

A Late Fifteenth-Century Parisian Book of Hours in a Canadian Collection

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[See table of contents](#)

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Article abstract

Le livre d'heures, dont maints exemples furent produits dans tous les centres importants de l'Europe occidentale, est de loin le plus typique des livres de liturgie de la fin du moyen âge. La popularité qu'ont connue les livres d'heures, livres de dévotion personnels réservés principalement à l'usage des laïcs, témoigne de la piété de leurs possesseurs; et le luxe avec lequel beaucoup de ces manuscrits furent ornés est indicatif de la richesse de leurs propriétaires. Les Heures de Pathy, dans une collection privé à Toronto, fut exécuté vers la fin du quinzisième siècle à Paris. Les auteurs anonymes du manuscrit, bien qu'étant moins habiles que certaines de leurs contemporains, ont procuré à leur patron non identifié un ouvrage orné de manière somptueuse, contenant une profusion de détails narratifs. Cette oeuvre ravissante enrichit nos connaissances de la dernière période d'épanouissement de l'enluminure au moyen âge.

A Late Fifteenth-Century Parisian Book of Hours in a Canadian Collection

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Résumé

Le livre d'heures, dont maints exemples furent produits dans tous les centres importants de l'Europe occidentale, est de loin le plus typique des livres de liturgie de la fin du moyen âge. La popularité qu'ont connue les livres d'heures, livres de dévotion personnels réservés principalement à l'usage des laïcs, témoigne de la piété de leurs possesseurs; et le luxe avec lequel beaucoup de ces manuscrits furent ornés est indicatif de la richesse de leurs propriétaires.

Les Heures de Pathy, dans une collection privée à Toronto, fut exécuté vers la fin du quinzième siècle à Paris. Les auteurs anonymes du manuscrit, bien qu'étant moins habiles que certains de leurs contemporains, ont procuré à leur patron non identifié un ouvrage orné de manière somptueuse, contenant une profusion de détails narratifs. Cette oeuvre ravissante enrichit nos connaissances de la dernière période d'épanouissement de l'enluminure au moyen âge.

By far the most common type of late medieval liturgical book was the Book of Hours, examples of which were produced in vast quantities in all major centres of western Europe.¹ The popularity of Books of Hours, which are private devotional books used primarily by laymen, attests to the piety of their owners; and the lavishness with which many of these manuscripts were decorated reflects their owners' wealth.

Numerous Books of Hours, both complete and fragmentary, have survived into the twentieth century, including many fine examples in public and private collections in Canada.² Unfortunately, many of these are unpublished (an updated census is long overdue), and thus their potential contribution to art historical knowledge remains unassessed. Despite the relative lack of scholarly attention, some significant discoveries have been made: two examples have been recognized as noteworthy additions to the *oeuvre* of such major artists as the Rohan Master³ and Simon Bening;⁴ another has been identified as an important fragment of a disassembled and dispersed Dutch vernacular Prayerbook.⁵ The goals of this paper are to add the Pathy Hours to the list of Books of Hours in Canadian collections, to show that it was produced in Paris in the late fifteenth century, and to discuss its place among contemporary examples of book illumination from that city. In addition, the role of the patron in selecting the decorative program of the manuscript will be examined.

The Pathy Hours, in the private collection of Alexander C. Pathy in Toronto,⁶ consists of 198 folios, measuring 15.7 by 11 cm. The manuscript is ruled with fifteen lines to a page and is written in a liturgical gothic script. The binding is modern and is too tightly sewn for the collation to be determined. The manuscript is in very good condition, with only a slight bit of rubbing on some of the leaves. It is lavishly decorated, with extensive use of liquid gold. There are fourteen large and nineteen small miniatures,

numerous decorated initials, and a foliate border on almost every leaf. The foliate decoration occupies the outer margin only on the Calendar pages and on most of the text pages, but fills at least three and in some cases all four margins of the folios with miniatures. The text is written primarily in Latin, but French is used for the Calendar and several of the prayers (for the details of the textual and pictorial contents of the manuscript, see the Appendix).

The internal contents of Books of Hours vary considerably, although there are certain features that are relatively standard. The core of a Book of Hours is the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, more commonly known as the Hours of the Virgin. This text is a series of prayers and psalms for each of the eight canonical hours of the day, beginning with Matins, to be read just after arising in the morning, and ending with Compline, to be read just before going to bed. Other typical features are a Calendar, extracts from the four Gospels, two prayers to the Virgin – the "Obsecro te" and the "O intemerata," the Seven Penitential Psalms and Litany, the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Office of the Dead, and Suffrages, or prayers, to various saints. French Books of Hours usually include two prayers in French: the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin and the Seven Requests to Our Lord. All of these elements are present in the Pathy Hours.

A close examination of the text of the Pathy Hours provides important clues about its intended use. For one thing, the specific prayers and psalms comprising the Hours of the Virgin varied from region to region, and the version of this text in the Pathy Hours corresponds to the use of Paris.⁷ Moreover, the text of the Office of the Dead, which also contains regional variations, also reflects Parisian tradition.⁸ Finally, the Calendar entries include such Parisian saints as Geneviève (January 3), Yves (May 19), Germain (May 28), Landry (June 10), Marcel (July 26), Cloud (September 7), and Léon (November 12); a prayer to Saint Yves is also in-

cluded among the Suffrages.⁹ Consequently, it seems reasonable to conclude that the manuscript was made for use in the region of Paris.

The manuscript was almost certainly made for a woman: on the verso page preceding the miniature of the Annunciation to the Virgin is an image of a woman kneeling in prayer, holding her rosary, with her Book of Hours open on a prie-dieu in front of her (figs. 2, 3). This pictorial formula of a praying figure juxtaposed with a biblical narrative scene or with figures of the Virgin and Child or saints is a standard artistic device for the representation of the owner of a manuscript. In Books of Hours, portraits of owners are frequently associated with a scene of the Annunciation, which usually decorates the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin. This tradition is preserved in the Pathy Hours, and can also be found in such well-known examples as the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, made in Paris ca. 1325 by Jean Pucelle.¹⁰

Another indication of the female gender of the owner of a Book of Hours is often found in the prayers "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata." The texts of these two prayers can be written for either a male or a female supplicant.¹¹ One might expect the Pathy Hours to include the feminine versions of these prayers, but instead the masculine versions are found. This might seem to contradict the earlier conclusion that the manuscript was made for a woman, but as is pointed out in a discussion of a late fifteenth-century French Book of Hours in the Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor:

The masculine form used in ... the "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata" does not necessarily indicate that the Hours were written for a man as this form is found in manuscripts undoubtedly written for women; the scribe would have used the masculine form automatically unless given precise instructions to do otherwise.¹²

Unfortunately, the Pathy Hours does not contain one of the most useful clues to the owner's identity: a coat of arms. The coat of arms of the owner was added to many medieval manuscripts and might be located almost anywhere in the codex. In Books of Hours, coats of arms are often found in the lower margin of the leaves that begin the principal textual divisions. If a Book of Hours contains only one coat of arms, it is most frequently located at the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin, beneath the depiction of the Annunciation.¹³ Of course, not all owners of medieval manuscripts possessed coats of arms: by the late fifteenth century, Books of Hours were being mass produced in relatively vast numbers in urban ateliers, and even members of the lower bourgeoisie could afford to own their own

books.¹⁴ The Pathy Hours is probably one such example.

Other evidence for the identity of the owner of a Book of Hours can sometimes be found in the Calendar, in which the birthdate or other important dates in the life of the owner might be entered, or in the Litany or Suffrages, where a reference to a saint who is not among the standard inclusions might indicate the patron saint of the owner and thereby the owner's given name.¹⁵ It is possible that the Pathy Hours contains a clue to the given name, not of the female owner of the manuscript, but to that of her husband. The usual arrangement in Books of Hours was to group prayers to all of the male saints at the beginning of the Suffrages, followed by prayers to all of the female saints. This practice is followed in the Pathy Hours for the most part, but at the end of the Suffrages to female saints is a prayer to Saint Sebastian (fig. 9). The inclusion of this prayer at the end of the manuscript might represent an addition made at the request of the patron.¹⁶ Since the manuscript does not contain prayers to any atypical female saints, one might presume that the patron saint of the owner was already included; thus her given name might have been Mary, Margaret or Catherine, the female saints to whom prayers are directed in the Pathy Hours.

Although it is probable that the liturgical use and hagiographic peculiarities of a manuscript indicate its place of origin, one should not automatically make that assumption. As John Plummer notes, "local use tells us only where a book was intended to be used, not necessarily where it was made."¹⁷ For example, the use of Rome is the most common liturgical use found in Books of Hours, although only a small proportion of manuscripts following this use were actually made in that city. In late fifteenth-century Paris, Books of Hours produced in the workshop of Maître François, one of the most important ateliers in the city, primarily followed the use of Paris, but some were made following the use of other centres, including Rome¹⁸ and Bourges.¹⁹

Confirmation of the presumed place of production of a Book of Hours is provided by its decorative elements. In the Pathy Hours, one of the most immediate clues is found in the foliate borders. The specific foliate motifs range from rather abstract acanthus sprays to realistic depictions of roses, violets, strawberries, columbines and thistles. In many instances the border decoration is not limited to various types of flora, but also includes small birds and animals, both realistic and fantastic (figs. 2-5, 7-8). Of particular significance is the subdivision of many of the borders into smaller compartments of various geometric shapes, such as circles, rectangles, figure eights and hearts (figs. 1, 3-5, 7). More abstract rectilinear and curvilinear forms are also used

Figure 1. Saint Mark. Pathy Hours, fol. 17v (Photo: John Glover).

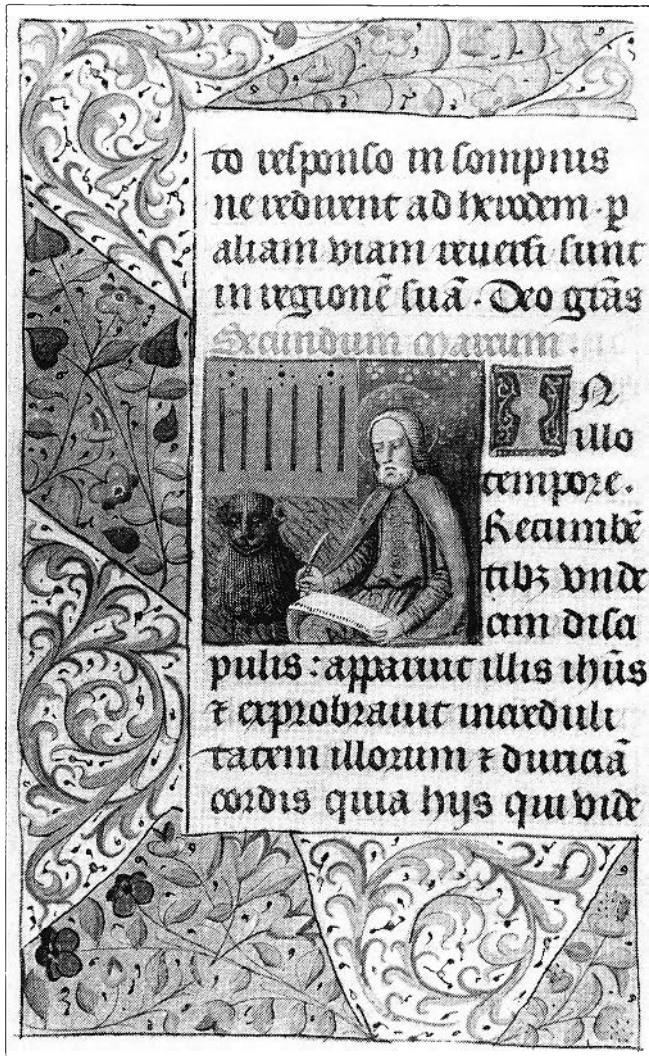


Figure 2. Portrait of the Owner. Pathy Hours, fol. 27v (Photo: John Glover).



to compartmentalize the foliate decoration (figs. 6, 9). One of the most curious shapes is found in the border of the leaf depicting All Saints: one half of the shape is the profile of a human head, the other half is the profile of a bird. It has been noted that the use of geometric patterns "painted on the parchment within the regular shape of the border ... is found only in French manuscripts dating from approximately the last quarter of the fifteenth century."²⁰ Thus, the style of the borders also assists in establishing a date for the manuscript.

Some of the closest parallels for the borders of the Pathy Hours are seen in works localized to the region of Paris. For example, the lozenge design bordering the scene of the Adoration of the Magi in the Pathy Hours (fig. 4) is almost identical to a border in a Parisian Psalter dated 1489 in the Walters Art Gallery.²¹ The circular compartments bordering the scene of the Flight into Egypt (fig. 5) and the trian-

gles and chevrons bordering the depiction of Saint Mark (fig. 1) in the Pathy Hours are comparable to borders in a late fifteenth-century Parisian Book of Hours at Waddesdon Manor.²² It has been noted that the latter manuscript is exceptional in its variety of border designs,²³ and the Pathy Hours is fully comparable in this respect.

The most compelling evidence for the date and place of origin of the Pathy Hours is provided by the manuscript's miniatures. A close examination of these images reveals that they were the work of two different artists (for a breakdown of the two hands, see the Appendix). The first artist, Master A, produced all of the large miniatures (for example, figs. 2-8). This artist was presumably the head of the atelier since he painted the more important illuminations in the manuscript. His scenes are rendered with a wealth of narrative detail, with fully developed landscape and architectural settings. His figures are elongated, and are often

Figure 3. Annunciation to the Virgin. Pathy Hours, fol. 28r (Photo: John Glover).



awkward, even clumsy, but are depicted in a lively and energetic manner. The faces of his figures are somewhat lumpy, but convey a great deal of emotion.

The second artist, Master B, produced all of the smaller illustrations (for example, figs. 1, 9). This artist appears to have been as accomplished as his colleague in rendering backgrounds, although the smaller size of his images does not allow for a great deal of creativity with background detail. His figures are considerably less animated, with relatively stiffer poses and gestures. This artist's particular skill is apparent in the heads of his figures, and it is here that the differences between the two artists are most clearly observed. The second artist's faces are much wider at the eyes, with smoother contours, more serene expressions and upward-curving eyebrows. Also different is his method of rendering the hair: it is brushed back from the face in horizontal strokes, which are highlighted in gold. In several, but not all, of his miniatures, the skin of his figures is painted a bright pink colour. The manner in which these two artists use gold to provide drapery highlights also differs. Master

Figure 4. Adoration of the Magi. Pathy Hours, fol. 66v (Photo: John Glover).



A prefers stippled patterns with occasional passages of short horizontal strokes, while Master B tends to use either a grid of vertical and horizontal lines or long vertical strokes.

During the late fifteenth century, the Parisian book trade was dominated by the ateliers of three major artists: the Rolin Master, Maître François, and Jacques de Besançon. The principal work associated with the Rolin Master (named for one of his patrons, Jean Rolin II, Cardinal Bishop of Autun), who was active from ca. 1435 to 1465, is a manuscript of the *Horloge de Sapience* in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale, MS. IV. 111).²⁴ The *oeuvre* of Maître François, who was active from ca. 1460 to 1485, has been reconstructed on the basis of a letter dated 1473 which refers to a manuscript of the *Cité de Dieu* (now identified as Paris, Bibl. Nat., MSS. fr. 18-19), which was illuminated by an artist identified as "egregious pictor Franciscus."²⁵ In the same year, an artist referred to as "Maître François, enlumineur" was listed as a visitor to the court of Charles II of Anjou. At the end of the nineteenth century, it was suggested that this artist was the son of the great painter Jean Fouquet, but this theory has since been discredited.²⁶

Figure 5. Flight into Egypt. Pathy Hours, fol. 76r (Photo: John Glover).



The *oeuvre* of Jacques de Besançon, who was active from ca. 1480 to 1495, has been established on the basis of a colophon in a manuscript of the Office of Saint John the Evangelist dated 1485 (Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS. 461), which identifies the artist as “Jacques de Besançon, enlumineur.”²⁷ This manuscript contains only two illuminations, which were produced by what appears to be two different artists.²⁸ Assuming that Jacques de Besançon was the head of the atelier, he was probably the artist who painted the larger, and artistically superior, of the two illustrations: Saint John the Evangelist holding a chalice.²⁹

There is no question of identifying the illuminators of the Pathy Hours as the Rolin Master, Maître François and/or Jacques de Besançon, although a general echo of their styles can be perceived. For example, the elongated, energetic figures with their heavy-lidded, coarse features in the miniatures by Master A in the Pathy Hours (figs. 2-8) closely parallel the types rendered by Maître François in the *Cité*

Figure 6. David and Bathsheba. Pathy Hours, fol. 91r (Photo: John Glover).

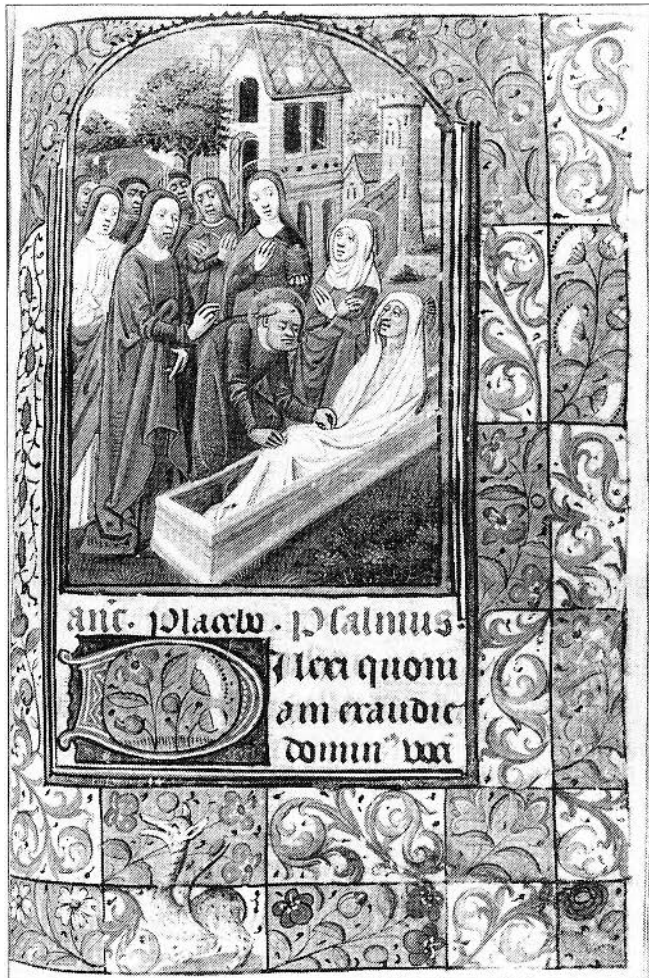


de Dieu.³⁰ These two artists are also comparable with regard to their extensively detailed settings, which include both architectural and landscape features. The more serene figures painted by Master B in the Pathy Hours (figs. 1, 9) are more comparable to Jacques de Besançon's figure of Saint John in Bibl. Mazarine, MS. 461.

The principal difference between the style of the Pathy Hours and those of Maître François and Jacques de Besançon is that the figures in the Pathy Hours are much less solid and three-dimensional; more cartoon-like. Their poses and gestures are relatively more clumsy and wooden. The architectural settings in the Pathy Hours are also less realistic, in terms of both perspective and decorative detail. In characterizing the style of the Pathy Hours, I would certainly not go so far as the authors of the catalogue of manuscripts at Waddesdon Manor, who, in describing a late fifteenth-century Book of Hours from the region of Paris, said:

None [of the illustrations] can be attributed to any of the few known miniaturists of the period, and yet this style is found in many French books. In itself it is not

Figure 7. Raising of Lazarus. Pathy Hours, fol. 121r (Photo: John Glover).



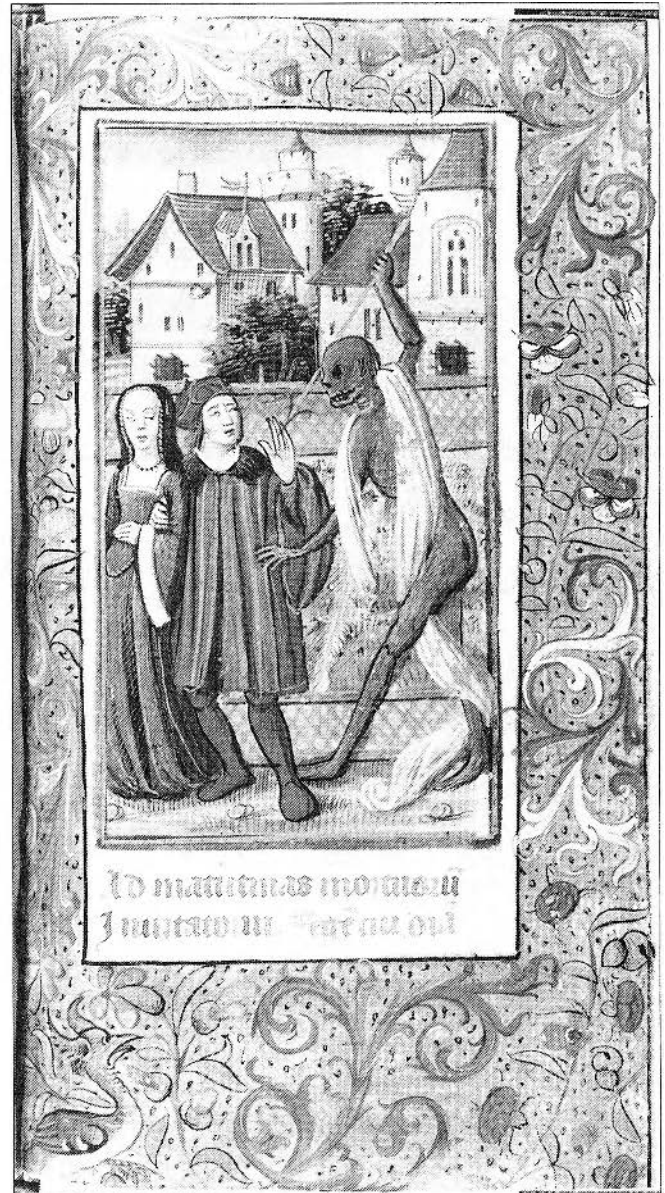
really a style but is probably the result of an impersonal fusion of different artistic traditions Whatever the origin of the style, its individuality has been lost, and it has become a rather passive convention³¹

I believe a fairer assessment of the artistic quality of the Pathy Hours is contained in a remark by John Plummer, in which he describes the nature of late fifteenth-century manuscript illumination in Paris:

... the production of illuminated manuscripts remained high in Paris, but the quality became more routine. No major figure or readily recognizable artistic personality emerged; the various hands seem to blur one into the other At the same time the manuscripts are often elaborately illustrated and decorated³²

Although the artists of the Pathy Hours did not break any new ground in terms of style, it should be noted that they gave their customers full value for their money. The borders are lavishly painted, with an exceptional variety of geometric patterns and charming grotesques. Each of the

Figure 8. Death and the Lovers. Pathy Hours, fol. 173r (Photo: John Glover).



miniatures, particularly the larger ones, is completely filled with carefully rendered narrative and background details. When the Pathy Hours is examined from the point of view of customer satisfaction, the comment about the "routine" quality of late fifteenth-century manuscript illumination in Paris is probably irrelevant.

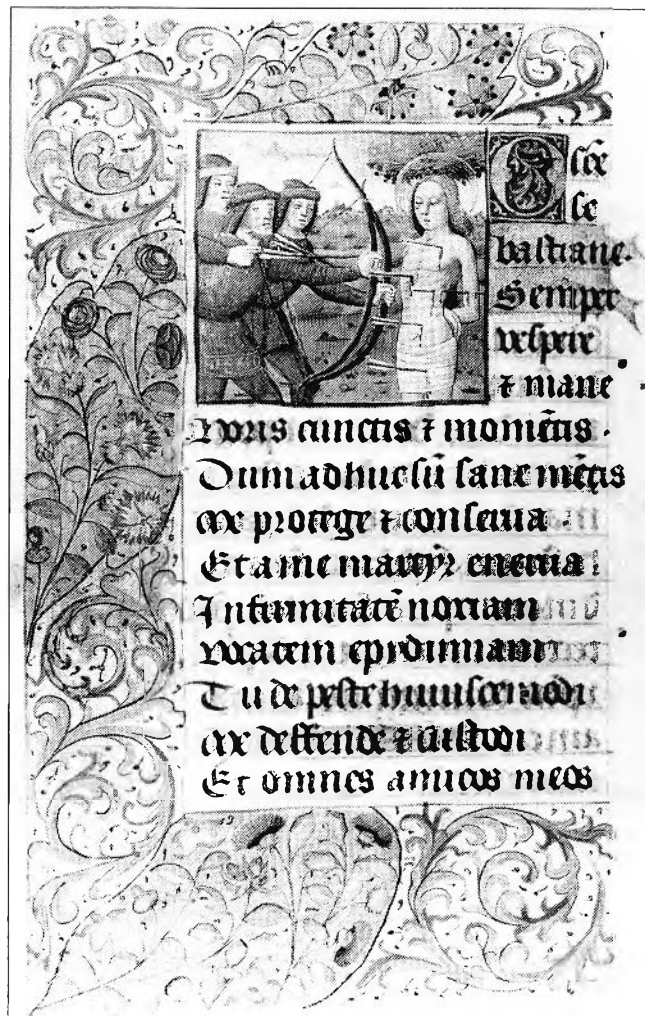
The iconography of the illustrations in the Pathy Hours is also comparable to late fifteenth-century Parisian Books of Hours. For example, the cycle of images decorating the eight sections of the Hours of the Virgin, which begins with the Annunciation to the Virgin (fig. 3) and continues with principal events from the Infancy of Christ, ending with the Coronation of the Virgin, deviates very little from the standard repertory of iconographic motifs seen in other late

fifteenth-century Parisian Books of Hours.³³ The scene of the Adoration of the Magi in the Pathy Hours (fig. 4), for example, closely parallels versions by Maître François in the Wharnccliffe Hours,³⁴ the Gulbenkian Hours,³⁵ and the Egerton Hours.³⁶ The scene of the Flight into Egypt (fig. 5), which combines three separate narrative events – the Flight itself, King Herod dispatching his soldiers, and the Miracle of the Sower³⁷ – can be compared to an example by the Master of the Chasse à la Licorne in the late fifteenth-century Parisian Séguier Hours.³⁸

Although by the late fifteenth century the scenes selected to decorate the Hours of the Virgin in Parisian Books of Hours had become more or less standardized, there was a much greater variety of images used to illustrate some of the other portions of the text, such as the Penitential Psalms and the Office of the Dead. Because of the wider range of pictorial options associated with these parts of Books of Hours, the question of the role of the patron must be addressed. Also at issue is the identity of the patron: was it the woman for whom the manuscript was made or was it her husband? A certain degree of involvement by the patron in the illustrations of the Pathy Hours has already been demonstrated: the patron, either male or female, requested the inclusion of the portrait of the female owner on the leaf opposite the scene of the Annunciation. In addition, the inclusion of the Suffrage to Saint Sebastian at the end of the manuscript might have been added at the patron's request. The patron may also have made the ultimate decision as to which illustrations would accompany the Penitential Psalms and the Office of the Dead.

The Penitential Psalms were traditionally illustrated with a scene from the life of King David, the most frequent selection being a depiction of David in prayer.³⁹ In the Pathy Hours, however, the Penitential Psalms are illustrated with a depiction of David watching Bathsheba bathing (fig. 6). An example closely related to the version in the Pathy Hours is seen in the Séguier Hours.⁴⁰ A depiction of David and Bathsheba is a logical image to decorate the Penitential Psalms, since it was David's lust for Bathsheba which set off the sequence of events leading to his penitence. Moreover, the title to Psalm 50, the fourth Penitential Psalm, refers to David's adultery with Bathsheba.⁴¹ It is interesting to note, however, that the iconography of David watching Bathsheba bathing was first incorporated into French Books of Hours in the late fifteenth century,⁴² at a time when the number of women book owners had multiplied dramatically.⁴³ Is there any connection between these two facts: that is, is it possible that this iconography was specifically selected by or directed towards women? And if so, how was it meant to be interpreted? Paul Saenger has sug-

Figure 9. Saint Sebastian. Pathy Hours, fol. 195v (Photo: John Glover).



gested that the iconography is essentially erotic:

Inspired by the sexually explicit illustrations in secular texts ... artists decorated books of hours with increasingly suggestive erotic scenes often ostensibly depicting the vices for which penance was required but consciously intended to excite the *voyeur* of the book. ... [S]cenes of Bathsheba in the bath evolved into titillating vignettes depicting auto-eroticism.⁴⁴

If Saenger is correct, then the selection of this image for inclusion in the Pathy Hours was probably made by the female owner of the manuscript. But as Madeline Caviness has stated, "a caveat in dealing with 'women's books' [is] not to assume the female owner/reader was the patron"⁴⁵ If the patron of the Pathy Hours was not its female owner, but her husband, the iconography of David and Bathsheba might have been meant to be understood in some other context. For example, Caviness has noted that the patron of the Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux was not the queen, but

her husband, Charles IV, and has suggested that the marginal images were intended to present a negative view of sexuality, in order to repulse and frighten the young queen, and thus control her sexual behaviour.⁴⁶

Evidence that the iconography of David watching Bathsheba bathing was viewed in a negative context in the late Middle Ages is provided by a mid-fifteenth-century French Book of Hours in London, in which the Seven Penitential Psalms are decorated with personifications of the Seven Deadly Sins. The sixth Penitential Psalm is illustrated by a female personification of Lust with a depiction of David watching Bathsheba bathing in the background.⁴⁷ Another important source for the late medieval interpretation of this iconography is found in the *Livre du chevalier de la Tour-Landry*, written in 1371-72 by Geoffrey de la Tour-Landry, a knight of Poitou.⁴⁸ This treatise, which was well-known in late fifteenth-century Paris, was written for the daughters of the Chevalier de la Tour-Landry to guide them in their secular lives. One section of the treatise presents biblical examples of good and evil women as positive and negative role models for his daughters' behaviour; Bathsheba is cited in the latter category.⁴⁹ The Chevalier implies that Bathsheba's original sin was pride: her immodest display of her beauty while bathing caused David to succumb to temptation. Bathsheba's immodesty quickly led, however, to the far more grievous sin of adultery and to David's murder of Uriah, Bathsheba's husband. A scene of David watching Bathsheba bathing in a Book of Hours produced for a married woman could have been interpreted in light of these pictorial and textual paradigms as a symbol of one of the greatest sins that a married woman could commit: adultery.⁵⁰

The theory that certain images in Books of Hours were intended as pictorial models for the behaviour of women is supported by the illustrations associated with the Office of the Dead in the Pathy Hours. The wealth of imagery associated with this text is probably indicative both of its popularity – the Office of the Dead was read daily as a reminder of the transitory nature of earthly existence and as a protection against dying unprepared – and of the late medieval fascination with death.⁵¹ In the late fifteenth century the most common images selected to decorate the text for Vespers were either a funeral service in a church or a burial scene in a cemetery,⁵² but the Vespers illustration in the Pathy Hours is the Raising of Lazarus (fig. 7). This image is closely related to an illustration in the *Très petites Heures* of Anne of Brittany, produced in Paris in the late fifteenth century by the Master of the Chasse à la Licorne.⁵³

The use of an image of the Raising of Lazarus to illustrate the Office of the Dead is logical in light of the inter-

pretation of this text, since the early Christian period, as a prefiguration of the resurrection of the dead at the Last Judgement.⁵⁴ Moreover, the resurrection of Lazarus was specifically cited in the text of the Office of the Dead as a paradigm for salvation.⁵⁵ However, this iconography, like that of David and Bathsheba, was not widespread in French Books of Hours before the late fifteenth century, implying that the popularity of the imagery might be connected to the rise in the number of female owners of Books of Hours. Once again, the treatise of the Chevalier de la Tour-Landry provides a possible source, but in this case the exemplar is a positive, not a negative one. In the illustration of the Raising of Lazarus in the Pathy Hours, the two sisters of Lazarus, Mary Magdalene and Martha, are prominently featured. The Chevalier de la Tour-Landry identifies both of these women as positive role models for his daughters. Mary Magdalene's penitence when she washed Christ's feet with her tears, her faith in Christ when she witnessed the resurrection of her brother, and her ultimate fate as a desert hermit, are cited by the Chevalier as exemplars for the need to repent sin, to be confessed, to do penance, and to dread the fate awaiting sinners in the afterlife.⁵⁶ Martha's hospitality towards holy prophets, pilgrims and the poor are identified by the Chevalier as models for the need to perform charitable acts for those less fortunate.⁵⁷ Thus, the depiction of the Raising of Lazarus in the Pathy Hours might have been perceived by the manuscript's female owner as more than a prefiguration of salvation, but also of the need, based on the treatise of the Chevalier de la Tour-Landry, to earn salvation by modelling her behaviour on that of Mary and Martha.

The final scene in the Pathy Hours that supports the concept of imagery directed specifically at the female owner of the manuscript is the illustration for Matins in the Office of the Dead. In late fifteenth-century Parisian Books of Hours this text is frequently decorated with a personification of Death attacking the living, which represents a more fanciful thread in the general theme of fear of death than more realistic scenes of death and burial. The image in the Pathy Hours is Death and the Lovers, in which a young couple is pursued by a desiccated corpse armed with a lance (fig. 8). A close comparison to the version in the Pathy Hours can be seen in a late fifteenth-century Parisian Book of Hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁵⁸

The iconography of Death and the Lovers might have been selected for the Pathy Hours because of the prominent depiction of a woman, with the intention that the image serve as a model for the behaviour of the female owner of the manuscript. On a general level, the image might have served as a reminder of the need to confess her sins regu-

larly because of the suddenness with which death can strike; or in a more pointedly moralizing vein, it might have represented yet another warning against the vice of unchastity. The Chevalier de la Tour-Landry cites several anecdotes that support both of these interpretations: in one instance a pious and charitable woman was damned, suffering great torments in hell, because she failed to confess a youthful sin;⁵⁹ in another example, an adulterous woman, who had betrayed her husband, was punished for her sin with a terrible death.⁶⁰

The textual variation in Books of Hours has long been realized. As Paul Saenger has noted:

The choice of texts in books of hours was sufficiently wide so as to permit scribes or *libraires* to assemble the kinds of prayers preferred by the purchaser of the book and to adjust these prayers to the appropriate gender and name. These books, although mass produced, were far more personal than those of previous epochs.⁶¹

The choice of images used to decorate Books of Hours was also wide, and a similar process of assemblage must have been used to compile the pictorial programmes of these manuscripts. The greatest degree of iconographic variation comes in the late fifteenth century, at a time when the number of female owners of Books of Hours was larger than ever before. It is possible that the development of new pictorial programs during this period could represent personal choices by the female owners of these manuscripts, but it seems much more likely that these images were directed towards women by their husbands, as pictorial models to guide them in their religious and secular lives.

In conclusion, the Pathy Hours, created in a late fifteenth-century Parisian atelier by artists who, albeit of lesser ability than some of their contemporaries, attempted to provide their patron, who was probably the husband of the woman for whom the manuscript was made, with a lavishly decorated product, containing a wealth of narrative detail. The patron also participated in the creation of the finished product: he requested the inclusion of his wife's portrait, and he may have ordered the addition of the prayer to Saint Sebastian; he may also have selected images that presented both positive and negative role models for his wife. The resulting work presents a significant insight into the aesthetic, religious and social values of the bourgeoisie in the era of the final flowering of medieval manuscript illumination.

APPENDIX

Textual and Pictorial Contents of the Pathy Hours (illuminations indicated in bold)

- fols. 1r - 12v Calendar, in French
- fols. 13r - 18v Gospel extracts
 - fol. 13r** Saint John seated on Patmos, writing his Gospel, accompanied by the eagle [Master B]
 - fol. 17v** Saint Mark seated, writing his Gospel, accompanied by the lion [Master B]
- fols. 19r - 26r Prayers to the Virgin: "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata"
 - fol. 19r** Virgin Mary in a golden mandorla, surrounded by blue clouds [Master B]
- fols. 26v - 27r Blank
 - fol. 27v** Portrait of a woman kneeling at a prie-dieu, holding a rosary [Master A]
- fols. 28r - 90r Hours of the Virgin
 - fol. 28r** Annunciation to the Virgin (Matins) [Master A]
 - fol. 41r** Visitation (Lauds) [Master A]
 - fol. 54r** Nativity (Prime) [Master A]
 - fol. 61r** Annunciation to the Shepherds (Tierce) [Master A]
 - fol. 66v** Adoration of the Magi (Sext) [Master A]
 - fol. 71v** Presentation in the Temple (None) [Master A]
 - fol. 76r** Flight into Egypt (Vespers) [Master A]
 - fol. 84r** Coronation of the Virgin (Compline) [Master A]
 - fol. 90v Blank
- fols. 91r - 110v Seven Penitential Psalms and Litany
 - fol. 91r** David and Bathsheba [Master A]
- fols. 111r - 116r Hours of the Cross
 - fol. 111r** Crucifixion [Master A]
- fols. 116v - 120r Hours of the Holy Spirit
 - fol. 116v** Pentecost [Master A]
- fols. 121r - 173v Office of the Dead
 - fol. 121r** Raising of Lazarus (Vespers) [Master A]
 - fol. 173r** Death and the Lovers (Matins) [Master A]
- fols. 174r - 179v Prayers, in French: "Doulce dame de misericorde, mere de pitié, fontaine de tous biens ..." (Fifteen Joys of the Virgin)⁶²
 - fol. 174r** Virgin and Child before a cloth of honour, choirs of angels in background [Master B]
- fols. 180r - 183v Prayer, in French: "Doulx Dieu, doux Pere, sainte Trinité et ung Dieu ..." (Seven Requests to Our Lord)⁶³

- fol. 180r Trinity [Master B]
 fols. 184r - 198r Suffrages
 fol. 184r Trinity [Master B]
 fol. 184v Saint Peter (June 29) [Master B]
 fol. 185v Saint Paul (June 29) [Master B]
 fol. 186r Saint John the Baptist (June 24) [Master B]
 fol. 187v Saint James (July 25) [Master B]
 fol. 188r Saint Denis (October 9) [Master B]
 fol. 189r Saint Martin (November 11) [Master B]
 fol. 190r Saint Nicholas (December 6) [Master B]
 fol. 190v Saint Yves (May 19) [Master B]
 fol. 191v Saint Mary Magdalene (July 22) [Master B]
 fol. 192v Saint Margaret (July 20) [Master B]
 fol. 193r Saint Catherine (November 25) [Master B]
 fol. 194r All Saints (November 1) [Master B]
 fol. 195v Saint Sebastian (January 20) [Master B]
 fol. 198v Blank

Notes

For my friend and colleague Robert Deshman (1941-1995). An early version of this paper was presented at the Twelfth Annual Canadian Conference of Medieval Art Historians (Toronto, 1992).

- 1 For the production of Books of Hours compared to other types of liturgical texts, see Gerard Austin, "Liturgical Manuscripts in the United States and Canada," *Scriptorium*, XXVIII (1974), 92-100, who lists 1378 Books of Hours against only 237 Psalters, the second most common type of liturgical book in his survey. For discussions of Books of Hours in general, see Victor Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 3 vols (Paris, 1927); Victor Leroquais, *Supplément aux livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Mâcon, 1943); L.M.J. Delaissé, "The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book," *Gatherings in Honour of Dorothy E. Miner*, Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M.C. Randall, Richard H. Randall, Jr., eds (Baltimore, 1974), 203-25; Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York, 1988); also published as *The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, (London, 1988); Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London, 1985); John Harthan, *The Book of Hours* (New York, 1977); also published as *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London, 1977); Christopher de Hamel, "Books for Everybody," *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1986), 159-85; Robert G. Calkins, "The Book of Hours," *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (Cornell, 1983), 243-82. Studies of individual Books of Hours also provide very useful general information; for late fifteenth-century French Books of Hours, which are the focus of this paper, see especially Margaret Manion, *The Wharnclyffe Hours: A Study of a Fifteenth-Century Prayerbook*

(Sydney, 1972); Rowan Watson, *The Playfair Hours: A Late Fifteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscript from Rouen* (London, 1984).

- 2 For Books of Hours in Canadian collections, see Seymour de Ricci and W.J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, II (New York, 1937), 2201-38; W.H. Bond and C.U. Faye, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), 533-38; Sheila Campbell, ed., *The Malcove Collection* (Toronto, 1985), cat. nos. 405-6; *Canada Collects the Middle Ages*, exh. cat. (Regina, 1986), cat. nos. 86-88; Elizabeth Leesti, *Liturgical Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, exh. cat. (Montreal, 1987), cat. nos. 19-32.
- 3 The Giac Hours in the Royal Ontario Museum; Adelheid Heimann, "The Giac Book of Hours," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXI (1937), 83-84; Rachel Cropsey Simons, "The Giac and Their Book of Hours," *Rotunda*, XXII (1989/90), 31-35.
- 4 A detached leaf from a Book of Hours, now in the Montreal Museum of Fine Art; Elizabeth Leesti, "A Depiction of Saint Sebald of Nuremberg by Simon Bening," *Oud Holland*, CV (1991), 116-26.
- 5 Three leaves in the Malcove Collection in Toronto; this information was communicated in a letter to the author from James Marrow.
- 6 The manuscript was purchased by Pathy in London in 1975, from Dawsons of Pall Mall. Its previous provenance is unknown.
- 7 For example, the antiphon and capitulum for Prime are "Benedicta tu" and "Felix namque," respectively; and the antiphon and capitulum for None are "Sicut Lilium" and "Per te Dei," respectively. For a breakdown of the variant texts for a number of centres of manuscript production, see Falconer Madan, "Hours of the Virgin Mary (Tests for Localization)," *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, III (1920-22), 40-44; Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, I, xxxvi-xxxix. For a more recent discussion of the problems associated with determining local use, see John Plummer, "'Use' and 'Beyond Use,'" in Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 149-56.
- 8 It is much more difficult to determine the use of the Office of the Dead, simply because so little in the way of guides has been published. Fortunately, Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 166-67, outlines the Office of the Dead according to the use of Paris.
- 9 For the principal feasts celebrated in late medieval Paris, see Paul Perdrizet, *Le calendrier parisien à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris, 1933).
- 10 New York, The Cloisters Museum of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, fol. 16r; Harthan, *Book of Hours*, 42; François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France, The Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1978), plate 3.
- 11 Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, I, xxxiv; for English translations of these two prayers, see Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 163-64.
- 12 Waddesdon Manor, Rothschild Collection, MS. 10; L.M.J. Delaissé, James Marrow, John de Wit, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Illuminated Manuscripts* (London and Fribourg, 1977), 224.

- 13 Examples can be seen in the Giac Hours, made in Paris ca. 1400; Simons, "Giacs and Their Book of Hours," 32-33; and on a detached leaf in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, made in Paris ca. 1430; Leesti, *Liturgical Manuscripts*, cat. no. 21. For the use of heraldic imagery in identifying owners of manuscripts, see Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, I, xxxix; Michel Pastoureau, "L'héraldique au service de la codicologie," *Codicologica*, IV (1978), 75-88.
- 14 Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, VII (1982), 747-48; reprinted in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, Georgia, 1988), 149-87.
- 15 A charming example of the incorporation of the given names of the owners into the decoration of a manuscript can be found on a detached leaf from a late fifteenth-century French Book of Hours in the McGill University Library in Montreal (McGill University Libraries, DeRicci 105b; Leesti, *Liturgical Manuscripts*, cat. no. 28): in the border of the leaf's recto are the name and intertwined initials of Anthoine Fayette and on the verso those of Iehan Brulhon.
- 16 A comparable example is seen in MS. 13 of the Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor, made in the Paris region in the late fifteenth century, in which a prayer to Saint Fabian follows the suffrages to female saints. Delaissé et al., *Rothschild Collection*, 278, 282, suggests that Saint Fabian was the patron saint of the owner of the manuscript.
- 17 John Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420-1530*, exh. cat. (New York, 1982), xii. See also Plummer, in Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 149; Delaissé et al., *Rothschild Collection*, 277; Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, I, xxxii-xxxiv.
- 18 See Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, I (Oxford, 1966), cat. no. 749.
- 19 Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, cat. no. 748.
- 20 Delaissé et al., *Rothschild Collection*, 280.
- 21 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. W.286, fol. 11r; Eleanor P. Spencer, "Dom Louis de Busco's Psalter," *Gatherings in Honour of Dorothy Miner*, 227-40, fig. 1.
- 22 Waddesdon Manor, Rothschild Collection, MS. 13; Delaissé et al., *Rothschild Collection*, 269, figs. 12, 16. See also two manuscripts sold at Sotheby's on 20 June 1989, lots 63 and 64.
- 23 Delaissé et al., *Rothschild Collection*, 280.
- 24 Eleanor P. Spencer, "L'Horloge de Sapience: Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. IV. 111," *Scriptorium*, XVII (1963), 277-99; Peter Rolfe Monks, *The Brussels Horloge de Sapience: Iconography and Text of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. IV. 111* (Leiden, 1990); Peter Rolfe Monks, "The Master of Jean Rolin II as the Illuminator of the *Gages de Bataille* in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. fr. 2258," *Scriptorium*, XLVI (1992), 50-60; Charles Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris, 1300-1500*, II (Paris, 1990), cat. nos. 9, 10; Plummer, *Last Flowering*, cat. nos. 82, 83.
- 25 Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, cat. no. 12. For the *oeuvre* of Maître François, see Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, 130, 180, cat. nos. 12-14; Manion, *Wharncliffe Hours*, 8-14; John Plummer, *Last Flowering*, cat. no. 86; Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, cat. nos. 50-52; Spencer, "Dom Busco's Psalter," 232-37.
- 26 Louis Thuasne, "François Fouquet et les miniatures de la Cité de Dieu de saint Augustin," *Revue des bibliothèques* (Paris, 1898), 33-57.
- 27 For the text of the colophon, see Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, 177, 180; F. de Mély, *Les Primitifs et leurs Signatures, les Miniaturistes* (Paris, 1913), 259; Paul Durrieu, *Un grand enlumineur parisien au XVe siècle. Jacques de Besançon et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1892), 10-11.
- 28 Manion, *Wharncliffe Hours*, 9; Spencer, "Dom Busco's Psalter," 232. The two illustrations are reproduced in Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, figs. 202 and 203.
- 29 For the *oeuvre* of Jacques de Besançon, see Durrieu, *Jacques de Besançon*; de Mély, *Les Primitifs et leurs Signatures*, 259-60; Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, 177, 180, cat. no. 15. Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, 200, 216, notes that works attributed to an artist identified as the "Chief Associate of Maître François" by Spencer ("Dom Busco's Psalter," 237-39; an identification reiterated in Plummer, *Last Flowering*, cat. nos. 89-91) have now been attributed to Jacques de Besançon by Nicole Reynaud. See also Nigel Thorp, *The Glory of the Page: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from Glasgow University Library* (Glasgow, 1987), cat. no. 60.
- 30 Compare, for example, the scene of the Building of the Tower of Babel; Bibl. Nat., MS. fr. 19, fol. 81v. Illustrated in Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, fig. 186; Manion, *Wharncliffe Hours*, plate XVII.
- 31 Delaissé et al., *Rothschild Collection*, 282.
- 32 Plummer, *Last Flowering*, 72.
- 33 For the selection of cycles of images to decorate the Hours of the Virgin, see Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, I, xliv-xlvi; Delaissé, "Importance of Books of Hours," 210; Calkins, *Illuminated Books*, 246-47; Manion, *Wharncliffe Hours*, 17; Harthan, *Book of Hours*, 26-29; Backhouse, *Books of Hours*, 15-16, 36; Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 60.
- 34 Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, MS. fr. Felton 1, fol. 40v; Manion, *Wharncliffe Hours*, plate VIIIa. For description and earlier bibliography, see Manion, *Wharncliffe Hours*; Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, cat. no. 13.
- 35 Lisbon, Gulbenkian Foundation, fol. 32r; Manion, *Wharncliffe Hours*, plate XIIIc. For description and earlier bibliography, see Manion, *Wharncliffe Hours*, esp. 12-13, note 38.
- 36 London, Brit. Lib., MS. Egerton 2045, fol. 95r; Manion, *Wharncliffe Hours*, plate XIIIa. For description and earlier bibliography, see Manion, *Wharncliffe Hours*, esp. 13, note 40. Manion (*Wharncliffe Hours*, 16-24), has pointed out that Maître François tends to use the same basic compositions to decorate the Hours of the Virgin in all of his Books of Hours, but that poses, ges-

- tures and other minor aspects of narrative and background detail are never identical. Two closely related Books of Hours by Maître François are New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M.73; Plummer, *Last Flowering*, cat. no. 86; and Vienna, Öst. Nationalbibl., MS 1840, fol. 65r; Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, fig. 127.
- 37 According to this legend, as they fled, the Holy Family passed a labourer sowing wheat in a field. As soon as they had passed, the grains of wheat miraculously sprouted into full maturity. When the soldiers of Herod asked the man if anyone had ridden by, he was able to answer in all honesty that no one had passed since he had sown his grain. The soldiers, assuming that many weeks had passed since the man had seen anyone, abandoned their pursuit.
- 38 Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS. 82, fol. 73r; Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, fig. 363. Another example, by the same artist, is seen in the Très petites Heures of Anne of Brittany, Paris, Bibl. nat., MS. nouv. acq. lat. 3120, fol. 66v; Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, fig. 384.
- 39 See, for example, a late fifteenth-century Parisian Book of Hours in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts; Leesti, *Liturgical Manuscripts*, cat. no. 26. David at prayer is also seen in the Egerton and Gulbenkian Hours; Manion, *Wharnclyffe Hours*, plates XVa, XVc.
- 40 Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS. 82, fol. 84r; Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, fig. 369. An even closer example is seen in a Book of Hours made at Tours ca. 1475, now in New York, New York Public Library, MS. 150, by the Master of Morgan 366; illustrated in Plummer, *Last Flowering*, cat. no. 60.
- 41 William M. Voelkle, "Morgan Manuscript M.1001: The Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Evil Ones," *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, Ann E. Farkas, Prudence O. Harper, and Evelyn B. Harrison, eds. (Mainz on Rhein, 1987), 107.
- 42 Delaissé, "Importance of Books of Hours," 210; Elisabeth Kunoth-Leifels, *Über die Darstellungen der "Bathsheba im Bade: Studien zur Geschichte des Bildthemas 4. bis 17. Jahrhundert* (Essen, 1962), 20; Voelkle, "Seven Deadly Sins," 107; Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, I, xlvi; Harthan, *Book of Hours*, 41. For the evolution of the iconography of David watching Bathsheba bathing, see Kunoth-Leifels, *Bathsheba im Bade*, 15-23. Before her untimely death, Kathleen Openshaw was also conducting a study on this subject; it is anticipated that her work will be published posthumously.
- 43 Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners," 746-48.
- 44 Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," *Scrittura e civiltà*, IX (1985), 268.
- 45 Madeline H. Caviness, "A Feminist Reading of the Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux," *Japan and Europe in Art History: Papers of the Colloquium of the Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art* (Tokyo, 1991), 14. See also Madeline H. Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum*, LXVIII (1993), 356.
- 46 Caviness, "Patron or Matron," 333-62; Caviness, "Feminist Reading," 1-24.
- 47 British Library, Yates-Thompson MS. 3; Voelkle, "Seven Deadly Sins," plate XLVI, fig. 16.
- 48 M. Anatole de Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles* (Paris, 1854); G.S. Taylor, ed., *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry* (London, 1930); Diane Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* (Hamden, Conn., 1983), 49-52.
- 49 De Montaiglon, *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*, 154; Taylor, *Book of the Knight*, 81; Kunoth-Leifels, *Bathsheba im Bade*, 16.
- 50 The theme of conjugal chastity as an ideal attribute of a married woman figures prominently in the treatise of the Chevalier de la Tour-Landry, as well as in an equally popular late medieval text, that of the Ménagier (Goodman) of Paris, written in ca. 1393 for the religious and secular edification of the Ménagier's young wife. For the treatise of the Ménagier of Paris, see Eileen Power, *The Goodman of Paris* (London, 1928), esp. 94-106; Bornstein, *Lady in the Tower*, 53-59. For the theme of conjugal chastity, see also Bornstein, *Lady in the Tower*, esp. 46-75; Carla Casagrande, "The Protected Woman," Clarissa Botsford, trans., *A History of Women in the West*, vol. II: *Silences of the Middle Ages*, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, ed. (Cambridge, 1992), 70-104, esp. 79-84; Silvana Vecchio, "The Good Wife," Clarissa Botsford, trans., *Silences of the Middle Ages*, 105-35, esp. 112-15.
- 51 De Hamel, "Books for Everybody," 160; Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, I, xlvi; Lawrence R. Poos, "Social History and the Book of Hours," in Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 37-38; Harthan *Book of Hours*, 17-18.
- 52 An example of a burial is illustrated in a late fifteenth-century French Book of Hours in the McGill University Library; Leesti, *Liturgical Manuscripts*, cat. no. 31.
- 53 Bibl. nat., MS. nouv. acq. lat. 3120, fol. 102r; Sterling, *Peinture médiévale*, fig. 380. An example in a Canadian collection is seen on a detached leaf from a late fifteenth-century Franco-Flemish Book of Hours in Montreal, *Canada Collects the Middle Ages*, cat. no. 87. In some instances the Raising of Lazarus is combined with several images associated with resurrection and final rewards, such as the Last Judgement or the Rich Man and Lazarus. A composite image is found in Plummer, *Last Flowering*, cat. no. 93, which depicts the Raising of Lazarus, the Rich Man Begging Lazarus for Water, and Purgatory.
- 54 Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, Janet Seligman, trans., I (New York, 1971), 181.
- 55 Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 132, 166.
- 56 De Montaiglon, *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*, 194-95; Taylor, *Book of the Knight*, 107-8.
- 57 De Montaiglon, *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*, 197-99; Taylor, *Book of the Knight*, 109-110.
- 58 Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 13297, fol. 58v; Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, plate XC. For other variants on the theme of Death attacking the living, see Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 132-34.

- 59 De Montaiglon, *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*, 19-20; Taylor, *Book of the Knight*, 10-11. The Chevalier also cites the example of a woman who was denied Christian burial because she refused to confess her sins on her deathbed; De Montaiglon, *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*, 202-4; Taylor, *Book of the Knight*, 112-14.
- 60 De Montaiglon, *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*, 126-32; Taylor, *Book of the Knight*, 65-68. The Chevalier also cites a similar example, involving two adulterous queens; De Montaiglon, *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*, 250; Taylor, *Book of the Knight*, 141.
- 61 Saenger, "Reading Habits," 267-68.
- 62 Jean Sonet, *Répertoire d'incipit de prières en ancien français* (Geneva, 1956), 82, no. 458; Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, I, xxvi-xxvii.
- 63 Sonet, *Répertoire d'incipit de prières*, 91, no. 504; Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, I, xxvii-xxviii.