

IV.

THE MONYPENNY BREVIARY. BY ALBERT VAN DE PUT,
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The perennial attractiveness of the theme of Scotland's foreign relations in the later Middle Ages has recently been exemplified by a French provincial publication, according to which eleven Scots families had houses at Bourges between 1436 and 1500.¹ The statement fits admirably into the accepted picture of contemporary Franco-Scottish intercourse, e.g. as conveyed by Francisque Michel's *Les Écossais en France—les Français en Écosse* (1862), or by William Forbes-Leith's *Scots Men-at-Arms and Life-Guards in France* (1882); but it likewise suggests the existence of much unworked material for a revision of the subject.² To the extensiveness of the field for research—and it is recalled that some of these families established themselves also in the Champagne—is no doubt due the existence of a point at which even a family of baronial rank ceases to exercise inquiry on one side, ere awakening curiosity on the other.

Some such considerations have suggested themselves to the writer in connection with his discovery, in a manuscript lately brought to England from a convent at Los Arcos, near Jerez de la Frontera, in south-west Spain, of portraits and arms of the Monypennys of Ardweny, a family which held lands in the duchy of Berry in France from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century. The MS. in question—a thick tome with numerous illuminations—is one of which it is difficult to write exhaustively without the leisure essential to finality from the historical, artistic, iconographical, and heraldic standpoints. The aim of these remarks is rather to bring so interesting a volume to the notice of Scottish antiquaries, and in some measure to sub-

¹ René Gordon, *Les Écossais en Berry: Paroisse Saint-Outrillet-de Bourges, Nevers* (Impr. de la Nièvre), 1919.

² By letters-patent of the 10th November 1428, James I. was given an option to either the duchy of Berry or the county of Evreux, in exchange for the county of Saintonge, which, with the chatellany of Rochefort-sur-Charente, had been conferred upon him also under letters-patent issued by Charles VII. earlier in the month. The option was to mature upon Charles VII. recovering with the help of the Scots the parts of France, especially the duchy of Normandy, then held by Henry VI. An immediate grant of Saintonge had been specially stipulated for by the Scots monarch in return for military aid and the marriage of the Princess Margaret with the Dauphin Louis (under the treaties of Perth and Chinon, July to October 1428). The lapsing of these treaties prevented James from obtaining any of the fiefs in question, but there is evidence that the French anticipated the possibility of a claim to Saintonge as late as 1436; see the more recently published work by L. A. Barbé, *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin Louis: an historical study based mainly upon documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1917, pp. 27-28, 107.

stantiate its claim for their consideration as a work of art and a monument to an old, well-nigh forgotten, Scottish worthy and his house.

That the Monypenny Breviary cannot claim to be Scottish is perhaps unfortunate, if not altogether unusual in such a case. The book is a production of the school of Bourges of the early sixteenth century, its best miniatures the work of artists who may be counted among the last notable French illuminators, and of a period when miniature compositions have the pictorial breadth characteristic of works upon a much larger scale than mere book-illumination demands. Both Jehan de Molisson and Jacquelin de Molisson—the latter of whom was certainly one of the principal illuminators of the Breviary—were, as documentary records testify, decorative painters. Here it is hardly necessary to recall that, since the exhibitions of the so-called primitives of Flemish and French art, at Bruges (1902) and at Paris (1904) respectively, gave a fresh impetus to the study of the Northern schools of mediæval pictorial art, the stylistic interdependence of panel- and miniature-painting in those regions has been amply demonstrated; also, and as one of the contributory causes of this, the identity of the practitioner, in some of the principal pictures and manuscripts alike.

I.

Of Roman use¹—*Ordo brevariarii incipit secund(um) ritu(m) sacrosancti romane ecclesiæ*,—the Breviary is written in double column (28 lines to a column) of lettre-bâtarde; its 822 vellum leaves include 49 pages decorated with one large and one small miniature, connected by an architectural framework, upon margins in colour; 11 pages with smaller miniatures and with broad borders of arabesque or floreated ornament upon diagonally striped fields; a 12-page calendar, each page having an architectural framework enclosing as many as five separate miniature designs; and a frontispiece to the text of the Breviary, consisting of a full-page composition of the Crucifixion.

Shields of arms, etc., occur as follows:—

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| (a) ff. 4 recto.
4 verso.
479 r.
530 r. | } | Quarterly: 1, 4, or a dolphin haurient embowed azure; 2, 3, gules three crescents, each surmounted by a crosslet fitchy, or; MONYPENNY. |
| (b) f. 736 v. | } | Per fesse (a) or a dolphin haurient embowed azure, (b) gules three crescents, each surmounted by a crosslet fitchy, or; MONYPENNY (dimidiated): impaling Or a fesse chequy azure and argent; STEWART (fig. 1). |

¹ The liturgical use of the MS. is discussed in Appendix II. by Mr Eeles, who has revised the descriptions of liturgical details in the miniatures.

- (c) f. 316 v. { The quarterly coat of MONYPENNY, and a crosier depicted elsewhere in the border.
- ff. 470 r.
647 v.
713 r.
745 v. } The quarterly coat of MONYPENNY, charged upon a crosier or.
- (d) ff. 316 v.
324 r.
647 v. } Wild men and women support the coat (a), as upon the seal of William Monypenny (fig. 2), or are introduced without the arms.



Fig. 1. Monypenny Arms dimidiated with Stewart.



Fig. 2. Wild Men supporting Monypenny Arms (with crosiers).

Sir William Monypenny of Ardweny, the ambassador, summoned as a peer about 1460, quartered the crescents and crosslets fitchy with a dolphin *azure upon or*.

That he was among the first, if not the first, of his house to do so may safely be surmised,¹ but the nature of the quartering does not appear to have been determined. As figured in the Breviary, the arms suggest that Monypenny had received an augmentation of the insignia of the Dauphin

¹ Important French, if not the earliest, evidence for the quartered coat, in all likelihood applying to Sir William, is afforded by the armorial of Gilles le Bouvier, Berry herald, A.D. 1450-55, ed. Stodart, *Scottish Arms*, i. pl. 9 (*le sr de Menipenny*), ii. p. 60, which shows the dolphin haurient to the sinister. The seal of "Willelmus Monepeni," of that ilk, also with the coat quarterly (crest: a peacock in his pride ppr.; supporters: 2 wild men), is attached to Panmure charter of 1468: Laing, 1850, No. 589; Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals*, No. 2014, gives the dolphin upon it as haurient embowed. It follows that the pose of the dolphin as described in this seal, in the arms in the Breviary and in the Berry armorial, agree as to its being *in pale haurient not naiant*.

of France.¹ A parallel as a concession, but to quarter the arms of France, is found in the grant of 1427–28 to Sir John Stuart of Darnley, who had received the lordships of Concessault subsequently to the battle of Baugé, 1421, and of Aubigny in 1423—both situated in Berry. Monypenny's style—*natif d'Escoce escuier descuieres* to the King of France, in the safe-conduct issued to him upon the occasion of his mission in 1447, to conclude an alliance between Eleanor, fourth of James I.'s daughters, and the Dauphin Louis²—indicates that he had then already received distinction from the house of France.

By April 1450 Sir William Monypenny had himself obtained the lands of Concessault (fig. 3),³ a possession which helped to shape the history of his family, as also to connect it with the manuscript in question. The evidences for the acquisition of Concessault may be described as hardly less obscure⁴ than the circumstances of the dolphin quartering. Concessault, on the left bank of the Grande-Sauldre, a tributary of the Cher, is to-day a modest *chef-lieu de commune* in the department of that name. But its situation, at least from the time of Philip Augustus, was held to be of military importance. The remnant of its castle, rebuilt by John,

¹ Considerable research was expended upon this point ere happening upon the statements in Nisbet, *System of Heraldry*, new ed., 1816, p. 357, supporting the theory, but alleging the use of the dolphin *naïant* by Monypenny of Pitmilly, *haurient embowed* by the Lords Monypenny. This distinction lacks corroboration from the Monypenny seals catalogued by W. R. Macdonald, *Carrick* (*op. cit.*, Nos. 2009–20), which include two of Pitmilly: John (1417) and David (1546–47), both without the dolphin. Yet the Lords Monypenny were cadets of Pitmilly. The unquartered coat occurs also in the Berry armorial, where its probable identity with Pitmilly naturally suggested itself (Stodart, *op. cit.*, p. 61, and pl. 10). It remains to be said that if Monypenny received such an augmentation from Louis [XI.], Dauphin of France (*i.e.* of Viennois), 1423–61, the grant is untraceable in printed sources; Ducange cites none such. But statements as to the authentic grants of the royal lilies are themselves difficult to discover although, according to Barthélemy Chasseneux, Louis XI. conceded these to many persons (*Catalogus glorie mundi*, 1569 ed., 17 v., where the question whether his successors might revoke such concessions is discussed). Du Bouchet's silence on the point in his *histoire* of the Courtenays, 1661, referred to later, is strange if the augmentation be a fact; his engraving of the arms, taken from a tomb, reverses the order of the quarterings. The theory which suggests itself that the dolphin was adopted in canting allusion to the family name and with reference to the finding of the tribute money (*denarius*) in the mouth of a fish (Matthew xxii. 19, Luke xx. 24) has a parallel in the open chest of coin, figured in a smaller miniature of the Breviary depicting an oratory with, presumably, the family of the second Lord Monypenny at their devotions.

² *The Scots Peerage*, vi. 276. The projected match came to nothing, Eleanor married Sigismund of Tyrol in 1449. Eleanor's eldest sister, Margaret (d. 1444) was Dauphiness at the time of Monypenny's previous embassy, in 1442, for the marriage of their sister Isabella to Francis I. of Brittany.

³ A letter of James II. to Charles VII. of France, of the 23rd April 1450, mentions "Willelmum Monypenny de Conquhirsault," the latter's ambassador, councillor, and chamberlain (*Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France* (Rolls series), 1861, i. 299).

⁴ According to La Thaumassière, *Histoire de Berry* (1600), 2nd ed., Bourges, 1865, liv. v., cap. lxxix. pp. 210–11, Beraud [Bernard] Stuart sold Concessault to Alexander Monypenny, and this may be said to represent French tradition in the matter. Francisque Michel mentions the grant of the *terre* of Vila (*sénéchaussé* of Agen) to Guillaume de Menypenny, sr. de Concessault, his chamberlain, by Louis XI. in 1474 (*op. cit.*, pp. 203–204).

Duke of Berry, consists mainly of the shell of a vast hexagonal tower or donjon, the upper works of which may have been added by the Monypennys. A little roofless seigneurial chapel, on the south side of the choir of the church, is also attributable to the family.¹ Until it was granted to

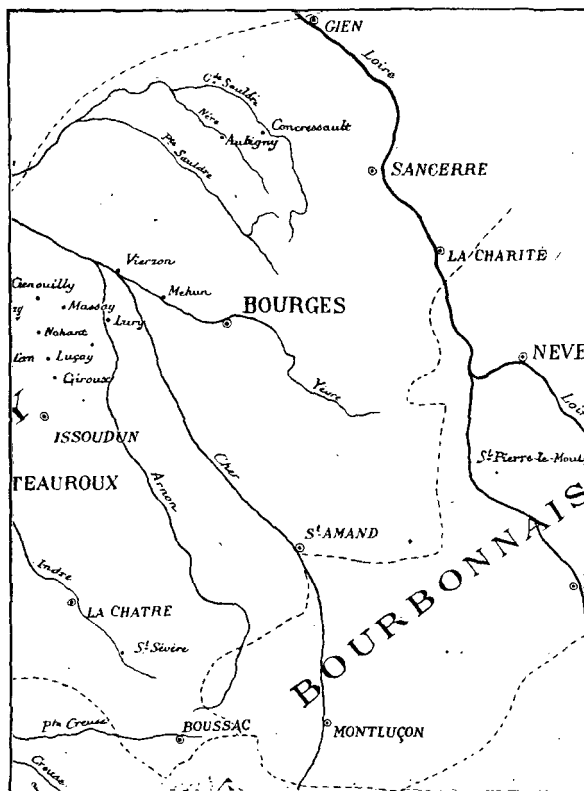


Fig. 3. Map of part of Berry and of Bourbonnais. (From *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*, vol. xxix.)

Sir John Stuart, Concessault formed with Aubigny one of six centres of homage (*ressorts*) for the immediate fiefs of the duchy of Berry. Homage for these was rendered also at the donjons of Bourges, Issoudun, Dun-le-Roi, Mehun-sur-Yèvre, and Vierzon; but, from the period of the

¹ Buhot de Kersers, *Histoire et statistique monumentale du département du Cher*, 1895, vii. pp. 246-56; the popular pronunciation of the name is still Concessault. According to Expilly (*Dict. géogr. des Gaules et de la France*, 1764, ii. 439), it lies nine and a quarter leagues from Bourges; the church is dedicated to St Peter: the arms of John, Duke of Berry, with a bear and a swan (supporters), are visible in many places; Charles VII. gave it to Beraud Stuart; the surrounding country is fertile and agreeable, rich in cattle and horses: "le volaille et le gibier y sont abondans." The last statement finds illustration in the different breeds of dogs, etc., of the chase depicted in the Breviary (ff. 18, 24 v., 37, 165, 479, 486, 654 v.).

Stuart tenure of Aubigny, the latter, together with Concessault and their subordinate fiefs, were held of the Grosse Tour de Bourges.¹

Sir William Monypenny married a lady whose name was Katherine Stewart, and whose grandmother was Marjory Stewart, but her parentage has not been ascertained.² In the impaled shield (*b*) of Monypenny dimidiated with the plain Stewart fesse, we may have a negative clue to the branch of that house to which she belonged. Katherine Stewart was not, apparently, of the line of Sir John Stuart of Darnley and Aubigny, whose augmentation, from 1427-28, of the arms of France (quarters 1, 4) would hardly have been omitted here. The marriage had apparently taken place ere October 1458—a matter of thirty years before the last mention of Sir William, and about a year or two before his summons as a peer of Scotland, between 1459 and 1464. Sir William's elder son and heir, Alexander Monypenny, married Marguerite, daughter of Patrice Flockhart, Lord of Saint Jean "d'Angers," Badefol, and Mirados, seneschal of Saintonge.³ Alexander Monypenny figures in charters between 1483 and 1488 (when he is styled Lord Monypenny), and he was sued in 1508. A French genealogist describes him as councillor and chamberlain to Louis XII. (1498-1515) and *chevalier d'honneur* to that monarch's second wife (1514), Mary of England.⁴ His daughter, Anne, married successively John Stewart of Henriestoun, Lord of Oizon, (2) Jean de Montferrand, Lord of Bourg, and (3) Antoine de la Rochechandry.⁵ That Anne was, by 1528, the heiress may be inferred from the seal her second husband attached to a document of that year, which bears her arms impaled by those of Montferrand.⁶

¹ Raynal, *Histoire de Berry*, 1844, i. lvi-lviii. For Aubigny, upon the Nère, in the neighbouring canton of that name, see Buhot de Kersers, *op. cit.*, i. p. 165 (*cf.* map, fig. 3).

² *Scots Peerage*, vi. 277-8.

³ Francisque Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 204; *cf.* Stodart, *op. cit.*, pl. 5 (from Workman's MS.), ii. p. 156. Saint-Jean "d'Angers" suggests Saint-Jean d'Angles; he is further described as councillor and chamberlain to Charles VII., captain of his Scottish bodyguard and governor of the person of Charles, Duke of Guienne; he was seneschal of Saintonge, under Louis XI., in 1472.

⁴ Du Bouchet, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Courtenay*, 1661, p. 328; Alexander Monypenny's family appears to have consisted of:—

Charles, slain at the battle of Terranova, 1495;

Louis, Lord of Varenne, in Berry, captain of 100 Scots men-at-arms;

Anne, heiress to Concessault; and

Françoise, wife of François de Courtenay, Lord of Arrablay; their daughter Gilberte de Courtenay, living 1590, m. François de Chamigny. Du Bouchet mentions Françoise first, as the wife of the Seigneur d'Arrablay. But other Monypennys are cited by La Thaumassière and Francisque Michel, and the family was recognised as noble in 1585: La Thaumassière, 2nd ed., liv. xii., cap. xvii.

⁵ *Alias* Rocheandry. Buhot de Kersers (*op. cit.*, vii. 248) states that La Rochechandry held Concessault, 1541-46; then M. de Boucard, who sold it in 1548 to the Lallemand, or Allamand, of Bourges. La Thaumassière dates the sale, by Anne Monypenny to Boucard, as having taken place in 1548.

⁶ J. Roman, *Inventaire des sceaux de la collection des pièces originales du cabinet des titres de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1909, i., No. 7741: *Four pales within a bordure bezanty, impaling*

The person to whom the third armorial (c) applies can but be a son and namesake of Sir William, and a younger brother of Alexander, the second peer, identifiable as "Guillelmus" Monypenny, commendatory abbot of Saint-Satur in Berry, and a person of sufficient prominence to have been nominated to the see of Bourges upon the death of the Archbishop Michel de Bucy (1505-10), to whom Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, succeeded, after a prolonged election in 1512. It is of a piece with the rest that the exact dates of Monypenny's rule at Saint-Satur, a house of Canons Regular of St Augustine, near Sancerre, have still to be discovered. The editors of the *Gallia Christiana* were inclined to confuse him with a thirteenth-century Guillelmus¹; otherwise their list of the abbots of Saint-Satur fails to mention Monypenny, whose existence as a ruler of that house was, however, vouched for by La Thaumassière. As to this some researches most obligingly undertaken in the Archives of the Cher by Monsieur Turpin, of Bourges (a past-President of the Société historique, littéraire et scientifique du Cher), have elicited the period 1489-1520 as approximately that of Guillaume Monypenny's abbacy.²

Lastly, the panels in the framework to miniatures upon two pages of the book contain, several times repeated, yet another index of an heraldic nature:—

(e) ff. 470 r. } *Azure semy of fleurs de lys or a bordure engrailed gules;*
636 r. } *the arms of the duchy of Berry (fig. 4).*

A Roman breviary written and illuminated for individuals of the status of the Monypennys of Concessault might well have been executed elsewhere than in Berry, at Paris more especially. As it happens, however, this representation of the Berry insignia,³ without doubt an allusion *Quarterly, 1-4, a dolphin; 2-3, "trois croix posées sur un croissant"*; no legend. To a receipt to the *comptable* of Bordeaux—"Jean de Montferand, chevalier, seigneur de Bourg." La Thaumassière fails to mention this one of Anne Monypenny's three marriages.

¹ *Gallia Christiana*, ed. altera, ii. 188. Between the eighth abbot, Odo II., 1264, and Johannes II., 1287, comes Guillelmus—"Forte vero hic est Guillelmus de Menipeny frater Alexandri domini de Concessant quem inter abates S. Satyri Sammarthani recensent absque nota temporis."

² Monsieur Turpin draws attention to the fact that the gap from 1485 to 1530 in the list of abbots of Saint-Satur (*Gall. Christ.*) had been filled neither by M. Gemähling, "Monographie de l'abbaye de St Satur" (*Compte rendu des travaux de la Soc. du Berry à Paris*, 13^e année, 1886), nor by Dom Demaisons, "Histoire de l'abbaye de St Satur" (*Revue du Berry et du Centre*, 1911-12). In turning over the voluminous inventory of the abbey deeds in the *Archives du Cher*, Monsieur Turpin found a certain number of leases granted in the name of Guillaume de Menypenny, commendatory abbot, dating from 1489 to 1520. Demaisons giving the nomination of the abbot Pierre-Antoine, in 1523, by Francis I. under the Concordat, Monypenny may therefore have held the abbacy until then. With regard to his candidature to the see of Bourges, he was really but a capitular nominee. A complete account of Forman's election, from the documents of the cathedral chapter of St Stephen of Bourges, is given by Raynal, *op. cit.*, ii. 187-89.

³ From the reign of Louis XI. (1461-83) Berry was held in appanage by—his brother Charles, afterwards Duke of Guyenne (d. 1472); Francis, son of Louis XI. (d. 1473), and Jeanne of Valois (1498-1504), the repudiated first wife of Louis XII., and foundress (1501), during her retirement at Bourges, of the Order of Annonciades. The Breviary has also the arms of France Ancient illuminated in panels on f. 525 v.

to the *mouvance* of their seigniory of Concréssault, is further eloquent of the artistic origin of the book.

Portraits.—While throughout the volume the Monypenny arms are almost as often accompanied by the abbatial crozier as not, it is to be observed that the striking picture upon f. 24 *v.* depicts a layman, and that in the scene below a family of four are represented (fig. 5). The period of Guillaume Monypenny's abbacy at Saint-Satur being *circa* 1489-1520, which dates include those of the book itself, the question arises whether the elderly personage kneeling in devotion to the Man of Sorrows can be accepted as a representation of William, Lord Monypenny, the father of the abbot and of Alexander, second lord. William is stated to have died between 1485 (October) and 1488 (July); his eldest son and successor, Alexander, is mentioned between 1483 and 1515. It may also be recalled that the earliest occurrences of the family arms in the Breviary (*i.e.* f. 4, the calendar for July and August) show them without the crozier, and that the next allusion of a personal character encountered in turning over the pages is this portrait (f. 24 *v.*).

In the miniature at the foot of the same page, of a man, woman, and two children, at prayer in a private chapel, it would seem that we have represented Alexander, second Lord Monypenny, his wife, and two of their children. If, however, the principal portrait be that of Alexander Monypenny, then it is not easy to identify the group below with either of his sons: Charles, the elder, slain in 1495; the marriage of the younger, Louis, Lord of Varene, is not recorded, and he is said to have left no issue. Nor would the lower miniature appear to depict Alexander's daughter and heiress, Anne Monypenny, Dame of Concréssault, with one of her three husbands: Stewart d'Oizon, Montferrand, or La Rochechandry; because in any case no posterity is attributed to her by any of these alliances. On the other hand, the representation of the Monypenny arms dimidiated with those of Stewart, well towards the end of the volume (f. 736 *v.*), seems to refer these pictorial allusions back to the elder William Monypenny, of his line first baron and Lord of Concréssault, and to his heir, respectively.

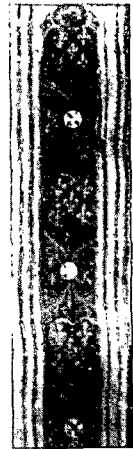


Fig. 4. Arms of Berry.

II.

It may at once be said that the impression of surpassing richness, which the Monypenny Breviary yields at a first glance, is more than sustained under closer examination. The ideal of book-ornamentation which concentrated upon occasional pages a wealth of pictorial and



Fig. 5. Monypenny Breviary (f. 24 v.): Family portraits.

decorative design, to which the intervening text acts as a foil, is here seen fully developed. The text upon these illuminated pages is confined to some six or eight lines in double column written upon the only portion of the vellum left blank, which hangs like a charter from the partition between the upper and lower miniatures, and often impinges upon the background of the latter. This arrangement, which might otherwise incur the criticism of artificiality, ensures a due major proportion to the upper composition in relation to the one beneath. The top miniature is in fact twice or thrice the effective height of the lower one free of the bottom line of the text, which is shifted, with great artistry, slightly to one side so as to disclose a little of the upper background of the smaller and lower composition.

Book-decorators were among the most conservative of artists, and here the convention described was so strongly rooted as to have governed the planning of most of the illuminated pages of the Breviary. The actual frame of the miniatures is a pair of columns with roll bases, or, of canopy pilasters standing upon a flat floor which also projects before the lower picture. The capitals of the columns are surmounted by figurines of Roman soldiers, as then imagined, in canopied and gabled niches supporting the more or less elaborately moulded cornice or beam which encloses the composition at the top. Even this framework is contrived in reversed proportion of the two miniatures, the respective scales of the column and canopied figure above being those of the larger and smaller miniatures. Frames with columns of the type so affected in the Monypenny Breviary are met with in other MSS. of the period which can be referred to Bourges, but they exhibit greater variety here, especially in the ornamentation of the columns themselves.

By far the greater number of the illuminated pages have margins stained in one colour, against which angels of various types are depicted supporting the framework to the miniature composition. The motive, which is derived from Fouquet,¹ is not of course free from banality when repeated again and again, as here; yet a certain suggestion of infinity in the serried forms is appropriate to many of the paintings. An observation of more importance is that margins of this type appear to characterise the compositions of one of the groups into which (as will be seen) the miniatures class themselves according to style.² The margins of the other and smaller series of miniatures have a totally different ornamentation formed of combinations of festoons with escallops; wings laced

¹ The paintings of the Hours Fouquet executed by 1461 for Étienne Chevalier present a similar treatment of the forms of angels within the compositions themselves; Gruyer, *Les quarante Fouquet*, pls. xxii., xxiv., xxv.

² Group B; yet not exclusively: the miniatures of the Death-bed scene (f. 18), and the Monypenny portraits (f. 24 v.) with angels in their margins, appear to belong to group A.

together (hawks' jesses?), arabesques, or chaplets, upon monochrome grounds.

As to the miniatures: two or three—at least two—different hands are revealed by the physical types and accessories portrayed in their respective compositions, as by their planning and arrangement. For convenience of reference, it is proposed to designate them as A, B, and C.¹

Group A.—This artist executed most of the Old Testament subjects—the figures drawn on a rather large scale; among the male heads a strongly marked type, with broad brow, thick lower lip, heavy chin, and forked beard; the cheek bones prominent, with patch of shading below. Gestures somewhat exaggerated, hands poorly rendered.

The scenes are mostly interiors, in which the crowds are ably massed, the features of heads in the background distinct, as in the Fouquet manner; the lighting effects skilful, whether overhead or from windows behind. In the small miniatures are landscapes of much beauty, but the artist's habitual scale was evidently cramped in the lower space, and his figures, occasionally dwarfed or disproportionately large, are sometimes represented three-quarter length. The margins have generally an ornament of festoons, arabesques, wings, or chaplets.

If somewhat heavy in style, this miniaturist's work is of a high order, in breadth, richness of colour, and in the technical rendering of accessories, costume, and material. To these qualities, variety of type in the face-drawing and truth in architectural delineation hardly correspond.

A representative page by this artist is that (XVIII., f. 316 v.) having for its larger miniature a somewhat uncertain subject which may be the Slaying of Adoniah by Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada (1 Kings ii. 19-25) (fig. 6):—

Solomon and a queen [Bathsheba?] are seated upon a throne covered with a light green cloth, set in an apse inlaid with blue and red marble panels; he wears a gold mantle patterned with rosettes outlined in red, with an ermine edging and tippet. The queen—her fairness in marked contrast to the ruddy faces of the men—has a red mantle over an ermine *cote-hardie*. A group of courtiers in pale purple, blue, and green robes stand to the right of the king.

In the left foreground a man in green with sword brandished aloft, and another in pale purple, in the act of drawing or sheathing his weapon, advance upon a third person who is bleeding from a wound on the temple. This man is clad in red and gazes up inquiringly at the wild man supporting the Monypenny arms, at the same time resting his left hand against the base of the niche behind the figure.

A person in blue garments is seated upon a stool at the foot of the

¹ For a list of the miniatures, see *infra*.



Fig. 6. Monypenny Breviary (f. 316 v.): i, the Slaying of Adoniah by Benaiah (?);
 ii, the Judgment of Solomon.

the throne, his back to the encounter, whilst a man on the right, seen in profile, also has his eyes fixed upon the Monypenny armorials.

This composition, with the smaller miniature of the Judgment of Solomon, below, is enclosed within the usual gold framework, outlined in brown ink. The chocolate-tinted margins have an ornament of widely spread wings, in gold.

Group B.—The scale of figure-drawing employed by this artist is more reduced than that of his collaborators; with few exceptions the facial types are undistinguished, and those on a small scale are summarily, even roughly, indicated. A large part of the scenes he depicts are outdoor, the street views and architecture being minutely and faithfully delineated; half-timber houses especially are excellently rendered. This illuminator's style is altogether different in its delicacy from that of the preceding group, and his colouring is less rich, but the refined painting of his best miniatures—which, in the originals, serves to disguise some weakness in draughtmanship—is, unfortunately, lost in reproduction. Masterly effects are obtained in some of his smaller compositions by accomplished grouping and the realistic action of the principal figures.

The miniatures upon the page commencing the common of martyrs (XLIX., f. 766) illustrate sufficiently well the style of the second illuminator, and may at any rate, from the circumstance that it bears his signature, be considered a representative work of his (fig. 7).

The cohort of martyr-saints is headed by a group of three: to the left St George, in plate armour of silver, and hawberk edged with gold, holding a tournament shield and a lance, both emblazoned: *argent a cross gules*. The gigantic stature of the saint on the right, with his tree-trunk staff, might at first seem to mark him for an unconventional representation of St Christopher if he were not quite certainly James the Less. In the centre is a warrior saint with banner and surcoat emblazoned: *azure a cross argent cantonned by four fleurs de lys or*; corresponding to St Theodore of Heraclea, whose statue is found at Chartres in similar proximity to one of St George.¹ The saint, like St George and another behind him, has a red hat, but his terminates in a high crown with a gold fringe. The trio, if peculiar in itself, is not less so as occurring in a book produced at Bourges and illuminated, wholly or in part, for a family of Scottish origin. It comprises neither a name patron

¹ In the left bay or door of the south porch of the cathedral. The saint's head—he was a legion commander under the Emperor Licinius—was brought from Rome to Chartres in 1120. The statue portrays him as a knight of the time of St Louis; only the dexter half of the shield is visible: the arm of a cross flory and two fleurs de lys. Cf. Bulteau, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, 1888, ii. 323; Marriage, *The Sculptures of Chartres Cathedral*, 1909, pl. 98, p. 217; E. Houvet, *Cathédrale de Chartres, portail sud*, 1920, i., pl. 5 and pls. 16, 17 (for the head with its long hair).



Fig. 7. Monypenny Breviary (f. 766 r.): i, the Cohort of Martyrs, headed by SS. George, Theodore of Heraclea, and James the Less; ii, Martyrdoms. By Jacquelin de Montluçon.

of the Monypennys, nor has reference to the patrons or titulars of Connessault, of Bourges, or of Saint-Satur. That these heads do not exhaust the possible clues to the further determination of persons connected with the work is evident from the fact that an inscription upon the garment of the most prominent of the saints here depicted—to wit, the St James the Less—contains the name of a Bourges artist of the period. A glance at the appended catalogue of the book's illuminations shows that they are by no means wanting in a class of detail, the general significance of which need not be insisted upon since Monsieur de Mély has discussed the claims of such inscriptions to acceptance as artists' signatures.¹ The deliberately haphazard assemblage of letters, whether upon the edges of garments or friezes of buildings, as mere decoration—at the time probably accounted of a mysterious kind—certainly explains the majority of these inscriptions. Among the remainder the plain signatures of artists are of great rarity, and this even at a period when the rôle of lettering in decoration was constantly maintained.

The Monypenny Breviary offers, as may be seen, not only representative series of inscriptions, legible and illegible, but some also in which actual words are set in a mass of meaningless letters. Belonging to this latter class are two important examples:—

The miniature of the Changing of Aaron's Rod into a Serpent before Pharaoh (XIII., f. 174) presents, below the bases of the columns in the background, a band of lettering containing the monarch's designation somewhat thus:—

. . . OVESIHAIRVOXINCWENFARAONREXELNRVASV
RONDEIVDEENIMSS²

The second instance of this type is the inscription already alluded to in connection with the figure of St James the Less in the miniature



Fig. 8. Enlarged detail showing Inscription in miniature on f. 766 r.

of the martyr-saints (fig. 7). The band of lettering, upon the edge of the toga hanging from the right shoulder of this saint, is of minute execution; as, moreover, it comprises several letters reversed or otherwise difficult to express typographically, the reader is referred to the enlarged facsimile of it (fig. 8).

¹ F. de Mély, *Les primitifs et leurs signatures: Les miniaturistes*, Paris, 1913.

² The letters are here in italics which appear to refer to the subject depicted.

A scrutiny of its entire length shows that the only portion offering characters in legible combination occurs not far below the kind of



Fig. 9. Miniature signed IOHANNES DE MONTELVICIO ME PINXIT, MS. 438, Arsenal Library, Paris. (From *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1904.)

loop in the left edge of the toga which is brought over, and partially interrupts, the lettering on the opposite edge.

Here is clearly discernible the word DEMOLISON—the L with its

horizontal stroke at the top; the N reversed, or having its diagonal in an opposite direction. The characters immediately preceding this combination of letters appear to be illegible, so that a distinctive first name does not here accompany what was in fact the appellative of at least two painters who are mentioned in the town-accounts of Bourges between 1477 and 1504.

Jehan de Molisson or Molusson, painter, received payment for various artistic commissions for the town in 1477, 1485-87; 1489, and 1492, which included more especially paintings à *ystoires* and one of Our Lady of Pity. This artist has been identified with the illuminator whose signature, IOHANNES DE MONTELVICIO ME PINXIT, occurs in a miniature in a Book of Hours (MS. 438) in the Arsenal Library, Paris (fig. 9). His relationship has not transpired to Jacquelin de Molisson, Molusson, or Monlusson, the payments to whom for art-work for the town of Bourges between 1487 and 1504 are chronologically preceded by one, of 1483, when he was living at Tours, for painting a shield for the Duke of Orleans.¹ Several designs for stained glass were rendered by Jacquelin de Molisson, whose activity in the service of Bourges was applied to much the same types of work, especially to the adjuncts of fête-decoration.²

Group C.—The equestrian combat at f. 339 is by a different hand from those of the painters of the larger miniatures in the two preceding groups. This miniaturist's style, while freer and less finished than that of Group B, and less massive than the strongly individual style of the A Group, may be described as falling in some respects between the two. But his colouring is hotter, and his realistic compositions have little of the dignity of his collaborators' designs. While it is not easy to discern to which group (B or C?) certain miniatures should be assigned, there are probably not more than half a dozen by this painter.

III.

The attribution of the Monypenny Breviary to the school of Bourges, the point next to be considered, is not to assign it—whatever be its individual merit—to a school of illumination of the universal repute which Paris or Tours in France, Bruges in Flanders, Winchester, Canterbury, or East Anglia in England, have severally acquired. Between 1400 and the end of the Middle Ages the city stands credited with no such efflorescence of miniature-painting as results from a tradition of the art maintained locally through generations of masters formed in

¹ *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français*, 1880-81, 2^e série, ii. p. 304.

² Transcripts of entries in the civic accounts relating to Jean and Jacquelin de Molisson, printed in the *Archives de l'Art français*, etc., are given in Appendix I.

the same ideals and differing chiefly in talent or individual idiosyncrasy. Bourges was, nevertheless, the scene of great activity in the arts throughout the fifteenth century. The court of John (1340-1416), third son of John II. of France, brother of Louis, Duke of Anjou, of Philip II., Duke of Burgundy, and uncle of Louis, Duke of Orleans, was the lodestone which attracted to the capital of Berry a host of artists and craftsmen, native and foreign; in fact, the history of contemporary French illumination is, for the most part, that of the Duke of Berry's relations with André Beauneveu of Valenciennes, Jacquemart de Hesdin, and Pol de Limbourg and his brothers, as, conversely, the best extant memorials of his patronage of art remain the group of MSS.—especially the Psalter,¹ the *Grandes*² and the *Très belles Heures*,³ and the *Très riches Heures*,⁴ which he commissioned of those artists.

Jacques Cœur, the other great Mæcenas, whose name is connected more exclusively with Bourges, during the twelve years that preceded his fall from power in 1451-53 carried the tradition of artistic magnificence, inaugurated by the Duke of Berry, to a degree hardly preceded at that time, either in a subject or a minister of the crown. But, as it happens, the *argentier* of Charles VII. has bequeathed to posterity no very clear evidence of his patronage of the art of the book; the only illuminated manuscript that has been connected with him is undoubtedly of later date.

If, in the present state of knowledge concerning provincial French illumination of the fifteenth century, it is possible to cite but a very few manuscripts that were illuminated at Bourges, these at least show their authors to have had an homogeneous conception in decoration, and in the selection of their designs. The oneness of style and treatment would alone indicate a centre for the art were there not other indices, both documentary and of an interior nature, pointing to the same. That the illuminators or miniaturists who worked at Bourges in the last quarter of the fifteenth century may be regarded as belonging to a wider school which embraced also those of Touraine, of Poitou, and of the Bourbonnais, is a view of the facts which, though enunciated

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fr. 13091. With twenty-four miniatures by André Beauneveu, b. 1360, dwelt at Bourges from 1386, was dead in 1403.

² Bib. Nat. Paris, Latin 919. By Jacquemart de Hesdin, living at Bourges in 1400, mentioned c. 1413; and others. Cf. J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 250-51.

³ The *Très belles Heures très richement enluminées* of the ducal inventory, Bib. Roy., Brussels, 11060-61. Begun, in or after 1404, by Jacquemart de Hesdin.

⁴ Musée Condé, Chantilly, 1284. Some fifty-five miniatures had been executed by Pol, Hermand, and Jehannequin de Limbourg, when John of Berry died in 1416. The duke gave Pol a house at Bourges in or after 1409; by 1434 the artist had long been (his brothers probably were) dead. Jean Colombe added over a dozen large miniatures to the original series in 1485; Count Durriéu's *Les Très riches Heures de Jean, duc de Berry*, 1904, reproduces all the Limbourgs' and a few of Colombe's miniatures, for the rest of which the photographs by Giraudon (Paris) can be consulted.

by recognised authorities, does not prevent the differentiation of local centres, especially of those where painters of individuality flourished. That at this period, on the other hand, any such centre carried on its development—much less had originated—quite independently of others, is not the case. Even the art of the great Fouquet had its roots (as Count Durrieu points out) probably as much in Paris as in Touraine,¹ of which school he is the representative, and whence his style influenced the better French illumination of the day. Jean Colombe, the foremost of the as yet identified illuminators of Bourges, was, supposedly, a near relative—a nephew or a brother—of the famous Tours sculptor, Michel Colombe; of his activity at Bourges we have examples dating from 1482 till 1486, or from about twenty to twenty-five years later than Fouquet's last notable work.

The two sets of illuminations the attribution of which to Jean Colombe rests upon documentary evidence are the additional miniatures to an *Apocalypse* in the library of the Escorial and to the *Très riches Heures* of John, Duke of Berry, at the Musée Condé, Chantilly. The original portions of either manuscript — of the *Apocalypse*, with miniatures executed (1428-35) by Jean Bapteur of Fribourg, and by Péronnet Lamy of Saint-Claude, for Amadeus VIII., Duke of Savoy²; and of the *Très riches Heures*, by Pol de Limbourg and his brothers for the Duke of Berry—were eventually inherited by Charles I. of Savoy, for whom Jean Colombe was working at Bourges from 1482 till 1486.³ The evidence of style afforded by these works has enabled Count Durrieu to attribute other manuscripts to Colombe, whose talent as an illuminator can be safely assessed, however, from his contribution to the *Très riches Heures*. Colombe's style is based upon that of Fouquet, and his miniatures exhibit technical devices, a shading system, etc., similar to Fouquet's; his designs are occasionally characterised by a certain grandeur of conception, and his renderings of landscape and architecture are especially able. The test of proximity between his work and that of the Limbourgs, in the *Très riches Heures*, is a severe one, as comprehending in the first place a difference of style;

¹ *Les Antiquités Judaïques et le peintre Fouquet*, 1908, pp. 115-16.

² Dufour and Rabut, "Les peintres et les peintures en Savoie du xiii^e au xix^e siècles," in *Mémoires publiés par la Société Savoisienne*, 1870, xii. 60-61, 64, 66. The entries from the Treasury rolls of Savoy, in the Turin Archives, are quoted more fully by A. Baudi di Vesme and F. Carta, in *L'Arte*, 1901, iv. 38.

³ Colombe's work on the *Apocalypse* (ff. 30-49) was attested by a document now lost, recorded by Cibrario, *Economia politica del medio evo*, 1889, p. 332; and forgotten, till cited by A. de Champeaux, in *Chronique des Arts*, 1895, p. 154, though erroneously in relation to the manuscript as a whole. For an examination of the evidence confirming Count Durrieu's identification of this MS. as the one recorded in the documents (Durrieu, "Manuscrits d'Espagne remarquables," in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1893, liv., and separately pp. 22-26), and for the general bibliography of the question, see Baudi di Vesme and Carta, *op. cit.* (with illustrations). Count Durrieu's *Les Très riches Heures*, 1904, cap. vii., resumes Colombe's share in both MSS.

but if the comparison be instituted with Fouquet's miniatures, the exemplar of his own art, and due allowance be made for Fouquet's originality and serene sublimity of conception, it is clear that the illuminator identified by Count Durrieu as Jean Colombe was relatively an artist of secondary rank.

Though Colombe failed to emulate Fouquet to any real extent, he is nevertheless an important personality in the history of illumination in Central France, if only by reason of the length of his career (1467-1529) at Bourges, which covered the appearance of masters and of books that reflect his influence in greater or lesser degree. At this period miniature art was becoming ever broader at the hands of men who, as the records show, were by turn fête-painters, gilders, and polychromers of statuary, designers of stained glass, as well as panel-painters and book-illuminators. Fouquet's style was not unsuited to such developments, but the perfection of refinement he attained at his best was beside their aim; and the effect of much of their work, if generally one of rich display in the elaboration of architectural and other ornamental accessories, is equally one of rusticity and provincialism in detail. Figure compositions are frequently crowded, and are not more successful, as drawings of the face and form, than the compositions in some of Fouquet's own MSS., which suggest that they were entrusted to pupils; the figures and scenes owe much to perspective and lighting effects. Colour, which is strong and contrasted, is toned by shading profusely in gold, which also is employed as a decorative tint for architectural framework, statuary, armour, and the like. It is sufficient to compare the frameworks and other decorative adjuncts of the series of miniatures representing Jean Colombe's contribution to the *Très riches Heures* with the like in the Monypenny Breviary, to be convinced of the near artistic relationship of their author to Colombe. In either artist's work of this nature architectural forms reign supreme. Colombe's are more elaborate, but the settings of his miniatures are built up of several storeys, pillar rising from pillar and stuated niche supporting niche. There is more sobriety in the general design of the Monypenny frames; the niche with its figurine is carried upon a single thick column, but there are the same dark shafts, their gold diapered surfaces reflecting the light; there are lions masking in the same way the bases of columns; and strange birds fill the medallions in the bases of columns or in the framework.¹

Extending the comparison to the miniatures, a similar affiliation must be admitted of at least two compositions in either manuscript:

¹ In the Monypenny Breviary figured on a large scale in the frame of the Joachim and Anne miniature (f. 479), these monsters are depicted in those of the Purgatory, Invention of the Cross, Assumption and Martyrdom of St. Andrew, in the *Très riches Heures*.

those of Christ hanging upon the Cross, and of the Assumption. As to the first: the general grouping—the Holy Women to the left; the centurion's horse looking back, away from the Cross, on the right; the forest of lances interrupting the view of the city and hills behind—have a common inspiration. As to the Assumption picture, the identity of the conception in its main lines comprises the design of the heavenly throne, and the facing towards the spectator of the lateral groups of the Blessed. But, whereas Colombe's larger page allowed of a greater precision in the painting of the faces, his design¹ seems to lack the atmosphere which the Monypenny miniaturist (B group) imparts by the cloud-drift before the throne, and the circular and radiating formation of the angelic choirs around it (fig. 10). The points of contact with Colombe's heavier style could not be better typified; and, to resume, Colombe in depth, in freedom, in sentiment, in the actuality of his conceptions, must here be considered inferior to an artist who challenges him so definitely upon his own ground.

The group of manuscripts to which the Monypenny Breviary belongs includes, besides the different MSS. attributed to Jean Colombe,² a Franciscan Missal (No. 514) in the Municipal Library at Lyons,³ the Cœur Hours at the State Library, Munich,⁴ and the later (1537-47) Bourges Hours (No. 666) of Jean Lallemand, the younger, in the Royal Library at the Hague.⁵

The Cœur book of Hours (Codex lat. monac. 10103) was written for a member of that family—most probably for Jacques Cœur, grandson of the minister—and is a production of the reign of Charles VIII. (1483-98). It is a volume of 197 leaves (16·2 by 10·5 cm.); the calendar, which is that of the Dominican order, is written in red and blue, with the principal feasts in gold. Here, as on certain pages of the text, a framework of knotted or ragged staves (*bâtons nouveaux*), sprouting, or entwined with branches of flower and foliage, runs round the text,

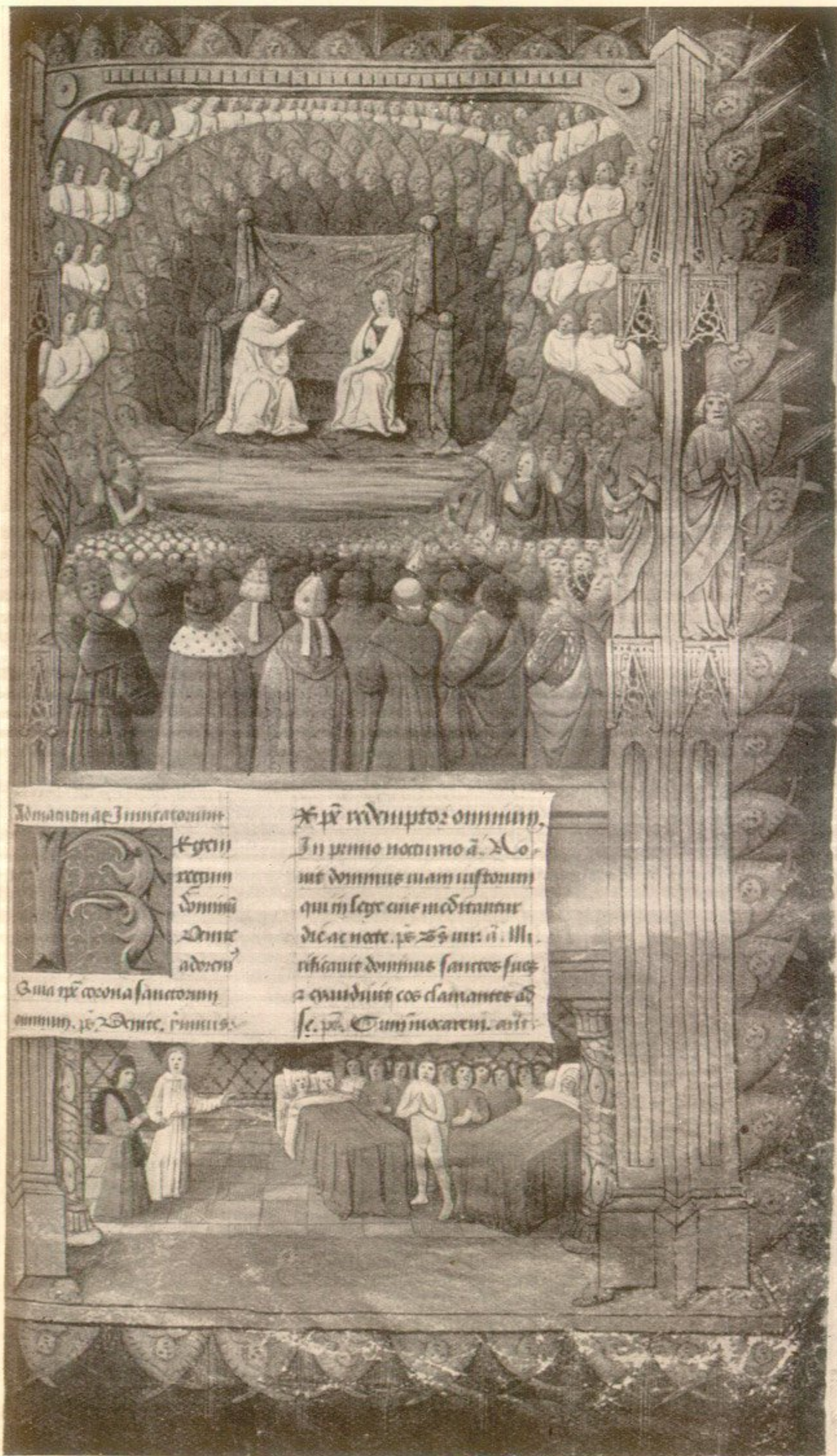
¹ Of which the prototype may be indicated in Fouquet's Hours of Étienne Chevalier, completed by 1461, Musée Condé, Chantilly; Gruyer, *Les quarante Fouquet*, pl. xxvi.

² Cf. Count Durrieu, *Les Très riches Heures*, 1904, pp. 111-12; his fuller list of attributions is given by Thieme, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, vii. 245.

³ Abbé V. Leroquais, *Bibliothèque de la ville de Lyon: exposition de manuscrits à peintures. Catalogue descriptif*, 1920, No. 45, pls. xlvii.-xlviii. The designs of the Crucifixion miniature in this and the Monypenny MS. are noticed further on.

⁴ Published with reproductions, as "Jacques Cœur's Gebetbuch," by F. Boll, in *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, 1902-03, p. 49; the attribution to Charles VII.'s minister was revised in a note to L. Delisle's "Les Heures de Jacques Cœur," in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1904, lxx. 126, embodying criticisms by M. P. Gauchery.

⁵ P. Gauchery, "Le livre d'Heures de Jehan Lallemand le jeune, seigneur de Marmagne," in *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiquaires du Centre*, 1911, xxxiii. 313. This MS. (No. 132 in the Portrait Exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1907) has thirteen full-page miniatures; in each the penitential figure of Lallemand is introduced as a spectator of the subject depicted.



Ad maiorem gloriam

Dignetur
 regnum
 domini
 digne
 adorari

Gloria in excelsis deo
 in terra pax hominibus
 bonae voluntatis. Gloria in excelsis deo

Christe redemptor omnium,
 In primo nocturno. Ave
 marie dominice nam iustorum
 qui in lege tua meditantur
 die ac nocte. ps. 25. Misere
 reus. Misere reus. Misere reus.
 et exultant eos clamantes ad
 se. ps. Cum invocarem. auxilium

Fig. 10. Monypenny Breviary (f. 702 r.): i, the Assumption of the B. Virgin; ii, subject unidentified.

forming also a lower rectangular compartment within which is the usual series of compositions depicting the occupations of the months. Other pages have the ragged staff and a floral border to the outer margin of text. The large miniatures are characterised by backgrounds of florid architecture in gold, or landscapes, and include a picture (double-page) of the Annunciation within a gold framework, the sides of which are formed by stout columns upon bases with winged lions' jambs at the angles, and an elaborately accurate view (ff. 148 v.-149) of the famous house of Jacques Cœur at Bourges, its pinnacles flying banners of the Cœur arms. On f. 15 v. is portrayed a young man, probably Jacques Cœur the younger, kneeling at a prie-dieu. From the shoulders of an angel below hangs a scroll with the family motto: AVAILANS [CŒURS] RIENS IMPOSSIBLE; this angel supports a shield upon which a strange coat has been painted over that of Cœur. Other mottoes, and the escallop shell, in allusion to Jacques Cœur's name-patron, are found in the borders throughout. Approximately the pages of the last third of the book have borders extending to the outer margins only of the text, and small miniatures showing three-quarter-length figures.

It is important to the question of the inclusion or otherwise in this group of Bourges MSS. of another manuscript that has been mentioned, the Arsenal Hours with miniatures by Jean de Montluçon—as also in connection with the signature it bears—that it was written for a member of the Chappes family of the neighbouring duchy of Bourbonnais, bearing the arms: *azure on a bend argent three crescents sable*. The village of Chappes being situated near to Montluçon, which was no doubt the native place of Jean de Montluçon or Molisson (otherwise IOHANNES DE MONTELVICIO), is a circumstance that, it is alleged, removes the manuscript from the Bourges sphere, at all events during the periods 1477, 1485-87, 1489, and 1492, when, as has been said, his presence at that town is documentarily attested. It has accordingly been advanced that the Chappes or Arsenal Hours were completed “shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century, and some years before the artist's departure for Bourges.”¹ As to this, some seven

¹ Cf. the paper by Monsieur Fournier-Sarlovèze, “Quelques primitifs du Centre de la France,” in *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, xxv., 1909, 113, 180, identifying the Chappes ownership of the Hours by Jean de Montluçon, and grouping it with an altar-piece in the Church of Montluçon (donor, a certain Michel de Lâge), 1485-1500; with the Comeau Hours (Count Durrieu coll.), and the famous La Tour d'Auvergne triptych (1494-98), engraved in the history of that family by Baluze (1708), and now in a Paris collection. The paper, being well illustrated, can be consulted with advantage for some idea of the *air de famille* pervading these works. Count Durrieu alludes to the likeness of the Comeau illuminations to those by Montluçon, and to the better execution of the former. The Montluçon altar-piece may possibly, in the writer's opinion, be by the painter of the Monypenny miniatures B group.

years elapse between 1477 and 1485, the first two dates recorded of the artist's sojourn at Bourges, during which interval our knowledge of his movements is a blank; in the writer's opinion the Arsenal MS. is undoubtedly as late as this unknown stage of Jean de Montluçon's career.¹ The details of a manuscript, in the fact of its signature so important to the Monypenny Breviary, are briefly as follows:—

The 152 leaves of the Arsenal Hours (16·3 by 10·8 cm.) contain twenty-nine large miniatures within architectural frameworks in gold upon dark purple margins dotted over in a lighter shade of the same colour; and forty-three smaller ones, as in the Cœur MS. The pages containing the smaller compositions exhibit the convention, noted also in the Cœur Hours, of a border extending along the outer lateral margin of the text, composed of arabesque and natural flower sprays upon a gold ground. Each calendar page (there are two pages to each month) has, below its text, a miniature of an occupation of the month, the one and the other separately enclosed by a running knotted branch in gold, forming in its entirety an irregular figure of 8.

At least two artists appear to have collaborated in the book as it stands; to the second and inferior of them are due, more especially, a series of the Sibyls, at the end of the volume. The principal miniatures are the series of very vigorous and original calendar designs, one of the Espousals of the Blessed Virgin and one of the Affliction of Job; etc. The accompanying illustration renders superfluous a detailed description of the Espousals miniature, the more so as the fact of its signature by the illuminator has rendered it to a certain degree famous.² The border of the high priest's tunic bears in Roman capitals the inscription: IOHANNES DE MONTELVICIO ME PINXIT (fig. 9).

There are marked affinities of composition, of form and feature in the types portrayed, between these miniatures and the corresponding details in the Monypenny Breviary, as well as in accessories—*e.g.* the gilt columns with their bases masked with small figures. In the Arsenal Hours the face of Job (f. 39) is the typical male physiognomy affected by the illuminator of the A group in the Monypenny Breviary. But the miniatures of the former MS. are less accomplished generally, and their colouring warmer; yet the Espousals miniature reveals correcter

¹ A Pierre de Chappes is recorded to have made 300 tokens for the Bourges Cathedral Chapter in 1495; D. Mater, *Études sur la numismatique du Berry*, 1906, p. 9.

² Described in detail by M. Henry Martin in his *Catalogue des manuscrits de l'Arsenal*, i. 296-97, this miniature has been reproduced also in the same author's *Les miniaturistes français*, 1906, p. 94, fig. 11 (also in *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1904, p. 615, pl. 11); it figured in the Exposition des Primitifs Français, Paris, 1904, No. 183, and is discussed by F. de Mély, *Les signatures des primitifs*, 1913, pp. 247-50, under the date 1477, when Jean de Montluçon is first mentioned in the accounts of Bourges (Appendix I.).

architectural draughtsmanship than that of the frameworks that enclose the Monypenny composition.

The locality of origin of the Arsenal Hours—in its relation to the Monypenny Breviary—is a problem which, having been formulated, need not be pursued here beyond the statement that Jean de Montluçon's (IOHANNES DE MONTELVICIO'S) miniatures approximate rather to the A group illuminator than to those of groups B or C, in the latter work.

The possible determination of the DEMOLISON of group B of the Monypenny illuminations is seen to depend primarily upon his work itself. If so, what evidence of their author's nearer identity, it may be asked, does this series of miniatures offer, the exclusion of IOHANNES DE MONTELVICIO as their illuminator being implied upon grounds of style?

The answer is found in the miniature of the martyr-saints, which bears the signature DEMOLISON. The occurrence of the name upon the robe of St James the Less, whom as his patron the artist endowed with heroic stature in comparison with his fellows SS. George and Theodore, reveals convincingly, in the writer's opinion, *Jacquelin de Molisson* (or Montluçon) as the illuminator of this group of the Breviary's miniatures.¹

On the 12th June 1505 the Mayor and *échevins* of Bourges directed the municipal treasurer to pay to Ursine, wife of the late Jacquelin de Molisson, "en son vivant peintre demourant en la dicte ville," the sum of 14 *livres tournois* which were due to the deceased for the painting of various decorative accessories to the recent Corpus Christi procession. We have therefore a terminal date for the miniatures of the B group, and that within the abbacy of William Monypenny (c. 1485-1520). Assuming the execution of the Calendar to have been allotted to the same hand, there seems no reason to doubt the completion of the Breviary approximately by that date. The point is not of primary importance, because of the lesser artistic value of the miniatures of the third or C group; they may well have been painted contemporarily to those of Group B, among which they for the most part occur.

In his study of the *Très riches Heures*, completed by Jean Colombe at Bourges in 1485 for Charles I. of Savoy, Count Durrieu remarks of another manuscript, the miniatures of which he assigns to Colombe—the *Romuléon* of Sebastien Mamerot,—that this attribution alone supposes them to be the work of one through whose hands the *Très riches Heures* had passed: certain details being merely copies from

¹ It is perhaps possible to read . . . LIN . . before DEMOLISON in the enlargement (fig. 8), the L with its horizontal also at the top.

the miniatures in the original series painted by the Limbourgs for the Duke of Berry.¹

To turn the leaves of the Monypenny Breviary is to perceive in more

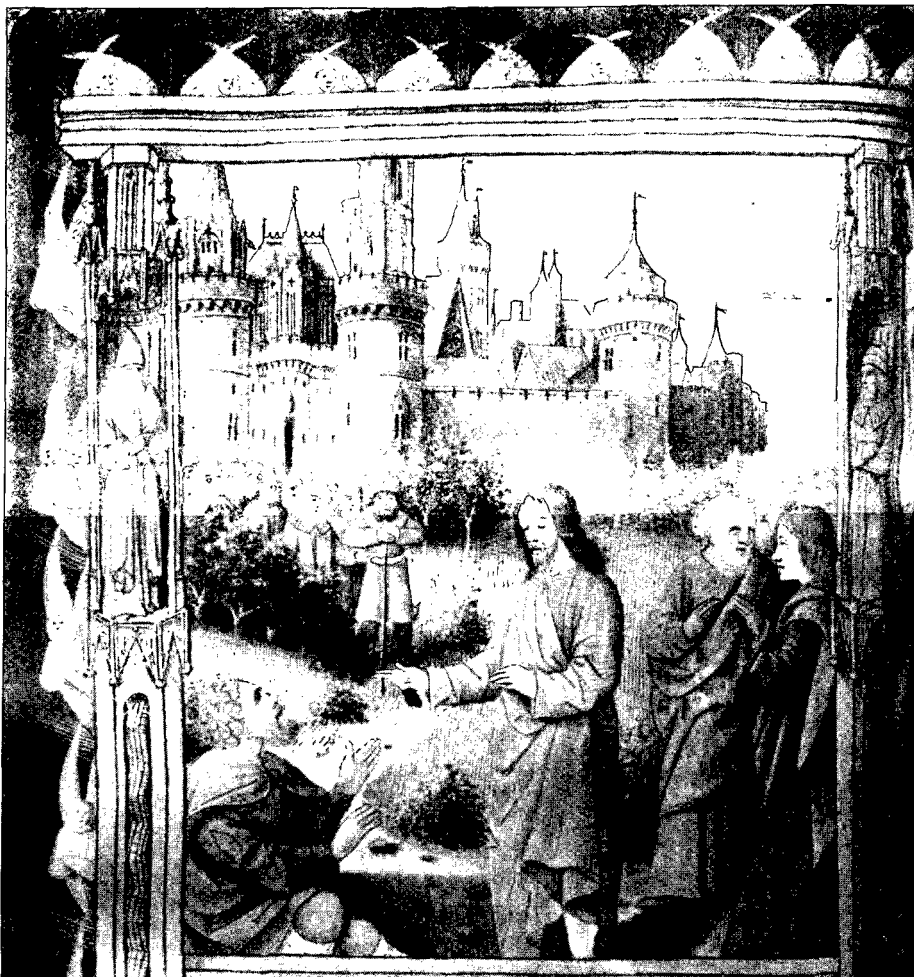


Fig. 11. Monypenny Breviary (f. 136 v., larger miniature): Christ Healing a Man.
(The fortress of Mehun-sur-Yèvre in the background.)

than one place an element or motive in its designs derived not only from Colombe's art but, through Fouquet, even from the manuscripts of John, Duke of Berry. The resemblances between the Breviary's Calvary and

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

Assumption pictures and those Colombe contributed to the *Très riches Heures* have already been noticed.¹ Here Jacquelin de Montluçon's designs are variants of compositions affected by the other Bourges artist. Less obtrusive is the inspiration derived from the Duke of Berry's miniaturists. The backgrounds of several miniatures by Montluçon reproduce the huge fortifications of Mehun-sur-Yèvre (fig. 11) and others, as though their author had in mind the famous calendar series of the Duke of Berry's castles in the *Très riches Heures*. The head of Heraclius in the miniature of the Exaltation of the Cross (fig. 12) is strangely reminiscent of Fouquet's Shalmaneser in the *Josephus* of the Bibliothèque Nationale; and, consequently, but to a lesser degree, of the Heraclius in the Duke of Berry's *Belles Heures*; and of the sun god in the calendar lunettes of his *Très riches Heures*. In all these the protagonist bears aloft the Cross—in the type of the mediæval medal of Heraclius which John, Duke of Berry, is known to have possessed—seated in a triumphal car.² That Jacquelin de Molison presents Heraclius nevertheless as an equestrian figure, like the Constantine of the companion medal, accords well with his eclectic, yet original talent.³

The Breviary, to judge from the cleanness of its pages, mostly of very fine vellum, has had an uneventful history. It contains not the least note or inscription relating to its subsequent ownership, nor as to how it found its way from Berry to a remote corner of Andalusia. That it was possibly in the Peninsula not so very long after its completion would appear from the binding, which is of dark red leather with arabesques and cartouche work inlaid in purple and dark green, and is sixteenth-century Spanish in its rich elaboration, if French in type. Los Arcos and its religious houses, including the Franciscan convent of *La Encarnacion*, whence the book passed into the hands of Mr Lionel Harris (of the Spanish Gallery, London), at Seville, are not even cited in Beer's *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens*, the best guide to Spain's collections of MSS., private and public.

¹ The Calvary scene of the Breviary is far closer, however, to that of the Franciscan Missal at Lyons, of which unfortunately two miniatures only have been published, by Leroquais, *op. cit.* The style of the second miniature of this book, a calendar painting, is very similar to that of the calendar paintings of Jean de Montluçon's Hours (Arsenal Lib.).

² The first three miniatures of the *Josephus* date—the second and third in their present condition—from before 1416, and are attributed by Count Durrieu to Pol de Limbourg's school; Fouquet's eleven miniatures were completed by 1477. Count Durrieu, *Les Antiquités Judaïques et le peintre Jean Fouquet*, 1908, pl. xxxiii., reproduces the Shalmaneser, the Heraclius of the *Belle Heures*, and the medal. Cf. the chariot of the sun in his *Les Très riches Heures*.

³ In the result also, except that, like Fouquet's Shalmaneser, Jacquelin de Molison's Heraclius is hatted, his version of the head itself approximates rather to that of the Constantine medal, but in the carrying upward of the procession along the right edge of the miniature the composition agrees with Fouquet's Shalmaneser. For these medals, see G. F. Hill, "Notes on the Mediæval Medals of Constantine and Heraclius," in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, x., 1910; and *Pisanello*, 1905, pl. 26.



Fig. 12. Monypenny Breviary (f. 654 v.): i., the Exaltation of the Cross; ii., Heraclius bears the Cross into Jerusalem.

LIST OF THE MINIATURES.¹

- f. 1 *recto* [*Calendar*]: *Januarius*. (a) A man at table to whom a servitor brings in a dish; a nude figure pouring water from a gold vase [*Aquarius*].
 (b) The sun upheld by a female figure (pink) in a chariot drawn by one white and one black horse, a man falling through space below: SOL FETŌ: nude women, one bathing, and a blindfolded, nude man with a bow.
 (c) The Almighty on a throne surrounded by red seraphim, white angels outside with blue wings.
- f. 1 *verso*: *Februarius*. (a) Man seated warming himself at a fire; two fish swimming [*Pisces*].
 (b) MERCVRIVS (purple) with caduceus, pipe, cock, and mask; LUNA (red), a woman in chariot drawn by a black and a white horse, upholding moon.
 (c) Michael driving a devil into Hell.
- f. 2 *r.*: *Marcus*. (a) Man cutting wood; ram [*Aries*].
 (b) SASTVRNVS (*sic*) (blue, with red mantle) grasping winged dragon and babe, children below; IVPITER (blue, lilac mantle) within a vesica, crowned, holding arrow; eagle above, child beneath.
 (c) God creating the earth.
- f. 2 *v.*: *Aprilis*. (a) Man holding flowered spray in each hand; bull [*Taurus*].
 (b) MARCIVS in black armour, enthroned, with dog; TEMPRENTIA (blue, with pink mantle), holding two jugs; pig and dish below.
 (c) The Almighty creating animals.
- f. 3 *r.*: *Mayus*. (a) Man and woman on a horse; man and woman embracing in a thicket [*Gemini*].
 (b) PRVDENTIA (red, with green mantle), the back of her head a man's mask, holding statue with blue mirror, dragon on floor; FORTITAS (in black breastplate, red skirt, and green mantle), with lion's head-hood, snapping a column in half, a lion below.
 (c) God, with arm outstretched towards three angels supporting man's body on the ground.
- f. 3 *v.*: *Junius*. (a) Two men with scythes; crayfish [*Cancer*].
 (b) IVSTICIA (red, with blue mantle) with sword and balance, and crane at foot; CARITAS (pink, with blue mantle), uncovering flame on breast, scattering blossoms from vase; pelican in its piety below.
 (c) The Trinity (three Persons enthroned, issuing at the waist from one garment), Adam kneeling, angels behind.
- f. 4 *r.*: *Julius*. (a) Two men reaping; lion sejant [*Leo*].
 (b) SPES (green, with pink mantle) with phoenix; FIDES (blue,

¹ The List designates the calendar miniatures according to their position in the framework: (a)=at top; (b)=at side; (c)=below.

The miniatures in the body of the Breviary: (a)=large miniature; (b)=smaller miniature; the remainder are designated as "Text miniatures."

The authorship of the miniatures is indicated as follows:—

the first miniaturist (Jean de Montluçon ?)=(A)
 ,, second ,, (Jacquelin de Montluçon)=(B)
 ,, third ,, (unknown)=(C)

The subjects of many of the smaller and some of the larger miniatures of the fully illuminated pages in the body of the Breviary have been identified from the *Golden Legend*.

with red mantle) holding chalice and Eucharist in right hand; dog below.

(c) God crowns the kneeling Adam.

At the top outer angle of the border are the Monypenny arms (quarterly) supported by a cupid.

f. 4 v.: *Augustus*. (a) Man and woman threshing; woman with palm [Virgō].

(b) GRAMATICA (pink, with purple mantle) holding two-handed vase in left hand, short baton in right; LOGICA (green, with red mantle), a dragon covered with a white veil with red spots perched on her left wrist.

(c) The creation of Eve.

At top outer angle the Monypenny arms.

f. 5 v.: *September*. (a) Man and woman at wine press; nude figure holding balance [Libra].

(b) RETORICA (black helmet and breastplate, blue skirt, and red mantle) with sword and two angels with trumpets; GEOMETRICA (red, with blue mantle), a woman standing to the knees in cloud, a rectangle, a triangle, and a diamond in the sky.

(c) God, Adam and Eve, and the tree.

f. 5 v.: *October*. (a) The acorn harvest; scorpion [Scorpius].

(b) ARESMETICHA (*sic*) (red, white veil), her head irradiated, counting coins; MVSICA (blue) seated on swan, playing pipe, instruments in foreground.

(c) Satan in hell.

f. 6 v.: *November*. (a) Man killing pig: centaur [Sagittarius].

(b) POETICA (blue, red mantle), seated at fountain, playing pipe and pouring water from a jug; PHILOSOPHIA (pale blue, black breastplate) holding dark blue chamfron shield.

(c) Adam and Eve, and the serpent (human-headed) in the tree.

f. 6 v.: *December*. (a) A baker putting loaf into oven; goat issuing from shell [Capricornus].

(b) ASTROLOGIA (lilac, red mantle), with blue wings (?), book, and staff; THEOLOGIA (red, blue mantle) with male mask at back of head, rising from starry sphere.

(c) The expulsion from Eden. [*End of Calendar.*]

I. f. 7. The Crucifixion. PASSIO DOMINI NOSTRI IHESV XPIRSTI
(*sic*). (B)

II. f. 8. (a) St Paul calling on the Romans to awaken from sleep
(Romans xiii. 11). (A)

(b) Moses, Aaron, and the elders of Israel. (A)

III. f. 18. (a) Death-bed scene, the soul borne up by angels; Christ (as the
Man of Sorrows) and Satan in the foreground. (A)

(b) Aged king in bed (David), visited by a woman (Bathsheba)
and a priest (Nathan) (1 Kings i. 15 *et seq.*).

A *cheetah* or hunting leopard¹ at base of either column,
below. (A)

¹ The contemporary French monarch, Louis XII. of France (1498-1515), to whom the second Lord Monypenny was a councillor and chamberlain had, like his great-grandfather, Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan (father of Valentina Visconti, Duchess of Orleans), the leopard in his "equipage de chasse"; he hunted in the neighbourhood of Blois, le Plessis-les-Tours, and Pont-le-Roi; La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie*, ed. C. Nodier, 1826, ii. p. 323.

- IV. f. 24 v. (a) In a chapel a man, to half length, in greyish doublet, clean shaven, short grey hair, kneeling at an altar, above which the Christ of the Passion appears, surrounded by seraphim in a blue cloud. The altar has a frontal, and a linen cloth embroidered with blue crosses at the end. Upon it stand two golden candlesticks with lighted candles.
(b) Man with long fair hair, his hat hanging upon his back, kneeling, with a woman clad in a long-sleeved *corset*, and two children, in a chapel; in the background two altars, and in left foreground an open chest of gold coin. Outside, on right, sheep, an ox, and a herdsman rapping on door with a stick.
Sleeping spaniels below (fig. 5). (A)
- V. f. 37. (a) The Tiburtine Sibyl and Augustus.
(b) The Sibyl Persica with two groups of disputants.
White deerhounds¹ below. (A)
- VI. f. 56 v. (a) St John the Evangelist raising Drusiana to life, in a town square.
(b) St John praying in an open grave, a crowd behind.
Eagles below. (B)
- VII. f. 97. (a) The Marriage in Cana.
(b) A saint (Paul?) hands an epistle to three followers.
Porcupines below. (A)
- VIII. f. 130 v. (a) Noah driving animals up a gangway into the ark.
(b) Christ preaching from masted boat, to a crowd on the shore. (B)
- IX. f. 136 v. (a) Christ, attended by the Apostles, blessing a man seated on the ground, a crowd of observers at a distance. In the background the gate, walls, and towers of the castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre.²
(b) The sacrifice of Abraham.
Porcupines below (fig. 11). (B)
- X. f. 145. (a) Christ tempted by Satan.
(b) The confusion of tongues.
Lions sejant below. (B)
- XI. f. 156 v. (a) Jacob obtains the blessing of Isaac, who stands in a vaulted hall with jewelled columns and bas-reliefs.
(b) Esau on horseback pursuing a stag. (A)
- XII. f. 165. (a) Joseph sold by his brethren to the Ishmaelites.
(b) Reuben gazing down a well.
Collared civets below. (A)
- XIII. f. 174. (a) Aaron's rod changed into a serpent before Pharaoh. (For inscription, see above, p. 86.)
(b) Pharaoh and his host drowned in the Red Sea. (A)
- XIV. f. 183. (a) Christ in the temple; a crowd, some with stones in their hands.

¹ *Lévriers d'Écosse.*

² Monsieur Camille Enlart, the distinguished mediæval archæologist and Director of the Musée de Sculpture Comparée, Paris, at once identified this as the great fortress of Mehun-sur-Yèvre, completed about 1390 by John, Duke of Berry. The statue over the gate, one of three which actually existed, is shown also in the view in the *Très riches Heures*, ed. Durrieu, pl. lviii. Charles VII. died at Mehun in 1461.

- (b) A bearded man in a landscape; issuing from his mouth, on a scroll: A. A. A. DOMINE · DE(US) · NESICIO · LOQVI. An angel in the air holds a scroll inscribed: PRIN(sic)SQVĀ · FORMARE · IN · VTERO · NOVI · TE (Jeremiah i. 5).
Cupids seated below. (A)
- XV. f. 193. (a) Christ, riding an ass, approaches Jerusalem.
(b) Two disciples leading an ass and its colt from a city.
A blank shield in the framework between the miniatures.
Two cupids below playing with a ball. (B)
- XVI. f. 267 v. (a) A *Corpus Christi* procession, the monstrance borne by a bishop between two assistants, holding a gremial of the arms of France ancient below the gloved hands of the celebrant; above is a canopy with fringe alternately white, blue, red, and green. The bishop wears a green dalmatic, gold cope, white mitre and white gloves, the assistants gold copes over full surplices. The torch-bearers are clad in blue, those holding the canopy in red. They and the two assistant priests have round their heads a kind of padded red wreath; in the background a crowd, and the gables and walls of a city.¹
(b) A procession consisting of a boy with holy water, two servers with folded arms, two carrying lights, cross-bearer with cross, all in unapparelled albes and amices, followed by seven clergy, two in red copes, two in blue, three in gold copes, all in dark red caps. A grey curtain behind has the initials I and E, joined by a lover's knot, powdered over it in gold.
The framework above is inscribed: DE NOVO TESTAMENTO ET DE NATIVITATE CHRISTI (fig. 13). (B)
- XVII. f. 278. (a) Elcanah offering sacrifice; Eli enthroned in the background; his sons, the priests Ophni and Phineas, lean upon the altar at each end. The altars are represented as Christian altars of the time, with cloth-of-gold frontals and dorsals.
(b) Anna hands the child Samuel to Eli; the two priests and an altar behind. (A)

¹ This miniature must be taken as a record, if not within its limits an exceptionally accurate one, of the *Fête-Dieu*, a feast of the Church, than which none was annually celebrated with more pomp at Bourges. The customary procession included the cathedral-chapter, the municipality, the mayor, and the *échevins* (who bore the canopy); its passage was kept clear by chains held by sergeants; others drove back the crowd with "bouloises," or large stuffed balls, painted *azure semy of fleurs de lys or*. They are not figured in the miniature, here attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon, although he is recorded to have made these and other appliances for the procession of 1505 (Appendix I.). The number of torches seen in the miniature is nineteen (of the twenty-four known to have been used round the canopy); among other details of the procession, brought out by Baron de Girardot, "Histoire du chapitre de St Étienne de Bourges," in *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de l'Orléanais*, ii., 1853, it is stated that the assistants wore wreaths of violets and carnations, which may account for the wreaths given to the assistant-priests and the canopy-bearers in the miniature. The celebrant was usually a canon of Bourges, exceptionally the Archbishop, as here depicted. Baron de Girardot states that the Bourges *enfants de chœur* wore violet, at the chapter's expense (*op. cit.*, p. 53); the lower miniature depicts the choir boys in white.



Fig. 13. Monypenny Breviary (f. 267 v.): Corpus Christi Procession, and another.

- XVIII. f. 316 v. (a) The slaying of Adoniah by Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada.
A king and a queen (Solomon and Bathsheba) enthroned, a combat between three men, and an observer, in the foreground (see above, p. 82).
(b) The judgment of Solomon.
Within niches on either side are a wild man and a wild woman supporting the Monypenny arms.
- XIX. f. 324. (a) Job, his wife, sons, and daughters, seated in a vaulted hall, a herd of animals seen through a loggia at the back.
(b) Job, on a heap of straw, beaten by two demons with knotted sticks.
Wild men and women, seated, sounding curved trumpets, below. (A)
- XX. f. 330. (a) In a city street the aged Tobit in the foreground, lifting one of four shrouded corpses; a banquet in progress in a house behind; a crowd in the distance.
(b) Tobias carrying a fish, an angel following.
Dragons below.
- f. 333 v. Judith cuts off the head of Holofernes. (*Text miniature.*)
- f. 336 v. Ahasuerus crowning Esther at a feast; a green curtain behind is powdered with the initials A and E, joined by a lover's knot. (*Text miniature.*)
- XXI. f. 339. (a) Alexander overthrowing Darius and the kings of the earth (1 Macc. i. 1). A battle, with two kings in the foreground, one transfixing the other with a lance; behind, two other kings.
(b) An aged king (Alexander?) in bed, bestowing crowns on four young men.
Lions sejant below. (C)
- XXII. f. 352. (a) An unicorn standing upon the roof of a castle which is tied round with a chain; a bearded man on left pointing up to the animal. (Daniel's vision of the he-goat?, viii. 1, 2, 5.)
(b) The vision of Ezechiel. (A)
- XXIII. f. 368. (a) David playing upon a harp, which Saul strikes with a rod.
(b) David slays Goliath. (A)
- f. 394 v. David standing in prayer. (*Text miniature.*)
- f. 404. David and an angel. (*Text miniature.*)
- f. 411. David kneeling in prayer. (*Text miniature.*)
- f. 419. David has a vision of the instruments of the Passion. (*Text miniature.*)
- f. 430. David praying in an orchard. (*Text miniature.*)
- f. 438 v. David has a vision of the Annunciation. (*Text miniature.*)
- f. 450. David has a vision of the Trinity. (*Text miniature.*)
- XXIV. f. 470. (a) The martyrdom of St Andrew.
(b) St Andrew knocking at the door of a room; the legend of the bishop and the devil disguised as a woman. The bishop wears a rochet, and has a hood over his head, with its cape on his shoulders.
On the side pilasters are the arms of the duchy of Berry, and below, those of Monypenny charged upon croziers. (C)

- XXV. f. 479. (a) The meeting of SS. Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate of the temple.
For a second miniature there is substituted a golden framework with roundels of fabulous birds, monsters, etc.
In the initial E the Monypenny arms.
A greyhound running; and three cupids on each side, below. (B)
- XXVI. f. 486. (a) Martyrdom of St Thomas, Apostle.
(b) St Thomas and the newly married couple; the man holding a fruited branch.¹
Four white greyhounds with red collars on either side, below. (C)
- XXVII. f. 513 v. (a) St Matthias led to execution.
(b) Decollation of St Matthias. (C)
- XXVIII. f. 517. (a) The Annunciation. The Blessed Virgin's halo is inscribed: *MRIA ESTO NE TEMEAS MARIA SEPIRITVS SANCTVS (sic)*. In the background the interior of a Gothic church, with an altar having frontal and dorsal enclosed by curtains hung from rods between four massive pillars: the dorsal is in addition to the curtain behind.
(b) A white unicorn touching a stream with his horn; animals on the opposite bank drinking, and dragons issuing from the water.
Three kneeling angels, playing instruments, on each side, below. (A)
- XXIX. f. 520 v. (a) St Mark dragged by a cord round his neck down the temple steps.
(b) St Mark and Anian, the shoemaker.
Two griffins on each side, below. (B)
- XXX. f. 523. (a) St Philip, apostle, led by two men to crucifixion.
(b) St Philip and the dragon slaying unbelievers. (C)
- XXXI. f. 525 v. (a) Invention of the Cross. St Helena, empress, wears a *cote-hardie* ermined, like Bathsheba (XVIII.).²
(b) Constantine's vision of the Cross.
The side pilasters have central panels emblazoned: *azure semy of fleur de lys or*. (B)
- XXXII. f. 530. (a) Martyrdom of St John the Evangelist.
(b) A man carrying faggots to a fire upon which is set a large cauldron.
The Monypenny arms supported by angels, at either side of upper miniature. (B)
- f. 544. St Barnabas dropping coins at the Apostles' feet. (*Text miniature.*)

¹ The Indian legend of St Thomas is the subject of a thirteenth-century window in the nave (north side) of Bourges cathedral; Cahier and Martin, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges*, i. 146, 148, pl. ii.

² But the dame in the Monypenny family group (miniature IVb) wears a *corset*; the decline of the *cote-hardie* before the *corset* during the fifteenth century is noted by Monsieur Enlart in "Le Costume" (*Manuel d'Archéologie française*, 1916, iii., p. 108), though, as Bourdichon's miniature of Anne of Brittany and her patron saints testifies, it continued in favour, for pictures of female saints and scriptural personages, until the sixteenth century.

- XXXIII. f. 555. (a) Nativity of St John the Baptist.
 (b) SS. John the Baptist and Evangelist, each accompanied by a doctor wearing a gown with fur-lined hood. (A)
- XXXIV. f. 565 v. (a) SS. Peter and John working a miracle; Simon Magus flying in the air surrounded by devils.
 (b) Simon Magus on the ground attacked by a dog. Lions sejant below. (C)
- XXXV. f. 590 v. (a) St. James the Greater baptizes Josias upon the scaffold; the scene is a town square.
 (b) Three devils bring Hermogenes bound to St James. Four swans on either side below. (B)
- XXXVI. f. 601 v. (a) The Transfiguration; Moses and Elias (in Carmelite habit) as half-length figures in the sky.
 (b) Apostles asleep in a rocky landscape. (B)
- XXXVII. f. 608 v. (a) Martyrdom of St Lawrence.
 (b) St Lawrence, in unapparelled albe and amice and red and gold dalmatic, shows a lame man to Decius. (C)
- XXXVIII. f. 618 v. (a) The Blessed Virgin confers the girdle on St Thomas, Apostle. The latter's neckband inscribed: . . . VSTHOMAS.
 (b) The death of the B. Virgin. (B)
- XXXIX. f. 636. (a) Martyrdom of St Bartholomew.
 (b) St Bartholomew, the angel, the king, and the Ethiopian. On the side pilasters the arms of the duchy of Berry. Dragons below. (B)
- XL. f. 647 v. (a) The Presentation.
 (b) Birth of Blessed Virgin. Groups of four wild men on either side below, each pair supporting a shield of Monypenny charged upon a crozier (fig. 2). (B)
- XLI. f. 654 v. (a) The Exaltation of the Cross. Heraclius, on horseback, bearing the Cross upright, with his army, approaching Constantinople.¹
 (b) Heraclius, barefoot, carries the Cross into Jerusalem. Two hounds on either side below (fig. 12). (B)
- XLII. f. 664 v. (a) St Matthew, Zaroes and Arphaxas (the magicians), and the two dragons. St Matthew's robe has the letters: EMONASTRAGOVRRIERES
 (b) St Matthew about to raise the king's son to life. (B)
- XLIII. f. 700. (a) SS. Simon and Jude emptying their mantles of serpents upon the magicians.
 (b) SS. Simon and Jude meet two tigers. (B)
- XLIV. f. 702. (a) Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (fig. 10).
 (b) [Unidentified; perhaps taken from the Book of Tobit.]
- XLV. f. 713. (a) St Martin divides his cloak with a beggar.
 (b) St Martin singing Mass: the miracle of the sleeves. The altar has a red frontal and dorsal, both powdered with gold stars. St Martin wears a gold chasuble over a blue dalmatic. Behind him the deacon and subdeacon wear gold dalmatic and tunicle. The

¹ The long roof between the two postern towers suggests Saumur as the original of the town in the background; cf. Durrieu, *Très riches Heures*, pl. ix.

- albes and amices are unapparelled. Behind again is a large desk with four cantors in golden copes.
On the bases of the pillars below are the Monypenny arms upon a crozier. (B)
- XLVI. f. 736 v. (a) St Barbara taken to execution.
(b) A female saint in a cave to which soldiers are marching; elsewhere two men and a woman, and locusts on the ground.
In the frame between the miniatures the arms of Monypenny dimidiated with Stewart (fig. 1).
Two demy lions on each side below. (B)
- XLVII. f. 745 v. (a) Martyrs being beaten with rods in a vaulted hall, an emperor presiding.
(b) Martyrs being led towards a row of lions' cages; in the distance an execution by beheading.
Four cupids astride of logs, on each side, below.
An angel in alb and dalmatic, supporting the Monypenny arms charged upon a crozier, on each side of the larger miniature. (B)
- XLVIII. f. 750. (a) Christ standing between SS. Peter and James the Greater, behind them a company of male saints; a castle in the background.
(b) A landscape with apostles scattered singly about; SS. Peter and John in the foreground. (B)
- XLIX. f. 766. (a) The company of male martyrs: SS. George, Theodore of Heraclea, and James the Less, in front.
(b) The martyrdom of five saints.
Four lions sejant on either side below (fig. 7). (B)
- L. f. 801. (a) Death, with a javelin, meets a pope, an emperor, and a king, walking in single file; a walled city, mountains, and a gallows in the distance. Above is the inscription: TOVS CHIEVS QVI SOT ET SEROT PAR SET PAS MORTEL PASSERONT.
(b) The day of Judgment.
Skulls below. (B)
- f. 805 v. A man seated at a lectern reading. (*Small miniature.*)
f. 821. "Et sic est finis." [*End of Breviary.*]
f. 822. "Sequens ymnus dicitur." [*Addition.*]

APPENDIX I.

JEAN AND JACQUELIN DE MONTLUÇON AT BOURGES.

(Documents.)

JEAN DE MONTLUÇON.

"A la date du 12 octobre 1477, le lieutenant du garde de la prévôté de Bourges mande au receveur de Berry de payer à *Jehan de Molisson, peintre demourant à Bourges*, la somme de XX sols tournois . . . pour ses peines et sallaires d'avoir faict et peint en 4 feuilles de papier, en la grant forme, la figure de messire Jehan de Chalon, chevalier, prince d'Orange, comme pendu par les piedz à ung gibet et ses armes renversées, ainsy que ung traistre et

desloyal au roy . . . pour chacune d'icelles feuilles de papier et figure estre attachée ez 4 carrefours de la ville de Bourges, en ensuivant le bon plaisir et vouloir du roy nostre seigneur. . . . La quittance de Jean de Montluçon est du 18 octobre suivant (t. VI., f. 160 r^o et v^o)."

(Bibliothèque de Rouen, MS. 5870 (Recueil Menant), vi. f. 160. B. Prost, "Quelques documents sur l'histoire des arts en France," in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1887, 2^e série, xxxv. 329.)

1485-86. A Jehan de Molisson, peintre, 6 l. t. pour 4 tournelles et 4 escussons qu'il a peincts aux armes du roy et de la ville, qui ont esté mises aux quatre grans tourches, appelées estandarts, qui ont esté portées à l'entour du corps N.S., en faisant la procession de la Feste-Dieu, ainsy qu'il a esté par cy devant faict, et pour la peinture de douze bouloyses à fleurs de lys, qui ont esté baillées à douze sergens, pour faire mectre en ordre le peuple en faisant lad. procession de la Feste-Dieu.

1487. A Jehan de Molisson, pour des peintures à ystoires et aux armes du roy de la ville.

1489. A Pierre Lemesle, ymaigier, 4 escus d'or pour ung grant ymage de N.-D. et ung angelot, mis au portal Saint-Privé.

A Jehan de Molisson, peintre, 6 l. pour avoir peint cette statue.

1492. A Jehan de Molisson, 60 s. t. pour avoir faict 4 tournelles garnies des armes du roy, de la royne, et de monseigneur le dauphin avec 4 écussons faiz aux armes de ladite ville, pour les torches de la procession qui fut fete pour les bonnes nouvelles de la nativité de monseigneur le dauphin.

1492. A Jehan de Molisson, 60 s. pour avoir painct ung image de N.-D. de pitié avec les deux anges, estans à l'entour dudit image, tant d'or que d'azur, qui a esté mis sur le portal du pont d'Auron.

(Baron de Girardot, "Les artistes de Bourges depuis le moyen âge jusqu'à la Revolution," *Archives de l'Art français*, 1861, 2^e série, i. 238, 240, 243, 244.)

JACQUELIN DE MONTLUÇON.

1487. A Jacquelin de Molisson, 4 l. pour avoir fait ung panneau de verre auquel il y a deux anges qui tiennent les armes du roy, et semée de feuillages bien richement; icelui mis à la maison de ville.

1497. A Jacquelin de Molisson, 21 l., pour avoir painct les armes du roy en ung penonceau de fer, enchassé de fer, qui est sur le puits de la Croix-de-Pierre.

Id., 20 s. pour 4 escussons, mis à 4 grans torches, à la procession de la Paix.

Id., pour avoir faict le patron des gectons à compter, qui ont esté faicts pour la chambre de ladite ville, 5 s.

1499-1500. A Jacquelyn de Molisson, pour ung patron de voyrières et pour l'escripture de ladite voyrière, 20 s.

A Jacquelyn de Molisson, peintre, 4 l. 10 s., pour avoir faict de son mestier 4 douzaines de petits moutons, faicts de batture d'or et d'argent sur toile perse, à 10 d. pièce.

- Item, pour avoir fait ung patron de voireière, où est une nativité Notre Seigneur, que M^e J. Fradet a fait mettre en la maison de ville, 20 s.
- 1500-01. A Jacquelin de Monlusson pour 5 chappiteaulx garnis d'ystoires d'armoysies et fleurons pour la procession du corps de Dieu.
C s., pour cinq patrons de voirines, aux armes et devises de MM. les maire et eschevins, pours la salle de la maison de la ville.
1503. A Jacquelin de Monlusson, 40 s., pour deux patrons ou pourtraicts de deux verrières pour ladite salle de la maison de ville.
1504. A Jacquelin de Monlusson, 4 l., pour 4 patrons de verrière aux armes et devises de honorables hommes Jehan Lalement, M^e Gilles Pain, naguières maire, M^e Hémerly, Gentilz et Et. de Cambray, échevins d'icelle ville, pour asseoir en la salle de l'Ostel de la ville.
(Baron de Girardot, *op. cit.*, 1861, 2^e série, i. 242, 246, 248.)

Les Maire et Eschevins, commis et esléuz aux gouvernement et affaires communs de la ville de Bourges, à Claude Pichonnet, recepveur des deniers communs de la dicte ville, salut. Nous vous mandons que desdicts deniers communs de vostre recepte vous payez, baillez et delivrez à Ursine, vefve de feu Jacquelin de Molisson, en sont vivant paintre, demourant en la dicte ville, tant en son nom que comme ayant le gouvernement et administracion des enfans dudict deffunct et d'elle, la somme de quatorze livres tournois, qui deue estoit audict deffunct pour avoir fait la besoigne qu'il s'ensuit, c'est assavoir.

Pour cinq grans chappiteaulx garniz d'istories, d'armoiries et fleurons, lesquels ont esté mis et assis en cinq grans torches qui ont esté portées à l'entour du corps de Dieu à la procession de la Feste-Dieu derrièremment passée, ainsi que l'on a acoustumé de faire.

Item, pour six escussions, faiz de bateure sur papier renfforcé, les cinq aux armes de la dicte ville et l'autre aux armes de Monsieur le Maire, qui ont esté actachez ausdictes torches au dessoubz desdicts chappiteaulx.

Item, pour cinq petiz chappiteaulx, armoiez aux armes de nous, Maire et Eschevins, qui ont esté mis aux torches de nous, Maire et Eschevins.

Item, plus pour avoir garny de peinture d'asur et semé de fleurs de liz trente six bouloises [*cf.* p. 103, n. 1], lesquelles ont esté distribuées par nous aux Officiers du Roy de ladite ville et à autres, ainsi que l'on a acoustumé de faire par cydevant.

Laquelle besoigne dessusdicte ledict feu *Jacquelin de Molisson* a faicte par nostre commandement et ordonnance, et icelle baillée et délivrée en la Chambre de ladite ville, comme nous a certiffié de bouche Denis Hyon, Clerc des œuvres et affaires communs de ladite ville, et, par rapportant ces presentes et quittance de ladite vefve audit nom, ladite somme de XIII l. tournois sera allouée en voz comptes partout où il appartiendra sans difficulté. Donnée en la Chambre de ladite ville, soubz noz manuelz, le XII^e jour de juing, l'an mil cinq cens et cinq.

J. SALAT. — F. PERREAU. — E. HOUET. — TALLIER.

(Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des titres, pièces originales.)
(Ulysse Robert, "Jacquelin de Molisson, peintre (1483-1515)," *Nouvelles archives de l'Art français*, 1800-81, 2^e série, ii. 304.)