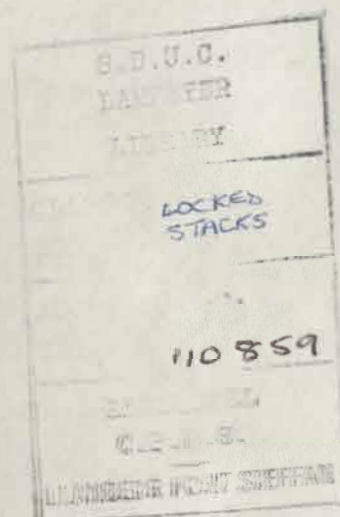


A STUDY OF THE HOURS OF CHARLES BODDAM

by Celia V. Hewerdine

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Magister in Artibus of the University of Wales.



Except where indicated in the text and references, all the work in this dissertation is my own.

The work has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, nor is it concurrently being submitted in candidature for any degree.

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Summary

The paper is based on a study of an illuminated manuscript in the possession of St. David's College, Lampeter in Wales. Its title is derived from the name of an eighteenth-century owner of the book.

As the title implies, the manuscript is a Book of Hours of the Virgin Mary, a favourite prayer-book of the laity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Various features, such as border decoration, classic style architectural framework and interiors, and costume of possible donor, indicate that the manuscript was produced in Northern France, for the use of Rouen, about the end of the fifteenth century.

After a brief reference to the historical background of Books of Hours and their content, the paper goes on to describe the structure of the book, assembly of gatherings, and content. A section on border and textual decoration includes references to some other manuscripts which contain similar motifs and initials. The following section discusses general features of the miniatures, including the framework within which each scene is presented, the two main types of background (landscape or domestic interior), and characterization of the figures portrayed.

The miniatures are then discussed in detail, and some comparison with other manuscripts provides evidence for the use of pattern-books for fragments of a picture. Some links are identified between border and miniature and, in a few instances, between border, text, and miniature. The textual content is briefly referred to at the end of each commentary.



A STUDY OF THE HOURS OF CHARLES BODDAM

I INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with the study of an illuminated manuscript in the possession of St. David's University College Library at Lampeter in Wales. The manuscript, referred to as Lampeter MS vii, has the word 'Missal' on the spine of its binding but is in fact a Book of Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary which appears to have been produced in Normandy for the use of Rouen.¹ Strictly speaking, the term 'Missal' refers to a book containing the text for celebration of Mass, but after the Reformation this term was loosely applied by members of the Church of England to any Roman Catholic service book up to the middle of the nineteenth century.² It therefore seems likely that the manuscript was rebound after passing into Protestant ownership.

From evidence contained in the full-page miniatures (use of putti, classic style interior architecture, and costume of possible donor), the manuscript would appear to date from about the end of the fifteenth century. The inclusion of a dimidiated coat-of-arms at the foot of The Annunciation miniature (see frontispiece) provides a tantalizing clue to origin, and may be identified by further research. The Arms appear to be a matrimonial achievement with the shield divided per pale (vertically) down the centre, the Arms of the husband being placed on the dexter half (right side of bearer) and his wife's on the sinister half (left side of bearer). This type of combination of two coats-of-arms on one shield is known as impalement by diminution: the two coats are cut in half vertically and joined so that only half of each is shown. It appears that this form of matrimonial achievement began during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307) but according to Dr. Conrad Swan was abandoned by the early fifteenth century.³

The heraldic description of the Arms shown in the manuscript is:

Dexter	Argent, three Crescents Gules
Sinister	Gules, a Staff raguly in pale Argent between four Fleur de lys Or

Research carried out so far suggests that the dexter Arms belong to a Robert Botevileyn (various spellings) or William Butvileyne.⁴ The Arms of the wife of the marriage are almost certainly continental and have not been identified, though they may belong to a family named Blanchbaston. Regrettably, an enquiry made to the Centre de sigillographie et de l'héraldique médiévale, St. Cloud, has so far remained unanswered.

Although the original owner has not been established in name, the manuscript contains a possible portrait of its donor in the figure of a woman kneeling in adoration of the Madonna and Child in the final miniature.⁵ Patrons habitually had themselves portrayed in this way in works which they commissioned, and were sometimes shown as being formally presented by their patron saint or saints. In the Très Belles Heures of Notre Dame the donor, Jean de Berry, is presented by Saint Andrew and St. John the Baptist.

In view of the above uncertainties as to ownership, I have decided to name Lampeter MS vii The Hours of Charles Boddam, after the eighteenth-century owner who wrote his name on folio iii^r in 1782.

Charles Boddam, son of Rawson Hart Boddam, Governor of Bombay, attended Eton College and was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge in April 1779 at the age of 18. He gained his B.A. in 1783 and appears to have worked in Bengal. After becoming a magistrate and judge he was appointed Joint Collector of the revenue of the provinces ceded by Tippoo. Charles Boddam died at Fort William on 13th August, 1811.⁶

In 1846 the manuscript was donated to the Library of St. David's College, Lampeter, by Thomas Phillips (1760-1851), who had worked as a surgeon for the East India Company. A printed donation label is pasted on the inside cover binding. It is not known how the manuscript was acquired by this owner, but he was a generous benefactor of the College and donated over twenty-two thousand volumes to the Library, having purchased mainly from booksellers.⁷

This study of the manuscript is made in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Magister in Artibus in the University of Wales. In

view of the nature of the subject read, The Word and the Visual Imagination, some attention is focused on relationships which may exist between decoration or illustration and the written word, either within the text itself (which consists of Gospel extracts, prayers, hymns, canticles and psalms) or in scriptural passages associated with the scenes depicted in the miniatures, most of which are of biblical subjects. Reference will also be made to the Mystery Plays, whose combination of verbal message and visual image must have made a powerful impact on the minds of a pious fifteenth-century audience. A strong impression created by drama could have had an influence on a patron's choice of theme or on its treatment by the artist in a private prayer-book: although there was some standardization of subjects for miniatures in Books of Hours, certain alternatives were available according to the taste of the patron. At the same time, illustrated psalters and liturgical drama no doubt influenced tableaux initially: but it seems likely that later enactments by the laity gave scope for spontaneous development of religious characters, leading to more humanized portrayals.

Apart from the artistic aspects of the manuscript, attention is given in this paper to the structure of the book, which has provided an explanation of certain features which were initially puzzling, such as the infrequent and irregular use of catchwords.

During the course of this study a number of other manuscripts have been examined. The few that are mentioned in this paper were selected because they seemed to contain some element of comparison with The Hours of Charles Boddam, either in border motifs used or in iconographic details in the miniatures. These manuscripts, their locations and use are listed in the Bibliography. A systematic comparison is not attempted, owing to the time limit imposed and to the cost of travel for purposes of re-examination of the manuscripts. Some points of detail arose later in the study when something of significance was noted in the Boddam manuscript

which it would have been of interest to check in the other manuscripts. For example, it was only lately discovered that precisely five rays are directed at Mary in The Annunciation miniature, obviously referring to the Five Joys of Mary (see commentary on that miniature).

Limitation of time has restricted further research into costume, medieval architecture, and copper-plate engraving in respect of the two paste-downs which appear on paper leaves in the bound volume under discussion.

Before moving on to the discussion, a brief summary of the historical background of Books of Hours is given below in order to put the prayer-book into perspective.

Historical background of Books of Hours

A Book of Hours, or Horae, was one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance era. Its name and content derive from the texts of Divine Office contained in the Breviary (the official prayer-book of the Church) which were sung by monks and nuns in choir at the Canonical Hours.⁸ Although practice varied in different religious foundations, there were typically seven services, comprising Matins and Lauds which were frequently linked and held between midnight and dawn, followed at three-hourly intervals by the Hours of Prime, Tierce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline. To the basic text which formed the constant element of the divine office, other texts (including psalms) were added appropriate to each day of the liturgical year and to major saints' days. The saints' days commemorated can give a clue as to the area of origin of devotional books, particularly in the case of Books of Hours, which were produced for use in a specific diocese for a particular owner.

In the tenth century a short service in honour of the Virgin Mary (the Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis) was added to the Breviary, and during the thirteenth century this section became detached to form the

basic text of a separate prayer-book, the Book of Hours. Like the offices of the Breviary, a Book of Hours was divided into the canonical hours for prayer and was composed of hymns, psalms, readings from scripture, and short prayers.

Before the thirteenth century the book of private devotions normally in the hands of both clerics and laity was the Psalter, which also contained Canticles, and invariably the Litany. To this nucleus additions were made, notably the Office of the Dead.⁹ The Book of Hours gradually replaced the Psalter in popularity and so may be regarded as both a detachment from the Breviary and a development from the Psalter. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it became a best-seller and the favourite prayer-book of the laity. The wealthy spent great sums of money in commissioning the illuminated productions which are so treasured today. It is important to remember, however, that only a small proportion of the Books of Hours produced were of a sumptuous quality: they were intended for devotional use, and since they were not produced as works of art in their own right, many were artistically of mediocre or of poor quality. The Hours of Charles Boddam might fairly be described as of good quality while not claiming to be in the higher class of production.¹⁰

Although Books of Hours were based on the Hours of the Virgin, they were not standardized but differed in content and sequence according to diocese and to the individual taste and wealth of the person commissioning the manuscript. Essential texts taken from the Breviary were: the liturgical Calendar, the Hours of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms, the Litany, the Office of the Dead, and Suffrages of Saints. Secondary texts customarily included were set passages from the four Gospels, followed by prayers to the Virgin, the two most likely being the 'Obsecro te' and 'O Intemerata'.

Short alternative offices were frequently inserted, such as the Hours of the Cross, of the Holy Spirit, or of the Holy Trinity. Other additions

might be the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin and the Seven Requests to the Saviour as well as more psalms and prayers.

From an early date certain illustrated subjects had been associated with the different offices, so that the picture became a kind of guide that enabled the user to locate the service for each canonical hour. Although deviations occurred, the plan shown below was that customarily followed for the Hours of the Virgin in French Horae, and this plan is adopted in The Hours of Charles Boddam.

<u>Divine Office</u>	<u>Illustrated subject</u>
Matins	The Annunciation
Lauds	The Visitation
Prime	The Nativity
Tierce	Annunciation to the Shepherds
Sext	Adoration of the Magi
None	The Presentation of Christ in the Temple
Vespers	The Flight into Egypt
Compline	Coronation of the Virgin

Excepting the last one, the above subjects probably derive from earlier Psalter illustration. The Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit often followed the foregoing sequence, the former being illustrated by a Crucifixion scene or a pieta, and the latter by a Pentecost scene. In the Boddam manuscript Matins of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit are interpolated between Lauds and Prime of the Hours of the Virgin, a practice which seems to have been associated with the use of Rouen and of Sarum.¹¹



Figure 1. St. Michael in glory

II OUTLINE DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript is of parchment and is bound in leather on boards, possibly having been rebound in the seventeenth century or later, when perhaps the thick paper leaves were added at each end of the volume.

At the front of the book a paste-down from a copper-plate engraving appears on the verso of the fourth paper folio (Figure 1). This depicts St. Michael standing in glory on a cloud, palm in hand to signify his triumph over Lucifer, who is portrayed as a devilish man/monster at the



Figure 1. St. Michael in Glory

foot of the picture, enveloped in the flames of hell. A landscape background emphasizes the aspects of heaven, earth, and nether region of hell. At the other end of the book, fourth folio (recto) from the end of the paper leaves, there is another engraved paste-down, this time contained within its own frame (Figure 2). The subject is St. Veronica with the sudarium, which clearly reveals Christ's features. Regrettably, limitations of time have prevented any research into the engravings.

Figure 2. St. Veronica with the Sudarium



This engraving contains interesting clues which might be investigated, namely 'Cher' at bottom left and 'Lundry' at bottom right corners, and the figure '45' at bottom left corner of the sudarium.

The parchment section begins with a gathering of six folios: these are blank but badly ruled up, and perhaps acted as a protection to the manuscript in its new state, since the quality of the vellum appears to match the manuscript. As there is no Calendar it seemed possible that these folios were originally intended for that purpose. However, there are not enough lines for a complete Calendar for each month, and Neil Ker has suggested that the folios are waste binding leaves of some book which had to be abandoned owing to bad ruling.

On folio iii^r is written: 'Charles Boddam Junr. Trin. Coll. Camb. June 1st 1782'. Half way down the page, in a larger hand, is written '13 Illuminations', and on folio vi^r the same person has written '13 Paintings'. There are in fact fourteen illustrations in the manuscript, so that the question arises as to whether one was added later to the original book. A careful examination of the gatherings, however, makes this seem unlikely, so that it appears to be a miscount.

The table below sets out the scheme of gatherings, which helps to explain the irregular appearance of catchwords (on four folios only) written vertically down the page under the final word on the page. The normal gathering in the manuscript appears to have been four bifolios, giving eight folios (sixteen sides). The deviations from this number can be reasonably accounted for, as will be shown. In each case where catchwords are given they are correctly repeated on the following folio.

<u>Folios</u>	<u>Gathering</u>	<u>Comment</u>
i - vi	6 folios	Blank but badly ruled.
1 - 7	7 folios	Miniature followed by text of the customary gospel extracts and standard prayers.
8 - 15	8 folios	Miniature, then the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary begin. There is no catchword at the end of the gathering, but as the break occurs in the middle of the Canticle <u>Benedicite</u> , the repetitious nature of the text makes a catchword quite unnecessary.
16 - 23	8 folios	On folio 23 ^v the catchword 'gratum' appears.
24 - 31	8 folios	Folio 31 ^r gives rubric 'Ad vespas'; folio 31 ^v contains the appropriate miniature, <u>The Flight into Egypt</u> .
32 - 37	6 folios	The Hours of the Virgin finish on folio 36 ^v , and the rubric gives 'Septem psalmi penitenciales'. Folio 37 is blank but ruled, both sides.
38 - 45	8 folios	Miniature, then Seven Penitential Psalms begin. Folio 45 ^v contains catchwords 'Sca philiberte'.
46 - 53	8 folios	Continues supplications to saints. Folio 53 ^v contains catchwords 'Dulas et rec'.
54 - 61	8 folios	Folio 61 ^v contains catchwords 'dixi no bidebo'.
62 - 71	10 folios	Completes the original manuscript.
72 - 79	8 folios	A gathering of coarser, yellowish parchment which is noticeably different from the rest of the book.
80 - 81	bifolio	Blank, but ruled. Parchment matches main manuscript.

Discounting the blank folios at the beginning and end of the parchment section of the book, it will be noted that there are ten gatherings, seven of which comprise eight folios, while the remaining three contain seven, six and ten folios respectively. As suggested above, however, there are good reasons for this irregularity, which will now be explained.

Folios 1 to 7 comprise a complete section. The organizer of the book would have known exactly how many pages would be required to accommodate the text, because the Gospel extracts and prayers which comprise this section were standard. It would therefore have been realized that a gathering of eight would have given an undesirable blank

folio in the early part of the book. In order to avoid this, the device of a tipped-in folio was adopted. The additional folio is the first of the manuscript (there being no calendar) and contains on the recto the miniature of St. John the Divine. On the verso is the customary extract from St. John's Gospel commencing 'In principio erat verbum'. It is thus clear that this was part of the original plan, since the following folio continues the Gospel extract.

This arrangement allowed The Annunciation, introducing the most important section of the book, The Hours of the Virgin, to appear at the beginning of a new gathering. If the plan of eight folios to a gathering had been adhered to, then there would either have been a blank folio at folio 8 (recto and verso) or else the Hours of the Virgin would have begun on the last folio of a gathering. It seems highly probable that the Hours of the Virgin would normally be scheduled to begin on a new gathering, not only because of its status, but also for practical reasons. A new section beginning on a new gathering had the advantage of making it easy to rearrange the sequence if required and also facilitated distribution of sections of the work to the various craftsmen involved in its production.

The gathering of six folios does contain a blank folio, but in this case it was evidently not considered too objectionable, since it comes at the end of the Hours of the Virgin and provides a natural division from the rest of the book. That a blank was allowed here might also support the view that the tipped-in page at folio 1 was an aesthetic decision and not an economic one. Further, the next section of the book, The Seven Penitential Psalms and The Litany, was, like the Hours of the Virgin, a standard unit in a Book of Hours and so was likely to have started on a new gathering.

The third irregular gathering, of ten folios, is easily explainable as comprising the final part of the original manuscript. It was probably considered preferable to finish the volume with an added bifolio to give substance to the last gathering rather than end with a flimsy bifolio.

Folios 72 to 79 constitute an added gathering which must have been bound in with the original manuscript at some later date, though not necessarily much later. The parchment is coarser and generally of a poorer quality, while the writing is in a different hand and is altogether inferior in execution. Large red initials and a peachey-yellow colour-wash to ordinary capital letters provide the only decoration. Even so, some initials have been drawn in pencil outline only (folio 72^r) and on folio 79^r a three-line capital S is about two-thirds painted red, leaving the remaining pencil fragment clearly visible. The content is of hymns and prayers in Latin and French. As this section is obviously not a part of the original prayer-book and is not illustrated, it will not be further discussed in this paper.

So far as could be distinguished, the parchment folios seem to be consistently arranged so that flesh side faces flesh side to an opening and hair side faces hair side, in accordance with standard practice. This factor, together with the catchwords already noted and reinforced by rubrics which are mentioned below, suggests that the main body of the manuscript, that is folios 1 to 71, is as originally planned and executed. Nevertheless, the manuscript may not be quite complete, because it was probably prefaced with a Calendar.

The size of the individual folio is 12.5 cm x 18 cm, with a ruled area of 7.6 cm x 11.5 cm. The ruling up, for miniature pages and for text, is in a very fine red ink. There are twenty-five lines of text per folio.¹ The language is Latin for both text and rubrics, though some rubrics in the Madonna and Child section are in French. The colour

used for rubrics is red. At the end of sections, including the separate Hours, the rubric directs the reader to the following part, providing an added check on the original plan.

On textual pages the rulings define both the text area on the page and the individual lines. Their primary function was to guide the scribe.² As was customary, the text is not divided into paragraphs but is continuous. This is particularly noticeable in the Gospel extracts, where the text is not divided into the numbered verses with which we are familiar.³ Other differences from modern practice are absence of hyphens where words are split at the end of a line and inconsistency in the method of abbreviation of words. These practices tend to make the text difficult to follow.

Capital letters are used only at the beginning of sentences: they are not used for proper names at all, either for persons or places. Following convention, however, a capital letter follows an illuminated initial.

When it was desired to indicate a different section of a work, in the sense of a new paragraph or a new chapter, then an illuminated initial was used, its size following an accepted rule. This practice constitutes a hierarchy of text which was consistently adhered to throughout a work and is useful in locating sections of a manuscript. It is particularly helpful for indicating the start of a different prayer or psalm, as these begin with a certain size of illuminated initial while the verses following begin with smaller initials. This aspect will be discussed in detail in the next section of the paper, as will also the two different types of textual frame used in The Hours of Charles Boddam.

Clues as to date of the manuscript are to be found in the landscape backgrounds, which would suggest a date no earlier than the 1430s,⁴ and

in the interior architecture, which is on classical lines and shows Italian influence in the use of pink and green marble panels on the walls, separated by pilasters. J. H. Middleton considers that the introduction of architectural forms of Italian classic style into backgrounds of miniatures occurred around 1475 to 1480.⁵ Italian influence is also evident in the use of putti in the decorative framework to the miniatures.

The treatment of the David and Bathsheba subject may be another clue as to date of the manuscript (see discussion of that miniature). Finally, the costume of the apparent donoress in the Madonna and Child miniature is of a fashion in vogue after about 1480 and up to about 1508. This will be discussed in the commentary on that miniature.

The table which follows sets out the sections of The Hours of Charles Boddam with folio numbers, which can be compared with the gatherings listed earlier in this outline.

<u>Miniature</u>	<u>Content</u>	<u>Folios</u>
St. John	Gospel extracts and prayers	1 ^r - 7 ^v
Annunciation	Matins	8 ^r - 13 ^r
Visitation	Lauds	13 ^v - 18 ^v
Crucifixion	Matins of the Cross	19 ^r - 19 ^v
Pentecost	Matins of the Holy Spirit	20 ^r - 20 ^v
Nativity	Prime	21 ^r - 24 ^r
Annunciation to Shepherds	Tierce	24 ^v - 26 ^v
Adoration of Magi	Sext	27 ^r - 28 ^v
Presentation	None	29 ^r - 31 ^r
Flight into Egypt	Vespers	31 ^v - 33 ^r
Coronation of Virgin	Compline	33 ^v - 36 ^v
David and Bathsheba	Seven Penitential Psalms with Litany	38 ^r - 47 ^v
Raising of Lazarus	Vigils of the Dead and Suffrages to Saints	48 ^r - 67 ^v
Madonna and Child	Prayers in honour of the Virgin Mary	68 ^r - 71 ^v

III BORDER AND TEXTUAL DECORATION

The textual pages of The Hours of Charles Boddam present a pleasing aspect to the eye which is aesthetically satisfying whether viewing the individual folio or a complete opening. A harmonious tone is achieved partly by a clear, regular script which is supplemented by coloured line-fillers, giving a neat and even appearance to the textual area; and partly by a frame which surrounds the text on each folio so that the page is effectively a finished product in its own right. The effect is enhanced, however, when viewing a complete opening, because balance is provided by the decorative borders at the outer edges of the book.

The borders consist of a gold ground decorated with fruit and flower motifs which are interspersed with acanthus-like scrolls. The gold ground fits the description of the 'aurum musicum' referred to in The Göttingen Model Book¹ as a sort of imitation gold leaf of a brownish tint with a light metallic sparkle. This base is used in a number of manuscripts which have the same border motifs as those of the Boddam manuscript. The quality of the paint, however, and the evenness of its application, differ greatly. In The Hours of Charles Boddam the evenness is a little variable, but the sparkle is still visible on many of the pages.

Many of the fruit and flower motifs appear to be fairly standardized and may have been stencilled, since they are repeated in a number of illuminated manuscripts produced in France in the fifteenth century. At the same time many of the flower motifs in the Boddam manuscript, notably in those borders without scrolls, are proportionately larger and are painted with a precision which suggests they are of significance and not merely decorative. Time and accessibility of manuscript have restricted investigation of this aspect, but the unique appearance in the book of three distinctive white flowers is discussed in the commentary on the Adoration of the Magi.

The border of folio 18^V (Plate 6) contains some of the most frequently recurring motifs in the book: the acanthus-style scroll in silver-grey as shown here or in other colours such as blue and red, sprigs of small red or blue flowers, and rather flat-looking red roses. In other borders red-tipped daisies recur, also a brownish-purple sawwort (or possibly thistle), violets, and bunches of grapes on the vine. Rather less recurring but carefully painted are the columbine, pansy, white rose, cornflower, strawberry and strawberry flower. There are no human figures, birds, animals, or grotesques in the borders.

Since strawberries are sparingly used as a motif, it seems likely that their symbolic meaning is intended. Generally, they signify good works or fruits of the spirit; as applied to the Virgin Mary, they refer to her righteousness (see commentary on the Coronation of the Virgin). The daisy was a symbol of simplicity and innocence, and was also known as the 'eye of God'; the violet signified humility, the pansy remembrance and reflection (see commentary on The Raising of Lazarus).

The border of folio 4^V, alongside a prayer to the Virgin Mary, contains blue columbine, a red rose, and a bunch of grapes on the vine. The name of the columbine comes from a word meaning 'doveline' (an allusion to its wing-shaped flower) so that it became the botanical emblem of the Holy Spirit. Placed here it may stand for the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit (a bunch of seven columbine, however, was a symbol for sorrow). The red rose signified life force, suffering, or passion, and might well refer here to the suffering of Mary in connection with Christ's sacrifice as foreshadowed by the grapes, which were used as a eucharistic symbol. Certain flowers were associated with the different qualities of Mary: thus St. Bernard of Clairvaux describes her as the 'violet of humility, lily of chastity, rose of charity'.² When these flowers appear in Books of Hours, therefore, they are likely to refer to those qualities.

A close resemblance to the more standardized borders of The Hours of Charles Boddam is to be found in the Buchanan and Dillwyn manuscripts, though the latter are slightly more crowded. Further, the border artist has had to cope with the problem of the scribe's encroaching on his territory and has in several places ruined his border by drawing an indentation in order to accommodate the intruding script. This disfigurement could have been avoided by simply moving the whole border very slightly towards the outer edge, since there is plenty of margin; but it would appear that the outer ruled lines of the manuscript were sacrosanct, even to the detriment of the border.

Manuscripts Keble 12 and Sloane 2732b contain the same border motifs but in the former they are on a parchment ground; in the latter they are arranged in geometrical sections alternately on a parchment or gold ground. The borders of Keble MS 23 are extraordinarily mixed. Many folios have a double border, wide at outer edge with a narrow inner border. The outer borders are divided into various geometrical and serpentine sections which are filled with a selection of the familiar motifs noted above. The effect is restless and confused. Borders to the miniatures use similar motifs but are better executed, presumably by the miniaturist instead of the border artist. They are also much more stylized (Figures 6 and 8). A very formalized geometric border featuring some of the same motifs occurs on the dedication page of a secular book which was printed in Paris by Vérad in 1494 and illuminated by hand (see Figure 4).³ The motifs here, however, are entirely decorative.

Turning now to the method of framing of text, a feature peculiar to The Hours of Charles Boddam is the alternative form of frame. On some folios the gold ground of the outer border extends into a continuous narrow band surrounding the text (see, for example, Plate 3), while on other folios the ragged staff which appears in the heraldic Arms on The Annunciation page is utilized as a motif for the framework. The three staves are

coloured brown, blue, and green on each folio (for example, Plate 15).

Investigation shows that the folios on which the staves appear form complete gatherings, with one interesting exception:

folios	1 - 7	=	one gathering
"	19 - 20	=	one bifolio at centre of gathering
"	24 - 37	=	two gatherings
"	46 - 71	=	three gatherings

This arrangement suggests a way in which the work may have been divided amongst border artists. The bifolio noted above contains the miniatures and text for Matins of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit, an interpolated section which was often placed at the end of the Hours of the Virgin. This suggests a standardized format which could be produced for insertion at a required point in the manuscript. In this instance, the rubrics at the foot of the previous page give a clear indication of what is to follow. Plates 6 and 7 show how the opening appears in the manuscript.

Similar rubrics are given for Matins of the Holy Spirit and thence to Prime of the Hours of the Virgin. There is no doubt, therefore, that the manuscript was planned in this way, but the mixed style of framing here is still a little puzzling.

Plate 6 provides a good example of the variety that could be achieved in textual appearance by use of different size scripts and by red rubrics in addition to coloured line-fillers and illuminated initials.

The largest illuminated initial in The Hours of Charles Boddam is the five-line capital D which appears at the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin (see Plate 3). As will be noted, within those five lines there are two one-line initials, so that the scribe had to take care to leave space for these as well as for the large initial. As a guide to the initialer he would write a small initial or guide letter in pencil.⁴ Four-line initials occur at the commencement of Prime on folio 21^v and for the first of the Seven Penitential Psalms. Each succeeding psalm

begins with a two-line initial (as do the Gospel extracts), while each succeeding verse has a one-line initial. The first prayer to the Virgin, the 'Obsecro te', begins with a three-line initial, as also does Vigils of the Dead.

The difference in size of illuminated initials was not arbitrary but indicated a hierarchy of text, for which there were certain rules. The most important sections of a Book of Hours were marked by miniatures, followed by text beginning with a large illuminated initial. Where text actually began on the miniature, however, the initial might be smaller than it would otherwise have been. This is the case in the Offices of the Hours of the Virgin, which begin (except for Matins and Prime) on the appropriate miniature. The two exceptions referred to begin with the largest illuminated initials of the manuscript, as noted above (five-line and four-line respectively).

Normally, succeeding parts of text within a section contain only smaller initials. A liturgical text therefore needed very careful thought and planning, and it would be interesting to know whether scribes had hand-books on hierarchy of liturgical texts, as painters had model-books for reference. As the organization of a Book of Hours was so complicated in this respect, it seems likely that such an aid would be indispensable in any atelier.

As frequency of borders and illuminated initials in a manuscript affected its cost, there were variations in quantity as well as in quality and style. Consequently, Books of Hours can differ widely in the visual aspects they present to the reader, even though the text may be identical in content. Whatever decoration was adopted, however, was subject to the rules pertaining to hierarchy of text.

The type of border and initials used in an illuminated manuscript can help to identify its centre of production because workshops tended to go

on using the same designs. Since innovation was not an aim, it is evident that some designs were used with little change over a very long period, perhaps nearly a century. Further, as the painters of borders and initials were less accomplished than the miniaturists, they did not travel about so much and did not have the same opportunity or stimulus to adopt new ideas. For this reason, the less important decorations, together with the lay-out of a page, can yield useful clues in localizing a manuscript,⁵ though they do not help much in dating it. As the border motifs in The Hours of Charles Boddam seem to have been used widely in Northern France, however, it would seem that initials and lay-out might be a more fruitful source for clues for localization.

In fact only the Buchanan manuscript bears a close resemblance to the Boddam manuscript in general appearance of textual pages and in lay-out of the book. Not only are the decorated borders in the same style, but the text is framed by a narrow gold band which extends from the border in the same manner as in the Boddam manuscript. As the initials are also of the same style and colour scheme, it would seem highly probable that the books were produced in the same centre of production even if not in the same workshop. Unfortunately, a direct comparison of the script has not been made, as photographs of the Boddam script were not available when the Buchanan manuscript was studied. The fragment of text (in French) on the Madonna and Child miniature of the latter, however, shows a similar script (Plate 24). Exceptionally, the illuminated initial M here is of a different style from the other initials in the manuscript.

The overall plan of the two books is the same, including the insertion of Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit between Lauds and Prime, but there are differences in size of initials used. For instance, while the Boddam manuscript gives two-line initials at the beginning of each gospel extract, including the first, the Buchanan manuscript gives St. John's

extract a four-line initial and the other extracts two-line initials. Also, the Boddam manuscript differentiates the two prayers to the Virgin by starting the 'Obsecro te' with a three-line initial and the 'O Intemperate' with a two-line initial, while the Buchanan manuscript uses four-line initials for both prayers. In both manuscripts all initials taking up two or more lines in size are made up of a grey and white acanthus design on black placed on a gold base, while all initials of one-line are painted gold on an alternating ground of blue or red. The line-fillers are bars of blue or red alternately, decorated with gold patterns. There are thus no gaps in lines where the text does not take up the whole space, which adds to the neatness of the page and gives colour interest to the text. This was standard practice. Ordinary capital letters in the text contain a pale yellow colour-wash in both manuscripts (just discernible in Plate 3) as they do also in the Eastbourne manuscript. The illuminated initials generally contain flower or strawberry motifs borrowed from the border, linking border decoration with text.

A comparison of Plates 16 and 6 shows the same style initial in both the Dillwyn and Boddam manuscripts.

showing a view through a window or a doorway, as presenting a tableau, or simply as a framed picture hanging on a wall. Devotional pictures for domestic use were evidently framed in this manner, as can be seen in the right-hand panel of a painting by Carpaccio (1455-1526) of The Reception of the Spanish Ambassadors and St. Ursula talking to her Father.¹ The scene is a domestic interior, and on the wall there hangs a picture of the Madonna and Child, set in a picture-frame. It is likely that images of saints were similarly framed for private devotion.

The architectural frames of the Boddam miniatures are not drawn with precision and so make no pretension to reality. On the contrary, the rather careless structures create an air of informality which suggests a tableau or theatrical basis. In this respect the Boddam manuscript

IV AN INTRODUCTION TO THE MINIATURES

In order to avoid unnecessary repetition in commentaries, some general points regarding the miniatures are discussed here before attention is turned to individual scenes. The commentaries will concentrate on the subject contained in the picture, its interpretation, and its relationship to 'the word'. In respect of the latter, the texts of Mystery Plays may prove helpful (in addition to the Bible) in giving us insight into ideas behind the imagery.

With the exception of the Coronation of the Virgin, the miniatures fall into two broad categories: landscape exterior or domestic interior. Each scene is presented within an architectural frame set upon a raised platform. The shape of the frame-tops varies considerably, some being arched like a window frame while others are flat, resembling a portico and surmounted by a pediment or other decoration. The Annunciation and The Crucifixion are given depressed arches, and The Presentation of Christ in the Temple has a double arcade.

The framed miniatures might be interpreted in various ways as showing a view through a window or a doorway, as presenting a tableau, or simply as a framed picture hanging on a wall. Devotional pictures for domestic use were evidently framed in this manner, as can be seen in the right-hand panel of a painting by Carpaccio (1455-1526) of The Reception of the English Ambassadors and St. Ursula talking to her Father.¹ The scene is a domestic interior, and on the wall there hangs a picture of the Madonna and Child, set in a portico-style frame. It is likely that images of saints were similarly framed for private devotion.

The architectural frames of the Boddam miniatures are not drawn with precision and so make no pretension to reality. On the contrary, the rather carefree structures create an air of informality which suggests a tableau or theatrical basis. In this respect the Boddam manuscript

differs from Sloane MS 2732b and the Dillwyn manuscript, where the frames that are architectural consist of tiers of canopied niches containing statuettes.² The style is Gothic and is executed completely in a matt gold, lending a much more formal tone to the paintings. The theatrical tone of the Boddam miniatures is reinforced by the presence of two entertaining putti on the base plinth of most frames, which serves as a platform for their playful antics. Just what their gestures are intended to convey is not always apparent, but it seems clear that they are presenting their own drama as a reaction to or parody of the scene above them. On arched frames only, gold putti figures appear as part of the ornamentation and clamber along as if to gain a better vantage point of the scene below. Putti faces are also depicted on the framework, and decorative swags dangle down each side.

In spite of a tableau-like appearance, however, it is evident that the framework has been planned for book decoration. This may be deduced from the unequal thickness of the pillars at each side of the architectural frame: the thicker one is invariably placed at the outer edge of an opening. One glance at any miniature reproduced in this paper therefore informs the viewer whether the scene appears on the left or right hand side of an opening. A deliberate complementary use of colours links the pillars with the scene within, adding to the balance and unity of the painting. In addition, colour links are established between miniature and border as, for instance, in the border which faces The Visitation (see commentary thereon). While it is evident that the workshop concerned with the production of the manuscript was limited in its range of colours (and this may well imply that all the illumination was carried out in the same atelier), there appears to be a conscious economy in use of colour which aims for harmony rather than variety.

An interesting feature of the miniatures is that the landscape scenes contain French medieval buildings, while the architecture of interiors is in the classical Renaissance style from Italy. The French medieval chateau which recurs in several of the miniatures might conceivably represent the residence of the manuscript's owner. Although on a more modest scale, it bears a resemblance in style to the castle of Dourdan belonging to Jean de Berry, which is featured in the miniature illustrating the month of April in the Calendar of the Très Riches Heures.³ Further, the little houses included in that picture are not unlike those in the Boddam miniatures (see Plates 13, and 19).

All interior scenes in The Hours of Charles Boddam are set in chambers of similar design: the grey stone walls are adorned with panels of marble, alternately coloured green and pink and separated by pilasters. Matching green and pink tiles cover the floor. This scheme is followed even for The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, which is more usually given an ecclesiastical setting. Indeed the lack of any ecclesiastical interior in the miniatures is noteworthy, since The Annunciation and the Coronation of the Virgin might also have been set in a church, as was common practice. The only religious tone in The Presentation is provided by the altar and by the bishop's mitre worn by Simeon.

The style and colouring of interiors is similar to that followed by Jean Bourdichon in a beautifully serene painting of the Virgin, presumably part of an Annunciation, which has survived from a Book of Hours reputedly belonging to King Henry VII.⁴

The basic style of classical architecture adopted for the interiors, together with landscape scenes, gives the Boddam miniatures a decidedly Italian tone. These features and the theatrical nature of the architectural frames may be explained by the strong links that existed between architectural studies and stage design.

It has been observed by Richard Krautheimer⁵ that Renaissance stage design was closely linked to the development of perspective, so that for nearly three centuries perspective and stage design were almost synonymous. This situation grew from the large-scale architectural backgrounds of paintings and reliefs in places such as Florence, Perugia, and Urbino. It was Alberti who first conceived the idea of using architectural perspectives for stage backdrops, and by the 1480s Vitruvian studies and the revival of theatre were closely linked. At that time Urbino was a centre of stage design as well as a centre of perspective studies, of architecture, and architectural theory. The Renaissance concept of three types of background for theatrical performances, according to species (tragedy, comedy, or satire), goes back to Vitruvius's brief statement that tragic scenes are designed with columns, pediments, statues and other regal surroundings such as triumphal arches; comic scenes have appearance of private buildings with balconies (we might, then, consider the putti as appearing on their own balcony); and satiric (in the pastoral sense) settings are painted with trees, caves, mountains and other features to imitate landscape. Richard Krautheimer further notes, however, that from 1470 to 1520 even the comic scene was still conceived in an overall classic design.

A lively concern with perspective is evident in most of the Boddam miniatures, with varying degrees of success. The one painting which differs notably from the rest in this respect is the Coronation of the Virgin, where the decidedly flat background is distinctly medieval in design rather than Renaissance. Generally, the artist shows a good appreciation of aerial perspective in the landscape scenes, which is particularly effective in the miniature of St. John on the island of Patmos. The background of exterior scenes is composed of hilly slopes dotted with trees and some buildings. Water flows in the valleys, and

in several miniatures a chateau is situated on a river or lakeside. These miniatures show the artist's pronounced interest in naturalistic landscape.⁶ His interest is not confined to external nature, however, but extends to human nature and portrayal of the psychological state of his characters. Here he was perhaps mindful of Alberti's advice to 'move the soul of the spectator'. This was to be effected by making known the movements of the body, since motion reveals emotion.⁷

In a number of scenes the artist has given special attention to expressiveness, as will be noted in the commentaries. There is also some attempt at consistency in the features of characters portrayed, notably of Mary and John in two of the miniatures which form an artistic pair, The Crucifixion and Pentecost. Mary's youthful features are consistent in The Annunciation, The Visitation, The Nativity and The Presentation (in these she appears bare-headed) and are also in accord in The Flight into Egypt and the Adoration of the Magi (in which she wears a coif covered by a fold of her mantle). Joseph appears as the same character in The Nativity and The Flight into Egypt, but somewhat differently (and a little cross-eyed!) in The Presentation.

The artist has also given some attention to skin tone, painting women with generally paler faces than the men except in the case of the youngest magus, whose youth is deliberately accentuated by his fair complexion. There is also careful distinction in skin tone between the naked figures of Bathsheba and Lazarus, the former's warm pink body contrasting with the latter's deathlike pallor.

Finally, a word about the incorporation of text into some of the miniatures. With the exception of The Nativity (Prime), the miniatures introducing each office from Lauds to Compline contain two lines of script. Each Hour from Lauds to Vespers opens with the words Deus in adiutorium meum intende (Haste thee, O God, to deliver me), while Compline begins Converte nos deus salutaris noster (Convert us, O God

our Saviour). On these pages, there are thus three elements vying for the attention of the eye: the religious subject portrayed, the opening words of the prayer, and the putti. The words do not, however, intrude on the scene as in some Horae, but are neatly fitted into their allotted space at the foot of the pillars.

Plate 2

St. John the Divine
on Patmos



Plate 3

Folio 8^v, five-line initial
at commencement of Matins

V EXTRACTS FROM THE GOSPELS AND PRAYERS

St. John the Divine

The full-page miniature of St. John the Divine serves as a frontispiece to the manuscript (Plate 2) and introduces the Gospel extracts. Modern scholars are divided as to whether the author of The Revelation of St. John the Divine is the same person as the author of St. John's Gospel (usually referred to as St. John the Evangelist or the Apostle). In the fifteenth century, however, there were no such doubts: he was one and the same person.

The saint is depicted here writing The Revelation (better known in medieval times as The Apocalypse) in obedience to a divine command while in exile on the Isle of Patmos (Revelation 1.9-11). This was a very popular subject with which to introduce the Gospel extracts, especially when it stood as the sole illustration for the section. However, pictures of the other three evangelists (St. Luke, St. Matthew, and St. Mark) frequently preface their own extracts, sometimes in the introductory illuminated initial. Alternatively, one miniature may be divided into four quarters, each containing an evangelist writing his Gospel and accompanied by the emblematic beast of The Apocalypse with which he is associated.¹

St. John's attribute is the eagle, which is given a theological significance in the Golden Legend (a rich source of information on the saints and consequently a useful handbook in the Middle Ages). The story is told of how St. John was seen to be stroking and playing with a partridge for recreation, to the amusement of a young man who asked him why he played like a child. St. John replied by pointing out that though the eagle is the bird that flies the highest and most clearly beholds the sun, he descends lower by necessity of nature. Similarly, when man rests a little from contemplation, he afterwards rises higher by a renewed strength and he then burns more fervently in heavenly things.²

In this miniature a splendid golden eagle obligingly holds the saint's inkwell for him as he writes. Some paintings of the subject depict the devil attempting to steal the inkwell, as does manuscript *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* 575 (see Figure 3).³ Here the eagle holds the end of the scroll in its beak and the inkwell is on the far side of St. John. Behind the saint a devilish figure cautiously creeps up with the intention of

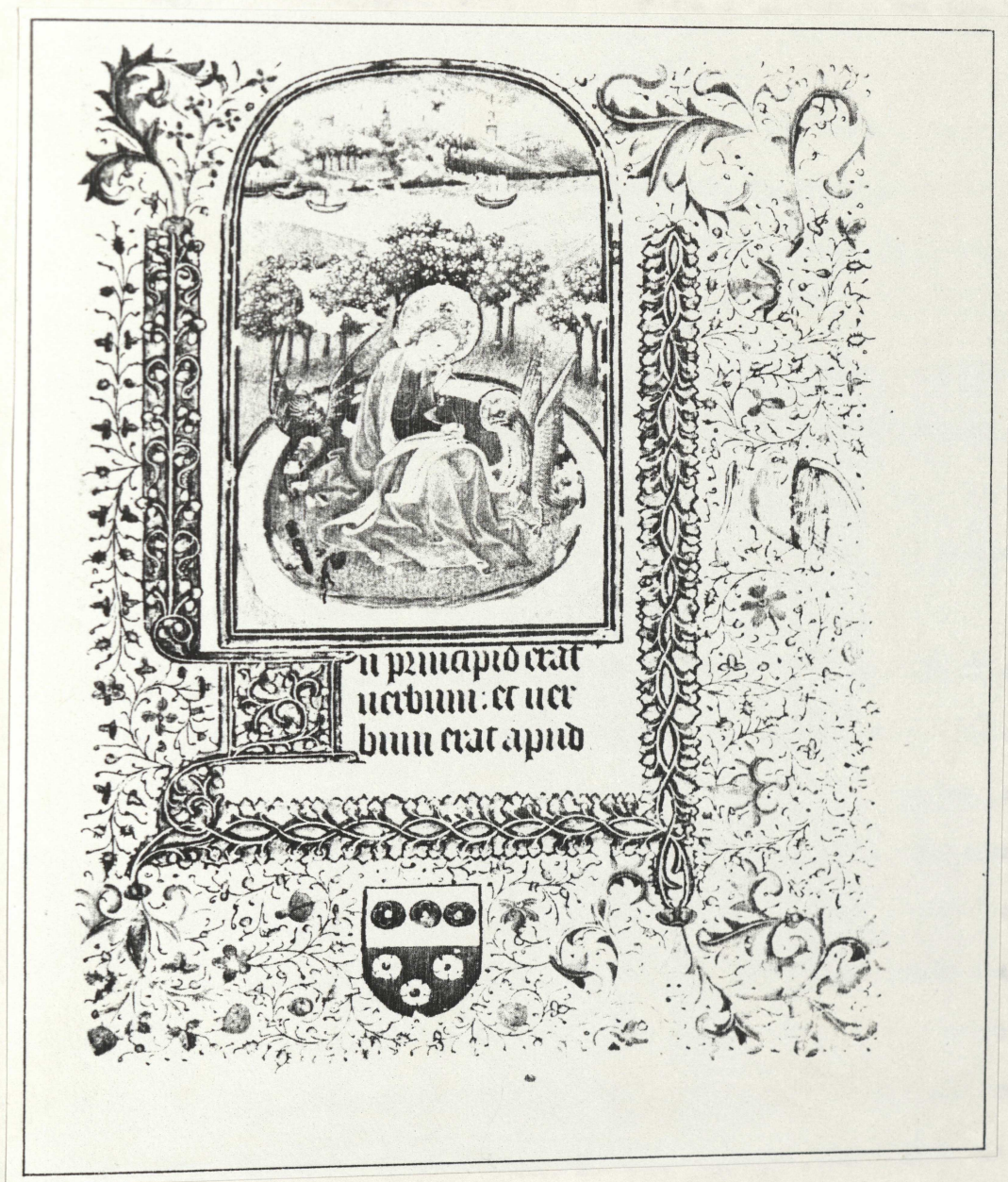


Figure 3. St. John on Patmos
MS *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* 575

stealing the ink. In this picture John writes with his left hand, while in the Boddam miniature he is right-handed and sits writing on a scroll which he supports on his right knee. His left leg is stretched forward and his toes peep out from beneath his gown. This establishes that he is bare-foot, in compliance with medieval artistic convention, which required that God (Father and Son), angels, and apostles must have bare feet, whereas it would have been improper to represent the Virgin Mary or saints with bare feet.⁴ This convention is carefully observed by the Boddam artist throughout the manuscript.

In accordance with western artistic practice, John is portrayed as a young man, which makes him easily recognizable in any group of apostles. His simple brown robe, worn over a brownish fawn gown, suggests a religious order. The lifeless, or ashen, colours of fawn, grey, and brown signify humility or mortification and for this reason they were used for religious habits.⁵ John's robe is highlighted with gold and a gold nimbus circles his head to denote his sanctity. Gold is also used for the little clouds and for light rays which spread a golden radiance over the scene, which can scarcely be appreciated from this photograph.

St. John is placed on a small strip of land surrounded by water to represent Patmos. The artist has, however, managed to avoid the crude representation of an island which features in so many examples of the subject, as in the Arsenal MS 575 mentioned above and in the manuscript belonging to St. Mary's Church, Eastbourne. The Boddam artist successfully attempts a more naturalistic rendering, and the island blends happily into the landscape. He has paid careful attention to aerial and atmospheric perspective, noting that light transforms colour. Such is the realism of the scene, that the eye seeks to follow the flow of the water as it winds through the hills, or mountains, and recedes into a hazy distance.

The water and hills are very effective in giving depth to the picture. A narrow stretch of water separates Patmos from another island on the left,

and beyond that island the sea, or lake, laps round a walled town at the foot of a hill. Fort-like buildings are perched on hill-tops, while dwellings clustered on lower slopes suggest village settlements. The two boats on the water appear to be Italian sailing vessels. Although they are without sails, their masts are clearly visible; in addition, two tiny figures are just discernible through a magnifying glass in the vessel on the left. This minute detail raises the question whether artists worked through a magnifying glass.

There is a persistent series of diagonal lines in this miniature, extending from the hill top on the right to the eagle's wings on the left and from the large boulder on the right to John's left foot. Between these two lines another is formed by the eagle, John's head, and the boulder. This feature also appears in The Raising of Lazarus.

Uniquely in the manuscript, one putto appears on the ledge beneath the platform on which the picture is set. He seems to be holding in his mouth two objects which might possibly be the double pipes or small cornetts (not to be confused with the modern cornet). The latter instrument had some church use in both France and England and could be either straight or curved in an arc, as these are here.⁶ Could this putto be acting as a herald for the putti drama which is to follow on each frame (except for The Annunciation), in much the same way as banns announced the performance of mystery plays?⁷ That would satisfactorily explain the single putto and would also complement John's position as author of the Gospel extract beginning over the page. It was common practice, in both religious and secular works, to portray the author at the beginning of his book. He might be represented actually writing (as is St. Jerome in some Vulgate Bibles), or addressing his audience (as Chaucer does in a Troilus and Criseyde manuscript dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁸ Alternatively, an author might be portrayed as presenting his book to its donor (see Figure 4).⁹

Figure 4. Dedication page of
Boethius' De consolazione philosophiae



On the verso of the first folio of The Hours of Charles Boddam the Gospel extracts begin with the first fourteen verses of St. John's Gospel, commencing 'In principio erat verbum' (In the beginning was the Word). This is followed by a prayer 'Protector in te sperantium', after

which come the customary extracts from St. Luke (1.26-38), St. Matthew (2.1-12), and St. Mark (16.14-20). The sequence of extracts differs from that followed in the New Testament, but is standard in Books of Hours. This arrangement allows a chronological order for relating the coming of Christ, his Incarnation, and eventual Ascension.

Two popular prayers to the Virgin follow the Gospel extracts: the 'Obsecro te' beginning on folio 4^r, and 'O Intemerata' beginning on folio 5^v.

Examples of this subject show Mary in a state of calm and humble acceptance, signified by raised arms crossed on the breast, but in this beautiful picture the artist has chosen to portray the elements of surprise and anxiety. His well thought out scheme is in close accord with the words of St. Luke's Gospel (Luke 1.26-38).

In this miniature (see frontispiece) the archangel Gabriel genuflects before Mary, his softly coloured wings still outstretched, suggesting his direct arrival from heaven. His holy source is confirmed by the image of God the Father, whose nimbed bust is seen emerging from a circle of deep blue cloudlets set in a blue shaded sky at upper left of the picture. The cloudlets possibly represent the seraphim, one of the orders of angels closest to God, whose traditional colour of blue signifies heaven and spiritual love.¹ The Almighty holds the orbis mundi in his left hand and with his right hand makes the sign of benediction. Gabriel repeats the benediction but points emphatically towards Mary, vividly illustrating the biblical passages: 'Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women' (Luke 1.28).

Gold divine rays emanate from God and are channelled towards Mary, intercepting Gabriel's sceptre. On these direct rays glides a graceful white dove, symbolizing the Holy Spirit.² The dove is surrounded by an aureole of wavy gold rays which give an imaginative suggestion of vibrant life. The artist has conveyed in a striking manner the very lively power of the Holy Spirit. A point of particular interest is that the divine

VI THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

With Matins of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit

1. The Annunciation - Matins

As was customary, a representation of The Annunciation introduces the most important section of the book, The Hours of the Virgin, and our artist has risen to the occasion with an impressive rendering of the subject, full of drama as he catches the very moment of Annunciation.

Many examples of this subject show Mary in a state of calm and humble acceptance, signified by raised arms crossed on the breast, but in this beautiful picture the artist has chosen to portray the elements of surprise and anxiety. His well thought out scheme is in close accord with the words of St. Luke's Gospel (Luke 1.26-38).

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rays form into five distinct beams after passing through Gabriel's sceptre, which seems to be a deliberate allusion to the Five Joys of Mary (Annunciation, Birth of Jesus, Resurrection, Ascension of Jesus, Assumption of Virgin Mary).³ This careful attention to detail distinguishes the work of the Boddam artist and reveals an informed mind. It was not possible, after noticing this feature, to re-examine all the manuscripts listed in the Bibliography, but further reference to The Annunciation scenes in manuscripts Sloane 2732b, Add. 25695, and Add. 35312 revealed merely an indistinguishable mass of rays directed towards Mary.

In this connection, stage directions in one of the mystery plays of the Ludus Coventriae cycle (The Parliament of Heaven, the Salutation and Conception) are of interest. Much was made in the Middle Ages of the fact that Mary graciously accepted God's plan, and this play makes provision for a pause while Mary contemplates her reply: 'Here the Aungel makyth a lytyl restynge and Mary beholdyth hym ...'.⁴ Gabriel then bids Mary to give her answer and assent, and after she has done so the stage directions read: 'Here the Holy Gost discendit with iij bemys to our lady',⁵ going on to refer to the Trinity. It is a matter of conjecture how these three beams were staged, but it is interesting to note a different association of ideas between writer and painter. It seems possible that the five rays painted in the Boddam Annunciation were the artist's own idea, though he may have merely followed a model. Further research is needed here.

Another small detail worth noting is how the artist observes a convention (noted in the previous commentary) in clearly but unobtrusively revealing Gabriel's bare foot behind the pot of lilies. The lily is a symbol of purity, innocence, and immortality, and although it is usually associated with Mary it is also an attribute of Gabriel.⁶ The pure whiteness of the lilies is reflected both in the archangel's gown and in the Holy Dove, and contrasts with the white gowns worn by the little angels

who act as supporters for the coat-of-arms. This may be a deliberate distinction of rank between archangel and angel.⁷

Mary's consternation at the appearance and utterance of the mysterious visitor in her private chamber is shown by a gesture of surprise as she raises her hands, but not her eyes. Her reaction fits St. Luke's verse 29 very well: 'And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be.' The open book on her lap tells us that she has been interrupted in her reading: but an open book is also a symbol of wisdom, and may be intended to convey Mary's wisdom in accepting God's plan. A closed book, on the other hand, can signify chastity, and in some Annunciation scenes Mary holds a closed book, keeping the place with her thumb.⁸

In this miniature, as in all the others in which she appears, Mary wears a deep blue mantle, highlighted with gold,⁹ over a fawn coloured gown. Deep blue is traditionally Mary's colour, as it signifies (in addition to the symbolic meanings given above for the seraphim) truth, constancy, and fidelity. The ashen colours (as noted in the commentary on St. John) signify humility or mortification, and here we may be sure that the colour of Mary's gown is intended to convey her humility, which is also reflected in her modest attitude and downward glance. Other manuscripts which follow this significant colour scheme are Buchanan e.3 and Sloane 2732b, where, however, Mary's gown is grey rather than fawn. In other manuscripts Mary is entirely in blue.

There may be a further message for us by way of colour symbolism in the emerald green hangings. It is not clear whether the chair on which Mary is seated is meant to be beneath a tester or whether this is in fact her bed behind her. It seems likely that the green drapes are in fact bed-hangings. Their placement here on each side of Mary appears to be quite deliberate, as does a similar arrangement by Simeon in the Presentation of

Christ in the Temple. Green in fact symbolizes hope, fertility, or regeneration, and would thus be an appropriate symbol in an Annunciation scene to signify Mary's fertility and the hope of mankind in the birth of a Saviour. If this suggestion seems a little speculative here, the meaning of the green drape behind the crucified yet living Christ in the Coronation of the Virgin cannot be doubted.

The style of domestic interiors used in The Hours of Charles Boddam has been commented upon in Section IV above. To set this scene in a private chamber with classical features suggests an Italian artist, or at least an Italian influence, especially in view of D. M. Robb's remarks on the consistent adherence by French painters to the ecclesiastical setting.¹⁰ It may be observed that while Flemish artists favoured a domestic interior, there is nothing in the style of this picture to suggest a homely Flemish room.

The ledge at the base of the architectural framework is reserved for the display of a coat-of-arms, presumably that of the original owner or owners. The robed angel supporters replace the naked putti who occupy the ledge in other miniatures: they were no doubt considered to be too flippant to be associated with the owner's status symbol.

The depressed arch at the top of the frame supports two helm-like objects which appear to be joined together with a ring. The College of Arms considers that this is not heraldic in character, so it must be presumed an artistic device. This may indicate a joint ownership by husband and wife and might even suggest that the book was a wedding present.

On the verso of The Annunciation the only five-line initial in the whole manuscript introduces Matins (Plate 3), commencing 'Domine labia mea ap[er]ies' (O Lord, open thou my lips). Included in this service are Psalm 95, Venite Exultemus Domino (O come let us sing unto the Lord)¹¹ and the Canticle Te deum laudamus (We praise thee O God).

Plate 4. The Visitation



Plate 5. Folio 14^r



2. The Visitation - Lauds

The subject of this miniature (Plate 4) derives from St. Luke's Gospel (Luke 1.39-44) which describes the Virgin Mary's visit to her cousin Elizabeth after being informed by Gabriel that the older woman was in her sixth month of pregnancy. The artist has departed from St. Luke's account in depicting an outdoor meeting between the two women, but this seems to have been the usual practice in paintings, perhaps to emphasize that a journey was involved. The landscape scene and the large boulders at the left-hand side of the picture, behind the angel accompanying the Virgin, may be deliberate allusions to the 'hill country' mentioned in the Gospel. At the same time the substantial buildings on the right agree with the mention of 'a city of Juda'.

Elizabeth shows reverence for her younger cousin with a slight inclination of the knee as they clasp left hands; her right hand rests lightly on Mary's shoulder in a solicitous gesture of greeting. The human warmth conveyed in the scene appears to match the warmth and joyfulness of the Visitation drama in the Towneley Mystery Play, where Elizabeth greets Mary with terms of endearment in contrast to the theological terms used in the Ludus Coventriae play.¹² The artist has taken care to show the difference in age between the two women. Mary's bare head and long hair is appropriate to a young woman, while Elizabeth's hair is tucked into a nun-like coif worn beneath her hat to establish her matronly status.

The putti in this miniature appear to be closely linked to the scene above. Each putto emerges from an acanthus-like conch-shell which is suggestive of a cornucopia, which filled with fruit and corn was a symbol of riches or plenty and a popular Renaissance symbol for fertility. Here the association is of the 'fruit of the womb', referred to in Luke 1.42. As the putti confront each other and link arms, they establish a relationship which is perhaps intended to represent the relationship between the as yet unborn sons of Mary and Elizabeth, Jesus and John the Baptist.

This meeting between Mary and Elizabeth is regarded as the first contact between Jesus and John, when the latter was held to have recognized the Saviour. Elizabeth declares to Mary: 'As soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy' (verse 44). John the Baptist was one of the great saints of the Middle Ages: as the last prophet, he provides the link between the Old Testament and the New. The importance with which he was regarded is displayed by the fact that his name is invoked in the Litany immediately after the archangels.¹³

The angel close to Mary appears to be dressed as an acolyte in Lenten dress, that is, wearing alb and amess only, without a tunicle. The bloused effect of the alb is presumably due to a cord worn round the waist. In deciding what costume divine or holy characters should wear, painters had recourse to ecclesiastical vestments and probably based their portrayals on vestments used in liturgical drama.¹⁴ Reference may also have been made to Revelation 7.13-15 as describing suitable attire for those who serve God.

As the lower edge of the angel's robe falls to the ground it follows the curve of Mary's mantle, suggesting a slight swaying motion towards Mary and establishing a spiritual relationship, rather as a guardian angel.

The harmonious tone of this miniature, arising from Elizabeth's mode of greeting and echoed by the putti, is increased by the artist's balance of colour. The white robe of the angel is complemented by the white coif worn by Elizabeth, while the colours used for the pillars which frame the picture repeat the colours worn by the two women, as also do the angel's wings. In the background the colour of the boulders at left complement the building at right, and also provide a balance of weight.

This harmony of colour is extended to the border on the facing folio (Plate 5) where the two orange-red flowers match the colour of Elizabeth's robes, while the two blue flowers are of the same shade as Mary's mantle. There are no other flowers in this border. A silver-grey acanthus scroll

separates the flowers from three bunches of half-ripe grapes. Grapes were frequently used in paintings as a reference to the Eucharist, and it is possible that their appearance here foreshadows the sacrifice of the unborn Jesus. The grapes on the vine in fact have a double significance, since apart from being the Eucharistic symbol for wine, Jesus referred to himself metaphorically as 'the true vine' (John 15.1). If the putti are intended to represent Jesus and John, the placement of the grapes at the bottom of the border could be a cross-reference in the same way as are the colours at the top of the border.

The text of Lauds includes Psalms 93, 100, 63, 67, the Canticle Benedicite omnia (O all ye Works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord), then Psalms 148, 149, and 150.

3. The Crucifixion - Matins of the Cross

The Hours of the Cross are most frequently illustrated by a representation of the Crucifixion, though this was sometimes replaced by a pieta or by Christ carrying the Cross.

The Crucifixion scene in The Hours of Charles Boddam (Plate 7) is set in a hilly landscape under a starry sky in which, however, both sun and moon make an appearance. The sun, on the right hand of Christ, is painted as an extra large star emitting wavy rays. The moon, above Christ's left hand, is curiously depicted and, through a magnifying glass, appears to consist of a tiny human figure (possibly representing the man in the moon) standing on a double-imaged crescent.

There was in the Middle Ages an established association of day (ruled by the sun) with Life and the New Testament, and of night (ruled by the moon) with Death and the Old Testament. E. Panofsky notes that in representations of the Crucifixion these connections were emphasized by placing symbols of good, including a personification of the Church, on the right hand of Christ, and symbols of evil, including a personification of the Synagogue, on his left.¹⁵ This scheme is adhered to in the Boddam manuscript by placing three holy figures, denoted by haloes, on Christ's right, and three Romans and Jews on his left. The Dillwyn manuscript follows suit, as also do Sloane 2732b, Add. 25695, and Add. 35312. The last three, however, include the two thieves who were crucified at the same time as Jesus. In Add. 35312 there is no actual moon, but a diffuse light in a very darkened sky on the right side of the picture. The evil aspect is also further stressed in Add. 25695, where the head of the thief on Christ's left droops in a pose which conveys the finality of his death, in contrast to the thief on Christ's right, who lifts up his head and whose body contains life as an indication of his salvation. The Boddam artist is rather more subtle in reinforcing his point: in the clump of

trees on the hillock of the 'evil' side he has painted a dead tree starkly rising from its centre to denote that unacceptance of Christ leads to death.¹⁶

At the foot of the Cross on Christ's right, St. John supports the Virgin Mary, evidently mindful of his sacred trust to care for her as a son. St. John's Gospel (John 19.27) relates how Jesus committed Mary to John's care from the Cross and that 'from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home'. This would have been familiar to the medieval public, both through the Gospel and, it seems, from mystery plays.

In the York play The Death and Burial Jesus says:

Womanne, in stede of me, (line 153)
 Loo, John thi sone schall bee.
 John, see to thi modir free;
 For my sake do thou thi devere.* * duty

The woman standing beside John is probably the Virgin's half sister, Mary Cleophas, though it could possibly be Mary Magdalene.¹⁷ A scene from the above mentioned play, however, suggests that the former is the more likely identification. In that drama Mary Cleophas is with the Virgin Mary and John at Calvary. The latter now addresses the Virgin as 'mother' as he bids her cease her mourning:

A, dere modir, blynne* of this blee; *stop
 Youre mournying it may not amende. (line 174)

Mary Cleophas tries to comfort Mary:

A, Marie, take triste un-to the, (line 176)
 For socoure to the will he sende
 This tyde.

A further extract from the play appears to make a positive link between drama and miniature, giving support to the theory that the third figure is Mary Cleophas:

Maria: Now, dere sone, Jesus so iente,
 Sen my harte is hevy as leede,
 O worde wolde I witte or thou wente;
 Allas, nowe my dere sone is dede.
 Full rewfully refte is my rede.
 Allas for my darlyng so dere!

John: A, modir, ye halde uppe youre heede,
 And sigh noght with sorrowes so seere,
 I praye.

Mary Cleophas: It does hir pyne
 To see hym tyne.
 Lede we her heyne,
 This mornying helpe hir ne maye. (line 261)

Note that in this miniature the angle of the Virgin's head matches that of Christ's, in a sympathetic rhythm which suggests that she shares his suffering. In contrast to the outstretched figure of Christ, she holds her hands together in prayer as she crumples on one knee in mental anguish. At the same time the visual contrast of the figures underlines the contrast between the physical agony of Christ on the Cross and Mary's emotional torment at the foot of the Cross. Although John is there to support her, she is not in an actual swoon, as in many depictions of the subject: she is all too conscious, and John's support is as much spiritual as physical.

Turning now to the three characters on the 'evil' side of the Cross, two wear conical hats which were commonly used to denote Jews,¹⁸ and the other is evidently a Roman soldier. The man in the foreground, however, seems to be an amalgamation of Jew and Roman, wearing the conical hat but a Roman tunic beneath his jerkin. There is perhaps an implication in this group that the Romans and Jews must take equal responsibility for the death of Jesus. In the York play, as in the Bible (Matthew 27.24 and Luke 23.22), Pilate is anxious to shift the blame on to the Jews:

Of Jesu I hold it unhappe
 That he on yone hill hyng so hye
 For gilt.
 His bloode to spille
 Toke ye you till,
 Thus was youre wille
 Full spitously to spede he were spilte ... (line 33)

I examynde hym right,
 And cause non in hym cowthe I knawe. (line 51)

The initials written at the head of the Cross in the miniature are INRI, which stand for Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews. They are included in many representations of the Crucifixion. On being asked by the Jews to alter the notice proclaiming Jesus 'The King of the Jews'

(Luke 23.38, John 19.19), Pilate replied 'What I have written, I have written' (John 19.22). The York play gives this retort actually in Latin: Quod scripci, scripci (line 114), as if to emphasize that the words are scriptural.¹⁹

This particular moment of the drama of the Cross was in fact that usually depicted by artists, since it allowed for the five wounds of Christ to be shown in all their horror and pathos. From the late fourteenth century painters and writers dwelt on the suffering of Christ and emphasized the malicious cruelty of his tormentors. Thus Crucifixion scenes of the fifteenth century showed Christ as the Man of Sorrows,²⁰ with his wounds bleeding profusely. In this miniature blood from the hand-wounds flows along Christ's arms and drips down: blood from his side-wound trickles down his right leg, and blood streams across his right foot.

Of the six characters clustered round the Cross, only the strange figure at right foreground looks directly up at Jesus. Could he perhaps be the one who had pierced Christ's side? According to St. John, this deed was performed by one of the soldiers, who saw the blood and water which came forth: 'And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe.' (John 19.34). Is this intended as a theological message, that this soldier recorded something he had witnessed with his own eyes? At the same time this character might represent blind Longeus (or Longinus) the centurion who, according to medieval lore, received his sight after piercing Christ's side, as a sign of his salvation. The York play²¹ features Longeus, who on receiving his sight exclaims:

O, maker unmade, full of myght,
O, Jesu so jentill and jente,
That sodenly has lente me my sight,
Lorde, lovyng to the be it lente ... (line 300)
Thi mercy be markid in me.

These are merely conjectures, but they provide plausible explanations as to why this one character should raise his eyes to Jesus on the Cross.

As regards the putti at the foot of this miniature, it is difficult to make out what they are up to; but the one on the left (and consequently on the 'good' side of the Cross) appears to be dangling a small fish, which was an ancient symbol of Christ used by the early Christians. The putto on the right (the 'evil' side) may be holding a round shield as a comment on the soldiers.

Plate 3
Folio 42^v

Plate 8

Pentecost



Plate 9

Folio 42^r

4. Pentecost - Matins of the Holy Spirit

The setting for this miniature (Plate 8) is the upper chamber mentioned in Acts 1.13, where Mary and the apostles are gathered on the day of Pentecost 'with one accord ... persisting in prayer'.

A serene Mary prays before a prie dieu. She appears not to be kneeling but inclines towards the prie dieu with a reverence which is repeated in a more accentuated posture by St. John standing behind her. The robes of the two figures sweep harmoniously in the same direction but the more sharply defined lines of John's gown and his attentive gaze at Mary suggest a surge of compassionate concern for her. The artist reinforces this feeling by inclining their heads towards each other. They are thus linked together in spiritual isolation from the other apostles, and are oblivious of what is just beginning to happen in that part of the room behind them. Placed in the foreground, they form a pair and have been painted with more deliberation and care than the others.

It is possible that two scenes are meant to be implied here: the prayers together of Mary and the apostles, and the subsequent manifestation of the Holy Spirit among them. Thus some of the apostles still have their hands together in prayer, while others, particularly the one closest to the window aperture, have become aware of something wonderful happening.

There, floating dramatically into the room through an arched window which reveals a glimpse of blue sky beyond, is a representation of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove surrounded by an aureole of orange and yellow which emits both wavy and straight rays of gold. The rays fall across the window-frame, indicating that the Holy Spirit has just entered. This glorious image creates a lively feeling of excitement as, pulsating with life, it sheds gold fragments into the room. These fragments may represent the tongues 'like as of fire' which sat upon the apostles (Acts 2.3). Something of their excitement can be sensed by the way in

which one of them stretches forth an arm to receive the divine gift. The gold illumination of the miniature does not, of course, come through in this reproduction, so that the impact of the original is largely lost. However, this is no static picture, but is full of movement and emotional surge.

Of the other manuscripts considered in this paper, only Add. 25695 manages to evoke a similar dramatic excitement as the apostles react with movements of astonishment at the appearance of the Holy Dove. In that miniature the dove enters through a similar arched window, but instead of being surrounded by an aureole it sits on wavy orange rays interspersed with a few gold ones. The elegance of the Boddam apparition is missing, however, here.

It is possible that a sun-like device represented the Holy Spirit in the Mystery Plays: Peter Happé observes that there is no evidence that the dove was used.²² In this connection St. Peter's words are of interest in the York Pentecost play:

All mys to mende nowe have we myght;
 This is the mirthe oure maistir of mente.
 I myght noght loke, so was it light.
 A! loved be that Lorde that itt us lente.
 Now hase he holden that he us highte;
 His Holy Goste here have we hente.
 Like to the sonne itt semed in sight
 And sodenly thanne was itt sente. (line 111)

This whole scene of the Boddam miniature, like the preceding one of The Crucifixion, appears to be clarified by reference to the York play, which would explain the Virgin's serene calmness, in contrast to her anguish in the previous scene. Here she is supremely confident that her son will send the Holy Spirit, as he promised (John 14.26, 16.7).

The scene of the play is a house in Jerusalem. Mary is with the apostles as they discuss the promise and comment that they can nowhere walk for dread of the Jews. She assures them that her son will do as he said:

And therfore drede you nevere a dele,
 But prayes with harte and hende
 That we his helpe may have.
 Thanne schall it sone be sende,
 The sande that schall us save.

(line 70)

The steadfast faith expressed by these words finds an echo in the confident stance of Mary in the Boddam painting.

John's elegant cape in this miniature is fastened by a clasp which appears to consist of a large jewel set in gold. It seems likely that this is ecclesiastical vestment, in view of Emile Male's observation that bishops and canons were eager to lend to clergy fine vestments and brooches set with precious stones for dramatic representations.²³

On the base ledge of this miniature the putti turn towards each other as they gesture to an image of a bird with out-spread wings portrayed on the platform above. This action suggests that they are putting on their own mystery play on the coming of the Holy Spirit, in playful imitation of the scene above.

Plate 10

The Nativity
Boddam MS



Plate 11

The Nativity
Buchanan MS



5. The Nativity - Prime

The Nativity scene (Plate 10) shows Mary and Joseph kneeling in adoration of the Holy Child. The role of Joseph in this miniature is of special interest since he expresses a fatherly concern which is sometimes absent in representations of the Holy Family, probably due to the desire of artists to show that Joseph played no part in the conception of the babe. This may also explain why the artist of the Buchanan manuscript portrays Joseph raising his hands in a gesture of surprise (Plate 11) which is similar to the gesture of Mary in The Annunciation miniature in the Boddam manuscript. In the book belonging to St. Mary's Church, Eastbourne, Joseph makes the same gesture in The Presentation in the Temple.

The Boddam Nativity shows Joseph as a part of the earthly family, and as head of that family he assumes a protective role. Presumably the artist considered it sufficient to set him apart from Virgin and Child by the omission of a nimbus (an expression of sanctity). Mary is given a prominent nimbus, while the divinity of the Holy Child is expressed by an aureole of golden rays. Artists are consistent in denying Joseph a nimbus in Nativity scenes, though one is often bestowed on him in other subjects (as in The Presentation).

Joseph is shown in a solicitous attitude as he holds in his right hand (causing a problem to the artist) a candle whose flame he carefully protects with his left hand. The pronounced whiteness of the candle marks it as an object of some significance. A lighted candle was, in fact, a symbol of divine presence²⁴ and in this context no doubt symbolizes the light which Christ's birth has given the world (see John 1.4-9).²⁵ Joseph's protective gesture may allude to the general care he gave to Jesus throughout his early years or it could refer more specifically to his saving the Child's life by obeying the command to flee into Egypt. Joseph also holds a candle in the Eastbourne manuscript (Plate 12) but

Plate 12. The Nativity, Eastbourne MS



does not protect its flame. It is sometimes overlooked that Joseph, as well as Mary, accepted God's plan and gave fatherly care to this mysterious child whom he knew was not his. It may be that the fawn garment which he wears in the Boddam miniature, matching the colour of Mary's gown, signifies his humble acceptance.

The closer relationship of Virgin and Child is nicely underlined by placing Jesus on his mother's mantle, which is spread on the ground as she kneels. A similar placement of the Holy Child occurs in Buchanan e.3 (Plate 11), in Add. MS 35312, and in Add. MS 25695, while the painter of the Dillwyn manuscript places him on a golden cushion, with his feet resting on the Virgin's mantle. A similar depiction of the Holy Child, surrounded by an aureole and lying on a cushion placed on Mary's mantle, occurs in a stained glass window (c.1501) in Great Malvern Priory Church, Worcestershire.²⁶

The Boddam Nativity has, at centre middle ground, three small golden-robed angels kneeling in adoration, while in the background two shepherds look on from behind a wattle fence which separates them from the main scene. The cluster of deep blue cloudlets from which gold rays emanate suggests that the shepherds have been led here by divine guidance.

The stable itself is a very strange building, suggestive of a living-room and stable combined, and perhaps similar to peasant accommodation of the Middle Ages. The stable section at left has an upper wall of wooden battens, while the right-hand side is built of brick. The artist has not managed to get the perspective of the window frame quite right, and the stonework decoration below it, though crude, looks rather out of place in this setting. It is not clear whether the roosting birds above the frame are meant to be real or decorative.

The Buchanan Nativity features two gold-robed angels kneeling in adoration and two shepherds behind a wattle fence, in a similar

arrangement to the Boddam picture. A comparison of the two renderings shows how fragments from a model book could be adopted, modified, and variously arranged. Here the doorway is replaced by a dorsal behind the angels and the shepherds have been moved to the side. In both miniatures the ass reaches up to a hayrack to nibble at the hay, while the ox is peculiarly shown with its back to the viewer. The Boddam picture is less clear, but the scheme becomes plainer after looking at the Buchanan version. Perhaps there is an example here of a less accomplished artist copying a model; or it could be that the Buchanan fragment was copied direct from a pattern-book while the Boddam fragment was copied from a poorly executed copy. Whatever the explanation, it is evident that the pictures share a common source for parts of the composition, which supports the view that miniaturists did not work from completed models.

In the Boddam miniature three putti occupy the base plinth instead of the usual two, displaying a scroll. This feature, together with the presence of three angels in the scene above, may well be a reference to the Trinity.

The antiphon to the psalms and the capitulum in the service of Prime conform to the localization test provided by F. Madan as pertaining to the use of Rouen. The relevant words are 'Maria Virgo' on folio 21^V and 'Per te dei' on folio 23^V. Psalms numbers 1, 2 and 5 are included, and the hymn Veni creator spiritus.

Plate 13. Annunciation to Shepherds



Plate 14. Adoration of the Magi, Dillwyn MS



6. The Annunciation to the Shepherds - Tierce

Portraying the carefree joys of a pastoral life, this scene (Plate 13) may have affinity with French Mystères rather than with the English mystery cycles which dwell more on the hardship of the shepherds.²⁷

On this particular topic, Margaret Manion mentions Arnoul Gréban, who was a bachelor of theology and choirmaster of Notre Dame de Paris. His Mystère de la Passion was performed three times between 1452 and 1473, and included rondels sung by the shepherds extolling the pastoral life.²⁸ The shepherd and shepherdess pictured here would seem to reflect this attitude:

En gardant leur brebetes,
pasteurs ont bon temps;
en gardant leurs brebetes
ils jouent de leurs musettes
lies et esbatans
la dient leurs chansonnetes.²⁹

(In looking after their sheep,
shepherds have good times;
they play on their pipes and
sing their songs)

Notwithstanding this, it is noteworthy that in the Ludus Coventriae cycle The Shearmen and Tailors' Play contains three songs with directions that 'the first and the laste the Shepheards singe, and the second or middlemost the Women singe.' The women's song is a lullaby, while the shepherds' songs refer to the annunciation to the shepherds and each one ends 'So mereli the sheppards ther pipes can blow'.³⁰

The shepherd and shepherdess pictured here are dancing to the music of the bagpipes, which seem to be associated with the pastoral life. They dance hand in hand, each holding in the other hand a houlette (a staff-like implement with a small shovelled head for throwing loose earth, at the other end of which was a hook for catching and holding sheep for inspection).³¹

A dog is curled up at the feet of the seated piper. The Gulbenkian Horae, in the Gulbenkian Collection at Lisbon, shows four couples dancing in a ring to the bagpipes, with a dog nearby.³²

Bagpipes and dog also feature in Add. 25695, but there is no shepherdess and no dancing. A dog is present in Buchanan e.3. There a seated shepherdess caresses a lamb which stands with its forelegs on her lap, while two shepherds, houlettes in hand, look up to an angel holding a scroll. The general tone of all these paintings reflects the idyllic notion of the happy and carefree pastoral life.

The shepherd and shepherdess in the Boddam miniature appear to be oblivious of the angel above them, who announces the glad tidings with an extended scroll. It may be, however, that in stage productions the pastoral folk rejoiced at the tidings by dancing, so that this miniature could be viewed as a dual scene, like the Pentecost picture. The angel is surrounded by the same dense blue cloudlets already noted in previous miniatures: again, these may represent the heavenly host, whose divinity is indicated by golden beams. The landscape in this picture, with its buildings, adds to a feeling of well-being and a community life rather than an isolated one.

The religious aspect derives from St. Luke but does not keep closely to the Gospel. For instance, though the golden rays directed earthwards aptly suggest that 'the glory of the Lord shone round about them', they cannot be described as being 'sore afraid'. However, as suggested above, the dance aspect (which has no scriptural basis) may represent a subsequent action in the drama.

At the foot of the miniature, in their accustomed place, the two gesturing putti each raise right legs, perhaps parodying the dance.

The service of Tierce includes Psalms 120-122 and prayers.

Plate 15. Folio 27^v



Plate 16. Adoration of the Magi



7. The Adoration of the Magi - Sext

The landscape scenery in which the Adoration of the Magi (Plate 16) is set, with no other building in sight, implies that the visitors have come from afar. The bright star of Bethlehem, by which the Magi were led, appears as a large object in the sky, and again dark blue clouds are used to signify divinity. The star sheds its rays over the landscape, which is visible through the apertures of the simple shelter.

Here the artist has departed from the verbal description of the star as staying over the place where Christ lay.³³ There were artistic difficulties here, since the roof is curtailed by the miniature framework. The Dillwyn artist (see Plate 14) attempts to get round the problem of the overhead star by locating it at the right-hand side of the building but directing its rays across the front of it. The holes in the roof of both miniatures refer not to the lowly birth of Jesus, but to the breakdown of the old law of the Jews.³⁴

The three Magi were thought to come from a sacred tribe of Persians skilled in astrology and the occult. St. Matthew refers to 'wise men from the east' (Matthew 2.1), but as the legend of the Magi evolved from Psalms and the Book of Isaiah, they came to be portrayed as kings, representing the three ages of man: one elderly, one middle-aged, and the third a youth.^{34a} Not all paintings make such a clear distinction in age, however, though many portray the kneeling magus as older by giving him a grey beard and perhaps making the other two beardless.

Liturgical drama greatly affected the way in which the Magi were portrayed. According to Emile Mâle,³⁵ the play of the Magi originated in France, as did the entire cycle of liturgical plays. The earliest known manuscript dates from the eleventh century, when it was customary for the Magi, preceded by a star suspended from a thread, to walk in a line towards the altar, where there was an image of the Virgin and Child. In the second

half of the twelfth century a direction was given to the first magus to genuflect before offering his gift. This led to the Magi being grouped artistically rather than in a line, and the innovation was adopted by all Europe through ivories and miniatures.

The painter of the Boddam miniature was obviously well-versed in the legend and clearly portrays old Melchior with white hair and beard, on bended knee as he presents his gift of gold (signifying wealth to a king), while a middle-aged Balthazar with mid-brown hair and short beard stands ready to make his offering of frankincense (for adoration to one divine; also an ancient balm for healing sores). The third magus, Gaspar, is shown as a beardless youth of fair complexion who stands modestly behind the older magus and the Virgin and Child as he waits to make his offering of myrrh (an emblem of death to one who will suffer, since the herb was used in embalming).³⁶

The hierarchy of the Magi is evidently decided on age grounds, as indicated by the order in which they present their gifts. The precedence of Melchior, however, is also marked by his ermine fur collar.³⁷ Here he receives the personal attention of Virgin and Child as he makes his offering. The three figures are intimately linked by the action. On the other side of Mary, Balthazar is outside the intimate circle but is clearly next in importance, being only slightly set back from the foreground and linked by his glance to the principal action. He is ready to step forward at the appropriate moment. Gaspar, on the other hand, looks away from the main action in a diffident pose which suggests that he is patiently aware that he has to wait his turn, which is not imminent. Although a fairly traditional format, the group of figures is a sensitive portrayal of politeness and medieval protocol. It is interesting in this respect because the order in which the kings make their offerings differs from a passage at one time attributed to the Venerable Bede. In this passage, the young Gaspar is

second to present his gift and accordingly offers incense, while Balthazar, who is described as brown-skinned, presents myrrh.³⁸

There is a curious detail in the Boddam miniature which leads one to question whether the artist used fragments from different models for his composition. In many portrayals of the subject, the eldest magus kneels bareheaded before Virgin and Child, his crown (perhaps lying on the ground beside him) having been removed from his head as an act of homage to the king of kings. Here, however, the eldest magus both wears a crown and has one on his hat lying on the ground beside him. The other Magi wear coronets on their hats, similarly. In the Buchanan e.3 manuscript all three wear crowns, but no other example has been discovered of two crowns being allotted to the eldest magus, and it would appear to be an artistic error. In the Dillwyn miniature the social status of the Magi is indicated not by crowns but by ermine fur collars, worn by all three. As the wearing of ermine, together with other finery in dress, was subject to the sumptuary laws in medieval times,³⁹ it became a status symbol which was useful in painting to indicate social standing. It will be noted that in this picture the beardless youth stands in a similar attitude to the Boddam one.

On the verso of the Adoration of the Magi, the border artist has made a feature of three white star-like flowers which possibly represent the
(Plate 15)
three Magi. According to some versions of the legend, the three kings, or wise men, came from different directions, each following the star until they all met and continued together for the remainder of the journey. In fact the York mystery play on the subject begins with the meeting of the three Magi, who have each been following the star from three different directions. When they discover they are on the same mission, they agree to journey on together.

It would not be unreasonable, then, to think of each magus as following a star. Further investigation shows this interpretation of the flowers to

be less fanciful than might at first appear, since they can be identified as the Greater Stitchwort, whose Latin name is *Stellaria holostea*, meaning star-like.⁴⁰ They occur nowhere else in the book and, furthermore, they border Psalm 123, beginning 'Ad te levavi oculos meos: qui habitas in celis' (Unto thee lift I up mine eyes: O thou that dwellest in the heavens).

This may be an example of how a border artist might use his own imagination to link border with text and with miniature. On the other hand, the content of specific borders may have been decided by the planner of the book as a whole. This is a question which cannot be resolved, but it is evident that someone gave thought to ways in which links could be made between idea, words, and illustration.

The two putti placed on the ledge of this miniature bear a certain resemblance to the Christ Child. Whether their antics are intended to relate to the scene above or merely provide light relief is a matter of speculation.

In addition to the Psalm mentioned above, the service for Sext includes prayers and Psalms 124 and 125.

Plate 18

Coronation of the Virgin

Plate 17

Presentation of Christ
in the Temple



Plate 18

Coronation of the Virgin

8. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple - None

In this miniature (Plate 17) the painter seems to have combined the Gospel of St. Luke with a traditional Northern iconography of the subject. The picture shows Mary kneeling in prayer, having just handed over Jesus to Simeon, who places him on the altar. Simeon wears a bishop's mitre and an ermine tippet on his blue vestment, which has no scriptural basis since he is merely described as a man who was 'just and devout'. This portrayal is not unusual and may have been partly a medieval device to give him status. On the other hand, it probably has theological significance in suggesting the celebrant at the Eucharist. Here the infant Jesus might be regarded as being offered by the bishop as the sacrifice, on an altar which looks ominously like a sarcophagus. Such paradox greatly appealed to medieval and Renaissance minds, and this picture almost certainly prefigures the sacrifice at Mass.

The artist seems to have had a change of mind in painting the left arm of the infant Jesus, which appears more noticeably in the photograph than in the original manuscript. It will be seen that the line of Simeon's blue robe is clearly visible through the paint of the Child's arm.

Like Mary, Joseph holds his hands in prayer on Simeon's right. An attendant behind Mary holds a long candle in her left hand⁴¹ and in her right hand carries a basket containing two sacrificial doves. In this miniature, it may be noted, Joseph is granted a nimbus, as are Mary, Simeon, and the attendant.

The Gospel passage (Luke 2.22-32) relates how Mary and Joseph brought Jesus to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord, and to offer a sacrifice of 'a pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons'. The latter sacrifice was part of the Jewish purification ritual for women after child-birth. Dorothy C. Shorr notes that in this account St. Luke combines the ceremonies of Presentation (at thirty days after birth) and Purification

(at forty days), which does not accord with Mosaic law.⁴² In Byzantine-Italian representations of the subject Joseph usually carries the sacrificial doves, whereas in Northern pictures they are carried by a young handmaiden who accompanies the Virgin. This could indicate a Northern artist for the miniature, especially in view of the absence of the prophetess Anna, who is usually in Italian representations but seldom in Northern ones.⁴³ Anna certainly features in St. Luke's account (Luke 2.36-38), so we must assume that the Boddam artist turned to some other source in replacing her with a handmaid. The miniature in manuscript Buchanan e.3 includes both Anna and the attendant (again, carrying a taper and basket with doves), which may point to an Italian artist working under Franco-Flemish influence.

In discussing the significance of a candle in this subject, Emile Mâle considers that the artist was commemorating the procession of Candlemas, which is celebrated on 2nd February, the day of the feast of The Presentation in the Temple. In this ceremony, which was a twelfth-century innovation, each of the faithful carried a lighted candle. The candles, Mâle observes, represented Christ himself, their wax as his humanity, their light as his divinity. Here there seems to be a clear case, Mâle considers, of liturgical influence on art, particularly as there is no model in Eastern art.⁴⁴ Karl Young concurs in the view that the carrying into church of lighted candles symbolized the entrance of Christ.⁴⁵

Of special interest to our study of The Hours of Charles Boddam (written for the use of Rouen) is Mâle's statement that on the south portal of Rouen Cathedral, where the tympanum is devoted to The Presentation in the Temple, the attendant carries a candle.⁴⁶ This representation would therefore have been familiar to people in the region.

St. Luke's Gospel does not mention a candle, but Simeon's own words give justification for a candle in this scene, since he refers to Christ

as 'a light to lighten the Gentiles' (Luke 2.32). The Nativity scene has already made this point visually, while the Gospel extract from St. John has made it verbally (John 1.4-9).

No doubt the various factors merged in the medieval mind and acted upon each other, making it hazardous to attempt to trace a specific source or to give a definitive interpretation. As Male says, iconographic innovations drawn from liturgy prove that the art of the time was not a kind of dead language, but drew life from the life of the Church. Liturgical dramas that were performed in the sanctuary on great feast days provided completely new motifs for art, which was enriched by them.

In this connection, then, it is of interest to look at the Chester Mystery Play on The Purification, which keeps very close to St. Luke's Gospel, including Anna, but which also evidently introduces a candle or taper into the ceremony. Here the candle takes on a rather different significance:

Josephe: A signe I offer here also
 Of virgine waxe, as other moe,
 In tokeninge shee hass lived oo
 In full devocion.
 And, sir Semion, leve well this,
 As cleane as this waxe nowe is,
 As cleane is my wife, I-wisse,
 From all corruptcion. (line 144)

In view of the fact that in the Boddam miniature it is the handmaiden who carries the candle, together with the sacrificial doves, it seems more likely that the candle is intended as a symbol of Mary's purity rather than as a symbol of the divinity of Christ. The confusion in interpretation appears to have arisen because of the linking together of the Feast of Purification (referred to as Candlemas) and the Presentation in the Temple. The fact that the Venerable Bede refers to substitution 'of Mary's procession' for pagan rites in February and describes how people and priests went through churches singing hymns and carrying candles, strongly suggests that the connection of candles with this subject refers to purification.^{46a}

This interpretation is arguably confirmed by the account which Jacobus de Voragine gives in The Golden Legend,⁴⁷ which states that 'Candlemas was established to show forth the purity of the Virgin Mary. To impress her purity upon the minds of us all, the Church ordered that we should carry lighted candles, as if to say: "Most blessed Virgin, thou hast no need of purification; on the contrary, thou art all light and all purity."'

The painter of the Boddam miniatures has in fact made a distinction between the candle carried by the handmaiden in this scene and the candle held by Joseph in The Nativity, the former being long and yellowish, the latter being short and distinctively white. Presuming that the same artist painted both miniatures, the difference would appear to be meaningful.

There may be an artistic link between the Presentation in the Temple and The Annunciation in that the emerald green drapes each side of the dorsal behind Simeon are markedly similar to the bed-hangings each side of Mary (see commentary on that miniature). The Holy Spirit had revealed to Simeon that he should not die until he had been allowed to see Christ (Luke 2.26), and it seems probable that this colour of hope and regeneration was purposefully used by the painter to give visual expression to Simeon's faith that this Child was the awaited Saviour, the hope of the world: 'For mine eyes have seen thy salvation' (Luke 2.30). This is an association of ideas, however, not an illustration of text, since the hymn of Simeon, the Nunc dimitis, occurs not in the service of None but in Compline.

It is in the service of None that the second indication of use is to be found. Here, as suggested by Madan, the antiphon 'Pulcra es' occurs on folio 29^v and the capitulum 'Et radicavi' appears on folio 30^v, confirming that the manuscript was produced for use in the diocese of Rouen.

Three Psalms, numbers 126, 127, and 128, are included in this service. Number 127 appears in the Church of England Prayerbook under 'The Thanksgiving of Women After Child-Birth', and verse 4 is particularly apt to the

imagery of the presentation of a child:

Lo, children and the fruit of the womb: are an heritage
and gift that cometh of the Lord.

Psalm 128 also refers to the blessing which children bring. This provides a fitting connection with the putti in the miniature, who are apparently playing together happily, indicating the joys of childhood.

Plate 19

The Flight into Egypt
Boddam MS



Plate 20

The Flight into Egypt
Buchanan MS



9. The Flight into Egypt - Vespers

As in The Nativity miniature, Joseph shows a fatherly concern for his family as he leads the donkey carrying Mary and Jesus on their journey into Egypt (Plate 19). Over his shoulder Joseph carries staff and scrip, pilgrim fashion, and glances back a little apprehensively at the tightly swaddled Child held in Mary's arms as she sits on the donkey facing the viewer. The artist shows awareness of human form in the draping of Mary's mantle over her knees. The mantle is draped over her head, forming the same pattern of folds as in the Adoration of the Magi. This consistency in dress and drapery helps to give a sense of continuity to the series of pictures.

In this miniature, as in the St. John painting, there is a strong diagonal line across the picture extending from the brighter green grass at left to the chateau on the hill at right.

By fleeing into Egypt, Joseph has taken heed of the warning given by the angel of the Lord in a dream (Matthew 2.12). His obedience saves the Child's life, as it is some time before Herod realizes that the Magi are not going to return to inform him of the whereabouts of the Christ Child, and he ruthlessly orders all baby boys aged two years and under to be slaughtered (Matthew 2.16). The theme of the Massacre of the Innocents is consequently associated with illustration of Vespers.

The patch of ripened corn at left background behind the Holy Family alludes to the miracle of the field of grain, a story taken from the Apocrypha.⁴⁸ This relates that after the Holy Family had crossed the recently sown field the grain sprang up so quickly behind them that it was ready for harvesting by the time that Herod's men arrived in pursuit. The officers questioned a peasant who affirmed that he saw the family go by 'when the grain had not yet begun to grow'. Discouraged, the pursuers turned back, assuming they had passed months beforehand.

The painting shows Herod's soldier carrying his rod of office, questioning the peasant. The latter holds a swop-hook in his left hand, to indicate that he is about to harvest the ripened corn, while his right hand is raised in a slightly awkward gesture which is open to interpretation. Is it raised to his head to indicate that he is trying to recall when it was that the Holy Family had passed by, or is he indicating the direction they took?

As in the case of The Nativity miniature, the answers to these queries might be deduced from looking at other miniatures on the subject, and here there are two examples to draw on, since allusion to this story is made in a markedly similar style in the Buchanan e.3 manuscript (Plate 20) and in Sloane 2732b (Figure 5). In both miniatures the peasant raises his arm in order to touch his cap in a respectful gesture. This cap is missing from the Boddam peasant, raising a suspicion that this may have been a case of partial adoption of a pattern book fragment. The official is also less clear in the Boddam miniature, but it seems likely that the figure is an armoured soldier, as in the other examples.

In all three representations the child Jesus is tightly swathed in an orangey-pink material, with just a small round head visible. The Buchanan artist effectively suggests the onward movement of the Holy Family by placing Joseph's arm and the donkey's head right at the edge of the picture frame, implying that they are about to pass from view.

There would appear to be little likelihood that this subject was influenced by mystery plays, since Rosemary Woolf comments that there is no dramatization in extant English mystery cycles of the Flight itself with the various apocryphal miracles.⁴⁹

The service of Vespers includes prayers and hymn to the Blessed Virgin Mary and her own Song, the Magnificat (though the text is not given in full).

Figure 5. Flight into Egypt
MS Sloane 2732b



10. Coronation of the Virgin - Compline

This miniature (Plate 18) stands somewhat in isolation from the others, mainly on account of its background which is distinctly medieval with its deep blue sky studded with stars. Beneath the stars, a host of praying angels occupies the centre background. These angels are painted completely in a distinctive orange-red which is used throughout the miniatures, and presumably represent the cherubim, who are nearest to the throne of God, of which they are the supporters. Their colour signifies the burning intensity of divine love.⁵⁰ As the Coronation takes place in Heaven, it was no doubt considered inappropriate to use either the landscape or the classic interior background of the other miniatures. An ecclesiastical setting might appropriately have been given for this subject, but in fact the setting adopted looks very much like a stage backdrop.

The subject is not scriptural, nor does it feature in Byzantine art.⁵¹ Appearing first in architecture of the twelfth century, it became a popular subject with which to illustrate Compline, the last of the divine offices, in the Hours of the Virgin. As Mary was frequently referred to as the Queen of Heaven, a coronation scene provided an appropriate final illustration. Alternative subjects, however, were the Death or the Assumption of the Virgin.

As the Gospels were tantalizingly brief or silent concerning details in the life of Mary, there was a good deal of scope for conjecture and imagination, and with the rising cult of the Virgin, stories and legends appeared and were drawn on by artists to satisfy the popular imagination. In addition to various books on the Life of the Virgin, the Meditations on the Life of Jesus Christ (attributed to St. Bonaventura) provided a fruitful source for details missing from the scriptures.⁵²

In this miniature a diminutive Mary, hands in prayer, sits at the right hand of God the Father, who wears a bishop's mitre similar to that

worn by Simeon in the Presentation. Seated on the other side of Mary is the crucified but living Christ, so that both are on the right hand of God the Father, the place of the elect. The Almighty's robe is fastened at the neck and falls open to reveal a blue tunic of the same shade as Mary's mantle. His left hand rests on an orbis mundi placed on his lap. The robe of Christ is fastened at the neck with a clasp and falls open to expose his naked chest, with the wound in his right side. Christ's scarred right hand is held up to the wound, as if to draw attention to it, and blood trickles down his body. Blood also flows from the wound in his right foot which emerges from beneath his robe, while across his forehead are the marks inflicted by the Crown of Thorns. Even in Heaven we are reminded of Christ's sacrifice. With his left hand, the risen Lord assists God the Father in crowning the Virgin.

Behind Christ is an emerald green dorsal which contrasts significantly with the other brownish fawn backcloth. This is the only green in the whole miniature (apart from two green leaves contained in the illuminated initial), and assuredly symbolizes the hope of man for salvation through Jesus Christ, the living Lord.

On the base-plinth of this miniature the two putti reach towards the image of a crown to enact their own version of the ceremony above. A link with the picture is also made in the border of the facing page (folio 34^r). This border contains strawberries, columbine, violet, and rose. As noted in Section III (page 16), strawberries when applied to the Virgin Mary refer to her righteousness, the columbine signifies the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the violet Mary's humility, and the rose refers to her charity, or love. The connections between this border and the picture honouring Mary as Queen of Heaven seem clear, and provide evidence that the borders of The Hours of Charles Boddam are not merely decorative.

The service of Compline includes prayers and Psalms, of which number 13 has been identified. The Nunc dimittis is indicated in the text but is not given in full.

Plate 21

King David and Bathsheba

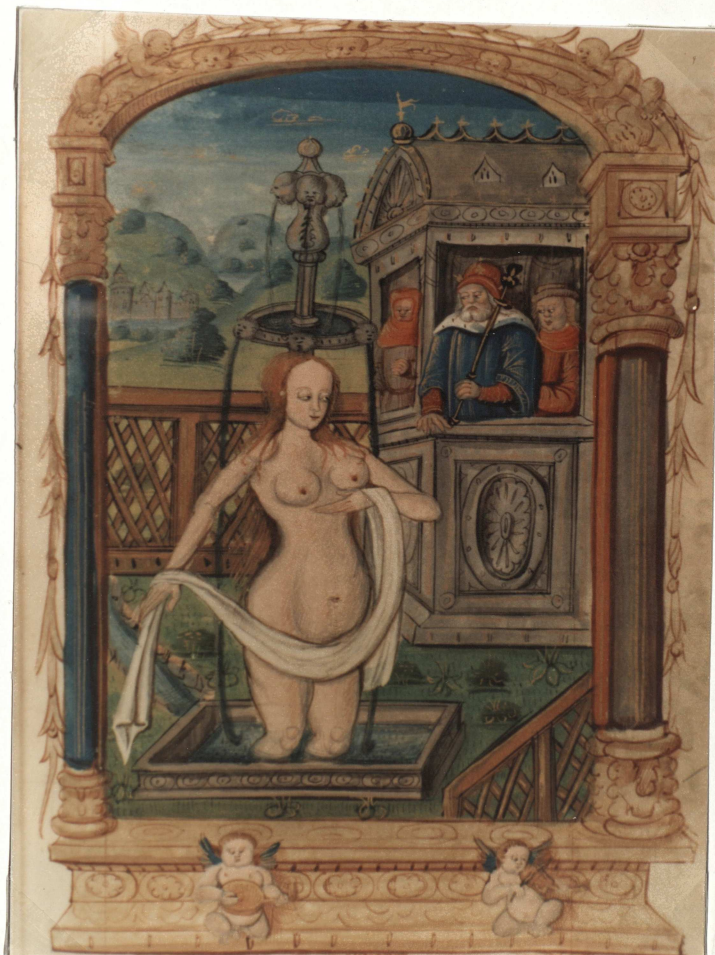


Plate 22

The Raising of Lazarus

VII THE SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS and THE LITANY

David and Bathsheba

Traditionally regarded as main author of the Book of Psalms, King David regularly features in miniatures introducing the Seven Penitential Psalms. Incidents from his life provide a varied choice of themes, but he is frequently shown on his knees in supplication to a representation of God the Father in the sky.

King David often wears a crown, and his special attribute, a harp, may be included in the picture. Sometimes he is portrayed as a musician playing on this instrument, as in Keble MS 23 (Figure 6). Here David wears a hat instead of a crown, as he does also in The Hours of Charles Boddam (Plate 21). In the latter an ermine tippet and a sceptre carried in his left hand serve to indicate his status.

From a tower set within a garden enclosed by a trellis fence, King David with two attendants (one possibly a woman) overlooks Bathsheba as she stands in a small pool of water beneath a shower-like contraption. Beyond this scene there is a view of the landscape in which is placed a French medieval chateau.

The theme of David and Bathsheba appears to have become more popular in later illustrations for the Psalms, perhaps indicating a Renaissance taste in exhibiting a nude figure. Of the ten other manuscripts mentioned in this paper, only two feature the story, which derives from II Samuel XI: MS Rawl. e.21, which contains a calendar for 1597, and MS Rawl. f.25, which has been dated as approximately 1500. This may have implications for the dating of the Boddam manuscript.

This is not to say that the subject itself was new, since a Psalter (Paris, Bibl. Nat.) said to have been written for St. Louis about 1260 has an illuminated initial containing the theme at the beginning of the Psalms.¹

The rendering, however, is quite different: only David's face is visible peering from a window in a tower, and Bathsheba, attended by two women, is not given the prominence that she receives in the three examples noted above. There the emphasis is on nudity, suggesting a Renaissance model rather than a medieval one.

Figure 6. King David as musician
Keble MS 23



The pose of Bathsheba in MS Rawl. e.21 appears to be modelled on the Venus in Botticelli's Birth of Venus, which a number of artists copied.^{1a} MS Rawl. f.25 depicts a charming Bathsheba, young and innocent, which contrasts somewhat with the Bathsheba of the Boddam miniature. The latter slants a rather knowing glance in David's direction, implying that she is not altogether unaware of the king's interest.

The artist seems to have had some difficulty over placement of her breasts, which appear to have been added to the figure rather than being part of it. Her protruding stomach conforms to the fifteenth century notion of feminine beauty, another example of which may be seen in pictures of Eve in The Temptation and Fall miniature of the Très Riches Heures of Jean de Berry (folio 25). Comparison with the figure of Lazarus (Plate 22), however, reveals a peculiar similarity in shape of body. Lazarus's shoulders are more muscular and his hands are larger and lack the grace of Bathsheba's, but the general shape of the body (as well as the facial features and shoulder length hair of the two characters) invites comparison. In view of the awkwardness of Bathsheba's figure, a query arises as to whether the two figures were constructed from the same model.

The putti in this miniature provide the musical reference associated with King David and the Psalms, as each plays on a musical instrument. Both instruments are stringed, but one is plucked while the other is bowed. Since the word 'Psalm' means a hymn accompanied by stringed instruments,² this ties the putti in nicely with the scene above. The instruments are not drawn with a great deal of precision, but the plucked one appears to be either a lute or a cittern (the latter resembled the lute but had a flat back), while the bowed one is very likely a rebec.

The Penitential Psalms (Numbers 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143), are followed by the Litany and supplications to a long list of saints (which includes a local saint, St. Romane)³ extending from folio 44^v to folio 46^r.

VIII THE VIGILS OF THE DEAD and SUFFRAGES TO THE SAINTS

The Raising of Lazarus

The Office of the Dead is not a burial service, nor a Requiem Mass, but a service to be said in choir over the body of the deceased.¹ A variety of subjects was drawn on to illustrate this section of a prayer-book, and many Books of Hours contain a representation of the office itself (a rather crude example appears in the manuscript belonging to St. Mary's Church, Eastbourne). In these pictures a draped bier is placed in the choir of a chapel, with a number of hooded mourners and one or two clergy holding service books. Similar pictures show the bier fitted with a frame holding candles, a reference to the Requiem Mass when candles were lighted.

The subject illustrated in The Hours of Charles Boddam is The Raising of Lazarus (Plate 22), the story of which is related by St. John (John 11.1-44). This is a more hopeful theme than certain alternative themes which were available for illustration of this office, because it was not only a prefiguration of Christ's Resurrection but was regarded as a prefiguration of the resurrection of the dead at the Last Judgment.² Here Lazarus is appropriately emerging from the 'underworld', his prominent ribs and the pallor of his skin proclaiming his encounter with death. Jesus leans towards him (note that he is bare-foot, as demanded by artistic convention) and raises his right arm in benediction while drawing his robe around himself with his left hand.

Four of the characters in the painting have been given a nimbus: Lazarus himself, one woman, and two men. If the figure wearing the strange headgear is a woman, then she and the other woman are probably Mary and Martha, sisters of Lazarus: but why, in that case, has only one been given a nimbus? The two men with haloes are very likely St. Peter and St. Thomas. According to St. John (John 11.16), Thomas was present at

this miracle, and he also appears in the Towneley mystery play, together with Peter and John. As the two saints portrayed in this miniature are older than John, it seems probable that they are Peter and Thomas. The one supporting Lazarus appears in the Pentecost scene, visible between the heads of Mary and John, and does in fact conform to traditional representations of St. Peter, with his short beard and balding grey hair. A similar representation of Peter appears on a panel of an altar wing by Jan Joest in the church of St. Nicholas at Kalkar, where the saint assists Lazarus by loosing the binding round the latter's hands as he emerges from the grave.³

In describing a mid-fourteenth century fresco by Giovanni da Milano in Santa Croce, Florence, Gertrud Schiller notes that whereas Christ rises from the grave by his own omnipotence, Lazarus is supported by two apostles. Here in the Boddam miniature⁴ he is supported by the one apostle. The role of the apostle in this subject is perhaps intended to illustrate the efficacy of prayers to the saints, which is most appropriate in a section which goes on, after the Vigils, to the memoriae and suffrages to saints. Also appropriate for the theme of remembrance of the faithful departed is the appearance of pansies in the border of folio 62^r, since pansies symbolize remembrance and reflection.

The two putti in this miniature react with a mock alarm to the skeletal face which appears carved on the framework between them.

The office of the Vigils begins with Psalm 116, *Dilexi quoniam* (I am well pleased that the Lord hath heard the voice of my prayer). The reference to death and to delivery of the soul from death complements the Lazarus theme admirably:

The snares of death compassed me round about: and the
pains of hell gat hold upon me.

I was in misery, and he helped me ...
thou hast delivered my soul from death

(verses 3, 6, 8)

Certain aspects of this psalm appear to have been incorporated in the Towneley mystery play on the Lazarus story, where Lazarus holds forth at length on his experience of death and admonishes his hearers to lead a pious life in order to avoid the horrors of damnation (a real threat to the medieval mind):

In the paynes of hell
There as I have bene.

Bene I have in wo;
Therfor kepe you ther fro;

(line 204)

A patron looking for a subject to illustrate this office might well be influenced to choose the Lazarus theme if he was familiar with the Towneley play.⁵

In this connection an observation by Happé that French Mystères show a rather different choice of theme from the English mystery cycles, giving space to Job from the Old Testament, is of interest, because of the manuscripts considered in this paper only the Boddam Vigils features Lazarus.⁶ Job on a dunghill illustrates the Vigils in Buchanan e.3, Dillwyn, and Keble 23, while the legend of The Three Living and the Three Dead appears in Keble 12 and Sloane 2732b. Although no definite conclusion can be drawn from this, there could be a link between the patron's familiarity with the play and the subject chosen for illustration.

The saints named in the suffrages which end this section of the prayer-book are: Michael, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Sebastian, Nicholas, Romano (who is also included in the Buchanan, Dillwyn and Sloane manuscripts), Anna, Mary Magdalene, Katherine, Barbara, and Margaret.

Plate 23

Madonna and Child
Boddam MS



Plate 24

Madonna and Child
Buchanan MS

The last miniature in The Hours of Charles Boddam is a painting of the Madonna and Child with kneeling donoress (Plate 23). Of all religious pictures the Madonna and Child was one of the most popular¹ and is especially appropriate in a Book of Hours of the Virgin, which honours Mary as Mother of God as well as mediator between men and God.

In composition the miniature bears a striking resemblance to the Madonna and Child in the Buchanan e.3 manuscript (Plate 24). The pose of the figures is the same, as is the placement of the Holy Child, the cushion on which he rests, and the open book lying on its covering. The open book differs in that red initials are visible in the Buchanan miniature but not in the Boddam picture, though red ruling on the parchment leaves is discernible in both. The colouring of the two paintings is largely in agreement, though the backgrounds differ in architectural detail.

Mary's head, with its long flowing hair of reddish gold, is slightly inclined; her left hand supports Jesus and her right hand rests upon the book. As will be seen, there is a difference in the proportion of Mary's head and of her right hand, both larger and a little clumsy in the Buchanan picture. The style of Mary's attire is virtually identical in the two miniatures: a white chemise is visible at the neck, beneath a gown with a square, slightly gathered neckline. The colour of the gown differs according to the scheme adopted by the individual artist, that is, a brownish fawn in the Boddam miniature and grey in the Buchanan painting. Over this gown Mary wears the familiar blue mantle, highlighted with gold. The folds of the mantle and the highlighting are very similar indeed, which strongly suggests that both artists were using the same model. At the same time it seems clear from differences noted above that the paintings are by two different miniaturists.

The same mode of dress is worn by the serene Virgin in The Hours of Henry VII (referred to in Section III). The interesting point about this similarity is that in The Hours of Charles Boddam the Madonna and Child painting is the only one in which Mary is dressed in this exact style.

In both the Boddam and the Buchanan miniatures the Christ Child reclines on a white napkin which is spread on a cushion. One corner of the napkin is draped over Mary's hand, perhaps to suggest that it is partly veiled, which was a sign of respect. The two paintings differ in the amount of space between the Child's feet and the book, but the main difference is the inclusion in the Buchanan picture of what appears to be a rosary (orange in colour), worn baudric fashion, round the body of Jesus. However, this seems to end in a tassle hanging over his raised left arm. On his left hand a parakeet perches by its left claw, the right claw being raised. The meaning of this bird is uncertain. It is possible, however, that it refers to one of the five emblematic attributes of the senses which were also related to the elements. The sense of touch, related to earth, was signified by a parrot or tortoise,² and it is therefore feasible that the small parrot shown here signifies the manifestation of God as a sentient creature sent to earth in human form. The slender leg of the bird is perhaps intended to convey the tenuous degree of the Child's human nature. The paradoxical nature of Christ as divine on the one hand and as a helpless human babe on the other hand held fascination for poets and painters in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

The ledge at which Mary sits or stands is rather different in the two paintings. In the Boddam miniature it is of very pale green marble, the thickness of which is shown. The Buchanan ledge is less convincing; its pattern (on a brighter green) makes no allowance for perspective so that it resembles an upright panel instead of a flat surface. The artist has, however, achieved more success in giving a sense of depth to his

picture. Beyond the ledge the donoress kneels in devotion, and the shadowed wall beside her accentuates the angles of the chamber, suggesting space. In comparison the Boddam picture has some antagonistic elements. Firstly, the donoress is placed upon the ledge instead of behind it, which draws attention to the reduced proportions of the figure. Although this was a common device in portraying a donor (signifying a lesser importance), it gives a curious effect here. Secondly, it is uncertain whether Mary is supposed to be sitting under the tester behind her. The architecture rising behind the donoress suggests not, but the spatial effect is confused.

In both miniatures the donoress is dressed in a style which Joan Evans has described as being in vogue during the reign of Louis XII.³ The dress, she notes, was usually square-necked to show bare skin or a fine chemise. Sleeves were wide and usually bordered with fur or velvet: the bodice was plain and the belt narrow, often formed of cord or chain, and from it usually hung a long rosary. The hair was scraped back from the forehead and covered by a cap with curved sides called oreillettes to cover the ears with angular pieces below, edged with narrow goffered frill. Over this a veil, usually dark, was worn.

Apart from a goffered frill, this description fits the dress of the donoress in these two examples perfectly. The rosary is clearly visible, gold in the Boddam picture, black in Buchanan. In addition, both women wear gold necklaces. Although somewhat standardized in costume, however, the differences in facial features, figure, and position of the hands in prayer suggest an attempt at portraiture. It was common practice for a donor to have himself or herself portrayed in commissioned works, usually in devotion to Madonna and Child.

In some cases, however, the donor appears in other settings, and in two of the manuscripts mentioned in this paper the donoress appears in a pieta scene. Figure 7 shows the pieta from Keble MS 12, and the costume which the kneeling woman wears in this painting is identical to that worn

Figure 7. Pieta from Keble MS 12



by the donoress in the Pieta of Rawl. MS e.21. The dresses are both plum colour and have vee-necks. The head veils are similar to those worn by the women in the Boddam and Buchanan paintings. The same style and colour dress is worn by the donoress of the Dillwyn manuscript (in a Madonna and Child picture), so that there does seem to be a stereotype in fashion.

The Buchanan picture is firmly set in a jewelled frame which cuts it off from the border beneath. The textual inset is somewhat obtrusive

here, but the illuminated initial is filled with jewels to match the frame. There is a more unified appearance to the Boddam picture, where the text is more successfully incorporated as an element in the painting, fitting neatly into the space between the pillar bases. The illuminated initial here is flower-filled to match textual borders. The two putti reappear as musicians, playing the same instruments as in the David and Bathsheba miniature. They complement the three angel trumpeters who appear in a celestial setting at the top of the picture.

Angelic musicians frequently accompany Madonna and Child, especially in the absence of a donor. Examples occur in Keble MS 23 and in Keble MS 12 (see Figure 8, where Mary again presents Jesus on a cushion placed upon a ledge). MS Add. 35312 contains a delightful rendering of the subject, where an angel hands to the infant Jesus a small harp of the kind associated with King David (presumably a reference to the line of David), while a second angel picks flowers which he/she places in a basket.⁴ Another basket of flowers is set in the foreground, summing up the view of heaven as being filled with flowers and music.

The Latin rubrics preceding the miniature of Madonna and Child in The Hours of Charles Boddam indicate that this section of the manuscript contains 'prayers to be said on holy days in honour of the immaculate Virgin Mary'. After brief references to the gospel narrative of annunciation, there follow liturgical phrases in praise of Mary. There may be a connection here with the angelus, and later rubrics in French giving directions to say 'Ave Maria' ten times suggest a possible connection with the Rosary, an important aid to devotion. As already noted, the donoress carries one hanging from her belt.

Figure 8. Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Keble MS 23



X CONCLUSION

The study of various aspects of The Hours of Charles Boddam leads me to conclude that the manuscript in its original form consisted of folios 1 to 71, though a liturgical calendar may have preceded it. The combination of two styles of textual frame, one of which utilizes the ragged staff featured on the wife's coat-of-arms, and the linking of the two helms with a ring device suggests that the book could have been produced for a married couple, perhaps as a wedding gift. At the same time the appearance of a donoress in the Madonna and Child miniature points to a woman owner. The costume of the donoress provides strong evidence for a date of production late in the fifteenth century or early in the sixteenth century. There is, however, the possibility that she was added at a later date than the original manuscript, which might explain her strange position on the marble ledge rather than on the floor beyond. She is, in fact, rather squeezed into the picture. Nevertheless, the colour of her dress matches up well with the other orange-red used in the miniature.

Although the heraldic device would suggest a date early in the fifteenth century, it is possible that the abandonment of this type of matrimonial achievement occurred later in France than in England. The adoption of classic style Italian architecture, in place of the Gothic style, certainly points to a later date.

The classic features, and the lack of ecclesiastical settings, inclines me to the view that the artist was Italian or else very much influenced by Italian painting. He was obviously well-versed in artistic traditions, hence the bare feet for Jesus, John, and Gabriel, the 'good' and 'evil' sides of the Cross strictly observed, the green dorsal behind Christ, the red cherubim in heaven. All the same, there are certain differences between the miniatures which suggest that more than one artist was involved. There are indications of difficulty over perspective in

the window of The Nativity, the houses in the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and the lintel and Holy Child's arm in the Presentation in the Temple which suggest a common artist. Further, Mary's pose in The Nativity and the Presentation is in agreement and her mantle falls in the same oval-shaped form, as also does the robe of Jesus in the Raising of Lazarus. In the other miniatures the folds of Mary's mantle are more angular. They match in style, with a similar sweep, in the Visitation and Pentecost and in a different form they are markedly similar in the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Flight into Egypt. There could well be two different artists at work here. The diagonal bias in the St. John, the Flight, and the Lazarus miniatures might also point to the same artist for the three paintings.

On the whole, everything points to one overall planner, perhaps working with the aid of some less able assistants. The consistency of the settings and the links made with borders give strong evidence that the illumination was carried out in the same workshop, though differences in execution of borders make it seem likely that gatherings were distributed to different border artists. As already noted, the borders are not merely decorative but contain some meaningful symbols strategically placed.

The pervading tone of the manuscript is one of humanized religion: the pictures are an aid to devotion rather than a diversion. The characters are believable persons with human emotions which the artist has successfully conveyed in certain miniatures.

The overall planning of the manuscript, the artistic arrangement of the motifs in borders, and the success of the miniaturist in conveying human emotions prompts me to claim that the manuscript is of 'good' quality. The success of an artist must be measured by what he is able to convey, and the spirit of these paintings comes across strongly. I am sure that further study will reveal more interesting aspects.

REFERENCES

SECTION I - INTRODUCTION

1. A number of the border motifs were widely used in northern France during the fifteenth century. Localization tests have been applied in accordance with the table set out by F. Madan in 'Hours of the Virgin Mary: Tests for Localization'. (Full bibliographic details are given in the Bibliography.) These tests confirm the use of Rouen, and further evidence is provided by the inclusion of Saint Romane in the Litany and in the Memoriae of Saints.
2. Private communication from Neil Ker.
3. Information on heraldry has been provided by Conrad Swan, Esq., M.V.O., Ph.D., F.S.A., York Herald of Arms at the College of Arms.
4. York Herald of Arms gives various references for different spellings of the name. Those quoted here are taken from the following sources: Roll of Arms c. AD 1308-14 printed by Mores, 4to. Oxford 1749 from Queens College (Oxford) MS 158 and Bodleian MS Dodsworth 145-5086; and Jenyns Ordinary, partly printed by Nicolas, 8vo. London, 1829 from MS in the College of Arms.
5. Discussed in commentary on Madonna and Child.
6. Information taken from John Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses, kindly extracted by Mr. T. Kaye, Sub-Librarian of Trinity College Library, Cambridge.
7. Information kindly supplied by Mr. R. C. Rider, Sub-Librarian of St. David's University College Library, Lampeter.
8. J. Harthan, Books of Hours and Their Owners, p.12.
9. M. R. James, Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, p.xxv.
10. See Conclusion.

Erratum

For note 4 read: See n.6, Section IV

11. L. M. J. Delaissé, 'The importance of Books of Hours for the history of the medieval book' in Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner, pp. 203-25 (p.206).

SECTION II - OUTLINE DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

1. The number of lines and the size of the folio (but not the ruled textual area) are the same as for The Wharncliffe Hours, discussed by Margaret Manion (see Bibliography).
2. Sandra Hindman and J. D. Farquhar, Pen to Press, p.42.
3. The division of chapters into verses was introduced into the New Testament for the first time in 1551. See The New Testament, Henry Frowde and C. J. Clay, p.xvii.
4. Marcel Thomas, The Golden Age: Manuscript Painting at the Time of Jean, Duc de Berry, p.91.
5. J. H. Middleton, Illuminated Manuscripts in Classical and Medieval Times, p.144.

SECTION III - BORDER AND TEXTUAL DECORATION

1. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, The Göttingen Model Book, p.66 n.10.
2. Gertrude Grace Sill, A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art, p.50.
3. Dedication page of Boethius's 'De consolazione philosophiae', reproduced in Janet Backhouse, The Illuminated Manuscript, p.80.
4. Hindman and Farquhar, p.65.
5. L. M. J. Delaissé, 'Towards a History of the Medieval Book', Divinitas, 11, p.432.

SECTION IV - INTRODUCTION TO MINIATURES

1. Reproduced in Peter Burke, Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy, plate 19.
2. J. H. Middleton attributes this style to the early sixteenth century (p.144).
3. The castle is identified by Marcel Thomas in his commentary on the painting in The Golden Age, p.91.
4. British Museum Additional MS 35254V, c.1500 (currently on display in Grenville Library). Reproduced in colour in Janet Backhouse, The Illuminated Manuscript, p.75.
5. Richard Krautheimer, Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art, p.345.
6. Such landscapes with aerial and atmospheric perspective began to appear in manuscripts towards the middle of the fifteenth century, according to J. D. Farquhar, Creation and Imitation, p.3. The Limbourg brothers had, however, made a great advance in the development of landscape painting at the beginning of the century. See Sabrina Mitchell, Medieval Manuscript Painting, p.35.
7. Quoted in Burke, p.159.

SECTION V - EXTRACTS FROM THE GOSPELS AND PRAYERS

1. Eagle for St. John, winged ox for St. Luke, winged man for St. Matthew, winged lion for St. Mark. A quartered miniature occurs in both Keble MSS.
2. Jacobus de Voragine, Golden Legend, translated by William Caxton and edited by F. S. Ellis, p.296.
3. Reproduced from J. D. Farquhar, Creation and Imitation, plate 41.
4. Emile Mâle, The Gothic Image, p.2.
5. Sill, p.29.
6. Percy A. Scholes, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music, pp. 135-6.

7. The Pre-Reformation Banns of the Chester cycle have survived in a copy (Harl. MS 2150) made c.1540. See English Mystery Plays: a Selection, edited with Introduction and notes by P. Happé, p.41.
8. MS 61, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
9. See note 3 of Section III.

SECTION VI - THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

Annunciation

1. Sill, p.29. The miniaturist of The Rohan Hours uses a deep blue background of seraphim, figured with gold: see The Crucifixion and The Lamentation of the Virgin, reproduced in Thomas, The Golden Age.
2. The Gospels of St. John (John 1.32) and St. Matthew (Matthew 4.16) provide authority for this popular symbol.
3. The Five Joys are referred to by Christ in the York Mystery Play The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin, lines 113-128.
4. After line 260.
5. After line 293.
6. Sill, p.52.
7. There are nine orders of angels: cherubim, seraphim, thrones, dominations, virtues, powers, principalities, archangels, angels.
8. For instance the Simone Martini Annunciation in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.
9. J. H. Middleton notes (p.144) this highlighting as a feature in Franco-Flemish miniatures of the late fifteenth century.
10. D. M. Robb, 'Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth Century and Fifteenth Century', Art Bulletin 18, p.516.
11. Throughout this paper the numbering of the Psalms is in accord with the English Authorized Version, which differs from the Latin (Vulgate) Version from number 10 onwards, because the English 10 and 11 appear as one psalm in the Latin Version.

Visitation

12. Rosemary Woolf, The English Mystery Plays, pp. 173-174.
13. Burke, p.183.
14. Emile Mâle, Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century, p.107.

Crucifixion

15. Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology, p.110.
16. A dead tree with a snake on its branches appears in a Noli me tangere painting by an imitator of Mantegna (National Gallery, London); there, however, being a Resurrection picture, a flourishing vine climbs up among the dead branches to indicate new life for the followers of Christ.
17. Although Mary Magdalene became a popular saint in the sixteenth century, she was not so often portrayed in the fifteenth century (see Burke, p.186).
18. Mâle, The Gothic Image, p.3.
19. This is not unusual, however: many of the biblical quotations are in Latin, which possibly indicates their derivation from liturgical plays. Happé notes that some of the stage directions are in Latin and that the plays in which these appear are held to be the oldest (p.14).
20. Mâle, Religious Art, p.113.
21. Happé notes that this episode occurs also in the Towneley, Chester, Ludus Coventriae, and the Cornish cycles.

Pentecost

22. Happé, p.616.
23. Mâle, Religious Art, p.107.

Nativity

24. Sill, p.29.
25. Jesus also refers to himself as 'the light' (John 12.35 and 12.46).
26. Illustrated in John Baker, English Stained Glass of the medieval period, Plate 74.

Annunciation to the Shepherds

27. Happé notes (p.244) that the two Shepherds' plays of the Towneley cycle concentrate on the hardship and suffering of the shepherds, their difficulties with landlords, plague, and the weather. Rosemary Woolf agrees (The English Mystery Plays, p.182) that the mystery plays drew surprisingly little upon the idealization of the simple virtue of the humble shepherd.
28. Margaret Manion, The Wharncliffe Hours, p.22.
29. Arnoul Gréban, Le Mystère de la Passion (p.59), as quoted in Manion, p.22.
30. Happé, p.379.
31. Harthan, p.176, n.8.
32. Illustrated in Manion, Plate XIIId.

Adoration of the Magi

33. Matthew 2.9.
34. Sill, p.121. 34a. See n.36.
35. Mâle, Religious Art in France, p.143.
36. Sill, pp.72-73.
37. See note 39 below.
38. Mâle, Religious Art, p.81.
39. Anthony Wagner, Heralds of England, p.49.
40. T. H. Scott and W. J. Stokoe, Wild Flowers of the Wayside and Woodland, p.100.

SECTION VIII - VIGILS OF THE DEAD and SUFFRAGES TO THE SAINTS

1. James, p.xxxv.
2. Gertrud Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, p.181.
3. Identified as St. Peter by G. Schiller (p.186).
4. There is a strong diagonal line here, similar to that noted in the St. John and Flight into Egypt miniatures.
5. The Towneley play is unusual in the length of speaking part given to Lazarus. He has a very small part in the York play and merely appears in other cycles.
6. Happé, p.25.

SECTION IX - MADONNA AND CHILD

1. For an analysis of the popularity of Mary in religious pictures in Italy between 1420 and 1539, see Burke, p.181.
2. Rhoda M. Ribner, 'The Compasse of This Curious Frame: Chapman's Ovids Banquet of Sence and the Emblematic Tradition', Studies in the Renaissance XVII (1970), 233-258 (p.247).
3. Dress in Medieval France, p.65.
4. In most paintings the angels are depicted as androgynous beings.

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7. British Library, London, Add. 35254V (fragment)
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