts present an air of heightened luxury when open at one of the chosen feasts. The celebrations given this treatment include the First Sunday of Advent and Easter Sunday in the missal (Fig. 42) and the feasts of the Dominican saints and St. Louis in the breviary (Fig. 46). Again, two similar schemes of distribution were used in the manuscripts of the earlier group (cf. Tables 2.1 and 3.2).

Interestingly, the overall pattern of illustration of the present group of manuscripts, in which fewer feasts are emphasised in the temporale than in the sanctorale, is not shared by the gradual where the decoration of the sanctorale is far less dominant, even to the omission of all Dominican saints as mentioned above (Table 3.2). This has its origins in Dominican precedent, and can be traced back to the primary decorative emphases given feasts in the 'prototype' manuscripts produced in Paris the 1250s. In all cases a relative concentration of ornamentation on the temporale gives the gradual a distinct Christological emphasis (Table 3.4). The programme of embellishment in the antiphonary also reflects that of the prototypical Dominican manuscripts, as did the antiphony of the earlier group (see Table 3.3).

26 One variant initial is filled with a red oakleaf design (Egerton 3037, fol. 209v), a background motif which may be characteristic of the 'Pucelle Workshop' (see K. B. Morand, Joan Pucelle and his Workshop, PhD Diss., University of London, 1958, 215).

27 On these manuscripts see Chapter 1 Part 2, including nn. 64-65.
Table 3.2. ILLUSTRATION-DECORATION PROGRAMMES IN 1330-1340s POISSY LITURGICAL VOLUMES

Includes only feasts emphasised with an illustration in at least one manuscript

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporale</th>
<th>Breviary Arsenal 107</th>
<th>Breviary Arsenal 602-3</th>
<th>Breviary Private Coll.</th>
<th>Missal BL Eg 3037</th>
<th>Antiphonary Melb. SLV</th>
<th>Gradual Phil. Mus. Art</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Sunday of Advent</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
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<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
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<td>d</td>
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<td>DEDICATION OF CHURCH</td>
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<td>H</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanctorale</th>
<th>Breviary Arsenal 107</th>
<th>Breviary Arsenal 602-3</th>
<th>Breviary Private Coll.</th>
<th>Missal BL Eg 3037</th>
<th>Antiphonary Melb. SLV</th>
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<tr>
<td>PURIFICATION OF THE VIRGIN</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANNUNCIATION</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PETER MARTYR</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSLATION OF DOMINIC</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIRTH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PETER AND PAUL</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commemoration of Paul</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARY MACDALEIN</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
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<td>DOMINIC</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurence</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartholomew</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOUIS</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUGUSTINE</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beheading of Baptist</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Archangel</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>H</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10000 Virgins</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL SAINTS</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commemoration of the dead</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Katherine</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office &amp; mass of the Virgin</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H = Historiated initial with border  d = decorated initial  f = Pen-flourished initial  / = Outside range of book

Feasts ranked in turn duplex at time of production of the manuscripts are shown in capitals.

The triple-decorated sections are London Breviary; first vespers; matins, first lesson; matins, responsory to first lesson. Missal: miniatures(s) above or below alleluia (Canon: Te ignis initial); officium (introit). Single historiations emphasize the first lesson of matins of the other breviaries, its responsory in the antiphonary and the introit in the gradual.
Table 3.3. DECORATIVE-Illustrative Programmes IN DOMINICan PrototypAL And POISSY AntiphonARIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dominican Prototypes</th>
<th>Poissy Antiphonaries</th>
<th>Melbourne, SLV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santa Sabina</td>
<td>Add 23935</td>
<td>Add 30072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c.1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Sunday of Advent</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVITY OF THE LORD</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPIPHANY</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EASTER SUNDAY</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Resurrection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASCENSION</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENTECOST</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOLY TRINITY</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctorale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEPHEN</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHN THE EVANGELIST</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURIFICATION BVM</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANNUNCIATION</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PETER MARTYR</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Martyrdom with sword</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSLATION OF DOMINIC</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Translation of body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVITY JOHN THE BAPTIST</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Baptism of Christ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PETER AND PAUL</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commemoration of Paul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARY MAGDALEN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOMINIC</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSUMPTION BVM</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Dormition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOUIS</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>King Louis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUGUSTINE</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVITY BVM</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Bathing new-born Virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Archangel</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL SAINTS</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of feasts given major emphasis:

- Sanctorale: 4-5, 7, 6
- Temporale: 7, 15, 17

F = Pen-flourished initial  
D = Decorated initial, usually vine-leaf pattern  
/ = Not applicable; book either predates introduction of a feast or does not cover certain feasts

Sundays and feasts embellished only in Melbourne antiphonary (with decorated initial) have been omitted (1st Sunday after Epiphany Octave; Quinquagesima Sunday; Invention of Cross).

Feasts celebrated at the highest rank (totum duplex) in the 1330s are written in capitals.

Table 3.4. DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR EMBELLISHMENT DEVICES IN DOMINICAN PROTOTYPAL AND POISSY GRADUALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prototype S. Sabina</th>
<th>Add 23935</th>
<th>Poissy c. 1340s</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Temporale</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>First Sunday in Advent</td>
<td>d [d]</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVITY OF THE LORD</td>
<td>d f</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPHPHANY</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EASTER SUNDAY</td>
<td>d f</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASCENSION</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENTECOST</td>
<td>d f</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOLY TRINITY</td>
<td>d f</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION OF CHURCH</td>
<td>d f</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sanctorale</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIRTH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOUIS</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIRTH OF VIRGIN</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Archangel</td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL SAINTS</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commemoration of Dead</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of feasts emphasised:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sanctorale</th>
<th>Temporale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H = Historiated initial with border  D = Decorated initial, usually vine-leaf pattern  f = Pen-flourished initial  [] = Space left for initial; incomplete  l = Not applicable; book predates introduction of feast.

Feasts ranked toto duplex at time of production of manuscripts are in capitals.

Poissy gradual = Philadelphia Museum of Art ms 45-65-7; Prototype = Rome, Santa Sabina, ms XIV L.1; Prototype copy = London, British Library, Add. ms 23935.

In general, though, the feasts selected for illustration are similar in all the manuscripts; the most common are documented in Table 3.5. To some extent more highly ranked feasts are more likely to receive pictorial definition, but there seems to be no absolute rule. Illustrative emphasis is placed on the major Christological events of the temporale, and Marian and Dominican festivities in the sanctorale, together with the feasts of St. Louis and John the Baptist, both of whom were specially honoured at Poissy. St. Louis was given a patron saint’s eminence while John the Baptist was to some extent regarded as an exemplar by the Dominicans, the Friars Preachers, who saw themselves as his successors — preachers who should also operate from a basis of poverty. As was usual in France, the feast of the Trinity is represented by the Throne of Mercy (Gnadenstuhl) — the Father holding the crucified Christ while the dove-Holy Spirit descends between them (Fig. 41). The preference accorded Pentecost (illustrated in all six books) over the Ascension (illustrated in four) may reflect the fact that in Dominican liturgy the celebration of Pentecost was

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28 Humbert of Romans, Opera de vita regulari, ed. J. J. Berthier, Torino, 1956, I, 90. Processional offices for the feasts of saints Louis and John the Baptist (and the Nativity of the Virgin) were celebrated at Poissy in addition to the universal Dominican processional liturgy (see Appendix 6).

29 The alternative representation of the Trinity — two identical seated figures towards whom the dove descends — was reserved for a literal illustration of the opening words of Psalm 109 in the Psalter: ‘Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede a dextris meis…’.
Table 3.5 ILLUSTRATION OF FEASTS IN 1330-1340'S MASS- AND OFFICE-BOOKS FROM POISSY
Includes only feasts illustrated in three or more books

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st San. of Advent</td>
<td>Isaiah &amp; Virgin</td>
<td>Vision of Isaiah</td>
<td>Vision of Isaiah</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
<td>Priest raises soul</td>
<td>Priest raises soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVITY OF LORD</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPIPHANY</td>
<td>Adoration of Magi</td>
<td>Adoration of Magi</td>
<td>Adoration of Magi</td>
<td>Adoration of Magi</td>
<td>Adoration of Magi</td>
<td>Adoration of Magi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EASTER SUNDAY</td>
<td>Resurrection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Resurrection</td>
<td>Resurrection</td>
<td>Resurrection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascension</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Resurrection</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENTECOST</td>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOLY TRINITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORPUS CHRISTI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pentecost</td>
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</table>

Sanctorale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consent</th>
<th>Martyrdom</th>
<th>Martyrdom</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>Martyrdom</th>
<th>Martyrdom</th>
<th>Martyrdom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PURIFICATION BVM</td>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>Presentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THOMAS AQUINAS</td>
<td>Saint teaching</td>
<td>Saint teaching</td>
<td>Saint teaching</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANNUNCIATION</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PETER MARTYR</td>
<td>Standing saint</td>
<td>Martyrdom</td>
<td>Martyrdom</td>
<td>Standing saint</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSIL DOMINIC</td>
<td>Saint on ladder</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Standing saint</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVITY BAPTIST</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Holds agnus dei</td>
<td>Baptism</td>
<td>Birth scene</td>
<td>Holds agnus dei</td>
<td>Holds agnus dei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PETER AND PAUL</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Peter's crucifixion</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Peter's crucifixion</td>
<td>Standing saints</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commem'n of Paul</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Martyrdom</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Martyrdom</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARY MAGDALEN</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Standing saint</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>Noli me tangere</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOMNIN</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Saint on ladder</td>
<td>Saint on ladder</td>
<td>Saint on ladder</td>
<td>Saint on ladder</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSUMPTION BVM</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Coronation</td>
<td>Dormition</td>
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<td>Dormition</td>
<td>Coronation</td>
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<td>King Louis</td>
<td>King Louis</td>
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<tr>
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<td>/</td>
<td>Birth scene</td>
<td>Birth scene</td>
<td>Birth scene</td>
<td>Birth scene</td>
<td>Birth scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Archangel</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Standing angels</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Saint slays dragon</td>
<td>Saint slays dragon</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL SAINTS</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Group of saints</td>
<td>Group of saints</td>
<td>Group of saints</td>
<td>Group of saints</td>
<td>Group of saints</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ = outside range of book — = feast unillustrated in manuscript
Feasts ranked totum duplex at time of production of the manuscripts are shown in capitals.
See Table 3.2 for feasts illustrated in less than three books and individual Catalogue entries for more detailed descriptions.

extended into the next two days maintaining the highest rank (totum duplex) throughout, a privilege the feast shared with Easter Sunday. This may respond to the special meaning Pentecost had for a religious order such as the Dominicans; its members saw themselves as the successors of the Apostles whose divine empowerment for mission is commemorated in this feast.\(^{30}\) The Ascension received a different kind of liturgical emphasis, being among the

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limited number of feasts whose celebration the Dominicans extended beyond the choir into a processional office.

Among the female saints, Mary Magdalen is represented in three manuscripts. The Virgin Mary was considered the special protectress of the Order,31 and most of the books illustrate the four Marian feasts observed in Dominican liturgy — the Purification, Annunciation, Assumption and Nativity of the Virgin. But apart from these instances, and even though the books were made for use in a female house, there is a lesser tendency to single out female saints for depiction (8% of all representations of single saints apart from the Virgin Mary) than in the books made before the nuns' entry (19%). Indeed, in two of the present breviaries (London, private collection and Arsenal 603) a generalised group of undifferentiated female saints for the feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins acts as a companion-piece to the next illustration, a similarly generic group of anonymous male saints for the feast of All Saints (Figs 44-45; 48-49). And, apart from Mary Magdalen and the Virgin Mary, the only other single female saint whose feast is highlighted at all is St. Katherine, who attracts just a small 4-line votive illustration in Arsenal 603. (The same low illustrative emphasis is also given saints Denis and Martin, especially revered in Paris; and these three feasts are illustrated only in this more expansively illuminated two-volume manuscript.) Since St. Katherine was frequently depicted in Dominican works as a learned preacher who was martyred by unbelievers, her minimal representation in this group of manuscripts compared with the earlier group may simply hark back to Dominican tradition.32 One can conclude, overall, that the more limited representation of individual female saints in these manuscripts commissioned by the sisters relative to those earlier commissioned for them, indicates that there was no obvious intention by the nuns overtly to emphasise particular female saints in their choirbooks because of any sense of

and communal life being prescribed in the Benedictine rule (Cap. 48; 9: The Rule of St. Benedict, ed. T. Fry, Collegeville, Minn., 1981, 250-251). The Dominican precept, reflected in the motto 'Contemplare et contemplata aliis tradere,' is aimed more towards apostolic evangelical ambitions. The teaching mission given the apostles by Christ and the sacred power and authority imparted to them with the Holy Spirit was celebrated on the day of Pentecost, a model for the preaching activity of the Dominicans who likewise moved outwards from a central point. Part of the duty of the nuns, whose liturgical obligation was identical with that of the brothers, was vicariously to share this task by ensuring its success through devotion to liturgy and their prayers for the friars (letters of the friars Raymond of Pefiafort and Peter Martyr to the Dominican priresses in Bologna and Milan, translated in S. Tugwell, Early Dominicans, London, 1982, 409-411; J. B. Walker, "Dominicans - Sisters", New Catholic Encyclopedia, 4, 1967, 984).

31 The final liturgical obligation of the day, which was sung processionally after compline, was the Salve Regina. In this way the Dominicans nightly hailed the Virgin, who had recommended the Order to Christ, as their patron and protectress (Bonniewell, n. 19 above, 148-155; J. L. Cannon, Dominican Patronage of the Arts in Central Italy: The Provincia Romana c.1220-c.1320, PhD Diss., University of London, 1980, 233). The nuns at Poissy may well have been particularly well versed in the legends surrounding the special and intimate relationship between the Virgin and the Order. Two texts in a Dominican compilation housed at the monastery, containing material for Marian devotion and worship (Paris, BN ms fr 12483), treat the subjects 'Pour quel cause on dit salve regina misericordie, apres complie en l'ordre des freres prescheurs' (fol. 194v) and 'De nostre dame qui dessous son manuel gardoit especial les freres prescheurs' (fol. 236v). The manuscript, now fragmentary, is contemporary with these liturgical books; it is discussed in Chapter 4 Part 2b. For further details see Catalogue entry and A. Längfors, "Notice du ms fr 12483 de la Bibliothèque Nationale", Notices et Extraits, 39 (Part 2), 1916, 503-562.

32 See Chapter 2 Part 2c, including n. 111.
identification, reverence or compassion on their part. The same is not true of the patron saints of their church and their order, St. Louis and St. Dominic.

Although, in general, single saints are shown in action and only rarely in the alternative mode as standing figures with symbolic attributes (Table 3.5), St Louis is always the sainted king, even to the extent of there being two almost identical portraits of him in the one book — the London breviary (Figs 50 & 51). There is no attempt to depict his miracles (nor, in the present group of manuscripts, those of other saints) despite their lengthy narration in the liturgy and the existence of Parisian models for their illustration both in books, and in stained glass. Rather, St Louis stands nimbed, but accoutred as the kings of France who had succeeded him. He too wears regalia, his clothing embroidered with a semé of fleurs-de-lys (Figs 50-51, 53) and his cloak lined with vair (Fig. 50). In his hands he holds variously a sceptre (antiphonary and gradual), a sceptre and book (London breviary), a model of the Sainte-Chapelle and the main-de-justice (breviary, Arsenal 603) or the full royal coronation insignia of the sceptre and main-de-justice (missal and London breviary). The sceptre and main-de-justice, held in left and right hands respectively, had entered the ordo of coronation drawn up in the 1260s, towards the end of Louis IX's reign. Like his successors King Louis is usually clean-shaven, and only in the London missal is he shown with the beard which he wore during the later years of his life. Exactly the same imagery was used in the Franciscan breviary made for Queen Jeanne d'Evreux (Chantilly, Musée Condé ms 1887, fol. 335v), contemporary with the Poissy group.

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33 The lessons to be read during his feast and its octave, which these manuscripts show to have been celebrated at the highest rank at Poissy, recall the saint's life and miracles. The same events which are described verbally in the liturgy were recreated pictorially to illustrate the Hours of St Louis and his Life in books made for female members of the royal house and illustrated by Jean Pucelle and his close associates. The following manuscripts are notable among those made in Paris: (1) Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2) dated between 1325 and 1328; (2) a copy of Guillaume de Saint-Panthus' Vie et miracles de saint Louis (Paris, BN ms fr 5716) dated in the early 1330s; (3) Hours of Jeanne de Navarre (Paris, BN ms n.a. Lat 3145) dated c.1336-1340. For dating and illustration of the St Louis series in each see: (1) F. Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France, London, 1978, 53-59; idem, "Manuscrits" in Les fastes du gothique: Le siècle de Charles V, Paris, 1981, 292-293; (2) E. A. R. Brown, "The Chapels and Cult of Saint Louis at Saint-Denis", Mediaevalia, 10, 1984, 293-295, 320 n. 55 citing François Avril; Avril, "Manuscripts", 299-300; (3) M. Thomas, "L'iconographie de saint Louis dans les Heures de Jeanne de Navarre" in Septième centenaire de la mort de saint Louis, Paris, 1976, 209-231; Avril, "Manuscripts", 312-314.

34 Similar narrative models in stained glass had for some time been publicly visible at St Denis, completed by 1303 (since destroyed), and Fécamp, dated c.1310 (Brown, n. 33 above, 283-289).


37 For reproduction see S. C. Cockerell, The Book of Hours of Yolande de Flanders, London, 1905, fig. 11.
of the saint had been added around 1317 to the Registre des ordonnances de l'hôtel du roi (Paris, Archives Nationales, J1 57, fol. 20) written between 1261 and 1317: crowned, nimbed and bearded, the king is dressed in coronation robes, his cloak a chlamys fastened at the shoulder in contrast to the Poissy representations where it is fastened in front, and he holds in his hands the symbols of royal power, the sceptre and the office of justiciar, the main-de-justice (Fig. 52).38 This very imagery was soon to be used for sepulchral effigies of the French kings. The first, the shrine containing the heart of Philippe le Bel surmounted by a gisant holding the sceptre and main-de-justice, was placed in the centre of the nuns' choir at Poissy in approximately 1327.39

Several other comparable representations earlier than those in the Poissy manuscripts are known. A glass panel from Saint-Père de Chartres (1297-1305) shows the saint similarly clad, holding a book and sceptre.40 A small sculptured figure of the standing king holding a sceptre and placed upon a tomb is depicted in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (fol. 102v), and again, but this time set upon an altar and holding the main-de-justice, in a copy of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus' Vie et miracles de saint-Louis (Fig. 54). Arguably this object refers to an actual gilt-silver statue, now lost, which was paid for by the Abbey of St. Denis in 1299 and which probably stood on the altar in the chapel dedicated to the saint.41 Its pictorial representation points up the popularity of the devotional cult practised by royal and common people alike at the saint's tomb and altar.42 The imagery used for St. Louis in our small group of manuscripts appears therefore to derive more or less directly from a royally sanctioned artistic trend in Paris at the time, as exemplified by the representation added to the royal register described above (cf. Figs 50 & 52) and the sculptured image of the saint that was part of his cult at St. Denis (cf. Figs 53 & 54). In contrast, the enthroned bearded saint of the earlier antiphonary (Fig. 39), wearing coronation regalia (though the cloak again not fastened as the chlamys) and holding both sceptre and main-de-justice,


39 Although the tomb was destroyed, probably at the French Revolution, it is known from a drawing commissioned by Gaëtières (Paris, BN, ms Clairambault 632: for reproductions and discussion see Erlande-Brandenburg, "Priorale", n. 35 above, 111-112, fig. 21; E. A. R. Brown, "Personas et Gestas: The Image and Deeds of the Thirteenth-Century Capetians. 3. The Case of Philip the Fair", Viator, 19, 1988, 225-226, fig. 9). The sculpture can be dated c. 1327 when payment was made for the alabaster for the tomb (B. Prost, "L'histoire des arts en France", Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 36, 1887, 237). It represented the king as laid out in coronation robes and regalia during the three days after death when he was still accounted 'alive' (A. Erlande-Brandenburg, Le roi est mort. Étude sur les funéraires, les sépultures et les tombes des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle, Paris, 1975, 19-22; E. A. R. Brown, "The Ceremonial of Double Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X", Traditio, 34, 1978, 229; eadem, n. 35 above, 276-286). Philippe le Bel was the first king actually to hold the main-de-justice on his deathbed, as was later represented in the Poissy sculpture (Erlande-Brandenburg, op. cit., 121).

40 Lillich, n. 36 above, 241-252, figs 1 and 3.


42 The illustrations provide a logical sequence: in the Saint-Pathus Vie, pp. 285 and 370, crowds of cripples and others approach the unguarded shrine; in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, fol. 102v, the queen prays from an oratory to the image in the chapel, guarded by soldiers, which is now empty of other worshippers.
resembles more the imagery on contemporary royal seals (Fig. 40), although the depiction might derive from statues of the enthroned saint at the Sainte-Chapelle.\textsuperscript{43}

Martyrs are usually represented in these manuscripts undergoing the torments associated with their deaths and not as standing votive figures holding the instruments of their martyrdom. Saints Paul and Peter Martyr are beheaded, Peter and Andrew tied to their crosses, Bartholomew is flayed, Stephen stoned and Laurence roasted on the grill.\textsuperscript{44} St Dominic, too, is invariably depicted at the birth of his heavenly life, according to the vision of the Prior of Brescia which occurred at the exact moment of the saint's death. The event is narrated in the final lessons for the octave of his feast:

And he saw in his mind's eye a kind of opening made in the sky, and through the aperture were lowered two gleaming ladders. The one was held at the top by Christ the Lord, the other by his mother. And angels of light were hurrying up and down the rungs. But look, between the two ladders was placed a seat with someone sitting upon it who appeared to be a friar, for his face was covered with his hood, in the way in which dead brothers of the Order are buried. Then gradually Jesus Christ and his Mother pulled the ladders upwards, the seated friar drawn with them until he was carried up to the psalm-singing angels in heaven. With his welcome there, and the return of the ladders and seat, the opening in the sky was closed and the vision disappeared.\textsuperscript{45}

This theme, uncommon in France, is depicted simply and there is little variation between the five representations in these manuscripts. All show one ladder instead of two (Figs 55-58, 62), and scant account is paid to the details of the text: no seat is depicted, rarely do the holders of the ladder appear, and only in the London breviary is the saint shown with his cowl over his face, or as obviously dead. Nonetheless the illustrators seem to have had some knowledge of the particular iconography required since the heavenly opening, two or more angels, and the ladder with the saint on its lower rungs are consistently portrayed. (Compare the deviation from the text in a contemporary Tuscan psalter-antiphonary where Dominic, alone, actively climbs a ladder held by a hand from heaven.)\textsuperscript{46} The compositions are, however, more basic than that which had been used for the scene in the c.1300 Poissy antiphonary (Add 30072) where Christ and his Mother hold the ladder while the prior in the convent at Brescia and a second building (perhaps that in which Dominic died) flank the scene (Fig. 37). Their simplicity matches that of a c.1300 diurnal illustrated in a Franco-Flemish style for the Dominican nuns at Val-Duchesse near Brussels, BL Harley 2449 (Fig. 38).

\textsuperscript{43} Compare Brown, n. 33 above, 294, plate 16 and n. 63. The enthroned bearded saint was also depicted in the Savoy Hours made in the 1330s for Blanche de Bourgogne (Yale, Beinecke Library, ms 390, fol. 3v; reproduced in R. S. Wieck, "The Savoy Hours and its Impact on Jean, Duc de Berry" in Beinecke Studies in Early Manuscripts, The Yale University Gazette, Supplement to Vol. 66, 1991, 160, fig. 1).

\textsuperscript{44} For reproductions of martyrdom of St Paul (Melbourne antiphonary) and of Peter Martyr (London breviary) see Manion and Vines, n. 9 above, figs 179 and 180.

\textsuperscript{45} Arsenal 603, lessons 7-8 from octave of feast of St. Dominic, fol. 287v. The Latin text is in essence identical with that printed in Monumenta Historic a Sancti Patris Nosri Dominici. 2. Libellus de principiis ordinis praedicatorum, Acta canonizationis, Legendae Petri Ferrandi, Constantini Urbeveteri, Humberti de Romans, ed. H. C. Scheeben, MOPH, 16, 1935, 55.

\textsuperscript{46} Sotheby's Sales Catalogue, 7th December, 1982, lot 70, fol. 237v.
Preliminary study suggests that other early use of this visual theme in Dominican books is found in the second half of the thirteenth to the early fourteenth century in female houses of the Dominican Province of Germany, its literary description already enlivening the numerous hagiographical accounts produced within the Order in the thirteenth century.47 A lectionary made for nuns at Regensburg in c.1267-76 contains an early representation: the hooded saint is seated on a low rung, resting his head on his hand in meditation and witnessed by nuns and friars of the Order, while Christ and the Virgin hold the ladder from above (Fig. 60).48 Before the mid-fourteenth century the imagery was established in Italian books and altar panels (usually as a relatively small, subsidiary narrative image in the latter),49 in Franco-Flemish manuscript art and the Paris-originating volumes made for Poissy which have been treated above. The ladder-imagery stems directly from the biblical account of the link formed between earth and heaven by Jacob’s Ladder (Genesis 28:12).50

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47 The event is absent from the canonisation acts but is part of the accounts of Dominic’s life by the Dominican authors Jordan of Saxony, Petrus Ferrandus, Constantinus de Urbeveteri, Humbert of Romans (lessons for matins), Jean de Maillé and Jacobus da Voragine (Scheeben, n. 45 above, 70, 249, 332-333, 421-422; Jordan of Saxony, On the Beginnings of the Order of Preachers, ed. & transl. S. Tugwell, Dublin, 1982, 24; Tugwell, n. 30 above, 59; Jacobus da Voragine, Legenda Aurea, ed. T. Graesse, Osnabrück, 1969 (facsimile of 1890 edition), 478-479).

48 Oxford, Keble College, ms 49, fol. 130 (M. B. Parkes, The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College Oxford, London, 1979, 227-242). Other German examples illustrate the mass liturgy for the saint’s feast in fourteenth-century graduals. Some of these fittingly match the length of Dominic’s ladder to the letter ‘I’ of the sequence ‘In celesti’ or the introit ‘In medio ecclesie’, as in Zürich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, LM 26117, fol. 261v, made for the nuns of St. Katharinenthal in the Canton of Thurgau (for facsimile see E. J. Beer et alii, Das Graduale von Sankt Katharinenthal, 2 vols, Lucerne, 1983); Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, ms 21897, fol. 236v, probably made for the nuns of St. Catherine’s in Nuremberg (H. Swarzenski, Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau, Berlin, 1936, plate 103); Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek Cod. 173, fol. 110, perhaps made for the nuns at St. Gertrude’s in Cologne (B. Jessberger, Ein dominikanisches Graduale aus dem Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts (Cod. 173 der Diözesanbibliothek Köln), Merseburg, 1986, fig. 321). The imagery also enlivens the letter G in a choirbook fragment, Chicago, Art institute 1919.980, whose architectural details, as Dr. Adelaide Bennett generously conveyed to me, are identical to those of illustrations in the foregoing manuscript and therefore almost certainly comes the same workshop in Cologne. I also thank Dr. Bennett for alerting me to Dr. Jessberger’s publication.

49 Italian manuscripts which develop the theme include fourteenth-century choirbooks from Bologna and Gubbio (see Cannon, n. 31 above, 196, 480, 483, figs. 95, 107). In a fifteenth-century gradual from northern Italy (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, ms L3691-1963) a marginal roundel with the theme occurs on the first folio beneath the historiated feast of St. Andrew at the start of the sanctioire. Perhaps it had some kind of instructive purpose. Altarpieces and fresco cycles that include the theme among narrative descriptions of the saint’s life usually render the scene literally with two ladders rather than the manuscripts’ one, but sometimes in the saint’s soul, enclosed in a mandorla, carried heavenwards. Among these are a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century triptych from S. Pietro Martire in Naples (1); Francesco Traini’s triptych of St. Dominic from the Church of S. Caterina in Pisa painted in 1344-45 (2); and an altarpiece of St. Dominic by Fra Angelico (now in the Louvre), from S. Domenico at Fiesole (3). Frescoes cycles incorporating the theme are preserved in the church of S. Domenicano at Fano, painted by Ottaviano Nelli (4); and in the Oratorio di S. Domenico in the church of S. Filastrio at Tavernole sul Mella, Brescia (5). See J. Gomez Moreno et al., “A Sieneese St. Dominic Modernized Twice in the Thirteenth Century”, Art Bulletin, 51, 1969, 363-366, fig. 17 (1); M. Meiss, “The Problem of Francesco Traini”, Art Bulletin, 15, 1933, 96-173, fig. 19 (2); J. Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, 2nd ed., London, 1974, 215-216, fig 427 (3); R. van Marle, The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting, VIII, The Hague, 1927, 338, fig. 233 (4); G. Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North West Italy, Florence, 1952, 239, fig. 335 (5).
and was used widely in Byzantine and Western literary and visual descriptions of apotheosis and heavenly reward.\footnote{30}

It is perhaps pertinent that this imagery also has an inbuilt exemplary function, such a heavenly ascent being the goal held out to those who followed the Dominican way. In the Poissy manuscripts, though, the message is only implied, unlike the quite explicit visual definition in a gradual from 1312 which was owned by the Dominican nuns at Sankt Katherinental in the Lake Constance region.\footnote{31} In this image an angel grasps the raised hands of the saint to convey him up the ladder while a nun, identified by inscription as Katharina de Radegge, follows in identical pose three rungs below (Fig. 59). Beneath the ladder is the exemplary means by which such grace is to be attained: Dominic sits in fixed, open-eyed meditation resting his head upon his hand as in the Keble College lectionary, his book now closed on the desk before him.\footnote{32}

\footnote{30} '...and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending it.'


Ladder imagery also frequently formed the basis of contemplative manuals written by Western theologians, for example the twelfth-century Carthusian Guigo II's Scala Claustriam of four rungs, 'the ladder of monks by which they are raised from earth to heaven' (see S. Tugwell, Ways of Imperfection, London, 1984, 93-102) and the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux's twelve-rung Tractatus de Humilitatis et Superbia (PL 182: 941-971). Bernard's treatise was illustrated by Siger, a Benedictine monk at Anchin, in a twelfth-century three-volume production of the saint's writings in similar fashion to the later depictions of Dominic's apotheosis (Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 372, fol. 100). The composition incorporates the ladder into the structure of the letter T, upon which angels ascend and descend, linking Jacob asleep at its foot (the Devil nearby) with Christ in heaven above, between St. Benedict and St. Bernard (E. A. Escallier, L'Abbaye d'Anchin, Lille, 1852, 110; A. Boutemy, "Enluminures d'Anchin au temps de l'Abbé Gossuin (1131/1133 à 1165)", Scriptorium, 11, 1957, 245, plate 26a). I thank M. François Avril for alerting me to this illustration.

\footnote{32} Zürich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, LM 26117 (see Beer, n. 48 above and F. O. Büttner, Initiatio Pietatis, Berlin, 1983, passim).

Except for the attention paid to Dominican saints, the decorative and illustrative content of these manuscripts follows common Parisian patterns. Books of similar appearance, decorated in gold and illustrated to the same modest extent, were made around this time for Paris churches. The missal, Arsenal 608 is a case in point. Its eighteen small historiated initials illustrate a similar range of feasts and share with the Poissy manuscripts Parisian iconographical and compositional elements. Apart from a double-page rendering of the Crucifixion and Christ in Majesty at the Canon of the Mass, it is so like our group that despite a liturgy which pertains to Notre-Dame in Paris it has often been incorrectly attributed to Poissy. As I have already pointed out, the volumes of the present group also reveal a striking similarity in format, lay-out and decoration to the liturgical manuscripts dating to about 1300, and commissioned by Philippe le Bel from as early as 1298 for the incipient entry of nuns into his new foundation. The distribution of decoration and illustration and the restrained use of gold are comparable in both sets of liturgical books (compare, for instance, Figs 1 & 41, 3 & 43). Modest pen-flourished or painted capitals in conjunction with small-sized historiated initials for selected feasts establish similar hierarchies of ornamentation, and only the pages with historiated initials have decorated borders. Since the manuscripts from each period are written on like quality vellum and project an almost identical mise-en-page, their production is likely to have cost an equivalent amount of money. Nevertheless, the two sets do not exactly correspond. The feasts selected for illustration are now more fixed than in the earlier volumes, the apostles and St. Katherine less prominent, and the representations chosen for St. Dominic's two feasts have become invariable.

But to what extent are other feasts represented by exactly the same theme in each of the books in the present group? Do there now seem to be rules laid down by the Dominicans for illustration? Table 4 shows that there is still a range of variation. For example, the First Sunday in Advent is illustrated in the Melbourne antiphonary by the Annunciation (fol. 4v), even though this image is again used for the feast of the Annunciation itself (fol. 249). In the breviaries, however, the beginning of Advent is illustrated by the more usual depiction of Isaiah, the author of most of the readings for this season. He either points to his vision of the Lord in Glory or stands beside the Virgin Annunciatrix whom his words were considered to have foretold (Arsenal 107). (The massbooks, as customary, adhere to a literal rendition of the opening words of the officium [introit], 'Ad te levavi animam meam...', by showing a priest standing before an altar who raises towards God his soul in the form of an homunculus or small child.) The feast of the Assumption of the Virgin is illustrated either by the Byzantine Dormition or by the more recent Western image of her Coronation, well-known since the twelfth century through its presence on the entry portals of Gothic cathedrals both in Paris and throughout the Ile-de-France. Both representations had been used in the earlier group of manuscripts made for Poissy, although only the Dormition appears in the liturgical books.

54 Discussed in Chapter 1 Part 2.
55 Reproduced in Naughton, n. 16 above, plates 16 and 17.
The feast of the Birth of John the Baptist prompts the three different themes which had been used in the earlier manuscripts made for the house: the saint's actual birth; his baptism of Christ; or a representation of the saint with the agnus dei signifying Christ, the Saviour of the world, whose coming the Baptist had announced. To some extent the choice of theme now depends on the accompanying text. In the London breviary, for example, the Baptism accompanies the opening words of the first lesson for matins: 'Tu ille iohannes qui deum baptizasti...'; while the responsory for the first lesson in the Melbourne antiphonary, 'Fuit homo missus a deo...', is heralded by a depiction of the saint's birth. However, a more-or-less literal visualisation of the text is not routine, and a generalized image of the saint holding the agnus dei serves to introduce the prophecy of the mass introit in both the missal and gradual, 'De ventre matris mee vocavit me dominus nomine meo...'; (Isaiah 49:1) as well as the gratuitous preliminary words of the first lesson in matins in the breviary, Arsenal 603, 'Sollemplitates nobis diversorum martirum...'.

Finally, the illustration of the newly introduced feast of Corpus Christi, which celebrates the doctrine of transubstantiation independent of the mass service, is still, however, visually dependent upon the ritual of the mass. In all of the manuscripts the celebrant raises the host as he faces the altar. But whereas in the missal a human priest enacts this rite (Fig. 65), in the breviaries Christ himself is the celebrant (Figs 63 & 64). Flanked by angel attendants instead of human ministers, his hailed figure provides a visual interpretation of the vespers antiphon: 'Sacerdos in eternum Christus...panem et vinum obtulit'. The development and spread of this image, recently charted by François Avril, appears to have been centred on work carried out for members of the French court and religious houses, like Poissy, which were not part of the Dominican order.

56 It will be noticed that there are two sets of lessons for the feast in the Poissy breviaries. The sung items remain constant. I have found no record of any changes promulgated in the Dominican Chapter acts. The 'Sollemplitates' set appear to be the earlier and are found in the Dominican prototype (c.1256), the Poissy breviary Arsenal 603 (apparently dating after 1336), and the Belleville Breviary (c.1323-1326). The series 'Dicte (Sancte) iohanes: tu ille iohannes' must be a replacement, perhaps peculiar to Poissy, since this office follows with the newly-confirmed offices for Corpus Christi and Thomas Aquinas at the rear of the psalter-processional, Waddesdon ms 2, dated to the 1330s. Their presence in the London breviary, near-contemporary if not slightly earlier than Arsenal 603 in which the earlier office persists, may indicate a greater knowledge by the scribe of the rite at the monastery, perhaps only because better instructions were issued. But no updated version was transcribed in Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Rawl. liturg. e 2, a fifteenth-century compilation made by the Poissy nuns of offices which had been added or had undergone change since the early fourteenth century. Possibly the use of these lessons was discontinued.

57 Introduction of the feast was from the mid-thirteenth century supported by Dominicans associated with Liège, where the celebration had originated among the beguines (M. Rubin, Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture, Cambridge, 1991, 164-185). Two different offices were added around 1300 to an antiphonary at the Dominican monastery of Marienuth near Brussels (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale ms 139, fols 106-109: L. M. J. Deleassit, "A la recherche des origines de l'office du Corpus Christi dans les manuscrits liturgiques", Scriptorium, 4, 1950, 221-223; T. J. Mathiesen, "The Office of the New Feast of Corpus Christi in the Regimen Animarum at Brigham Young University", Journal of Musicology, 2, 1983, 14-15). Yet the Dominican Order was in general slow to accept the feast, and only after 1324 does its celebration appear to have been enforced. Although first ratified by the Chapters General in 1304-05-06 (Bonninwell, n. 19 above, 224) and its adoption ordered by Pope Clement V in 1311, even in 1318 there seems still to have been no acceptable office: 'De officio vero magister ordinis studere providere'. The introduction was approved the following year. In 1321 an alteration in the instructions for the Ordinary was introduced, including directions for the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi as totum duplex with octave. The directions were confirmed in 1323, a year before the confirmation of the feast itself which would in future be obligatory throughout the order, and would use the office 'editum, ut assertur' by Thomas Aquinas (ACGOP, II, 109, 120, 128, 142, 149).
were closely linked to it.\textsuperscript{58} However, though the mass theme consistently introduces Corpus Christi in the Poissy manuscripts this was not obligatory in French Dominican books of the period: the Last Supper, for example, was chosen to illustrate the feast in a missal written in 1336 by a friar at the convent at Evreux (Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 581, fol. 163).\textsuperscript{59}

It seems, therefore, that although each liturgical type of manuscript in this group generally follows Dominican precedent for the embellishment of a given feast, the specific subject matter chosen to illustrate the feast, except perhaps in the case of Dominican saints, shows no evidence of a rigorous adherence to a fixed Dominican (or Poissy) visual canon. Rather, it appears to depend on themes being explored by Parisian artists at large, with the result that in most cases the imagery is closely related — although not necessarily identical — from book to book. This continues the trend we have observed in the earlier group of manuscripts which the Paris friars had made for use in the monastery. The lack of a fixed illustrative programme has also been observed for liturgical manuscripts made in the thirteenth century for use by Dominican friars in the Dominican Province of Romania.\textsuperscript{60}

A number of artists contributed to the manuscripts. The same illustrator's hand does not appear in more than one book, while three or more worked on the London breviary and on Arsenal 602-3. One artist worked right through the winter volume of the latter (Arsenal 602); his wide-eyed figures are earnestly intent and, like the Virgin in the Nativity who hugs her child closely to her, they recall Pucellian work (Fig. 43).\textsuperscript{61} But four different illustrators contributed to the summer volume, each associated with a quite distinctive border construction and range of background patterns. Most of these historiated initials are the work of two hands, the straight-backed, rather dour-looking figures of the artist of the psalter section and early temporale contrasting with the slightly stooping, and at times rather harum-scarum figures later in the book whose robes are painted in rich, saturated colours including a distinctive vivid green (Figs 44 & 45). Two other hands were responsible for only two embellished pages each. One worked in an ungainly, strongly monumental style; the large, squat figures seem to burst out of the initial which itself escapes from its surrounds (Fig. 64). The other produced the two smallest initials, only 4-lines high near the bottom of the page on widely-spaced gatherings.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{58} F. Avril, "Une curieuse illustration de la Fête-Dieu: l'iconographie du Christ prêtre élevant l'hostie, et sa diffusion" in Rituals: Mélanges offerts au Père Gy OP, Paris, 1991, 39-54; although the Poissy missal does not share this illustrative theme it is known from contemporary missals and other books used during the mass (ibid., figs 4-6, 68n).

\textsuperscript{59} Leroquais, Missels, II, 243; Avril, n. 58 above, n. 4.

\textsuperscript{60} Cannon, n. 31 above, 144.

\textsuperscript{61} Compare, for instance, Pucelle's Flight into Egypt (Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, fol. 83: Avril, n. 33 above, plate 7). In the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre, illustrated by Jean Noir and other Pucelle-influenced artists, the Virgin of the Nativity both suckles her child (fol. 50: K. Morand, Jean Pucelle, Oxford, 1962, 20, plate XVII) and holds him close to her (fol. 143v) in scenes of similar immediacy and intimacy to Arsenal 602. The Christchild in the Nativity of the other Poissy manuscripts lies in the usual crib-altar.

\textsuperscript{62} The completeness of all these manuscripts is worth remarking upon: letters lacking appropriate embellishment are almost nonexistent. Such careful finishing may stem from the righting of any omissions which would be noticed when the mandatory correction against a certified exemplar was undertaken; it is tempting to imagine that the fourth artist in this volume, who is responsible for small initials, out-of-the-way and easily missed, was involved in such a circumstance.
Most of the artists responsible for the illustration of the other manuscripts in this group worked in a late Pucellian-style. Their figures are relatively stocky (Fig. 53) and can be rather stiff (Fig. 41); assailants are often pugnaciously energetic. In contrast to this trend is the work of the final painter in the London breviary whose tall, fine-featured, willowy females convey some of the refined elegance of the style associated with Maître Honoré, the Parisian illuminator active in the later thirteenth century (Fig. 48, cf. Fig. 13).63 The more painterly and softly rounded features of the missal miniaturist are at variance with the linearity characteristic of most of the other hands in these books, and instead of their strong colour contrasts (used to offset, for example, a cloak against its visible lining), attempts are made to render the effects of 'shot' silk and diaphanous fabrics (Fig. 65). Unfortunately the paintwork of the miniatures in this manuscript has worn extremely badly; it is muddied to an obfuscating dull grey-brown early in the book and is flaking elsewhere.

All of these finely-crafted books, with their gold embellishments and small images framed by decorated borders, are unarguably luxury items. But their ornamentation is relatively restrained when compared with that of the breviary made at the same period for Blanche de France, a Franciscan nun at Longchamp and cousin to several choir-sisters at Poissy.64 The miniatures in her book are considerably larger and greater in number. At a height of twelve lines of text, they occupy a fifth of the page, while some eighty nine pages of this breviary, including the calendar, are illustrated; their illuminated borders are richly populated with hybrid figures. More profuse and costly ornamentation of the text is also evident throughout the rest of the book, for gilded and painted initials hierarchically order the text on every page and regularly project into the margins via decorated extensions inhabited by birds; this secondary ornamentation is also in great contrast to the discrete, and considerably less expensive flourishing in scribal inks which fulfils the same purpose in the Poissy manuscripts. A further distinction occurs in the rubrics: those in the Franciscan breviary are rendered in French while all the Dominican manuscripts retain the Latin of the primary exemplars, including the sometimes long introductory considerations of authorship before the lessons in the breviaries.

A second contemporary breviary which provides a telling comparison is the Belleville Breviary, produced under the direction of Jean Pucelle (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 10483–4). This Dominican office-book was apparently made for a female lay patron, Jeanne de Belleville, and its design reveals a considerable didactic input by the friars.65 The calendar and psalter section are heavily illustrated with theological themes intended both to

64 Vatican Library, ms Urb. lat. 603. The owner was the daughter of Philippe le Bel's third son King Philippe V and Jeanne d'Artois et Bourgogne. Although a nun she was somewhat sheltered by her protective mother and sisters who received papal dispensations to stay with her at the monastery before she took her vows, a privilege overused by the queen who then received a caution for too frequent visits (Brown, n. 35 above, 271-272, nn. 16-17). Her very devoted relatives may have commissioned the lavish book.
65 Evidence from royal inventories indicates that this manuscript and a similarly finely-made missal which has not survived were made for Jeanne de Belleville, and later confiscated by the Crown with other property from her husband Olivier de Clisson. See Catalogue entry for further details.
instruct and to stimulate contemplation, while a preliminary text in the vernacular explains the meaning of the pictures. Throughout the manuscript no expense seems to have been spared in production: multi-illustrated pages are numerous and an ivy-leaf border terminating in dragons or humorous hybrids surrounds the text on every page. The two volumes were also specially arranged to help cushion the difficulty of use during the Easter period and the apparent owner, a mature female wearing secular dress and wimple, is portrayed in three illustrations. It seems clear that the book was produced for its lay female owner to follow — pictorially at least — while the Divine Office was chanted in a chapel or in church. Although it later found its way to Poissy — as a gift to Marie de France in the fifteenth century — all evidence indicates that while at Poissy the breviary was maintained throughout as a luxury item to be rarely, if ever, used in choir; it was never updated or changed to suit liturgical custom at the house.

The considerable differences in original purpose and function between the Belleville Breviary and the manuscripts of the Poissy group is highlighted by a comparison of their respective illustrations of the office of St. Dominic. In the Poissy books, as we have seen, this office is heralded by the one small depiction of Dominic on the heavenly ladder (Figs 55-58, 62), an event which is narrated in the lessons for the octave of the feast. By contrast, the Belleville Breviary presents the user with an illustrated didactic account of Dominic as founder of the Order of Friars Preachers. Of the five scenes depicted from the saint’s life only the first two refer to events recounted in the office as transcribed in this manuscript: the early indication of his outstanding destiny through the star on his forehead (ms 10484, fol. 270v) and his role as preacher (fol. 271). The legends that follow (fol. 272) do not belong to the liturgical text they accompany. At the top of the page is the dream of Pope Innocent in which Dominic (representing the new Order) reinforces the toppling Lateran church. In the lower margin Innocent’s successor, Honorius, hands Dominic the document approving the new Order. Dominic’s vision, in which saints Peter and Paul endorse the itinerant preaching vocation of the friars as a continuation of the apostolic tradition by presenting him with both book and staff, completes the sequence (Fig. 61).

The absence of this type of expansive pictorial content from the liturgical books expressly designed for Poissy reflects their intended function. The lay owner of the Belleville Breviary could either follow the text of the service or contemplate its didactic illustrations. A similar choice was not permitted the Poissy nuns. Two well-defined periods each day, one after matins-lauds, the other after compline, were prescribed by the rule for meditation and

67 See Catalogue entry for details of the original make-up of the manuscript.
68 For details of refurbishment of the Belleville Breviary while at Poissy see Chapter 4 Part 3 and Catalogue entry; its ownership at the house is further discussed in Chapter 6 Part 2b.
69 These particular legends are also absent from the breviaries in the present group of manuscripts. They did, though, form part of the far more extensive readings for the feast of St. Dominic in Humbert’s revised Dominican lectionary of the 1250s (London, BL Add ms 23935, ff. 218v-223v) and are common to contemporaneous Dominican hagiographical accounts of the saint. See, for instance, Legenda aurea, n. 47 above, 468-469.
contemplation. The daily duties to be performed in choir were quite different, namely to sing (mainly in unison) correctly, loudly and clearly the Dominican liturgy as formulated in their rule and charter. Clarity of text and music were of paramount importance in the books intended to assist with this. Small illustrations which would help in finding the place after the necessary switching between various parts of the liturgy during services were thus appropriate, whereas visual narrative sequences which required a distracting meditative application were not. Based on Dominican-Parisian precedents, therefore, the illustrative and decorative schemes in the books of the Poissy group allowed a fine line to be drawn between functional tools and the de luxe possessions appropriate for liturgical use by nobly-born women, or, in the case of the missal, by a priest-celebrant in the imposing church of a royal monastic foundation.

b. The commission

Is it possible to glimpse any details of the commissioning of these books? In a similar manner to some manuscripts of Philippe le Bel's commission (Figs 9-10, 39) two of the breviaries in the group make visual reference to their nun owners: in Arsenal 602 a nun-hybrid prays in the margin by an image of the Annunciation (Fig. 66); and in the London breviary three Dominican nuns sing before a lectern (Fig. 67), replacing the male cantors that usually illustrate the psalm 'Cantate Domino' and summing up the book's purpose in a particularly identifiable way. Breviaries at Poissy, including these, would be inscribed in the fifteenth century with the names of a pair of owners, who presumably had entered together and were destined to sit side by side daily in the choir stalls until one either succeeded to a senior monastic office or died. Possibly, then, these breviaries were personally owned in this way from the outset, though the chantress and nun-sacristan, who were officially responsible for the availability, correctness and good condition of the books to be used for the Divine Office and the mass, probably advised on the purchase of new volumes. The comparable decorative elements in each of these manuscripts, the matching quality of their materials and execution, and their consequent similar costs support this supposition. As discussed above both textual and stylistic elements point to a main production period after about 1335, so possibly the books were ordered as a consequence of the nuns' recent


71 The Constitutions of the nuns at Poissy required that the liturgy be sung fluently and distinctly: 'tractum et distinctio', which presupposes the ability to read (or reproduce from memory after the sung cues of the chantress) words and music at sight from manuscripts in which the office was necessarily correctly written and checked. It was not to be sung too fast, either, due care being given to observe the medial pauses: 'in medio versus metrum cum paua servetur' (Poissy Constitutions, n. 70 above, f. 129v). The loud singing which Dominic had urged upon the choir was reiterated by the fifth Master General in his instructions to the Order (cf. Tugwell, n. 30 above, 80; Humbert of Romans, n. 28 above, II, 105).

72 Arsenal 107 was inscribed before 1473 by its co-owners Katherine la Chandellière and Katherine Nicolas; Arsenal 602-3 was given by their nun-mistress to two sisters who flourished in 1469, and then in the sixteenth century belonged to two successive single owners. See catalogue entries for details; ownership of these volumes is discussed in Chapter 6 Part 2b.

73 Humbert of Romans, n. 28 above, II, 238-239, 249. For purchase, distribution and maintenance of books at Poissy see Chapter 6 Part 2.
occupation of their new church in 1331. While we have, of course, no idea how many more volumes, now lost, formed part of this comprehensive commission of books over a decade, the large number of people involved in producing the extant manuscripts — possibly six scribes and some twelve or more illustrators — might indicate that at least some were ordered at the same time. The distribution of the illustrative workload in Arsenal 602/603 could even reflect some kind of deadline, since the number of workers increases and the proportion of gatherings each one illustrates decreases, as the book continues.

Two likely reasons for production can be considered. With the much larger church in use, more nuns could be accommodated in choir, and so either more women entered Poissy at this time or those already there were now all able to attend choir together. The production of a new antiphonary, considering that one was already at the house, points to the need for a second chantress within the large choir space, a position which may have been dispensed with while the small chapel of St. Dominic was serving the nuns. Another possible explanation is the impending ceremony at which Philippe de Valois and his first wife Jeanne de Bourgogne would present to the nuns the finely made golden reliquary which they had ordered to be made for the bones of St. Louis. Although it was not completed until 1351, soon after the deaths of the king and queen, it seems likely that the precious repository was commissioned before the troubled period between 1346 and 1349. The large silver-gilt head- or bust-reliquary was supported by the kneeling crowned figures of Philippe de Valois and Jeanne de Bourgogne and the eventual donor, their son Jean le Bon, and his wife; studded with pearls and precious stones, it carried the golden crown worn by Jeanne de Bourgogne at her coronation and entry into Paris. One would expect that the commissioners intended to present their gift during the feast of St. Louis itself. If so, then the nuns might have considered that new officebooks and massbooks were called for which were worthy of the occasion, and included the feast of their patron saint in proper liturgical order.

On the other hand, though, the manuscripts' similar format and appearance could be purely the result of patterns of production which had become established over a period of time. Whether or not a specific circumstance elicited the books' production, however, the volumes were most probably ordered during the term of the second prioress, Marie de Clermont, between 1333 and 1344; the wealthy granddaughter of St. Louis who had been brought up

74 An analogous situation occurred at Aix. In about 1330 a canon copied a two-part antiphonary then, some twenty years later, a second two-part antiphonary was transcribed by another canon. The four volumes were distributed so that the cantors on either side of the choir used one newer and one older transcription (M. Huglo, Les livres de chant liturgique, Turnhout, 1988, 93).


by his widow Marguerite de Provence,\textsuperscript{77} she may well have been the driving force behind the de luxe purchases.

It is likely that, since the transcription of each manuscript required an appropriate Dominican exemplar, the scribal work for these books was carried out in the vicinity of the convent of Saint-Jacques in Paris and if so, that their illumination took place in the same area. Recently Joan Diamond and Richard and Mary Rouse have demonstrated that in the late thirteenth century and well into the second decade of the fourteenth century Parisian manuscript production relied on a large number of small, closely situated establishments, whose proprietors shared commissions.\textsuperscript{78} One of these enclaves functioned near the rue Saint-Jacques and, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the libraire nearest to the convent was well patronised by the friars for theological and university texts between 1270 and 1342.\textsuperscript{79} Such a situation with regard to liturgical volumes would explain both the large and disparate group of illustrators of our manuscripts who were nonetheless aware that the unusual, expressly Dominican imagery of St Dominic upon the heavenly ladder was currently the appropriate theme to associate with his feast. As well as meeting the needs of the Poissy community, therefore, this group of manuscripts may reflect an established tradition for liturgical book production and illustration as supervised by the Dominicans in Paris at this time. The strong resemblance between these manuscripts and those ordered earlier by the Paris friars for the nuns' future use supports this hypothesis.

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There is one significant omission from surviving liturgical books for use during attendance at the church of St. Louis. Philippe le Bel received papal permission to build a royal residence within the monastic wall, and approval for the royal founders and family members to enter the enclosure was reiterated by Pope John XXII in 1327.\textsuperscript{80} The king's Valois successor, Philippe VI, whose sister Isabeau de Valois was a nun at Poissy from 1313 until 1342,\textsuperscript{81} was at the monastery sufficiently frequently for him to demand in 1336 that

\textsuperscript{77} Liste des prieures du monastere de S. Louis de Poissy...extraite des anciens comptes, et autres Monumens dudit Monastere..., probably Paris, n. d. (reprinted from 1644 publication), 2. Marie de Clermont survived until 1372 so her influence on the house is unlikely to have ceased when she relinquished the office of prioress in 1344 after she had become blind.


\textsuperscript{80} Lettres Communes de Jean XXII (1316-1334), ed. G. Mollat, VII, Paris, 1914, 52. For the architectural solution to the need that royal access to the church be quite separate from the nuns' areas see A. Eiranbane-Brandenburg, "Art et politique sous Philippe le Bel. La prioriale Saint-Louis de Poissy", Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 1987, 509-511.

\textsuperscript{81} In 1342 she left for Fontevraud to become the sixteenth abbess, taking four other Poissy nuns and most of her belongings, with the approval of Pope Clement VI and the Order (\textit{Gaillia christiana}, II, Paris, 1720, 1323; Chapotin, n. 3 above, 326).
he take over the friars’ dormitory for the royal attendants.  In the same year he received papal permission for his sister, with other nuns, to visit him and his queen in their royal hospice via an enclosed thoroughfare.  Philippe de Valois, as seen above, attended the consecration ceremony at Poissy in 1331. He and his first wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne, also commissioned the splendid head-reliquary for St. Louis at some time before the queen’s death in 1349. The previous queen, Louis X’s second wife Clemence de Hongrie, seems also to have had contact with Isabeau de Valois, since on her death in 1328 she bequeathed the Poissy nun a cloak.

Supposing that these royal visitors attended services in the church of St. Louis, then presumably they possessed books for the purpose. At her death Clemence de Hongrie owned two Dominican breviaries for her own use, one from which she ‘disoit ses heures’, another that was new, and a third — smaller and much less expensive — which a certain Marguerite used when she helped the queen recite her Hours. She may have used one of her breviaries at Poissy. After her death the personal breviaries were bought by king Philippe de Valois for 45 livres and 50 livres. They are not identifiable in the Louvre collection at the time of Charles V, so seem to have soon passed out of the royal collection. Conceivably, then, the kings’ family or members of his entourage could have used these books when they attended the church of St. Louis, the volumes remaining at Poissy.

There is extant a Dominican breviary (Chantilly, Musée Condé ms 804) which perhaps the Valois family commissioned for its own use. (A detailed assessment of the manuscript and argument favouring a Valois commissioner is included in the Catalogue entry.) This unillustrated breviary exhibits the ornate calligraphy of Jacquet Maci, a collaborator of Jean Fucelle who produced other books under the same royal patronage. It was executed shortly after 1336 and in the following century was owned by nuns at Poissy, although they soon sold it. The book is distinguished by a number of features which indicate that the original owner was a layperson, and not a nun of the house: an unorthodox arrangement promotes the Hours of the Virgin whose divisions are given pre-eminent decorative emphasis; the liturgy for the celebration at Poissy of the octave for the feast of St. Louis is inadequate; and the rubrics are in French. Furthermore, as well as Dominican feasts the book also includes Sainte-Chapelle celebrations which held specifically royal associations, for instance that of the relics brought there by St. Louis. Its later ownership by the Poissy nuns suggests that perhaps the book was also earlier associated with the monastery, possibly as one of those which the Valois family used in church during their numerous visits.

84 'Item, un mantelet d’un marbré brun naïf sengle, présié 100 s par.; bâillé à mons. Nicole; et fut donné à suer Isabeau de Valois' (L. Douët-d’Arcq, Nouveau recueil de comptes de l’argenterie des rois de France, Paris, 1874, 70, no. 280).
85 Douët-d’Arcq, n. 84 above, 61 (nos 196, 197, 201).
3. Portable psalter-processionals

| London, Sotheby's 9.12.74, Lot 60 (Psalter—Processional) |
| Waddesdon Manor ms 2 (Psalter—Processional) |
| [Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W115 (Psalter)] |
| *** |
| Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W107 (Processional) |

Two personal ferial psalter-processionals were also made in Paris for Poissy nuns at this period. Their illustration follows the usual Parisian psalter iconography, in common with all Poissy breviaries (see Table 2.1); both leave the processional offices unillustrated. The earlier manuscript, sold at Sotheby’s, 9th December 1974 (lot 60), dates probably to the 1320s. Its design and execution share the modest but high quality manufacture of the choirbooks considered above (Fig. 68). Waddesdon Manor ms 2 is, in contrast, an undertaking of the highest luxury. Borders in colours and gold on all pages (Fig. 96), and one gathering further enriched with hybrids arguably by the hand of Jean Pucelle, are in keeping with the sumptuous effect of the illustrated pages whose large sized miniatures permit the artists (one of whom is perhaps Pucelle’s artistic successor Jean le Noir) to endow their human-dominated, simple compositions with considerable ease of movement and a sense of spaciousness (Fig. 70). The two books are small (14 x 9 cm and 13 x 9 cm respectively), in keeping with the needs of use during movement.

Whereas the Sotheby psalter falls within the decorative norm of books made for use at Poissy — first commissioned by friars for Philippe le Bel, and later by the nuns who presumably also acted through the agency of Paris friars — the Waddesdon psalter does not. Its luxurious ornamentation and the large-scale miniatures place the manuscript close to the circle of books made in the Pucelle-le Noir workshops for royal females of the time. Accordingly, it seems reasonable to conclude that it was commissioned for one of the princesses at Poissy, perhaps by one of her relatives outside the monastery. The less ornate Sotheby psalter, on the other hand, gives every appearance that its commission — although it too could have been made for one of the highly-born nuns — came from within the monastery.

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88 As example, but bearing in mind that each of the following manuscripts also contains devotional texts and imagery outside the strictly liturgical range of the Poissy psalter-processional: an earlier Dominican horae owned by Jeanne d'Evreux who married Philippe le Bel's third son Charles IV in 1324 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2); a contemporary horae made for Jeanne de Navarre, daughter of Philippe le Bel's eldest son Louis X (Paris, BN ms n.a. lat 3145); a later psalter, of identical size with its Poissy counterpart, made for Bonne de Luxembourg who married Jean, son of Philippe le Valois, in 1332 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Inv. 69.88). Marguerite de France, the four-year-old daughter of queen Bonne de Luxembourg, would enter Poissy in 1351 only to die there in childhood (see Chapter 4 Part 1). For reproductions and summary details of these three manuscripts see F. Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France, London, 1978, plates 3-10, 15-17, 18; idem, "Manuscrits" in Les fastes du gothique: Le siècle de Charles V, Paris, 1981, nos 239, 265, 267.
Another Dominican psalter that was produced in the Pucelle environment in the 1320s could conceivably have been made for one of the princesses at Poissy. This is Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W115, whose fine Parisian manufacture and ornamental qualities are close to the two psalter-processionals from the monastery (Fig. 69). Lillian Randall, elaborating on the arguments of Dorothy Miner, considered that obits in the calendar pointed to Blanche de Bretagne as owner. Miner's argument had concluded that an obit for Philippe d'Artois (Blanche's first husband who died in 1298) and for Margaret, countess of Evreux (her daughter d. 1311), combined with the absence of an obit for Blanche's second husband, Louis, comte d'Evreux (d. 1319), meant that the manuscript was made for Blanche before 1319. This is not inconceivable. But the psalter is noted, which would have been more appropriate for use by a religious rather than a lay owner. The transcription is also restricted to the contents of the ferial psalter, an unusual feature among psalters made for French royal users at around this time, and it was certified as having been corrected against the appropriate exemplar. Possibly, then, the book was made not for Blanche, but for her daughter, Isabeau d'Artois, one of the nun-princesses at Poissy. The obit for her father and half-sister would then be appropriate, and the lack of reference to her step-father not out of order. If the psalter were intended for this nun it must have been made before 1322, when her mother died; the omission of Thomas Aquinas from the litany and collects agrees with this dating. The eight 9-line miniatures and surrounding borders at the psalter divisions place ornamentation of the book at a relatively modest level, somewhere between the Sotheby and Waddesdon manuscripts even though it is slightly larger (15 x 11 cm). Notwithstanding the similarities between this manuscript and those known from Poissy, the inclusion of notation, and a potential nun-owner at Poissy, the evidence is not sufficient to place it firmly at the house. Marks from the later attachment of a pilgrim badge could counter the likelihood of a Poissy provenance.

The final small illustrated liturgical book from this period (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W107) now contains only the processional offices, although it formerly included at least a calendar as well (see Catalogue entry). It dates more nearly to the mid-century than the books considered above and, although also made in Paris, it differs from them in a number of respects. Firstly, the illustrative style no longer reflects the main-stream Parisian treatments of the earlier manuscripts made for Poissy, but instead incorporates fresh

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90 Ibid.

influences, perhaps English or German, in the commanding monumental Christ (fol. 4v) and small-headed, mantis-like Dominican saints (Fig. 71). This seemingly abrupt change was probably a consequence of the shifting artistic environment in the capital as the Hundred Years' War continued and the English presence became more pressing. Secondly, these full-page miniatures form a four-part series which prefaces the psalter — an arrangement not found in any known Poissy forerunners to this book — although the individual processional offices are still unillustrated. The short illustrative sequence, involving pairs of saints and Eucharistic-Christological imagery, is also quite different from the biblical miniature series which a century before had prefaced de luxe royal French psalters in extended arrays. In some ways the arrangement in Walters 107 alludes to psalters made earlier in Flanders and Northern France for lay sisters under Dominican and Franciscan influence, and possibly also for enclosed Dominican nuns, as does the iconography of a pair of mendicant saints (here both Dominican) who tower over the nun-owner in prayer (cf. Figs 71 & 72). The other miniatures seem unsatisfactorily related to the book's contents and, as discussed in the Catalogue, are more appropriate to a missal. Notwithstanding this, the illustrative series of large-scale saints with worshipper and Eucharist-associated depictions of the Crucifixion and Christ as Judge form an intelligible devotional set.

There is a vast difference between this last book and all earlier illustrated manuscripts known from Poissy, in both the arrangement and the apparent purpose of the imagery and associated ornamentation. This underscores the particularly close relationship between all those made for use in the house before the later 1340s. Although just a single later example

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92 Dr. Lilian Randall kindly informed me that art historians consider the illustrations to reflect English or German influence.

93 Reproduced in Randall, n. 89 above, 292, plate VIa.

94 To mention only two of the more opulent, the psalters made for St. Louis and his daughter Isabel: Paris, BN ms lat 10525; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms 300. See Catalogue entry including bibliography for the former, which came to Poissy as a gift in the fifteenth century. The miniatures in these manuscripts face each other, with blank spaces between; the arrangement in Walters 107 is haphazard.


96 The psalter chosen here for visual comparison, Arsenal 604, was made in Bruges in about 1280. A short miniature series of the Annunciation and Crucifixion prefaces a psalter illustrated with full-page Christological and Dominican-Franciscan miniatures at each psalm division. It was owned, but not until the fifteenth or sixteenth century, by nuns at Poissy (see Catalogue entry and Chapter 4 Part 3 for further details). Compare also a psalter made in northern France near Cambrai in the second half of the thirteenth century (Brussels Bibliothèque Royale, ms 10525). Before the normal French 8-partite illustrative psalter pattern is a series of prefatory full-page miniatures on the first five rectos: Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion, Dominican dreams that the Virgin provides his habit (above) / Dominic preaching (below) and Martyrdom of Peter Martyr. (C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, Les principaux manuscrits a peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, I, Brussels, 1984, 25, 126-128, plate XXVIIa). An 'imported' psalter like these two could have provided the nuns with the type of prefatory miniature which influenced Walters 107 in the fourteenth century.
is not enough to establish any subsequent trend, it does suggest that some sort of change, either economic or in terms of artistic taste, or both, could have influenced the nuns (or possibly their Dominican friar-intermediaries) at this time. However, even within the period considered in this chapter not all books made for use by the nuns were illustrated. Two small volumes containing processional liturgy (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale ms II 262 and London, BL Add. ms 14845) are relatively inexpensive scrupulously-flourished productions, only the second using gold. They will be considered in the next chapter with more closely comparable manuscripts from the ensuing century, which were also unillustrated and consistently updated. No further manuscript with an extensive pictorial programme can be proved to have been made specifically for use at Poissy until the period around 1500.