Eszter Nagy

# THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS IN ROUEN BOOKS OF HOURS FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2017

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by

Eszter Nagy

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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I, the undersigned, **Eszter Nagy**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 26 June 2017

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# Abstract

The present thesis aims to interpret the unusual representation of the Judgment of Paris in the margin of four books of hours made for the use of Rouen c. 1460–80. In three cases, it accompanies the Penitent David, while in the fourth manuscript it is paired with an image of the Virgin. After examining the myth's availability in Rouen through a quantitative analysis of its manuscript tradition, and discussing the iconographic development that led to the Judgment's separation from its narrative context, I turn towards the visual context of these mythological representations in the books of hour themselves. The Bathing Bathsheba, depicted close to the Judgment in two of the manuscripts, suggests that they functioned together as warnings against vanity and the exposition of the female body that has destructive effect on men. Although with opposite connotations, misogynous texts and a group of ivory combs support that the idea of the power of beauty connects the two subjects. Stepping beyond the page, the comparison of the whole pictorial cycle of the books of hours leads to the assumption that their decoration goes back to a lost model, probably created by the Master of the Échevinage, in which the Judgment was inserted in a typological cycle running in the margins. While they seem to be derivative, in some cases even corrupted versions of this hypothetical model, the decoration of the four books of hours, with all of their peculiarities, fits into a tendency to diversify the standard iconography of books of hours.

# Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to Claudia Rabel who called my attention to the Judgment of Paris scene in the Villefosse and Aix-en-Provence books of hours, and showed me the article of Paul Durrieu. I am also grateful to her for providing me with the manuscript of her un-published DEA dissertation about the illuminated books of hours associated with the Master of the Échevinage of Rouen. Her generous help significantly facilitated my research. I am also thankful to Zsuzsa Reed for indefatigably amending the language of my thesis, as well as to my supervisor, Béla Zsolt Szakács for the encouraging consultations.

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# List of Abbreviations

**BL**: British Library

**BnF**: Biblilothèque nationale de France

**BM**: Bibliothèque municipale

**KB**: Koninklijke Bibliotheek

**PML**: Pierpont Morgan Library

**V&A**: Victoria and Albert Museum

# I. Introduction

The same unusual scene appears in the lower margin of four books of hours: a man presents three female nudes to a youth who is sleeping next to a fountain (figs. 1–4). The books were made for the use of Rouen in the second half of the fifteenth century and the scene represents a classical myth, the Judgment of Paris. The depiction follow the version that was widespread in the Middle Ages, in which, contrary to the classical story, the Trojan prince only dreams about the beauty contest between the three goddesses. In three out of the four manuscripts (in the so-called Villefosse Hours, and in two books of hours from the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), the mythological scene accompanies the penitent David depicted in the main miniature.[1] In the fourth manuscript, now in the municipal library of Aix-en-Provence, it is paired with an image of the Virgin and the Child (fig. 2).[2] The question arises immediately: why was the Judgment of Paris painted into books of hours? What role can a mythological representation play in a prayer book? How did the medieval reader perceive these images in such context?

Only a handful of other cases are known where mythological representations are depicted in books of hours. Better known and studied are those manuscripts in which subjects from the classical pagan culture appear in the calendar part. In the border decoration of the Bedford Hours' calendar, mythological figures and subjects mingle with topics related to Roman history.[3] Similarly, in the calendar part of a Parisian book of hours made around 1500, some of the months are illustrated with representations of pagan gods and goddesses, as well as



[1] *Villefosse Hours* (second half of the 1470s). Present whereabouts unknown, last documented in the possession of René Héron de Villefosse in 1959; see René Héron de Villefosse, "En marge d'un rare livre d'heures: Les Étranges enluminures d'un manuscrit du XVe siècle," *Connaissance des arts* 87 (1959): 56–59. *Hours*, New York, PML, M 312 (c. 1470–80). Hours, New York, PML, M 131 (c. 1480).
[2] Aix-en-Provence, BM, ms. 22 (c. 1460–70).
[3] *Bedford Hours*, London, BL, Add. 18850 (c. 1410-1430). See Paul Durrieu, "Souvenirs de la mythologie antique dans un livre d'heures exécutés en France entre 1423 et 1430," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 60 (1916): 191−209.

personifications taken from the series of engravings known as the "Mantegna Tarrocchi".[4] However, these examples are rather far relatives of the four Rouen books of hours: because thanks to the name of the months, the calendar is more easily associated with ancient gods, than the pairing of the Judgment of Paris with either King David or the Virgin Mary. Thus, they cannot help to understand the Judgment's placement in the books of hours. I know of two more examples where a mythological scene appears in a book of hours. The first is the Hours of Charles of Angoulême, where the Death of the Centaur, representing the fight against the vices, illustrates the Office of the Dead.[5] This manuscript, however, is a lavishly illuminated, unique piece, painted in an intellectually inspiring milieu, for the father of Francis I, future king of France, and husband of Louise of Savoy, by the famous illuminator, Robinet Testard. Since it represents a different artistic level than the books of hours from Rouen, it cannot serve as a useful parallel. In contrast, the other book of hours with a mythological representation comes from the same circle as the four prayer books containing the Judgment: it was painted in Rouen c. 1470. Here, under the image of the Visitation, a medallion appears with the representation of Hercules chasing Nessus, the centaur who raped his wife, Dejanira (fig. 72). This manuscript will provide a helpful analogy for the pictorial cycle of the New York books of hours and the role of the Judgment in them.

So far, only Paul Durrieu has addressed the question of what this mythological scene can mean in the books of hours, in a study written almost a hundred years ago.[6] His article serves as an important starting point for this thesis. On the one hand, Durrieu provides the only detailed description of the Villefosse Hours, whose present whereabouts are unknown. On the other



[4] *Hours*, London, BL, Add. 11866. See François Avril, "Un echo inattendu des *Tarots* dits de Mantegna dans l'enluminure française autour de 1500," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (2009): 95–106.
[5] *Hours,* Paris, BnF, lat. 1173, fol. 41v (late fifteenth century). See Ahuva Belkin, "*La Mort du Centaure:* A propos de la miniature 41v du *Livre d'Heures* de Charles d'Angoulême," *Artibus et Historiae* 11 (1990): 31−38.
[6] Paul Durrieu, "La Légende du roi de Mercie dans un livre d'heures du XVe siècle," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 24 (1920): 149−182. The article by René Héron de Villefosse, then the owner of the manuscript, only repeats Durrieu's opinion, see Héron de Villefosse, "En marge," 56–59.

hand, Durrieu calls the attention to another object, a bronze medallion formerly in the collection of Frédéric Spitzer, which is the only known example that, similarly to the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours, links the Judgment scene with a representation of the Virgin Mary (figs. 22–23).[7] However, Durrieu's study needs significant revisions, partly because he did not know about the two books of hours in the Pierpont Morgan Library, partly and more importantly, because he bases his interpretation on an erroneous identification of the Judgment of Paris scene. He describes it as the English legend about the obscure Alfred III, King of Mercia and the three daughters of his vassal, William of Albanac.[8] As I will argue in Chapter II, the subject of these representations in the books of hours is doubtlessly the Judgment of Paris, and the incorrect identification originates in the nineteenth-century career of the legend of the King of Mercia in art and in art history.

In order to decipher the possible reasons behind the insertion of the Judgment of Paris in books of hours and grasp its possible reception in this context, first I will examine the literary tradition of the myth (Chapter III). Based on a quantitative analysis of the manuscripts recounting the story of the Judgment, I will chart which texts and which meanings of the story were known in the second half of the fifteenth century in France and if they could have been available in Rouen. This examination will be followed by an iconographic study mainly focusing on how the representation of this myth become separated from its textual context and which depictions are the closest parallels of the compositions used in the books of hours (Chapter IV). These



[7] The present whereabouts of the medallion are unknown. It was first published and reproduced in Émile Molinier, *Les Bronzes de la Renaissance: Les Plaquettes; Catalogue raisonné* (Paris: Rouam, 1886), 177–80. At that time it was in Paris, in the possession of Frédéric Spitzer, whose collection was sold at auction in 1893 in Paris, see *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité antiques, du moyen-âge & de la renaissance*: *Composant l'importante et précieuse Collection Spitzer; Vente*, vol. 2 (Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1893), 10, lot. 1573. According to the handwritten marginal notes in the copy of the auction catalogue preserved in the library of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (inv. no. PARIS, Petit. 1893), it was bought by Fulgence, a Parisian art dealer. Twenty-five years later, it was documented in the collection of Albert Figdor in Vienna, see Wilhelm von Bode and Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Gotische Formmodel: Eine vergessene Gattung der deutschen Kleinplastik* (Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1918), 13–14, 37, 42–43, fig. 10.
[8] Durrieu, "La Légende," 163–64.

chapters will provide a textual and a visual context for the interpretation of the Judgment of Paris in the books of hours. Before the interpretation, however, it is necessary to establish the relationship between the four manuscripts (Chapter V). While three of them can be attributed to the circle of the so-called Master of the Échevinage of Rouen, the Villefosse Hours, although made for a patron from Rouen, was painted by a Flemish illuminator, known as the Master of Fitzwilliam 268. Therefore, the question emerges whether the idea of painting the Judgment of Paris in books of hours comes from the Netherlands, or it was invented in Rouen. The detailed comparison of the manuscripts' iconography will demonstrate that this iconographic invention originates in Rouen, and I will put forward the hypothesis that it might go back to a now lost manuscript of the Master of the Échevinage. Finally, Chapter VI is dedicated to the actual interpretation of the Judgment's function in the four books of hours. I will argue that probably the representation of the bathing Bathsheba, accompanying the Penitent David in the margin of the two New York manuscripts inspired the insertion of the Judgment of Paris scene in these books of hours. Linked with the Bathing Bathsheba and the Praying David, the mythological scene can be read as a warning against vanity and the exposure of the female body that leads to disastrous consequences. Looking beyond the page where the Judgment of Paris is depicted, I will also examine the entire pictorial cycle of the books of hours, and the place of the mythological representation in it. Since the Aix-en-Provence manuscript does not fit into this interpretative frame, a separate chapter will deal with its special iconographic cycle.

Interpreting the Judgment, I will keep in mind both the illuminators' point of view: what motivated them to add this unusual scene to a prayer book, and the beholders' point of view: how they perceived the page with the Judgment and the whole decoration in the given book of hours. I will pay special attention to possible visual sources and stimulations, as well as to visual references within the books of hours themselves. As far as the illuminators are concerned, due to their profession, images could have influenced them more than—or at least

as much as—texts, while for the readers, visual connections within the manuscript itself could have contributed to the creation of meaning, even independently from the illuminator's intentions.[9]

## A. Presentation of the Manuscripts

Before the analytical chapters, it is necessary to give a short presentation of the four books of hours. All four manuscripts contain the usual parts of the books of hours: a calendar in French, sequences from the gospels, Latin prayers to the Virgin, the Hours of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms and a litany of Saints, the Hours of the Cross, and the Office of the Dead. This can be completed with the Hours of the Holy Spirit or prayers in French.[10] The liturgical features of all four books of hours, meaning the composition of the calendar and the litany, indicate that they were made for patrons from Rouen or at least from Normandy. In the Aix-en-Provence manuscript, the feast of Saint Romanus (died c. 640), patron saint of Rouen, on 23 October is highlighted in gold in the calendar, and he figures in the litany as well. In addition, the calendar lists other saints venerated in Normandy, such as Saints Gildard (c. 448–c. 525) and Mellonius (fourth century), bishops of Rouen, Saint Wandregisel (c. 605–668 AD), Saint Malo (520–621), Saint Honorine and Saint Austrebertha (630–704); several of whom also figure in the litany.[11] Paul Durrieu identifies almost the same list of saints in the calendar of the Villefosse Hours: Saints Romanus, Malo, Wandregisel, Gildard, and Honorine, the first two of whom, together with Saint Mellonius, reappear in the litany.[12] In the calendar of M 131 from the



[9] Alcuin Blamires and Gail C. Holian argues for the validity and productivity of this approach in the case of the manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*; see: Alcuin Blamires and Gail C. Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated: Manuscripts at the National Library of Wales* (Aberystwyth: Tempe, 2002), xxxvi–xxxviii.
[10] For a detailed presentation of the manuscripts' content and the list of illustrations, see Appendix II. Since I had no chance to examine the manuscripts in original, the presentation of the manuscripts is based on the printed catalogue of the municipal library of Aix-en-Provence: Joseph Hyacinthe Albanès, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, vol. 16: Aix* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1894), 31–36; on the online catalogue of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York: "Corsair," accessed May 16, 2017, http://corsair.themorgan.org; and on Durrieu, "La Légende," 151–56.
[11] Durrieu, "La légende," 171.
[12] Durrieu, "La Légende," 152.

Pierpont Morgan Library, Saint Romanus is marked in gold, and figures in the litany together with Mellonius and Gildard.[13] I have no such specific data for the calendar of the fourth book of hours (New York, PML, M 312), but the online catalogue confirms that it was also made for the use of Rouen.[14]

The illumination in three out of the four books of hours can be attributed to the workshop of the Master of the Rouen Échevinage.[15] The Master of the Échevinage, active in Rouen from c. 1460 to 1480, was the leading illuminator of the city in this period. Books of hours constitute a major part of his reconstructed oeuvre, and the group of Rouen prayer books linked to his workshop or influenced by his style is even larger.[16] The Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours and the two New York manuscripts belong to this wider circle of the Master of the Rouen Échevinage, vaguely defined as his workshop, but none of them can be attributed to the same illuminator. The Aix-en-Provence manuscript is signed on page 309 at the foot of the Virgin with the words *T. / Hugoniet / me p[inxit]*, about whom nothing further is known.[17] Based on its style, the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours seems to be earliest of the three, dated around 1460–70. The style of the two manuscripts from New York seems to be closer to each other, so they were probably made around the same time. In the online catalogue, M 312 is dated c. 1470–1480, while M 131 is c. 1480.[18]

In terms of style, the Villefosse Hours differs significantly from the other three manuscripts, since it was painted by a Flemish illuminator, whom Durrieu connected with the workshop of

[13] "Corsair," accessed May 5, 2017, http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0131a.pdf.
[14] "Corsair," accessed May 5, 2017, http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0312a.pdf.
[15] "Initiale," accessed May 16, 2017, http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr; "Corsair".
[16] Claudia Rabel, "Artiste et clientèle à la fin du Moyen Age: Les Manuscrits profanes du Maître de l'échevinage de Rouen," *Revue de l'Art* 84 (1989): 48. Claudia Rabel-Jullien, "Les Livres d'heures de Rouen peints par le Maître du Trésor génevois et les enlumineurs influencés par lui, au 3e quart du 15e siècle: Essai pour une étude stylistique, iconographique et historique" (DEA diss., Université Paris 1, 1984).
[17] Albanès, *Catalogue général*, 35. This name does not appear on the list of illuminators from Rouen that Charles Robillard de Beaurepaire drew up based on archival material: Charles Robillard de Beaurepaire, "Enlumineurs rouennais," *Bulletin de la Commission des antiquités de la Seine-Maritime* 14 (1906), 48–55.
[18] "Corsair."

Philippe de Mazerolles.[19] Most recently, the Villefosse Hours was inserted into the oeuvre of the so-called Master of Fitzwilliam 268, named after a book of hours in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.[20] Bodo Brinkmann, Scot McKendrick, and Gregory T. Clark have identified his hand in several books of hours as well as in some copies of the *Ordinances* of Charles the Bold.[21] Since according to written sources, Philippe de Mazerolles, court illuminator of Charles the Bold, received a payment in 1475 for illuminating the duke's own copy of the *Ordinances* (London, BL, Add. 36619), scholars suggested to identify the Fitzwilliam Master with Phillipe de Mazerolles himself.[22] This identification may partly explain the illuminator's connection with Rouen, because Mazerolles was of French origin. Bodo Brinkmann argued that his influence, probably even his hand can be detected in an another book of hours made for a Norman patron, Jean de Carpentin, painted by the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, a regular collaborator of the Master of Fitzwilliam 268.[23]

The dated works in the oeuvre of the Master of Fitzwilliam and an analysis of his stylistic progress enabled Clark to set up a chronology of his un-dated books of hours. The timespan (from 1470 to 1480) tellingly corresponds with the activity of Mazerolles in Bruges, who joined the guild of illuminators in 1469 and died in 1479.[24] Within this timeframe, Clark dates the Villefosse Hours to the second half of the 1470s, slightly after the Salting Hours and the Gulbenkian Hours, and around the same time as the Fitzwilliam Hours.[25]



[19] Durrieu, "La Légende," 158–61.
[20] Bodo Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreiches: Der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 273, 399. Gregory T. Clark, "The Master of Fitzwilliam 268: New Discoveries and New and Revisited Hypotheses," in *Flemish Manuscript Painting in Context: Recent Research*, ed. Elizabeth Morrison and Thomas Kren (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2006), 134.
[21] Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei*, 399; Clark, "The Master of Fitzwilliam 268," 124; Scot McKendrick, "Master of Margaret of York Group (A)," in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 218–21.
[22] Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei*, 274; Clark, "The Master of Fitzwilliam 268," 132.
[23] Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei*, 273.
[24] Clark, "The Master of Fitzwilliam 268," 132.
[25] Clark, "The Master of Fitzwilliam 268," 131, 134.

Regarding the decoration of the four manuscripts, the main images follow the standard iconography of the books of hours: the Hours of the Virgin are illustrated with a cycle of images from Christ's infancy, the Seven Penitential Psalms with the praying David, the Hours of the Cross with the Crucifixion. What makes the illumination of these manuscripts special is the marginal decoration that includes Old Testament scenes, a miracle of the Virgin, and, most importantly, the representation of the Judgment of Paris, the subject of this thesis.[26]



[26] For the pictorial cycle of each manuscript, see Appendix II.

# II. Legend of the King of Mercia

As indicated above, the subject of the Judgment of Paris has not always been identified properly. Paul Durrieu, dealing with the Villefosse and the Aix-en-Provence books of hours, recognized in it the legend about the obscure eighth-century English king, Alfred III.[27] According to the legend, Alfred, King of Mercia stayed in the house of one of his vassals, William of Albanac, whose three daughters aroused his desire. In the morning, the father led the girls before Alfred and, in order to prevent them to become his concubine, he threatened the king with killing them, unless he marries one of them. The legend enjoyed a great success in art history writing in the nineteenth and early twentieth century; many representations of the Judgment of Paris were reinterpreted as depictions of the old English anecdote. Although such identifications were refuted several times, the miniature in the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours is still labelled as the Legend of the King of Mercia in the most up-to-date online catalogue that includes this manuscript.[28] Therefore, it is worth giving an overview on how this identification evolved in historiography, and what arguments speak against it.[29]

The legend was first recorded by John Leland in his antiquarian notes taken between 1534 and 1543, who found it in an "old Boke" in the possession of the Earls of Rutland.[30] These notes were first published only in 1710–12 under the title *The Itinerary of John Leland,* followed by two further editions in 1744 and in 1769–70. The legend's real career started with a painting by Benjamin West, which, based on Leland's account, represented William of Albanac offering



[27] Durrieu, "La Légende," 164.
[28] "Initiale."
[29] For this, Christian Schuchardt and Ernst Krause provide a useful summary of the historiography; see Christian Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach des Aeltern: Leben und Werke*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1871), 49–50; and Ernst Krause, "Mercurius, der Schriftgott, in Deutschland: Ein Beitrag zur Urgeschichte der Bücherkunde," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 1 (1897): 481–83.
[30] Thomas Haerne ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary*, vol. 8, second edition (Oxford: John Fletcher, 1744), 25. The source of the legend was first recorded by Christian Schuchardt, who got the information from Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881); see Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach*, vol. 3, 58–61.

his daughters as wife to King Alfred. The painting, exhibited in 1778 in the Royal Academy of Arts in London, was commissioned by Charles Manners, Duke of Rutland, who traced back his ancestry to William of Albanac.[31] Although it was destroyed in a fire in 1816, its composition has come down to us thanks to Jean-Baptiste Michel, who produced an engraving after the painting in 1782 (fig. 5).[32] What is more, it was most probably this engraving, through which the legend reached the continent, and fertilized the imagination of art historians, especially in Germany.[33]

German art historians began to recognise this subject in artworks already at the beginning of the nineteenth century, primarily in paintings and engravings by Lucas Cranach the Elder that are now unanimously considered as representations of the Judgment of Paris.[34] In 1812, a painting by Cranach from the collection of J. H. Kroeger in Hamburg was sold at auction as a depiction of the Legend of the King of Mercia (fig. 8).[35] In 1821, Joseph Heller assigned this subject both to the painting from the former Kroeger Collection and to another from the

[31] Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 186–87. The exhibition catalogue itself indicates the source of the subject.
[32] Erffa and Stanley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West*, 186–87.
[33] Georg Rathgeber refers to a sheet with an explanation of the story in English and in French that accompanied Michel's engraving: Georg Rathgeber, *Beschreibungen der herzoglichen Gemälde-Gallerie zu Gotha* (Gotha: J. G. Müller, 1834), 184. The story was already known in Germany in 1783 when August Gottlieb Meißner wrote a dramatized version of it: August Gottlieb Meißner, *Erzählungen und Dialogen*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1783), 68–81. There is also visual evidence for the knowledge of West's painting and Michel's print in nineteenth-century Germany. Philipp Friedrich Hetsch, who painted the same subject in 1842 (Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, inv. no. 711), also made a draft copy after Michel's engraving (Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, inv no. 1538); see "Staatsgalerie, Sammlung Digital," accessed April 29, 2017, https://www.staatsgalerie.de/sammlung/sammlung-digital/nc.html. See also A. D. Harvey, "Alfred in the Neatherd's Cottage: History Painting and Epic Poetry in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Philological Quarterly* 86 (2007): 160, note 23. In addition, in the collection of the Princes of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, in Löwenberg, Silesia, Gustav Parthey recorded a copy after West's painting; see Erffa and Stanley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West*, 187; Gustav Parthey, *Deutscher Bildersaal: Verzeichniss der in Deutschland vorhandenen Oelbilder verstorbener Maler aller Schulen*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1864), 778. The legend was also known in France, perhaps again through Michel's engraving, as Francois Thomas de Baculard d'Arnaud's collection of historical anecdotes testifies: Francois Thomas de Baculard d'Arnaud, *Délassements de l'homme sensible ou anectodes diverses*, vol. 1 (Paris: Arnaud, 1783), 7–17; see Simon Keynes, "The Cult of King Alfred the Great," *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 (1999): 287. However, it seems that this work had no influence on French art history writing.
[34] Max Jakob Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg, *The Paintings of Lucas Cranach* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978), 201.
[35] Joseph Heller, *Lucas Cranach's Leben und Werke* (Bamberg: Karl Friedrich Kunz, 1821), 198–99; Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach*, vol. 3, 49.

Martinengo Collection in Würzburg (fig. 7).[36] In his Cranach monograph from 1851, Christian Schuchardt applies this identification to two other paintings and to the artist's engraving from 1508.[37] Georg Rathgeber, apropos of three paintings in the ducal picture gallery in Gotha, extends this identification of subject to two prints formerly attributed to Dürer.[38] Although Johann David Passavant does not give any reference to his source, it was probably Rathgeber's book that stimulated him to revise Bartsch's description of one of the two Düreresque engravings, and change its subject from the Judgment of Paris to the Legend of the King of Mercia (fig. 6).[39] By 1862, when Passavant's third supplementary volume to Adam Bartsch's *Le Peintre-graveur* was published in Leipzig, the English legend had already been well-known in Germany. In contrast, in French art history writing it seems that recognising the English legend in representations of the Judgment of Paris began only under the influence of Passavant. Émile Molinier quotes Passavant in his description of four bronze medallions as depictions of the Legend of the King of Mercia,[40] and Durrieu also refers to Passavant in his identification of the marginal scenes in the Villefosse and Aix-en-Provence books of hours.[41]

It seems that the erroneous identification of the subject emerged from the peculiarities of the Judgment's medieval representations; peculiarities that derived from the medieval literary tradition of the myth and deviated considerably from its classical version, better known for

[36] Heller, *Lucas Cranach's Leben und Werke*, 198–99, 234.
[37] Christian Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach des Aeltern: Leben und Werke*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1851), 64–65, 155, 273. For the engraving, see Adam Bartsch, *Le Peintre-graveur*, vol. 7*, Les Vieux maîtres allemands: Seconde partie* (Vienna: J. V. Degen, 1808), 291, no. 114. One of the paintings can be identified with the panel now in the Landesmuseum, Gotha (inv. no. 337). The other painting, formerly in the Gotisches Haus in Wörlitz, is probably the same as the one that was stolen in 1945 from the Forsthaus Uhlenstein, in Harz, Germany; see Friedländer and Rosenberg, *The Paintings of Lucas Cranach*, 120.
[38] Rathgeber, *Beschreibungen*, 179. The prints (an engraving and a woodcut): Bartsch, *Le Peintre-graveur*, vol. 7, 80, no. 65 and vol. 7, 146, no. 134. Two out of the three paintings from the ducal collection in Gotha are by Cranach (now in the Landesmuseum, Gotha, inv. no. 337 and in The Saint Louis Art Museum, St Louis, Missouri inv. no. 28:1932). The third painting is by Christian Richter, and it is still preserved in the Schlossmuseum Friedenstein in Gotha (inv. no. SG 185).
[39] Johann David Passavant, *Le Peintre-graveur*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1862), 153. The print (Bartsch, *Le Peintre-graveur*, vol. 7, 80, no. 60) is now considered as a copy by an anonymous artist after Dürer.
[40] Molinier, *Les Bronzes*, 176–83. He dates them to the end of the fifteenth century and considers them as German productions.
[41] Durrieu, "La Légende," 164.

these historians. For quite a while, authors did not articulate their arguments in favour of the old English legend. Schuchardt explained in more detail why he rejected the identification of those paintings and prints as the Judgment of Paris, and considered them as representations of the English legend only in 1871, when answering to his critics in the third volume of his monograph.[42] He found the motifs of the sleeping knight, the old, bearded and armoured figure with a simple stick instead of a proper caduceus, Cupid appearing in the sky, the white horse, the castle in the background, and the spring in the foreground inconsistent with the ancient myth (figs. 7–8).[43] He also tried to trace the legend's origins, and since Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) informed him about Leland's *Itinerary*, he supposed that it was Hans Holbein the Younger, acquainted with Leland, who mediated the story to Germany.[44]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, both in France and in Germany some scholars systematically argued against the identification of these representations as King Alfred and the daughters of William of Albanac. Referring to the inscriptions on a fragment of a clay medallion that bears the same composition as the bronze medallion from the Spitzer Collection, Adrien Blanchet proves convincingly that these images do in fact depict the Judgment of Paris, and certainly not the obscure English legend.[45] In Germany, Ernst Krause, a biologist, wrote an extensive summary and a well-established critique of the legend's historiography. He pointed out that the motif of the sleeping Paris came from the *De excidio Troiae* by Dares of Phrygia, a work probably dating from the fifth century that influenced all medieval renderings



[42] J. D. F. Soßmann, "Lukas Cranach," review of *Lucas Cranach des Aeltern: Leben und Werke*, by Christian Schuchardt, *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, no. 11, March 13, 1852, 245; Franz Kugler, review of *Lucas Cranach des Aeltern: Leben und Werke*, by Christian Schuchardt, *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, no. 7, February 14, 1852, 60–61.
[43] Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach*, vol. 3, 52–57.
[44] Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach*, vol. 3, 58–61. The 1508 date on Cranach's engraving clearly contradicts to this hypothesis, since Holbein (1493–1543) first travelled to England only in 1526.
[45] J. Adrien Blanchet, "Sur une plaquette représentant le Jugement de Pâris et l'Annonciation," *Bulletin des musées* 4 (1893): 233–36. The fragment is from the Musée des Antiquités, Rouen.

of the Trojan story.[46] He also discovered the origin of the spring motif in Benoît de Saint-Maure's *Roman de Troie,* while he explained the non-classical appearance of Mercury with the fact that he had been identified with the German god, Wotan since Roman times.[47] Two years later Richard Förster also argued that well-known medieval texts recounting the story of the Trojan War, especially Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae* served as source for Cranach's representations of the Judgment, and these texts can satisfactorily explain those elements of his paintings that led previous scholars astray in the identification of the subject.[48]

Despite these refutations, the Legend of the King of Mercia subject persisted until the 1920s in French scholarship, and Durrieu readily applies it to the Villefosse and Aix-en-Provence books of hours.[49] He also seems to ignore the medieval literary tradition of the Judgment when he refers to the sleeping attitude and knightly outfit of the young man as elements that would contradict the Judgment of Paris topic.[50] Another reason why Durrieu chooses the English legend instead of the ancient myth is that it fits better into his interpretation. According to him, the moral of the Legend of the King of Mercia is the value of chastity, and this is the ideological link between its representation on the recto of the above mentioned bronze medallion from the former Spitzer Collection and the allegorical depiction of the Annunciation on its verso (figs. 22–23).[51] He explains analogously the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours, where the alleged King of Mercia scene appears under an image of the Virgin Mary (fig. 2).[52] Although Marc Rosenberg refutes Durrieu's identification of the subject in the books of hours based on



[46] Krause, "Mercurius," 483. For the *De excidio Troiae,* see Margaret J. Ehrhart, *The Judgment of the Trojan Prince Paris in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 31–34.
[47] Krause, "Mercurius," 484, 486.
[48] Richard Förster, "Neue Cranachs in Schlesien," *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift* 7 (1899): 269–70.
[49] This subject was also recognized on an ivory candleholder from the Musée de Saint-Omer, see "Musées de Paris et de province: Notes et informations," *Musées et monuments de France* 1 (1906): 154. René Héron the Villefosse, then the owner of the Villefosse Hours keeps this identification in connection with the miniature in the manuscript even in 1959; see Héron de Villefosse, "En marge," 56.
[50] Durrieu, "La Légende," 163.
[51] Durrieu, "La Légende," 164–65.
[52] Durrieu, "La Légende," 172–75.

arguments similar to those previously expressed by German scholars, it still survives today, for example in *Initiale*, the online database of illuminated manuscripts from France.[53] Therefore, in the following, I summarise all the arguments why the Judgment of Paris is a more likely identification of these scenes in the books of hours than the Legend of the King of Mercia.

First, there is no trace of the King of Mercia legend in the fifteenth century, and no trace at all in France before the end of the eighteenth century. Its earliest mention in Leland's notes from the second quarter of the sixteenth century is chronologically and geographically too far to provide a firm base for any suppositions regarding the legends availability in fifteenth-century Rouen. Second, all the visual elements that motivated the representations' identification as the Legend of the King of Mercia actually derive from the medieval textual tradition of the Judgment of Paris. The Judgment as a dream of Paris goes back to the probably fifth-century *De excidio Troiae* by Dares of Phrygia, and was prevalent in medieval renderings of the Trojan War.[54] The motifs of the horse and the naked goddesses originate from Guido delle Colonne, while the fountain must have developed from the spring mentioned by Benoît de Saint-Maure.[55] There is also nothing special about depicting Paris in armour and Mercury in a long robe and cap: manuscripts where the representation of the Judgment accompanies the text of the myth demonstrate that this was the general way of their representation in the fifteenth century (figs. 10, 13, 17, 28, 32). Even Mercury as bearded, elderly man, as he appears on the page of the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours, has his parallels in other manuscripts with the text of the Judgment (figs. 16, 19).



[53] Marc Rosenberg, "A propos de la légende du roi de Mercie," *Revue Archéologique* 27 (1928): 105–6. Based on him, Waldemar Deonna also rejected Durrieu's identification: Waldemar Deonna, "Le Groupe des trois Grâces nues et sa descendance," *Revue Archéologique* 31 (1930): 329–30. See also "Initiale."
[54] For further detail, see Chapter III.
[55] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 212–13, 221.

There is one perplexing element in the Judgment of Paris scene of the Aix-en-Provence and Villefosse Hours that Durrieu described, but did not reflected on. Since to my knowledge it does not appear in any written account of the myth, the motif demands an explanation. In the Aix-en-Provence miniature, each goddess is holding a ring, and a ring appears in the hand of the first goddess in the Villefosse Hours (figs. 35–37). It is not completely unknown in depictions of the Judgment. Juno holds it in her hands in an engraving by the Netherlandish Master with the Banderols (fig. 30), and it appears in the hand of Pallas in another engraving by him (fig. 31).[56] It is also depicted in the hand of all three goddesses in two clay moulds (figs. 24, 26), as well as in the recto of the Spitzer medallion (fig. 22).[57] Since both the engravings and the clay moulds have inscriptions, the presence of the ring does not affect the identification of these scenes in the books of hours as the Judgment of Paris. Looking over the representations of the Judgment, it seems possible that the origin of this motif is a misunderstanding of the golden apple, which is often nothing more than a small golden dot, easily mistaken for a ring (e.g. figs. 10, 13). Even if the ring was originally conceived as a deliberate allusion to Paris's marriage with Helen and put in the hand of Venus, a confusion immediately emerged and deconstructed this meaning. The Master with the Banderols placed it in the hand of Juno and Pallas, while in the clay moulds as well as in the Aix-en-Provence miniature all three goddesses hold one in their hand. Similarly, the double appearance of the apple in the Villefosse Hours and in one of the New York manuscripts (M 312) may be interpreted as a mistake, partly caused by the desire to put something in the hand of each female figure (figs. 33, 36).[58] Probably it is not by chance that the conflation of the apples and rings occurs on images that are taken out of



[56] Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert*, vol. 4 (Wien: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1921), 134–35, nos. 90–91, pl. 109.
[57] For the clay moulds, see "Ankäufe," *Jahresbericht, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum Zürich* 26 (1917): 20, pl. 2; and Imre Holl, "Gotische Tonmodel in Ungarn," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 43 (1991): 32.
[58] In the Villefosse Hours, the last goddess grabs a tendril; while in the New York manuscript, the other two holds the veil.

the narrative context. In the case of the engraving and the clay moulds, at least some inscriptions help to recall the story, but the miniatures in the books of hours have no such textual aid.

Since the only attempt to interpret these mythological scenes in the books of hours was based on an erroneous identification of the subject, it is necessary to start the interpretation of these representations of the Judgment of Paris with the literary and visual tradition of the myth.

# III. The Judgment of Paris in Literature

An overview of various medieval texts containing the Judgment of Paris can offer a frame for interpreting this scene that appears in the margin of books of hours, that is, in a context where there is no textual reference to it. Tracing the literary tradition of the myth may shed light on the range of meanings that might lay behind the insertion of the mythological representation in the books of hours and that could have influenced the beholder's reception of these pages. In this regard, however, it is necessary to take into account the availability of texts that conveyed these meanings, i.e. the circulation of their manuscripts. Therefore, through the quantitative analysis of the surviving manuscripts, I will assess their availability, popularity and influence in Rouen in the second half of the fifteenth century. While Margaret J. Ehrhart's book about the medieval literary tradition of the Judgment gives a thorough and useful account on the different renderings and interpretations of the myth, to my knowledge, there is no comprehensive study on the dissemination of its manuscripts. Therefore, based on online manuscript catalogues and separate studies on some of the literary works, I built a database to map the circulation of these texts, with a focus on fifteenth-century Rouen and Normandy.[59] Since examining all the texts containing the Judgment of Paris would exceed the scope of the present work, I selected ten texts, the most relevant ones regarding either the fifteenth-century



[59] The database was built out of data available in the following online catalogues and databases: "Arlima," http://www.arlima.net; "BnF: Archives et manuscrits," http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr; "British Library: Explore Archives and Manuscripts," http://searcharchives.bl.uk; "British Library: Manuscripts of Illuminated Manuscripts," http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm; "Catalogue Collectif de France," http://ccfr.bnf.fr; "Corsair;" "Digital Scriptorium," http://www.digital-scriptorium.org; "Gallica," http://gallica.bnf.fr; "Initiale;" "Luxury Bound," http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound/index; "Medieval Francophone Literary Culture Outside France," http://www.medievalfrancophone.ac.uk; "Narrative Sources," http://www.narrative-sources.be. All accessed May 16, 2017. I will indicate where I rely on printed material. For the database, see: "Manuscripts of texts containing the Judgment of Paris," last updated May 18, 2017, https://drive.google.com/open?id=1c1zCXMxwPkOEKmJFQ9d5VYfnELrc1Hpplx7uqme3_m8.

reception or the iconography of the myth.[60] First, however, it is necessary to give a brief summary of the content of these texts, i.e. how they present the Judgment of Paris.

## A. The Meanings of the Judgment of Paris

Margaret J. Ehrhart differentiates between two main approaches to the Judgment of Paris in the Middle Ages. Most often, it is handled as history, an episode of the Trojan War. In order to rationalise the appearance of the three goddesses, and to make the transcendental pagan aspects of the story fit into a (Christian) historical material, the Judgment was transformed into a dream of Paris.[61] The Trojan prince gets lost in a forest while hunting. Exhausted, he falls asleep, and in his dream Venus, Juno, and Pallas appear, led by Mercury to ask him to judge who the most beautiful is of the three of them. Paris chooses Venus, who offers him the love of Helen, the most beautiful girl on the earth. This dream version first appears in the *De excidio Troiae* by Dares of Phrygia, which probably dates from the fifth century and is supposed to be the translation of an originally Greek text written in the first or second century AD.[62] The *De excidio Troiae* was so influential throughout the Middle Ages that the Judgment was included in this form in all later renderings of the Trojan saga. It is recounted as a dream in Benoît de Saint-Maure's *Roman de Troie* (c. 1155–60), in Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae* (1270–87), in Raoul Le Fèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troie* (c. 1466–69), as well as in the drama version by Jacques Milet (*Lystoire de la destruction de Troye la grant*, 1450–52).[63] The dream version appears also in works about universal history, such as the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (1223–30) and the *Bouquechardière* by Jean de Courcy (completed in



[60] The manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut's *Fontaine amoureuse*, which also contains a recount of the myth, often have an illustration for the Judgment of Paris (four out of the 10 surviving copies: Paris, BnF, fr. 22545, fols. 129v, 131r; Paris, BnF, fr. 1584, fol. 169r; Paris, BnF, Arsenal 5203, fol. 118r; New York, PML, M 396, fol. 113v). However, I will not discuss this text, since the circulation of its manuscripts is almost completely confined to the end of the fourteenth century, with the exception of the New York copy dated c. 1425–30.
[61] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 33–34.
[62] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 31–34.
[63] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 39–40, 45, 50, 52.

1422).[64] Of course, these texts heavily depend on each other. Benoît de Saint-Maure used the *De excidio Troiae* by Dares to create a vernacular romance out of the Trojan material, while the author of the *Histoire ancienne* borrowed (and slightly reworked) a French translation of Dares for his Trojan chapter.[65] Guido based his Latin work on a prose reworking of Benoît's French text.[66] Milet used Guido's Latin text for his vernacular dramatized version of the Trojan story, while the third book recounting the abduction of Helen and the subsequent siege of Troy that supplemented Raoul Le Fèvre's unfinished, two-volume work, is actually a French translation of Guido's text.[67] Although it is evident in each of these works that Paris's judgment was a wrong decision, since it ultimately led to the fall of Troy, the texts have slight differences to express harsher or milder assessment of Paris's choice. As Ehrhart argues, Benoît does not condemns Paris and Helen's love, and tells the Judgment without any hints to the fatal consequences, whereas Guido, by some changes to the setting, makes the dream appear demonic and the atmosphere sinister.[68] At the same time, Milet's and Raoul Le Fèvre's versions based on Guido's text changed exactly those passages that created the ill-omened atmosphere.[69]

Besides these works presenting the Judgement as history without further interpretation, another medieval textual tradition treated it as allegory and drew a moral lesson from it. Following the *Mythologies* of Fulgentius, allegorized versions of the Judgment usually interpret the three goddesses as representing the three ways of life: Pallas the contemplative, Juno the active and Venus the voluptuous, out of which the first is the advisable and the last is the most



[64] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 62.
[65] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 39; Marc-René Jung, *La Légende de Troie en France au moyen âge: Analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscrits* (Basel: Francke, 1996), 338.
[66] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 45.
[67] Jung, *La Légende*, 570, 602.
[68] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 43, 46–49.
[69] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 50, 52.

condemnable.[70] The most influential work transmitting this meaning is the *Ovide moralisé*, written sometimes between 1316 and 1328 by an anonymous Franciscan. It does not stop at the traditional allegorical interpretation of the Judgment as a choice between three lifestyles, but further elaborates it by placing its interpretation into the context of salvation history. According to this interpretation, the golden apple of Discord bearing the label "to the most beautiful" and finally given to Venus by Paris corresponds with the apple of Eve, and Paris's wrong choice represents the Fall of Man.[71]

Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus* (c. 1340), that constitutes the fifteenth book of his enormous moralizing compendium, the *Reductorium morale*, also continues the tradition of identifying the goddesses with the three ways of life, and, alternatively, with the three powers of the soul, *ratio*, *memoria*, and *voluntas*, out of which Paris, the sinner, obeys the latter, equated here with lust.[72] Guido placed the Judgment into the context of salvation history only two years later, when he revised his work under the influence of the *Ovide moralisé*.[73]

The third important allegorical rendering of the Judgment appears in Christine de Pizan's *Épistre d'Othéa* dated c. 1400. In this didactic work that provides allegorical interpretations of short passages from classical mythology the lessons she draws from both the classical and the dream version of the Judgment are adjusted to her noble audience.[74] Presenting Paris as a negative example, she advises the noble youth to judge justly, make decisions with the help of a council, and not to base them on visions.[75]



[70] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 76–77. For the change in the assessment of the active life, see Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 109–17.
[71] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 88–94.
[72] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 94–100.
[73] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 97.
[74] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 119–20.
[75] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 117–21.

## B. The Availability of the Myth

The possibility that any of the these interpretations could motivate the insertion of the Judgment of Paris scenes in the Rouen books of hours or have an effect on their reception depends highly on the accessibility of these texts in Rouen in the second half of the fifteenth century. A quantitative analysis of the surviving manuscripts of the ten works will allow to assess their influence in Rouen at that period. The database I built for this purpose is not exhaustive, and the degree of incompleteness varies from work to work. Still, I think that it can be used to form a general overview of the circulation of these texts and formulate some basic, but important statements on their availability in Rouen. Since one of the four books of hours was illuminated by a Flemish master, I will also touch upon the question of these texts' dissemination in the Netherlands. Of course, when drawing conclusions, I will take into consideration and indicate the lacunas of the database in each case.

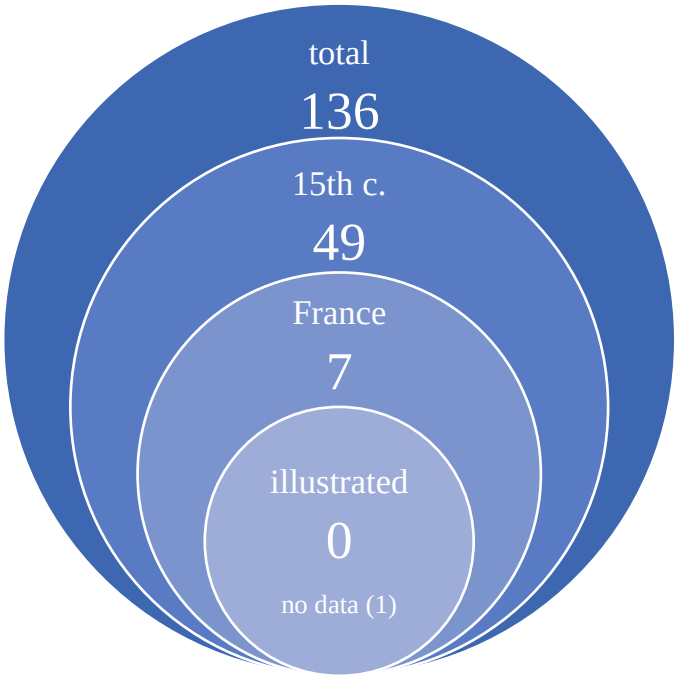


*Diagram 1: Dares of Phrygia, De excidio Troiae*

The oldest text, Dares's *De excidio Troiae* survives in more or less full form in 136 manuscripts (Diagram 1).[76] Somewhat more than a third of them (49) were produced in the fifteenth century, out of which, however, only 7 originates from France. Six out of the 7 manuscripts are not illustrated,[77] and no data is available about the seventh copy. One of the manuscripts was probably produced in Normandy, and according to a fifteenth-century note, it was owned by a certain "Petrus Comitis" from the diocese of Rouen.[78]

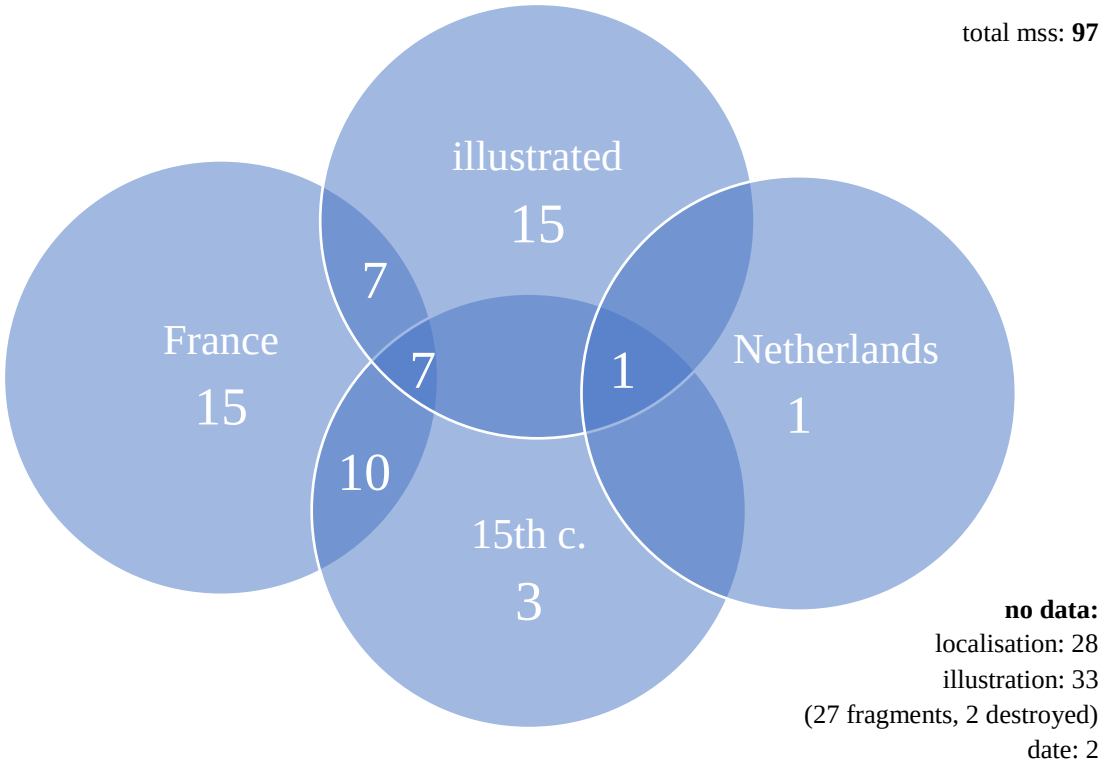


*Diagram 2: Benoît de Saint-Maure, Roman de Troie*

Similarly to Dares's work, the popularity and availability of the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Saint-Maure had decreased considerably in the fifteenth century (Diagram 2). Only roughly one fifth of the 97 surviving manuscripts (21) dates from this century, out of which 17 is

[76] Louis Faivre d'Arcier provides a catalogue of all the extant copies of this work, that, including fragments, extracted and abbreviated versions, counts more than 200 manuscripts: Louis Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe: La Circulation des manuscrits du "De excidio Troiae" de Darès le Phrygien; VIIIe–XVe siècles* (Paris: École des chartes, 2006), 32–95. I simplified my task by taking into account only the full manuscripts.
[77] By illustration I mean figural depictions related to the text. Ornamental decoration or figural illumination unconnected to the text (such as *drôleries*) are not taken into consideration here.
[78] Rouen, BM, ms. 1127; see Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie*, 81.

localised to France and one to the Netherlands.[79] This Netherlandish manuscript and almost half (7) of the fifteenth-century French manuscripts are illustrated, but none of them contains a miniature depicting the Judgment of Paris. The absence of the Judgment of Paris representations is true for the whole corpus of the *Roman de Troie* manuscripts. One of the copies containing the third prose version of Benoît's text, and dated to the fifteenth century was made in Normandy, and during the same century, it was in the possession of Nicolas Ouyn, living in Rouen.[80] An earlier, thirteenth-century copy belonged to Bertrand de Goyon, lord of Matignon in the second half of the fourteenth century, and probably up to the seventeenth century, it stayed in the possession of the family who owned lands in Bretagne and in Normandy.[81]

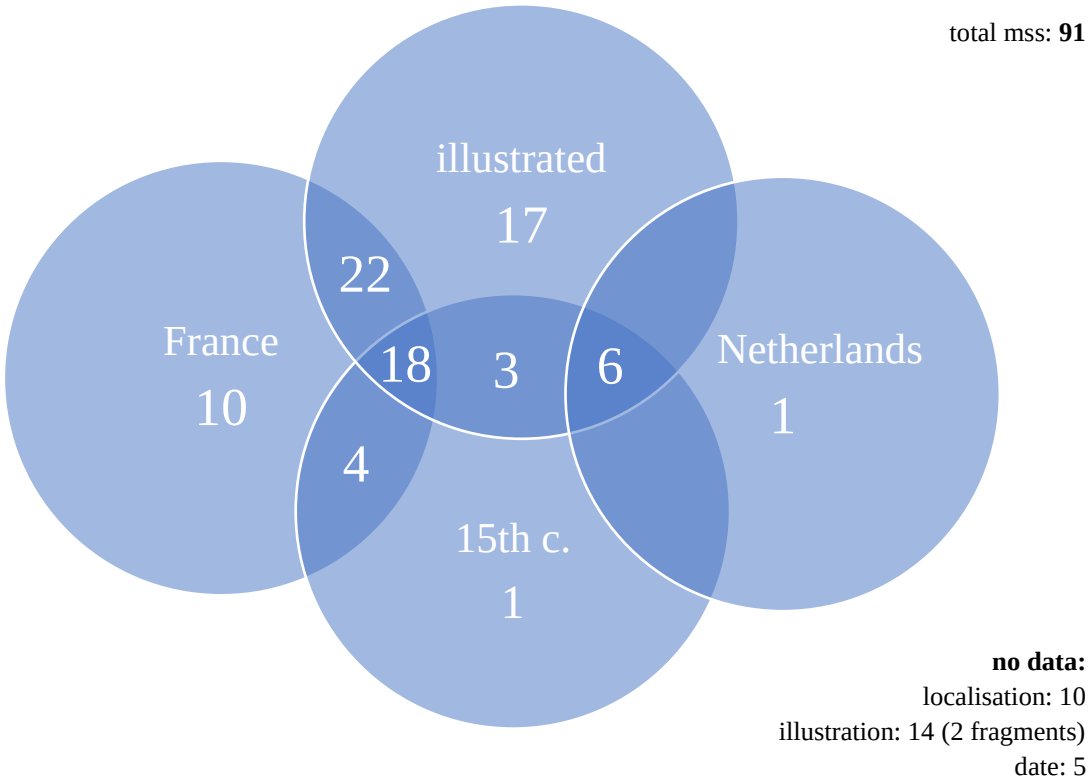


*Diagram 3: Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*

[79] My analysis on the manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie* is primarily based on Jung, *La Légende*, 79–330. The total number of 97 surviving manuscripts includes fragments, destroyed manuscripts and prose versions as well.
[80] Rouen, BM, ms. O.33, see Jung, *La Légende*, 500–2 and "Medieval Francophone Literary Culture Outside France".
[81] Paris, BnF, fr. 1450; see "Medieval Francophone Literary Culture Outside France".

Regarding the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, a somewhat higher proportion, one third (32) of the total number of 91 extant manuscripts comes from the fifteenth century (Diagram 3).[82] Most of them originate from France (22) or the Netherlands (6), but none of them can be localised to Rouen or Normandy. Surprisingly many copies were illustrated in the fifteenth century (27), 18 in France and 6 in the Netherlands. However, only two of them contain a representation of the Judgment of Paris: one illuminated in Paris c. 1400, the other produced in central France c. 1470 (fig. 28).[83]

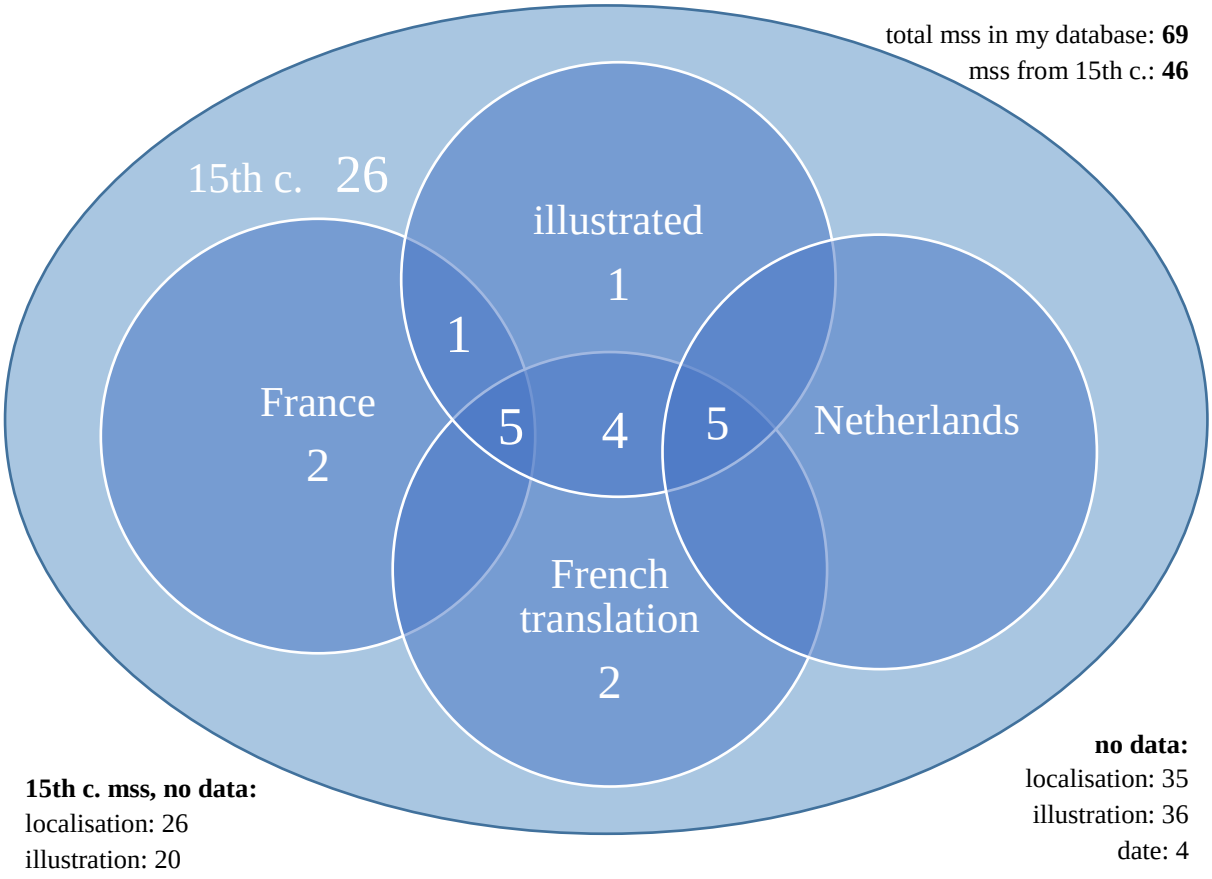


*Diagram 4: Guido delle Colonne, Historia destructionis Troiae*

In contrast with these three works, Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae* enjoyed huge popularity in the fifteenth century (Diagram 4). In absence of a comprehensive study on the manuscript tradition of Guido's text, unfortunately my database remains highly

[82] Based on Jung, *La Légende*, 345–52; and "Medieval Francophone Literary Culture Outside France".
[83] The Parisian manuscript from c. 1400 is in Paris, BnF fr, 301, fol. 35v.

incomplete regarding this work. Marc-René Jung mentions about 240 manuscripts out of which more than 70 came from the fourteenth century, meaning that the rest, roughly around 150 copies, can be dated to the fifteenth century.[84] My database contains 69 copies of Guido's work, two thirds of which (46 manuscripts) was produced in the fifteenth century. Based on Jung's research, I included all the extant examples of its French translations.[85] In addition to this, twenty-four printed editions were published between 1474 and 1500 both in Latin and in vernaculars.[86] However, most of them were published in the Holy Roman Empire, four of them were printed in the Netherlands, and none of them comes from France.[87] Eight of the fifteenth-century manuscripts in my database can be localised to France and five to the Netherlands. To this, it is possible to add six copies that contain a French translation, but has no data on the place of origin. (The five different French translations survive altogether in 16 manuscripts—not counting those included in the *Recueil des histoires de Troie*—, which are all dated to the fifteenth century.) [88] Although the number of manuscripts without localisation is very high (20), manuscripts with French or Netherlandish origins and the high number of French translations and their copies show that there was a significant demand for Guido's text in the fifteenth century in France and, almost in equal measure, in the Burgundian Netherlands.

More than three fourths of the fifteenth-century copies coming from French speaking territories (a total number of 19) were illustrated (15), and two of them, both dated to the end of the century, contain the Judgment of Paris scene as well (figs. 9, 11). While these manuscripts have no identifiable connection with Rouen, two other copies are certainly linked to the city. One of these is the already mentioned codex of Petrus Comitis, which beside Dares's text also

[84] Jung, *La Légende*, 565.
[85] Jung, *La Légende*, 570–601.
[86] "Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke," accessed May 16, 2017, http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/.
[87] Three editions were published in the Netherlands in Latin: the first in 1475 by Alexander Magnus, the second in Deventer by Richard Paffraet c. 1480, the third in Leuven by Johann von Paderborn c. 1480. In 1479, Gerard Leeu also published a Flemish edition in Gouda. See "Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke".
[88] Jung, *La Légende*, 570.

comprised Guido's work.[89] The other manuscript, dated to the second half of the fifteenth century and containing the first French translation of the *Historia destructionis Troiae*, was illuminated in Rouen for Jeanne du Bec-Crespin, wife of Pierre de Brézé (1412–65), seneschal and captain of Rouen from 1464 onwards.[90] Since its illumination was executed in Rouen around the same time as the books of hours discussed in this thesis, this manuscript would be of special interest, but unfortunately, it was seriously damaged in a fire in 1904.[91] It was only partially restored, and no further information on the miniatures has been available for me.

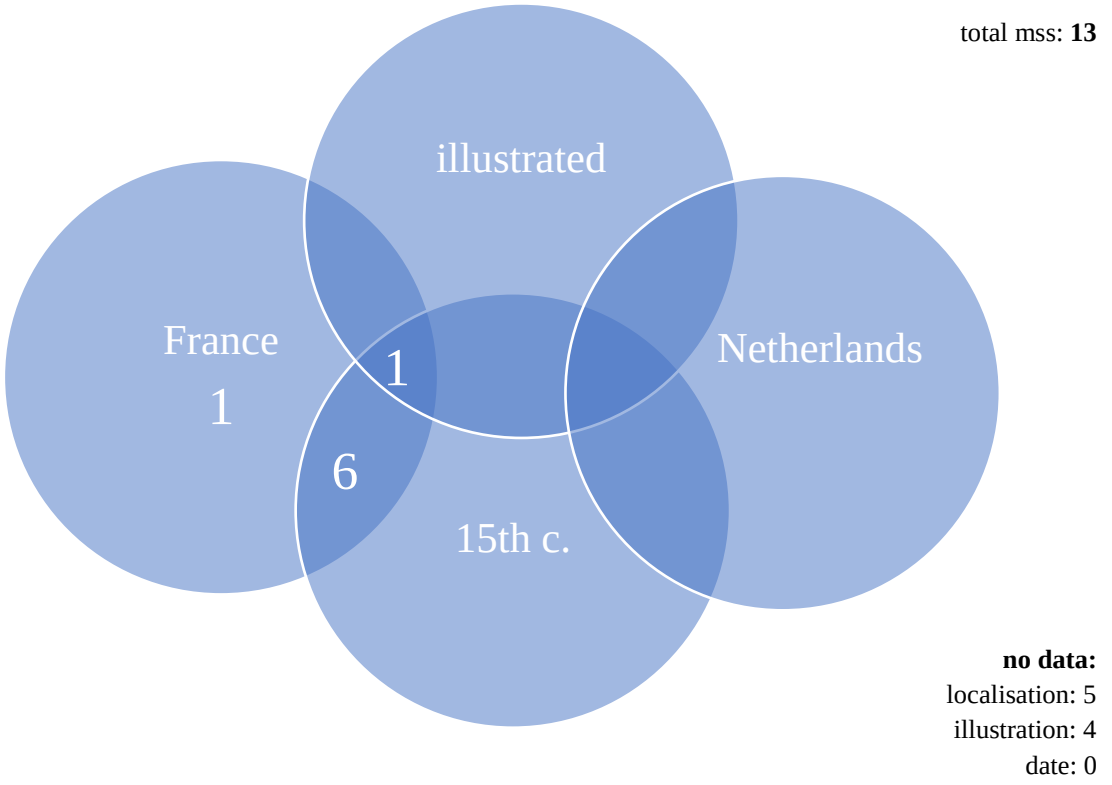


*Diagram 5: Jacques Milet, Lystoire de la destruction de Troye la grant*

The significance of Guido's text is also attested by the drama version of Jacques Milet that is based on Guido's work and by the *Recueil des histoires de Troie* that contains its third French translation as mentioned above (Diagrams 5–6). Both works date to the mid-fifteenth century, the former was written in Orléans, while the latter was commissioned by Philip the Good, Duke

[89] Rouen, BM, ms. 1127.
[90] Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, L.II.7; see Paul Durrieu, "Les Manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque incendiée de Turin," *Revue Archéologique* 3 (1904): 402–3.
[91] Jung, *La Légende*, 580.

of Burgundy.[92] Among the thirteen extant manuscripts of Milet's play, all with known localisation was produced in France (8), two has later Netherlandish provenance, and none of them has any known connection with Rouen or Normandy.[93] What clearly shows its popularity, however, is the number of printed editions. It was published eight times before 1500, first in 1484.[94] Moreover, while only two of the surviving manuscripts are illustrated, and none of them contains a depiction of the Judgment, at least three printed editions have a woodcut of this scene (fig. 12).[95]

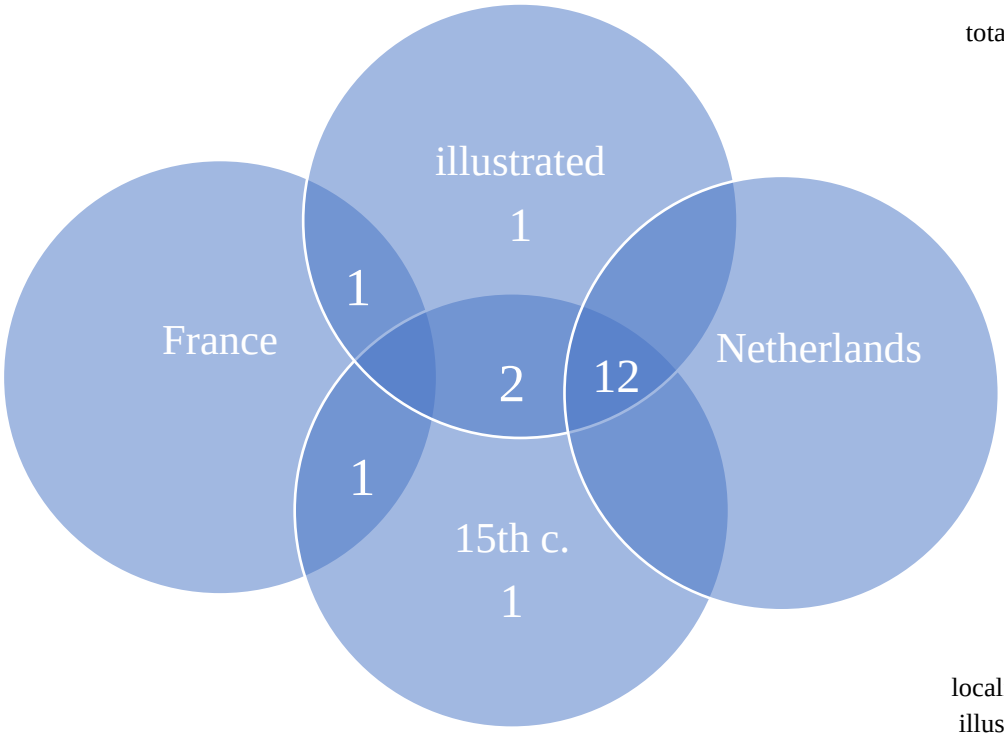


*Diagram 6: Raoul Le Fèvre, La Recueil des histoires de Troies*

The *Recueil des histoires de Troies* comprising the third book survives in eighteen copies, and its majority, not surprisingly, since the text was commissioned by Philip the Good, originate

[92] Jung, *La Légende*, 588, 602.
[93] Based on Jung, *La Légende*, 602–5. Paris, BnF fr. 12601 comes from the library of the Dukes of Burgundy, while Brussels, KBR, ms. 10194 was in the possession of Charles de Croy (1455–1527).
[94] "Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke."
[95] Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy, 1485; Paris: Jean Bonhomme, 1490; Paris: Jean Driart [für Antoine Vérard], 1498.

from the Netherlands (12), and only two come from France (Diagram 6).[96] Most of the manuscripts are illustrated (15), and two of them contain a representation of the Judgment (figs. 10, 13). It was also published six times between 1484 and 1500 in France (in Paris and in Lyon) and twice in the Netherlands (in 1476–77 in Bruges and in 1486–88 in Haarlem), and some of them contain a woodcut on the Judgment of Paris.[97]

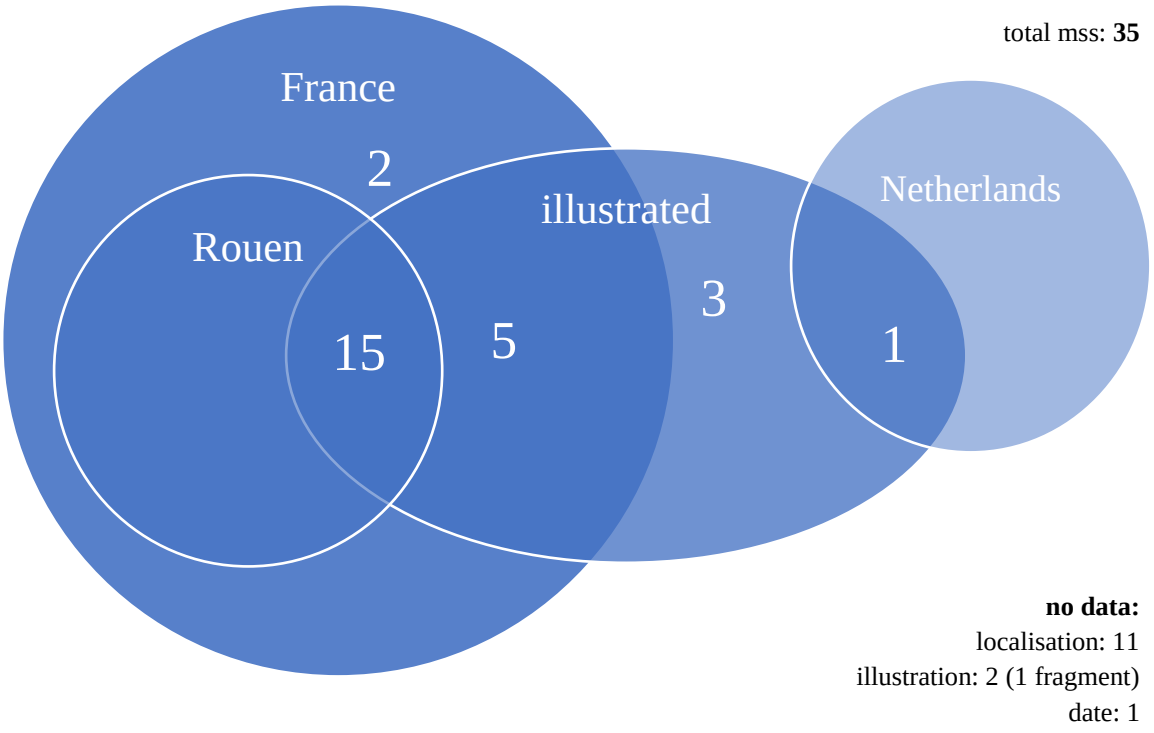


*Diagram 7: Jean de Courcy, La Bouquechardière*

With regard to Rouen, the *Bouquechardière* is of special interest. Its author, Jean de Courcy was a nobleman from Normandy, and Rouen became an important centre of production of his text: fifteen out of the 35 extant manuscripts were executed there (Diagram 7).[98] Two thirds of the manuscripts (24) were illuminated, including all the copies made in Rouen. The illustration

[96] Based on Jung, *La Légende*, 582–90; and Miguel Fuster Márquez, "The French Manuscripts Caxton Used for His English Translation of *Le Recoeil des Histoires de Troyes* and His French Edition," *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 29 (1994): 155–57.
[97] In addition to this there were also an edition in English (Bruges, 1475), and another in Dutch (Haarlem, 1485). See "Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke". The Lyon editions from 1490 by Michel Topié and Jacques Heremberck and from 1494–95 by Jacques Maillet use the same woodcut to illustrate the Judgment, while the Dutch edition from 1485, published by Jakob Bellaert, contains a different composition.
[98] Based on Béatrice De Chancel, "Les Manuscrits de la *Bouquechardière* de Jean de Courcy," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 17 (1987): 233–83.

of eleven manuscripts produced in this town can be attributed to the Master of the Échevinage or his workshop, whose style influenced the decoration of three out of the four books of hours.[99] None of the manuscripts' iconographic program included, however, a miniature with the Judgment of Paris. Several copies were exported from the town,[100] but at least one manuscript, commissioned by the Échevinage (the municipal council), stayed in Rouen.[101]

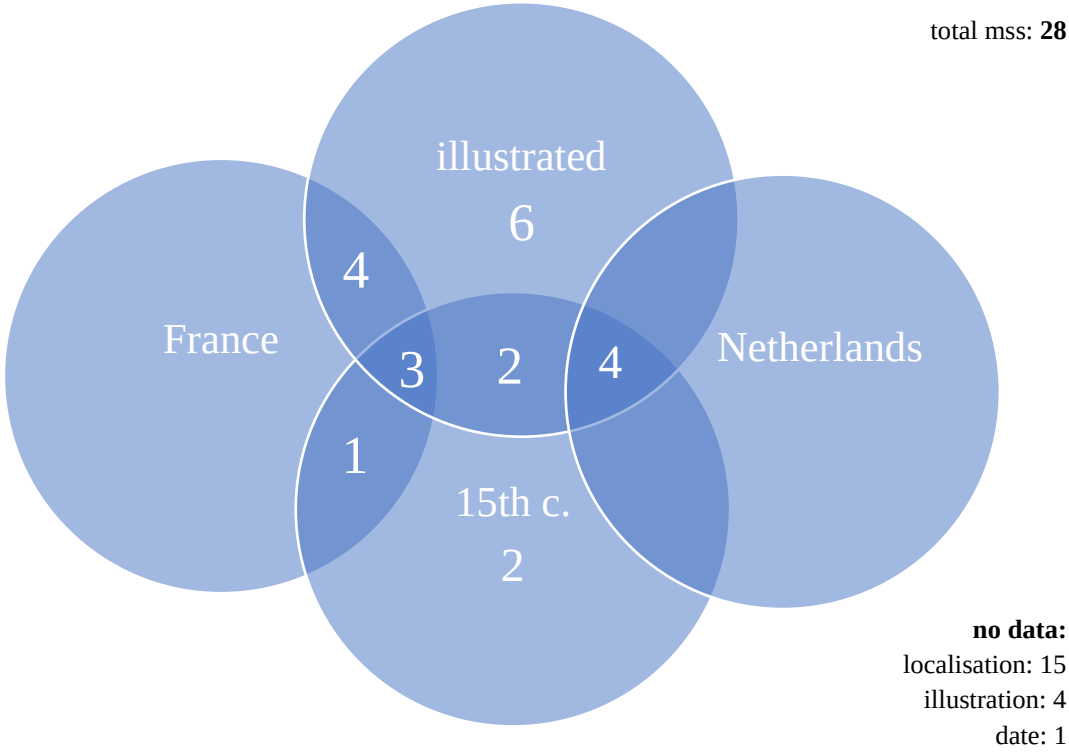


*Diagram 8: Ovide moralisé*

As far as the allegorizing tradition of the Judgment of Paris is concerned, there is—at least at the present state of the research—less evidence for its presence in Rouen. The *Ovide moralisé* is preserved in twenty-eight copies (including the two prose versions), out of which 12 can be

[99] Rabel, "Artiste et clientèle," 50.
[100] For example one of them got into the possession of Philippe Pot, seneschal of the Duke of Burgundy (Chantilly, Bibliothèque et Archives du Château, ms. 728), and another was given to Jeanne of France by his brother-in-law, Louis of Bourbon, lieutenant general of Normandy (Paris, BnF, fr. 329). See De Chancel, "Les Manuscrits de la *Bouquechardière*," 237, 241 and Rabel, "Artiste et clientèle," 51.
[101] Paris, BnF, fr. 2685. Rabel, "Artiste et clientèle," 50–51.

dated to the fifteenth century (Diagram 8).[102] Among them four manuscripts come from France, four from the Netherlands, more precisely from Bruges, and one from England. Although nine of the fifteenth-century manuscripts are illustrated, four of them contain only one miniature, and—as far as I know—none of them has a depiction of the Judgment, in contrast with a couple of the fourteenth-century copies that either represent the Judgment itself, or the Three Ways of Life (figs. 15–16).[103] As for the provenance of these manuscripts, while four belonged to Netherlandish owners in the fifteenth century,[104] and one was commissioned by Jean Derval from Bretagne,[105] none of them can be linked to Rouen or Normandy. The text was published in 1484 in Bruges and in 1493 in Paris with woodcuts, but without the Judgment of Paris.[106]

It seems that the *Ovidius moralizatus* by Pierre Bersuire was more widespread than its vernacular counterpart (Diagram 9). In the absence of studies on its circulation, I was able to collect 67 manuscripts, but unfortunately, data on dating and place of origin is far from complete, thus it is possible to draw only very cautious conclusions. Half of the dated manuscripts (47) come from the fifteenth century (26), out of which only 5 are localised to France and 2 to the Netherlands, while six come from other countries. It is also very telling that none of the six incunabula editions of the *Reductorium morale* was published in France or in the Netherlands, all come from the Holy Roman Empire.[107] Despite its rich textual tradition,



[102] Based partly on Mattia Cavagna, Massimiliano Gaggero, and Yan Greub, "La Tradition manuscrite de l'*Ovide Moralisé*: Prolégomènes à une nouvelle édition," *Romania: Revue consacrée à l'étude des langues et des litteratures romanes* 132 (2014): 177–78.
[103] Unfortunately, I have no exact information on the subject of the miniatures in the copy in Copenhagen (Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399), which contains 44 miniatures. The Three Ways of Life also appears in Paris, BnF, Arsenal 5069, fol. 153v.
[104] Paris, BnF Arsenal 5069 with rich illumination and Paris, BnF fr. 24305 was in the possession of Charles de Croy; BnF fr. 137 belonged to Louis of Bruges; and Sankt Peterburg, Rossijskaja nacionalnaja Biblioteka, Fr. F.v.XIV.12 was commissoined by Wolfert van Borssele (died in 1487). See: "Luxury Bound".
[105] Rouen, BM, O.11bis (1045–46).
[106] Marylène Possamaï and Marianne Besseyre, "L'*Ovide moralisé* illustré," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 30 (2015), 14.
[107] "Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke."

the *Ovidius moralizatus* was seldom illustrated, only seven manuscripts contain illumination.[108] Out of the four fifteenth-century illustrated copies, one was produced in France,[109] and two in the Netherlands. [110] One of the Netherlandish manuscripts, now preserved in Ghent, contains a representation of the Judgment of Paris too (fig. 14).

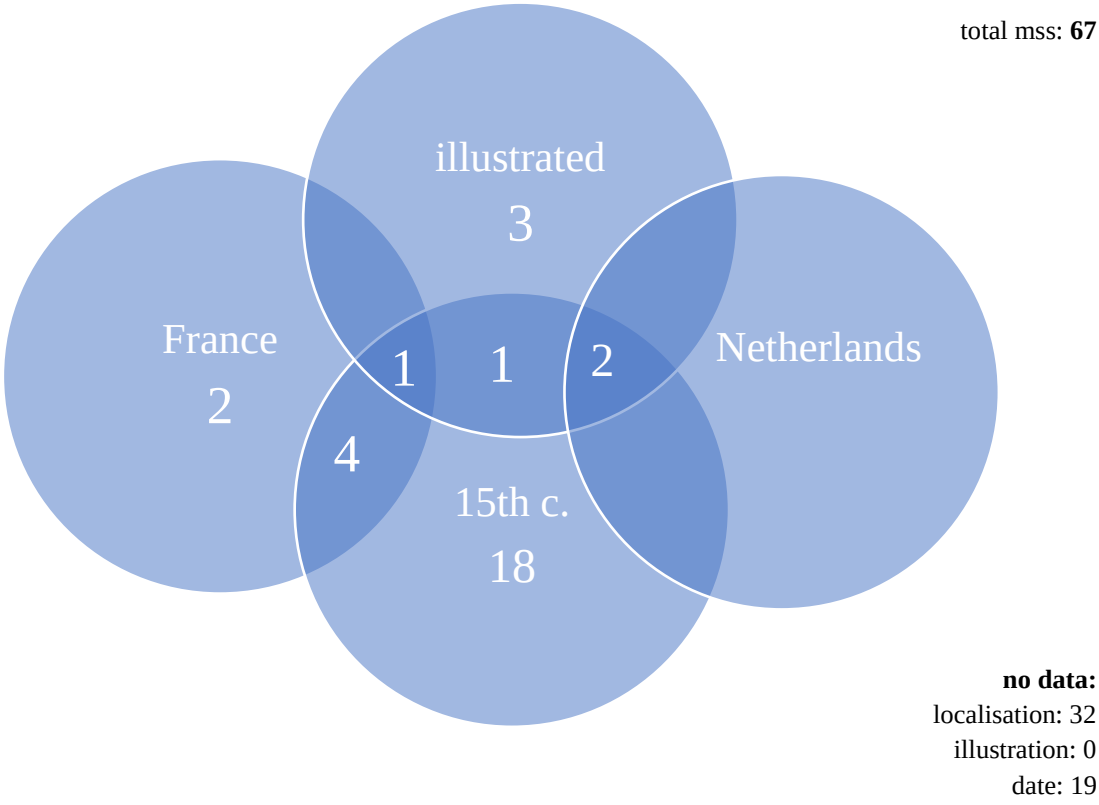


*Diagram 9: Pierre Bersuire, Ovidius moralizatus*

Christine de Pizan's *Épistre d'Othéa* is especially rich in illustrations in general and in depictions of the Judgment in particular: 28 out of the 47 surviving manuscripts are illustrated (Diagram 10).[111] It is clear from the chronological distribution of the manuscripts that the first significant group (8 copies, out of which 7 are illuminated) was executed in the early fifteenth

[108] Anne McLaughlin, "The Illuminated Manuscripts of Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius Moralizatus*," (PhD thesis proposal, The Warburg Institute, 2011). "Biblissima," accessed May 12, 2017, http://www.biblissima-condorcet.fr/sites/default/files/etudiants/anne_mclaughlin_poster.pdf.
[109] Paris, BnF, lat. 5703 (early fifteenth century).
[110] Holkam Hall, Library of the Earl of Leicester, ms. 324 (c. 1495); Ghent, St. Bavo's Cathedral Library, ms. 12 (second half of the fifteenth century). Both come from the library of Raphael de Mercatellis, see "Luxury Bound".
[111] Based on Gianni Mombello, *La tradizione manoscritta dell "Epistre Othea" di Christine de Pizan* (Torino: Accademia delle Scienze, 1967), 9–287, 346–57. I did not include in my database those four copies listed by Mombello whose present whereabouts are unknown, because information about them is either out-dated or very scarce.

century in Paris, in the author's life, and partly under her supervision.[112] Two of them also have an illustration of the Judgment at both of its occurrences in the texts (figs. 18, 20).[113] Christine's work enjoyed a second heyday in the Netherlands in the second half of the fifteenth century, when 12 copies were produced (including Jean Miélot's prose version). All of them were illuminated, and half of them included one or two depictions of the Judgment of Paris (figs. 17, 19, 21, 32).[114] In addition, one illustrated copy, also with double representation of the Judgment, comes from Auvergne, France.[115]

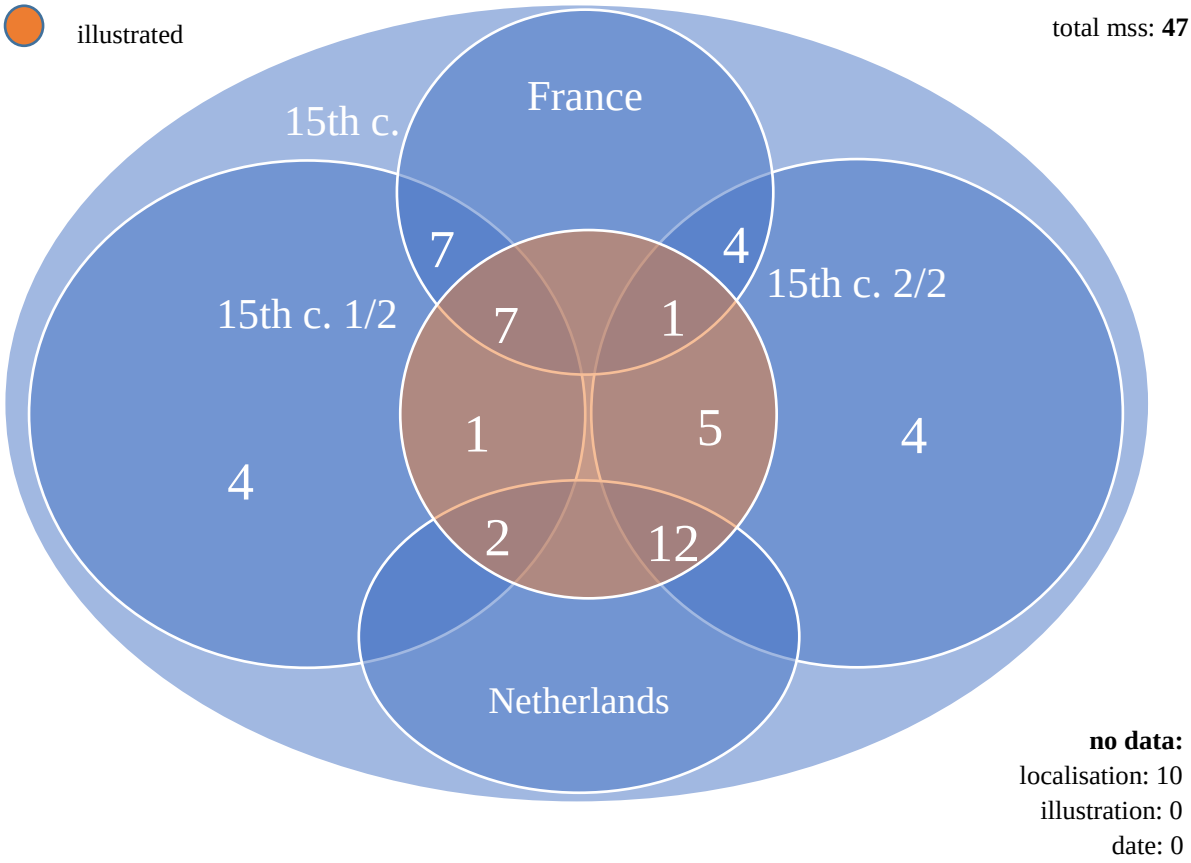


*Diagram 10: Christine de Pizan, Épistre d'Othéa*

[112] Eight out of the 14 manuscripts created in the first half of the fifteenth century in France come from the beginning of the century. Diagram 10 does not indicate these manuscripts separately. Copies with autograph features: Paris, BnF, fr. 848; Paris, BnF, fr. 606; London, BL, Harley 4431; see Sandra Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986), xix–xx.
[113] Paris, BnF, fr. 606, fols. 31v, 34v; London, BL, Harley 4431, fols. 125v, 128v.
[114] With one miniature of the Judgment: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 421, fol. 51v; Lille, BM, ms. 391 (175), fol. 72r; Brussels, KBR, ms. 9392, fol. 80v; Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 2361, fol. 93v. With two miniatures: Aylesbury, Waddesdon Manor, James A. de Rothschild Collection, ms. 8, fols. 38r, 40v; Cologny, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 49, fols. 102r, 111r.
[115] The Hague, KB, 74 G 27, fols. 64r, 68r.

This quantitative analysis clearly shows that the Trojan story, the main context in which the Judgment of Paris was transmitted, was widely read in the fifteenth century both in France and in the Burgundian Netherlands. The oldest versions, the text by Dares and Benoît de Saint-Maure, as well as the *Histoire ancienne* were still available and copied in some dozens of manuscripts, while Guido delle Colonne's slightly later work definitely outnumbered them. At the same time, newer renderings, such as the texts by Milet, Raoul Le Fèvre or Jean de Courcy, offered up-to-date formulations of the history of the Trojan War. Through the provenance or localisation of a couple of manuscripts, the presence of the older versions can be attested in Rouen. In addition, the production of the *Bouquechardière*, concentrated in Rouen in the third quarter of the fifteenth century provides enough evidence that the history of Troy, including the Judgment of Paris, was available as a text in Rouen around the time when the Judgment scene was painted in the margin of the four books of hours. However, firm evidence is missing on the presence of the Judgment's iconographic tradition in Rouen. No manuscript connected with the city, or more generally to Normandy, contains a depiction of the myth, in contrast with the Burgundian Netherlands, where roughly half of the extant representations of the Judgment were produced, all dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.

In contrast with the Judgment as history, there are no traces of the allegorized version in Rouen. This does not mean that it was not known at all, as for most of the surviving manuscripts the provenance is unknown, and there is no data for the place of origin in many cases either. However, the lack of any manuscripts containing the allegorical explanation of the Judgment that can be linked to fifteenth-century Rouen with certainty is a warning to exercise caution when attributing this interpretation to the myth's representation in the border of the books of hours.

The Netherlands, again, shows a different picture, since both versions of the moralized Ovid were copied and illuminated here, and the *Épistre d'Othéa* also enjoyed a particular popularity. Does this mean that the innovative idea of inserting the Judgment in books of hours came from the Netherlands? I will come back to this question in Chapter V, where through the detailed comparison of the four manuscripts, I will argue that in spite of the above bias in the dissemination of the manuscripts containing the Judgment, visual evidence provided by the books of hours themselves points towards Rouen as the origin of the invention. Before this, however, it is necessary to outline the iconographic tradition of the Judgment focusing on its representations that are separated from the narrative context and on the closest compositional analogies of the myth's depictions in the books of hours.

# IV. The Iconography of the Judgment of Paris

## A. The Judgment as Separate Image

It is doubtless that the creation and transmission of the medieval iconography of the Judgment of Paris closely relates to manuscripts, in which the text recounting the story accompanied the image, both in the historical and in the allegorized version.[116] In the appendix of her book, Margaret J. Ehrhart provides an overview of how the different textual versions reflect in the miniatures and what visual traditions of the subject developed.[117] She does not deal, however, with an important step in the development of the Judgment's iconography, i.e. its appearance as separate image, which might have facilitated that this subject was taken out of its narrative context and inserted into the margin of the books of hours, below textually unrelated prayers.

North of the Alps, individual depictions of the myth in several media came down to us from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, but based on written accounts, the subject already existed separately in tapestries in the second half of the fourteenth century. Two entries in the 1364 inventory of Louis, Duke of Aragon refer to presumably individual depictions of the myth and in 1386 Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy also purchased a tapestry with this subject in Paris.[118] References in written sources to tapestries representing the story of Paris and Helen do not cease in the fifteenth century, and in the Louvre a series of preparatory drawings, attributed to a Parisian painter, the so-called Coëtivy Master, and dated to c. 1470, is still preserved including a sheet with the representation of the Judgment in the corner.[119] Although written sources also record some separate tapestries featuring the Judgment, these



[116] See also Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 211.
[117] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 211–29.
[118] Scot McKendrick, "The *Great History of Troy*: A Reassessment of the Development of a Secular Theme in Late Medieval Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 44–45.
[119] Paris, Louvre, RF 2140, see McKendrick, "The *Great History of Troy*," 47, 51, 59, 63–64.

drawings prove that in the second half of the fifteenth century the myth of Paris and the three goddesses usually formed part of a series of tapestries representing the entire Trojan story, accompanied with inscriptions.[120]

There are some other media, however, in which the Judgment of Paris appeared completely out of its narrative context in this period. It was often presented as *tableau vivant* during royal entries or festivities.[121] Its representation also survives in clay moulds and their casts dated to the second half of the fifteenth century (figs. 24, 26–27).[122] The composition of these objects is almost identical. A somewhat simplified version of it, with blank banderols, can be seen on the above-mentioned bronze medallion from the Spitzer Collection (fig. 22).[123] The importance of the Spitzer medallion for the interpretation of the four books of hours is that, to my knowledge, it is the only example where the Judgment of Paris scene is paired with an image of the Virgin Mary, similarly to the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours: the verso side of the medallion shows the allegorical Annunciation (fig. 23). Paul Durrieu has also linked this object to the Aix-en-Provence manuscript.[124] Therefore, the medallion merits a brief digression in order to assess its connection with the prayer books from Rouen.



[120] McKendrick, "The *Great History of Troy*," 64.
[121] In Bruges in 1463, in Lille in 1468, in Antwerp in 1494, in Brussels in 1496; see McKendrick, "The *Great History of Troy*," 80. A depiction of the latter is preserved in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (ms. 78 D 5.1, fol. 57r), see Paula Nuttall, "Reconsidering the Nude: Northern Tradition and Venetian Innovation," in *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*, ed. Sherry C. M. Lindquist (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 172, 304–305, pl. 8.
[122] Moulds: a fragment in the Musée Curtius, Liège, inv. no. I.16.28, see Holl, "Gotische Tonmodel," 32; Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum, Zürich, see "Ankäufe," 20, pl. 2; formerly in the collection of Albert Figdor, see Bode and Volbach, *Gotische Formmodel*, 43. Cast: Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, see Blanchet, "Sur une plaquette," 235.
[123] Beside the Spitzer medallion, in his catalogue Émile Molinier lists three other bronze medallions with somewhat different compositions, which he dates to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century and considers as German production. He interprets their subject as the Legend of the King of Mercia. See Molinier, *Les Bronzes*, 180–83. I will not deal with them here, because two of them are untraceable, while the third one turned out to be an eighteenth-century imitation. See in connection with the copy preserved in the V&A, London (inv. no. A.491-1910): "V&A, Search the Collection," accessed May 16, 2017, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O89824/the-legend-of-the-king-medallion-unknown/.
[124] Durrieu, "La Légende," 170.

# 1. The Bronze Medallion from the Spitzer Collection

Regarding its localisation, both the composition of the Judgment of Paris scene and the composition of the allegorical Annunciation relates the Spitzer medallion to a corpus of clay moulds whose origin Wilhelm von Bode and Wolfgang Fritz Volbach located to the Middle Rhine region, based on the language of the inscriptions and their place of discovery.[125] However, some pieces unknown for Bode and Volbach testify a wider dissemination of the clay moulds with the Judgment scene. A fragment of a vase with the same composition was discovered in the Seine and, according to Adrien Blanchet, it was probably produced in Savigny (Oise).[126] In addition, a fragment of a mould with an almost identical composition was unearthed in Liège (fig. 26).[127] Another negative form, with a simplified and modified composition, was found in the Castle of Kőszeg, Hungary (fig. 27).[128] This demonstrates that the use of clay moulds and casts with the representation of the Judgment of Paris was not confined to the Middle Rhine region, but was present in North-France and in the Netherlands, and, albeit in a simplified form, it even reached Hungary.

Compositional analogies in other media also show more or less similar patterns of dissemination. The allegorical Annunciation depicted in the clay moulds probably originates from a print produced in Northern France, perhaps in Artois in the mid-fifteenth century (fig. 29).[129] The print's composition corresponds with the clay moulds' almost to the slightest detail, despite the transformation from a rectangular to a rounded shape. At the same time, the closest

[125] Bode and Volbach, *Gotische Formmodel*, 13–14, 24. Clay moulds with the same composition of the allegorical Annunciation: a piece formerly in the Figdor collection, Vienna; another now in the Landesmuseum, Mainz; see Bode and Volbach, *Gotische Formmodel*, 41. A clay medallion (it is not clear if it is a negative or a positive form) is also preserved in the Musée céramique de Sèvres (fig. 25); see Blanchet, "Sur une plaquette," 236–38. There is also a zinc medallion with this subject in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg; see Bode and Volbach, *Gotische Formmodel*, 42.
[126] Now it is in the Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, see Blanchet, "Sur une plaquette," 235.
[127] Holl, "Gotische Tonmodel," 327.
[128] Holl, "Gotische Tonmodel," 325–34.
[129] Henri Bouchot, *Les Deux Cents Incunables xylographiques du Département des estampes* (Paris: Libraire Central des Beaux-Arts, 1903), 241, pl. 79, no. 145.

relative of the Judgment scene in the clay moulds can be found in a manuscript of the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, produced in central France c. 1470 (fig. 28). The form of the fountain and the pose of the figures are almost identical, with the exception of slight changes in the position of the arms of two goddesses. Both the miniature and the clay moulds are close to the already mentioned engravings by the Master with the Banderols and dated to the third quarter of the fifteenth century (figs. 30–31).[130] However, since both engravings differ from the miniature and the clay moulds in some important details, they could not serve as a model either for the clay moulds or for the miniature. It is more logical to suppose the existence of a now lost image, probably a print, whose composition was nearly identical with the clay moulds' and the miniature's, and that may have inspired the works of the Master with the Banderols too.[131]

To summarize, the dissemination of the clay moulds and casts as well as the circulation of the composition of both the Judgment and the allegorical Annunciation theoretically allow to broaden the possibilities of the Spitzer medallion's localisation. Beside the Middle Rhine region, it might have been produced in the Netherlands or in Northern France, closer to the origin of the four books of hours.

At the same time, there are some telling differences between the Judgment of Paris scenes in the books of hours and the depiction in the bronze medallion, which shed a light on the possibility of their relation. While in the bronze medallion (and in the other, above-mentioned objects that belong to this group) it is the goddess in the middle who turns her back to the beholder, in the books of hours it is the goddess standing at the end of the row (fig. 22 *versus* figs. 33, 35–36). Another significant difference is that in the books of hours (except the

[130] Jung, *La Légende*, 543. Lehrs, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, 134–38, no. 90-91, pl. 109. The Master with the Banderols was active c. 1450–75 in Geldern or Overijssel; see "Albertina, Sammlungen Online," accessed May 17, 2017, http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at

[131] Holl also supposed that the Master with the Banderoles copied some elements from another representation of the Judgment of Paris, but he did not know about the manuscript illumination; see Holl, "Gotische Tonmodel," 333.

Villefosse Hours) the horse of Paris, first mentioned in Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae*, is depicted behind the fountain.[132] These differences preclude a direct connection between the bronze medallion and the books of hours. Still, a similar idea could lay behind the pairing of the Judgment of Paris scene with the Virgin Mary in the Spitzer medallion and in the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours.[133]

However, the medallion cannot help to interpret the mythological scene in the manuscript, because, despite its compositional relations with the clay moulds, it remains a very perplexing object. Nothing is known about its function or its earlier provenance, and for almost a hundred years, even its whereabouts have been unknown.[134] Moreover, the fact that the Spitzer Collection contained many forgeries commissioned by Frédéric Spitzer himself may even give rise to suspicion about its authenticity.[135] Therefore, although at first glance the Spitzer medallion seemed to be a promising analogy, it is better to discard it from the further investigation.

## B. The Closest Parallel: the Judgment in the *Épistre d'Othéa* from Oxford

The above-mentioned peculiarities connect the representations of the Judgment of Paris in the books of hours to the depiction of the same subject in a copy of the *Épistre d'Othéa* now in Oxford (fig. 32). Here, as in the books of hours, the goddess on the right turns his back to the



[132] On the textual source of the horse, see Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 212.
[133] According to Durrieu, the value of virginity links the two subjects, but this interpretation cannot be upheld, because it was based on the erroneous identification of the Judgment scene as the Legend of the King of Mercia (Durrieu, "La Légende," 164–65).
[134] Last documented in the colletion of Albert Figdor in Vienna, see Bode and Volbach, *Gotische Formmodel*, 42–43. About its late provenance, see note 6.
[135] Charles Truman, "Jewelry and Precious Objects," in *The Robert Lehman Collection*, vol. XV, *Decorative Arts*, ed. Elizabeth L. Block (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 96–99. The other allegedly fifteenth-century German bronze medallion from the Spitzer collection that also represents the Judgment of Paris (London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. no. A.491-1910) is now identified as an eighteenth-century imitation; see "V&A Search the Collection".

beholder, while the two others are depicted frontally.[136] The similarity is the closest with one of the New York books of hours (M 312), where the nude figure surmounting the fountain also echoes the urinating statue of the miniature in Bodl. 421 (fig. 33). The Oxford manuscript was illuminated in Lille between c. 1467–77 with hasty, coloured pen-drawings.[137] Anne-Marie Barbier proved that the iconographic cycle of the manuscript, together with an unfinished cycle in an early fifteenth-century copy (Beauvais, BM, ms. 9), with which it shows considerable similarities, goes back to a now lost manuscript.[138] Margaret J. Ehrhart suggests—and traces of mechanic reproduction confirm her point—that the miniatures in Bodl. 421 were copied directly from a model.[139] Although there are some traces of the lost cycle in other manuscripts of the *Épistre d'Othéa* and in the printed edition published by Philippe Pigouchet c. 1499, the Judgment of Paris does not turn up in this form in any of them.[140] Therefore, it is presently impossible to ascertain if the composition of the Judgment in Bodl. 421 comes from the lost original iconographic cycle, or from elsewhere. Its similarity with the Judgment scene in the books of hours proves that either Bodl. 421 itself, or the model that Bodl 421 used, or another representation of the myth with a very similar composition must have been available in Rouen in the third quarter of the fifteenth century in some form.

This iconographic analysis demonstrates that the Judgment of Paris as a separate image enjoyed a certain popularity in the second half of the fifteenth century in various media, and this might have contributed to the insertion of this mythological scene in the margin of the books of hours.



[136] The only exception is M 131, but here the restricted place forced the illuminator to paint all of them frontally (fig. 34).
[137] Anne-Marie Barbier, "Le Cycle iconographique perdu de l'Epistre Othea de Christine de Pizan: Le Cas des manuscrits Beauvais, BM 09 et Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 421," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanists* 16 (2008): 283–84.
[138] Barbier, "Le Cycle iconographique," 279–99.
[139] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 221–22; Barbier, "Le Cycle iconographique," 283, note 32.
[140] Barbier, Le Cycle iconographique," 290. The iconographic cycle in the manuscript in Beauvais is incomplete, only the first forty-two miniatures were prepared, which means that chapter 68 and 73, discussing the story of the Judgment of Paris, remained without illustration; see Mombello, *La tradizione manoscritta dell "Epistre Othea"*, 125.

However, due to the lack of context, the meaning or perception of the Judgment on these individual depictions remain elusive, and they do not bring us closer to the interpretation of the books of hours. At the same time, the compositional characteristics of the representations of the Judgment in the books of hours (especially those of M 312) link them more closely to a manuscript of the *Épistre d'Othéa* produced in Lille (Bodl. 421). Since the means of transfer of this composition are far from being clear, this similarity alone does not mean that the interpretation of the Judgment in the prayer books can be based on the *Épistre d'Othéa*. Both the literary and the visual tradition of the Judgment of Paris can only offer a background and not a direct key for the myth's interpretation in the books of hours. Therefore, after establishing the relationship between the four manuscripts in the next chapter, in Chapter VI I will focus on the visual context in which this mythological scene appears in the books of hours in order to decipher its meaning.

# V. The Relation between the Four Books of Hours

The main question that emerges when examining the relation between the four Rouen books of hours is where the idea of inserting the Judgment of Paris scene into a prayer book comes from. Was it the Flemish illuminator of the Villefosse Hours, the most talented illuminator among them from a stylistic point of view, who introduced this new iconography into the manuscript painting of Rouen? Or did he only adopt an iconography already developed in Rouen when he got a commission from a patron from this region? As described in Chapter I.A, three out of the four books of hours containing the representation of the Judgement of Paris can be dated to around the same time, roughly to the second half of the 1470s. These unprecise data do not help much in establishing a chronological order among them. Therefore, in order to answer the questions above, I will analyse the iconographic and compositional relations between the individual miniatures and compare the pictorial cycle of the four books of hours.

At first glance, the two manuscripts from New York seem to be very close to each other. Several compositions, such as the Visitation, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, and the Lamentation, are nearly identical (figs. 38–45). The layout and the iconography of the Penitent David and its accompanying images are also very similar (figs. 3–4). The Judgement of Paris is inserted in both codices in the left part of the lower margin. In M 312, it is placed in the same landscape as the Bathing Bathsheba, while in M 131 the Death of Absalom separates the two scenes from each other. From the point of view of the marginal images, the two manuscripts differ considerably. In M 131, the traditional New Testament scenes are accompanied in the borders by two or more smaller depictions. They are usually narrative extensions of the main image (figs. 40, 44, 68), but in some cases, they represent Old Testament scenes that can be familiar from typological cycles, such as the *Biblia pauperum* or the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (figs. 38, 42, 52). However, they seem to be incorrectly placed,

since none of them is linked with its traditional New Testament counterpart.[141] In contrast, in M 312 marginal images are rather the exception than the rule. In the border of the Annunciation, they expand the main scene into a cycle about the youth of the Virgin, and with the exception of the Judgment, the small scenes around the Penitent David are also narrative extensions (figs. 3, 69). Only the depiction of the Tree of Jesse is surrounded by Old Testament scenes, namely a Genesis cycle (fig. 77).[142] These differences in the marginal decoration exclude that one of the two New York books of hours could have copied the other, and rather point towards a common model that could have been responsible for the similarities.

The relation of the Villefosse Hours to the New York manuscripts also suggests the existence of a common model. First, there is a striking similarity between the representation of the Judgement of Paris in the Villefosse Hours and in M 312 (figs. 33, 36). The posture of the three goddesses is almost identical, the one on the right turns her back towards us, while the other two are depicted frontally, both raising their right hand. The motif of the naked statue on the top of the fountain also links these images. The representations of the Three Living and Three Dead also make us think if one illuminator copied the other (figs. 46–47). All the details of the three living men's posture in the Villefosse Hours echoes the figures in M 312, and the skeletons are also very close to each other. In the border, both illuminators painted a skeleton chasing a living figure or two with a spear in the one hand and a lid of a coffin in the other. Although this topic became widespread both in Rouen and in the Netherlands, I know no other representations that would be as close to this compositional solution as those in the Villefosse



[141] See Appendix II. For the representations of the *Biblia pauperum*, see Gerhard Schmidt and Alfred Weckwerth, "Biblia pauperum," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, vol. 1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 294–96. For the subjects in the Speculum humanae salvationis, see: Bert Cardon, *Manuscripts of the "Speculum humanae salvationis" in the Southern Netherlands (c. 1410 - c. 1470): A Contribution to the Study of the 15th Century Book Illumination and of the Function and Meaning of Historical Symbolism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1996), 363–67.

[142] For a more extensive discussion of the pictorial program of the New York books of hours, see Chapter VI.C.

Hours and in M 312.[143] This means either that one of them copied the other, or that they faithfully followed a common model. The examination of the entire iconographic cycle of the Villefosse Hours makes it clear that the Flemish illuminator could not have followed the New York manuscripts. Like in M 131, Old Testament scenes appear in the margins of the Villefosse Hours as well, but in contrast with the New York manuscript, here the typological connections are correct, and correspond perfectly with the cycle of the most popular typological book, the *Biblia pauperum* (figs. 65–66).[144] Could the Villefosse Hours serve as a model for the other books of hours containing the representation of the Judgement of Paris, meaning that this iconography was "imported" from the Netherlands to Rouen?

A detail of the Judgment of Paris scenes in the three books of hours from the circle of the Master of the Échevinage excludes that the New York manuscripts would have copied the Villefosse Hours. They all depict the horse of Paris, a motif going back to Guido delle Colonne's text and represented also in the above mentioned miniature of the Oxford *Épistre d'Othéa* whose composition is the closest to the Judgment of M 312 (figs. 32–35).[145] It is more likely that the illuminator of the Villefosse Hours simply omitted this detail (fig. 36), than that any of the masters working on the other three books of hours added it. It is improbable that they would have revised an already available image based on a text including Guido's version of the Judgment to illustrate a codex with a completely different content.

Several other observations also suggest that the invention did not come from the Netherlands, but was born in Rouen. First, no other book of hours from the Netherlands are known to contain a depiction of the Judgement of Paris; it seems to be a peculiarity of Rouen. Secondly, accepting

[143] From Rouen: Paris, BnF, Arsenal 429, fol. 23 (c. 1480); London, V&A, Reid 11 (c. 1480); Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 241, fol. 92r (workshop of the Master of the Échevinage, c. 1480). From the Netherlands: London, BL, Egerton 1147, fol. 156r (Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, c. 1500); Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis E 108, fol. 109v (Bruges, 1488–95).
[144] See Appendix II. For a more detailed analysis of the iconographic program of the Villefosse Hours and the meaning of the Judgment in it, see Chapter VI.B.
[145] Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 212–13.

the dating of the Aix-en-Provence Hours, it was produced earlier than the Villefosse Hours, proving that although it pairs the mythological scene not with King David, but with the Virgin Mary, the idea to paint the Judgement of Paris on the margin of a book of hours already existed in Rouen in the 1460s or c. 1470. Moreover, the only other example known for me where a mythological representation appears in the border decoration of a book of hours (apart from the calendar), also comes from the entourage of the Master of the Échevinage of Rouen. This manuscript from c. 1470 features a medallion under the Visitation that depicts Hercules chasing Nessus who raped his wife, Dejanira (fig. 72).

In addition, the illuminator of the Villefosse Hours adapted himself without doubt to the Rouen iconographic tradition at least at one point. The depiction of the four evangelists within one miniature divided into four compartments is a recurrent iconographic type in Rouen books of hours, but has no trace in Flanders (figs. 50–53).[146] In contrast, the miniatures in the New York and Aix-en-Provence books of hours, for example the representation of the Tree of Jesse, have their root in the illumination of Rouen (figs. 75–78).[147]

The question concerning the tradition of typological cycles in the marginal decoration is more difficult to answer. The Hours of Jean de Carpentin has a correct and full Old Testament typological cycle in the secondary decoration, i.e. in the historiated initials and in the borders (figs. 48–49).[148] Although it was painted by a Flemish illuminator, the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, it cannot prove in itself that the typological cycle of the Villefosse Hours originates in Flanders, and it is not inspired by Rouen tradition. First, Jean de Carpentin, its



[146] Rabel-Jullien, "Les Livres d'heures de Rouen," 76, Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei*, 273.
[147] A representation of the Visitation where St Joseph is standing between the two women can be found in two other books of hours from Rouen: Nantes, Musée Dobrée, ms. 34; New York, PML, M 172, fol. 33r. A similar image of the Lamentation is in a book of hours by the workshop of the Master of the Échevinage (New York, PML, M 1158, fol. 131r).
[148] James Marrow, preface to *Jean de Carpentin's Book of Hours: The Genius of the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book*, by Alixe Bovey (London: Holberton, 2011), 15–17.

commissioner, was also Norman, second, its illumination was much influenced by the Master of the Fitzwilliam 268, and third it is certainly later than the Villefosse Hours.[149]

A few Old Testament scenes, connected typologically to the major illustrations, do appear in the margins of Rouen books of hours, such as Moses and the Burning Bush related to the Nativity (fig. 55), or the Fall of Adam and Eve linked to the Annunciation.[150] The only known example with a full(er) cycle of Old Testament typological scenes in the margin, the Playfair Hours, was made in the 1480s (fig. 54).[151] Another book of hours from Rouen, also dated to the 1480s, has an extensive Old Testament cycle running in the margins, which partly follows the narrative of the Bible, partly stands in typological relation with the main scene (fig. 78).[152]

These examples are not early enough to prove that the books of hours containing the Judgment of Paris scene grew out of a well-developed tradition of typological programs in Rouen. However, a group of later manuscripts can confirm both the predilection of Rouen illuminators towards typological cycles and the creative role the Master of the Rouen Échevinage played in their invention. Ágnes Tóvizi gathered these manuscripts and analysed them in detail. She argues that in the 1470s the Master of the Échevinage created at least two typological cycles illustrating books of hours, one based on the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and preserved in a manuscript now in Baltimore, [153] the other following the *Biblia pauperum*. [154] The iconographic program of the latter can only be reconstructed with the help of a book of hours

[149] Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei*, 264–74.
[150] Hours of Saint-Lô (present whereabouts are unknown, c. 1470–75; see Rabel-Jullien, "Les Livres d'heures de Rouen," 168); Paris, BnF Arsenal 429, fol. 23r (c. 1480).
[151] Rowan Watson, *The Playfair Hours: A Late Fifteenth Century Illuminated Manuscript from Rouen* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), 61.
[152] Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Paul-Arbaud, ms. 13. On the one hand, the Genesis cycle around the Tree of Jesse is followed by the story of Cain and Abel around the next miniature, the Visitation. On the other hand, the Nativity is accompanied by the usual prefigurations of the Annunciation and the Birth of Christ: Gideon's Fleece, Moses and the Burning Bush, the Rod of Aaron; and the type of the Adoration of the Magi, the Queen of Sheba before Solomon (see Schmidt and Weckwerth, "Biblia pauperum," 294–96; Cardon, *Manuscripts*, 363–67).
[153] *Hours*, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 224, c. 1480.
[154] Ágnes Tóvizi, "Une oeuvre inconnue de Robert Boyvin à Budapest et les cycles vétéro-testamentaires dans les livres d'heures de Rouen," *Acta Historiae Artium* 46 (2006): 25–28.

now in Budapest (OSZK Cod. Lat. 227) and another in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (H 1), both painted by one of his pupils, Robert Boyvin, who presumably closely followed the model provided by his master.[155] The peculiarity of these cycles is that the visual hierarchy of the Old and New Testament scenes is reversed. The Old Testament event occupies the major place on the page, while the New Testament scene is either relegated to the lower margin, or completely omitted as in the case of Boyvin's New York and Budapest books of hours.

In the light of all these arguments, I put forward the suggestion that the Master of the Échevinage might have created a cycle of illustrations consisting of the traditional New Testament events in the main place and a more-or-less full series of their Old Testament type in the margins that also included the representation of the Judgment of Paris linked to the Penitent David. It would mean that the Villefosse Hours followed this now lost earlier model, while both New York Hours display a corrupted and incomplete version of it. Since compared to the dense network of similarities between the other three manuscripts the Aix-en-Provence is connected relatively loosely to this group, I will deal with it in a separate chapter.[156]



[155] Tóvizi, "Une oeuvre inconnue," 25.
[156] See Chapter VI.D.

# VI. Interpreting the Judgment of Paris in the Books of Hours

## A. The Two New York Books of Hours

In three out of the four books of hours, the Judgment of Paris is juxtaposed with the praying King David: in the two New York manuscripts and in the Villefosse Hours (figs. 1, 3–4). As it is clear from the discussion of the literary tradition, so far no text has come to light that would explicitly link the Judgment of Paris with King David in Prayer. However, one of the marginal images in the two New York books of hours that accompany the Penitent David, namely the Bath of Bathsheba, might bring us closer to the origins of the idea to insert the Judgment into books of hours and to the way the beholder could have perceived this scene in such context.

The representation of King David repenting for his sins is the most common illustration for the Seven Penitential Psalms, an ordinary part of the books of hours, that consists of Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142.[157] While in the Villefosse Hours David is kneeling in a landscape, with God and his angel appearing in the sky (fig. 1), in the two New York manuscripts the scene is placed into a half-open interior, and next to the king the prophet Nathan is standing, who, pointing to God, rebukes David for killing Uriah and taking his wife, Bathsheba (figs. 3–4). This composition clearly refers to Psalm 50, the so-called *Miserere*, whose *titulus* in the Vulgate Bible directly links the fourth Penitential Psalm to David's adultery with Bathsheba: "*In finem. Psalmus David, cum venit ad eum Nathan propheta, quando intravit ad Bethsabee*".[158] In the marginal decoration, among the scenes from David's life, such as the Death of Absalom, David defeating Goliath, and David handing over the letter to Uriah in M 312, both New York books of hours feature the opening moment of David's fall, when he

[157] Clare L. Costley, "David, Bathsheba, and the Penitential Psalms," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57 (2004): 1244.
[158] Costley, "David, Bathsheba," 1241.

catches sight of the bathing Bathsheba.[159] The representation of the bathing Bathsheba is not without parallel in the margins of books of hours from Rouen. In the *bas-de-page* of a separate leaf from a manuscript dated to the last quarter of the fifteenth century Bathsheba, sitting fully dressed, only dips her legs in the water, while another medallion in the right border represents her encounter with King David.[160] In several other books of hours, some of them close to the style of the Master of the Échevinage, Bathsheba appears standing in the water naked.[161] In two manuscripts, made slightly later than the New York books of hours, the naked Bathsheba is even linked with the Rebuke of Nathan depicted in the main images (fig. 56).[162] In the New York manuscripts, the nude body of the bathing Bathsheba scene creates a visual link with the representation of the Judgment of Paris, where the three goddesses also appear naked apart from their headdresses and a thin veil covering their genitalia in M 312. Their connection is further emphasized in M 312 by their placement in the same landscape, while all the other marginal images are separated by golden frames (fig. 3). Since this visual link might offer a clue for interpreting the Judgment of Paris in the books of hours, the following section will discuss the meaning of the Bathing Bathsheba.

## 1. The Bathing Bathsheba in Books of Hours

Recent scholarship dealt intensively with the nude Bathsheba's appearance in books of hours.[163] In the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century, it became fashionable in



[159] In M 312 the scene in the left border is described in the online catalogue of the Pierpont Morgan Library as David arming himself before Saul (see "Corsair"). However, it should be identified as David sending a message with Uriah to Joab to place Uriah in the first line in the battle so that he will be killed (2 Samuel 11:14).
[160] *Hours*, New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, ms. 664, fol. 57r (1475–1500).
[161] E.g. *Hours*, London, BL, Harley 2989, fol. 73r (1460–70); *Hours*, New York, PML, M 144, fol. 57r (c. 1490).
[162] See also *Playfair Hours*, London, V&A, MSL/1918/475 (1480s or early 1490s).
[163] Costley, "David, Bathsheba," 1235–77. Thomas Kren, "Looking at Louis XII's Bathsheba," in *A Masterpiece Reconstructed. The Hours of Louis XII*, ed. Thomas Kren and Mark Evans (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2005), 43–61. Katharine Georgi, "La Bethsabée des Heures de Guyot Le Pleyel et le traitement du thème dans l'oeuvre de Jean Colombe," *Art de l'enluminure* 6, no. 21 (2007): 56–61. Mónica Ann Walker Vadillo, *Bathsheba in Late Medieval French Manuscript Illumination: Innocent Object of Desire or Agent of Sin?* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008). Thomas Kren, "Bathsheba Imagery in French Books of Hours Made for Women, c. 1470–1500," in *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends & Colleagues of Christopher de Hamel*, ed. James H. Marrow

French books of hours to devote a whole page miniature to the subject, where the female nude becomes the prominent visual element. These images have raised the question on how their sometimes not even concealed erotic character can be reconciled with the primarily devotional purpose of the prayer books. On the one hand, the general moral message of the biblical story, warning against sexual transgression, served as a good pretext for the representation of a female nude.[164] On the other hand, as Thomas Kren argued, the book of hours, used in private, provided a convenient medium for images, including erotic ones, that were intended for intimate observation.[165] In one known case, in a Flemish book of hours dated c. 1480–90, the intimate use of this type of prayer book even facilitated the insertion of a full-length female nude without any biblical reference that would justify its presence in a prayer book.[166]

The other, closely related question is whether Bathsheba should be considered as a seductress or as an innocent victim. In their study on this topic, both Mónica Ann Walker Vadillo and Elsa Guyot emphasise the ambiguous moral status of Bathsheba.[167] Certain motifs, such as a frivolous side gaze, red fruits offered by the servants that evoke the apple of the Fall, or a comb and a mirror echoing depictions of Vanity can present Bathsheba as a woman consciously arousing David's desire and thus equally responsible for the adultery.[168] On the other hand, a fully dressed Bathsheba putting only her feet in the water and lowering her eyes can be regarded as a passive object of the king's desire (fig. 59).[169] Accordingly, the erotic content of the representations can also vary from image to image, with the fully dressed figure at one extreme,



(Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2010), 169–80. Elsa Guyot, "Étude iconographique de l'épisode biblique "Bethsabée au bain" dans les livres d'heures des XVe et XVIe siècles," *Reti Medievali Rivista* 14 (2013): 263–84.
[164] Guyot, "Étude iconographique," 271.
[165] Kren, "Bathsheba Imagery," 169.
[166] Diane Wolfthal, "Sin or Sexual Pleasure? A Little Known Nude Bather in a Flemish Book of Hours," in *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*, ed. Sherry C. M. Lindquist (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 279−97. The manuscript's whereabouts are unknown, in 1991 it was at the Antiquariat Herbert Tenschert; see Wolfthal, "Sin or Sexual Pleasure," 292, note 4.
[167] Walker Vadillo, *Bathsheba*, 101; Guyot, "Étude iconographique," 278–79.
[168] Walker Vadillo, *Bathsheba*, 63, 96–99.
[169] Walker Vadillo, *Bathsheba*, 85.

and the full-length nude with exposed genitalia at the other extreme. For the latter, one of the most delicate examples is probably the cut page from the Hours of Guyot Le Pleyel (fig. 58).[170] Thomas Kren pointed out that the books of hours containing the most explicitly erotic representations of Bathsheba all belonged to men, as far as the ownership of the manuscripts is known.[171]

This discourse on the figure of Bathsheba can provide a useful frame for interpreting the same scene in the two New York books of hours, but some important differences should be taken into consideration. First, although Bathsheba appears naked in both depictions, the erotic potential of the image cannot unfold due to its restricted size. A figure of around two centimetre cannot have the same sensual appeal as a whole-page figure, not even if—counting in the three goddesses—there are several of them.

Second, both New York books of hours were most probably intended for a female user. In M 312, a woman is kneeling in front of the Pieta illustrating a French prayer, the *Fifteen Joys of the Virgin* (fig. 45).[172] The ownership of M 131 is more complex. In the margin of fol. 45r, a kneeling couple appears, with two yet unidentified coats of arms that seem to be painted over with blue colour (fig. 57). The husband's blazon, placed between the two figures in the lower margin is sable, with an unrecognizable motif and on a chief or six cinquefoils gules. The wife's coat of arms merges on one shield her husband' and her own family's, the latter is gules, with helmet or. The couple is kneeling under a depiction of Saint Anne instructing the young Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist standing by them. The double suffrage dedicated to Saint John the Baptist and Saint Anne and their combined image accompanied by the praying couple

[170] For the fully dressed version, see San Marino, The Huntington Library, HM 1170, fol. 54r (Walker Vadillo, *Bathsheba*, fig. 3). The leaf from the Le Pleyel Hours, now in private collection, was sold by the Galerie Jörn Günther in Hamburg 6 May 2006, see Georgi, "La Bethsabée des Heures de Guyot Le Pleyel," 61, fig. 1.
[171] Kren, "Bathsheba Imagery," 170.
[172] Although the text uses masculine forms, the praying woman indicates that the book probably belonged to a female owner; see "Corsair," accessed Apr. 26, 2017, http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0312a.pdf.

identify them as the patron saints of the owners, whose names accordingly must have been Jean and Anne.[173] However, in front of the Pieta illustrating here again the *Fifteen Joys of the Virgin*, only the woman appears (fig. 44). This detail confirms what Hanno Wijsman proposed at a more general level in connection with the corpus of manuscripts illuminated in the Netherlands between 1400 and 1550, namely that in many cases those books that bear the ownership marks of a couple actually belonged to the wife.[174] On the other hand, the emphatic depiction of the couple and their coat of arms may suggest that the codex was commissioned on the occasion of their marriage, that is all the more probable, because books of hours often served as wedding gifts.[175]

What can the Bath of Bathsheba mean for a woman? Thomas Kren presented alternative solutions of the subject intended for women. In the Hours of Anne of France, the fully dressed, discreet Bathsheba serves as a model for the teenage owner standing on the verge of marriage how to accept a man's approach (fig. 59).[176] In contrast, a sensual Bathsheba could provide either a negative moral example, or, according to Kren in the case of a manuscript for a young woman from the Prieur de Chantelon family, "an example of proscribed sexual behaviour."[177] As a third option, Kren explains the representation of Bathsheba in the Hours of Marguerite de Coëtivy as an attempt to make the image of the royal mistress acceptable—referring to the grandmother of the owner, Agnes Sorel, the lover of Charles VII.[178]



[173] "Corsair," accessed Apr. 26, 2017, http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0131a.pdf.
[174] Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands; 1400–1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 134–37.
[175] Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7 (1982): 758; Virginia Reinburg, "«For the Use of Women»: Women and Books of Hours," *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 4 (2009): 236; Sandra Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Jane H. M. Taylor (London: The British Library, 1996), 270.
[176] Kren, "Bathsheba Imagery," 171.
[177] Kren, "Bathsheba Imagery," 171–72.
[178] Kren, "Bathsheba Imagery," 175–78.

Of course, these interpretations cannot be applied to the New York books of hours without modifications. Kren's examples are not only whole page representations, but also elaborated and individualized renderings of the subject, in contrast with the simpler, more schematic depictions in the New York manuscripts. In addition, especially in the case of the Hours of Marguerite de Coëtivy, Kren's interpretation relies very much on the personal background of the owner, about which nothing is known in the case of the New York books of hours. The most useful concept among those offered by Kren seems to be Bathsheba as negative moral example. The main image on the page depicting the Rebuke of Nathan, which, as far as I know, has no earlier example from Rouen than the New York manuscripts, confirms this interpretation.[179] At the same time, the Bathing Bathsheba scene in the margin—and in M 131 the lack of reference to Uriah's murder—posits the sexual transgression as the sin David has to regret.[180] Although the Rebuke of Nathan presents David as responsible for the adultery, this does not automatically exculpate Bathsheba, since her naked body indicates that her exposed beauty led to the king's sin. For a female reader this would present how dangerous impact beauty can have on men, and thus warn against the sin of vanity.

Using the story of David and Bathsheba as a negative example for young girls against the exposition of the body and much care for fleshly beauty, and blaming Bathsheba's vanity for David's sins (adultery and murder), has its textual analogy. Geoffroy de la Tour Landry in his didactic book intended for the education of her daughters says that the cause of David's double sin was Bathsheba combing her hair, and he warns them against vanity and displaying their



[179] The Rebuke of Nathan became popular from the 1480s onwards in books of hours from Rouen. It appears in the following books of hours. *Hours*, Paris, BnF, Arsenal 429, fol. 57r (c. 1480); see Claudia Rabel-Jullien, "Les Livres d'heures de Rouen," 163. *Playfair Hours*, London, V&A, MSL/1918/475 (late 1480s, early 1490s); see Watson, *The Playfair Hours*, 61. *Hours*, New York, PML, M 144, fol. 57r (c. 1490). *Hours*, New York, PML, M 220, fol. 66r (c. 1500).

[180] Clare L. Costley argued that the representation of the bathing Bathsheba heading the Penitential Psalms associated sin in general—and David's sin in particular—with sexual transgression. Costley, "David, Bathsheba," 1247–52.

body to the world.[181] Geoffroy's book, written in the late fourteenth century, was quite popular in the fifteenth century, but in absence of data on the place of production or provenance of its manuscripts, it is impossible to say how much this text was known in Rouen in the second half of the century.[182] In any case, it can serve as a useful analogy for presenting Bathsheba for women as negative example against vanity.

## 2. The Bathing Bathsheba Paired with the Judgment of Paris

The danger of female beauty and the sinful consequences of exposing the body to the male gaze provide an interpretative framework in which the Judgment of Paris scene can fit. There is a group of objects, the only one known for me that links the bathing Bathsheba with this mythological subject, that, although in an indirect way, could support such an interpretation. This group consists of five carved ivory combs that have a depiction of Bathsheba bathing in a fountain on one side, and the dream version of the Judgment on the other (fig. 60).[183] The carvings are close to each other both in their style and in their iconography. King David appears in a tower, while his messenger is delivering his letter to Bathsheba, who is usually accompanied by one or in one case three, female servants.[184] The representations of the Judgment of Paris also have their peculiarity: on three out of the five pieces, the goddesses

[181] *Si se lavoit et pingnoit a une fenestre dont le roy la povoit bien veoir; sy avoit moult beau chief et blont. Et par cela le roy en fut tempté et la manda […]. Et ainsi pecha le roy David doublement, en luxure et en homicide [...]. Et tout ce pechié vint pour soy pingnier et soy orguillir de son beau chief […]. Sy se doit toute femme cachier [...] ne ne se doit pas orguiller, ne monstrer, pour plaire au monde son bel chef, ne sa gorge, ne sa poitrine, ne riens qui se doit tenir couvert.* Geoffroy de la Tour Landry, *Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles*, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris: P. Jannet, 1854), 154–55. "She washed and combed her hair [standing] before a window where the king could see her clearly; she had very beautiful and blonde hair. And as a result the king was tempted by this and sent for her. And so King David sinned doubly by lust and by murder. And all his sinfulness came from her combing her beautiful hair and her pride in it. Every woman should cover herself, and should not take pride in herself, nor display herself so as to please the world with her beautiful hair, nor her neck, nor her bosom, nor anything that should be kept covered." Translation in Kren, "Looking," 50. See also Walker Vadillo, *Bathsheba*, 97.

[182] Out of twenty surviving manuscripts fourteen come from the fifteenth century, and there is no data on five; see "Arlima".

[183] Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA143; London, V&A, inv. nos. 2143-1855 and 468-1869; Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, inv. no. 345; and a fragment in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 66.974.

[184] There is no servant on the Louvre piece, and there are three on one of the combs from the V&A (inv. no. 468-1869).

have an attribute in their hands: Pallas holds an arrow, Juno a sword, and Venus a small casket.[185] Philippe Malgouyres's explanation that the power of female beauty over men links together the biblical and the mythological scene sounds all the more plausible, since this meaning is perfectly fitting for a comb, a tool of grooming.[186]

Although based on their style the combs were produced presumably in Northern France (Malgouyres even localizes them to Normandy), a direct influence between the ivory carvings and the books of hours is not probable, because the combs can be dated c. 1520–30, roughly half a century later than manuscripts.[187] I think it is also unlikely that the two New York books of hours could have stimulated the pairing of these representations on the combs. First, the chronological gap between them is too large. Second, this iconography in the books of hours seems to be quite restricted in terms of time, there is no trace that it would have direct followers in later manuscripts or in other media. Third, no compositional feature or motif would assume a direct link between the miniatures and the ivories. However, the general concept behind linking these representations, namely the power of female beauty over men, can be the same in both cases. Of course, this generic idea transforms into different meanings in different contexts. On the combs, the power of beauty certainly has positive connotations, it promotes the care for one's physical appearance, and thus the product itself on which these subjects are depicted. In a prayer book, the power of beauty has obviously different overtones, and the Rebuke of Nathan in the main scene makes it clear that here the emphasis is on the disastrous effects of female beauty. It led David into adultery and murder, while Paris's choice of Helen, the most beautiful mortal woman caused Troy's destruction.



[185] On the Boston, Louvre, and one of the Victoria and Albert Museum's combs (inv. no. 468-1869). On the Victoria and Albert Museum's piece, Venus also holds a cup. For the identification of the goddesses, see: Philippe Malgouyres, *Ivoires du Musée du Louvre, 1480–1850* [Exhibition catalogue], Dieppe, Château-Musée (Paris: Somogy Édition d'Art, 2005), 46.
[186] Malgouyres, *Ivoires*, 46–48.
[187] Malgouyres, *Ivoires*, 48.

Regarding the assessment of the power of female beauty, opposite of its praise and promotion on the combs, at the other end of the scale a group of misogynous texts stands that blame women and especially their seductive beauty for the fall of several famous men, from ancient mythology and history as well as from the Old Testament. Paris and David often figure on such lists. They are mentioned one after the other in a poem by Hildebert of Lavardin (1055–1133): "A woman deprived Paris of his sense and Uriah of his life, / David of his virtue and Solomon of his faith."[188] Although they appear further apart from each other, they cannot miss from the more exhaustive list of women with destructive impact provided by an anonymous poem from the late fifteenth century, the *Grant malice des femmes*.[189] While the availability of these texts is questionable in the second half of the fifteenth century in Rouen, there is a very popular and widespread work, certainly known in Rouen that also attributes both the fall of Troy and the sin of David to the beauty of a woman.[190] This is the *Le Livre du trésor* by Brunetto Latini (c. 1220–94), a copy of which was illuminated by the Master of the Échevinage in Rouen c. 1470.[191] In connection with foolish love, Brunetto says:

> it happened several times that love seized them so much that they had no power of their own […] and in this way they lost their sense […] such as […] David, the prophet, who for the beauty of Bathsheba had [Uriah] murdered and

[188] *[…] femina mente Parim, vita spolavit Uriam, / et pietate David, et Salomona fide […]* Hildebertus Lavardinensis, *Carmina minora*, ed. A. Brian Scott (Leipzig: Teubner, 1969), 40. Translation in Kren, "Bathsheba Imagery," 169.

[189] *Paris fuma, / puis s'aluma / D'amour soubdaine; / Sa nef arma; / Tant escuma / Que print Heleine / De beaulté pleine, / Don't clamour vaine / La cite de Troye enflamma; […] E lirons de la mort Urie. / Pour Belsabé sa mulier. / David la vit bien despoiller / Et laver en une fontaine. / Elle fut de grand beaulté plaine, / Le roy David la convoita; / Vers Urie tant exploita, / En la mort machina par lettre.* Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Recueil de poésies françoises des XVe et XVIe siècles*, vol. 5, *Morales, facétieuses, historiques* (Paris: P. Jannet, 1856), 309, 312. "Paris fumed, then burst into flames by love that came all of a sudden, he armed his ship, and pirated so that he took the beautiful Helen, because of this vain request he set the city of Troy on fire. And we read about the death of Uriah, because of Bathsheba, his wife. David saw her taking off her clothes and having a bath in a fountain. She was very beautiful, King David desired her, and he acted against Uriah so that he sent him to death by a letter." (My rough translation.)

[190] All the manuscripts containing Hildebert's poem come from the twelfth or thirteenth century, see A. Brian Scott, preface to *Carmina minora*, by Hildebertus Lavardinensis, viii–xiv. As for the *Grant malice des femmes*, I know about one late-fifteenth-century manuscript (Poitiers, BM, ms. 215), see Karen Pratt, "Adapting the Rose for New Manuscript Contexts: The Case of Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 215," *Mediaevistik* 28 (2015): 184.

[191] Brunetto Latini: *Le Livre du trésor*, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, ms. 160; see Rabel, "Artiste et clientele," 53.

> committed adultery, […] everybody knows about Troy, how it was destroyed […].[192]

It is hard to prove that Brunetto's passage or another specific misogynous text directly inspired the insertion of the Judgment scene next to a representation of the Bathing Bathsheba. Even if the Master of the Échevinage illuminated Brunetto's work, he probably did not read the whole, since only the incipit of each book is illustrated, the chapters are only illuminated with ornamental decoration. However, the popularity of Brunetto's work and the recurrent appearance of both David and Paris (or Troy) on these misogynous lists makes it likely that their story put in this context was widely known, prehaps by the readers of the New York books of hours and by the inventor of their iconography as well.[193]

The question may emerge why the Judgment of Paris is paired with the Bath of Bathsheba in the books of hours, if the texts do not mention the Judgment, but they blame Helen and Paris's love for her. It can be argued that it was the Judgment when Paris opted for a woman, and it is appropriate to depict his choice as the crucial moment of the story that sealed Troy's fate.[194] However, instead of searching for philological answers for the illuminator's choice of the Judgment, visual reasons as explanation can be more relevant and convincing. First, while the naked body of the goddesses and Bathsheba create a strong visual link and a forceful statement on the (dangerous and sinful) effect of exposed female beauty and sensuality, to my knowledge, no medieval image depicts Helen nude, she always appears elegantly dressed.[195] Thus, the



[192] *[…] il avient maintefoiz que amor les seurprent si fort que il n'ont nul pooir de soi meismes, […] et en ceste maniere perdent il lor sens […] si comme [..] David li prophetes, qui, por la biauté de Bersabée, fist murtre et avourtire; […] de Troi, comment ele fu destruite le sevent tuit […]*. Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou tresor*, ed. François Adrien Polycarpe Chabaille (Paris: Imrimière Impériale, 1863), 431–32.

[193] "Arlima" lists 92 manuscripts of the *Le Livre du trésor*.

[194] In the historical texts, Paris recites his dream on the Judgment to convince her father to let him lead the fleet against Greece to take revenge (Ehrhart, *The Judgment*, 34). Therefore, in this tradition there is a looser causal relation between the Judgment and the Fall of Troy, since the Trojans would have gone against Greece anyway.

[195] See e.g. *Ovide moralisée*, Paris, BnF, Arsenal 5069, fols. 161v, 162v, 163v (c. 1330); Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Roman de Troie*, Paris, BnF, fr. 60, fols. 42r, 59r (c. 1330); *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, Paris, BnF, fr. 254, fols. 51r, 53r (1467).

otherwise rich iconography of her abduction could not serve as a matching pendant for the Bathing Bathsheba.

In addition to this, another mythological subject whose composition is very close to that of the Bathing Bathsheba might have inspired the Judgment's juxtaposition with the Old Testament scene.[196] It is the representation of Diana and Actaeon, where the nude Diana, usually accompanied by nymphs, is bathing in a spring or in a fountain when the hunting Actaeon, a mortal young man catches sight of her (figs. 61–64).[197] Actaeon, who, as a punishment, is turned into a deer, is sometimes depicted as a human being, sometimes as half-human, half-deer, or as completely transformed into a deer.[198] The closest to the bathing Bathsheba scenes in the New York books of hours are those representations where fully dressed nymphs serve the goddess, and Actaeon is still a human (figs. 61, 63–64).[199] Both the version of Bathsheba standing in natural water as in M 131 and in a fountain as in M 312 have its parallels among the depictions of Diana and Actaeon.[200]

The myth is recounted and illustrated in the *Ovide moralisé*, which, as shown above, retells and interprets the Judgment of Paris as well. The manuscripts, however, where both stories are illustrated, all come from the fourteenth century and with the exception of the Lyon manuscript,

[196] Visual similarity might have played a role in the selection of marginal scenes on one of the pages in the already mentioned book of hours now in Aix-en-Provence, in the Bibliothèque Paul-Arbaud (ms. 13, fol. 69r). Here, the depiction of the Three Living and Three Dead heading the Office of the Dead is accompanied by the representation of Job visited by his friends, a subject sometimes illustrating this part of the books of hours on its own (see e.g. Carpentras, BM, ms. 61, fol. 91r, Rouen, c. 1480). The other two medallions, however, representing the Bath of Bathsheba and Susanna and the Elders, has no connection at all with the main topic. They are, however, not only linked to each other (the bathing woman watched by men), but also to the depiction of Job, whose naked body is also exposed to the gaze of his friends.

[197] On a more general level, Guyot also called the attention to the analogy between the figures of Bathsheba and Susanna on the one hand, and Diana and Venus on the other hand (Guyot, "Étude iconographique," 271).

[198] E.g. as human: Christine de Pizan, *Épistre d'Othéa*, Paris, BnF, fr. 606, fol. 32r; as half-human, half-deer: Christine de Pizan, *Épistre d'Othéa*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 421, fol. 49r; as deer: *Ovide moralisé*, Paris, BnF, fr. 137, fol. 31r.

[199] See also Christine de Pizan, *Épistre d'Othéa*, Paris, BnF, fr. 606, fol. 32r (first decade of the fifteenth century); London, BL, Harley 4431, fol. 126r (1410–c. 1414).

[200] E.g. in natural water: Christine de Pizan, *Épistre d'Othéa*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 421, fol. 49r; Lille, BM, ms. 391, fol. 67r; in fountain: Christine de Pizan, *Épistre d'Othéa*, Erlangen, Universitätbibliothek, ms. 2361, fol. 87v.

they represent the Three Ways of Life and not the Judgment itself.[201] Moreover, even in the Lyon copy the classical and not the dream version is depicted. The illustrations of Diana and Actaeon are also further from the Bathing Bathsheba, since Actaeon is already transformed into a deer, while the nymphs, all naked, are bathing together with Diana. The manuscripts of the *Épistre d'Othéa* provide the closest analogies for both the Bathing Bathsheba and the Judgment (figs. 32, 61, 63–64). Moreover, while in the *Ovide moralisé* more than a hundred folios separate the two subjects, in the book of Christine de Pizan, the chapters recounting the two myths directly follow each other, and thus their illustrations are only a few pages far from each other.[202] It seems telling that the closest compositional parallel of the Judgment in M 312 is from a copy of the *Épistre d'Othéa*, the aforementioned Bodl. 421 (fig. 32).[203] In this codex the Bath of Bathsheba and Diana are further apart, because in Bodl. 421 the goddess is standing in a lake or a river, while Bathsheba in the book of hours is bathing in a fountain. However, taken into consideration the similarity with the bathing Diana from other copies of the *Othéa* and its position adjacent to the Judgment, the hypothesis that a manuscript of the *Épistre d'Othéa* might have stimulated or contributed to the insertion of the Judgment in the books of hours seems tempting.

In short, both the ivory combs and the misogynous texts suggest that the link between the story of Paris and Bathsheba is the power of female beauty. In the context of the books of hours, placed in the border framing the image of Nathan rebuking David for his sins, the general meaning of the power of beauty turns into a warning, addressed to the female owner, against vanity and against exposing too much of the body to male gaze, because it leads to lust, sin and other disastrous consequences. Visual analogies between the representations of the bathing

[201] *Ovide moralisé*, Paris, BnF, Arsenal 5069, fols. 29v, 153v (c. 1330); Lyon, BM, ms. 742, fols. 30r, 186v (c. 1390); Rouen, BM, ms. 1044, fols. 74v, 286r (fourteenth century).
[202] In chapter 68, Christine tells the dream version of the Judgment, and in chapter 69, the story of Diana and Actaeon.
[203] Christine de Pizan, *Épistre d'Othéa*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 421, fol. 51v.

Bathsheba and Diana watched by Actaeon might also have inspired the association of the biblical scene with the Judgment of Paris, since the illustration of these two myths occur very close to each other in the manuscripts of the *Épistre d'Othéa*.

In the two New York hours, the Praying David is not the only scene whose margin is decorated with more or less related images. How does the page with the story of David and the Judgment fit into the whole pictorial cycle of the manuscripts, and what kind of iconographic "program" do the border decorations create? Before examining these questions, however, it is worth discussing the case of the Villefosse Hours, because it provides a more coherent cycle of marginal images that may serve as a useful point of reference in the analysis of the New York manuscripts.

## B. The Villefosse Hours

Although in the Villefosse Hours the Judgment of Paris scene appears also in the lower margin under the Praying David, here there are no other images in the border and no bathing Bathsheba to explain its association with the penitent king (fig. 1). Accepting the argumentation about the relation of the Villefosse Hours to the New York manuscripts, and the suggestion that the Bath of Bathsheba could have motivated the inclusion of this scene into the books of hours both visually and semantically, renders this arrangement in the Villefosse Hours as a derivative. Without knowing the New York versions, it is more difficult for the beholder of the manuscripts to decipher the meaning of this pairing. However, the other marginal decorations that add up to a coherent pictorial program can help with the interpretation.

In this manuscript, only the Matins and the Prime are illustrated among the Hours of the Virgin, with the Annunciation and the Nativity (fig. 66). Besides, the excerpts from the gospels, the Penitential Psalms, the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Spirit and the Office of the Dead are adorned with the usual opening images: the Four Evangelists, David in Prayer,

Crucifixion, Pentecost and the Three Living and Three Dead (figs. 46, 50, 65).[204] In the margin, all New Testament scenes are accompanied by their standard Old Testament prefiguration, well known from the two most popular typological works of the Late Middle Ages, the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis*.[205] The Annunciation is paired with the Fall of Adam and Eve, the Nativity with the prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl to Augustus and Moses and the Burning Bush, the Crucifixion with the Sacrifice of Isaac, and the Pentecost with Moses Receiving the Tables of the Law.[206] The Praying David, itself an Old Testament scene, obviously cannot have an Old Testament prefiguration. The otherwise correct typological cycle suggests that here the mythological scene, the Judgment of Paris plays the role of type.

I know of no other example where in a typological cycle a mythological scene prefigures an event from the Old Testament, though pagan-Christian typology is not without precedent. For example, early Christian writers considered Apollo, Orpheus, and Hercules as foreshadowing Christ.[207] However, here the ancient heroes are prefigurations of a New Testament figure, and not an Old Testament one. Although allegoresis is a different method than typology, the practice of attributing Christian allegorical meaning to classical myths, which was one of the most frequent ways of handling the classical legacy, most probably facilitated the insertion and the interpretation of the Judgment in a typological cycle.[208] It is enough to call to mind the *Ovide moralisé*, and the even more popular O*vidius moralizatus*, which, covering most of the material of classical mythology, contained a Christian interpretation of the Judgment as well.[209] These texts, however, interpret the Judgment as the Fall of Man, and the apple of Discord

[204] Durrieu, "La Légende," 152–55.
[205] See Appendix II. Schmidt and Weckwerth, "Biblia pauperum," 294–96; Cardon, *Manuscripts*, 363–67.
[206] For the description of the miniatures, see Durrieu, "La Légende," 152–56. Only the pages of the Four Evangelists, the Annunciation, the Praying David, the Crucifixion, and the Three Living and the Three Dead are known from reproduction (figs. 1, 46, 50, 65–66). Durrieu does not provide folio-numbers for the illustrated pages.
[207] David S. Berkeley, "Some Misapprehensions of Christian Typology in Recent Literary Scholarship," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 18 (1978): 5.
[208] Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1953), 84–95.
[209] See Chapter III.A

corresponds to the apple of Eve; there is no mention of King David at all. Thus, the readers of the books of hours had to mobilize their knowledge of the two subjects to create a link between them.[210] Choosing a woman for her beauty led to the moral fall of David and the existential fall of Troy: this is an analogy that even somebody with only a basic knowledge of the Judgment could have drawn between the two stories. And as the analysis of the manuscripts has demonstrated, the historical version was most probably available in Rouen in the second half of the fifteenth century. This meaning is quite close to that in the New York books of hours, except in the absence of the Bath of Bathsheba, the connection is less evident and less didactic, it emphasizes the destructive power of the sensual female body to a lesser degree, and it does not operate specifically as a warning against vanity. The moral message conveyed by this page about the wrongness of choices that follow lust is more generic.

Visually, the Judgment of Paris is in dialogue with another marginal image of the Villefosse Hours, the Fall of Adam and Eve (figs. 36, 66).[211] The nude bodies and the apple in the hand of Eve and the goddess in the middle create a clear connection between the two images. It is hard to tell how much the illuminator intended the two images as analogy, but the almost identical posture of Eve and the goddess suggests his conscious choice. The visual similarity could also have influenced the interpretation of an attentive beholder of the manuscript—and the owner(s) certainly used frequently and knew well their book of hours as it was the primary tool of private, probably daily, devotion.[212] Although this analogy echoes the interpretation of the Judgment in the *Ovide moralisé*, even without knowing this text one could recognize the Judgment as a parallel of the Fall of Adam and Eve, which—similarly due to a woman and an apple—resulted in the fall of a city. In conclusion, the Judgment of Paris has both vertical and

[210] In this case, there is no information on the gender of the owner.
[211] Due to the erroneous identification of the Judgment of Paris scene with the Legend of the King of Mercia, Durrieu failed to recognize this connection, and interpreted the Fall of Adam and Eve only in relation with the Annunciation. See Durrieu, "La Légende," 161–62.
[212] Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," 268–70.

horizontal connections within the pictorial cycle of the Villefosse Hours, and thus it provides a mythological analogy for an individual and, at the same time, for a universal fall, the fall of humankind.

## C. The Pictorial Cycle of the New York Books of Hours

Out of the two New York manuscripts, M 131 has the more significant cycle of marginal images.[213] Here, every main miniature is framed either by a decorative border with two small scenes, or by a border entirely consisting of small rectangular images divided by golden frames, completed by a turret with a prophet on the narrow inside margin. As noted above, compared to the accurate typological program of the Villefosse Hours, the cycle of the marginal images in M 131 is rather chaotic. Here the Old Testament scenes in the borders, instead of accompanying their usual New Testament antitype, seem to be sorted out randomly. Moses and the Burning Bush and the Sacrifice of Isaac appear in the border decoration of the miniature depicting the four evangelists (fig. 52). Gideon's Fleece, originally a prefiguration for the Annunciation in the *Biblia pauperum*, figures under the Flight into Egypt (fig. 42).[214] The marginal scene on the left, probably representing Jacob and his family on their way back to Canaan, fits the main image better, although it is a prefiguration for the Return of the Holy family in the *Biblia pauperum* and not for the Flight.[215] The Tiburtine Sybil's prophecy to Augustus, paired with the Nativity in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, appears under the Adoration of Magi in M 131 (fig. 67).[216]



[213] See Appendix II.
[214] Schmidt and Weckwerth, "Biblia pauperum," 294.
[215] The online catalogue of the Pierpont Morgan Library identifies the scene as Moses Leaving Egypt, but it is more likely that it represents Jacob returning to Canaan, because this subject also figures in the *Biblia pauperum* in contrast with the other one. See *Biblia pauperum*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. G c.14, fol. 8r (Germany, c. 1470). See also Schmidt and Weckwerth, "Biblia pauperum," 294.
[216] Cardon, *Manuscripts*, 364.

Almost all the rest of the main images are accompanied by scenes that extend their narrative. Only the Annunciation may deserve a remark. Its accompanying cycle seems to have a rather fixed iconography and a stable position in books of hours from Rouen (fig. 68). It is usually surrounded with scenes from the youth of the Virgin, even in the Playfair Hours, which has a more systematic typological "program" than M 131, or in books of hours otherwise without marginal images (fig. 70).[217] In M 312 too, the Annunciation is one of the few miniatures that have a narrative cycle in the border (fig. 69).

Apart from the Judgment of Paris, there are two other border decorations that do not fit neither in the group of Old Testament scenes, nor in the category of narrative extensions. One is the border framing the miniature of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Anne educating the Virgin, which form a devotional picture with the kneeling owners in the lower margin (fig. 57). There is, however, an odder depiction in the border of the Visitation. In the lower margin, Theophilus, the Penitent enters into a contract with the devil, while in the left margin he is praying to the Virgin (fig. 38). According to the legend, his bishop dismissed Theophilus, a priest and a pious man, based on false rumours. Theophilus, in order to regain his bishop's favour and his honour, made a contract with the Devil, but he later repented and prayed to the Virgin, who returned him the bond.[218] The eleventh-century author Adam of Saint-Victor referred to the legend in the hymn *Ave Maria […] virgo serena* that was chanted as a sequence in masses of the Virgin, and it also found its way into the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* by Gautier de Coincy (1177– after 1233), a collection of the Virgin's legends popular also in the fifteenth century.[219] The subject appeared in monumental sculpture and in book illumination as well, and it is not absent from



[217] For example, in the Hours in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Buchanan e.3, fol. 15r.
[218] Alfred C. Fryer, "Theophilus, the Penitent, as Represented in Art," *Archaeological Journal* 92 (1935): 287–88.
[219] Fryer, "Theophilus," 288–289. For the whole text of the hymn and its English translation, see Digby S. Wrangham, ed. and trans., *The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1881), 222–25.

the pages of devotional books, psalters and books of hours either, of which Alfred Fryer provides a short catalogue.[220] The manuscripts listed by Fryer, however, all come from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and thus they are not very relevant for the discussion of M 131. Another book of hours, painted in the first quarter of the fifteenth century in Paris, also contains several miniatures dealing with Theophilus's story, but as part of a larger cycle of the legends of the Virgin running through the whole manuscript in the borders.[221] I know one more book of hours where this subject is depicted, and it can be more pertinent for M 131, since it was also illuminated in Rouen (fig. 71). Here, Theophilus kneeling before the Virgin appears under the image of the Virgin with the Child adored by angels and the patrons, which decorates the opening words of the *Fifteen Joys of the Virgin*. Although the manuscript was illuminated at the beginning of the sixteenth century, thus roughly two decades later than M 131, it attests that this legend was not only known in Rouen, but also a recurrent topic in books of hours. While in the later manuscript, it is logical to place the Virgin's miracle under her only non-narrative image, in M 131 it might have been connected with the Visitation rather out of necessity. On the one hand, the Visitation is the only New Testament scene which is a standard illustration in the books of hours (for Lauds), but figures neither in the *Biblia pauperum*, nor in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, thus it could not receive an Old Testament type.[222] On the other hand, it did not have such a well-established complementary narrative cycle as the Annunciation.

In short, the images in the border of M 131 are surprisingly heterogeneous. They include New Testament scenes extending the narrative of the main image, (wrongly placed) Old Testament



[220] Fryer, "Theophilus," 315–33.
[221] *Hours*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, ms. 547, fols. 41r–42v.
[222] Schmidt and Weckwerth, "Biblia pauperum," 294–96; Cardon, *Manuscripts*, 363–67. In the typological cycles created by the Master of the Échevinage for books of hours, (e.g. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 224), the Visitation is paired with the Dream of the Cupbearer, which seems to be his own invention. See Tóvizi, "Une oeuvre inconnu,"18.

prefigurations of New Testament events, a miracle of the Virgin and a mythological image. To understand the function of this iconographic diversity, it is worth briefly discussing another book of hours, the aforementioned manuscript from the Pierpont Morgan Library (M 32) illuminated in Rouen c. 1470, which also features various types of images in the borders. Moreover, apart from the four books of hours with the Judgment it is the only one, to my knowledge, that has a mythological representation in the margin.

In M 32 the calendar, beyond the usual cycle of the labours of the months, is decorated with allegorical figures of Virtues and Vices, Old Testament scenes sorted out rather randomly, and the miracles of Christ. It seems that unfortunately most of the other painted pages are missing from the codex, only the Visitation, the Nativity and the Annunciation to the Shepherds are preserved.[223] However, the margin of these three miniatures alone offers a wide range of accompanying images. Under the Nativity its prefiguration, the Tiburtine Sybil's prophecy to Augustus is depicted, together with the emperor issuing the edict of taxes in the lower left corner, and shepherds playing music in the right margin (fig. 74). The Annunciation to the Shepherds is accompanied by a yet unidentified scene and the Miracle of Manna that would be correctly a type for the Last Supper (fig. 73).[224] Finally, under the Visitation appears a medallion with Hercules chasing Nessus, the centaur who raped his wife, Dejanira (fig. 72). The manuscript would deserve a deeper analysis, but in the frame of this thesis, I can make only a few basic remarks. Interestingly, the literary tradition of the myth of Nessus raping Dejanira overlaps considerably with that of the Judgment. Historical accounts of the Trojan War, the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, Raoul Le Fèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troie*,

[223] The curatorial description says that the "text is incomplete;" see "Corsair," accessed May 2, 2017, http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0032a.pdf.
[224] Schmidt and Weckwerth, "Biblia pauperum," 294.

and the *Bouquechardière* all include an account of the story.[225] As for the allegorical tradition, the *Ovide moralisé* retells this myth as well and interprets it as a combat for the soul, represented by Dejanira.[226] According to the above discussion about the circulation of these historical texts, the story could have been known in Rouen in the second half of the fifteenth century. As an allegory of the combat for the soul, its representation is without doubt an appropriate image for a book of hours. However, it remains an unresolved question why it is linked with the Visitation, unless it was placed randomly, as it probably happened with the Miracle of Manna as well.

For the purpose of the present thesis, it suffices to observe and interpret the variety of marginal images that ranges from a series of Virtues and Vices, through (in traces typological) Old Testament scenes and miracles of Christ to a mythological representation. I think this iconographic diversity in M 32 and M 131 can be attributed to the special status of books of hours in manuscript ownership. Often, it was the only book in one's possession.[227] Therefore, as Virginia Reinburg demonstrated, it could serve other functions than a simple prayer book: for example, it could be used for recording family events, for primary education, and it could also be an object of art.[228] I think that the role of the diverse, although at some points haphazard pictorial cycle in these manuscripts from Rouen can also be understood from this point of view. In a book which might have been the only or one of the very few in the possession of its reader, the images in the margin could offer bits and pieces of various fields of culture to complement the otherwise rather fixed program of the Hours. Such a diversity instructed and delighted the



[225] Marc-René Jung, "Hercule dans les textes du Moyen Age: Essai d'une typologie," in *Rinascite di Ercole: Atti del convegno internazionale di Verona (May 29–June 1, 2002),* ed. Anna Maria Babbi (Verona: Fiorini, 2002), 33–34, 55–58.
[226] Jung, "Hercule," 48, 50.
[227] Virginia Reinburg, "An Archive of Prayer: The Book of Hours in Manuscripts and Print," in *Manuscripta Illuminata: Approaches to Understanding Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art & Archaeology, Princeton University, 2014), 221.
[228] Reinburg, "An Archive of Prayer," 221.

beholder at the same time. Besides, from an economical point of view, it must have served as a means of making the product more attractive.

Compared to M 131, the other New York book of hours, M 312, has a more modest border decoration. Apart from the Annunciation, which is accompanied by three medallions with scenes from the youth of the Virgin (fig. 69), and the Praying David, only one more page is decorated with marginal images, the Tree of Jesse illustrating Christ's genealogy from the gospel of Matthew (fig. 77). This representation, a speciality of the Master of the Échevinage according to Claudia Rabel, usually appears in another part of books of hours from Rouen, at Matins, replacing the standard image of the Annunciation.[229] The Annunciation is sometimes relegated to the lower margin (fig. 75), where it can be accompanied by its type, the Fall of Adam and Eve (fig. 76). The Fall represents here the original sin that the Incarnation corrected, and, at the same time, the furthest ancestors of Christ and humankind, as a retrospective continuation of the genealogy.[230] The depiction of the Tree of Jesse with the Madonna in mandorla at the top refers to the Incarnation even in absence of the Annunciation. The page in M 312, where a detailed cycle of the Genesis and the Fall frames the Tree of Jesse, can be interpreted along the same lines.[231] Besides, in M 312 as in the Villefosse Hours, a more attentive beholder might have perceived an analogy between the Fall of Adam and Eve, the Judgment of Paris leading to the Fall of Troy, and the moral fall of David upon his adultery with Bathsheba. The prominence of nude bodies and the similar layout (small images separated by thin golden frames), which are the special characteristics of these pages in the manuscript,



[229] Rabel-Jullien, "Les Livres d'heures de Rouen," 163. *Hours*, The Hague, KB, 133 D 17, fol. 24r (last quarter of the fifteenth century). The genealogy with the Tree of Jesse is also included in an *Hours* attributed to the Master of the Échevinage himself, there without marginal images (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 253, fol. 18r).
[230] Ernst Guldan, Eva und Maria: Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv (Graz and Köln: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1966), 28–29.
[231] Scenes from the Genesis and the Fall accompany the Tree of Jesse in another book of hours also from Rouen, attributed to the workshop of the Master of the Échevinage: Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Paul-Arbaud, ms. 13, fol. 19r, c. 1480–90 (fig. 78). See "Initiale."

could have suggested to the reader the idea of analogy, while it is less certain than in the case of the Villefosse Hours that it was intentional on the part of the illuminator.

In light of the analysis of the pictorial cycles in the two New York manuscripts and the Villefosse Hours, I revisit my hypothesis on the lost common model presumably created by the Master of the Échevinage. The surviving material is unfortunately too scarce to enable the reconstruction of the supposed lost model, and it is equally possible that there were more models than one. The most logical scenario would have been if the "model" had included in the margins both a correct typological cycle and the Judgment of Paris, yet not on its own, as in the Villefosse Hours, but together with the Bathing Bathsheba, the image that had probably stimulated the insertion of the mythological scene. According to this, the pictorial cycle of the New York books of hours and the Villefosse Hours would be all derivatives or corrupted versions of this model. However, the perplexing randomness of the placement of images in M 32, and to some extent in M 131 may make us wonder if this was rather the rule than the exception, and might undermine the assumption of a once existing perfect cycle. Another factor that complicates the question of the model is the fourth book of hours. I have disregarded the Aix-en-Provence manuscript so far, because from the point of view of the Judgment's interpretation, it does not fit in the group of the other three books of hours. Therefore, it is worth discussing it separately.



## D. The Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours

The Aix-en-Provence manuscript is the only book of hours, where the Judgment of Paris is not attached to the Praying David. Here, it is depicted under the image of the Virgin and the Child, accompanying the text of the Mass for Our Lady (fig. 2). A female donator is kneeling before them, accompanied by Saint Catherine of Alexandria, presumably her patron saint. The composition of the Judgment shows important similarities with the representations of the myth

in the three other books of hours: the posture of the goddesses and the horse links them together (fig. 33, 35–36). One of the differences is the figure of Mercury, who, instead of leading the goddesses, is standing behind the sleeping Paris in the Aix-en-Provence manuscript. This divergence can be explained by compositional reasons, rather than with a completely different source of the iconography: there would be no room for the standing figure in this scale if he approached Paris from the right. A more significant difference is the addition of animals: a rabbit, a lion, a bear, a fellow-deer, and a red deer are sitting next to the fountain while a unicorn is drinking from the water (fig. 35).[232] This part of the composition evokes another legend, the legend of the unicorn purifying the water, which appeared in France in bestiaries at the end of the 14th century, and quickly became widely known.[233] According to the legend, the unicorn drawing a cross with its horn can purify the water poisoned by the serpent, so that the other animals can drink from it.[234] The allegorical meaning of the legend is evident: the serpent is the devil who poisons the world with sin, while the unicorn can be identified with Christ the Saviour.[235]

The fountain and the unicorn are recurrent motifs in the borders of the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours. As a symbol of Christ, a fountain appears under the Crucifixion (fig. 80).[236] Besides, it is also depicted under the Enthroned Virgin and Child that illustrates the opening lines of the *Fifteen Joys of the Virgin* (fig. 79). Together with other motifs from the Song of Songs, the *fons signatus* ("sealed fountain") was considered as a symbol of Mary's virginity,[237] and as



[232] Although the legend of the unicorn played an important role in Durrieu's interpretation of the Aix-en-Provence manuscript, he ignored this part of the image.
[233] Bruno Faidutti, "Image et connaissance de la licorne (fin du Moyen Age – XIXème siècle)" (PhD diss., Université Paris XII, 1996), 38–39.
[234] Faidutti, "Image et connaissance," 38.
[235] Faidutti, "Image et connaissance," 59.
[236] Alois Thomas, "Brunnen," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, vol. 1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 331–35; Esther P. Wipfler, "Fons vitae," in "RDK Labor," accessed May 5, 2017, http://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=88560.
[237] Esther P. Wipfler, "Fons signatus," in "RDK Labor," accessed May 6, 2017, http://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=88782

such, it is often depicted under the representation of the Annunciation in books of hours from Rouen (figs. 81–82).[238] Although not known for me in other Rouen books of hours from this period, its representation in the Aix-en-Provence manuscript under a non-narrative, "iconic" image of Mary is equally justified, especially because the illustrated text, the opening words of the *Fifteen Joys of the Virgin* call Mary the "fountain of all good" (fig. 79).[239]

On the same page, next to the fountain, another scene with reference to Mary, the Hunt for Unicorn is depicted. On the right, a young woman is sitting with a unicorn putting its head on her knee. The unicorn is wounded by the arrow of a young man, standing on the other side of the fountain.[240] The legend, according to which the unicorn only allows virgins to touch him and hunters can capture him only in this way, was often interpreted as an allegory of the Incarnation and the Passion, in which the virgin represents Mary, the unicorn Christ, and the hunters the Jews.[241] This interpretation led to the formulation of a new iconographic type in the fifteenth century, the allegorical Annunciation (figs. 25, 29).[242] Here, the hunter has transformed into the angel Gabriel, and the Virgin Mary, sitting in the *hortus conclusus* (closed garden), is surrounded by other Marian symbols, such as the *porta clausa* (closed door), the *fons signatus* (sealed fountain), Gideon's fleece, the rod of Aaron, and the tower of David, well-known from the Hours of the Virgin and her litanies.[243] Paul Durrieu argues that the representation in the lower margin of page 309r in the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours is a

[238] It appears also in *Hours*, Aylesbury, Waddesdon Manor, James A. de Rothschild Collection, ms. 12 (c. 1470); *Hours*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 253, fol. 28r (c. 1465–1470); for the dating, see Rabel-Jullien, "Les Livres d'heures de Rouen," 144.
[239] *Doulce dame de mi / sericorde mere de pi / tie fontaine de tous / [bien]* (Aix-en-Provence book of hours, fol. 309r), "Sweet Lady of mercy, mother of pity, fountain of all good" (my translation).
[240] The unicorn is not without parallel in the margin of books of hours related to the Master of the Échevinage either. In one of his manuscripts, it is depicted under the Virgin and the Child who are surrounded by the instruments of the Passion. *Hours*, New York, PML, M 1093, fol. 154r (c. 1470, attributed to the Master of the Échevinage), see "Corsair".
[241] E.g. in the bestiary by William the Clerk of Normandy (1210 or 1211); see Faidutti, "Image et connaissance," 43.
[242] Faidutti, "Image et connaissance," 52.
[243] Durrieu, "La Légende," 168. On most of the representations, inscriptions identify the symbols. For an account of the inscriptions on the clay medallion preserved in the Musée céramique de Sèvres, see: Blanchet, "Sur une plaquette," 236–37.

simplification of this allegorical Annunciation.[244] However, I think that the lack of reference to the Annunciation contradicts this interpretation. It is more reasonable to consider this representation simply as a combination of two motifs referring to Mary, the fountain and the hunt for unicorn. The legend about the purification of the water could have facilitated this combination.

While these motifs clearly have a symbolical meaning that refers to the main image, the other borders of the manuscript are of purely decorative character: various animals, hybrid creatures, grotesque or courtly figures inhabit the floral ornaments. The only exemption is the Praying David under which David's victory over Goliath is depicted (p. 161). Why was the Judgment of Paris inserted into this partly decorative, partly symbolic cycle of marginal images? Why is it connected with a representation of the Virgin and Child and the legend of the unicorn purifying the water?

Considering the above argumentation about the hypothetical lost model and on the possibility that the Bath of Bathsheba could have inspired the insertion of the Judgment into books of hours, the unique arrangement in the Aix-en-Provence manuscript may be interpreted as a misplacement. However, the relatively early dating of the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours can question this logic. It is dated to 1460–70, while the others were produced somewhat later, between 1470 and 1480 or. c. 1480. This can mean that the "lost common model" goes back to c. 1470 or even earlier. M 32, the Rouen books of hours containing the depiction of Hercules and Nessus was produced c. 1470, and Ágnes Tóvizi dated those typological cycles of the Master of the Échevinage where the Old Testament scene dominates the page to the 1470s.[245] Woodcut editions of the *Biblia pauperum* were available from c. 1460 onwards, so theoretically it is possible that the Master of the Échevinage applied a marginal cycle consisting of Old

[244] Durrieu, "La Légende," 172.
[245] Tóvizi, "Une oeuvre inconnue," 27.

Testament prefigurations already in the 1460s or c. 1470.[246] However, such a conclusion remains purely hypothetical. It is also possible that—as opposed to the above argumentation about the reasons behind the insertion of the Judgment in books of hours—the mythological scene was not linked first with the Praying David but rather with a representation of the Virgin. No textual source is known for me that would explain this connection, and to my knowledge, apart from the disqualified Spitzer medallion, the solution in the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours has no visual analogies either.

In contrast, an image from the margin of another book of hours, painted by the Master of the Échevinage c. 1470, might help to understand the pairing of the Judgment of Paris with the Virgin.[247] Here, beside the usual motif of the fountain under the Annunciation, a mermaid is depicted swimming in the water, while on the left, a man is playing a trumpet (fig. 81). The mermaid holds a comb and a mirror in her hands, the familiar attributes of vanity.[248] Thus, the border decoration combines a Marian symbol with a representation of vanity, an antithesis of the Virgin Mary humbly receiving Gabriel's announcement about the conception. In the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours, the Judgment of Paris under the image of the Virgin and the Child could play a similar role. The vanity aspect of the goddesses is expressed by the richness of their jewellery. Thus, the story of the Judgment, as the choice of worldly beauty and vanity, opposes the figure of the Virgin who, pure and humble, accepted the will of God. The common element that links the three subjects on this page, the Virgin Mary, the Unicorn Purifying the Water and the Judgment of Paris, is the fountain. In my opinion, it is imaginable that this recurrent motif of the manuscript's border decoration inspired the illuminator to insert the Judgment at this place. He perhaps saw it in another book of hours painted by the Master of

[246] Tóvizi, "Une oeuvre inconnue," 27.
[247] *Hours*, New York, PML, M 167, fol. 29r.
[248] Ad de Vries, *Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1974), 109, 323.

the Échevinage or somebody from his circle, where it figured in a different context: according to the argumentation above, it was paired with the bathing Bathsheba there.

Apart from the visual association inspired by the fountain, in theory, an intellectually more complex link is also possible between the Virgin Mary and the Judgment of Paris. Following the *Ovide moralisé,* the Judgment of Paris can be interpreted as an allegory of the Fall of Adam and Eve. At the same time, the Fall is the Old Testament type (more precisely the antithesis) of the Annunciation and the Incarnation represented by the Virgin and the Child on page 329.[249] The third scene, the purification of the water by the unicorn as an allegory of the redemption can also fit into this salvation historical narrative. In addition, since it was the serpent who poisoned the water, it also refers to the Fall.[250] In absence of any direct visual allusion to the Fall, however, there is no evidence that the illuminator of the Aix-en-Provence book hours had intended to express any such meaning with the insertion of the Judgment. Without visual support, reading the miniature of page 329 in this way would have demanded at least the knowledge of Judgment's interpretation either from the *Ovide moralisé* or from the *Ovidius moralizatus* on the part of the reader.

Therefore, based on the now available evidence, it seems that despite the relatively early dating of the Aix-en-Provence manuscript, the most logical hypothesis is still that the Judgment of Paris was first inserted in a book of hours under the representation of the Praying David and next to the Bath of Bathsheba. The illuminator of the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours could have borrowed it from this context to associate it with the legend of the unicorn and the Virgin and the Child as an opposite, inspired by their common motif, the fountain. Of course, a discovery of new textual sources, miniatures or other depictions connecting the Judgment with

[249] As in the *Biblia pauperum*, see Schmidt and Weckwerth, "Biblia pauperum," 294.
[250] Unfortunately, the opening page of the Hours of the Virgin that would have been decorated by a miniature of the Annunciation remained blank. See Albanès, *Catalogue*, 32–33.

the Virgin Mary can revise this hypothesis and shed more light on the invention of this iconography and its rather enigmatic application in the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours.

# VII. Conclusion

Although at first it was surprising to encounter with the Judgment of Paris scene in these four books of hours, the careful analysis of its visual context helped to formulate a hypothesis about the reasons of its insertion and its reception. In the two New York manuscripts, together with the Rebuke of Nathan in the main scene and with the Bathing Bathsheba in the margin, the Judgment functions as a warning against vanity and exposing too much the female body, because of the disastrous consequences exemplified by the story of Troy and King David. This interpretation echoes the misogynous texts that usually list both the case of David and Paris (or Troy), as examples for the destructive power of female beauty. Although with positive connotations, the same general idea about the power of beauty connects these two subjects in the case of five early sixteenth-century ivory combs from Northern France, which is the only other group of objects to my knowledge where these representations appear together.

In the Villefosse Hours, the Judgment of Paris, inserted into a typological cycle running in the margins, provides a mythological analogy not only for David's individual fall, but also for the fall of humankind, represented by the visually very close image of Adam and Eve. The typological cycle in the Villefosse Hours and its traces in M 131 suggests that the iconography of these books of hours might have derived from a lost model that probably combined an Old Testament typological cycle in the border with a representation of the Judgment under the Penitent David. The comparison of the four manuscripts proved that although the Villefosse Hours was painted by a Flemish illuminator, the idea of inserting the Judgment of Paris in books of hours originates in Rouen, probably in the workshop of the Master of the Échevinage of Rouen. The early dating of the Aix-en-Provence manuscript also supports this hypothesis. Although its iconography stands further from the other three books of hours—here the Judgment is attached to an image of the Virgin and the Child—at the present state of research

the most logical hypothesis is still that this arrangement somehow also goes back to the lost common model of the other three manuscripts. Another book of hours (M 32) made also in Rouen c. 1470 can also serve as an argument for a relatively early dating of the invention, since it is the only other example known for me where a mythological scene appears in the margin, again beside the fragments of a typological cycle.

M 32 has a rich and diverse, although at some points rather randomly arranged marginal decoration. In addition, as Ágnes Tóvizi argued, the Master of the Échevinage created two typological cycles in the 1470s, where the Old Testament scenes dominated the page. These examples indicate that in Rouen from c. 1470 onwards illuminators had the ambition to diversify the standard iconography of books of hours. The four manuscripts with the Judgment of Paris can also fit in this tendency. The mediocre quality of their illumination suggests that the customers of these books of hours were less wealthy and probably belonged to that group of possessors who had only one or very few books, which was, in general, the prayer book. A marginal decoration merging bits and pieces from various fields of (popular) culture, such as ancient mythology, miracles of saints, and Old Testament typology could render this only book multi-faceted.

Obviously, a future discovery of new textual or visual sources, as well as new books of hours can modify or refine the above-formulated hypotheses and conclusions, answer the open questions and uncertainties, for example shed more light on the Judgment's connection with the Virgin in the Aix-en-Provence Book of Hours. Besides, a more systematic and comprehensive research on the marginal decoration of the books of hours from this period could contextualise better the appearance of mythological scenes in prayer books. A considerable part of the books of hours is still in private collections, which are less accessible,

thus less studied and less known than copies in public collections.[251] Due to this reason, new books of hours that would improve our understanding of the four manuscripts discussed in the present thesis might come to light at any time.



[251] Regarding the corpus of the illuminated manuscripts from the Netherlands (1400–1550), one fourth of the books of hours is still in private collection (see "Luxury Bound").

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# Appendix I – Illustrations

*Figure 1: Master of Fitzwilliam 268, David in Prayer; margin: Judgment of Paris, Villefosse Hours, second half of the 1470s. Whereabouts unknown. (Héron de Villefosse, "En marge," 56.)*

*Figure 2: Virgin and Child with St Catherine of Alexandria and donator; margin: Judgment of Paris, Hours, Rouen, c. 1460–70. Aix-en-Provence, BM, ms. 22, p. 329. ("Initiale.")*

*Figure 3: Nathan Rebuking David; margin: scenes from the Life of David and the Judgment of Paris, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470–80. New York, PML, M 312, fol. 80r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 4: Nathan Rebuking David; margin: scenes from the Life of David and the Judgment of Paris, Hours, Rouen, c. 1480. New York, PML, M 131, fol. 73r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 5: Jean Baptiste Michel after Benjamin West, Legend of the King of Mercia, 1782. Cambridge, MA, Harvard Art Museums, R2653. ("Harvard Art Museums," accessed May 14, 2017, http://www.harvardartmuseums.org.)*

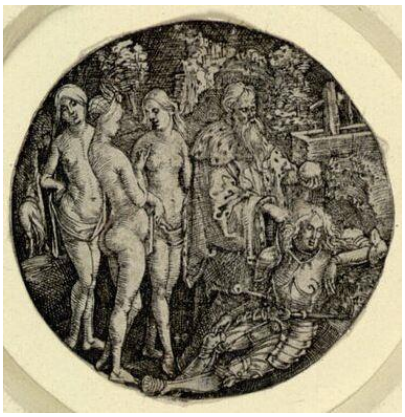

*Figure 6: Anonymous artist, copy after Albrecht Dürer, Judgment of Paris, sixteenth century. Vienna, Albertina, DG1930/1515. ("Albertina: Sammlungen Online.")*

*Figure 7: Lucas Cranach the Elder, Judgment of Paris, c. 1528. Basel, Kunstmuseum, Inv. G 1977.37. ("Wikimedia Commons," accessed May 14, 2017, https://commons.wikimedia.org.)*

*Figure 8: Lucas Cranach the Elder, Judgment of Paris, c. 1516–18. Seattle, Seattle Art Museum, LeRoy M. Backus Collection, 52.38. ("Wikimedia Commons.")*


*Figure 9: Workshop of Jean Colombe, Judgment of Paris, Guido delle Colonne, Historia destructionis Troiae, c. 1490–1500. Paris, BnF, NAF 24920, fol. 8r. ("Gallica.")*

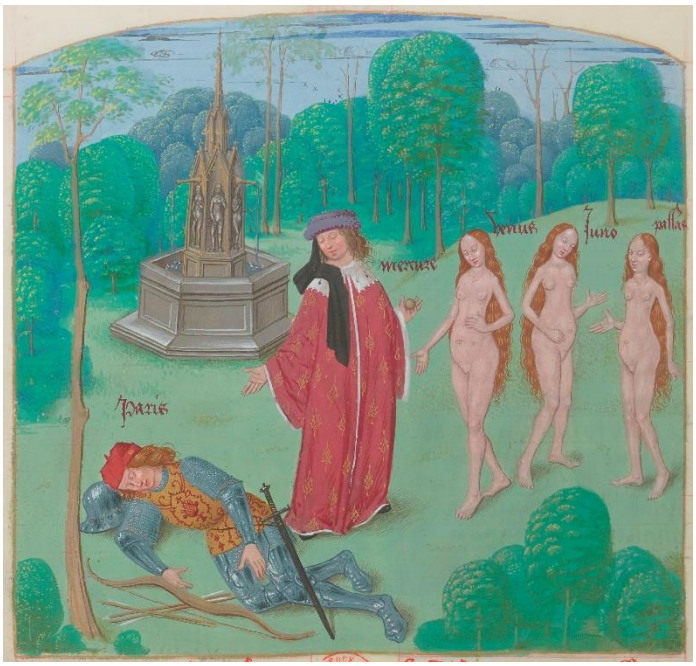


*Figure 10: Master of Antoine Rolin: Judgment of Paris, Raoul Le Fèvre, Recueil des histoires de Troie, c. 1495. Paris, BnF, fr. 22552, fol. 214v. ("Gallica.")*

*Figure 11: Judgment of Paris, Guido delle Colonne, Historia destructionis Troiae, last quarter of the fifteenth century. Paris, BnF, Arsenal, 5068, fol. 121r. ("The Warburg Institute: Iconographic Database, accessed May 17, 2017, http://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk.")*

*Figure 12: Judgment of Paris, Jacques Milet, Lystoire de la destruction de Troye la grant (Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy), 1485. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ink. M 391, fol. 17v. ("MDZ, Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum," accessed May 17, 2017, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de.)*

*Figure 13: Judgment of Paris, Raoul Le Fèvre, Recueil des histoires de Troie, Southern-Netherlands, 1470–80. The Hague, KB, 78 D 48, fol. 165v. ("Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts," accessed May 17, 2017, http://manuscripts.kb.nl.)*

*Figure 14: Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, Judgment of Paris, Pierre Bersuire, Ovidius moralizatus, second half of the fifteenth century. Ghent, St Bravo Cathedral, ms. 12. ("The Warburg Institute: Iconographic Database.")*

*Figure 15: Three Ways of Life, Ovide moralisé, early fourteenth century. Rouen, BM, ms. 1044, fol. 286r. (Ehrhart, The Judgment, 217, fig. 7.)*

*Figure 16: Judgment of Paris, Ovide moralisé, c. 1390. Lyon, BM, ms. 742, fol. 186v. ("The Warburg Institute: Iconographic Database.")*

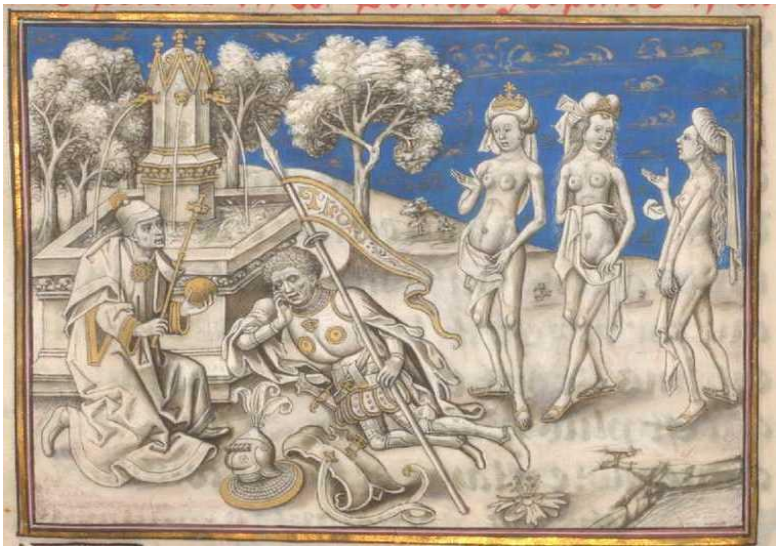

*Figure 17: Willem Vrelant, Judgment of Paris, Christine de Pizan, Épistre d'Othéa, 1457–67. Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 2361, fol. 93v. ("FAU, Universitätsbibliothek, Digitale Sammlungen," accessed May 14, 2017, https://ub.fau.de/bibliotheken-sammlungen/digitale-sammlungen/.)*

*Figure 18: Judgment of Paris, Christine de Pizan, Épistre d'Othéa, early fifteenth century. Paris, BnF, fr. 606, fol. 31v. ("Gallica.")*

*Figure 19: Judgment of Paris, Christine de Pizan, Épistre d'Othéa, c. 1460. Cologny, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, ms. 49, fol. 102r. ("E-codices," accessed May 14, 2017, http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch.)*

*Figure 20: Judgment of Paris, Christine de Pizan, Épistre d'Othéa, early fifteenth century. Paris, BnF, fr. 606, fol. 34v. ("Gallica.")*

*Figure 21: Judgment of Paris, Christine de Pizan, Épistre d'Othéa, c. 1460. Cologny, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, ms. 49, fol. 111r. ("E-codices.")*

*Figure 22: Judgment of Paris, bronze medallion, recto, late fifteenth century? Formerly in the Spitzer Collection. (Bode and Volbach, Gotische Formmodel, 14, fig. 10.)*

*Figure 23: Allegorical Annunciation, bronze medallion, verso, late fifteenth century? Formerly in the Spitzer Collection. (Moliniers, Les Bronzes, 711.)*

*Figure 24: Judgement of Paris, cast after a clay mould, third quarter of the fifteenth century. Zürich, Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum. ("Ankäufe," pl. 2.)*

*Figure 25: Allegorical Annunciation, clay medallion, third quarter of the fifteenth century. Sèvres, Musée céramique de Sèvres. (Blanchet, "Sur une plaquette," 239.)*

*Figure 26: Judgment of Paris, clay mould, third quarter of the fifteenth century. Liège, Musée Curtius, inv. no. I.16.28. ("BALat, Belgian Art Links and Tools," accessed May 17, 2017. http://balat.kikirpa.be.)*

*Figure 27: Judgment of Paris, clay mould, c. 1480. Kőszeg, Hungary, Castle. (Holl, "Gotische Tonmodel," 326, fig. 9.)*

*Figure 28: Judgment of Paris, Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César, c. 1470. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 353, fol. 44v. ("Luna," accessed May 14, 2017, http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet.)*

*Figure 29: Allegorical Annunciation, woodcut, Artois? mid-fifteenth century. Paris, BnF, Estampes Ea 5. (Bouchet, Les deux cents incunables, vol. 2, pl. 79.)*


*Figure 30: Master with the Banderols, Judgment of Paris, engraving, third quarter of the fifteenth century. Paris, BnF. (Lehrs, Geschichte, vol. 4, pl. 109.)*

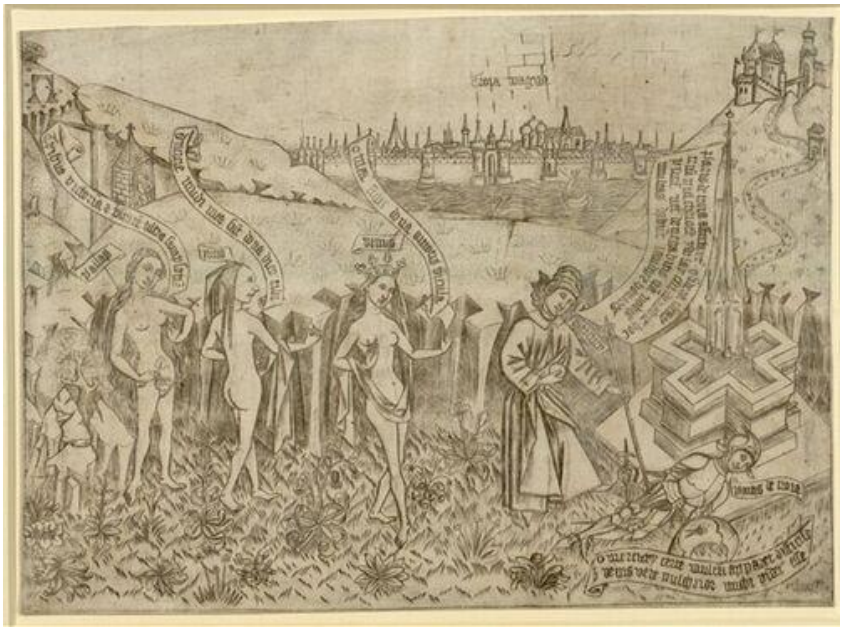

*Figure 31: Master with the Banderols, Judgment of Paris, engraving, third quarter of the fifteenth century. Vienna, Albertina, DG1926/932. ("Albertina: Sammlungen Online.")*

*Figure 32: Judgment of Paris, Christine de Pizan, Épistre d'Othéa, third quarter of the fifteenth century. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 421, fol. 51v. ("Luna.")*

*Figure 33: Judgment of Paris, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470–80. New York, PML, M 312, fol. 80r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 34: Judgment of Paris, Hours, Rouen, c. 1480. New York, PML, M 131, fol. 73r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 35: Judgment of Paris, Hours, Rouen, c. 1460–70. Aix-en-Provence, BM, ms. 22, p. 329. ("Initiale.")*

*Figure 36: Master of Fitzwilliam 268, Judgment of Paris, Villefosse Hours, second half of the 1470s. Whereabouts unknown. (Durrieu, "La Légende," pl. 10.)*

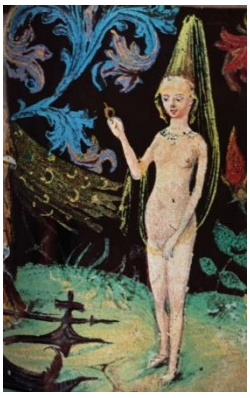

*Figure 37: Detail of fig. 36. (Héron de Villefosse, "En marge," 57.)*

*Figure 38: Visitation; margin: Theophilus's contract with the Evil, Theophilus before the Virgin, Hours, Rouen c. 1480. New York, PML, M 131, fol. 33v. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 39: Visitation, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470–80. New York, PML, M 312, fol. 38r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 40: Presentation in the Temple; margin: Christ among the Doctors, St John the Baptist Teaching, Hours, Rouen c. 1480. New York, PML, M 131, fol. 58r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 41: Presentation in the Temple, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470–80. New York, PML, M 312, fol. 63v. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 42: Flight into Egypt, margin: Jacob Returning to Canaan, Gideon's Fleece, Hours, Rouen c. 1480. New York, PML, M 131, fol. 60v. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 43: Flight into Egypt, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470–80. New York, PML, M 312, fol. 66v. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 44: Lamentation; margin: Angels, Noli me tangere, Hours, Rouen c. 1480. New York, PML, M 131, fol. 111r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 45: Lamentation, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470–80. New York, PML, M 312, fol. 133r. ("Corsair.")*

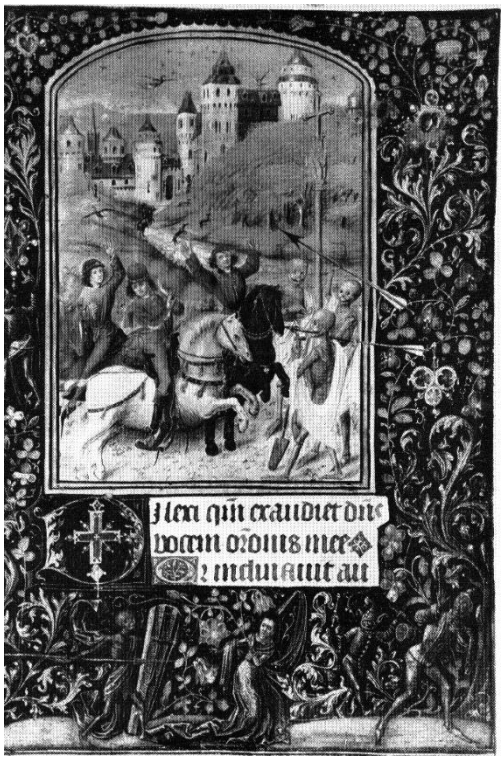

*Figure 46: Three Living and Three Dead, Villefosse Hours, second half of the 1470s. Whereabouts unknown. (Héron de Villefosse, "En marge," 59.)*

*Figure 47: Three Living and Three Dead, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470–80. New York, PML, M 312, fol. 104r. ("Corsair.")*

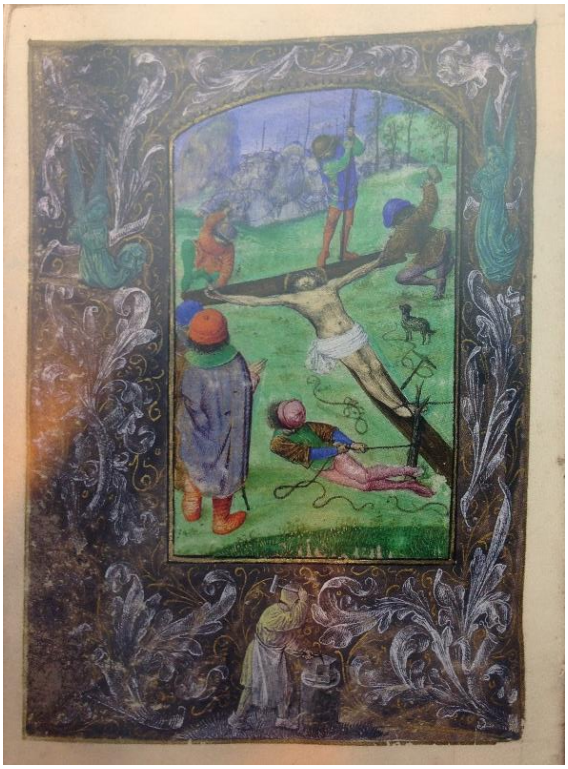

*Figure 48: Crucifixion, Hours of Jean de Carpentin, 1475–80. Private collection, fol. 166v. (Alixe Bovey, Jean de Carpentin's Book of Hours: The Genius of the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book [London: Holberton, 2011].)*

*Figure 49: Initial: Crucifixion; margin: Sacrifice of Isaac, Hours of Jean de Carpentin, 1475–80. Private collection, fol. 167r. (Alixe Bovey, Jean de Carpentin's Book of Hours.)*


*Figure 50: Four Evangelists, Villefosse Hours, second half of the 1470s. Whereabouts unknown. (Héron de Villefosse, "En marge," 58.)*

*Figure 51: Four Evangelists, Hours, Rouen, c. 1480. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 253, fol. 13r. ("Luna.")*


*Figure 52: Four Evangelists; margin: Sacrifice of Isaac, Moses and the Burning Bush, Hours, Rouen c. 1480. New York, PML, M 131, fol. 13r. ("Corsair.")*


*Figure 53: Four Evangelists, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470–80. New York, PML, M 312, fol. 13r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 54: Nativity; margin: Rod of Aaron, Angels, Moses and the Burning Bush, Annunciation to the Shepherds, Playfair Hours, 1480s or early 1490s. London, V&A, MSL/1918/475. ("V&A, Search the Collection")*

*Figure 55: Nativity; margin: Moses and the Burning Bush, Hours, c. 1480. Paris, BnF, Arsenal 429, fol. 23r. ("BnF, Banque d'images," accessed May 17, 2017, http://images.bnf.fr.)*

*Figure 56: Nathan Rebuking David; margin: Bathsheba Bathing, Hours, c. 1480. Paris, BnF, Arsenal 429, fol. 57r. ("BnF, Banque d'images.")*

*Figure 57: St John the Baptist and St Anne Teaching the Virgin, margin: donators, Hours, Rouen c. 1480. New York, PML, M 131, fol. 45r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 58: Jean Colombe, Bathing Bathsheba, Leaf from the Hours of Guyot Le Pleyel, early 1480s. Private Collection. (Georgi, "La Bethsabée des Heures de Guyot Le Pleyel," 61, fig. 1.)*

*Figure 59: Jean Colombe, Bathsheba Bathing, Hours of Anne of France, c. 1473. New York, PML, M 677, fol. 211r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 60: Bathing Bathsheba and the Judgment of Paris, ivory comb, recto and verso, Northern France, first quarter of the sixteenth century. Paris, Musée du Louvre, OA143. ("Gothic Ivories," accessed May 15, 2017, http://gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/index.html.)*

*Figure 61: Diana and Actaeon, Christine de Pizan, Épistre d'Othéa, c. 1460. Cologny, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, ms. 49, fol. 103v. ("E-codices.")*

*Figure 62: Diana and Actaeon, Ovide moralisé, early fourteenth century. Rouen, BM, ms. 1044, fol. 286r. ("The Warburg Institute: Iconographic Database.")*

*Figure 63: Willem Vrelant, Diana and Actaeon, Christine de Pizan, Épistre d'Othéa, 1457–67. Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 2361, fol. 87v. ("FAU, Universitätsbibliothek, Digitale Sammlungen.")*

*Figure 64: Diana and Actaeon, Christine de Pizan, Épistre d'Othéa, Auvergne, 1450–75. The Hague, KB, 74 G 27, fol. 69r. ("Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts.")*

*Figure 65: Crucifixion; margin: Sacrifice of Isaac, Villefosse Hours, second half of the 1470s. Whereabouts unknown. (Héron de Villefosse, "En marge," 58.)*

*Figure 66: Annunciation; margin: Fall of Adam and Eve, Villefosse Hours, second half of the 1470s. Whereabouts unknown. (Durrieu, "La Légende,"pl. 10.)*

*Figure 67: Adoration of the Magi; margin: Journey of the Magi, Augustus and the Tiburtine Sybil, Hours, Rouen c. 1480. New York, PML, M 131, fol. 55v. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 68: Annunciation; margin: Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate, Birth of the Virgin, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Marriage of the Virgin, Hours, Rouen c. 1480. New York, PML, M 131, fol. 25r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 69: Annunciation; margin: Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate, Birth of the Virgin, Marriage of the Virgin, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470–80. New York, PML, M 312, fol. 27r. ("Corsair.")*

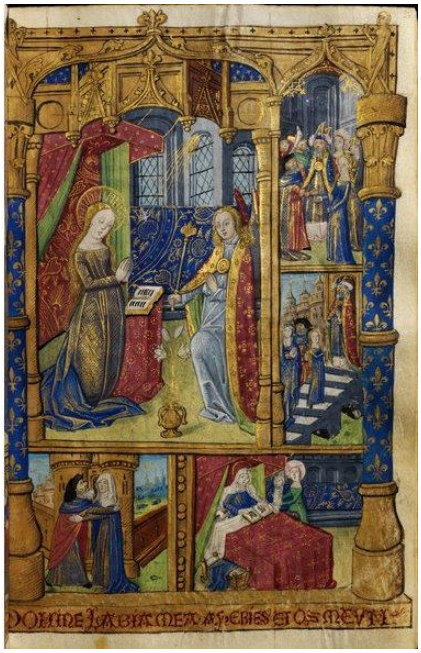

*Figure 70: Annunciation; margin: Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate, Birth of the Virgin, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Marriage of the Virgin. Playfair Hours, 1480s or early 1490s. London, V&A, MSL/1918/475. ("V&A, Search the Collection.")*

*Figure 71: Virgin and Child; margin: Virgin Returning the Bond to Theophilus, Hours, Rouen, early sixteenth century. New York, PML, M 174, fol. 83r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 72: Visitation; margin: Hercules and Nessus, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470. New York, PML, M 32, fol. 26v. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 73: Annunciation to the Shepherds; margin: unidentified scene, Miracle of Manna, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470. New York, PML, M 32, fol. 39r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 74: Nativity; margin: Augustus's Edict, Augustus and the Tiburtine Sybil, Shepherds, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470. New York, PML, M 32, fol. 51r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 75: Tree of Jesse; margin: Annunciation, Hours, Rouen, 1475–1500. The Hague, KB, 133 D 17, fol. 24r. ("Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts.")*

*Figure 76: Tree of Jesse; margin: Fall of Adam and Eve, Annunciation, Hours, Rouen, c. 1480. Paris, BnF, Arsenal 429, fol. 23r. ("BnF, Banque d'images.")*

*Figure 77: Tree of Jesse; margin: Genesis and the Fall, Hours, Rouen, c. 1470–80. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 312, fol. 76r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 78: Tree of Jesse; margin: Genesis and the Fall, Hours, Rouen, c. 1480–90. Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Paul-Arbaud, ms. 13, fol. 19r. ("Initiale.")*

*Figure 79: Enthroned Virgin and Child, margin: Hunt for Unicorn, Hours, Rouen, c. 1460–70. Aix-en-Provence, BM, ms. 22, p. 309. ("Initiale.")*

*Figure 80: Crucifixion; margin: fountain, Hours, Rouen, c. 1460–70. Aix-en-Provence, BM, ms. 22, p. 197. ("Initiale.")*

*Figure 81: Master of the Échevinage of Rouen, Annunciation; margin: fountain with mermaid and musician, Hours, c. 1470. New York, PML, M 167, fol. 29r. ("Corsair.")*

*Figure 82: Master of the Échevinage of Rouen: Annunciation; margin: fountain, Hours, c. 1470. New York, PML, M 1093, fol. 24r. ("Corsair.")*

# Appendix II – Comparative Table of Subjects

| | Villefosse Hours | New York, PML, M 131 | New York, PML, M 312 | Aix-en-Provence, BM, ms. 22 | Biblia Pauperum | Speculum humanae salvationis |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Calendar** | o | fol. 1. zodiac and labours of the months | fol. 1r. zodiac and labours of the months | p. 1. zodiac and labours of the months | | |
| **Excerpts from the gospels** | Four Evangelists | fol. 13. Four Evangelists - Moses and the Burning Bush, Sacrifice of Isaac | fol. 12r. Four Evangelists - spinning woman, man with bird | p. 25. Saint John the Evangelist - woman and man | | |
| **Obsecro te** | o | fol. 18. | fol. 19r. Woman of the Apocalypse ( initial) | p. 36. | | |
| **O intermerata** | o | fol. 21. | fol. 22v. Virgin with the Child | p. 42 | | |
| **Matins** | Annunciation (background: Visitation) - Adam and Eve | fol. 25r. Annunciation - Golden Gate, Birth of the Virgin, Presentation of Mary in the temple, Marriage of the Virgin | fol. 27r. Annunciation - Golden Gate, Birth of the Virgin, Marriage of the Virgin | p. 52. first leaf is blank | Eve and the Serpent, Gideon's Fleece | Moses and the Burning Bush |
| **Lauds** | o | fol. 33v. Visitation - Penitent Theophilus's contract with the Evil, Theophilus before the Virgin | fol. 38r. Visitation | p. 74. Visitation | | |
| **Suffragium for Saint John the Baptist** | x | fol. 45r. Saint Anne with the Virgin, Saint John the Baptist - donators | x | x | | |
| **Prime** | Nativity - margin: Sybil, Moses and the Burning Bush | fol. 48r. Nativity - Mothers before Herod, Idols falling, Miracle of Cornfield, Massacre of the Innocents | fol. 52r. Nativity | p. 103. Nativity | Moses and the Burning Bush, Rod of Aaron | Augustus and the Sybil |
| **Terce** | o | fol. 52r. Annunciation of the Shepherds - kissing shepherd and shepherdess, shepherd and shepherdess | fol. 57r. Annunciation of the Shepherds | p. 115. Annunciation of the Shepherds | | |
| **Sext** | o | fol. 55v. Adoration of the Magi - Journey of the Magi, Augustus and the Sybil | fol. 60v. Adoration of the Magi | p. 125. Adoration of the Magi | Queen of Sheba before Solomon, Abner before David | Queen of Sheba before Solomon |
| **None** | o | fol. 58r. Presentation in the temple - Saint John the Baptist preaching, 12-year-old Christ Teaching in the Temple | fol. 63v. Presentation in the temple | cut out | Presentation of Samuel | Presentation of Samuel |
| **Vespers** | o | fol. 60v. Flight into Egypt - Jacob returns from Egypt, Gideon's Fleece | fol. 66v. Flight into Egypt | p. 139. Flight into Egypt - woman and man, putti | Flight of Jacob, Flight of David from Saul | |
| **Excerpt from the gospel of Matthew** | x | x | fol. 76r. Tree of Jesse, Creation of animals, Creation of Adam and Eve, Fall, Expulsion, Cain and Abel, Labour of Adam and Eve | x | | |
| **Compline** | o | fol. 63r. Coronation of the Virgin - Assumption, Death of the Virgin | | cut out | Solomon and Bathsheba | Solomon and Bathsheba |
| **Seven Penitential Psalms** | Penintent David - Judgment of Paris | fol. 73r. Penitent David - David and Goliath, Bathseba, Death of Absalom, Judgment of Paris | fol. 80r. Penitent David - David Handing over a Letter to Uriah, David and Goliath, Death of Absalom, Bathseba, Judgment of Paris | p. 161. Penitent David - David and Goliath | | |
| **Litany** | o | o | fol. 92v | p. 186. | | |
| **Hours of the Cross** | Crucifixion - Sacrifice of Isaac | fol. 67r. Crucifixion - Garden of Gethsemane, Kiss of Judas, Christ before Pilate, Carrying the Cross | fol. 98r. Crucifixion | p. 197. Crucifixion - fountain, figure playing the harp | Sacrifice of Isaac, Bronze serpent | |
| **Hours of the Holy Spirit** | Pentecost - Moses Receiving the Tables of the Law | fol. 70r. Pentecost - Holy Ghost Falling on Gentiles, Saint Stephen | x | p. 209. Pentecost - drinking figure | Moses Receiving the Tables of the Law, Elias's Sacrifice is Accepted | Tour of Babel |
| **Office of the Dead** | Three Living and Three Dead - Death attacking a woman | fol. 88r. (first leaf is missing) | fol. 104r. Three Living and three Dead - Death attacking a man | p. 221. Office of the Death - reading monk | | |
| **Fifteen Joys of the Virgin** (in French) | x | fol. 111r. Lamentation with female donator - angels, Noli me tangere | fol. 133r. Lamentation with female donator | p. 309. Virgin with the Child, female donator - fountain, woman with unicorn | | |
| **Seven requests of the Lord** (in French) | x | fol. 116r. | fol. 138v. Holy Trinity | p. 322. | | |
| **Salve sancte parens** | x | x | x | p. 329. Virgin with the Child, Saint Catherine, female donator - Judgment of Paris, Unicorn purifying the water | | |



| typological | typological, but not correctly places | Old testament, not typological | narrative extension | decorative | decorative with symbolic meaning | other | typological works | corresponds with Villefosse Hours | mythological | o - included, but no folio number is given | x - not included |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|