The de Buz Book of hours: A new manuscript from the workshop of the Grandes heures de Rohan

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The de Buz Book of Hours

A New Manuscript from the Workshop of the Grandes Heures de Rohan

The important collection of illuminated manuscripts which Mr William King Richardson is building for the benefit of the Harvard Library has recently been augmented by a remarkable Book of Hours of the early fifteenth century. Immediately recognizable as a product of the workshop that produced the famous Grandes Heures de Rohan in the Bibliothèque Nationale (ms. lat. 9471), it is not only full of charm — and, on certain pages, grandeur — but also rich in those iconographic surprises which make this workshop a problem child of the history of art.¹

I. PROVENANCE AND CONTENTS

Of the history of the new manuscript nothing is known up to the second quarter of the sixteenth century, when it was in the possession of Antoine de Buz, Seigneur de Villeneuve, and his wife Barbe de

Loan (or Louen). On three leaves appended at the end there are recorded their betrothal on 30 December 1531; their marriage at Nogent-l’Artaud on 22 January 1536; and the births of their thirteen children, who appeared with great regularity from 5 February 1537 up to an unknown date in 1552 (from number eleven the interest of the parents appears to have somewhat abated, so that the months and dates were no longer recorded).

From the de Buz family (which, incidentally, supplied the diocese of Meaux with a bishop, John XIV, who reigned from 1535 to 1552) the manuscript must have passed into English ownership; it has an English binding datable between 1680 and 1730. About fifty years ago it was acquired (from Bernard Quaritch) by George C. Thomas in Philadelphia, from whose collection it passed, through the Rosenbach Company, into that of Mr Richardson.

In its present form, the de Buz Hours comprises 197 folios (23.2 by 16.5 cm.) the last five of which were added ex post facto. Fols. 195-197 contain the sixteenth-century family records already mentioned; fols. 193 and 194 — added some time in the fifteenth century — bear a French prayer to St Francis:

Saint francois tres gratiscule,
Amis de dieu et serviteur,
Qui en ton corps glorieux
As porte les lis et la flour
De virginité dauremance...

Of the remaining 192 leaves, fols. 1-164 constitute a complete Book of Hours for Paris use — its borders uniformly decorated with a chaste line-and-leaf ornament in black and gold — of which only two leaves,

1 In 1904 the late ‘seigneurie’ of Nogent-l’Artaud belonged to Madeleine Clerc, widow of Jean de Louen (Bulletin de la Société Archéologique, Historique et Scientifique de Soissons, XVII, 1863, 54).

2 For information as to the more recent whereabouts of the manuscript and the character of the binding I am indebted to Dr A. S. W. Rosenbach and to Mr Philip Hofer, respectively. The manuscript was included in the large exhibition ‘Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance,’ organized by the Walters Art Gallery and held at the Baltimore Museum of Art January-March 1949; in the catalogue of the exhibition it was listed as No. 96, with a brief description and with reproduction of fol. 155 as Plate XLIII (our Plate IX).

*Collation: I° (one leaf missing before fol. 1), II°, III°, IV°, V°, VI°, VII°, VIII°, IX°, X°, XI°, XII°, XIII°, XIV°, XV°, XVI°, XVII°, XVIII° (one leaf missing before fol. 131), XIX°, XX°, XXI°, XXII°, XXIII° (one leaf missing before fol. 165), XXIV°, XXV°, XXVI° (one leaf missing before fol. 189, two leaves after fol. 192).
The first leaf of the Calendar and the leaf originally preceding fol. 131, are missing. The composition of this Book of Hours is as follows:

Fols. 1-11v: Paris Calendar, in French, beginning with February  
Fols. 12-19v: Sequences of the Gospels  
Fols. 20-81v: Hours of the Virgin  
Fols. 82-85v: Hours of the Cross (on fol. 85v, bottom: ‘De sancto spiritu’)  
Fols. 86-89v: Hours of the Holy Ghost  
Fols. 90-102v: The Penitential Psalms (on fol. 102v, fifth line: ‘Incipit letania’)  
Fols. 102v-107v: The Litanyes  
Fols. 108-113v: The Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, in French (on fol. 108: ‘Douce dame de misericorde; on fol. 113v, bottom: ‘Cy suirent les sept reest des nostre doux sauveur’)  
Fols. 114-116v: The Seven Requests, in French  
Fol. 117v: Prayer on the Elevation of the Host, in French  
Fols. 118-149: The Vigils of the Dead (on fol. 149, bottom: ‘Passio domini [sic] nostri ihesu xpisti secondum iohannem’)  
Fols. 149v-150v: The Passion according to St John  
Fols. 151-154v: ‘Obsecro te’  
Fols. 155-157v: ‘Je te salue, Maria,’ in French (beginning: O mater dei. Je te salue, maria,  
A [should read: ‘En’] qui dice son filz maria  
A humaine fragilité ...)  
Fols. 158-164v: The Suffrages.

The rest of the manuscript, fols. 165-192v, consists of an enormous Office in Honor of the Magdalene (‘commemoratio sancte marie magdalene’), with one leaf missing before fol. 165, one before fol. 189, and two after fol. 192. These twenty-eight leaves differ from the preceding ones in script and decoration; their borders — executed by two hands, the principal one probably Netherlandish or even English — are enriched by bluebells and pansies in natural colors and interspersed with blue and pink ‘M’s, apparently standing for ‘Maria Magdalene.’ It seems, however, that these leaves do not come from a different manuscript but were produced with the deliberate intention of supplementing and matching the preceding part. The scribe adapted himself to the rest of the book in the number (fourteen) and length of the lines and in the size of the letters; and the proportions of the borders are meticulously attuned to those of fols. 1-164 (Plate 1a). It looks as

* This office is identical neither with those in the Roman and Paris Breviaries nor with the Hours and Offices of the Magdalene found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
though the gentleman who had commissioned the book (the prayers are all worded in masculine form) had become engaged to a lady named Madeleine, or had become filled with special devotion for the Magdalen, just as his Book of Hours had been or was about to be finished. To his identity there is no clue, except, perhaps, for the fact that the Suffrages contain a somewhat unusual prayer to St. Claude (Bishop of Besançon, died 699). 

Of other peculiarities may be mentioned: first, that the prayer 'O intercessor,' which almost invariably follows the 'Ossequo te,' has been replaced by the much rarer 'Je te salue, Maria,' which occurs only twice in the numerous Books of Hours preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and only once with the erroneous substitution of 'A qui' for 'En qui' — this single parallel being found, significantly, in the Grandes Heures de Rohan; second, that the Calendar shows some curious mistakes: the month of June has been credited with thirty-one days, and the Zodiacal Signs from fol. 4 (May) to fol. 8 (September) have been mixed up in such a way that May has the Lion instead of the Twins, June the Twins instead of the Crab, July the Virgin instead of the Lion, August the Balance instead of the Virgin, and September the Crab instead of the Balance.

ms. lat. 1417, 1430, 10527, and 13304 (Leroquais, I, 259 ff., 279 ff., 316 ff.; II, 139 ff.). The second hand is recognizable in the borders of fol. 165, 166, 169, 170, and 171, and must be presumed to have been responsible also for the missing leaf before fol. 166 which formed the double leaf with fol. 171.

The usual prayer to St. Claude (Leroquais, I, 409; II, 24) begins with 'O desolatorum consolator, captivorum liberator;' whereas the prayer in the de Buz Hours, fol. 162 v, reads as follows:

O claudi preces tibi,
Tua prece fac nos sibi
Summi regis ante thronum
Quod possidet orare bonum.
Orx pro nobis, beate Claudia.

Since the oldest son of Antoine de Buz, born on 6 October 1541, was named Claude, it may be thought that the name was current in the family and was that of the original owner. However, M. Jean Parcher, who was kind enough to examine the Cartulaire de Nogent-l'Artaud in the Archives Nationales as well as the records in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and to whom I wish to express my sincerest gratitude, informs me that the earliest ascertainable members of the de Buz family are Charles, the grandfather of Antoine, and his son Abel. There is thus no evidence for the above conjecture, nor even for the assumption that our Book of Hours was executed for a member of the family to which it belonged in the sixteenth century.

' Leroquais, I, 284. The other instance of the 'Je te salue, Maria' — with the correct reading 'En qui . . .' — is found in ms. lat. 13280 (Leroquais, II, 81).
II. The Illustrations

The de Buz Book of Hours contains eighty-two miniatures on thirty-one pages, viz., two miniatures on each of the eleven (originally twelve) Calendar pages, and three on each of the twenty illuminated pages which illustrate the Horae proper. There are no historiated initials.

The Calendar pages show, in vertical rectangles in the upper right-hand corners, the Signs of the Zodiac; and, in pictures of similar format placed in the center of the lower margins, the labors and pastimes characteristic of each month. The other twenty pages— their borders decorated with an ornament that differs from that of the text pages only by greater density and still more careful execution—are organized in a manner highly characteristic of the Rohan workshop. To a large miniature there is attached a smaller one so as to give a kind of diptych effect; and, separated from the former by three lines of text, there is a bottom picture. The subjects of these two collateral miniatures are either corollaries of or variations on the theme of the principal one.

This system is closely akin to that employed for three pages of the Chantilly Hours (Musée Condé, ms. 1371) and for all the pages of a Horae now divided between the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal (ms. 647) and the University Library at Princeton (ms. 48; Plate XI), except for the fact that in these two cases the main miniature is flanked by a smaller one on either side so as to constitute a triptych rather than a diptych. The diptych arrangement, on the other hand, can be seen in several pages of the Grandes Heures de Rohan and in the ‘Creator coeli’ page of the Cambridge Hours (Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 62, fol. 136v; Plate XII); but here no bottom picture exists, and the lateral picture has no iconographic connection with the main theme.  

"The Princeton manuscript was formerly in the collection of Mr. Robert Garrett in Baltimore."

"For the page in the Cambridge Hours see R. Fry, 'On Two Miniatures by de Limbourg,' Burlington Magazine, VII (1909), 433 ff., pl. III, figs. 31 and for the main miniature cf. below, p. 138. In this case the lateral miniature belongs to an independent continuous series of small marginal pictures which represent the three 'Pélerinages' by Guillaume de Deguilleville (or de Degulleville). In the Grandes Heures de Rohan the lateral pictures constitute a continuous Moralized Bible (illustrations, e.g., in Helmann, figs. 24-26) based upon ms. fr. 9361 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. These marginal pictures are found on text pages as well as on the pages carrying the large miniatures normally found in Books of Hours; and it was prob-
Measured by the general standards of the atelier, the miniatures of the de Buz Hours — some of them slightly damaged — are of high quality and very uniform in style. There is, as usual, a certain unevenness in what Dürer would call ‘diligence,’ and the executant may have had some technical assistance; but it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between different personalities.

The color taste is vivid (though very much less so than, for example, in the Arsenal-Princeton Hours) but not without refinement. In addition to strong blues and reds there is a profusion of such delicate shades as ivory; soft apple green; mauve; ochre; dove-colored gray; lemon yellow; and, with particular frequency, a peculiar kind of pale, rosy violet. Gold is used comparatively sparingly. Apart from haloes, rays, metal objects, and the feathery little clouds that are a hallmark of the Rohan workshop, we find it only in the embroidered ornaments of nearly every garment, not even excluding those of servants or shepherds; in brocaded fabrics; in such architectural trimmings as capitals, colonnettes, and ribs; very rarely in lieu of highlights (as in the mauve-colored wattle fences on fol. 45); and never in the landscape, as is so frequently the case with the Cambridge Hours.

The backgrounds consist either of blue — less frequently, purplish — skies enlivened with gold and silver clouds, or of unusually careful, fine-grained tessellation. The standing plane is either characterized as grassy ground or as pavement; and while the Rohan workshop — in contrast to the practice of the Bouicaut and Limbourg ateliers — always evinces a sovereign contempt for perspective, it is peculiar to our manuscript that the pavements are invariably indicated by exactly the same kind of tessellation as is used for the backgrounds. As a rule, however, such unforeshortened tessellated floors occur only where the background is treated differently; and in the only cases in which tessellation occurs both in the pavement and in the background (fol.

ably from this periodical and fortuitous meeting of two miniatures, one large and one small, that there resulted the peculiar diptych arrangement which the Rohan workshop retained — and in two manuscripts even developed into a triptych arrangement — although the marginal illustrations no longer constituted an independent, continuous narrative. In this event, of course, a coherent iconographical program had to be devised for each individual page. In the Cambridge Hours, it should be noted, most of the pages containing large miniatures are still organized according to a quite different system, current both in the Bouicaut and Bedford workshops: the main picture is surrounded by small scenes embedded in the border zone (see, e.g., Heumann, figs. 6, 7, 9, Fry, pl. III, fig. 4, our Plate XIX).
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18, main picture, and fol. 32, bottom picture) confusion is avoided by the interposition of a full-width curtain or architecture (Plate IVa).

The Calendar Pictures

Apart from the above-mentioned disturbance of their sequence from May through September, the Signs of the Zodiac offer no abnormality beyond the representation of the Scorpion on fol. 9 (October) as a turtle with a sting at the end of its tail. Of the 'occupation pictures,' however, the very first (fol. 1, February) is, so far as I know, unique. Instead of the customary figures warming themselves—or, less frequently, eating—before a good fire, it shows a servant shining a plate for the Shrovetide festivities (Plate 1b). Applying with a wad of wool what seems to be some sort of cleaning fluid contained in a little jug, he poses a new problem to the historians of medieval chemistry. The remaining pictures represent: a man cutting wood for March (fol. 2); a falconer on horseback for April (fol. 3); a man carrying two trees in full foliage for May (fol. 4); a man mowing hay for June (fol. 5); a man cutting corn for July (fol. 6); a man threshing for August (fol. 7); a man sowing seeds for September (fol. 8); a man and a woman gathering grapes for October (fol. 9); and a man feeding acorns to the hogs for November (fol. 10). On fol. 11, finally, the usual December picture—the killing of a pig—is replaced by a remarkably realistic description of the ensuing activities, with the suspended carcass anticipating those butcher-shop interiors which were to become a favorite subject of Netherlandish still-life painters from Beuckelener to Rembrandt (Plate 1c).

The Illustrations of the Horae Proper

Note: If not otherwise indicated, the background consists of a blue sky with gold and silver clouds, and the terrain of grassy ground.

Fol. 12 (Sequence from the Gospel of St John)

Main picture: St John, writing in his study, and accompanied by his Eagle (who holds a scroll inscribed: 'Secondom ioh[annem]'); tessellated pavement.

Lateral picture: St John, accompanied by his Eagle, sitting on the ground and reading; tessellated background.

This somewhat unusual motif—possibly derived from the earlier type of a man holding two great flowers—is also found in the Calendar of the Cambridge Hours (James, p. 158, no. 9).
Bottom picture: St John, accompanied by his Eagle, sitting on the ground and looking up as though inspired.

Fol. 14 (Sequence from the Gospel of St Luke)

Main picture: St Luke, accompanied by his red-winged Ox, writing in an interior; blue sky enlivened with golden stars; tessellated pavement.

Lateral picture: St Luke, accompanied by his red-winged Ox, seated on a massive bench and examining his pen; tessellated background. The posture of the Evangelist resembles that of the St Mark in the Arsenal Hours, fol. 15.11

Bottom picture: St Luke, sitting on the ground, in conversation with his red-winged Ox; tessellated background.

Fol. 16 (Sequence from the Gospel of St Matthew; Plate II)

Main picture: St Matthew, seated before a revolving desk (similar to that used by the St Jerome in the Boucicaut Hours, fol. 17 v, but crowned with a statuette of the Madonna), reading in a book proffered by his Angel; tessellated pavement.

Lateral picture: St Matthew, seated on a massive bench, reading in a book proffered by his Angel; tessellated background.

Bottom picture: St Matthew, seated on a massive bench, pointing out a passage in a book proffered by his Angel; tessellated background.

Fol. 18 (Sequence from the Gospel of St Mark)

Main picture: St Mark, accompanied by his red-winged Lion, writing before a blue, gold-embroidered curtain and inspired by God, Who appears in a glory of Seraphim; both background and pavement tessellated.

Lateral picture: St Mark, accompanied by his red-winged Lion, seated on a massive bench and turning round to a Glory appearing in the upper right-hand corner; tessellated background.

Bottom picture: St Mark, accompanied by his red-winged Lion, seated on a four-legged bench and examining his pen; tessellated background.

Fol. 20 (Hours of the Virgin, Matins; Plate III)

Main picture: The Annunciation. The architecture with its combination of dome and spires dimly reflects the contrast between Oriental and Gothic forms which traditionally symbolizes the

Heinman, fig. 11.
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antithesis between Judaism and Christianity. Tessellated pavement.

Lateral picture: The Virgin at the Loom. She is clad in white, and on her right are seen a washstand and a towel rack — symbols of purity to be encountered later in such famous Assumptions as those in the Mérode altarpiece by the Master of Flémalle and in the Ghent altarpiece by Jan van Eyck. Whether the little dog at her feet alludes to such virtues as faith or obedience is a matter of surmise.

Bottom picture: The Offering of Joachim and Ann rejected, tessellated background.

Fol. 52 (Hours of the Virgin, Lauds; Plate IVa)

Main picture: The Visitation, surmounted by three Seraphim. In composition as well as in the treatment of the rich landscape this miniature comes closer to the famous Visitation in the Boucicaut Hours, fol. 65v, than even that in the Ste-Geneviève Hours (Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, ms. 1278), fol. 89. The motif of the city gate seems

That this architectural symbolism — later to be reinterpreted as a contrast between Gothic and realistic Romanesque rather than fanciful Orientalism — was already current from the end of the fourteenth century will be demonstrated in my forthcoming "Lectures on the Origin and Character of Early Flemish Painting."

Cf. Ch. de Tolnay, Le Maître de Flémalle et les Frères van Eyck (Brussels, 1939), p. 15. That the Rouen workshop was well acquainted with Marian symbolism is confirmed by the famous Madonna in the Cambridge Hours (fol. 141v; illustrated in James, pl. XIII; Fry, pl. I, fig. 13 and Heimann, fig. 8), where we find, set into the wall of the "garden inclosed" (Song of Songs IV. 12), the "well of living waters" (ibid. IV. 15).

Apart from the Visitation in the Boucicaut Hours (fol. 65v, illustrated, e.g., in Heimann, fig. 4), our miniature also presupposes the Flight into Egypt in that manuscript, fol. 90v. The Visitation in the Cambridge Hours (James, p. 161, no. 118; Fry, pl. III, fig. 4) retains the Boucicaut Master's angels (though they are represented praying instead of carrying the Virgin's train) but is much inferior in all other respects. The Visitation in the Ste-Geneviève Hours (illustrated in Heimann, fig. 3, as the closest parallel to that in the Boucicaut Hours) differs from it not only in the relative poverty of the landscape but also in the posture of the St Elizabeth, who is depicted kneeling instead of standing.

Cf. the preceding note. The Visitation in the Arsenal Hours is on fol. 25v.
to be derived from the Heures d’Ailly (workshop of the Limbourg brothers), the influence of which on the Rohan workshop has recently been restudied in an excellent article by J. Porcher.18

Bottom picture: St Elizabeth, kneeling and touching the Virgin’s abdomen with her right hand, greets her cousin in a chapel; both background and pavement are tessellated.

Fol. 45 (Hours of the Virgin, Prime; Plate IVb)

Main picture: The Nativity. The Virgin Mary adores the nude Infant, Who lies on the ground beneath a shed, with St Joseph standing behind her and two shepherds and the animals looking over a wattle fence; above are four angels holding a scroll on which the word ‘gaudeum’ is legible. The inclusion of the shepherds is an Italianate feature which does not occur in Northern art until about 1410.

Lateral picture: The Virgin in bed beneath a shed. She reaches for the swaddled Infant in the manger, guarded by the animals. St Joseph is seated at the foot of the bed. Above are two angels holding an illegible scroll.

Bottom picture: The Virgin Mary, sitting on a couch beneath a shed, is about to give her breast to the swaddled Infant. St Joseph kneels opposite her while the animals look on. Above are two angels holding a scroll inscribed: ‘Ave maria.’

Fol. 52 (Hours of the Virgin, Tierce)

Main picture: The Annunciation to the Shepherds. Two shepherds look up to two angels holding a scroll inscribed: ‘Anonsio vobis gaudion magnum.’

Lateral picture: Two shepherds are addressed by an angel holding a scroll inscribed: ‘Ave [aria].’

Bottom picture: Two shepherds excitedly point and look heavenward.

Fol. 57 (Hours of the Virgin, Sext; Plate Vb)

Main picture: The Adoration of the Magi. Contrary to earlier as well as later tradition, the scene is staged in an ecclesiastical structure with tessellated pavement, its richly vested altar surmounted by a retable which shows the Crucifixion. While this ecclesiastical setting stresses the idea that the Adoration of the Magi signifies

18 See Porcher II, where the Visitations in the Heures d’Ailly, fol. 43v, is illustrated on pl. 4b.
the acceptance of Christianity throughout the three originally known continents ('gens ad Christum conveniens'—hence the custom of representing one of the Kings as a moro personifying Africa), the presence of the Crucifixion altarpiece creates a sharp contrast between the greatest joy and the deepest sorrow of the Virgin; in this respect our modest miniature may be said to anticipate the Columbia altarpiece by Roger van der Weyden, where the Adoration scene is surmounted by a Crucifix.

**Lateral picture:** A groom on horseback holds the horse of the King on the right, its trappings showing the same pale, pinkish violet as does the lining of the King's mantle.

**Bottom picture:** A groom on horseback waters his horse together with that of the kneeling King, its trappings showing the same strong cinnabar as does the King's surcoat.

**Fol. 61 (Hours of the Virgin, Nones)**

**Main picture:** The Purification of the Virgin (Presentation of Christ in the Temple). The architecture of the Temple, its sanctuary screened off by a purple curtain, shows a combination of dome and spires similar to that in the Annunciation miniature; the High Priest wears, according to Jewish Custom, a white 'Tallit' over his yellow vestment. Tessellated pavement.

**Lateral picture:** Old man and woman offering lambs, probably by way of allusion to Leviticus XII. 8: 'And if she [still, the mother to be purified] be not able to bring a lamb, then she shall bring two turtledoves or two young pigeons'; this interpretation is confirmed by the bottom picture of the Presentation miniatures in the Arsenal Hours, fol. 56, which shows two men offering lambs and two women offering birds. Tessellated background.

**Bottom picture:** Two men and one woman offering lambs; tessellated background.

**Fol. 67 (Hours of the Virgin, Vespers; Plate Vb)**

**Main picture:** The Flight into Egypt. The composition, with the Virgin Mary seen from the back and riding a queerly foreshortened ass, is closely related to that in the so-called Anjou Hours (Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1156 A), fol. 62, on the one hand, and to that in the Arsenal Hours, fol. 61, on the other. However, the miniatures in the de Buz and Anjou Hours agree in the posture of the Virgin—derived from the Heures d'Ailly,
fol. 63, and still recurring in Dürer's woodcut B.89—as well as in the foreshortening of the animal; whereas the Virgin in the Arsenal Hours sits her mount in more orthodox fashion. It should also be noted that the movement proceeds from left to right in the Heures d'Ailly and Anjou Hours, and from right to left in the Arsenal and de Buz Hours.

**Lateral picture:** Man harvesting the miraculous corn that grows from the seeds sown by the Infant Jesus; he is supervised by an angel holding a scroll inscribed: 'Ave maria.' The scene, based on Pseudo-Matthew XXXIV, recurs—without the angel—in the Arsenal Hours, fol. 61 (right margin), and in the Grandes Heures de Rohan, fol. 99.

**Bottom picture:** Three henchmen of Herod on horseback. This motif, too, recurs in the Arsenal Hours,fol. 61 (bottom), as well as in the Grandes Heures de Rohan, fol. 99.

**Fol. 75 (Hours of the Virgin, Complines)**

**Main picture:** Coronation of the Virgin. God, surrounded by ten Seraphim and holding a large cross in His left hand, welcomes the kneeling Virgin with a gesture especially favored by the Rohan workshop in representations of the Deity. No terrain is indicated.

**Lateral picture:** Two angels censing; tessellated background.

**Bottom picture:** Two angels censing; tessellated background.

"The Flight into Egypt in the Anjou Hours is illustrated in Heimann, fig. 14; that in the Heures d'Ailly in Porcher II, pl. 72. The derivation was observed by Heimann, p. 16, who also points out that the group of the Virgin and Child was re-used in the Madonna in the Grandes Heures de Rohan, fol. 227 (Illustrated in Heimann, fig. 15, and Porcher II, pl. 75). The earliest occurrence of the Virgin's peculiar posture seems to be in a little polyptych, by a follower of Melchior Broederlam, in the Meyer van den Berg Collection at Antwerp. The Flight into Egypt in the Arsenal Hours is illustrated in Panofsky, fig. 3.

"This foreshortening—according to Heimann, p. 21, perhaps suggested by the Crucifixion miniature in Bibl. Nat. ms. fr. 9361, fol. 178v, which served as a model for that in the Grandes Heures de Rohan, fol. 27—is almost a hallmark of the Rohan workshop. In the de Buz Hours it recurs in the lateral miniature on fol. 57 (Plate Va).

"The miniature in the Arsenal Hours is illustrated in Panofsky, fig. 31; that in the Grandes Heures de Rohan—with the henchmen of Herod borrowed from the Très Riches Heures of the Limbourg brothers—in Porcher I.

"See, e.g., our Plate XLIb, or the famous Lamentation in the Grandes Heures de Rohan (illustrated in Leroquais, pl. XL; Heimann, fig. 16; Porcher I).
Plate II
DE BUIZ HOURS, FOL. 16, ST MATTHEW
Plate III
DE RIZ HOURS, FOL. 20, THE ANNUNCIATION
Plate VIII
DE HUZ HOURS, FOL. 114,
THE TRINITY

Plate VIIIb
STE-GENEVIEVE HOURS, FOL. 214,
THE TRINITY ON THE CRESCENT
PLATE IX

de luz hours, fol. 135, pietà madonna
Plate XIa

CAMBRIDGE HOURS, FOL. 134.
The Descent from the Cross

Plate XIb

The Descent from the Cross
Fol. 82 (Hours of the Cross, Frontispiece; Plate VIa)

**Main picture:** The Descent from the Cross and the Lamentation. The composition is almost literally identical with that in the Ste-Geneviève Hours, fol. 45 (Plate Xa), while its main components — the group of Christ on the Cross and the man on the ladder (Nicodemus?), on the one hand, and the Pietà group between St John and Mary Cleophas, on the other — recur, equally literally but in separate pictures, in the Princeton Hours, fol. 49 (Plate Xb).

**Lateral picture:** One of the Thieves before a purple sky enlivened with golden stars.

**Bottom picture:** One of the Thieves before a purple sky enlivened with floral sprays in gold.

Fol. 86 (Hours of the Holy Ghost, Frontispiece)

**Main picture:** Pentecost; the blue sky behind the building enlivened with golden stars.

**Lateral picture:** Two Apostles kneeling; tessellated background.

**Bottom picture:** Two Apostles kneeling; tessellated background.

Fol. 90 (The Penitential Psalms, Frontispiece; Plate VIb)

**Main picture:** The Deësis. The figures are foiled by irregular patches of blue (enlivened with golden clouds) which seem to be cut out from a menacing sky of dark purple illumined by the silver rays that emanate from the Judge; no terrain is indicated. As is the custom of the Rohan workshop wherever eschatological subjects are concerned, Christ is represented as 'the first and last' of Revelation 1. 11–14, with 'hairs white like wool, as white as snow.'

**Lateral picture:** Two Resurrected (man and woman), enveloped in transparent shrouds.

**Bottom picture:** David in prayer.

Fol. 108 (The Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, Frontispiece)

**Main picture:** Madonna with the nude Christ Child, standing and crowned; tessellated background.

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Illustrated in Panofsky, figs. 11 and 9; the miniature in the Ste-Geneviève Hours also in Heinmann, fig. 5. For the intercalation between the three manuscripts cf. below, pp. 178–186. In Panofsky, p. 49, the Mary Cleophas (identifiable by Matthew XXVII. 56–51, Mark XV. 47, and John XIX. 25) is erroneously designated as Mary Salome.

Lateral picture: Madonna with the nude Christ Child, seated on a brocade-covered throne; tessellated background.
Bottom picture: Madonna with the nude Christ Child, seated on a low settle; tessellated background.

Fol. 114 (The Seven Requests, Frontispiece; Plate VIIa)
Main picture: The Trinity (God the Father holding the Crucified Christ with both hands), supported by a cloud of Seraphim; no terrain is indicated.
Lateral picture: The Trinity (God the Father holding the Crucified Christ with His outstretched right hand and carrying the orb in His left); the composition is reminiscent of that in the Arsenal Hours, fol. 77 (main picture).23
Bottom picture: The Trinity (God the Father, Christ, and the Holy Ghost in half-length) on a crescent before a plain blue sky; no terrain is indicated. The composition is almost literally identical with that in an initial in the Ste-Geneviève Hours, fol. 21v (Plate VIIb).24

Fol. 118 (The Vigils of the Dead, Frontispiece; Plate VIIIa)
Main picture: Burial service in a cemetery.
Lateral picture: Dead body emerging from a cleft behind a grave cross.
Bottom picture: Dead body recumbent on the ground between two grave crosses.25

Fol. 151 (Je te salue, Maria, Frontispiece; Plate VIIIb)
Main picture: Madonna with a very vivacious Christ Child, standing and crowned; tessellated background.
Lateral picture: Madonna with the swaddled Christ Child, standing; tessellated background.
Bottom picture: Madonna of Humility (crouching on a red pillow), nursing the nude Christ Child; tessellated background. The subject is as frequent in Italian and Flemish art as it is rare in France.

Fol. 155 (Je te salue, Maria, Frontispiece; Plate IX)
Main picture: Madonna in three-quarter length, emerging from behind a gold cloth (interwoven with red) spread out by two angels. She kisses the Infant, Who, with eyes closed and His right arm

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* Illustrated in Panofsky, fig. 4.
* Illustrated in Panofsky, fig. 15; cf., however, below, pp. 180-181.
* For this characteristic motif and its derivation cf. Heinemann, pp. 54 ff.
lifelessly dangling, is evidently intended to evoke the idea of the Dead Christ mourned by His mother; He is neither nude nor clothed nor swaddled — as in all other instances within our manuscript — but held in a piece of transparent fabric exactly like the shroud of the Resurrected on fol. 90 (Plate VIb). The exceptionally beautiful miniature is a remarkable example of those ‘Pietà Madonnas’ in which the sleep of childhood prefigures the sleep of death (just as, conversely, the Mater Dolorosa, with the body of the dead Saviour on her lap, ‘sensed again the Infant That has rested on her bosom in Bethlehem,’ to quote from St. Bernardino of Siena). Even today the Corporal — the cloth spread over the altar for the Host to rest upon — is said to symbolize both the Saviour’s swaddling cloth and His winding sheet.26 Tessellated background.

*Local picture:* The Virgin Mary, kneeling, holds the white-robed Infant by the hand as though teaching Him to walk; tessellated background.

*Bottom picture:* The Virgin Mary adoring the nude Infant, Who reclines on the ground. The composition resembles the left-hand picture in the Arsenal Hours, fol. 41.27 Tessellated background.

III. Conclusion

As is evident from this description, the closest thematic connection exists between the de Buz Hours, on the one hand, and the Ste-Geneviève and Arsenal-Princeton Hours, on the other. In technical treatment and decoration, however, our manuscript is more intimately related with the Anjou Hours and, most particularly, with the ‘Creator coeli’ page (Plate XIIa) in the Cambridge Hours, which may well be the work of the same illuminator. With this page the de Buz Hours shares the fine-grained tessellation (in comparison with which that in the Arsenal-Princeton and Chantilly Hours appears distinctly crude), and the simple ‘line-and-leaf’ ornament in black and gold which, in the Anjou Hours, is interspersed with heraldic devices and, everywhere else, enriched by acanthus rinceaux, flowers, fruits, and even occasional vases in natural colors.

The de Buz Hours thus clearly belongs to a group of manuscripts

* Illustrated in Panofsky, fig. 2.
generally supposed to antedate the Grandes Heures de Rohan, which is in keeping with the fact that the influence of the Limbourg brothers is still restricted to the Heures d’Ailly, whereas the Grandes Heures de Rohan reveals, in addition, the workshop’s familiarity with the Très Riches Heures. To determine the internal chronology of this group, and thus to assign a definite place to the de Buz Hours, is, however, not quite easy.

The Ste-Geneviève Hours has been regarded as the earliest Book of Hours produced by the Rohan workshop, chiefly on the ground that it shows a preference for more delicate colors, a certain restraint in the use of gold, and the closest affinity with the style of the Boucicaut Master. This argument is, however, somewhat vitiated by the fact that a similar color taste prevails in the de Buz Hours, and that it is in it rather than in the Ste-Geneviève Hours that the Rohan workshop reaches the closest approximation to the Boucicaut style. The argument is further weakened by a comparison between the Descent from the Cross in the Ste-Geneviève Hours (Plate Xa) and that in the Princeton Hours (Plate Xb). In the latter case the main miniature shows a regular Descent from the Cross, closely related to that in the Cambridge Hours, fol. 134 (Plate XIa), with the body of Christ taken down by two men (one of them probably Nicodemus), while two other men, one of them probably Joseph of Arimathea, are seen on the right, and the Magdalene embraces the Cross; the Lamentation, on the other hand, is relegated to the bottom picture. In the Ste-Geneviève Hours, however, the two scenes are compressed into one picture, with the man loosening the nail and the Magdalene omitted, and the Joseph of Arimathea replaced by a substitute who hits the nail with a hammer instead of pulling it out with a pair of pincers. Evidently the arrangement in the Ste-Geneviève Hours is the less logical one—not only because of the inconsistent action of the new Joseph of Arimathea, but also for more general reasons. The bottom picture as evolved in the Rohan workshop is, after all, nothing but a glorified bas-de-page raised to the status of a ‘picture’ by the addition of a frame and the replacement of the blank vellum ground by either sky or tessellation. For an

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See Heimann, pp. 24 ff., and above, n. 19.
*Heimann, pp. 2 ff.
*See above, p. 171, and Plate IVs.
*See above, p. 175, and Panofsky, p. 490.
The de Buz Book of Hours

illuminator having both a main space and a bus-de-page space at his disposal, it was the natural thing to use the former for a regular Descent from the Cross, and the latter for a Lamentation; and the page in the Princeton Hours represents a logical development of the type exemplified by the Descent in the Cambridge Hours (Plate XIa), supplemented by a Lamentation after the fashion of, say, the Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame of ca. 1385 (Plate XIb).53 To sacrifice the Magdalen, to repeat the dead Christ twice within the same picture, and to replace the Joseph of Arimathaea by a figure obviously belonging in a Nailing to the Cross rather than in a Descent, is understandable and pardonable only in an artist who based himself upon a model such as the page in the Princeton Hours and had to adapt it to a manuscript in which no bottom pictures existed.

The Descent in the Ste-Geneviève Hours would therefore seem to presuppose rather than to anticipate that in the Princeton Hours; and that in the de Buz Hours (Plate VIa) would seem to postdate both. For in the de Buz Hours the illuminator accepted the less logical arrangement of the Ste-Geneviève Hours in spite of the fact that he had a bottom space at his disposal — a bottom space which he decided to fill with one of the Thieves.

This conclusion is apparently borne out by the fact that the red mantle of the hammer-brandishing figure is lined with white in the Ste-Geneviève miniature, whereas this difference between cloth and lining has been overlooked in the de Buz miniature. And since a similar oversight occurs in the mantle of the Madonna in the Flight into Egypt (Plate Vb) which, we remember, is intimately related to that in the Anjou Hours,54 the sequence of the manuscripts would seem to be the following: Arsenal-Princeton Hours, Ste-Geneviève Hours, Anjou Hours, de Buz Hours.

Yet one hesitates to accept this sequence in terms of chronological succession and stylistic development. The Arsenal-Princeton manuscript is so negligently and coarsely executed that it is hard to consider it as the parent manuscript from which the others would derive; conversely, an illuminator as relatively careful as the master of the de Buz Hours would hardly have overlooked the difference between cloth and lining had he been working directly from the miniatures in the

53 From P. Durrieu, Les Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame du Duc Jean de Berry (Paris, 1912), pl. XXIV.
54 Cf. above, p. 173.
Ste-Geneviève and Anjou Hours, respectively. And, while in the cases of the Descent from the Cross and the Flight into Egypt the de Buz Hours has what may be called the faulty readings of the text, the opposite is true of the third case in which a similar comparison may be drawn: that of the Trinity on the Crescent, seen both in the de Buz and the Ste-Geneviève Hours (Plate VII a and b).

This highly unorthodox type—unorthodox in every sense of the term and, so far as I know, not found outside the Rohan workshop—can be explained only as a derivation from the 'Creator coeli' page in the Cambridge Hours (Plate XIIa). In this page, we see a Madonna in half-length, flanked by St Peter and St Paul and fittingly placed upon a crescent; and, above, a Trinity in half-length—the Three Persons expressed by three human figures of different ages—equally fittingly supported by a cloud of Seraphim. This composition was exploited by the workshop in various ways. The heads of the two saints recur, with minor variations, in other manuscripts; the Madonna on the Crescent is—which seems to have escaped notice thus far—literally repeated in the Anjou Hours, fol. 18v (Plate XIIb); and our two 'Trinities on the Crescent' resulted from a contraction, not unlike that observed in the Descent from the Cross and Lamentation in the Ste-Geneviève Hours, by which the Cambridge Trinity was brought down to the crescent of the Cambridge Madonna, or—to put it the other way—the crescent of the Cambridge Madonna was substituted for the cloud of Seraphim supporting the Cambridge Trinity. In this case, however, it is in the de Buz Hours that we find the 'better reading' of the basic text: in it the Trinity agrees with that in the 'Creator coeli' page in that the Three Persons are nimbed, and the bearded Christ carries an orb; moreover, He is placed, as He should be, 'ad dexteram Patris.' In the Ste-Geneviève Hours (Plate VIIa), however,

55 For the supposed derivation of this motif from the Limbourg workshop see P. Lemaire, 'Un Livre de Prières inconnu de Philippe le Hardi,' Mélanges Huillery de Léau (Paris and Brussels, 1931), pp. 249 ff. It should be noted, however, that the Madonna on the Crescent already occurs in the dedication page of the Bouchain Hours, fol. 16v.

56 For the St Paul cf. the Zacharias in the Visitation in the Grandes Heures de Rohan, fol. 30 (Porcher II, and Porcher II, pl. 4a) and the Simon in the Presentation, ibid., fol. 94v (Porcher I, text ill.); for the St Peter cf. one of the Apostles in the Pentecost miniature, ibid., fol. 143v (Leroquais, pl. LXXI; Heimann, fig. 22; Porcher I), and, e.g. the St Joseph in the Flight into Egypt in the Anjou Hours (Heimann, fig. 14).

57 Illustrated in Leroquais, pl. XI3.
the haloes as well as the orb are omitted and Christ appears on the Father’s left.

In view of all this I am inclined to believe that neither the degree of affinity with the Bouiccaut style nor the degree of logical consistency in the interpretation of a given archetype is an infallible index of the dates that must be assigned to products of the Rohan workshop. A member of this workshop may have come closer to the style of the Bouiccaut Master, not because of his earlier date, but because of his previous training and personal taste; and one miniature may seem to antedate another, not because it actually preceded it, but because its author happened to be more careful in the exploitation of a common workshop pattern.

All workshops of the time kept permanent records of their work in the form of pattern drawings or pattern books from which a given composition could be copied long after the work in which it had been used for the first time had left the shop and was no longer available for direct imitation. In the Rohan workshop — so productive of unusual yet constantly repeated inventions — this custom must have played an even larger role than in others, and it would seem that the relation between its products must be judged, not in terms of direct copying from manuscript to manuscript, but in terms of the repeated use of workshop patterns in black and white which could be reversed or varied, atomized or recombined, according to the taste — and understanding — of the executants.

All things considered, the Cambridge Hours would seem to antedate rather than to postdate the Ste-Geneviève Hours, which may be regarded as of ca. 1428, and as roughly contemporaneous with both the Arsenal-Princeton and Chantilly Hours. The de Buz Hours — though

38 Neither can the assumption that the use of gold in Rohan manuscripts increased in proportion to their ‘costliness’ be accepted without reservations. In the first place the amount of gold is, to some extent, a matter of costliness; so that a manuscript ‘de grand luxe’ would ipso facto contain more gold than a simpler one. In the second place its use has to be judged not only in terms of quantity but also in terms of intention. In the Grandes Heures de Rohan, for instance, gold is employed in a decorative rather than in a pictorial spirit, whereas the opposite is true of the Cambridge Hours; so that the latter, admittedly the earlier by far, shows gold precisely where the former does not, viz., in lieu of high-lights even in the landscapes.

39 The necessity of considering the use of pattern books and pattern drawings in the criticism of illuminated manuscripts was justly stressed, several years ago, in an address by Miss Dorothy Miner before the Journal Club of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University. It is to be hoped that this important address will be published.
in many ways more closely connected both with the style of the 'Creator coeli' page in the Cambridge Hours and that of the Boucicaut workshop—would seem to be a little later, especially because its bottom pictures no longer retain the oblong format of the original bas-de-pages but are assimilated to the vertical shape of the lateral miniatures. On the other hand, it would seem to be somewhat earlier than the Anjou Hours, which, produced for a prince born as late as 1409, cannot have been executed prior to ca. 1425–30. While the new manuscript thus complicates rather than simplifies the chronological problem, it throws some further light upon the working habits of an atelier no less remarkable for its unconventionality than for its repetitiousness.

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