Chapter Four

Functional Manuscripts and Rich Gift-Books
(c. 1320 — c. 1500)

The manuscripts surviving from this period range from the most soberly produced to the richest that entered the house. The monastic events of the era were probably not without their influence in this regard and themselves range from depredation and loss to rich ceremonies with accompanying gifts.

1. Turmoil and royal favour

Disturbances associated with the war against the English and civil wars led to frequent absences from the monastery after the nuns' first departure in 1346. During such times a communal, enclosed life was impossible. At intervals between 1354 and 1358 the nuns were in Paris, some perhaps with their families, while Poissy was occupied by the English.1 When their prioress died in Paris in 1354 her body could not be returned until a number of years later.2 The severe depredations by brigands and soldiery on the house and its income was recognised by Charles V. In 1369 he gave the nuns all the building fabric from the ruined royal palace at Poissy (now 'arassés et despiecez') to repair the damage to their own buildings.3 Again, in 1371 in reply to their requests, he commiserated with their shortfalls in rents and with the circumstances which necessitated their living for fourteen years protected away from their church ('en forteresse hors de leur eglise'); he gave them amortisement and, subsequently, supplemented the income that was yearly provided the nuns according to their foundation charter.4 In the long term, though, this may not have helped the monastic

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2 Most likely not until 1380 (Liste des prieures, n. 1 above, 30), but also recorded as only eight years later (L'année dominicaine, ed. T. Souges, VII, Amiens, 1693, 70).

3 E. Bories, Histoire de la ville de Poissy, Paris, 1925, 45.

4 Paris, Archives nationales, K 191, nos 49 (Paris, 11 Aug 1371) and 50 (Vincennes, Sep 1371).
economy very much for by the 1390s rural distress in the Poissy region was high, with fewer inhabitants and the domains in a poor state.\textsuperscript{5}

Again in 1411 and 1441 the nuns were forced to seek shelter in Paris.\textsuperscript{6} The monastery was pillaged during this period and archival material and property destroyed.\textsuperscript{7} The district also suffered famine,\textsuperscript{8} while the nuns lost their normal mercantile income associated with river traffic and the bridge at Poissy whenever enemy forces held the town. A number of times between 1423 and 1453 the monastery was so distressed that the prioress went to Paris to request living expenses from the king.\textsuperscript{9} This succession of military incursions at frequent intervals between the mid-fourteenth and mid-fifteenth century had, therefore, a devastating effect on the house: communal life was at times impossible, the nuns' property was destroyed, their income was greatly reduced and was sometimes insufficient to support them.

Nonetheless, there were also more fortunate times at the monastery. In 1351 Jean II's daughter, Marguerite de France, and Marie de Bourbon, daughter of Pierre de Bourbon, entered as infants; the king attended the ceremony.\textsuperscript{10} Marguerite de France died a few years later but Marie de Bourbon, sister-in-law of Charles V, was professed at seventeen years and rose to the position of prioress which she held from 1380 until her death in 1401.\textsuperscript{11} For part of 1377, at least, her sister Queen Jeanne de Bourbon resided at Poissy in the royal residence.\textsuperscript{12} The next infant princess to enter, in September 1397, was Charles VI's daughter Marie de France. The Bishop of Bayeux, wearing pontifical habit, and the king's chaplains took part in the ceremony which was attended by the royal court.\textsuperscript{13} In 1405 the princess refused her father's offer of a political marriage.\textsuperscript{14} Instead, she took her vows in June 1408 in another splendid celebration in the presence of the king, the queen and the court elite.\textsuperscript{15} Marie de France seems to have kept a household of some size at Poissy, for in 1409 she

\textsuperscript{6} Dufourcq-Latron, n. I above, 80.
\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Liste des prieures}, n. I above, 7; \textit{L'année dominicaine}, ed. J.-B. Feuillet, I, Amiens, 1678, 737; Paris, BN ms fr 5009, f. 4v.
\textsuperscript{8} S. Moreau-Rendu, \textit{Le prieuré royal de saint-Louis de Poissy}, Colmar, 1968, 123.
\textsuperscript{9} \textit{Liste des prieures}, n. I above, 7; Moreau-Rendu, n. 8 above, 127-128.
\textsuperscript{11} Anselme, \textit{Histoire généalogique}, I, 300; her sister Jeanne had married Charles V in April 1350.
\textsuperscript{12} Lehoux, n. 10 above, I, 389; Jeanne de Bourbon was in Paris in late 1377 and early 1378, the year she died.
\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Chronique du religieux de saint-Denys contenant la règle de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422}, ed. M. L. Bellaguet, II, Paris, 1840, 554.
\textsuperscript{14} There may have been three attempts in 1405 to persuade Marie de France to marry Edouard de Bar in order to promote civil peace: such visits are recorded as by the king and queen on 19 June, by the queen and Louis duc d'Orléans on 17 July and by the king again at Christmas of that year (see Anselme, \textit{Histoire généalogique}, I, 114; \textit{Religieux de saint-Denys}, n. 13 above, III, 1841, 348; Jean Juvenal des Ursins, \textit{L'histoire du roi Charles VI in Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France}, II, Paris, 1836, 431).
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Religieux de saint-Denys}, n. 13 above, IV, 1842, 8.
received from her brother the Dauphin a fief worth 40 l.p. yearly that would provide food for her retinue and servants. Her cousin Katherine de Harcourt, another nun-princess, was charged to protect and instruct her, and quitances show that she acted on Marie de France's behalf until the latter reached about 14 years of age. Another nun who may have been part of the royal entourage was the court author Christine de Pizan's older child, Marie du Castel, who as a commoner would have required the king's permission when she entered Poissy in about 1396. The princesses Marie de Bourbon and Marie de France attracted to the house their royal relatives who provided gifts, including books as discussed below; the two nuns also endowed the monastery with their own rich estates at a time of low economic fortune.

Whether Christine de Pizan herself ever resided at Poissy, as is frequently assumed, is questionable. She was a writer in the vernacular who sometimes acted as her own scribe, and whose illustrators were given specific instruction as to her requirements. Some of her works forcefully promulgated a feminine cause, and she was held in high esteem by the French royal court; Queen Isabeau de Bavière, the Burgundian princes and Jean, duc de


17 Whether Marie de France submitted absolutely to regular Dominican life is difficult to assess. Christine de Pizan described the eight-year-old princess as having just come from mass during the author's visit to Poissy in April 1400 (Le dit de Poissy: M. Roy, Oeuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan, II, Paris, 1891, 167; P. Pougin "Le dit de Poissy de Christine de Pisan. Description du prieuré de Poissy en 1400", Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 18, 1857, 539). She is recorded as presenting her father with a forceful argument (actually the words of St. Agnes in the Legenda aurea in which the twelve-year-old was presumably coached) as to her preference for Christ, the bridegroom her father had presented her on entry, over a secular rival (see Chapotin, n. 10 above, 140; Bories, n. 3 above, 46). But she was frequently or continuously ill. So that she might be protected from the moist atmosphere of the river site, in 1418 she requested and received papal permission to live (in the company of some other nuns) in a habitation on the higher ground outside the cloister but still within the monastic wall (ibid., 93-94; R. Labarreque, Poissy à travers les âges, Alençon, 1948, 48). Perhaps understandably she never held a monastic office. Also apparently irregular was her presence at the palais in Paris in July-August 1438, where she died of the plague; her body, however, was 'honourably' buried at Poissy (Journal d'un bourgeoise de Paris 1405-1449), ed. A. Tuetey, Paris, 1881 (reprinted Geneva, 1975), 341).

18 Anselme, Histoire généalogique, V, 132; see also Catalogue entry for Clm 10155, especially n. 3.

19 See Paris, Archives nationales, K 191, no. 61; Yvelines, 73 H 77, 88, 92, 101, III Q 60; Anselme, Histoire généalogique, I, 300; Roy, n. 16 above, 311; H. Parguez, Saint Louis et Poissy, S. Germain-en-Laye, 1914, 10; Dufourcq-Latron, n. 1 above, 83.


21 For a detailed consideration of evidence for the author's thoroughgoing involvement in the making of the books of which she was author, with reference to previous scholarship, see S. L. Hindman, Christine de Pizan's 'Épître Institut': Painting and Politics in the Court of Charles VI, Toronto, 1986, 63-77 and passion; J. C. Laidlaw, "Christine de Pizan — a publisher's progress", Modern Language Review, 82, 1987, 35-75.

22 It is inappropriate to attempt to cover the extensive field concerning Christine de Pizan's feminist writings here; for a summary treatment see C. C. Willard, Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works, New York, 1984, 73-89, 135-153.
Berry were among her particular patrons.23 Had she lived at the monastery then her influence there on book holdings and book-making ought to be measurable.

From the opening words of her *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, composed in 1429, we know that when the Burgundians overran Paris in 1418 Christine de Pizan retired to an abbey: 'I, Christine, who have wept for eleven years in a walled abbey where I have lived ever since Charles [VIII]... fled in haste from Paris'.24 While enclosed she also made, in about 1420, a purely religious translation from the Latin, the *Heures de contemplation sur la Passion de Nostre Seigneur*; her introduction states that this was designed to console all females subjected to the ills of the time.25 The abbey is identified in a note added in the margin of a fifteenth-century manuscript *Boke of Noblesse* which states that Christine 'manebat in domo religiosaum dominarum apud Passye propro Paris'.26 This was written by William Worcester, secretary to Sir John Fastolf, who in turn was Master to the Household of the Duke of Bedford, the Regent of France during the English occupation. It is usually accepted by Pizan scholars that St. Louis de Poissy would have been the logical domicile for Christine since her well-loved daughter was enclosed there.27 It has also been suggested that her nun-daughter could have acted as her scribe during this period, although equally that Christine may have transcribed the works herself.28 Furthermore, the name of the prioress at Poissy between 1419 and 1423, Isabel l'Escrivaine, has been conjectured as that of a scribe or writer.29 But this is a family name, and all choir-sisters kept their given and family names at Poissy. Isabel was in fact an administrator, holding the offices of cellaress and sub-prioress before her election as prioress; her niece Guillaume l'Escrivaine, who became sub-prioress, was also at the monastery.30

It appears that at around this period Poissy could take in non-royal secular women. The gracious, simply dressed ladies who welcomed Christine de Pizan to the house in 1400 seem to have been of this type.31 The noblewoman Isabel de Bourbon probably retired there before her death in 1451,32 and Charlotte d'Amboise, while prioress, received permission for her mother to stay in the monastery in 1491.33 Special authorisation was probably needed

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23 See, for example, G. Peignot, *Catalogue d'une partie des livres composant l'ancienne bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne...*, Paris, 1830, xv; Willard, n. 22 above, passim; Hindman, n. 21 above, 12.
27 For instance Towner, n. 18 above, 9; Willard, n. 22 above, 203.
28 Wherever she was enclosed, Christine de Pizan seems to have produced copies of her works for the Burgundian court at this time (see Towner, n. 18 above, 63-64, with other references).
29 Pinet, n. 25 above, 185, n. 2.
30 *Liste des prieures*, n. 1 above, 57; Paris, BN fr 5009, f. 4v.
31 '...dames de belles sortes / Car il n'y eut contrefaites ce tortes / Mais moult honnestes / De vestemens et des autours des testes, / Simples...' (*Dit de Poissy*, lines 226-230: Roy, n. 16 above, II, 166).
33 15 Sep 1491: 'Soror Ambrosia monasterio possiacensis potest retinere genitricem suam in monasterio' (Santa Sabina, IV, 10, f. 42v). The royal founders of Poissy and their relatives, in comparison, had held
in every case. Theoretically, then, Christine de Pizan could officially, or even unofficially, have dwelt at Poissy. But an archival entry (compiled at the beginning of the eighteenth century from earlier monastic records) that refers to Christine's daughter acknowledges the author but not, seemingly, her presence at Poissy: 'il y a eu au monastere une Religieuse fille de la celebre christine de pisan laquelle vivoit en 1418 sous le Regne de Charles VI.' Moreover, if Christine were living at Poissy then it is surprising that neither her beloved daughter nor the monastery which she so endearingly called 'abbaye riche et precieuse, noble, royal et mout deliciuse...un tres douiz paradis' in the *Dit de Poissy*, then 'esglise et noble religion des dames a poysii' in *L'vision*, merit similar attention in her prologues to the two works supposedly written there. Unless closer knowledge of the monastery removed this prolix author's earlier delight in it, the unnamed 'l'abbaye close' of her *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc* sounds as if it were another place. Could it be, then, that Worcester confused the poet's earlier visit to Poissy with her later establishment at a different religious institution? The question cannot be firmly answered but, as will become apparent in the following sections of this chapter, the known manuscripts from Poissy do not obviously reflect the influence of Christine de Pizan's presence that might be expected if for some twelve years she resided at the house.

34 Papal permission to enter the monastery at will (and to stay in their residence there) since 1327 (*Lettres communes de Jean XXII (1316-1334)*, ed. G. Mollat, VII, Paris, 1914, 52, no. 30222 dated 29 Oct 1327; *BOF*, II, 177, dated 10 Nov 1327). Later, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when nun numbers were low, rich *pensionnaires* frequently rented or built habitations at Poissy (see, for example, *Yvelines* 73 H 42 (1622), 73 H 123 (1731), 73 H 42 (1766); 73 H 24 (1770); Labarcaaqu, n. 16 above, 81; M.-D. Chapotin, *La guerre de la succession de Poissy (1660-1707)*, Paris, 1892, 156-157.

35 Paris, BN fr 5009, 6v.
37 Towner, n. 18 above, 174.
38 I am mindful here that the *Dit de Poissy* can be read as the double choice available to a noble female: the author uses the visit to counter current misogynist precepts by making a contrast between the calm, productive existence at Poissy and the unpredictable, often unhappy life of a lady at court (B. K. Altmann, "Diversity and Coherence in Christine de Pizan's *Dit de Poissy*", *French Forum*, 12, 1987, 261-271; K. E. Wells, "Christine de Pisan's *Le dit de Poissy*: An Exploration of an Alternate Life-Style for Aristocratic Women in Fifteenth-Century France" in *New Images of Medieval Women*, ed. E. E. DuBruck, Lampeter, 1988, 103-119). Possibly, too, the complimentary account of the house was intended to impress the author's prospective readers in the French Court, her potential patrons whose ties to Poissy were close (Pinet, n. 25 above, 58). Nonetheless, Christine conveys a warmly-felt, quite personal feeling and respect for the monastery. Moreover, if potential courtly patrons were solicited in this way in the *Dit de Poissy* and *L'Avision* it seems likely that their patronage would have been again tempted in the same fashion if the author had been resident at this particular monastery.
39 It also seems strange that Worcester, who lived in Paris at this time, would refer to Poissy (almost invariably called in Latin by its earlier name 'Pissiaci') with the spelling of the village actually named 'Passy', situated on the Seine just beyond the city wall. Even so, there seems not to have been a female cloister at Passy at this period, nor in nearby areas such as Chaillot or Auteuil (cf. P. Biver and M.-L. Biver, *Abbayes, monastères et couvents de femmes à Paris des origines à la fin du XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1975).
2. Manuscripts made for Poissy use

a. Liturgical and para-liturgical books

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum, ms 091</td>
<td>MED/3 (Processional)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum, ms 091</td>
<td>MED/8 (Horae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, ms 80.594</td>
<td>(Psalter)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms II 262</td>
<td>(Processional—Exequial liturgy)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, ms 7122</td>
<td>(Psalter)</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Add. ms. 14845</td>
<td>(Horae—Processional—Exequial liturgy)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Rawl. Liturg. e 2</td>
<td>(Breviary Offices—Diurnal psalter)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palaiseau, private collection</td>
<td>(Liturgy for Death and Burial)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 1313</td>
<td>(Breviary)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms Leber 144</td>
<td>(Processional)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Soissons, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 84</td>
<td>(Processional)</td>
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[Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W107 (Processional)]
[London, Sotheby's 9.12.74, lot 60 (Psalter-Processional)]
[Waddesdon Manor ms 2 (Psalter-Processional)]

The three earliest unillustrated manuscripts treated in this section each includes a processional. They are in some ways equivalent to contemporary illustrated processional psalters made for Poissy (introduced in Chapter 3), since in neither category is the processional itself illustrated. They also demonstrate the wide capacity for personalisation of this liturgical compilation, for it could be combined with different accompanying texts as each of the three manuscripts demonstrates. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms II 262 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Rawl. Liturg. f 35, as transcribed in the fourteenth century, were largely confined to the seasonal processions. London, BL Add. ms. 14845 originally also included the burial liturgy, thus reflecting more fully the contents of Humbert of Romans' prototype processional.40 But whereas the prototype, and other contemporary Poissy processional, are arranged so that the feasts of the *temporale* precede those of the *sanctorale*, the feasts in Add 14845 follow the yearly cycle. This means that the compilation begins with the Purification of the Virgin (2 February), a trend that would become well-established in sixteenth century Poissy-made processions though not shared by other surviving processional from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries; these begin with the more usual Palm Sunday celebration.41 Preceding the processional in Add 14845 are the Hours of the Passion, the Hours of the Holy Cross and the Office of the Dead. It is unlikely that gatherings containing the Hours of the Virgin are missing from the beginning of this manuscript since comparable para-liturgical collections — limited to extra-Marian Hours — were popular self-contained compilations during this period.42

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40 London, BL Add ms 23935, ff. 105-106v, where the burial ritual and service follows immediately after the reception of a king or emperor and throughout bears the running heading of the processional.

41 How this arrangement affects the appearance of these late illustrated processional is considered in Chapter 5 Parts 2 and 4.

42 For example, Mahaut d'Artois had an Hours of the Cross, of the Holy Spirit and of the Trinity made in 1312, and in 1326 bought an Hours of the Holy Spirit and of the Cross (J.-M. Richard, "Les livres de Mahaut, Comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne, 1302-1329", *Revue des questions historiques*, 40, 1886, 237, 239); in 1398 an Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit was illuminated for Isabeau de Bavière (Valet de Virville, "La bibliothèque d'Isabeau de Bavière, Reine de France", *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire*, 13th series, 1858, 680); Marguerite de Flandre owned an Hours of the Cross on her death
Each of these three volumes has been realised as a small, portable book. Flourished initials in red and blue scribal inks, plus some ornamental cadel initials, modestly emphasise chosen items of Brussels II 262 and Rawl. Liturg. f 35; Add 14845 is more grandly ornamented in gold and colours. But the books did not remain as first transcribed. A number of additions were made to each in succeeding centuries, and to the processional section of their illustrated contemporary, Walters 107. Many of these additions are liturgical. Among them are processions for St. Louis (where lacking in the original) and for Corpus Christi, added in or after the fourteenth century, and processions for John the Baptist and the Nativity of the Virgin following their addition to the Poissy canon in the fifteenth. The processional was also enlarged by including in it various other rituals. These include the benediction of candles associated with the Purification of the Virgin, benedictions and other requirements for Ash Wednesday, and the Adoration of the Cross and other rites undertaken on Good Friday. The new contents, which are not equivalent in all books, come from the missal section of the Dominican liturgical archetype. Ceremonies attending the Entry of a Nun and Profession of a Nun were also added.

Some of the inadequacies in the original books occurred because their transcription was appropriate for a friar but not for a nun. The latter would not normally own a missal with the chant for, say, the Ash Wednesday rites or the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, which nuns certainly sang. Accordingly, the usefulness of each of these manuscripts was in due course improved by later, sometimes serial, additions so that it would be more relevant to its nun-user in her particular liturgical context. Nevertheless, as can be seen from the tabulation in Appendix 5, by no means did all processions end up including the complete liturgical range. Indeed, each example from Poissy is textually unique.

In the same way that Add 14845 from the outset contained texts for communal, processional worship as well as horae for private devotion, so Rawl. liturg. f 35 was later expanded with the addition of the Hours of the Virgin and Office of the Dead (both usually included in secular horae but ultimately extracted from the breviary) and a set of 150 fairly short meditations on the Passion in Latin. Brussels II 262 was also made more useful by adding the Office of the Dead, and later the exequial rites; these latter, originally part of Walters 107, were also soon incorporated into Add 14845. Such inclusion of the Office of the Dead and the exequies in the same book meant that a single volume met the needs of different phases during the extended ceremonies associated with death and burial, or of a commemorative service; the small book was also more convenient than the larger, thicker, and heavier breviary (supposing that a nun-owner possessed both).

While the fifteenth-century nuns at Poissy were enlarging these earlier portable manuscripts so that they would meet their needs during private and communal worship, there is evidence to indicate that at the same time they transcribed entirely new books for the same purpose. A nun almost certainly wrote Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum, ms 091/MED/8 — a

in 1405 (C. Dehaesnes, Histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Atois et le Hainaut avant le XVIe siècle, III, Lille, 1886, 879; P. M. de Winter, La bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404), Paris, 1985, 146, no. 93); in the reigns of Charles V and Charles VI the royal library held a number of horae containing the Hours of the Passion and of the Holy Spirit, either together or alone (L. Delisle, Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, II, Paris, 1907, 45-46, nos 255-256, 238-261).
Dominican *hora*ae with essentially paraliturgical contents — in 1471, for the hand that transcribed both the text and the quite personal ownership inscription is the same; the nunscribe, Marguerite la Chaussée, also singled out her patron, St. Margaret, for special attention. The two missing folios introducing the Hours of the Virgin and the Office of the Dead were probably illustrated, and simple decorative panels and gilt initials highlight selected items elsewhere (Fig. 73). The processional, Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms Leber 144 (Fig. 76) exactly matches the size, format and blue and gold scribally-flourished initials of the prosar, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, ms 80.504. A further simple processional, Soissons, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 84, was written by a hand similar to the scribe of the matched pair, but is more expensively ornamented with initials of burnished gold and colours. Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum, ms 091/MED/3 (Fig. 77), a processional which also includes the Office of the Dead, has highlighted initials flourished by the scribe in blue and red, plus ornamental cadels.

No matter whether its ornamentation merited inks, paints or gold, however, each of these small books was transcribed in a gothic liturgical script on bleached, flawless vellum. The similarity of the two scribal hands responsible for the Rouen, Boston and Soissons transcriptions to that of Bowes 8 (cf. Figs 73 & 76) suggests that these three small books were also written at Poissy; this is supported by the misalignment of words and music in the Rouen and Boston volumes which, coupled with the large number of mistakes in each, reveals the scribe’s inexperience. Moreover, in an oversight not found in other books made for the house, catch-notes are lacking in the Rouen, Boston and Soissons manuscripts. Bowes 3, written in a less accomplished hand but displaying the same letter formation as these (Fig. 77), also seems likely to have been written by the nuns.

Some of the manuscripts include extra-liturgical prayers. The prayer in French in the psalter-processional Walters 107, indulgenced Latin prayers in Bowes 8, and Latin prayers added to Brussels II 262 are common to many lay-owned Books of Hours. The obvious conclusion here is that at least some nuns at Poissy required for their private worship the same kind of intellectually undemanding devotional material, rich in eschatological promise, as did lay worshippers at this time. The individually owned processional served as the convenient, readily portable repository of these formulae. Like the Book of Hours which was far less common at Poissy, its small size would automatically enhance the intimacy between its owner and these prayers — written in the first-person singular — as she read them.

Latin prayers for recital during celebration of the eucharist are included in the four Books of Hours known from Poissy. This section is an original part of the self-contained *hora*ea Bowes 8, but was added to the two *hora*ae-processionals Add 14845 and Rawl. liturg. f 35. Two later illustrated books also contain eucharistic prayers: in Latin in the third *hora*ae-

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43 See Catalogue entry for wording of ownership inscription and other details.

44 See Catalogue entries for all prayer incipits and references to their inclusion in other contemporary manuscripts.
processional known from Poissy (Sotheby’s 6 December 1983, lot 90); and in French with descriptive rubrics in a manual containing the ritual for death and burial (Palaiseau, private collection). These five books must therefore have accompanied their nun-owners to mass. Highlighting this purpose for two of the horae is an image of the Mass of St. Gregory, depicting the transubstantiation of the host by means of the miraculous appearance of the crucified Christ as the saint conducted mass. This introduces the eucharistic prayers in the Sotheby’s horae-processional and occurs as a blind-stamped panel on the lower cover that was added to Bowes 8 some twenty years after the manuscript’s production (Fig. 74). Dominant processional offices at Poissy were held immediately before the conventual mass. On Palm Sunday, for instance, after terce, the prior in white, the deacon carrying the misal, the subdeacon with the evangelary, and acolytes entered the church to bless the palms. The friar-cantor began the chant. The nuns took up the antiphons and continued while in their choir the nun-sacristan distributed palms to the sisters in the right stalls, starting with her superior, and another sister looked after the nuns on the left. The gospel was then read and the nun-sacristan presented the prepared cross (uncovered) to one sister and the blessed water to another. The nun-bearers led the procession which began inside the church then moved out into the cloister where stations were made at three sides. Re-entry through the church doorway was accompanied by the responsory ‘Ingrediente Domino in sanctam civitatem hebreorum...’; the procession re-enacting Christ’s own entry to Jerusalem. When the procession was complete, the palms were laid aside; in the sacristy the prior put on the chasuble and mass began.

The three horae-processions known from Poissy — each containing eucharistic prayers — were thus a convenient compendium since their owners could use them for the procession and during the ensuing mass. The horae and the rituale with similar eucharistic prayers accommodated different dual purposes — as volumes used for private devotion or during obsequal ceremonies as well as during the mass. The inclusion of the Office of the

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45 I have not been able to trace this manuscript, so I cannot consider the individual prayers. They must, though, be no less extensive than those transcribed in the other four books since they fill 28 pages (ff. 224-237).

46 An image of the Mass of St. Gregory was often associated in Books of Hours with the Seven Prayers of St. Gregory, a series of short articulations addressed to Christ on the Cross: O Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te in cruce pendentem... (published in Leroquais, Livres d’heures, II, 346); the text-image combination formed a potent indulgence set (eg. Paris BN ms lat 10561, f. 82v: ibid., II, 25; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W245, f. 62: R. S. Wieck, Time Sanctified. The Book of Hours in Medieval Life and Art, New York, 1988, 107; see also F. Lewis, "Rewarding Devotion: Indulgences and the Promotion of Images" in The Church and the Arts, ed. D. Wood, Oxford, 1992, 183-184, 192). Despite the presence of other indulgenced prayers, it was not transcribed in Bowes 8, although the short, simple formulae could easily have been recited by heart while the owner contemplated the image on the book’s cover, had she wanted. See Catalogue entry for relationship of the panel-stamp binding of this manuscript with similar covers and with the interior imagery of Hours printed in Paris in the 1490s.


48 Taken from instructions in the misal, London, BL ms Egerton 3037, ff. 240v-241, and processions. This misal, made for use at Poissy (c. 1340), includes added rituals which spell out the functions of the nuns and their associate-friars during the processions for Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday. For processional chant (instructions and cues) as transcribed in Poissy manuscripts see Appendix 6. For ceremonial details of Dominican processions (involving friars, but not nuns) see King, n. 47 above, 354-362.

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Dead in all five manuscripts, too, made each a book which would be useful when the owner remained in church after mass so that she might fulfil her individual or communal obligations to commemorate the deaths of members of her family, of nuns, or of patrons and donors to the monastery.

Prayers for confession (one invoking the Dominican saints and St. Louis) also accompany the eucharistic prayers in Bowes 8. The three earlier books (Add 14845, Rawl. liturg. f 35 and Bowes 8) all present similarly wide selections of Latin prayers for recital before and after Communion and in response to the host. A number of these prayers were transcribed in more than one manuscript.\(^{49}\) Two come from the Dominican missal, and are prayers said silently by the priest during the canon: *Supplices te rogamus* (in Add 14845) follows the consecration; *Quod ore sumpsimus* (in Add 14845 and Rawl. liturg. f 35) is the ablution prayer.\(^{50}\) Other communion prayers in the three manuscripts are common to catalogued French Books of Hours. Indeed, when Wilmart analysed Leroquais' published data concerning prayers for recital during the Elevation of the Host, he found that one in five *horae* produced in France contained such prayers.\(^{51}\) Poissy Books of Hours, therefore, follow the same trend as French *horae* in general; both groups functioned as mass-books, albeit the latter were mainly made for lay use. A second observation made by Wilmart was that a group of these prayers, common to many *horae*, would in 1570 be included in the reformed missal.\(^{52}\) Two are transcribed in the Poissy manuscripts: *Ad mensem dulcissimi* (Add 14845) and *Gratias tibi ago domine...qui me peccatricem* (Add 14845, Rawl. liturg. f 35 and Bowes 8).

The illustrated *rituale* (Palaiseau private collection) was made for the youngest of three Poissy nuns of the Baillet family.\(^{53}\) Not only are the eucharistic prayers rendered in the vernacular, but quite specific instructions are given for their use. Prayers before communion, for instance, are to induce a desire to receive the body of God; those after communion give a choice of favours (mainly personal) which might be requested of God after reception of the host. Only one prayer — of alternating short lines in Latin and French which begins *Ave verum corpus* — seems to be intended for the general elevation of the host during mass rather than for the worshipper's individual participation in the sacrament. Although these prayers in French are of the same type as the Latin prayers in

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\(^{49}\) These and others are indicated in Catalogue entries for each manuscript.


\(^{52}\) Wilmart, n. 51 above, 381 n. 2.

\(^{53}\) The manuscript is decorated with the family arms and its stylistic date indicates production in the early sixteenth century; the owner is almost certainly the niece of two older nuns, Ragonde Baillet, who was at Poissy from at least 1490 until her death in 1554 (see Catalogue entry for more detailed argument to support later date and ownership than that proposed in J. Meurgy, "Note d'un office des morts de la fin du XVe siècle", *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1930, 102-107). The ornamentation of the manuscript is treated in Chapter 5 Part 2.
the other manuscripts, their format indicates that the book's owner was relatively liturgically unsophisticated.

According to their Constitutions, the nuns at Poissy were expected to take communion on fifteen days in the year; they were, of course, to confess beforehand. The days were probably identical with the fifteen listed in the earlier version of the Dominican nuns' Constitutions, which are equally distributed over the year and almost always coincide with major feast days. The laity, in contrast, normally took communion only once during the year. At other times they focussed their attention on seeing the host, greeting and offering prayers as it was raised by the priest after its miraculous transformation into the body of Christ. Because the nuns daily chanted the mass liturgy from the gradual and took communion more frequently, they were closely involved in the mass ritual and sacrament. The prayers in their books, understandably therefore, concentrate barely at all on observing the host and focus on its sacramental reception. Even so, to a certain extent the same mass prayers seem to have satisfied both the laity and the Poissy religious.

Apart from the eucharistic prayers in these five manuscripts, other invocatory prayers were added to processional. And these, too, are almost always directed to Christ. As well, the long series of 150 para-liturgical contemplative prayers in Rawl. liturg. 135 focuses on Christ's Passion; involvement of the Virgin is purely a result of her co-Passion. What are patently absent here are prayers to the Virgin as mediatrix — like versions of the Obscuro te

54 In Books of Hours, in general, French prayers follow the Latin tradition (M. Rubin, Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture, Cambridge, 1991, 158, citing V. Reinburg, Popular Prayers in Late Medieval and Reformation France, PhD Diss., Princeton University, 1985, 227-228, as an as yet unpublished study to which I have not had access).

55 Cap. XII, 'Communio poterit fieri in anno quinquadecim vicibus...dummodo ad preparandum se possint habere copium confessorum' (Clm 10170, f. 134v)

56 Nativity (25 Dec) — between Nativity and Purification BVM — Purification (2 Feb) — between Purification and Easter — Last Supper — between Easter and Pentecost — between Pentecost and feast of Peter and Paul — Peter and Paul (29 Jun) — Mary Magdalen (22 Jul) — Assumption BVM (15 Aug) — Nativity BVM (1 Sep) — Denis (9 Oct) — All Saints (1 Nov) — Andrew (30 Nov) (R. Cresveynen, "Les constitutions primitives des secrés dominicaines de Montargis (1250)"., AFB, 17, 1947, 72). This differs to some extent from the later ceremonial where the days are increased to nineteen and include Trinity, Corpus Christi and the feast of St. Dominic (listed in King, n. 47 above, 372).

57 This was certainly so in Dominican custom: Humbert of Romans considered that only on two occasions, at Easter and at the hour of death, was it necessary to commune although one could increase this to a number of times yearly if particularly devoted (J. Durh, "Communion frequente" in Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, 2, Paris, 1953, col. 1261).

and *O intemerata* — which were so much a part of *horae* owned by the French laity.\(^{59}\)

Such an omission from the nuns' extant manuscripts suggests that, although they read contemplative Marian texts both in private and public, they had no great need to use popular formulae to invoke the Virgin as any kind of mediatrix.\(^{60}\) As we have seen, their processionals could be considerably personalised by incorporating various Hours, the Office of the Dead and eucharistic prayers in common with lay Books of Hours.

Nevertheless, it appears that the nuns specifically selected only those sections from the lay compendium which they required for their own use. This occurred, moreover, even though prayers attendant upon seeing the host at the elevation and numerous Marian prayers (including the *Obsecre te* and *O intemerata*) were a part of lay Dominican *horae* produced in France, for instance the manuscript written for Frédéric d'Aragon at the beginning of the sixteenth century and the printed Hours published in Paris by Thielmann Kerver in 1542.\(^{61}\)

Only one extant psalter appears to have been made specifically for or by the nuns at this period although, as discussed in the next section, a number of non-Dominican versions entered the house. Written in the second half of the fifteenth century, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, ms 7122 is minimally decorated with pen-flourished initials. Although transcribed without antiphons these were soon added in the margins so that the book could be used liturgically. In its relatively inexpensive ornamentation this Dominican psalter compares with most of the small contemporary Poissy manuscripts discussed above, namely Brussels II 262, Rawl. Liturg. f 35, Bowes 3, Leber 144, and Boston 80.504.

Two manuscripts containing texts for the Divine Office survive from late in the fifteenth century. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Rawl. Liturg. e 2 is by no means a full breviary: it contains only the liturgy of those offices which had been added or altered after the early fourteenth century. Most likely, therefore, it was made by the nuns for use as an adjunct to an earlier breviary that would, by this means, retain its usefulness. As we have observed with the processionals considered above, the nuns did not discard a book once it became obsolete. Rather, they set about rectifying this and consistently upgraded their manuscripts to keep them up-to-date and liturgically useful. For more simple changes it seems that to add the requisite texts was usual. This occurred not only in the processionals and other small, personal manuscripts, but such additions were also made to the monastery's formal liturgical books — the antiphonaries, gradual and missals.\(^{62}\) The supplementary officebook, Rawl. Liturg. e 2, demonstrates a second method of rejuvenating a liturgical book, and it may explain why the breviaries Arsenal 107 and 603 are entirely free of later additions. Furthermore, two of the earlier breviaries — Arsenal 107 and London private collection — retain bindings from about the time that Rawl. Liturg. e 2 was made and bound. All three

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\(^{59}\) There are over 200 transcriptions of the several versions of the two prayers in the Books of Hours now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (cf. Leroquais, *Livres d'heures, I* and II). On these prayers see also J. Plummer, "Use" and 'Beyond Use" in Wieck, n. 46 above, 149-152.

\(^{60}\) The nuns' focussed devotion upon Christ in these private prayers is paralleled by the earlier concentration of female mystics on the body of Christ (see Bynum, references given in n. 58 above).

\(^{61}\) Paris, BN lat 10532 (for contents see Leroquais, *Livres d'heures, I*, 328-330); the printed book survives in a number of copies.

\(^{62}\) For details see Catalogue entries for Garrett 41 and Egerton 3037 (missals), Add 30072 and Melbourne 4096 I/R66A (antiphonaries), and Philadelphia 45-65-7 (gradual).
covers are of solid blind-stamped brown leather, although no die is identical (eg. Fig. 78). It could be, then, that some kind of refurbishment of choirbooks occurred at Poissy at about the time the breviary supplement was produced; the strong leather binding of the Melbourne antiphonary, protected with brass bosses and corner-pieces, also dates from about this period (Fig. 79).

Like its earlier counterparts Rawl. Liturg. e 2 was written on flawless vellum in a formal gothic liturgical hand. But in contrast to their relatively extensive pictorial content, it contained only the one, introductory illustration (now lost). Later ownership at the monastery suggests that the book was used by the hebdomadary. It was probably to assist this office bearer that the psalter for the day-hours precedes the offices, since the distribution of psalms in the diurnal liturgies, unlike that of matins and vespers, differs from the order in the psalter proper (which was presumably a part of the breviary that this book supplemented). However, whereas all its liturgical texts seem to be rigorously exact and up-to-date, the litany, unaccountably, by no means reflects liturgical practice at this period.63

The summer part of a full Dominican breviary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 1313) was made at about the same time. Its ownership at Poissy can be established by the Amboise arms on the opening page of the psalter (Fig. 80). Set in a lozenge, parti, this is properly the blazon for a celibate female: either a maid (arms of father and mother) or a widow (arms of husband and father).64 The arms here almost certainly represent either Charlotte d'Amboise, or her mother Anne de Bueil in widowhood.65 The manuscript is contemporary with Rawl. liturg. e 2, the presence of the unranked feast of the Translation of St. Nicholas indicating a date not long after 1484.66 It was made therefore after Charlotte d'Amboise became prioress in 1480, or possibly in 1491 when her mother was permitted to stay at the monastery.67 Although only the psalter is introduced with an historiated initial (Fig. 80), the text is richly decorated in gold and colours and frequently surrounded by borders containing flowers and fruit. The manuscript differs from other breviaries known from the house in a number of ways. It is written not in the formal liturgical hand of other Poissy liturgical books, but in cursive style. Rubric instructions and calendar entries have been translated into French. And, although the calendar represents well the current liturgical practice at the house, the litany includes a number of popular French saints in addition to

63 See Catalogue entry for elaboration.
64 C. N. Elvin, A Dictionary of Heraldry, London, 1969, 85. This blazonry was not always used so pedantically by nuns at Poissy, although the seals of the two most nobly born at this period, Marie de France and Marie de Bourbon, contained the proper formula. Both use a lozenge. Marie de France is represented by the fleurs-de-lis of France (ancien) in the left half and the Bavarian arms of her mother Isabeau de Bavière in the right — parti: semé de fleurs de lys; losangé de 21 pièces mises en band (Quittance dated 26 May 1456: BN ms fr 20416, no. 15; Marie de France's arms are incorrectly represented as quartered in C. van Dijk, "Quelques Capetiniennes et Poissy", Chronos, 18, 1987, 15). The differently modified semé of fleurs-de-lis on either side of Marie de Bourbon's arms (her father Pierre de Bourbon and mother Isabel de Valois) show her descent from lines close to the throne — parti: semé de France à la bande; semé de France à la bordure (Quittance dated 7 June 1397: BN ms fr 20917, no. 6).
65 The partitioned arms in Paris BN 1313 are those of Pierre d'Amboise and apparently Anne de Bueil (see Catalogue entry). Leroquais hesitantly ascribed the arms to Anne de Bueil, neglecting their potential relevance to a maiden daughter (Leroquais, Bréviaires, III, 178).
66 The nuns received approval in 1484 to celebrate this feast (see Appendix 1, note 7 for May).
67 See n. 33 above.
the normal Dominican canon.\textsuperscript{68} What we seem to have here is a liturgical book made for one whose command of Latin was not strong, who read more confidently in the cursive script usually associated with texts in the vernacular intended for silent reading,\textsuperscript{69} and who wished to invoke saints extra to the Dominican litany. But these personal preferences inform what is still a formal choirbook. It could have been produced either for Charlotte d'Amboise, responding to idiosyncratic needs of her own, or for her mother to follow the office.\textsuperscript{70} As such, the breviary is quite distinct from others from the house — all written entirely in Latin, in gothic liturgical script, and lacking personal elements — which were produced for the nuns in an institutional sense, even though individual sisters would in practice own the various volumes.

\textbf{b. Books for reading}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|}
\hline
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10154 (Humbert of Romans on the Augustinian Rule; Bernard of Clairvaux: \textit{Super Missas ear})  \\
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10155 (Pseudo-Bonaventura: \textit{Meditationes Vitae Christi})  \\
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 1072 (Life of Margaret of Hungary)  \\
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms fr 12483 (Rosarius: Compilation in celebration of the Virgin in French verse)  \\
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 5642 (Vitae Sororum d'Unterlinden)  \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Whereas liturgical texts are usually specific for Poissy, the contents of books intended to be read are universal. And, although there were a number of the latter at the house during this period, it is more difficult to say unequivocally that they were actually made for use there. Nevertheless, the five books to be discussed here — because of ownership inscriptions, certain similarities between them, and the very fact of their presence at the monastery — do give a fair indication that they were from the beginning intended to be read by the Poissy nuns.

The five manuscripts range between 20 and 25 cm in height. They are therefore somewhat larger than the contemporary books meant for use by individual nuns during their peripatetic ceremonies (the processionals and related manuscripts discussed above), which at most measure 15 cm in height. There are no stress-marks on Latin texts, suggesting, as does the script size, that all books were read privately. Two were exceedingly thick, at least 70 mm wide not counting any binding; this suggests that they were used at a desk. The inscriptions show that while some of the manuscripts were owned by individuals others were held by the nuns in common, probably in a collection set aside for this purpose.

A copy of the Dominican Master General Humbert of Romans' commentary on the Augustinian rule must have been a desideratum in any house of the Order since neither the

\textsuperscript{68} See Catalogue entry for details.


\textsuperscript{70} Since receipt of permission does not necessarily imply that it was acted upon I am reluctant to decide between the two potential owners until further evidence concerning Anne de Buell's domicile at Poissy can be established.
Augustinian rule, under which the Dominicans lived, nor their own Constitutions were extensive. In Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10154 the text is combined with the Bernardine exposition for Advent 'Super missus est'. The script is carefully written, either in Paris or by the Poissy nuns, the text in a liturgical hand and the commentary in smaller cursive. No more than the opening page of the manuscript is illuminated, with gold and colours in a large leafy initial and generous border; textual divisions are pen-flourished in red and blue ink. The ownership inscription states that Alix Loutrel (prioress, 1415-1418) gave the book to the monastery; she therefore either had it made for this purpose or, perhaps more likely, it was made for her own use and she bequeathed it to the communal collection on her death.

This is a thick book whose purpose was mainly reference. The second bulky manuscript, dating from before 1350, is the Rosarius (Paris, BN ms fr 12483), an anthology of linked French verse pieces centred upon devotion to the Virgin which was compiled by a Dominican friar. It is written in a bookhand style and coherently arranged by means of red and blue scribed flourished letters, running headings and tables of contents. A miniature probably introduced the two divisions of the manuscript since a picture precedes Book 2. But the twenty-two earliest chapters have been lost, and this also means that the manuscript’s ownership cannot be established until the seventeenth century when the extant ex libris was inscribed. However, the contents frequently address a female audience and give accounts of Dominican traditions and claustral practices. St. Louis is selected as an exemplar. The very appropriateness of the book, especially perhaps in the education of the young girls and intending nuns at the house, could indicate that this copy was made for Poissy. The use of a not especially apt ‘liturgical’ miniature — here the Nativity of the Virgin — despite the varied subject matter treated in the book, is a practice found generally in manuscripts for reading which were made for the monastery.

The Poissy sisters had access to descriptions of the ascetic practices of other Dominican nuns. A version of the Life of Saint Margaret of Hungary, in Latin (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms 1072), was written mainly on thick, partly-flawed vellum, though this is interspersed here and there with a few fine vellum sheets. The very neat clerical bookhand and the exemplary care with which initials have been pen-flourished in blue and red might indicate its production by a nun. No other decoration is used, and the book’s spartan appearance is augmented by plain parchment covers. The margins are generous, nevertheless, and the arrangement of the text on the page is superbly proportioned. A fifteenth-century inscription informs us that the manuscript was in common ownership, having been given as a gift by Marie de Clermont.

An abbreviated version of the lives of the Dominican sisters at Unterlinden (Paris, BN ms lat 5642) is even more austere. It is written on paper, in completely unornamented batarde script. This manuscript was probably made for Guyonne and Michelle Ursins, its earliest known owners, in the later fifteenth century. It still bears its original covers of dark brown

71 A. Långfors, "Notice du ms fr 12483 de la Bibliothèque Nationale", Notices et extraits, 39 (Part 2), 1916, 506-509; see Catalogue entry for further details of manuscript.
blind-stamped leather, probably made at the Dominican convent of St. Jacques in Paris; these sit rather cumbrously upon the slight form of the short work.

The similarity between these two books is striking. They are both short, comprising less than 60 folios. And the text of each revels in accounts of the austerities and humilities practised by well-born nuns. It is surely in keeping with this that the manuscripts were made simply (but well) and of humble materials, so that the severe lives described would be appropriately matched by the minimally decorated books which contain them. It might be argued nonetheless that this is merely a consequence of the poverty of the house at the time rather than a purposeful seeking by the nuns after some kind of humility which is expressed by their books. But this can be challenged. The deliberate choice of thick, stiff, flawed vellum for Arsenal 1072 is shown by its distribution in the book. The scribe begins with this material, using it for most of the volume, and only substitutes finer sheets when it was apparently not available. Were the use of poor-quality vellum a matter of circumstance then one would expect finer vellum to open the book — the part that normally received most decorative attention — with lesser quality sheets to follow.

This argument can be corroborated by means of a copy of the Franciscan work, *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10155). The popular text exhorts the reader to humility and identification with the events of Christ's life. This particular manuscript was owned by Katherine de Harcourt, the nun who acted on behalf of Marie de France during her childhood years at Poissy. It is, without doubt, a luxury work. It was covered in brocade and decorated throughout with initials in colours and gold. Its two introductory pages — to the contents and to the text proper — are exquisitely decorated with wide borders filled with a dense ivy leaf rinceau; small elegantly-conceived birds add further interest to the first page of the text (Fig. 81). But this is as far as it goes. There is here almost a declaration that expense was of no concern: the book could have been ornamented to the same extent on numerous pages, but the commissioner preferred a deliberate and abrupt restraint. Again, albeit at a different level, a conscious selection of a plainer book appears to have been in play.

Two factors might account for this. They are not necessarily unrelated. The first is a concentration in books at Poissy on the word rather than its visual exposition. Unlike the works which were made by and for Dominican nuns at certain houses in Germany — as part of their mystically-inclined spiritual guidance by friars like Meister Eckhart, Johannes Tauler, Heinrich Suso, and others\(^2\) — there is almost no evidence of any didactic or contemplative material in diagrammatic or pictorial form in books demonstrably made for use at Poissy. As we have seen in earlier chapters, the illustrations in the surviving books do not serve to explain or further the text; they instead offer a summary of a section of a book. They are almost always rather small and probably had foremost use as markers to lead the user to a required place in the text (eg. Figs 43 & 44). Moreover, only liturgical books

contain any number of these, presumably mainly as guidance during the more demanding use of these complex volumes. The one contradiction is the psalter-processional Walters 107 whose illustrated prefatory folios are quite at variance with the imagery in other manuscripts made for Poissy, in the size of the miniatures, their text-free nature, and the immediacy of their subject matter (Fig. 71). It is perhaps not coincidence that this work may be Germanic in style, and that there is demonstrable iconographic influence from areas north of Paris.\textsuperscript{73} Books intended for reading have at most a small illustration — perhaps an expression of veneration — at the start of the text and, less often, midway through the manuscript at the start of a second section. These illustrations offer no amplification of the text they accompany; rather they reproduce the generalised images already used to illuminate liturgical texts at the house (eg. Figs 5, 8 & 31).\textsuperscript{74}

It is important to remember that Poissy was conceived as a religious institution for noble women. French noble daughters were, in general, well-educated at home in preparation for their lives after marriage into the highest families; reading was a prominent part of this education.\textsuperscript{75} Marguerite de Provence, the wife of St. Louis, commissioned Vincent de Beauvais, the eminent Dominican encyclopaedist, to compile for her the treatise De eruditione filiorum nobilium to guide her in this duty towards her own children. It includes, appropriately, a section on the education of noble female children,\textsuperscript{76} and it is instructive that this same queen undertook the upbringing of her granddaughter, Marie de Clermont, whose influence at Poissy would last from the monastery's foundation until her death in 1372, her last twenty-eight years being spent in blindness.\textsuperscript{77} And whether a nun entered Poissy as a young postulate or as a child she would receive a similar educational grounding, for the novice mistresses would continue the educational tradition which they, or their teachers before them, had learnt at home. Indeed the duty of novice mistress is known to have received serious consideration in the house: one holder of the position, Claude des Ursins, wrote (and perhaps published in about 1544) a treatise on the subject in French,\textsuperscript{78} and a competent bearer of this office could in time rise to sub-prioress or prioress.\textsuperscript{79} It is also very likely that the number of books in Latin for private reading which have survived from the monastery point to some facility in reading and understanding the foreign text. Indeed, Claude des Ursins and her cousins at Poissy are said to have possessed a copy of De

\textsuperscript{73} See Chapter 3 Part 3 and Catalogue entry.
\textsuperscript{74} For illustration of earlier books for reading see Chapter 2 Part 2b.
\textsuperscript{76} On this aspect of the treatise see R. B. Tobin, Vincent of Beauvais' 'De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium': The Education of Women, New York, 1984.
\textsuperscript{77} Liste des prieures, n. 1 above, 2; Chapotin, n. 10 above, 139.
\textsuperscript{78} L'instruction pour les novices, avec des exhortations spirituelles qu'elle a faites aux religieuses (see H. de Coste, Les élèges et les vies des reynes, des princesses, et des dames illustres de piété, II, Paris, 1647, 731).
\textsuperscript{79} Of those former novice mistresses whose history can be traced, Matthée de la Roche, Novice Mistress at Montargis (1304), Marie d'Amboise (1454), Pregente of Melun (1506) and Marguerite du Puy de Vaten (1562) became prioresses; Jeanne Barthelmy, Ragonde de Baillet, Catherine Burnaud, Marguerite du Pleix and Catherine de Testu were elected sub-prioress between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.
proprietatibus rerum, printed in 1477, for precisely this purpose. Over the next two centuries, as treated in the next chapter, the nuns established themselves as translators of Latin religious works into French. It seems, therefore, that ideas conveyed by words rather than images were probably always foremost in the book culture at Poissy.

However this does not necessarily account for the apparently deliberate paucity of decoration and insistent sobriety of the books under consideration. Even learned nuns might prefer to own books of the highest ornamental luxury. And this brings me to my second point for at Poissy during this period there can be detected a persuasion of 'high-born humility'. According to the monastic mémoires (perhaps the necrology), Marie de Bourbon (d. 1401) who was sister to the queen and the great-great-granddaughter of St. Louis through both her parents, called humility her dear companion and sought the most demeaning services; she loved both exterior poverty and poverty of spirit, and was often seen to go down to the door so she might personally give alms to lepers who were a horrifying sight; she scorned the rich presents which she was sent. Claude des Ursins' sister Marie (d. 1497) reputedly renounced her importance in the world and its delusive pleasures in order to humble herself before God and his faithful servants, taking on the most abject offices in the monastery. Jeanne Barthelmé (d. 1497) is said to have forgotten her very illustrious birth to take up an abject life in the House of God; profoundly humble, she liberally divorced herself from honour and riches. The prioresses and nuns of the period frequently began their official letters with the expression 'humble prieuse' or 'humble religieuse'.

Of course the Dominicans demanded humility of their adherents, especially during prayer. And the histories of the Dominican friars took pains to present their founders in this light. The example of their patron St. Louis offered the Poissy nuns further example,

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60 J. Quétif and J. Échard, Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti, Paris, II, 1721, 840. Compare the Dominican nun at Dartford who in 1481 was permitted to have lessons from a visiting Latin master in the locutorium (Palmer, n. 34 above, 178).

61 This is not to suggest that image-related contemplation was not practised at the monastery. The prefatory miniatures in Walters 107 and the later concentration in the one nun's hands of two incoming manuscripts containing contemplative illustrative programmes (discussed below) seem to indicate that such practices were followed at the house. Individual Poissy nuns also owned free-standing imagery, including small reliquaries, panels and pieces of sculpture. Larger items were, in later years at least, used contemplatively in the church and chapterhouse. Unfortunately the inadequacy of surviving inventories and accounts preclude even a vague assessment of how the nuns used their non-book visual materials in a devotional sense at any particular period.

62 L'année dominicaine, I, n. 7 above, 725-727.

63 Ibid., I, 723-724; revised edition published Lyons, 1883, 49.

64 Ibid., I, 724.

65 For instance, Paris, Archives Nationales, J 188, no. 57; Paris, BN, ms fr 20416, no. 13; ms fr 20917, nos 2, 4, 11, 13, 15, 16; ms fr 25981, nos 4005, 4009, 4012, 4022. In a different political climate later prioresses would refer to themselves as 'prieure perpetuelle'.


67 For accounts of the early decades of the Order by contemporary Dominican friars see, for example, Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici. 2. Libellus de principiis ordinis praedicatorum, Acta canonisationis, legendae Petri Ferrandi, Constantini Urbeveteri, Humberti de Romians, ed. H. C. Scheeben, MOPH, 16, 1935; Gérard de Franch, Lives of the Brethren of the Order of Preachers 1206-
its imitation reflected here in his ancestor Marie de Bourbon's eulogy.88 A life like that of St. Margaret of Hungary, the princess who worked 'in the service of others, even cleaning latrines',89 seems also to have influenced all three accounts above. Indeed, one learns elsewhere that as a fifty-year-old prioress, Marie de Bourbon was comfortably set up in a well-appointed royal residence and beautiful chamber, yet acted most humbly,90 and that Jeanne Barthelmy owned a separate room.91 But even if the actuality of the described behaviour is questionable — a topos rather than an accurate account — and the stated humility in the prioress' correspondence merely a readily reproduced formula, it still shows that Poissy nuns of the period considered the coupling of nobility with humility to be a desirable trait. In part this was influenced by the lives of the early Dominican friars and by the more moderate of the ascetic practices of Dominican nuns and of St. Louis, all available in the nuns' books and in the liturgy; in part it was tempered by the disorders of the day which could so rapidly disnoble the noble. It would therefore seem that it was this self-image of humility, over and above any actual poverty which nonetheless must have had some effect, that led the nuns throughout this period to ornament their books to a lesser degree and less richly than they might have done. Among those books intended to be read privately, in particular, the abruptly restrained luxury of the Meditations on the Life of Christ displays this concern not much less than the austerely produced accounts of the lives of ascetic nuns.

3. Incoming gifts and other manuscript acquisitions

| Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, ms Ricketts 24 (Psalter-Marian Psalter) |
| Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, ms Trübner 126 (Psalter) |
| Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10025 (Harmonia Evangelorum-Bernard of Clairvaux: Sermons-Speculum animae) |
| Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 604 (Psalter-Office of Dead) |
| Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms lat 10483-4 (Belleville Breviary) |
| Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 10525 (Psalter of St. Louis) |
| Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 160 (Contemplative works) |

While the nuns were either commissioning or themselves transcribing texts for reading, they also acquired manuscripts for this purpose that had previously belonged elsewhere. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10025 is one such book, an unilluminated manuscript of


88 Cf. Marie de Bourbon's personal almsgiving to lepers, 'who were a horrifying sight', with Louis visiting the sick poor and feeding a leper monk with his own hands 'without abomination of deformity' (The Golden Legend (Caxton translation), ed. F. S. Ellis, VII, London, 1973, 209).

89 Paraphrased from Garin de Guy-l'Evêque's Vita (Acta sanctorum, 28 January) in Bynum, Holy Feast, n. 58 above, 136; for selected evidence from the process of St. Margaret's canonisation in July 1276 see Tugwell, n. 86 above, 412-416.


91 In 1474 she received permission to leave this, and her other goods, to whichever of her disciples she wished (Rome, Dominican Archives, Santa Sabina, IV, 3, f. 34: R. P. Mortier, Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs, IV, Paris, 1909, 616).
texts written large enough to be read publicly, with its script minimally enlivened in scribal flourishing of red and blue. Although this thirteenth-century Latin compilation contains the Harmony of the Evangelists and a contemplative compilation directed towards females, entitled Speculum animae, only the central work, St. Bernard's Sermons for the liturgical year, is stress-marked. This indicates that this text alone was read aloud by the nuns, probably in the refectory. The ownership inscription indicates that the book was at Poissy in the nuns' common collection in the fifteenth century.

Two didactic texts, perhaps written by a Dominican, are contained in a manuscript whose earliest ownership inscription, by nuns of the Loutrel family, reveals that it was at Poissy before 1418. The sections of the rather uncompromising directives for ascetic living are illustrated by the Parisian artist whom Charlotte Lacaze has named the Author Page Master from work contributed to the Vie de Saint Denis (Figs 82-85). Both its contents and the illustrative subject matter indicate that this finely-made transcription was not made for a professed nun. The first owner is depicted: she is the young princess whom a friar instructs (Fig. 82). The text endorses the intended reader as a secular princess, for the twelve contemplations on divine reward concern, after 'eternal life' and 'happiness', a number of worldly matters and duties which one in her position might well consider. These include 'the crown', 'the monarchy', 'inheritance' and 'marriage'. The manuscript dates from the second decade of the fourteenth century. It is thus quite possible that it was owned by one of the nun-princesses before her entry, when a noble or royal marriage was seen as her lot, and that it accompanied her when she became a Poissy nun.

The later princesses at the house attracted not only books but also more costly gifts from their royal relatives. For the most formal occasions, an expensive gift to the house — and perhaps something smaller to the princess herself — seems to have been normal. It was also customary for a Poissy nun, on the fiftieth anniversary of her entry, to offer a gift either deriving from her own funds or supplied by her relatives who would attend the function. Marie de Bourbon's gift to the house in 1400 of a soleil-d'or is said to have been furnished by the princes, her relatives. The exquisitely-worked ornament contained small reliquaries enriched with pearls, diamonds, sapphires, and other gems, and was supported by the figures of six patriarchs. When Charles VI attended his daughter's vestiture he gave the nuns a golden reliquary enriched with precious stones which was carried by the Bishop of Bayeux in the procession before mass. When he attended her profession in 1408 he gave the

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92 This is the date of the death of Alex Loutrel, one of the owners: see Catalogue entry for details concerning the manuscript, discussion of the illustration and identification of the artist involved.
93 See Chapter 3 n. 4 for a list of these potential owners.
94 L'année dominicaine, I, n. 7 above, 727.
95 J.-A. Piganiol de la Force, Nouvelle description de la France, I, L'Isle-de-France, 3rd ed., Paris, 1753, 269. Four of the supporting figures had been sold when the author saw the ornament in the early eighteenth century. For a description of the techniques involved in producing 'joyaux' or richly ornamented reliquaries like this and the following, and their appearance, see M. Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late XIVth Century and the Patronage of the Duke, London, 1967, 141-143 with associated photographic reproductions.
96 Piganiol, n. 95 above, 271; Religieux de saint-Denis, n. 13 above, 554. On this occasion the Poissy nuns almost secured as well a crown enriched with gold and precious stones which had been lent for the ceremony by the Abbey of St. Denis. By tradition the secular clothing cast during vestiture was claimed
church a crystal cross supported above a 'Notre-Dame de pitié' and a Veronica, also finely worked with jewels. A letter from the prioress Marie de Bourbon, dated 15 October 1397, thanks Jean, duc de Berry for the 'grands biens' which he bestowed on the church and the community. The date indicates that this gift could also have been associated with Marie de France's entry on the day of the Nativity of the Virgin (8 September); it was quite likely the large altarpiece bearing his portrait and arms which he donated to the church. Made by the Embrich in Venice, the three-part work in ivory bas-relief and wood marquetry consists of numerous square panels depicting events from the lives of John the Baptist, Christ and John the Evangelist (Fig. 87); in the two extreme lower panels, Jean de Berry and his second wife, Jeanne de Boulogne, are separately presented by their respective patron saints (eg. Fig. 88). Berry's brother, Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, ordered two altarpieces from the same workshop which he presented to Champmol, the Charterhouse church in Dijon in 1393, so Berry could well have already owned his retable in 1397. Philippe le Hardi celebrated Marie de France's entry and profession with further fine gifts to the church: firstly a gilt silver Virgin and Child with a golden crown, decorated with gems and pearls in combination with a gem-encrusted crystal reliquary, and then a golden 'tableau' valued at 100 écus. Jean de Berry also gave a small gold and enamelled reliquary to Marie de France herself, at some time after it had been given to him in 1412. This again was richly by the monastery. Marie de France was offered to Christ wearing a long robe and cloak of gold, topped by the rich diadem. A complaint by the abbey's representative was heard by the king, who had ordered the loan of the crown to be made. He compensated the nuns' loss with 600 écus (ibid.).

Piganiol, n. 95 above, 271. This item can be recognised among the objets d'art broken apart in 1789 so that the nuns could sell the gold and silver to pay their government imposition ('le quart patriottique de nos revenus et le don patriotique pour les besoins de l'état'): 'Notre Dame de pitié, retiré la grande croix de cristal les perles et autres pierres précieuses' (Yvelines, III Q 60, "Etat de largenterie vendue en 1789", no. 39).

Paris, Archives Nationales, J 188, no. 57.


100 Dehaenes, n. 42 above, II, 712. These are smaller than the Poissy retable but cover similar subject matter: the one the Passion of Christ, the other the life of John the Baptist. On these see P. M. de Winter, The Patronage of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy (1364-1404), PhD Diss., New York University, 1976, 191-193, figs 112-113.

101 Berry's retable gives no indication that it was made specifically for use at Poissy, and was probably ordered with another location in mind. Jean de Berry is known to have attended mass 'en lesglise des dames de Poissy' in August 1399, but this may only have been a perfunctory visit since the next day he attended the canonical church of Notre-Dame de Poissy (Lehoux, n. 10 above, II, 420 n. 4). Unaware of the evidence for the date of payment for the Burgundian retables, Molinier proposed that Berry's altarpiece was made in the early fifteenth century on the evidence of other wood marquetry work being arranged for the French royal household in 1408 (Molinier, p. 99 above, 229-232).

102 "Une des filles du roy se rendant religieuse à Poissy au mois d'octobre 1397, le duc de Bourgogne fit don à l'église d'une image de Notre Dame d'argent doré ayant sur sa teste une couronne d'or, garny de pierreries et de perles, tenant l'enfant Jesus en ses mains avec un reliquaire de cristal garny de pierreries'; 'Le 25 octobre 1407, jour que Marie de France, fille du roy, fut mise à Poissy, le duc lui fit present d'un tableau d'or vaillant c'escus' (Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1419) d'après les comptes de dépenses de leur hôtel, ed. E. Petit, Paris, 1888, 557, 587). The dates given in these accounts for the entry and profession of Marie de France differ from those recorded elsewhere, namely the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin (8 Sep) 1397 and the Feast of the Trinity (10 Jun) 1408 respectively (nn. 13 and 15 above).
decorated and multi-imaged, with a representation of 'une pitié de Nostre Seigneur' which included an angel carrying the crown of thorns, and an enamel Virgin and Child on the reverse.103

Interspersed with this succession of grand donations are four gift-books that the inventories state were removed from the royal and princely libraries for presentation to individual Poissy nuns. The earliest gift is a missal in French, which had entered Charles V's collection before 1373; the entry states that he gave this to the queen for her sister, the Poissy prioress Marie de Bourbon.104 If so it must have left the queen's collection before the queen's death in 1378 and therefore before Bourbon's election to this office in 1380.

The presence of such a book at Poissy deserves further comment. The readings for mass — the epistolary and evangelary — were first translated into French in 1336 for Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Philippe de Valois, and soon the missal itself was also available in the vernacular.105 Such versions seem to have been closely associated with royal patrons. The royal library held four copies of the vernacular missal during the reigns of Charles V and Charles VI. One still bore the arms of Charles V's queen, Jeanne de Bourbon, who had given a second version to her sister at Poissy as mentioned above.106 The queen's missal was then removed by Charles VI for his uncle, Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, and was possibly that inventoried as in the Duke's oratory in 1404.107 It appears, though, that the complete missal was not available in French at this time. The Burgundian inventory itemises the book as 'la plus grant partie des cayers d'un messel', and states that a full translation was not made because it was said to be improper to translate such a book, especially the holy canon ('le quel a esté laissié a par faire, pour ce que on dist qu'il n'est pas expedient de transalater tel livre en especial le saint Canon'). A version from the third quarter of the fifteenth century (Yale, Beinecke Library, ms 425) translates part of the canon but omits the consecration prayers, the omission signalled by the rubrics (fol. 151).108 Among the five extant missals in French is one Dominican version, which also contains the normal components of a Book of Hours (in Latin); these include the Hours of the Virgin and

103 'Item, un petit reliquaire d'or où il a une Pitié de Nostre Seigneur, garny entour de deux bailiaiz et trois grosses perles; et dessus a un angel tenant une maniere de couronne d'espines; et dedans ledit reliquaire a plusieurs reliques; et par derriere a une image de Noster Dame tenant son enfant, faicie d'esmal; lequel reliquaire ainsi garny...' (Inventaires de Jean duc de Berry (1401-1416), ed. J. Guiffrey, I, Paris, 1894, 40-41). A reliquary with a 'front' and 'back', perhaps of similar type to this, and now in the British Museum, was also owned by Jean de Berry (see Meiss, n. 95 above, figs 571, 582).

104 See catalogue entry for details.


107 Delisle, n. 42 above, I, 161; de Winter, n. 42 above, 129.

Office of the Dead for Paris use (Oxford, Keble College, ms 38). The missal section presents rubricated instructions in French and cues to the Latin texts. The canons of the mass was originally copied into this manuscript, but it and sacerdotal prayers were then erased and parchment pasted over the damaged area. This well-illustrated version dates from the second quarter of the fifteenth century; the mix of Dominican and Paris use point strongly to a noble lay owner who probably lived in Paris.

Yet the missal was normally a priest's book, and Wilmart has ascertained that of over 800 examples catalogued in French public collections by Leroquais, only three — signalled by the inclusion of popular eucharistic prayers to accompany the canon — were owned by lay persons. The two Latin missals known from Poissy give every indication that they were made for the priest when officiating at the high altar of the church of St Louis. The nuns' contribution to High Mass was contained in the chants of the Dominican gradual; this does not include the canon which is the province of the priest. It is therefore not absolutely clear to what use Marie de Bourbon put her French missal — if indeed it was a Dominican version like the Keble College manuscript — since a nun who contributed in her own right to the solemn service had not the same requirement as a lay person of such a book in order to 'follow the mass'. She could, though, have used it for this purpose while attending low masses said entirely by a priest, or she might have made use of it for personal devotion. Indeed, the nuns may have possessed at least one other missal for in 1571 Marie de Pardieu, probably sub-prioress herself, bequeathed to this office 'un beau messet'. This could, of course, refer to the same book since no trace of Marie de Bourbon's missal is now evident.

Two of the royal gift-books are extant. They are the richest manuscripts known from Poissy, and were both gifts to Marie de France (Figs 89 & 90). The Psalter of St Louis (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, mss lat 10525), one of her sainted grandfather's books, was removed from the royal library of her father, Charles VI, in 1400 or shortly after. Jean de Berry took the silk-covered Belleville Breviary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, mss lat 10483-4) from his collection to give to his niece in October 1413. The breviary is non-ferial. The breviary is Dominican but has received no update since its production in the 1320s and lacks the nine-lesson octave for the feast of St Louis that was celebrated at

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110 Wilmart, n. 51 above, 373 n. 1.
111 Garrett 41 and Egerton 3037, discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively.
112 Paris, BN fr 5009, fol. 15. See also Chapter 6 n. 47.
113 Vatican, ms Pal lat 1958, an unillustrated version made outside Paris in 1368, is the only extant volume to present the gift to Marie de Bourbon; for this and other versions, all dated to after 1470, see Delaisé, n. 105 above, 18-19, 25, 27; Cahn and Marrow, n. 108 above, 252-253 (no. 74); Plummer, The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530 from American Collections, New York, 1982, 51-52 (no. 68); B. A. Shailer, The Medieval Book, Toronto, 1991, 53 (no. 48).
114 According to the inscription on the initial folio of the manuscript; see Catalogue entry for details, and bibliography, concerning the Psalter of St Louis.
115 Guiffrey, n. 103 above, 254-255; see Catalogue entry for details concerning the two-volumed Belleville Breviary, and further bibliography. Its ownership at Poissy is discussed in Chapter 6 Part 2b; its illustration is compared with that of breviaries made for Poissy in Chapter 3 Part 2a.
Poissy. These richly illustrated books would, therefore, have been of limited use in choir. However, they may have functioned in a devotional sense. The extensive series of full-page Old Testament miniatures in St. Louis' psalter, each simply explained on the verso in French, could have provided for the child-princess' pleasure, and her reading and religious education (Fig. 89). The breviary's visual expression of erudite (Dominican) Christian dogmas could have provided its twenty-year-old nun-recipient with material for more mature consideration. Explained in French, as a preface to the first volume, this complex programme was linked over the twelve calendar pages, two intermediary full-page miniatures, and the eight psalter divisions. The imagery of the two integrated series interrelates firstly the transmission from the Old to the New Law with the Articles of the Creed, their apostolic authors and Pauline preaching (Fig. 90), and secondly the Christian Sacraments with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit and the Vices and Virtues.

Whatever use Marie de France made of the books, after her death in 1438 the nuns may have effectively treated the psalter as a saintly relic, as appears to have been the case in later centuries, although the prioress did lend it outside the house before 1484. The breviary became the property in 1454 of the first of the Jouvenal des Ursins nuns to enter Poissy, daughter of an influential family which at this time was self-consciously promoting its newly attained social rank and masking its bourgeois origins by claiming descent from the Italian Orsini. She immediately replaced the closures displaying the royal arms with a new set bearing images that were made of fine gold. It was probably also she who had all the page-edges painted with the Ursins arms amid foliage (Fig. 91). The surviving covers are velvet, in marked contrast to the hard-wearing leather of other Poissy breviaries rebound during this period (eg. Fig. 78), indicating that the volumes were never in daily use in choir. Since no scribal addition or alteration was made to the breviary, its liturgical usefulness would have always been limited. Conceivably, then, Marie des Ursins kept the two volumes for personal display, reflecting an attitude (and perhaps an ambition since she later became prioress) which cannot otherwise now be glimpsed at the house at this period and which is at variance with the unassuming piety recorded for her four nieces there. Nevertheless in


118 It was lent to Charlotte de Savoie, queen to Louis XI (see Catalogue entry for details).


120 Marie des Ursins is absent from L'Année dominicaine, the biographical sketches published in the seventeenth century to preserve the memory of Dominicans noted for their piety, that took their material from institutional records. These accounts, though, single out all four of the prioresses' nieces as pious, humble, sweet, modest, etc. (ibid. ed. J.-B. Feuillet, Amiens, I, 1678, 723-724 (the second Marie, see
their turn they too became the owners of this richly-presented breviary which bears their arms, in distinct contrast to their other surviving manuscript, the sombre book of the Unterlinden austerities discussed above.

Katherine de Harcourt entered Poissy with Marie de France in order to see that all was well with her until she grew out of childhood, and to act legally on her behalf. She owned the Meditations on the Life of Christ discussed earlier. At some time before 1402, Jean de Berry also found a manuscript in his library which was suitable as a gift for her: a well-written, illustrated and richly ornamented noted psalter, with covers and clasps of matching opulence.

A further bequest of books could also have come to Marie de France at Poissy. Her mother, Queen Isabeau de Bavière, named the nun as supervisory executrix in her third will, made in 1431, four years before she died. She left Marie de France her tableaux (of gold and silver and other materials), and the horae and other books in her chapel on the day of her death, as well as tapestries, dresses and other goods. Should her daughter die first, the community at Poissy would receive the same bequest. She also bequeathed jewels to her daughter which were being held for the queen in safe-keeping. In return, the entire community was monthly to chant a solemn mass in perpetuity (a Mass of the Virgin while she still lived and a Requiem Mass after her death) for herself and Charles VI; an anniversary service on the day of Charles VI’s death; and yearly services for her daughter and herself in which every nun would participate (to include the commendations, an overnight vigil with psalms, and the penitential psalms). A pledge that this would be done already sent her under the seals of the priores and the monastery.

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121 C. M. Mooney, Queenship in Fifteenth Century France, PhD Diss., Ohio State University, 1977, 282-285.
122 Possibly not picture panels but ‘joyaux’ or reliquaries made of translucent enamelled silver, gilded and decorated with pearls and gems on filigree projections (see Meiss, n. 95 above, 141-143). See above for examples of these wares already presented to the nuns at this time.
123 item, et parallèlement donnons et défaisons a nostre treschere et tresamée fille Marie de France reliugieuse a Poissy nos debtes payées et nostre testament accomplui nos tableaux dor et dargent et autres quelconques, avec les livres et heures qui seront trouvez en nostre Chapelle au jour de nostre deceds et nos chambres de tapisseryes et avec ce toutes nos robes quelles quelles soient, et generallement tous les biens meubles qui nous demeureront a pres nostre deceds quelque part quils soient, et au cas que nous survivions nostredicte fille nous en contemplation de ladite Eglise de Poissy ou elle a usé et use ses iours donnons et laisson ladsicte eglice audicet cas toutes les choses dessudicte parmy ce quils seront tenus de faire dire et celebrer une mesure solennelle en ladite Eglise par tout le convent dicile, par
Marie de France did outlive her mother. Moreover, if the queen’s manuscript purchases and holdings between 1387 and 1403, and in 1416 are any measure, then she should be expected to have had finely-made horae and other books in her chapel at her death. Isabeau de Bavière was the first French queen to have her own argenterie,126 and its full, personal accounts show her to have taken exceptional care with her books, renovating, rebinding and replacing them at need. The frequency of this also suggests that she did use, and use often, her various horae and other books of devotion. Indeed she purchased candle-sconces of ivory expressly so she might read them when it was dark.127 One of her ladies of honour acted as librarian, and the great majority of her books were religious or pious in nature.128 Among these sorts of manuscripts, some or all of which could conceivably have been in her chapel at her death some thirty years later, are a psalter which was given new clasps in 1398 and recovered in figured black velvet in 1401129 and two breviaries from her chapel (or perhaps a two-volume breviary), which were cleaned, rewritten and re-noted over glued parchment repairs, and rebound in leather in 1402.130 The Passion of Christ was translated into French for her in 1398131 and a Life of St. Margaret written and decorated.132 Over the period between 1388 and 1416 she owned at least four illuminated horae (her ‘Bonnes Heures’ apparently illustrated on every page) and perhaps as many ‘Books of Devotions’; these were at times enlarged with new text and extra illustrations, and were regularly cleaned and refurbished with new golden clasps and fine covers of brocade or velvet.133

chacun mois à tousjoursmain doreravant [d’ores en avant] la quelle nous voulons estre dicte de Nostre Dame nostre vie devant et après nostre trespas, de requiem, pour le salut et remede de l’ame de feu monsieur qui a Dieu pardons, et de nous.

Item, un service pour l’ame de feu Mondict seigneur par chacun an a tousjoursmain, au jour de son trespas.

Item semblablement un service pour le salut et remede de nostre ame et un pour nostredicte fille Marie, a tousjoursmain par chacun an aux jours qui plair a nostre Seigneur nous prendre et avec ce seront tenus ledictes Religieuses de faire dire par chacune des religieuses de ladite eglise recommandacies psautier vigilles Septpsalmes par la maniere qu’il est accustomee de faire en ladite eglise en cel cas desquelles choses elles ont promis de nous en bailer lettres scellées des seaux desdijtes prières et conveu de Poissy.

Item pareillement donnons a nostredicte fille, nos deutes payées et nos testaments accomplis tous les joyaux que le seigneur de saint Georges a de nous en garde et desquels nous avons builli a nostredicte fille lettres esquelles ils font bien au long declarez et se n’estoit que nostre vie devant nous les eussions recouvrez et allouez.


126 Mooney, n. 123 above, 99. To mid 1393 the queen’s book expenses were undertaken by the king’s argenterie (Paris, Archives nationales, KK 18, 19, 21-23), then until the last known entry in 1416 her own argenterie made payment (Paris, Archives nationales, KK 41-43, 49; all entries published in Vallet de Viriville, n. 42 above, 675-687).

127 In 1394 and 1402. See ibid., 678, 685.

128 Ibid., 665-666.

129 Ibid., 679, 685.

130 Ibid., 685.

131 Ibid., 680; Delisle, n. 106 above, I, 1868, 50.

132 Vallet de Viriville, n. 42 above, 679-680.

133 Ibid., 671 and passim; it is impossible to assess the exact number of horae and other devotional books since they are rarely differentiated by description. An estimation (from Vallet de Viriville’s extracts
Surprisingly, the queen's final will is in complete contrast to two earlier versions which do not mention her nun-daughter at all.134 The queen's poverty and other difficulties which she suffered after Charles VI's death in 1422 — among them her general unpopularity and vilification, her final years spent as a recluse in English-occupied Paris and her dependence for funding herself and her household on the Duke of Bedford, the English regent135 — may have led her to have closer contact with this daughter. It could also be the reason why no manuscripts from this bequest can be identified today as books which were held at Poissy, for she may not still have had them when she died in 1435.136 Moreover, the will was subject to approval by the state and asserts that any distribution of goods was on condition that all debts be paid first. Nonetheless, rich liturgical vestments from the queen were inventoried in 1505 at the abbey of St. Denis,137 apparently from an endowment she made on her deathbed which gave the monks the ornaments of a chapel.138 Presumably this was the chapel in her residence, the Hôtel de Saint-Pol, and the same chapel which was to provide the Poissy endowment. However the monks did not receive their bequest until fifteen years after her death, and then only upon an order of king Charles VII.139 No real conclusion concerning the outcome of the queen's Poissy donation can therefore be attempted unless further information becomes available.140

of the accounts) that the queen owned nine horae and sixteen other books of devotion (Groag Bell, n. 75 above, 750) takes no account that often the same books were being updated, repaired and refashioned. 134 In these the nuns at Poissy were to receive a perpetual endowment of 10 livres (or 200 francs) for yearly celebration on the day of the queen's death; nuns would receive 30 francs for marking her death with a solemn service, with vigil and commendations celebrated in the church 'le plus tôt que bonnement faire se pourra'. The Dominican nuns at Montargis received similar requests (Paris, BN, fr 6544, ff. 1, 7). For discussion of all three wills see Mooney, n. 123 above, 275-290.

135 Ibid., 286.

136 Some books inscribed as belonging to Isabeau de Bavière are in fact copies into which the original dedication was transcribed. Among these are manuscripts of the Passion of Christ: Paris, Arsenal ms 2038 (written 1466); ms 2586 (fifteenth century); Troyes, BM, ms 1257 (fifteenth century; my sincere thanks to Mme A. Plassard, conservator at Troyes, who amply described this manuscript for me). The text has been edited from Paris, BN fr 966, a manuscript made in c. 1440 for Charles d'Orléans (see E. E. DuBruck, La passion de sainte Isabeau. Une édition du manuscrit fr. 966 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, New York, Berne and Frankfurt, 1990); for other copies see Delisle, n. 106 above, I, 50. A fifteenth-century Hours for use of Metz (Paris, BN, lat 1403), despite its later inscription, was not made for the queen (Leroquais, Livres d'heures, I, 239-241). Certain missals contain the queen's arms together with those of her husband Charles VI and their son the dauphin, Louis de Guyenne, so cannot be considered as properly her own (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 413 and 513; see Leroquais, Missels, II, 345; M. Bernard, Répertoire de manuscrits médiévaux contenant des notations musicales, II, Paris, 1966, 31, 119). One horae which she did own, to judge from the closures bearing her arms, was already in Jean de Berry's library by 1402; it was formerly his mother's and was given him by Isabeau de Bavière's daughter Isabelle, the queen of England (for inventory entry see Delisle, n. 122 above, 105, no. 21). Another illustrated horae, made in Paris in about 1400 with a portrait of a queen, has been identified as belonging to Isabeau de Bavière (L. M. J. Delaissé, "Le livre d'heures d'Isabeau de Bavière. Problèmes de méthode en histoire de la miniature", Scriptorium, 4, 1950, 252-256). This book, now privately owned, should perhaps have been a candidate for Poissy; it contains, however, no identification marks at all.

137 A blue satin chasuble, embroidered with fleurs-de-lis and decorated with gold, silver and pearls, and another (for winter?) of blue velvet decorated with the queen's arms and images with gold and pearls, each with matching vestments for deacon and sub-deacon (B. de Montesquiou-Pézensuc, Le trésor de Saint-Denis, II, Paris, 1977, 251).

138 M. Félibien, L'histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis de France, Paris, 1706, 349; de Montesquiou-Pézensuc, n. 137 above, 251. This was in addition to the Hôtel de Saint-Ouen with all its appartences which she bequeathed them in her will of 1431 (see Mooney, n. 123 above, 324, n. 7).

139 Félibien, n. 138 above, 349.
Gifts of all kinds placed an imposition on their recipients according to Dominican rule, and an obligation to pray for the donor's soul was insisted upon in the Constitutions. Many of Philippe le Bel's material endowments were given to the nuns with the obligation to pray for his late wife's soul, for the repose of his own soul, or for the souls of his relatives or predecessors. Marie de Bourbon spelt out the nuns' commitment in her acknowledgement of Jean de Berry's 1397 gift to the house: a yearly mass and obit in perpetuity for the duke, his wife and children as well as remembrances in the normal prayers for benefactors. And, as we have seen, the liturgical demands associated with Isabeau de Bavière's generous endowment were ensured her by the nuns' prior committal in writing. Although the degree of obligation involved is not clear in the case of personal book gifts, some kind of discipline following compline was required — of friars, if not of nuns — 'for their own sins or for those of others whose gifts supported them'. This included nightly recital of the penitential psalms and the litany.

Katherine de Harcourt's luxury noted psalter was the one book among the established royal gift-books which could have been used liturgically by its owner, the psalter being the most universal of the liturgical texts. This may also be the reason why three other psalters, from varied locations, could find their way into ready use at the monastery. By happy chance the means by which the Poissy nuns might get hold of such books is recorded in the register of the Dominican Master General's correspondence for 1491. On 22 August the nun Agnès Piesdoře was informed that under pain of excommunication she must, within eight days of receiving the notice, return a psalter which belonged to the convent at Angoulême; on 10 September she was permitted to keep a psalter from a 'fratre Petroflandi!'. Although it is not clear whether this is the same book, her keenness to take possession of one of the friars' psalters is without question.

Only one of the three extant 'foreign' illustrated psalters has been altered for specific liturgical use in the choir at Poissy. The other two might, therefore, have found more application as devotional books. Yet again they could also have been used during the night.

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140 But compare the conjecture that the substantial legacy arrived at Poissy just at the right time during this needy period (Moreau-Rendu, n. 8 above, 129).
143 'Une messe et obit estre celebre chascun an a tousjoursmais perpetuellement par nous et nos sucesserressees suers de la dicte esglise pour nostre dit seigneur ma dicte dame sa femme enfants et autres amis et benefacteurs apres leur deces' (Paris, Archives Nationales, J 188, no. 57).
144 Tugwell, n. 86 above, 96.
146 22 Aug 1491: Agnes Pidoe... infra 8 dies a noticia presentium debeat restituisse unum psalterium quod tenet de conventu Engolismen' eidem conventui vel eius procuratori. 10 Sep 1491: Agnes Pidoe potest... retinere psalterium quod a fratre Petroflandi propositio(?) chorum precentorum erint(!) (Santa Sabina, IV, 10, ff. 38v, 41).
vigils the nuns kept beside their dead sisters,\textsuperscript{147} or for the suffrages required on the anniversaries of deceased friars, nuns and other stipulated persons.\textsuperscript{148} One of these psalters (Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, ms Ricketts 24) was made in the Franco-Flemish area in the thirteenth century (Fig. 92). In addition to the normal 8-partite illustrative scheme in this manuscript, Psalm 114 ('Circumdederunt me...') is emphasised with an illustration of an altar. Since this is the opening psalm for the Office of the Dead, perhaps this psalter became a fitting accompaniment to the vigils required of the Poissy nuns. The book was enlarged, in the third quarter of the fourteenth century in Paris, with a series of Marian verses and three versions of the Marian psalter. At this time, too, the illumination on the first page was refurbished in contemporary style, perhaps because it had become worn (Fig. 93). The first indication of the book's ownership at Poissy is only in the later fifteenth century, more or less contemporary with its blind-stamped leather covers. It is the only known Poissy book to include the Marian psalter, so central to the worship of Flemish beguines; it is uncertain to what extent these texts found a use in the nuns' devotional practices.\textsuperscript{149}

A Flemish psalter made in the thirteenth century in Bruges, to which an Office of the Dead for Cambrai use was later added (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 604), came to Poissy via the Burgundian court where it had been owned in the mid-fifteenth century. The extant blind-stamped binding of about 1500 could have been given the book when it got to the monastery, although the only Poissy ex libris refers to Antoinette de Ranty, who professed in 1535.\textsuperscript{150} The full-page miniatures at the psalter divisions, concentrating on Christological events and including a monumental image of Dominic and Francis (Fig. 72), might have found private devotional use in the house. Since no antiphons were ever added to the psalms (in 10-partite arrangement rather than the 8-partite format usual at Poissy), and the Office of the Dead differs from the Dominican version, it is hard to see that the book could have had a normal liturgical function despite the fact that it was later given for use in choir.\textsuperscript{151}

It might be useful at this stage to consider its Poissy owner, Antoinette de Ranty, who possessed as well the Belleville Breviary, left to her by Claude des Ursins. It can hardly be coincidence that the one nun should own two manuscripts whose psalter illustrations

\textsuperscript{147} As mentioned earlier, the complete psalter was chanted by a few sisters during this vigil. On the occasion of an important death, for instance the prioress Marie de la Rochefoucault in 1562, it is recorded that for two nights the nuns in their choir, shielded by the grill, kept vigil over the body while friars from Poissy and Paris contributed their own vigil in the church outside the nuns' choir (Paris, BN, ms fr 5009, f. 28).

\textsuperscript{148} As well as specific obligations to patrons, such as those itemised by Isabeau de Bavière above, Chapter 3 of the Constitutions, \textit{De suffrages mortuorum}, required that between the feast of St. Denis and Advent (9 October to 30 November), [Latin-] literate sisters should say the psalter on anniversaries of deceased friars and nuns, the illiterate say the Lord's prayer 50 times; they should do the same for deceased Masters General and Provincial priors and for a visitor should he have died during his inspection. The seven penitential psalms and Office of the Dead were by the literate on other occasions in the year (Cln 10170, f. 131).

\textsuperscript{149} See Catalogue entry for a more detailed description of these texts and discussion of the manuscript.

\textsuperscript{150} Paris, BN, ms fr 5009, f. 6.

\textsuperscript{151} See Catalogue entry for details and discussion of manuscript.
(elaborated in conjunction with those of the calendar in the summer volume of the Belleville Breviary) have been programmed in erudite, but different, theological manners. They are also the only books of this kind identified at the monastery, although neither was made for use there. Unfortunately, little is known about Antoinette de Ranty. She was not singled out for inclusion among the nuns at Poissy noteworthy for their piety, scholarship or business sense. But equally, she is not among those recorded as receiving (presumably upon request) concessions to increase their physical comfort from the Masters General of the Order in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We do, however, know something of her maîtresse, Claude des Ursins, considered a scholarly nun in her own right and among the relatively few women writers of the Order treated in Quéfig and Échard’s eighteenth-century bibliographical entries. As mentioned above she was Mistress of Novices and wrote a treatise on the duties attending this office; she had studied Latin. It seems unlikely that she would fail to instil a similar intellectual attitude in her charge, who also happened to be her niece by marriage. The programme of the Belleville Breviary — a complex linking of the dogmas of the church — has been outlined above; the cycle of Arsenal 604 is quite different and associates the week, as experienced through the psalter divisions for matins, with post-resurrection events from the life of Christ and with simple mendicant imagery (Fig. 72), and daily vespers with the triumphal Coronation of the Virgin. Both illustrative cycles involve the Apostles: perhaps no more than non-specific signpost-initials at the ten divisions of Arsenal 604 (Fig. 72), each is tied firmly and by name to an article of the creed in the twelve calendrical divisions of the Belleville Breviary and associated with a particular prophet whose prototypical statement he uncovers and clarifies (Fig. 90: lower margin). Assuming that the illustrative programmes in her two books were used for their intended purpose then a thoughtful and informed meditative application was demanded from their nun owner. Alternatively, though, Ranty’s personal possession of two of the most eloquently illustrated luxury manuscripts at the house could reflect more this nun’s aesthetic sensibility rather than her religious commitment.

A third thirteenth-century psalter to come to Poissy was made in North-Eastern France (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, ms Trübner 126). It is again 10-partite in its decorative programme, but the imagery is close to the normal Davidian programme found in most psalters at Poissy (eg. Fig. 94). Its earliest known Poissy owners include the humility-seeking Jeanne Barthelmy, instanced above. The three nuns altered it to meet their own (Dominican) needs, and it is likely that this scribal renovation was conducted within the monastery since the evidence of the horae Bowes 8 demonstrates that the nuns were already transcribing complete works. To this psalter they added appropriate antiphons, and

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152 Quéfig and Échard, n. 80 above, II, 1721, 840. On the relationship ‘maîtresse-escolière’ between an older and younger nun at Poissy see Chapter 6 Part 2b.

153 See Paris, BN, ms lat 10483, ff. 1, 444 (transcribed in Catalogue entry); Claude’s younger sister, Catherine, had married François de Renty (Anselme, Histoire généalogique, II, 46).


155 See Table 2.1 and Catalogue entry.
instructions in French. They also carefully scraped away the unsuitable text of the litany (retaining only the first few lines of the Kyrie with its pen-flourished initial K) and replaced it with the litany and collects in current practice at Poissy, effectively matching the original scribal and decorative style (Fig. 95). The calendar was also altered. Now the book could accurately serve its owners, not just in choir but throughout the long ritual associated with the death of a nun until the completion of the overnight vigil.  

During the period treated in this chapter there is continual evidence that the nuns at Poissy altered their books to meet their changing needs. They appear to have done much, if not all, of this work themselves. The updating seems more commonly to have been realised as additions or changes to the original book, but could also involve a completely new volume which contained only texts that had become inadequate or that were absent from the original. The refurbished books included both manuscripts which the nuns themselves made and which had been made for them — the processional and other liturgical volumes — as well as the incoming psalter just described. At this time, anyway, before Dominican books were printed in France, the nuns took considerable care that their liturgical manuscripts did not become obsolete. But there is also evidence that they were concerned that the additions and alterations to some of their books should not be stylistically at variance with what went before. So they simulated the earlier scribal hand of the psalter just mentioned: the rewritten text follows without obvious visible break beneath the original words of the Kyrie (Fig. 95).

In their martyrology (Clm 10170), made in about 1300, they did the same thing. A particular concern must have been given to this continually-altered book, and it may have had an important ritual function during the election ceremony for a new prioress. Since it saw daily use in Chapter it can rarely have left the house, so it is unlikely that anyone other than the nuns would have made the frequent two- or three-letter alterations. They scraped away just as much of the wording of the earlier ranks of feasts as was necessary, updating this so that it can barely be discerned. The entry for St. Louis was likewise scraped away quite early and an expanded version meshed in, while other marginal additions at this period also comply well with the original appearance. Such an aesthetic sensitivity is reflected also in Rawl. liturg. f 35. In the sixteenth century when, in a similar hand to that of the alterations to the Tribner psalter, the nuns added processional chants to the original fourteenth-century processional and a horae and other private devotions that had been added in the fifteenth century, they scraped away the earlier introductory capital letter of each and repainted them so that they matched the new addition and the book would give the appearance of a single entity. These examples of a practice repeated in the various books that were altered for the monastery point to a capacity by the nuns to recognise differing scribal hands and styles of decoration and indicate that the nuns had the scribal competence to reproduce them; they also reveal a desire for uniformity and, quite possibly, an empathy with earlier tastes. The flowering of these archaising skills in the production of a number of richly decorated, illustrated liturgical manuscripts is explored in the next chapter.

156 See Catalogue entry for further detail.
157 See Chapter 6 Part 2a and n. 45.
Chapter Five

Monastic Production of Fine-Quality Manuscripts
(c. 1480 — c. 1590)

1. Reform and resistance

From an early date individual princesses and the prioress at Poissy received papally-sanctioned extra-claustral privileges. In 1312 Marie de Clermont was allowed to speak at table whenever she dined outside the refectory,¹ and a separate habitation for nun-princesses like herself was functioning by 1317.² Isabel d’Artois had a new room built in 1325, and she, Isabel de Valois and the founding prioress, Matthée de la Roche, also obtained permission during that year and the next to dine and speak with nun-colleagues outside the refectory.³ In 1336 Isabel de Valois, with companions, was authorised to pass outside the nuns’ cloister through a closed way to visit her relatives in the royal hospice.⁴ Early in the following century Marie de France was possibly given greater dispensations.⁵ There is no evidence, however, that other nuns enjoyed the same kinds of privileges during this period.

By the 1470s, however, concessions had multiplied and become widespread. Dominican Masters General were sanctioning to a considerable degree the private, non-communal attitudes of a large number of individual friars and nuns throughout the Order.⁶ According to the registers many Poissy nuns between 1470 and 1505 requested and received permission to relieve monastic discipline (often after pooled applications) for which illness

⁵ See Chapter 4, n. 16.
was only rarely given as reason. The more common concessions included dispensation from the lenten fast and rigours of dress; confessing to a priest of one's own choice with complete absolution, four times a year or yearly; sleeping, eating and entertaining guests in private rooms; eating meat; and disposing of rooms and other private belongings to recipients of choice within the Order. In 1482 even dispensation from attending the Divine Office over winter was allowed some nuns. There was also a general presumption of such concessions at Poissy, which the Master General forbade in 1491 under pain of gravis culpa; in the same letter he warned the prioress that she must punish those nuns who wandered about the church during the Divine Office.

Reform of French Dominican houses had begun in 1465 with the incorporation of the northern French convents of Lille and Douai into the ancient 'Congregation of Holland'. The friars at St. Jacques in Paris were admitted in 1502, but not without challenging the reform in court. The nuns at Metz accepted reform in 1503.

In November 1506, the then head of the Congregation of Holland within the Dominican Order and confessor to the king, the Frenchman Jean Clerée, made a visitation to Poissy. He found considerable violation of the rule: there were no common goods; cloister was not maintained and males and females freely entered the monastery; the nuns had their own rooms; they did not wear religious habit; and they passed their belongings and habitations on from one to the other. He initiated reform by deposing the prioress, upon which she...

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7 See ibid.; Santa Sabina, IV, 3 (1474-78), ff. 34, 34v, 35, 257v; IV, 4 (1478-80), ff. 13v, 16, 19, 91v; IV, 6 (1481-83), ff. 13v, 16v, 17v, 21v; IV, 7 (1486), ff. 20, 22; IV, 9 (1487-1491), ff. 23, 26, 37v, 38, 41; IV, 10 (1491-94), ff. 25, 32, 33, 35v, 40-41, 42v; IV, 12 (1497-99), ff. 13, 16; IV, 15 (1501-05), ff. 15v, 24v, 27v, 36v; IV, 17 (1505-06), ff. 21.

8 Ibid., IV, 6, f. 21v.

9 Ibid., IV, 9, f. 43. Letter written on Master General's visit to Poissy, 20 Jan 1491.


12 Proces entre les Jacobins du couvent de Paris et le nommé Clerlé, 10 Mar 1501 (Paris, Archives Nationales, U 536, 13). See also n. 16 below.

13 de Meyer, n. 10 above, App. 14; Mortier, n. 10 above, 169.

14 Clerée had a special interest in Poissy for while Provincial of France he acted as vicar there in 1484 (Magistrorum ac procuratorum generalium O. P. Registra litterarum minora (1469-1523), ed. G. Meerssenman and D. Planzer, MOPH, 21, 1947, 36, no. 16). He subsequently undertook reform within the Congregation of Holland and was appointed its Provincial (Santa Sabina, IV, 14, f. 289). On the concern of the French king and the papal legate, Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, that Poissy be reformed see Paris, Archives Nationales, U 536, 27-28; Registra literarum Fr. Thomae de Vio Caietani OP Magni Ordinis 1508-1513, ed. A. de Meyer, MOPH, 17, 1935, 34; Mortier, n. 10 above, 133. Amboise was the brother of Charlotte d'Amboise, prioress at Poissy from 1479 until her death in 1497 (S. Moreau-Rendu, Le prieuré royal de saint-Louis de Poissy, Colmar, 1968, 133).

15 "il n'y avoit aucune communauté de biens... qu'il y avoit bien des fautes en clausur; que les hommes et les femmes entroyent audit Monastere; que chacune avoit des chambres; qu'elles ne portoient point l'habit de religion; qu'elles se succedoyent l'une a l'autre es biens et chambres" (Paris, Archives Nationales, U 536, 28); see also A. Renaudet, Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières Guerres d'Italie (1494-1517), Paris, 1916, 450.
and the nuns immediately appealed to the civil court, laying charges against him.\textsuperscript{16} According to reports of the proceedings Clerée threatened with excommunication those nuns who resisted his will and brought six observant nuns from the reformed house at Metz to instruct on regular observance and conduct of services; the reform was to be carried out under the control of the sub-prioress, the cellaress and Michelle Jouvenal des Ursins.\textsuperscript{17} When elected Master General the next year Clerée made an unprecedented ordinance at the Chapter General for approval of his actions at Poissy, indignantly stating that he had 'endured, on the part of certain nuns, all the insolence, all the contradiction, all the opposition possible. They had had him hauled (tractus fuit) before the civil tribunal because he had removed Jeanne d’Estouteville as prioress, since she was incompetent and opposed to reform, and had instituted in her stead Prégnante de Melun, a female of exceptional virtue...'.\textsuperscript{18}

Clerée died the next year; nevertheless the nuns' case against him continued unresolved until d'Estouteville's death in 1511.\textsuperscript{19} The Provincial of France, Giles Charonelle, had taken control of the Poissy reform on Clerée's death, but his group was soon removed. The new Master General claimed this privilege, and handed back its execution to the Congregation of Holland whose friars had already been established at Poissy. The Provincial, in turn, tried to install his own friars. In 1511 the Congregation of Holland pronounced that no friar at all, without written permission, might enter Poissy, or punishment would ensue.\textsuperscript{20} Similar fluctuations of power continued until 1513, with two camps at Poissy: the nuns and the Provincial, frequently backed by the Parliament, versus the prioress and her supporters from the Congregation of Holland who were backed by the Master General and also, at this time, Louis XII, whose Dominican confessor Guillaume Petit — Inquisitor of France and member of the Congregation of Holland — was among those members working to reform the Poissy nuns.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{16} Proces entre les religieuses de poissy et frere Jean Cleré, 28 Nov 1506 (Paris, Archives Nationales, U 536, 27-28). The challenge by the Paris friars against their own reform, in 1501, had also named Clerée, arguing that this house could not submit to a Vicar of the Congregation of Holland who acted against the sacred laws and practice of the French kingdom (as n. 12 above). There seems little doubt that the same friars supported, and were involved in, the nuns' cause at Poissy.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 28; Registres au Parlement, Vol. 171, ff. 1-10v, 36, 10 Mar and 12 Mar 1506 (!) (Paris, Archives Nationales, U 536, 30); Paris, Archives Nationales, X\textsuperscript{iv} 1510 bis, Court proceedings for 18 Mar 1507.

\textsuperscript{18} ACGOP, IV, 67; Mortier, n. 10 above, 133; Moreau-Rendu, n. 14 above, 137. Prégnante de Melun was not one of the Metz nuns, as has been claimed (see Renaudet, n. 15 above, 450). Daughter of the Melun and la Rochefoucauld families, her epitaph indicates that she had long been a nun at Poissy, entering young, serving as chantress for seventeen years and then mistress of novices for a 'fairly long period'; while a nun at Poissy in May 1505 she received a letter from the Master General permitting her to confess quarterly (Gallia Christina, VIII, Paris, 1744, col. 1340; Liste des prieures du monastere de S. Louis de Poissy, Ordre de S. Dominique..., repr. from 1644 publication, probably Paris, n. d, 10; Santa Sabina, IV, 17, f. 21).

\textsuperscript{19} Only then, 22 Jan 1511, did the court confirm Melun as prioress (Anselme, Histoire généalogique, VIII, 98). Another case against Clerée was initiated by the nuns in 1512: Entre les religieuses du monastere de Poissy appelles de maistre Jehan de la Haye confesseur la est de ceans et de foeu Jehan Cleree docteur en theologie (Paris, Archives Nationales, X\textsuperscript{iv} 1514, f. 36).

\textsuperscript{20} Registrum Coetani, n. 14 above, 37; de Meyer, n. 10 above, 301-302.

\textsuperscript{21} See Renaudet, n. 15 above, 450-452, 558-559.
In 1514 the Court confirmed the rights of the Provincial but Congregation friars obstructed him. Thereupon he had a friar preach his case during public worship in Paris. This man was gaol but appealed to the court and won. With this the Congregation of Holland excommunicated him for appealing to a public judge. They then imprisoned the Provincial and the friars placed by him at Poissy, and excommunicated the nuns who had chosen these men as their confessors. Parliament, however, ordered the friars’ release and the imprisonment of the head of the Congregation.22 These skirmishes were only relieved by royal intervention, when Louis XII informed Pope Leo X that he would not have French religious governed by Dutch or Flemish, who were subjects of the Emperor.23 In August 1514 the pope agreed to the creation of a new ‘Congréation Galicane’, which would incorporate every reformed Dominican house in locations under the control of the French crown.24 This ended the large-scale altercation. The nuns, however, were still unreformed. And though the French Provincial made another attempt in 1515, he apparently had little success since in 1521 François I wrote to Parliament pressing for reform at the monastery.25

At this stage the Master General took control: Francesco Silvestri wrote to the French Provincial, Pierre Martin, in 1525, placing Poissy under his care and forbidding entry to all friars unless especially licensed.26 He then visited the monastery himself, and the registers show that he remained there for protracted periods in June-July of 1527, then January-February and July of 1528.27 During this time he conducted the reform of the nuns at Prouille, who revolted, but he did not leave Poissy even to depose and excommunicate the prioress and senior nuns.28 Whatever degree of reform he achieved at Poissy, in 1553 such attempts were rescinded with the then Master General’s pronouncement that all concessions and exemptions were to be restored there.29 The next reform specific to Poissy took place in 1625.30

From 1506 until at least 1514, therefore, the Poissy nuns were embroiled at the centre of a most extraordinary concourse of events. Against the events of the time of Martin Luther, whose theses against papal indulgences were published in 1517, one sees played out in the monastery a serious conflict within the Dominican Order over whether the Congregation of Holland should take control of reform and of northern French houses from the Province of

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22 Ibid., 572-573.
23 Ibid., 574. The first war between the king of France and the Holy Roman Emperor would be conducted between François I and Charles V (Charles I of Spain) in 1521.
24 Mortier, n. 10 above, 170-173.
25 Paris, Archives Nationales, X14 1517, ff. 27v-28; Registres au Parlement, Vol. 258, f. 301, 12 Jul 1521 (Paris, Archives Nationales, U 536, f. 57); Renaudet, n. 15 above, 575.
26 Santa Sabina, IV 16, f. 263.
28 Mortier, n. 10 above, 280.
30 Santa Sabina, XII, nos 29, 31, 23; BOP, VI, 38-39.
France. The protracted attempt at reform continued at Poissy until at least 1528. Whatever its success in regularising religious life, it was accompanied by a particularly productive period of high quality manuscript-making at the monastery.

2. Books in archaising scribal and decorative styles

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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, Private Collection</td>
<td>Sotheby's 5.7.76, lot 86 (Processional - Office of the Dead)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, Union Theological Seminary, Bourke Library, ms 52 (Gradual - Prosar)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palaisnum, private collection (Exequial Liturgy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 381 (Ferial Psalter - Hymnal, etc)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris, private collection (Processional - Prosar)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth, State Library of Western Australia, ms 1 (Processional)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia Free Library, ms John F. Lewis 7 (Processional)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Versailles, Archives Départementales de Yvelines 73 H 11 (Compendium of monastic affairs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A valuable indication of book-copying practices at Poissy is provided by a leaf from the processional office of St. Dominic (Ferrini Sale, 1987, lot 50) which may be dated to the later fifteenth century (Fig. 97). As was noted in the previous chapter, the nuns were adept at matching older text and decoration so that alterations or additions to their finer quality, and presumably much valued, older books would not be obvious. The Ferrini leaf, though, is the earliest indication we have that the nuns re-created the scribal and decorative styles — and the mise-en-page — of a complete book already in their possession in order to furnish a new volume. In associating the leaf with Poissy, Sandra Hindman drew attention to its close correspondence to manuscripts from more than a century earlier, such as the Waddesdon Manor psalter-processional made for the house in the third decade of the fourteenth century: the folio size and decorative arrangement of the two books are very close; the script looks back to this period; while fourteenth-century-style narrow bar

31 O. Dufoire-Lairon, "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, 81.

32 Bruce P. Ferrini, Important Western Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts and Illuminated Leaves, Akron, Ohio, 1987, 79 (S. Hindman); the remnant is not from the Office of the Dead as the description suggests (see Catalogue entry for further details). I thank Dr. Christopher de Hamel for alerting me to this leaf and for his opinion on its likely date.

33 Lesser quality manuscripts seem not to have received the same attention.

34 Ferrini, n. 32 above.
borders with ivyleaf extensions have been stiffly and unimaginatively reproduced (cf. Fig. 97 with 96 and 44). The care given this fragment from part way through the feast of St. Dominic suggests that, like the Waddesdon Manor psalter-processional, the manuscript from which it came was also sumptuously decorated throughout; probably a large pictorial image introduced each new celebration.

At this period, too, the nuns continued their practice of updating earlier processions. Now, though, illustrations are provided for the added texts. Walters 107, made in the fourteenth century, received readings for Easter Week. The accompanying small miniature of the *Last Supper* adheres to the soft Parisian style current late in the fifteenth century; the surrounding floral border on liquid gold ground is likewise in contemporary tradition. Comparable commercial decorative and illustrative work also occurs in the single, opening illustration of the *Entry into Jerusalem* in a complete processional written around the turn of the century (Paris private collection) where placid rounded forms and soft colours are minimally livened by highlights hatched in gold (Fig. 139). A *hora* processional (Sotheby’s 6.12.83, lot 90), made in the early sixteenth century, is decorated and extensively illustrated in a similarly impersonal manner by an artist equally capable of depicting convincing recessive space (Figs. 138 & 152).

A psalter-hymnal including also the exequial liturgy and newer processional offices (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 381) is transcribed in a similar hand, possibly also at Poissy (Fig. 98). This elegant book is not historiated; its eight psalter divisions are emphasised by well-conceived illusionistic borders of shadowed insects and flowers on a reflective gold surface. Although not as convincing a *rompe l’œil* as those in a Book of Hours (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat 9474) made in Tours a few years earlier for Anne de Bretagne (Fig. 99), the Parisian work augments the de luxe aspect of a manuscript decorated throughout in initials of gold and colours. The volume was received as a gift on the profession of its nun-patron’s niece, Marie de Pardieu, in 1514.

At perhaps this time or slightly later the nuns began to transcribe in archaising script a group of manuscripts which they themselves also decorated with initials and borders modelled on examples of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The closely-related group thus continues and extends the practice first seen in the Ferrini leaf. Nine of these books — which include processional, the exequial liturgy and prosars — were, with the Sotheby *hora* processional considered above, ruled to identical dimensions. In these, 21 lines of text or 7 sets of words and music are contained within a textblock of 1015 x 625 mm and, although each has been rebound since initial production, the size of the folios is still sufficiently close to indicate that the vellum sheets used in their making

35 For example, Waddesdon Manor ms 13, illustrated in a style considered to be ‘in itself...not really a style but...probably the result of an impersonal fusion of different artistic traditions’ (L. M. J. Delaissé, J. Marrow and J. de Wit, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Illuminated Manuscripts*, Fribourg, 1977, 282).


37 See Catalogue entry for my argument against Leroquais’ unconvincing liturgical dating to the second half of the fifteenth century.
were originally also the same size (see Table 5.1). It appears, therefore, that for many books produced at the house at this time some kind of ruling template was in use. One of the least cropped of the group, the processional Philadelphia Free Library, ms Lewis 7, shows how harmonious a mise-en-page this regimen produced (Fig. 100). Nonetheless, manuscripts of larger and smaller dimensions, with different ruling arrangements were also fashioned during the period; all display similarly generous margins and were made from fine, bleached, flawless vellum. Comparison of the common page-layout with the horae Bowes 8, transcribed at Poissy in 1471, indicates that a well developed aesthetic had been established at the house for some time (cf. Figs 73 & 100).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.1</th>
<th>SIXTEENTH-CENTURY POISSY MANUSCRIPTS WITH IDENTICAL MISE-EN-PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Folio size (mm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chartres, Diocèse 6</td>
<td>184 x 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotheby’s 21.6.94, lot 50</td>
<td>180 x 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, Lewis 7</td>
<td>180 x 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotheby’s 6.12.83, lot 90</td>
<td>180 x 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, Egerton 2601</td>
<td>177 x 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heidelberg, Trübner 112</td>
<td>175 x 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palaisseau, private coll.</td>
<td>174 x 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth, State Lib. ms 1</td>
<td>170 x 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, McClean 63</td>
<td>170 x 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin, Wolffheim coll.</td>
<td>151 x 105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Superscript ° denotes areas calculated from photographic reproductions.

The two most closely related of these liturgical compilations are a Poissy processional which was added to an extant copy of the liturgy for death and burial (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Trübner 112) and a complete manuscript containing only the latter (Palaisseau, private collection) (Figs 102-104). Apparently written and decorated by the same hands, both transcriptions incorporate particularly ornamental cadels on red and blue squared grounds enlivened with flowers or scrolls in parchment relief. The textblock on illustrated pages is surrounded by a blue band which twirls at the corners while the two ornamental border registers are identical in each book: the inner is a wide baguette, usually of vineleaf whorls on a burnished gold ground; the outer is painted onto bare parchment in a similar pattern which also includes flowers of alternating purplish-pink and blue petals in the two manuscripts, and gold rings which occasionally link adjacent stems (cf. Figs 102 & 103). A decisively rendered, recognisable species of bird stands in the lower centre of the outer border. Comparable squarish miniatures in the two books are framed simply in liquid gold outlined in red, with either a single or double inner line. The illustration reveals a concern to render architectural space and rather voluminous, well-modelled red, blue and

38 The textblock size of three manuscripts, known only from sales catalogues, has necessarily been calculated from photographic reproductions. Since these are responsible for the outlying dimensions it is likely that the size is actually less variable than the range indicates.
tan garments, very slightly billowing, which are worn by particularly red-lipped individuals (Figs 102, 104 & 147). 39

The illustration is consistent with current procedures in Paris. However, the script and decoration are not. This dichotomy was first signalled for the Palaisseau manuscript in 1930 by its then owner, M. Meurgey, who also identified its Dominican female owner as a Poissy nun of the Ballet family from the arms depicted on the opening folio (Fig. 104). 40 The border decoration seems to have been influenced by work of the early fifteenth century, albeit fairly loosely, in which a three-sided framing baguette, ornamented on a gold ground, was enclosed by swirling vineleaf foliage on bare parchment (cf. Fig. 81). 41 In these later Poissy manuscripts, though, the baguette has been widened and fully encloses the textblock, while the outer design is stiffer and more contained. Like the ornamental procedure adopted by the nuns for the Ferrini leaf, it appears that in this instance, too, decorative borders in the nuns' earlier books provided a model to be copied and adapted.

The only page that has been reproduced from a now unlocatable, possibly lost, Poissy processional (Berlin, Werner Wolffheim Collection) exhibits a similar decorative pattern while using a freer and differently conceived arrangement of common motifs (Fig. 101). A further processional (Philadelphia Free Library, ms Lewis 7) varies the theme by substituting a black pen-line rinceau for the blue or pink painted vine-stems, with one border, usually the lower, frequently arranged in a near mirror-image symmetry around two birds, insects or other foci (Fig. 105). The outer border register in this manuscript is limited to three sides, and the same kind of arrangement occurs on a leaf from the start of the gospel readings in a horae of unknown use (Sotheby's, 21.6.94, lot 50) which, like all these manuscripts, is also written in an archaising gothic liturgical hand (Fig. 106). The closeness between this leaf and the Lewis processional, especially in the rather insistent symmetry of the lower border, leaves little doubt that it too was written and decorated at Poissy as Christopher de Hamel has proposed. 42 The illustrations are also closely related, reproducing voluminous, billowing draperies highlighted with gold pen-line hatching and outlined at the hems in gold (Figs 105-106, 131). As in the Berlin and Palaisseau manuscripts, the figure is placed in the forefront, behind which a limitless vista extends (Figs 101, 104 & 106).

The owners of three of these manuscripts are represented by their heraldic arms. 43 So far, however, the only identifiable blazon is that painted in the Palaisseau manuscript, the Baillet arms (Fig. 104). The illustrative style of the early sixteenth century indicates that this book

39 See also the published reproduction of fol. 82v with Resurrection miniature in W. Werner, Cimelio Heidelbergensis, Wiesbaden, 1975, 31-33.


41 Among the many other examples of this common Parisian decorative practice, whose outer register also may contrast pen-line rinceau-work with the thicker stems painted on the gold inner, see J. D. Farquhar, Creation and Imitation. The Work of a Fifteenth-century Manuscript Illuminator, New York, 1976, figs 7, 46; Sotheby's Sales Catalogue, 14 July 1981, lot 28, 21-22 with illustration; A. S. Farber, "Considering a Marginal Master. The Work of an Early Fifteenth-Century Parisian Manuscript Decorator", Gesta, 32, 1993, figs 24, 28.

42 Sotheby's Sales Catalogue, 21 June 1994, lot 50, 36-37.

43 For heraldic descriptions of all arms in Poissy manuscripts see individual Catalogue entries.
was made for Ragonde Baillet, a niece of two other nuns of the family at Poissy. Ragonde may have been relatively newly arrived at Poissy when in November 1490 she, a Longjoue cousin, and their two Baillet aunts were permitted to succeed to each others' possessions.\textsuperscript{44} Ragonde Baillet had been professed by September 1491 and died in 1554 after fulfilling the position of sub-prioress.\textsuperscript{45} Her long enclosure at the monastery offers little assistance in dating these manuscripts more narrowly.

The strongly formed scribal hand in the Trübner manuscript discussed above (Fig. 102) is also very close to that of another Poissy processional (Chartres, Archives du Diocèse, ms 6), whose decorative style is more varied than that of the group above (Figs 107 & 108). Although a painted border on burnished gold inside a bare parchment ground again frames some textblocks, here the abstract motifs are less formalised and static (Fig. 129); symmetry and repetition are often eschewed and designs are not always restricted to within the one register of the border (Fig. 109). Nevertheless, the same types of vine-stem whorls, painted in blue and pink, that decorated the Ferrini leaf and the later manuscripts ornamented at the house also occur here (Fig. 109). But birds in these margins are more individual; they are obviously feathered and can be scrappy. And whereas these borders resemble in many ways those considered above, newer patterns have also been explored — bare green tree branches overlying a black penline and painted floral matrix (fol. 100), and a renaissance style ‘candelabra’ design which makes frequent use of classical-style vases and opposed dolphins linked by black hairline stems (Fig. 108). Like the vine-foliage ornamentation these also incorporate a generous quantity of burnished gold in their designs, which are of the type in commercial use in the 1530s to judge from a horae produced in Rouen (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1883, fol. 50v: Fig. 109).\textsuperscript{46} The clear relationship of archaising vineleaf borders like that on fol. 104 of the Chartres processional (Fig. 107) to the less adventurous treatments given other books made by nuns at the house (eg. Fig. 102) suggests that the more commercial type of candelabra design was also produced at Poissy, for there appears to be no obvious differences within this book in either colours (including the lavish use of highly burnished gold) or technique, or the various outline treatments to the textblock, while inner and outer border-edges vary so much from page to page that an economically-profitable commercial involvement seems unlikely.\textsuperscript{47}

The clearly formed scribal hand of the Chartres processional is also very close to that responsible for three other manuscripts: the processional Lewis 7, whose decorative style was outlined above (Figs 100 & 105), a processional-prosar (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam

\textsuperscript{44} They are referred to merely as 'nieces', with neither name nor title, whereas their professed aunts are called 'sorores Regionale et Maria Bailleter' (Santa Sabina, IV, 9, f. 38; for further details see Catalogue entry). It seems likely that when Ragonde Baillet and her cousin arrived at the house their aunts acted at once to update what was essentially the provisions of their will.

\textsuperscript{45} She and her cousin are addressed as 'soror' in letters from the Master General during this month (\textit{ibid.}, IV, 10, ff. 40, 44, letters dated 4 and 12 Sep 1491). See Catalogue entry for other details and for my argument against Merguey's identification of the nun-owner as Marie Baillet, Ragonde's aunt who appears to have died between 1490 and 1505.


\textsuperscript{47} Among these are a narrow or thicker gold band edged in black, a red and/or blue band with white medial line, or the gold and coloured bands opposed, or a simple black or red line, or no outline at all.
Library, ms McClean 63: Figs 110 & 112) and a prosar which is preceded by newer processional texts (London, British Library, Egerton ms 2601: Fig. 115). Like the other manuscripts so far treated, these all conform to the same textblock size and ruling (see Table 5.1). The volumes are also related textually since a few extra items, which are not logically a part of their liturgical compilations, have found their way into the four books. A votive mass against the plague (Recordare domine...) in Egerton 2601 is joined by votive masses for saints Vincent and Dominic in the Chartres processional, while all three masses are followed by a celebration for St. Sebastian in McClean 63 and Lewis 7. Some kind of common or identical exemplars can thus be hypothesised since these additions follow the liturgy for profession of a nun (or at least its rubric) in every case, although other material separates the two in Lewis 7. The contents and wording, including instructions, are identical for the processional sections of the Chartres manuscript and McClean 63; in other cases, however, headings and instructions do not necessarily use the same Latin wording although their meanings do not differ.

The prosar Egerton 2601 has lost its illustrated folios. Nevertheless, the identical nature of the textblock, scribe and contents of this manuscript and of the prosar section of McClean 63 lets one conclude that the missing amount of text would correspond to an opening folio containing a large miniature like that on fol. 130 of McClean 63 (Fig. 110). The borders and initials of McClean 63, like all the others written at Poissy during this period, use burnished gold profusely. Here, though, it is difficult to judge whether or not these were produced at the house. Even so, the textblock surrounds the coloured bands which twirl at the corners in the Trübner and Palaisseau manuscripts (cf. Fig. 110 with Figs 102-104) while the one border completely painted on a gold ground is a disordered conglomeration of motifs, unsuccessful in its illusionistic intent (Fig. 110); an identical frog is found as well in the same lower left corner of fol. 104 in the Chartres processional (Fig. 107).48 Candelabra-style borders also frame illustrated pages in McClean 63, making use of the usual lion, dolphin and putto-head motifs, while a border featuring grey dolphins painted over alternating grounds of red and gold, both conveying a luminous metallic sheen, and surrounded on two sides by a well-realised rinceau of floral sprays on hairline stems which incorporates a voracious insect-eating bird (Fig. 112), is of a calibre found in commercial work like that illuminating the horae Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1883.49

Nuns were, however, indisputably responsible for the minor borders of McClean 63, since in all these related manuscripts there occur either one or two kinds of attachment to 3-line and 2-line initials in colours and gold. These vary only minimally between the books. The simpler consists of a narrow bar, either blue or pink and usually with a medial white line, that ends in gold pointed finials just before which it bifurcates into short curved projections terminating in single gold ivyleaves (Figs 114-116). The more complex usually doubles the

48 The frog motif is not, however, peculiar to Poissy and a differently rendered version occurs in similar position in the border of a psalter made in Paris for Charles VIII in the later 1490s, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms M934, f. 7 (J. Plummer, The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530 from American Collections, New York, 1982, fig. 91a).

49 Pächt and Thoss, n. 46 above, see plates 127, 130, 136-144; Französische Gotik und Renaissance in Meisterwerken der Buchmalerei, ed. O. Pächt, Vienna, 1978, no. 69, 196-197, fig 73.
stem with a gold counterpart, provides a gold 3-lobed 'apron' before the bifurcation, ciliates the finials, extends the projections to flank the text, amplifies the foliage, and includes a bird or insect in the lower branch (Figs 119-121). In Lewis 7, the same owl model was used in this minor surround as in the complete framing border (Figs 121 & 122). The description of a lost Poissy processional (Perth, State Library of Western Australia, ms 1) indicates that it too conformed to the common textblock measurement (see Table 5.1) and that its marginal extensions could have been of this type; it also seems likely that its gothic liturgical script — dated hesitantly to the first half of the fifteenth century — was in fact the work of an archaising sixteenth-century hand, especially since the quantity of text and music transcribed per page matches that of McClean 63.\textsuperscript{50}

The same border techniques are found in two further processional texts written at Poissy: an addition to the manuscript privately owned in Paris (Fig. 117), and a book transcribed de novo, now in a private collection in New York (Fig. 118). These texts were written by the same hand, whose rather wobbly, spidery letters contrast with the firm hands of the books discussed so far. The folio size and textblock used by this scribe are also considerably smaller, the identical textblocks (92±1 x 59±1 mm) indicating that a second template was in use at the house. Table 5.2 lists the full occurrence in the manuscripts of the two minor page-emphases. A cut-out from an early fifteenth-century manuscript that was later pasted into the processional Fitzwilliam 42 indicates the sort of model that influenced this motif (Fig. 169, upper centre).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.2</th>
<th>SIXTEENTH-CENTURY POISSY LITURGICAL TRANSCRIPTIONS WITH VINE-LEAF BAR-BORDERS IN IDENTICAL ARCHAISSING STYLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin, Wolfheim coll.*</td>
<td>[x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, McClean 63</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chartres, Diocèse 6</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heidelberg, Trübner 112</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, Egerton 2601</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, private coll.</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palaiseau, private coll.</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris, private coll.</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth, State Lib. ms 1*</td>
<td>[x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, Lewis 7</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{*} Manuscripts lost, but catalogue descriptions indicate presence of similar border motifs. See Figs 114-118 for pictorial examples.

The New York manuscript again displays a variety of border styles. Here, though, there is a marked distinction between its one commercial fabrication — the low-key renaissance

\textsuperscript{50} See Catalogue entry and K. V. Sinclair, Descriptive Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in Australia, Sydney, 1969, no. 231, 405-407. Knowledge of this processional depends solely on Professor Sinclair’s detailed entry; I have been unable to locate any photographic documentation of the manuscript.
architectural surround beyond which the *Presentation of Christ* is played out in the full-page miniature on the opening verso (Fig. 123) — and other ornamentation. The other borders make the usual liberal use of burnished gold, and their wide variety encompasses the types found in the other books decorated at the house. Archaising pink and blue vine tendrils are used frequently, at times in combination with more modern motifs like formal acanthus foliage and renaissance paired dolphins and candalabra-work on hairline stems (Figs 124, 153-154), and elsewhere in borders comprising an inner gold and outer bare parchment ground which vary little from those discussed above (cf. Figs 125-126 & 102-107). The painted border on a fully burnished gold ground surrounding the opening text is unsuccessful (Fig. 123).

Another smaller processional in archaising script, owned privately in California, makes similar combinations of these border motifs from different periods (Figs 127 & 141). Its minor surrounds, too, appear to be a permutation of those in other manuscripts, in which the narrow bar, ciliated gold finial and vine-leaf extensions are transformed into a new design (Fig. 127). The style of the miniatures in this manuscript and its New York counterpart exhibit some influence from contemporary artistic practice in Rouen, which was being brought to Paris by painters like the Master of the Guelders Hours. Brown pen outline defines features and contours, and landscape divisions like pathway, meadow and corn are conveyed, simply, by filling this with a colour wash of pinkish-beige, green or yellow (Figs 127 & 128). Pen-hatching in gold is applied to garment surfaces, though on occasion with no concern to represent highlighted areas (Fig. 149). Contemporary dress is preferred for participants, and a Book of Hours made in Paris in 1527 for Claude de Lorraine, duc de Guise, exhibits similar trends.

Comparable renaissance-style interiors and deep outdoor scenes also occur in McClean 63 and in the Chartres processional, whose illustrative styles are also very close to each other. The depictions of the *Resurrection* in these two manuscripts, for instance, display a similar composition, iconography and colours, while the larger waking soldier in each is a kindred type — heavy-bodied and rather masculine (Figs 129 & 130) — and is also present in the New York rendition of the scene (Fig. 132). Essentially the same landscape setting recurs in

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51 See, for example, the more-or-less contemporary Books of Hours now Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1883 and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, mss W424 and W455, although their illustrators display considerably more panache and renaissance artistic ambition than was practised by the illustrators of the Poissy books (Pritch and Thoss, as n. 46 above; L. M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, II. France*, 1420-1540, Baltimore and London, 1992, nos 205 and 210, 497-510, 535-540, plate XXIVa, figs 365, 379).


all these versions — and also in the Lewis processional whose energetic Christ shares much with his counterpart in McClean 63 (Figs 130 & 131). Cheeks are touched with red and a look of surprise, achieved by raised eyebrows and a more fully reddened lower lip giving a somewhat gaping aspect, is common (Figs 129, 144-146). Garments billow in the windblown fashion of much routine, unambitious work that possibly owes its ultimate influence to contemporary French renaissance artists such as those termed the '1520s Hours Workshop' in their production of Books of Hours like London, British Library, Add 35318 (cf. Figs 110 & 111). Garment edges and hatched highlights are gold or white. Landscapes include the pen-outlined herbs, pinkish coloured pathways and colour washes stemming from Rouen practice. Lewis 7 and the Sotheby's leaf present further variations on contemporary Parisian illustrative styles (Figs 105-106 & 131), in miniatures whose squat figures display similar vigour and whose techniques resemble those used for the illustrations in Waddesdon Manor, ms 24, a Book of Hours made in Paris not before about 1510.55

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms 42 is a larger Poissy processional which also combines archaising vineleaf work with renaissance candelabra designs and hairline floral motifs (Figs 133-135). These decorative combinations ornament every 2-line and 3-line initial in the manuscript, resulting in a volume of a pretty luxuriousness (Fig. 134). Again in this book a variation on the narrow red or blue bar with medial white line is used, here with stunted vineleaf finials (Figs 133 & 135). The style of the miniatures can be lively, the actions again taking place within renaissance-style interiors or deep landscapes (Figs 133 & 135). The far landscapes are surprisingly impressionistic with swift brush-strokes providing cloud and mountain snow (Fig. 133). In this manuscript, though, certain colours are common to both miniatures and borders. Miniatures are, moreover, surrounded by frames of a burnished gold indistinguishable from that used in other parts of the decoration, and the gold parts of frame and border can be fused into the one design (Fig. 133). Furthermore, the closely-applied, gold fine-line hatching highlights garments in the miniatures in the same manner as the coats of deer flanking the unfilled border shields (Fig. 135). If these observations are valid, and the mixed-motif borders which include designs from the fourteenth-century are indeed peculiar to the nuns at Poissy, then it is possible that the complete illumination of this book — work called by M. R. James 'careful, but distressingly ugly'56 — was executed by the nuns themselves.

A small processional which recently reached the market (Sotheby's 20 June 1995, lot 108) also includes both script and burnished gold floral initials in archaising styles. Miniatures

54 On the 1520s Hours Workshop, which flourished in the 1520s and 1530s, and whose individuals were influenced by artistic trends from the Low Countries and by German prints, see for example M. D. Orth, Progressive Tendencies in French Manuscript Illumination, 1515-1530: Godofry de Batove and the 1520s Hours Workshop, PhD Diss., New York University, 1976, especially Chapter 5, 345-397; eadem, "French Renaissance Manuscripts. The 1520s Hours Workshop and the Master of the Getty Epistles", J. Paul Getty Museum Journal, 16, 1988, 33-60; eadem, "Antwerp Mannerist Tendencies in French Renaissance Books of Hours. A Case Study of the 1520s Hours Workshop", Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, 47, 1989, 61-90; Plummer, n. 48 above, 102-104; Randall, n. 51 above, 532-534.
55 See de Laissé et al., n. 35 above, 516-539, with illustrations.
56 M. R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1895, 94. James did not recognise the Poissy provenance of this manuscript, for proof of which see Catalogue entry.
and borders, however, appear to be swiftly painted, lively commercial work (Fig. 136). In contrast to this is the fragment of a processional which, before all the illustrated pages were torn out, must have been the finest of those now known from Poissy (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 45111). The script is mannered, but firm and clear, and written to fill a larger space than in the other books known from Poissy at this period (Fig. 113). Initials are of finely-worked grisaille, subtly shaded and highlighted, and a new feast invariably began at the top of the page, probably with a miniature. The addition of stress-marks to the sermon which was read after the mandatum ceremony — by the nun-deacon from the pulpit in the church — indicates that this particular book was the one used for this special purpose in the monastery.58

The owners of five of these processions can be identified from blazonry depicted within the books. The Chartres volume was made for Marie de Pisseleu, who was professed at Poissy in 1520. Prior from 1540 until 1546, she left to become abbess at the Cistercian monastery at Maubuisson. McLean 63 can be associated with nuns of the Illiers family who were at the house between the 1490s and 1550s. However, neither this book, nor the prosar Egerton 2601, could have been made before 1524; each includes a sequence for the Dominican saint Antoninus, canonised in that year, while the presence of a sequence for the Invention of the Cross, which was not confirmed as a totum duplex feast until 1530, indicates their production after this date. Moreover, since the same sequence of idiosyncratic votive masses transcribed into Pisseleu's book and Lewis 7 falls between those included in Egerton 2601 and McLean 63 (see above), this seems to point to a post-1530 production date for these manuscripts as well. The arms in the California procesional are those of Renée de la Tour, who was professed at Poissy in August 1535 and died there in either 1545 or 1548, although she had been named abbess of the rich Abbaye du Paraclet in the diocese of Troyes. The New York procesional belonged to Denise de Brinon who would have turned 18 in 1535, while that recently sold by Sotheby’s was owned by either Louise or Marguerite de Chabannes, the elder of whom would also have been 18 years of age in the mid-1530s.59

These are the only manuscripts which permit other than stylistic dating. To explore further this avenue it is necessary to inquire for what purpose the manuscripts were produced. One aspect of processions made at Poissy provides some guidance, because during the period when these books were made a rearrangement of the processional offices came into use. Where previously the liturgy had been separated into feasts of the *temporale* and *sanctorale* — as remained the practice in German and Italian Dominican processions — at Poissy a calendrical arrangement was substituted in most of the books.60 This means that the feast of

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57 Shown by the location of remaining introductory rubrics at the bottom of the page preceding the missing start of the feasts.

58 Fols 41-46v. See Catalogue entry for further details.

59 See Catalogue entries for all details concerning ownership and liturgical dating of these manuscripts.

60 The same rearrangement is found in processions made for use in other Dominican houses in France and Flanders: eg. a later-fifteenth century version which seems to have been made for use by the nuns at Rouen (Sydney, State Library of New South Wales, Richardson 223), one from the early sixteenth century, possibly made for Friars at Bruges (Washington, Dominican College Library, ms 1) and a printed version from the early seventeenth century (Ligué Abbaye, Lit II 980; see note 72 below). Nonetheless a
the Purification of the Virgin (2 February) — with its illustrative and thematic concern
centred upon Christ's presentation — came to open the book in place of Palm Sunday.61 Its
usual illustration, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, could, of course, be read in
parallel as the dedication of a religious to the service of God and the Church.62 A
processional arranged with this feast at its start might, therefore, be considered a very
suitable possession for a nun to receive at her reception or profession.

Indeed, one of these manuscripts bears out this premise. The miniature of the Presentation
in the Temple which begins the New York processional shows its nun-owner, Denise de
Brinon, being presented by her patron saint, St. Denis, at the same time and parallel to the
dedication of Christ to God in the temple, an occasion which receives the blessing of the
naked Child (Fig. 140). Presumably, therefore, the book dates close to the actual event
which probably took place around the mid-1530s when Brinon was sixteen or eighteen as
indicated above. If we assume the same purpose for Renée de la Tour's (California) book,
which is initiated by a similar miniature depicting her presence as a nun at the Presentation
in the Temple (Fig. 141), then this volume was almost certainly made in about 1535, for
Renée de la Tour did not take the veil until she was twenty-two years old.63 Marie de
Pisseleu's (Chartres) processional on the other hand, even though it also begins with the
feast of the Purification, appears to avoid deliberately the time-honoured Presentation
imagery associated with this feast. Instead, the nun Marie is portrayed in worship before a
seated Virgin and Child, presumably a generalised representation of her relationship to her
patron saint (Fig. 146). Was this because she took possession of the book long after her
profession in 1520? This would accord with the apparent date of the manuscript, for both in
content and style it appears to be contemporaneous with McClean 63 which, on liturgical
evidence as considered above, must post-date 1530. The Chabannes book (Sotheby 95)
retains the older arrangement, with the Ash Wednesday benediction inserted before the
Palm Sunday celebration, and the Purification of the Virgin having its place in the
sanctorale, nearer the rear of the book.64 Although the evidence is less positive than for
other manuscripts, it is quite possible that it too was made for the entry or profession of its
owner. Again a date not long after the early 1530s is then appropriate. Since none of these
books retains its original cover or endpapers, supporting evidence is not at hand.

61 The Purification of the Virgin is always included in the sanctorale in liturgical manuscripts which
come from Poissy, as it had been in the Dominican prototype liturgy; in BL Add. ms 23935, for
example, the readings and liturgy for the Purification of the Virgin occur in the sanctorale between the
feasts of St. Agnes and St. Blaise in the lectionary (f. 204) and the gradual (f. 417), and in an exactly
equivalent position, between St. Ignatius and St. Valentine, in the missal (f. 508). This evidence
conflicts with William Hood's statement that the feast was part of the temporale (W. Hood, Fra Angelico

62 Hood, n. 61 above, 218; idem, "Saint Dominic's Manners of Praying: Gestures in Fra Angelico's Cell

63 L'année dominicaine, ed. T. Souges, Amtiens, 1684, 601. She entered at an older age than usual, after
the deaths of her mother in 1530 and father in 1532 (see Anselme, Histoire généalogique, IV, 537).

64 See Appendix 5 for textual organisation of this and other processional.
Nonetheless, a date in the early to mid-1530s which the evidence from their possessors indicates, is in tune with the slight mannerism of their Paris renaissance artistic styles.

It appears, then, that the making of these volumes, at least, followed the attempted Poissy reform and the drawn-out presence of the Master General at the house in the late 1520s. Other manuscripts, like Trübner 112, Lewis 7 and the Palaiseau volume, which share with the dateable volumes the same scribal hands or closely related contents can probably be safely placed within the same era. This means that a number of scribes and illuminators at the house must have been producing a considerable quantity of books in the wake of the attempted monastic reform. Even so, this was not an absolutely new departure at the house, as has been instanced for Dominican nuns in Germany and Italy where book transcription and illumination has been recorded as consequent upon reform.\textsuperscript{65} For at Poissy, as the Ferrini leaf indicates, production of extensively ornamented books must have already been in practice before the reform began. There may, however, be a gap. The transcription of Mazarine 381 was undertaken in the midst of the disruptions in 1514, but was ornamented commercially, while the compendium of useful monastic data, written two years earlier by a number of hands (Versailles, Archives de Yvelines, 73 H 111), is no more than a hastily-written summary of legal, historical and cartulary documents. The six nuns from Metz who, according to court proceedings, were to join the house in 1506-1507, were unlikely to have been influential in this regard since it appears not to have been until over two decades after this period that a greater facility in decorative production was developed; it is also seriously questionable whether any of the six actually settled at Poissy at all.\textsuperscript{66} Thus, unlike many Alsatian and German houses — St. Catherine's in Colmar, St. Catherine's in St. Gall and St. Catherine's in Nuremberg, for example — where the nuns who came in from reformed houses instigated an extensive production of functional manuscript books (in conjunction with a growing mysticism),\textsuperscript{67} the making of these luxury books at Poissy appears rather to be either a continuation or, perhaps more likely, a renewal of an activity guided in part by liturgical need but, importantly, also by aesthetics.

It is probably significant that none of these manuscripts is a large book. They therefore provided a task which could be accomplished within a finite time, and a comparable


\textsuperscript{66} The report dated November 1506 of the Poissy nuns' law suit against Clerée instances that 'le bruit estoit que Clerée avoit amené des Religieuses de Metz et est ostes les dites Religieuses' (Paris, Archives Nationales, U 356, no. 27, 28 Nov 1506). Despite this statement, though, it is not certain whether these nuns ever did join Poissy (or for any time) since among the names of nuns at this period there are none that seem not to be French. Indeed, resistance by the Poissy nuns and their supporting friars appears to have repulsed the Metz cohort when they tried to enter the house, for in March 1507 'six nuns from Lorraine' were biding their time at Montmartre, waiting to be allowed the entry into Poissy that Clerée was requesting from the court (see Paris, Archives Nationales, X'10 1510 bis, 18 Mar 1507).

\textsuperscript{67} Jostes, n. 65 above, xix-xx; Vogler, n. 65 above, 81-84; McDonnell, n. 65 above, 405. The nuns from the Alsatian house at Schönensteinbach, who contributed to the reform of a number of German and Alsatian monasteries including Nuremberg, were notably influential in this regard.
situation was recorded at the Dominican monastery at St. Gall where more than ten psalters were written (although not liberally ornamented like the Poissy works) over a short period. But although a number of different scribal and decorative hands were responsible for the Poissy output, it is difficult to estimate the total number of nuns who worked on the surviving books. We do know, however, that seventeen nun-scribes were active in manuscript production at St. Catherine's in Nuremberg in the fifteenth century and that fourteen Dominican nuns participated between 1476 and 1483 in the printing business conducted at the Florentine house of San Jacopo di Ripoli. The numbers involved at Poissy were probably not dissimilar.

Why at this period did the nuns at Poissy require manuscripts at all? The first printed book was published in Paris in 1470; of Dominican liturgical compilations, frequent editions of the printed breviary, missal and diurnal were produced in Italian cities from around 1480, while a continuous series of Paris-printed Dominican breviaries and missals survives from 1505 onwards. It must be assumed that the nuns took advantage of their ready availability. However the books which we find transcribed by the nuns, in particular the processional and proser, were peculiar in their contents to Poissy. Not unexpectedly, the compilation contained in the 1494 Venice-printed processional is only loosely related to the contents of the volumes that the nuns wrote; among other differences it enlarges the Palm Sunday celebrations and, of course, lacks processions for the specific Poissy celebrations on the feast-days of St. Louis, St. John the Baptist and the Nativity of the Virgin, while it gives parochial prominence to St. Mark and St. Catherine of Siena. It might, however, have been possible for the nuns to have organised the printing of a nun designed for their own liturgical requirements as was undertaken in about 1620 for an

68 Vogler, n. 65 above, 287.


70 The earliest printed editions of the breviary (1476-7), missal (1482-3), and diurnal (1483-4) were undertaken in Milan, Venice and Naples (W. Bonniwell, The Dominican Liturgy, New York, 1944, 253-254; A. A. King, Liturgies of the Religious Orders, London, 1955, 348).

71 Paris editions of the Dominican breviary were printed by Wolfgang Hopyl and Jean Petit in April 1505, by Hopyl in January 1508, then a 'most carefully corrected' version by Petit in June 1512 and March 1519 (see B. Moreau, Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVle siècle, Paris, I, 1972, 148 (1505, no. 37), 267 (1508, no. 40); II, 1977, 116 (1512, no. 259), 516 (1519, no. 1999)). The missal of December 1505 also came out under the direction of Hopyl and Petit, who then published a 'most studiously revised' version in 1517; three-part revised editions were printed in February and October 1519 by Hopyl and under the names of Jean Bienaye, Jean Kerbrant alias Hugelin, Jean de Marnef and Jean Petit; Thelmann Kerver's widow published an illustrated one-part version in 1529 (see ibid., I, 170 (1505, no. 145); II, 443 (1517, no. 1670), 550 (1519, no. 2148), 551 (1519, no. 2149); III, 1985, 499 (1529, no. 1860). (The last also published the Dominican horae.) In view of indications that in earlier periods the Paris friars patronised the libraires closest to their convent (see Chapter 3), it comes as no surprise that the establishments of the major suppliers (Hopyl, Petit and Kerver) were also situated 'in vico sancti Jacobi' — 'ad signum sancti Georgij apud sedem sacram sancti Benedicti', 'sub leone argentoe', and 'sub signo unicornis', respectively.

72 London, BL, IA 24214; for later surviving editions of printed Dominican processions see J.-B. Molin and A. Aussedat-Minvieille, Répertoire des rituels et processionaux imprimés conservés en France, Paris, 1984, 468. The next surviving editions, from the sixteenth century, were all also printed in Venice; the earliest Paris printing dates from 1609 (ibid., 469).
unidentified northern French Dominican monastery. But when we consider the books that the nuns did make — decorated throughout in gold and colours and, as we shall see, very frequently personalised with the owner's arms and representations in worship before the imagery of a different selection of feasts in each book — then perhaps the reason why this was not done is clear. The nuns at this period required, and were able to afford, luxurious books appropriate to their family's wealth and social position, which in many cases had only recently advanced to very high levels. Among the book-owners at this period, Renée de la Tour, for instance, was related to the future Medici queen, and her father held high government posts close to king François I; the father of Louise de Chabannes was maréchal de France; and Marie de Pisseleu's sister Anne was mistress to François I, who created her duchesse d'Étampes. Moreover, any reform which attempted to deny these women personal or exclusive ownership seems to have been at best short-lived, for at about the same time as Renée de la Tour's processional was made, the expenses for her reception included a covered vessel and a spoon, all of silver-gilt and decorated, like her book, with her arms. The luxury tableware, which cost some 81 livres tournois, was fashioned by Thibault Haulteneur, a goldsmith whom her father had dealt with in 1521. Presumably

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73 Ligugé Abbaye, Lit II 980 (Ibid., 471). Neither place nor date is given for printing this processional rubricated in French whose instructions single out 'religieuses', 'la chantre' and 'la prieure' for liturgical rôles. These nuns appear to have had only to have had three altars in their church (p. 21). Stations in four cloisters are mentioned but it seems to me most likely that this refers to the four sides of the cloister leading from the church as usual. Like the later Poissy manuscript processional this also begins with the feast of the Purification of the Virgin; unlike them it contains only universal celebrations. The name 'D. Wacrenier 1701' has been pasted onto the front of this copy.

74 Renée's distant cousin Madeleine, dame de la Tour, married Lorenzo de' Medici in 1518; their daughter Catherine came from Italy to marry Henri, duc d'Orléans, the future Henri II in 1533 and another cousin, Isabeau de la Tour, demoiselle de Limeuil, later became fille d'honneur to the queen Catherine de' Medici (see Anselme, Histoire généalogique, IV, 524-531). Renée's association with her Medici relatives is shown by the accounts for her reception: during the celebrations she entertained a Madame Damausselle de Turenne accompagné de deux Damausselles Italiennes que Madame doriennes [Catherine de' Medici] a baille a poissy pour a prendre...et souper...' (Paris, Archives Nationales, R3, Carton 48, Accounts for vestiture-reception of Renée de la Tour at Poissy, 31 Aug 1533, 5).

75 Anselme, Histoire généalogique, IV, 537; Royer Saint-Micaud, "La Tour", Le Gotha français, 9, 1904, 827-828. François II de la Tour was governor and lieutenant general in the Ile-de-France, and also travelled extensively in Europe as ambassador to François I, whose adviser he was.


77 P. Roger, Noblesse et chevalerie du Comté de Flandre, d'Artois et de Picardie, s.l., 1844, 255-256. The king also engineered Marie de Pisseleu's establishment as abbess at the grand Cistercian abbey of Mau匕buin with letters obtaining for her the vacant post after the death of its abbess (2 Feb 1546) and then permitting her to resign as prioress at Poissy in favour of Marie de Vieuport, 'nièce de l'admiral' (2 Feb 1547) (Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Collection des ordonnances des rois de France. Catalogue des actes de François I (1515-1537), Paris, V, 1892, 167, nos 15525-15526).

78 'Ien pour une couppe et couvecle et une culliere le tout d'argent dore ou sont les armes de Madame Damoyeselle Regnee puyant la tout ensemble trois mars quatre onces sept gros...' (Paris, Archives Nationales, R3, Carton 48, 3).

79 Ibid. Described as 'marchand-orfèvre' in an estimate made on 26 Feb 1521 for gold chains for presentation to two employees of the Vicomte de Turenne (Inventaire d'une partie des titres de famille et documents historiques de la maison de la Tour d'Auvergne (conservés dans les papiers Bouillon...), ed. A. Bruel, Paris, 1905, 38, no. 366).
she, therefore, and not the community she was joining, selected the craftsman in this case. She may also have chosen the illustrator of her processional, and for the same reasons.\footnote{No books are mentioned in the full accounts which were sent for payment by the monastery to Renée's brother (Paris, Archives Nationales, R², Carton 48). Whereas copies kept at Poissy of other accounts for entry and profession (for the year 1631) sometimes include book expenses — for a 'diurnal' or 'journal' and 'des heures', or for rebinding a breviary — none refers to a processional (see Yvelines, 73 H 15-16). See Chapter 6 for fuller discussion.}

But if the attempted reform did not achieve many of its intentions, it seems at least to have levered the nuns back into some sort of liturgical propriety, at least as far as their processions were concerned. One notices that books other than processionals from this time, like the prosor Egerton 2601 and the psalter Mazarine 381, include the newer processions that had been introduced the previous century. Presumably the owners of these books already possessed processionals which had never been updated. And the large survival of processionals from this period — the time when the number of nuns at the house reached its maximum level — points to a zealous effort to increase the numbers of this book.\footnote{The number of nuns at Poissy rose from 80 to 95 in about 1490 to approximately 150 in the 1540s to 1550s (see Graph 2).} At Poissy this was typically a small, personal volume that each nun owned individually as we have seen.\footnote{Compare the processionals owned by the English Bridgettine sisters at Syon Abbey, which were shared between a pair of nuns as they processed and were owned by the two (C. de Hamel, "The Medieval Manuscripts of Syon Abbey, and their Dispersal" in Syon Abbey, The Library of the Bridgettine Nuns and their Peregrinations after the Reformation, London, 1986). These versions, especially the words and music, are considerably larger than those from Poissy. Although unknown from Poissy and possibly rare, a few small German and Italian Dominican processionals transcribed with quite large-scale words and music for apparent use by a pair of nuns show similarities to the Syon volumes (eg. Cambridge University Library, Add. 5336, a fifteenth-century German processional with exequial ceremonies; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. f 10 and Canonici liturg. 291, made for Italian nuns in the fourteenth century and the fifteenth or sixteenth century respectively). I thank Dr. Christopher de Hamel for allowing me to examine a Syon processional.}

However, once the fabrication of sufficient books for the choir-sisters in the house was achieved, in view of the great expertise possessed at this time, it could be queried whether the nuns also produced manuscripts other than those intended

\footnote{A part of the instruction of novices was that at the start of the peripatetic ceremony they should wait for the companion beside whom they always processed: 'in processione socium sibi collaboralem attendat' (Poissy Constitutions, Cap. XV: Munich, Clm 10170, f. 157v). The full instructions for processional ceremonies, beginning 'De processionibus in genere', as occur in the Dominican exemplar (eg. London, BL, Add ms 23935, ff. 98v-101) were not transcribed into any manuscript which survives from Poissy, although some specific rituals concerning nuns are described at length in the Poissy missal London, BL, Egerton 3037, ff. 239v-241v (see Chapter 4 for ritual for Palm Sunday as observed at Poissy). The text of a fourteenth-century Dominican processional made for German nuns has been published in C. Allworth, "The Medieval Processional: Donauschingen ms 882", Ephemeredes liturgiae, 84, 1970, 182-186.}

\footnote{Otherwise they were to sing from their stalls as the ceremony was performed (see London, BL Add ms 23935, f. 99v).}
for their own use — as gifts for their relatives perhaps. So far this is not evident, although the Sotheby leaf gives no indication of whether the _horae_ from which it comes was Dominican or not.

It should not be supposed that the Poissy nuns were unique in sixteenth-century France as practitioners of archaising script and producers of ornamented handwritten books. A few surviving examples demonstrate that nuns of other near-Paris monasteries also busied themselves in this way. A leaf combining such a script with a strongly-rendered early-sixteenth century depiction of a _Man of Sorrows_ worshipped by a Franciscan nun (in grey habit with knotted girdle) may have been written at the Cordeliers in Paris (Shamley Green, private collection: Fig. 163). Another small, personal manuscript is inscribed as written in 1603 by Marie de Seguier, a Franciscan nun at St. Marcel-les-Paris (Philadelphia Free Library, ms 180). Like most of the Poissy fabrications, this 111-leaf book is a processional; but only its initial page is decorated, in illusionistic style (Fig. 164). A leaf from the obituary of the reformed Fontevrault monastery at Poissy in the diocese of Troyes, dating after 1518, is written in a strong formal gothic hand not dissimilar to those current at Poissy (Sipkkestad, private collection: Fig. 166).

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One manuscript which postdates this period survives from Poissy (New York, Union Theological Seminary, Bourke Library, ms 52). It too was transcribed by a nun, Marie de Fortia. A gradual, it is a long compilation of some 250 fairly closely-covered folios, and the script reveals it to be a laboured, and rather homespun effort, undertaken with breaks over a period of time and inconsistently written (Fig. 159). Although Fortia states that she made the book for her aunt, Geneviève de Courtin, the ornamentation belies this. The single illustration which opens the book is a commercial production, late mannerist in style. It has herself, kneeling at a prie-dieu which bears the Fortia arms (not her aunt's), presented by the Archangel Gabriel to her own patron saint, Mary, in an image which at the same time depicts the _Annunciation_ (Fig. 157). Her heraldic arms also appear on the contemporary 'penitential' binding (Fig. 160), where they are accompanied by the letters 'MM' and 'ΦΦ'. Like the miniature these monographs are capable of double interpretation: as her own initials, and also symbolising the Virgin Mary plus the virtue of fortitude or fidelity.

Consideration of Fortia's dates, and the style of binding current in the 1580s of Henri III's reign (Figs 160-162), reveal that she could not have written this manuscript before 1580-90 when she was probably still a young nun. It shows none of the flair of the productions of the 1530s and indicates that such skills had been lost over the subsequent generation or two. Why this should be so is revealed in later activities of its scribe, for in 1601 she edited the

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85 Compare purchases of silk or other fine material so that nuns could make bags (probably embroidered), as itemised in monastic accounts: Anne Maillard for her mother in 1632; Marie and Heleine Prudhomme as a wedding gift for their sister in 1636 (Yvelines, 73 H 15-16).

86 Probably also made by nuns is another early sixteenth-century archaising leaf, illustrated in French renaissance style for a member of an Order which began its processional with the feast of the Nativity (Sotheby's, 26 November 1985, lot 87).

87 See Catalogue entry for a detailed consideration of the binding and dating.
posthumous publication of the nun who had been her great influence at the house, the poet Anne des Marquets. Marquets had in her lifetime published — commercially in Paris and reaching second editions — various collections of religious poetry and translations from Latin into French. She was greatly revered and her work admired by humanist poets, in particular Jean Dorat and Pierre Ronsard; the latter was for a time closely associated with the monastery and wrote a long epitaph for the prioress Françoise de Vieuport who died in 1559. Marquets' first published poems, at the age of twenty nine years in 1562, was a volume *Sonets, prières et devises*... which took the form of *pasquins* addressed to the celebrated religious who had attended the *Colloque de Poissy* in the previous year. Her close collaboration with the theologian Claude Despence, rector of the University of Paris who had attended the Colloqy, led to the publication in 1566 of a book entitled *Collectarium ecclesiasticum*..., comprising the Latin text of each church collect, a paraphrase in Latin verse by Despence and finally a translation by Marquets of the liturgical text, with nuances reflecting a religious, cloistered life. Her specifically Catholic, religious poetry was supported by Charles IX's sister Marguerite de Valois, and saw further publication in her translation into French verse of religious works of the neo-Latin Italian poet, Marc Antonio Flaminio, in 1568. Her poetry, which shows rapport with current feminist movements, also appeared with the works of others in her lifetime. For the posthumous publication, entitled *Sonets spirituels*, Marie de Fortia collected together the poet's contemplative verse on the epistle and evangelist readings for the mass on each Sunday and feast day — modelled on sermons, exempla and meditative texts — in 480 sonnets arranged according to the liturgical year.


90 Seiler, n. 89 above, 43-45; Moreau-Rendu, n. 14 above, 153-155.

91 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, 53; Seiler, n. 89 above, 25-41; Moreau-Rendu, n. 14 above, 168-170. The intention of the Colloqy, held in the nuns' refectory and chapterhouse at Poissy, was to achieve some agreement between the religious viewpoints held by Huguenot and Catholic interests; the nuns were permitted to observe and hear the debates from behind a grill (see journal of Claude Despence, quoted in de Ruble, *op. cit.*, 11-49; Seiler, n. 89 above, 23).


94 For poems which express Marquets' strong championship of female ability and achievement, which she supports with biblical example, see *ibid.*, 14, 85-86, Moreau-Rendu, n. 14 above, 171-172.

95 In 1563, 1566 and 1588 (see Seiler, n. 89 above, vii, 87 n. 19).

96 Marquets, n. 88 above; for detailed discussion see Seiler, n. 89 above, 77-92.
It appears, therefore, that after the mid-sixteenth century the intellectual and artistic climate at the house had shifted.97 Anne des Marquets doubtless had a prime rôle in this change. From an early age she, who had herself been educated at the house since the age of nine or ten in the early 1540s, functioned as institutrice to chosen youthful pupils whom she instructed using Latin.98 Other nun-writers at Poissy, who had presumably received her teaching, also published literary works and demonstrated an ease with Latin and other foreign languages, including Italian, Spanish and perhaps Greek; a deep appreciation for works in these languages—particularly Latin, and especially the scriptures and works of Bernard of Clairvaux which the nuns translated—was strongly nurtured.99 Perhaps, also, there were now more than enough processional, for the ones which survive were still in use

97 In attempting to give reason why the nuns' manuscript-making ceased at Poissy I have considered it most valid to follow how changes in artistic production were manifested at the house. Nonetheless Poissy was a large establishment in the sixteenth century and women having other, diverse interests had taken the veil there. A number—a good few of whom entered young—are recorded as devoting themselves to a stringent, spiritual devotion, sometimes of an imperiously austere (eg. Françoise de Menilles, Marguerite Manchot, Anjelique Remon, Jeanne de Brionn, Madeleine Picard, Jeanne de Richard, Perrecet Fournier, Antoinette Parens, Eleonore Boit and Adrienne de Sobies: L'année dominicaine, ed. J.-B. Feuillet, Amiens, 1678-1680, I, 734; II, 439-440; III, 228-231; ed. T. Soutegs, Amiens, I, 1684, 71, 325, 458; V, 1691, 557; VI, 1691, 568; ed. J. Lafoon, II, 1712, 213-214; Lyons, 1902, 790). Others, however, chose to involve themselves in worldly amorous activities, and Henri III's 'frequentation' of one of the nuns was most seriously addressed by the papal nuncio in 1580 (see Correspondance du Nuncio en France: Anselme Dandino (1578-1581), ed. J. Cloues, Acta Nuntiatuiae Gallicae, VIII, Rome and Paris, 1970, no. 329, 664-665, dated May 1580). Poissy's notoriety in this regard was harshly broadcast during the century in satirical works by Kabelais and Verville (see E. Bories, Histoire de la ville de Poissy, Paris, 1925, 107; Moreau-Rendu, n. 14 above, 155-158), although the poet Rapi's L'amour philosophie of 1599 represented the nuns' social behaviour in a favourable, intellectual light (see Nicholas de Rapi, Œuvres, ed. J. Brunel, Paris, 1894, I, 518-520, 530-550).

98 See, n. 89 above, 13-18. The education of young girls at Poissy is first mentioned in a Bull issued by Innocent VIII in 1489, describing the house thus: 'in eo Octuaginta Religioso numero, ad circa...et juvenes Virgines seculares partium regni Franciae, ut bonis moribus et doctris instruantur, ob earum parentibus ad ipsum Monasterium transmittantur...'(BOP, IV, Rome 1782, 59); the success of the enterprise is reflected in the description of 'une multitude de pensionnaires' at the house in 1559 (Paris, BN ms fr 5009, f. 13). As well as Marquets, who retired from this duty in about 1586 when she was 53 years old and had become infirm, the nuns Elisabeth de Gancourt (d. 1530 at 61 years) and Jeanne d'Orval (d. 1588), who herself had entered young, are recorded as having been entrusted with the education 'aux jeunes Damoiselles' at the house during this period (L'année dominicaine, ed. J. Lafoon, Amiens, 1710, 175, 410).

99 The Poissy nun Françoise Odeau (S. F. O.), who entered very young and died in 1644, published a French translation of St. Bernard's Sermons and Meditations (de Coste, n. 89 above, II, 731; Quétilé and Échard, n. 89 above, II, 845). Louise de Marillac who was received between 1561 and 1583 and died at Poissy in 1569 was considered, with Anne des Marquets, a learned humanist nun. In the same vein as Marquets' Sonets spirituels she published in 1621 a l’Office de la Vierge, traduit en vers François, avec les Psalms Penitentiaux, & canoniques pour l’exercice des ames penitentes, dedicated to the prioress at Poissy, Louise de Gondy, and wrote a Méditations sur toutes les fêtes de l’année, a Dialogue entre deux vierges sur les recreations des religieuses, a Commentaire sur la Cantique des Cantiques, in verse, as well as other poetic works (de Coste, n. 89 above, II, 106-107). In addition to this the nuns Angélique Remon (S. A. R.) and Charlotte du Puy (S. C. D. P.) each submitted an epitaph to Sonets spirituels of 1601; Anne Costel published one verse in Odeau's book. A surviving account-book reflects this intellectual climate: the nuns' purchased 'candles for study'—in total weights of between 55 and 108 livres yearly—between 1622 and 1627 (Yvellines, 73 H 42).

Louise de l'Hospital, the niece of a Poissy nun, was brought up at the monastery where she learnt Latin, Spanish and Italian; she was professed there just before 1562 but later became one of the great Benedictine abbesses, the reformer of Montvilliers (H. Bremond, Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des Guerres de Religion jusqu'à nos jours. II. L'invasion mystique (1590-1620), Paris, 1930, 395, 410; Paris, BN ms fr 5009, f. 8). Another influential female who benefited from the tradition of learning at the house was the great-niece of Louise de Marillac, who had the same name, Born
and well-maintained into the mid-seventeenth century at least, and some retain their bindings from that era. Moreover, when the nuns wrote additions to their liturgical manuscripts at this later period — in humanist script — they fabricated the decoration by cutting what they needed from older books, and pasting the pieces onto the page (Figs 167-169).

Evidence survives concerning one final book of plainchant, written as late as 1768, not by the nuns but by the friar-cantor apparently for his own use during his church duties apart from the nuns’ choir (en dehors). The entry in the accounts itemises the costs fully, showing that half the expense of this small, ornamented book was the 104 vellum folios on which it was written. The total cost, some 160 livres including 22 livres for binding, can be contrasted with that of Dominican liturgical books printed in Paris at about this time. A missal in folio, a substantial book printed by the Widow Jouvenel in 1738, would, for instance, have cost 25 livres, while the nuns indeed purchased, for the sum of 26 livres 10 sols in 1733, a large breviary for the centre of the choir. Chantbooks with specific and limited contents — small books probably more like that made by the Poissy cantor, containing, for instance, the chants for the three days of tenebrae or chants for vespers — cost from 3 to 6 livres when printed in 1707 by the friars at St. Jacques. Whatever the exact liturgical purpose of the manuscript transcribed by their friar-cantor, the nuns seem to have been prepared to spend a large amount for a hand-written book, even at this late period.

3. Illustrating the Poissy processional

Copies of the processional liturgy for use at Poissy survive from an early period. Not until the reform period in the early sixteenth century, however, were the individual feasts illustrated. This is true even for manuscripts that combine the processional texts with other

in 1591, she received her early education at Poissy from about four to eleven years of age. A precocious child, she knew Latin and perhaps Greek and apparently discussed philosophy with her father before his death when she was only thirteen. She went on to found the Company of Sisters of Charity. (See A. Lovat, _Life of the Venerable Louise de Marillac_, London, 1916, 3-6; J. Calvert, _Sainte Louise de Marillac par elle-même: portrait_, Paris, 1958, 19-22.) A number of sources state that Marquets herself knew Greek (Seiler, n. 89 above, 14 and n. 5).

100 Nun numbers at Poissy declined after the 1550s, to 114 choir-sisters in 1562, then generally fewer than 60 between 1603 and 1660; the numbers never recovered thereafter (see Graph 2).

101 This practice is treated in detail in Chapter 6 Part 2c.

102 Païé la somme de cent soixante livres seize sols au reverend Pere Pidoux, chantre, pour toutes les dépenses et deboursés pour une livre de pleinchant qu'il a note, pour servir au Pere chantre en dehors, sçavoir 88112s for 104 feuilles de parchemin, 6110s for une livre de vermilion, 3112s for la gomme et du noir, 36l for des caracterres et vignettes, 6110s for des pinceaux et craisons, 22l for la reliure et 12s for le doret(?) (Yvelines, 73 H 24).

103 Pricelist printed at rear of the Dominican diurnal (London, BL 03440.p.1), published in 1738 by this Parisian printing house. Their various versions of the Dominican breviary and diurnal were less expensive (12l.10s.-9l.10s. and 7l.-2l.10s.).

104 Yvelines, 73 H 21.

105 Pricelist printed in Dominican processional of 1707 printed at Dominicans of rue St. Jacques (London, BL 3367.b.3; for other copies see Molin and Aussedat-Minvielle, n. 72 above, 471).
liturgical books whose feasts are extensively illustrated. In Garrett 41 (c. 1300), the missal section is historiated but not the processional; only the psalter sections of the ferial psalter-processionals Sotheby 9.12.74 (first quarter of fourteenth century) or Waddesdon 2 (c. 1330s) attract imagery; and although a series of self-contained full-page miniatures prefaces the processional section of Walters 107 (c. 1340-50) the feasts themselves are without illustration. Nor was any surviving manuscript from the fifteenth century that includes the processional offices illustrated. And indeed, this appears to have been usual in Dominican circles, for Michel Huglo has observed that processionals in use at only two houses — the monasteries at Poissy and Sainte-Agnès in Strasbourg — were illustrated. Nonetheless, this observation should be widened to include the house where a processional from the early sixteenth century was in use (Washington, Dominican College Library, ms 1); the illustrative style and later ownership inscriptions point to a Flemish house, most likely male and probably in Bruges (Fig. 165).

Table 5.3 shows the illustrative patterns of the nine Poissy processionals whose pictorial matter is still complete. In all but one the feast of the Purification of the Virgin has replaced Palm Sunday at the opening, with the consequent potential for illustration with a theme relating the Presentation of Christ to the owner's own enclosure as discussed above. The outstanding manuscript, Sotheby 95, appears to reflect historically the additions made to the exemplar text used in its transcription for, whereas the feasts of the Dominican prototype all receive a 9-line miniature scene, usually of double-column width within the textblock (Fig. 136), those feasts not incorporated into the Poissy liturgy until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries — like those of St. Louis and John the Baptist — attract, at best, a small close-up image. Relegated to the lower centre border, this replaces the usual coat of arms which on these pages is moved across to the corner.

The imagery for some feasts continues themes met already in earlier Poissy manuscripts. The Entry into Jerusalem, Resurrection, Ascension, Birth of the Virgin and to a large extent St. Louis — represented in coronation regalia, either standing or seated — have not changed beyond the addition of narrative and scenic detail. The theme of St. Dominic's apotheosis, however, is absent. He now appears in votive format, as in the woodblock used for the frontispiece of the printed Dominican missal published in Paris by Thielmann Kerver's widow in 1529. The traditional, static image represents the saint holding attributes like a book and cross, accompanied by a dog with a burning taper (Domini canis, the Dominican emblem). Three books represent St. Louis and St. Dominic before exactly the same background, either identical landscapes (in McClean 63), the same interior (in Sotheby's 83:90), or the same loggia with a high horizontal fenestration supported by

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107 The inclusion of a different set of processional offices show that this is not a Poissy manuscript as tentatively catalogued (ibid, 339); see also Chapter 1 Part 3.
108 See Chapter 1 and Catalogue for more detailed refutation and further information.
109 Reproduced in Bonniwell, n. 70 above, 163; this cut was also used by the house for editions of the Dominican horae published by Kerver in 1529 and 1542 (London, BL, c.29.g.10 and c.46.c.4).
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<tr>
<td>Purification BVM</td>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>Blessing candles</td>
<td>Virgin and Child</td>
<td>Blessing candles</td>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>Presentation</td>
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<td>Entry into Jerusalem</td>
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<td>Agony in Garden</td>
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<td>Noli me tangere</td>
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<td>Angels with</td>
<td>Angels with</td>
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<td>Last Supper</td>
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<td>John the Baptist</td>
<td>Holds agnus Dei</td>
<td>Preaches to</td>
<td>Stands beside</td>
<td>Stands beside</td>
<td>Stands beside</td>
<td>Preaches to</td>
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<td>Holds agnus Dei</td>
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<td>audience</td>
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<td>Dominic</td>
<td>Stands with dog</td>
<td>Standing saint</td>
<td>Standing saint</td>
<td>Stands with dog</td>
<td>Stands before</td>
<td>Stands with dog</td>
<td>Stands with dog</td>
<td>Stands with dog</td>
<td>Stands on devil; dog</td>
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<td>landscape</td>
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<td>Louis</td>
<td>Standing King</td>
<td>[lost]</td>
<td>Enthroned King</td>
<td>Enthroned King</td>
<td>King before</td>
<td>Enthroned King</td>
<td>Enthroned King</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Standing King</td>
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<td>Nativity BVM</td>
<td>Birth scene</td>
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<td>Receptions</td>
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*Placement: Between Corpus Christi and John the Baptist
two differently-coloured columns (in New York private coll., see Figs 153 & 154).\textsuperscript{111} This visually links the patron saint of the nuns' church and monastery (Louis) and the patron saint of their Order (Dominic); the relationships symbolised by the portrayal of nuns beside these two saints is discussed below.

The major changes in imagery reflect current preferences for Books of Hours. Thus a representation of the Virgin conducted to heaven by angels for the feast of the Assumption has completely replaced the earlier Dormition or Coronation.\textsuperscript{112} The feast of the Purification of the Virgin in some manuscripts is emphasised by almost identical representations of the Benediction of Candles: The priest waves a flabellum over candles lined up on a diagonal altar covered with a green cloth, while an acolyte behind the altar displays the text of an open book turned this way (Figs 144 & 145; see Table 5.3). This visual allusion to the Candlemass preliminaries, after which the nuns made a ritual procession each carrying a blessed candle, may result from the fact that the benediction ritual, which precedes the actual procession, now began the processional.\textsuperscript{113} The traditional Presentation of Christ is still, however, in use in most books.\textsuperscript{114} In style and composition the New York and California processions (Figs 140 & 141) show their ultimate dependence on models from Rouen, like the miniatures in the Books of Hours, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1906, fol. 72v and Ghent, Universitätsbibliothek, ms 234, fol. 40.\textsuperscript{115} Constant in all these versions are a diagonally-placed altar over which the naked Christ is held by priest-Simeon, semitic featured and turbaned, the kneeling Virgin, Anna standing tall in the background, and (as in the Benediction of Candles) an acolyte behind the altar displaying an open book. There is, though, one difference in two of the books. Whereas in the Rouen horae, and in almost all other Poissy renditions of this scene, the figure of Joseph remains the traditional old man, in the New York and California processions he is shown as a dark-haired, youngish, bearded, virile man in contemporary dress.\textsuperscript{116} A similar rendition, the young husband again holding the candle associated with the feast, enlivens a Book of Hours made in a Paris workshop in the second decade of the

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\textsuperscript{111} This loggia-type background is a not uncommon motif in sixteenth century French manuscript illustration. The Coronation of the Virgin, for instance, is placed before a similar window with view in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1883, fol 86v (Päch and Thoss, n. 46 above, plate. 134).

\textsuperscript{112} Depictions of the Assumption of the Virgin in the Poissy processions are very similar to that from a horae made contemporaneously in Rouen (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms W455, f. 89v) reproduced in Randall, n. 51 above, 535-540, fig. 379.

\textsuperscript{113} Normally included in the missal, neither this nor other benedictions were transcribed in earlier processions; they were frequently added to the nuns' earlier books as an update in the fifteenth century (see Chapter 4 Part 2a).


\textsuperscript{115} Päch and Thoss, n. 46 above, 59-65 and fig. 40; the same imagery illuminates a luxury Hours printed on vellum by Jehan de la Roche in Paris in 1514 (London, c.291.7).

\textsuperscript{116} Joseph is also a young man throughout the Poissy horae-processional Sotheby's 6.12.83, lot 90; he is not elsewhere depicted in the New York and California processions.
sixteenth century (Fig. 143).¹¹⁷ In another contemporary northern French (probably Parisian) version, again depicting a young Joseph, a lay female kneels holding her candle in exactly the same manner and relative placement as the nun Denise de Brinon in the New York processional; each owner’s prayerful attitude reproduces that of the Virgin Mary who kneels diagonally apart from her, directly before the altar (cf. Figs 140 & 142).¹¹⁸

This new perception of St. Joseph influenced a number of other French miniatures of the Presentation of Christ during the early sixteenth century although his representation as an old man still remained the norm;¹¹⁹ even more striking are sculptures of a youthful, graceful carpenter, standing in his own right with the infant Christ, that were made for churches in Verneuil (Eure) and Esseintes (Gironde) in the early sixteenth century.¹²⁰ The change in public attitude largely resulted from the extensive campaigns to promote devotion to the saint as a married man by cardinal Pierre d’Ailly and Jean Gerson (successive chancellors of the University of Paris), in particular at the Council of Constance in 1416 and in sermons and other works composed in the saint’s honour.¹²¹ This stimulated a new, respectful image of St. Joseph as the husband of the Mother of God, assisted by the Franciscans (who had adopted the feast as early as 1399) and its inclusion in 1479 in the

¹¹⁷ Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, ms *096/R66 Ho, fol. 61v: M. M. Manion and V. F. Vines, Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated manuscripts in Australian Collections, London, 1984, 208-209, 225, plate 47, figs 241-242 (no. 87). In this Hours Joseph also carries a basket containing the sacrificial doves. That motif is ignored in the two Poissy manuscripts considered here, but in others the basket of doves can be carried either by Joseph or by a maid (see Catalogue entries for particulars).

¹¹⁸ See F. O. Büttner, Imitatio Pietatis. Motive der christlichen Ikonographie als Modelle zur Verdunklichung, Berlin, 1983, 89, 235; the excised initial with this depiction has not been located.

¹¹⁹ Depictions of a young Joseph had, nevertheless, occurred intermittently at earlier epochs (see H.-J. Grimouard de S. Laurent, "Etude sur l'iconographie de saint Joseph", Revue de l'art chrétien, 33, 1883, 351-354). Other French horae of our period in which St. Joseph is represented as young man include manuscripts made in Paris, Rouen and other northern French centres in the early decades of the sixteenth century (eg. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms 219: Plummer, n. 48 above, 98-99, fig. 126a; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1883: Pich and Thom, n. 46 above, 68-73, figs 130, 133; Waddesdon Manor, ms 233: Delaissé et al., n. 35 above, 487-515, fig. 24; Adelaide, Church of England Diocesan Library: Manion and Vines, n. 117 above, 198-200, fig. 221 (no. 79); Sydney, State Library of New South Wales, ms Dixon 5/1: ibid., 226 (no. 88); Sotheby’s, 29 November 1990, lot 147 (Mater of the Ango Hours): Sales Catalogue, 298-301 with figs: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, mss W450 and W453: Randall, n. 51 above, 471, 473, 476, 478, figs 352, 355 (nos 199 and 200), with reference to additional examples). Maitre François in the 1470s painted young as well as elderly versions of the saint (eg. Houghton Library, ms Int. 159: R. S. Wieck, Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts 1350-1525 in the Houghton Library, Cambridge (Mass.), 1983, 39-31 with fig. (no. 14)), while in the second decade of the sixteenth century the Master of Claude, Queen of France illustrated two manuscripts written for the same patron, Claude de France, with a youngish to middle-aged Joseph in her horae and an old white-haired man in her prayerbook (see C. Sterling, The Master of Claude, Queen of France: A Newly Defined Miniaturist, New York, 1975; cf. figs 21-22 and 44-45). This is merely an example, and further study should readdress and more closely define this treatment of Joseph in French manuscripts, which is currently considered to be 'idiosyncratic' (Randall, op. cit., 478) and 'less common...outside the Netherlands' (Manion and Vines, op. cit., 225).

¹²⁰ See É. Mâle, Religious Art in France. The Late Middle Ages, transl. M. Mathews, Princeton, 1986, 151, fig. 99 and n. 13.

Roman liturgy by the Franciscan pope Sixtus IV.122 Some decades later, and just prior to the production of the two Poissy processions in question, the Dominicans demonstrated their acceptance of the saint's new importance by introducing a feast of St. Joseph 'sponsus beatissimae virginis Marie', in 1508 (as simplex) which they eventually confirmed in 1518 at a high level,123 while a Dominican published the first scholarly theological studies on the saint, in 1522.124 Notwithstanding this, in other manuscripts illustrated for the Poissy nuns at this period St. Joseph remains a middle-aged or elderly man (Figs 102 & 110).

The imagery which initiates the feast of John the Baptist is variable, and commonly depicts a standing figure before a forest which points towards the lamb which he either holds upon a book or which gambols at his feet (Table 5.3), a reference both to his words greeting Christ, the Lamb of God,125 part of the daily mass, and to Christ's triumph as represented by the staff-cross which the lamb in most cases holds.126 Three processions present his preaching activity in a different light: in Trübner 112 and the volumes owned privately in New York and California John the Baptist leans as he preaches upon a rustic pulpit constructed from a pole resting between two forked tree-branches. The audience thus separated from him bears no semblance to a biblical group, but consists of well-to-do contemporary townsfolk — men and women, even a child — dressed in their best and seated up close, who take in his every word with open mouths and fixed gaze or with responsive gestures (Figs 147-149). In all cases a forest edge replaces the biblical desert location.

This popular theme was explored in a number of other media used in the book-trade in Paris (and further afield) during the early sixteenth century. Bookbinders found it attractive, and probably the same pictorial panel was stamped into the leather covers of printed texts published in Paris by Jean Petit in 1509 and 1511127 and by Thielmann Kerver in 1521 (eg. Fig. 150).128 A similar depiction of the preaching Baptist is the central panel

122 Schapiro, n. 121 above, 184; Réau, n. 110 above, III, Part II, 755.

123 [1508]-13-15-18; although re-introduced to be celebrated everywhere as totum duplex in 1513, the next two readings refer to the feast as duplex (ACGOP, IV, 85, 95, 126, 158). It is ranked totum duplex in the contemporary addition made to the Poissy martyrology (CIm 10170, fol. 25).


125 'Ecce Agnus dei, qui tollis peccata mundi' (John 1: 29, 36).

126 The representation of the Lamb of God as an attribute of John the Baptist is ancient (Schiller, n. 114 above, 118). Very similar iconography to that of the Poissy depictions occurs in early sixteenth-century Northern French and Paris horae such as Waddesdon 23 and 24 (Delaissé et al., n. 35 above, 510 fig. 29 and 536, fig. 23).


of a second stamp, in use in Paris around 1525, and these particular layouts were modelled on the common arrangement of a large central illustrative theme framed by smaller border vignettes that decorated the Books of Hours printed in France. There is also evidence that the same type of rustic pulpit served as John the Baptist's tribune in French mystery plays of the period. It is the subject of a woodcut that illustrates a printed edition of *La mistere de la conception et nativité de la Vierge Marie* played in Paris 1507, and later forms a prominent part of the *mise-en-scène* painted in the manuscript of the Mystery of the Passion as played at Valenciennes in 1547 (Fig. 151). The manuscript's illustrator, Hubert Cailleau, painted as well the backdrop for the play and had a number of minor acting rôles (including the youngest Magus whom he played as a Moor) during the earlier period of the sumptuous twenty-five-day production. It is therefore likely, as Émile Mâle argued, that his stage-representation of the preaching Baptist, in which soldiers watch while Pharisees argue with the preacher, is true to the play as produced.

The contention of Mâle and others that the mystery play introduced iconographic motifs which were only then taken into medieval pictorial arts has been frequently challenged, with arguments to support the view either that the two developments were parallel or that graphic art, including that of earlier periods, was the primary influence. However, the evidence in this instance appears to support Mâle's viewpoint. In the case of the Poissy miniatures and the panel stamps the Baptist preaches from his stage-prop to a modern audience. That means that the temporality of the scene has been elided, and this indeed is what occurred in French mystery plays.

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129 Goldschmidt, n. 128 above, no. 113, 213 and plate 43.
131 A collation from texts of plays by Jean Michon and Arnoul Gréban, printed in Paris by Geoffroy Marnef and Michel le Noir for Jean Petit (Mâle, n. 120 above, 487 n. 164; Moreau, n. 71 above, I, 248 (1507, no. 150). I have not been able to examine a copy of this book.
132 *Le mistere par personnages de la vie, passion, mort, resurrection et asseston de Nostre Seigneur Jesu Christ, en 25 journées...lequel mistere fut jouet triumphalement en la ville de Valenciennes, 1547...* (Paris, BN ms na fr 12536; see É. Picot, *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le Baron James de Rothschild*, Paris, 1912 (reprinted, New York, n.d.), IV, 367-378 (no. 3010)). This particular preaching theme was also explored in ecclesiastical sculpture in Paris and Amiens in the sixteenth century (see Mâle, n. 120 above, 74; Réau, n. 110 above, II, Part I, 449).
133 One colophon (f. 378c) states that 'Hubert Caillau...juers de plusiers parchons, comme de Ruben prebtre du temple, l'ung des princes de Herode, aussy la presence de l'ung des trois roys, a scavoir le more, la presence de Gamaliel disputant au temple, et autres plusiers parchons, mais, pour cause qu'il avoit quelque besoigne a solliciter, ne peult demourer jusques a la fin.' A second colophon (fol. 378d) states that 'Hubert Cailleau, pintsere, a painct les histoires, comme aussy ledic Hubert fut joueur audict mistere de plusiers pichons...', then gives the rôles as above, stating also that 'Il donna aussey le portraict de theatre ou houredement, avec Jacques de Moëllès, tel comme es painct au commencement de ce present livre et comme il estoit audit jeu' (Picot, n. 132 above, 377).
134 É. Mâle, "Le renouvellement de l'art par les 'mystères' à la fin du moyen âge", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1904, 31, 386; *idem*, n. 120 above, 74-75.
As early as 1402 the *confrères de la passion* obtained from Charles VI the almost sole right to perform mystery plays in Paris. These were mimed until mid-century, but thereafter, and particularly in the *mystère de la passion* written by Jean Michel, the characters not only spoke, but the plays were interactive and demanded audience involvement. Michel's play was overwhelmingly the most popular in Paris at the time and eleven or twelve printed editions were published between 1486 and 1542, probably all in the capital. In this play, as in that of Arnoul Gréban, John the Baptist does more than act out his biblical rôle; he also preaches directly to the audience. In two sermons early in the play he exhorts his listeners to penitence. The second reproduces the *penitenciam agite* of Gréban's play, a menacing proposition which threatens divine justice. The more important for our purpose, which follows the prologue, adheres to criteria laid down for medieval preaching. In 280 lines it addresses the audience directly, as 'bourgeois marchand', as 'seigneurs, gentilz hommes' and as 'juges, commis et officiers' in a timeless, gently cajoling, moralising tone: 'Le second point est sçavoir que l'on droit pour avoir la grace du benoît saulveur./Saché qu'il faut que tout pecheur/laisse son obstination/ de peché par contricion/et par devote penitence'.

This aspect of the contemporary mystery play as performed in Paris seems to have inspired, although possibly at second hand, the subject matter used in the Poissy illustrations. It is significant that these latter were also produced in Paris, as were the printed illustration and book covers discussed above. In the Poissy miniatures the Baptist, known from the Valenciennes performance to preach in the play from a rustic pulpit at the edge of a forest, indeed addresses the contemporary bourgeoisie and seigneurs who visibly react to his sermon, just as they were expected to during Jean Michel's play. However, these convey a different stage of the play from Hubert Caillau's miniature whose action, concerning the debating Scribes and Pharisees, is that which in fact divided the Baptist's two sermons. They are also purely, but somewhat abstractly, religious, in distinct contrast to the biblical or highly symbolic and political readings that Reformation artists in the Low Countries and Germany were giving to the same outdoor theme.

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139 This interpretation of the Baptist's preaching rôle in the play derives from M. Accarie, *Le théâtre sacré de la fin du moyen âge. Étude sur le sens moral de la Passion de Jean Michel*, Geneva, 1979, 130-135, 326-331; lines 1055-1061 of the play are transcribed from ibid., 327 n. 12.

140 Examples are numerous, both in print and painted panels, and were often intended specifically to comment upon the Reformation preachers who attracted large audiences to outdoor performances. Joachim Patinir and his circle in Flanders frequently repeated the theme of the Baptist preaching from a rustic pulpit to an outdoor crowd, often in the middle distance behind the *Baptism of Christ* in landscapes of a lively Christian tree-symbolism (see R. A. Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, Princeton, 1968, nos 5-6, 8, 14, 27, 31; *Master of the Half-Lengths nos 6-7*). German masters like Lucas Cranach the Elder (dated 1516), Hans Schäufelein, Master Hans Klein (Nuremberg) and Virgil Solis (1514-62) produced woodcuts placing all attention on the preaching Baptist, often in a naturally formed cathedral-like space (see M. Geisberg,
The motif chosen for the feast of Corpus Christi also varies in the Poissy manuscripts (Table 5.3). An actual procession is shown in Lewis 7, but this bears little relationship to the ceremony in the nuns’ cloister, for here townsfolk carry a monstrance through their streets. Concentration on the mystic nature of the eucharistic elements and on display of the host separate from the liturgical performance informs three of the manuscripts, where angels support either a monstrance or a large chalice with the host suspended above.141 In other books, depictions of the Last Supper are modified so that they refer to the relationship between Christ-priest and the mass sacrament, imagery that also introduces the Maundy Thursday mandatum ceremony in two manuscripts. The six representations are varied. Christ is seated centrally behind the table and St. John may sleep on Christ’s shoulder, lie across the table under Christ’s outstretched arm or animatedly clap his hands together. In most cases the table is empty of food dishes except for a chalice — the eucharistic reference — which Christ may clasp to him. Two disciples usually take the foreground seats at either edge of the picture; one of these, either left or right, is Judas who clutches his moneybag (Fig. 124).

In the Chartres processional, however, the place of Judas in this scene is taken by a Dominican nun (Fig. 120); furthermore the sense of the biblical event is altered since Christ, John the Evangelist, and the apostle opposite where she kneels beside the table, all direct their attention and their gestures to her. The table is quite empty so whether the scene is intended to refer to the owner’s own participation in the eucharistic sacrament as well as to her spiritual presence at the Last Supper is not quite clear. Two other miniatures comment on Judas’s reception of the sop from Christ. The scene in Fitzwilliam 42 is true to the biblical event, with food dishes on the table. The explicitly dogmatic version in Sotheby 83 pictorially contrasts unrepentant damnation with the salvation of the eucharistic sacrament by having Judas kneel, with his moneybag, alone at one side of the table before the ministering Christ who holds host and chalice: ‘Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord...[and] eateth and drinketh damnation to himself’.142 On the other side the remaining disciples await their turn, lined up and kneeling as any parishioners about to receive the eucharist from their own priest (Fig. 152).143

Only three manuscripts portray the biblical footwashing event that the prioress (and sub-priress) re-enacted as a symbolic ablution of sins on Maundy Thursday in ritual imitation of Christ’s humble act. The two different compositions appear to derive from current work in printed books, and ultimately to German woodcuts, both of which were readily taken up

141 For similar examples in horae and liturgical books see M. Rubin, Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture, Cambridge, 1991, 293-294.

142 I Cor. 11, 27-29.

143 For fourteenth-century visual interpretations of the eucharistic theme of Christ-priest in Poissy manuscripts see Chapter 3 Part 2a; for further discussion of the use of Passion imagery for the same purpose see Rubin, n. 141 above, 298-302 and Schiller, n. 114 above, 32-41.
as models by French miniature painters.\textsuperscript{144} The disciples animatedly gesture behind Peter's resistance to Christ's insistence in the California processional and in Fitzwilliam 42 (eg. Fig. 135); in the former the request on a banderole of the nun way back in the deep room — 'lava me ab iniquita mea domine' — unites the biblical and the commemorative event. The queue of disciples in Sotheby 95 (Fig. 136) recalls to some extent the bird's-eye perspectival treatment of a German cut that was copied for the \textit{Expositions des Epistres} published in Paris by Antoine Vérard in 1511 (Fig. 137),\textsuperscript{145} while the prominent ewer standing on the floor, like that in other French manuscript illustrations of the period, may ultimately derive from the \textit{Last Supper} engraving in Dürer's Small Passion.\textsuperscript{146}

Miniatures like those just mentioned — the \textit{Last Supper} and \textit{Christ Washing the Feet of the Disciples} — formed part of the Passion Cycle which commonly illustrated the Hours of the Virgin in French \textit{horae} of the period.\textsuperscript{147} This has the result that most of the Poissy processionals which include these images end up following an abridged sequence of \textit{Passion} illustrations. (The California processional also includes in its series the \textit{Agony in the Garden}, a literal visual accompaniment to the opening responsory, 'In monte olivi...', of the Maundy Thursday ritual for cleansing the altars.) The sequence therefore runs

\begin{center}
Entry into Jerusalem — Agony in the Garden/Last Supper — Footwashing — Resurrection/Noli me tangere — Ascension
\end{center}

although a concrete Passion series may not necessarily have been intended since in manuscripts where the \textit{Last Supper} illustrates Corpus Christi (the feast following the Ascension) the historical progression breaks down (see Table 5.3).

Not unexpectedly, Sotheby 83 includes a \textit{full} Passion cycle in its Hours,\textsuperscript{148} but such a series, albeit again broken in a temporal sense, also accompanies the processional liturgy in Fitzwilliam 42. In this case events of the \textit{Passion} — beginning with the \textit{Agony in the Garden} as in the California processional — illustrate (again literally) five of the ten responsories the nuns chanted as they ritually cleansed the altars of the church, thereby representing the five Stations of the Cross to which the chanted texts refer (see Table 5.3).\textsuperscript{149} The illustrative \textit{Passion} sequence is taken up again (after the temporally dislocated \textit{Footwashing}) with the final events of Good Friday which accompany texts for that day:

\textsuperscript{144} Orth, \textit{Progressive Tendencies}, n. 54 above, 33-34, 362; Randall, n. 51 above, 525.
\textsuperscript{145} J. Macfarlane, \textit{Antoine Vérard}, London 1900, 49-51; for the original woodblock print — from Urs Graf's Passion of Christ I — see Bartsch, n. 140 above, 13, 1981, 56, 2-i (459).
\textsuperscript{147} Although popular at this period, with pictorial sources readily available in the German Passion imagery widely disseminated in printed format, it was hardly new; in Jean Pucelle's illustrations in the \textit{horae} made for queen Jeanne d'Évreux in the 1320s, for example, the Passion sequence is paired with the more usual Marian imagery which introduces each Hour. See Chapter 3 n. 33 for details of this manuscript.
\textsuperscript{148} This is detailed in Catalogue entry.
\textsuperscript{149} These ten responsories with their accompanying versicles were adapted to 'fit' the particular number of altars in any Dominican church. Where there were more than ten altars, as at Poissy, the first nine chants were repeated — each with the antiphon peculiar to each altar — until all but the last altar had been dealt with; the final responsory was reserved solely for the culminating altar (London, Add. ms 23935, f. 99). See Appendix 6 for cues to chants used at Poissy during this ceremony.
Entry into Jerusalem
Agony in the Garden
Christ addresses awakened apostles
Betrayal
Flagellation
Mocking

[Footwashing]
Carrying Cross
Crucifixion
Resurrection
Ascension

[Last Supper]

Despite the out-of-order Footwashing and Last Supper that break the progression, there is nonetheless built up uniquely in this processional a Passion sequence which resembles the series in contemporary French horae and German printed Passions.

4. Personalisation with portraits and heraldry

Two manuscripts depict the Poissy choir-sisters engaged in liturgical chant. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the 1330s breviary, London private collection, replaces the normal non-denominational cantors with Dominican nuns in the initial which begins the psalm ‘Cantate domino...’ (Fig. 67). A more specific portrait of choir-sisters seeing through their liturgical engagements is the only illustration of the Office of the Dead in the Poissy manuscripts — in the sixteenth century horae-processional, Sotheby 83. This depicts six choir-sisters seated in a chapel on either side of a bier as they sing from their books (Fig. 138). A crucifix is placed at the head of the coffin and two candlesticks half-way down, in an approximate rendition of actual practice. Choice of such a matter-of-fact subject contrasts strongly with the more emotional scenes commonly used in Books of Hours at this period, including the unrelieved insistence in marginal illustrations of the inevitability of Death, especially in the context of its consort the Seven Deadly Sins, in contemporary Paris-printed Dominican horae.

The addition of portraits of nuns or friars in prayer to the illustrations in books made for Dominican use has a long tradition; some of these were introduced in Chapter 2. Thirteenth-century French examples include a friar beneath the Crucifixion depicted on the opening folio of a bible made in Paris, and a nun accompanied by her heraldic arms.

150 For want of a better term I shall use the word ‘portrait’ to refer not to a physical likeness but to a generic representation of a Dominican nun or friar who, nonetheless, was often singled out as a particular individual by a written name nearby or by heraldic arms.

151 The cross and candles were placed at the head of the deceased and remained there during the vigil (H.-R. Philippeau, "La liturgie dominicaine des malades, des mourants et des morts", Archives d'histoire dominicaine, 1, 1946, 50.

152 Published by Thielmann Kerver’s widow in 1529 and 1542, the extensively illustrated editions are similar but not identical. Each hour of the Office of the Dead is also preceded by a moralising French verse beneath a large picture of appropriate subject. For copies see n. 109 above.

153 Sotheby’s Sales Catalogue, 29th November, 1990, lot 98, 124-133 with illustration.
within a rendition of St. Agatha's martyrdom from a Dominican gradual made in northern France.\textsuperscript{154} Either one or two nuns are also depicted thus in some late thirteenth-century Flemish choirbooks, in worship before an image of the Virgin and Child or the Crucifixion.\textsuperscript{155} Italian and German Dominican monasteries sometimes represented both nuns and friars engaged in worship throughout their grand choirbooks, for instance the multi-voluted gradual transcribed and illustrated in the thirteenth century by the Dominican friar Jacobellus, called Muriolus of Salerno, for the nuns of San Guglielmo in Bologna,\textsuperscript{156} a gradual made for the nuns at Sankt Catharinenthal in Diessenhofen, and a lectionary used by those at the Heiligen Kreuz in Regensburg.\textsuperscript{157} The surviving manuscripts from Poissy which contain comparable portraits indicate that, in contrast to Italian and German houses, only nuns were portrayed in books made for nuns to use.

Table 5.4 lists the representations of nuns in prayer. The earliest include those made for Philippe le Bel's commission, before the nuns' entry, and therefore not requested by the nuns themselves. Before the sixteenth century the presence of such portraits was an apparently random occurrence, and they are often placed in the margin. Favoured images given this treatment in the fourteenth century seem to be depictions of the Virgin, the nuns' patron St. Louis, or the Dominican saints. The examples, however, are too few to allow a categorical assessment concerning the matter of choice, although the same images continued to be favoured in the sixteenth century.

What is certain is that in every case the prayer gesture used by the nun is the same. She kneels, holding her hands together before her upright body, at face level in the fourteenth century (Figs 9-10, 66 & 71), at chest level in the sixteenth (eg. Figs 111, 139, 140-141, 146 & 157). This is in essence the third of Humbert of Romans' range of prayer attitudes — \textit{geneflexiones cum corpore erecto super genua} — which was also depicted in some manuscripts of St. Dominic's nine ways of praying.\textsuperscript{158} A late thirteenth-century illustrated version of the 'trois estaz de bones ames', produced for didactic instruction in a perhaps Dominican environment in Lorraine, shows it to be the appropriate demeanour for 'devotion' before an image.\textsuperscript{159} Probably more important, however, is the almost universal

\textsuperscript{154} Sotheby's Sales Catalogue, 19th June, 1990, lot 49, 36-37 with illustration.


\textsuperscript{159} London, BL. Add ms 39843, fol. 27v. For the devotional significance of this and other prayer gestures illustrating the particular tract see M. Camille, "Him whom you have ardently desired you may see": Cistercian Exegesis and the Prefatory Pictures in a French Apocalypse", \textit{Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture}, 3, 1987, 148.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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depiction by fourteenth-century French artists of this particular prayer gesture, which has been considered to have developed from an attitude of complete prostration in the twelfth.\textsuperscript{160} It indeed came to inform almost all depictions of lay folk in meditation, particularly those shown praying before an image in their Books of Hours (eg. Figs 12 & 54). This same attitude was used, exclusively, in the northern French and Flemish Dominican portrait examples instanced above. Therefore, although Italian Dominican art, in particular, was familiar with a variety of prayer attitudes, it seems likely that the Parisian illustrators of the Poissy books received no special directions in this regard, and simply dressed in Dominican habit their stock praying figure. Nonetheless, every nun represented in the Poissy manuscripts is shown open-eyed and observant, an expression of the alert attitude required of her as she commemorated in the sung liturgy the biblical or hagiographical event (eg, Figs 127, 140, 153). This differs from the non-participatory, closed-eyed attitude that has been selected for a Franciscan nun at her private, contemplative devotion which is contemporary with these examples (Fig. 163).

Some sixteenth-century manuscripts (like the closely related processionals Trübner 112 and Lewis 7, and also Sotheby 95) do not include nun-portraits. Those that do, however, reveal a considerable purpose in their arrangement. The representation of Denise de Brinon being dedicated by her patron saint to the Church, which occurs in parallel with Christ's presentation by his mother to God (Fig. 140), has already been discussed in the context of the new arrangement of processionals at Poissy in the sixteenth century so that the books begin with an illustration of the \textit{Presentation in the Temple}. The California processionals less explicitly shows its owner, Renée de la Tour, in a similar circumstance (Fig. 141), and it is almost certain that these two processionals were given to their owners either at their reception or profession. Marie de Pisseleu's book, on the other hand, was not made for her entry but about fifteen years later, as argued above. It therefore begins not with the almost invariable \textit{Presentation} of this period but with a specially selected personal motif of this nun praying before her patron saint, Mary, represented in a generalised image which has no specific relationship to the feast, the \textit{Virgin and Child} (Fig. 146).

Other carefully chosen representations refer to the monastic environment at Poissy. As discussed above, the two patron saints were sometimes given a visual equivalence by placing them in exactly the same interior or exterior. But frequently also, whereas nun-portraits within all other illustrations show only the one nun, namely the owner, it is the community which is referred to by the two, four or more nuns who kneel by their patron saint Louis in the Fitzwilliam 42, New York and California processionals (eg. Fig. 153). The patron of the Order, St. Dominic, is treated in this fashion only in the California manuscript (Table 5.4) which probably reflects the lesser intimacy the nuns felt towards him compared with the sainted French king.

\textsuperscript{160} See A.-F. Leurquin-Lable, "La prière en images" in \textit{Prier au Moyen Age. Pratiques et expériences (Ve-XVe siècles)}, ed. N. Bériou, J. Berlioz and J. Longère, Belgium, 1991, 87-90; the visual progression given as example (plates 5-8) is, however, not entirely convincing since in all but the last example a heightened level of contemplation is being depicted, with a mystical engagement between worshipper and sacred figure.
Owners represented in prayer before their patron saints, or presented by them to the Virgin or Christ had, of course, a long pictorial tradition in Books of Hours and devotional panels. Conceivably, therefore, the processional Fitzwilliam 42 was made for a nun called Jeanne since in this extensively illustrated manuscript only the monastic patron, St. Louis, and John the Baptist are accompanied by a portrait. The gradual, Bourke 52, includes a studied rearrangement of Annunciation imagery so that it can show at the same time the nun-scribe, Marie de Fortia, presented by the Archangel Gabriel to her patron, the Virgin Mary (Fig. 157). The same compositional manipulation is known from a near contemporary horae that also derives from a northern French monastic context (Fig. 158).\footnote{Location unknown, fol. 73: see J. W. Bradley, Notes on a Book of Hours for the "Use" of the Metropolitan Diocese of Reims (probably commissioned by the Abbess of St. Remi) circa 1450-1460, London, c.1905; F. O. Bütter, Initiatio Pietatis: Motive der christlichen Ikonographie als Modelle zur Verähnlichung, Berlin, 1983, 234.}

It can be seen from Table 5.4 that in sixteenth-century Poissy manuscripts the number of illustrations chosen for inclusion of a nun portrait varies. Like the processional Fitzwilliam 42, McClean 63 (owned by a nun of the Illiers family) has only two: St. Dominic in the processional (Fig. 112), and the Nativity-Adoration of the Child which begins the prosar section of this manuscript (Fig. 110). The New York processional is equally selective, singling out only the Presentation of the Virgin with the manuscript-owner Denise de Brinon’s own patron saint, St. Denis (Fig. 140), and the two monastic patron saints, Louis and Dominic (Figs 153 & 154). Two other processionals, though, include a nun in most illustrations including those of saints Louis and Dominic. Yet there are major differences. In the Chartres volume Marie de Pisseleu accompanies every Marian representation, presumably because of her nominal association with this saint, but no Christological event (eg. Figs 107-108, 120 & 146). In the California volume made for Renée de la Tour, on the other hand, a single nun appears only in Christological scenes, always outside the action at the very edge (eg. Figs 127 & 141). Did the selection of imagery in her case, too, depend on the association of her own name, meaning king or ruler, with Christ?

The processionals compiled and enlarged for use by nuns at Poissy that were discussed in Chapter 4 took certain textual items, like eucharistic prayers and other private devotional material, from Books of Hours. The later illustrated processionals considered in this chapter, in contrast, all of which were compiled as a single units, do not continue this tradition. It is possible that this was a result of the Order's attempted reform of the house, and that books containing the processional and prosar were now to be compiled for their liturgical function alone. The inclusion of such devotions in the Palaiseau rituale might indicate that the nuns now transcribed them in compilations of this sort, or only in a combined horae-processional like Sotheby 83. If the nuns purchased printed horae at all, these types of devotion would then have been readily available within.

However the Book of Hours was not without its influence upon these volumes which were illustrated for the Poissy nuns. As we have seen, much of the imagery is that which was being contemporaneously incorporated in illustrated French horae, whether painted or in cuts. The size of many of the miniatures in our manuscripts, too, can be large, placed above just a few lines of text or taking up the complete page so that the representation could, if
required, function also as a devotional image in its own right (compare Fig. 110 with Fig. 111; Figs 140 & 141 with Fig. 143). Smaller illustrations within plain square gold frames also have their counterparts in French Books of Hours of the period. The nun-scribes, therefore, despite the archaising treatment with which they transcribed the text of these books, did not reproduce the unillustrated processions of earlier periods at the house. On the contrary, they took full account of luxury books with large and fairly frequent miniature accompaniments, and probably also of contemporary trends in handwritten and printed books. That they had in the later fifteenth century already written manuscripts with space for large miniatures is shown by, firstly, their breviary update (Rawl. liturg. e 2) where a just-visible frame indicates that the one such illustration has been excised, and, secondly, the Hours (Bowes 8) whose two illustrated leaves have been entirely removed.\(^{162}\)

It is likely, then, that the illustrators of the manuscripts transcribed by the nuns at Poissy in the sixteenth century functioned as general painters of religious books, since they seem to have had available a fair range of current themes like *John the Baptist preaching* as discussed above. Moreover, the closeness in style between some of the artists reveals that they must have taken their influences from the same sources. Presumably, therefore, they worked in the same area of Paris. It is indeed likely that throughout all three centuries of manuscript production for the house the highly developed coterie near the convent of St. Jacques was involved in making the nuns' books, as we have seen from the beginning. Certainly, too, this involvement was continued when the nuns required commercial printing, since their first published books — Anne des Marquets' various volumes of poems — were sent between 1562 and 1605 to establishments (owned by the Morel family or by Nicolas Chesneau) located in the rue saint-Jacques.\(^{163}\) The nuns surely, therefore, patronised the book-illustrators in the same area, although it is not clear through what intermediary these artists were engaged. From the unpredictable but personal range of compositions chosen in any book to include their portraits, however, it is certain that their nun-commissioners issued special instructions for the illustrators to follow. In some of the motifs, though, no specific consistency is observable throughout the books. Joseph is old or young, for instance, and a feast like Corpus Christi or that of John the Baptist was illustrated with a range of themes. For these images it is impossible to say whether this variety resulted from specific directions or whether it depended on whatever model was available to the workshop engaged for the task.

A number of illustrations in the Chartres processional overlap the painted border (eg. Figs 107 & 108). Since the border takes full account of this obstruction it must be concluded that after transcription the book was sent out for illustration and that borders and initials were completed by the nuns on its return. But as well as just ornamenting the borders the nuns further personalised some of the books for their owners by incorporating into the lower margin a central lozenge or shield with this nun's family arms. The genealogy explored can be extensive, as for example in Marie de Piselleu's processional, where her Piselleu, Heilly, and Sanguin heredity is visually cited, or McClean 63 which

\(^{162}\) For discussion of these manuscripts and monastic transcription at Poissy in the fifteenth century see Chapter 4 Part 2a and individual Catalogue entries.

\(^{163}\) See Seltzer, n. 89 above, vii.
refers to Illiers alliances with Vendôme and Coutes. In the latter book, which I have considered above to give indication that perhaps the borders were not ornamented at Poissy, it is significant that the arms have been painted in liquid gold, and poorly fashioned — not just in the border but also on a shield in one of the miniatures (Figs 110 & 130). This is despite the very competent use of burnished gold leaf throughout most of the border designs in the book, including the background against which the shields are placed (Fig. 130). Similarly multi-shaped shields in Fitzwilliam 42 have unaccountably remained unfilled even though the archaising nature of the borders indicate that they, at least, were painted at Poissy, while the selective depiction of a nun before John the Baptist appears to refer to a saint especially revered by the owner-to-be (see above). Perhaps she was not entitled to arms, or maybe she died before she ever used the book.

Simpler blazonry can refer to the nun-owner's father and mother, either in a vertically-divided single lozenge or separately in two shields. These may be repeated throughout the book as in the case of the processions made for Renée de la Tour (California private coll.: Figs 127, 141 & 148) and Louise de Chabannes (Sotheby 95: Fig. 136). Other nuns reproduced their father's arms alone, for instance Ragonde Baillet (Palaiseau, private coll.: Fig. 104). In contrast to these inclusions painted at the monastery are the Fortia arms in the gradual written by Marie de Fortia (Bourke 52). She obviously informed the commercial houses of her requirements in this regard for her father's arms appear both on the prie-dieu at which she prays in the miniature of the Annunciation, painted in a late mannerist-influenced style, and on the gilt binding in association with references to her own name in the monogram initials 'MM' and 'ΦΦ' (Figs 157 & 160).164

The arms of the donor and owner were also depicted on the opening folio of the commercially decorated psalter which Isabeau de Waudricourt presented to her niece Marie de Pardieu at her profession. Between the shields of the two families is another, filled not with heraldic arms but with an image of the sacred heart surrounded by the crown of thorns, which may overpaint a different design (Fig. 155).165 Was this requested by Waudricourt, or was it used by the illustrator to fill one shield too many on the page? Although this visual theme appears not to survive elsewhere in ornament from Poissy, it is known from a second Dominican monastic source. A carving of a shield containing a crown of thorns surrounding a sacred heart, but this time obviously bleeding, was found during excavations at Dartford priory, the only Dominican house in England for fully enclosed nuns (Fig. 156).166 Other incorporation of sacred heart imagery into heraldic iconography has been documented in England,167 and a cut of an heraldic shield (flanked by angels and instruments of the Passion) which contains a sacred heart and surrounding crown of thorns placed before the cross was used by Vérard to illustrate religious works he printed in Paris.

164 See above for a second, overlying, religious interpretation of these initials, and the Catalogue entry for description of the Passion motifs that decorate the contemporary Paris binding, and related covers.
165 Nonetheless the colours are consistent with those of the rest of the border (see Catalogue entry for details).
167 G. Dolan, "Devotion to the Sacred Heart in Mediaeval England", Dublin Review, 120, 1897, 380-381
in the early sixteenth century. Devotion to the sacred heart was indeed disseminated by the Dominicans (among others) in the sixteenth century and practised in the mystical milieu of German Dominican nuns' houses in earlier centuries. Conceivably, then, the nuns might have requested that a shield bearing the sacred heart within a crown of thorns be painted between their blazons. If so, then the lack of visual reference to emotional elements, like the piteous gaping wound and issuing blood found in the Dartford example and so often in earlier Parisian manuscripts, is in keeping with other pictorial arts in the books which survive from the house. It has a parallel in the pragmatic scene of nuns chanting by a coffin (Fig. 138) which, as noted above, also eschews the emotive iconography currently used for illustrating the Office of the Dead. But although so far there is no record of emotional pictorial matter in the nuns' books, it did exist in another combination of image and text. One of the more ascetic nuns of this period, Eleonor de Boëte (d. 1632), kept a 'death's head' in her room with the usual worded sentiment: 'Tu pleurerois, si tu scavois que tu n'as plus qu'un mois à vivre, et tu ris, lors-que peut-être il ne te reste pas un jour.'

After a disruptive attempted reform of their house and increases in their own numbers, therefore, the nuns at Poissy brought to an extremely well-developed artistic level the transcription and ornamentation of the small, personal manuscripts necessary for their ceremonies. This development can be traced from their earlier replication of the decorative procedures found in their books of more than a century before, leading to closely similar archaizing styles that appear to be characteristic of the house. As had always been the case at Poissy, commercial establishments in Paris furnished manuscript requirements for the nuns, in this case illustrations in contemporary style using topical themes. This period sees the strongest individualisation of the nuns' books, with a good many displaying owner-portraits within carefully-selected religious scenes and heraldic arms in their borders.

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168 See Macfarlane, n. 145 above, 49-51 and plate 78.
169 A. Hamon, "Coeur (Sacré)" in Dictionnaire de spiritualité, II, Paris, 1953, 1028-1030.
Author/s: 
Naughton, Joan Margaret

Title: 
Manuscripts from the Dominican monastery of Saint-Louis de Poissy

Date: 
1995-10

Citation: 

Publication Status: 
Unpublished

Persistent Link: 
http://hdl.handle.net/11343/39437

File Description: 
Ch. 4-5

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