Necessary Luxury: The Illuminated Manuscript at the French Courts, C. 1460-1515

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Abstract
The period from 1460 to 1515 in France was marked by a number of significant shifts—both politically as feudal systems were consolidated under a more powerful centralized monarchy, and artistically, as print and panel painting challenged the primacy of traditional medieval media. Previous scholarship has treated the enduring French preference for manuscripts among court patrons as an anachronistic medieval holdover, and likewise, the period's illumination as an art in decline. This project revises this view by considering adherence to the manuscript form as a core component of French royal and aristocratic identity. Manuscripts, with their ability to imitate, contain, and transcend other media, provided a tactile, visual, and conceptual connection to an imagined past: a Middle Ages of knightly deeds, romances, bibliophile kings, and the courtly splendor before the rupture of the Hundred Years’ War. Closely analyzing this nostalgic turn to the past—revival and performance of chivalric values in semi-public aristocratic venues, preservation of history in terms of military and cultural traditions, and efforts to make the past not simply legible but extremely relevant and important to a late fifteenth-century audience—reveals noble-class anxieties about the future of family, identity, and ways of life.

This dissertation examines several aspects of late medieval manuscript culture at the French courts to provide an account of the material and ideological significance of the manuscript book during a time of major political and artistic restructuring. It addresses how royal and aristocratic patrons negotiated the political transitions of the age in visual and material ways. It establishes that any discussion of late medieval manuscripts must consider the other media with which they interacted, particularly exchange with print, which was mobilized for specific political and artistic purposes and only within the frameworks of courtly taste and patronage. In this complex and uncertain moment in French royal history and in the history of the book, manuscripts became implicated in the conception of the idealized stability of the medieval past, functioned as repositories for aristocratic identity, and stood as objects of collective memory—a status maintained well into the sixteenth century.

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As any doctoral student will attest, writing a dissertation is an exceptionally solitary and sometimes lonely endeavor, many hours spent in silence staring alternately at computer screens and book pages. While the writing of this dissertation has been unfailingly supported by treats, Netflix, and innumerable other creature comforts, I have also been so fortunate to have benefited from the guidance and community of a number of human influences.

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ABSTRACT

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Larisa A. Grollemond

Dr. Larry Silver

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This dissertation examines several aspects of late medieval manuscript culture at the French courts to provide an account of the material and ideological significance of the manuscript book during a time of major political and artistic restructuring. It addresses how royal and aristocratic patrons negotiated the political transitions of the age in visual and material ways. It establishes that any discussion of late medieval manuscripts must consider the other media with which they interacted, particularly exchange with print, which was mobilized for specific political and artistic purposes and only within the frameworks of courtly taste and patronage. In this complex and uncertain moment in French royal history and in the history of the book, manuscripts became implicated in the conception of the idealized stability of the medieval past, functioned as repositories for aristocratic identity, and stood as objects of collective memory—a status maintained well into the sixteenth century.
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INTRODUCTION

I. Introduction

In his career as a writer and diplomat at the court of France in the late fifteenth century, Philippe de Commynes (1447-1511) recorded in 1498 the following remark regarding the artistic tastes of the French king Charles VIII (r. 1483-1498): “Il joignoit ensemble toutes les belles choses dont on luy faisoit fest en quelque païs qu’elles eussent esté veûes, fut France, Ytallie, ou Flandres.” Commynes gives us a sense of the preferences of the king and his court for visually stunning and materially valuable works of art, prizing their beauty rather than their country of origin. However, another record gives us a potentially more nuanced view into the king’s true predilections. On one occasion, the King’s Secretary of the Treasury and trusted advisor Guillaume Briçonnet (1445-1511) presented Charles VIII with a “tableau flamand,” which the king refused after looking at it, remarking that it was not for him, but for a merchant. Yvonne Labande-Mailfert, in her analysis of the incident, says that the king’s refusal of the Flemish panel is not due to its origins or its recognizably Flemish style, but due to its subject, which remains unknown. An alternative reading of this incident is that the French king refused the panel not due to the fact that it was Flemish, nor because of its subject, but rather due to its medium, oil on panel. Perhaps he saw the panel as unfit for his station, or his visual environment, and more in keeping with the patterns of patronage.

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1 “He joined together all the most beautiful things that he could from every country that he could, whether it be from France, Italy or Flanders.” See Philippe de Commynes, Mémoires, vol. II (1477-1498), ed. B. de Mandrot (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1903), 377. See also Yvonne Leband-Mailfert, Charles VIII et son milieu (1470-1498): La jeunesse au pouvoir (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck 1975), 502.
2 Leband-Mailfert, 502.
among the Netherlandish merchants. As king of France, Charles VIII was instead much more accustomed to holding his art in his hands, in the form of an illuminated manuscript. By his death in 1498, the royal library had grown to quite an impressive inventory, and the king’s court artists were busy supplementing the collection with lavish new additions. Indeed, all over France, aristocratic patrons were deeply committed to the continued survival of the illuminated manuscript, even as panel and, more significantly, print had arrived in France. As the dawn of the new century drew closer, the court of Charles VIII in 1498 looked ahead to the modern age with an eye toward Italy, but still kept one foot in its medieval past, keeping its collections of illuminated manuscripts close at hand.

Modern scholars have tended to treat the continuing production of manuscripts in France during this period as a medieval holdover, simultaneously outdated and anachronistic in a country slow to fully embrace the Renaissance. Erwin Panofsky asserted in 1953 that manuscript illumination in the fifteenth century “had already begun to commit suicide by converting itself into painting. Even without Gutenberg, it would have died from an overdose of perspective.” Thus modern scholars positioned late manuscripts as a problematic medium for the new style of painting developed in the North; ultimately they were considered derivative, imitative of the more progressive work

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on panel. We now know of several Netherlandish artists, such as Roger van der Weyden and Jan van Eyck, who worked as both panel painters and manuscript illuminators, though we still know them primarily for their panel painting. In France, however, there are comparatively fewer examples of such artists. Jean Bourdichon (1456-1521) is far better known for the manuscripts he produced for the royal court than for his panels. Only a single extant altarpiece on panel can be securely attributed to Bourdichon, despite his extraordinarily long and productive career as court painter to four successive French kings [Fig. 1]. The historiographical focus on panels as the primary modern medium for artistic legitimacy has meant that Bourdichon and artists like him fell into relative obscurity until recently. If France lacked great panel paintings, the great majority of surviving fifteenth-century works are manuscripts, as suggested by the Bibliothèque Nationale’s tellingly titled 1993 exhibition, “Quand la peinture était dans les manuscrits.”

A modern scholarly emphasis on issues of style and attribution has dominated the analysis of manuscript illumination and has largely prevented any fuller consideration of how books were meaningful to their audiences in this historical moment. The reception and use of the manuscript by aristocratic and royal audiences in this politically, and therefore socially, transitional moment has not yet been fully examined.

The period between 1460 and 1515 in France witnessed major changes. It constituted an unusual period of growth and saw the establishment of stable conditions following the end of the Hundred Years’ War that had so disrupted the polity. The monarchies of the kings of the period, Louis XI, Charles VIII, and Louis XII, facilitated

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the move from a decentralized feudal model of state to unified systems of government that created the conditions for the formation of the nation-state overseen by François I beginning in 1515. The ongoing military conflicts of the fifteenth century in part caused a shift in power among a class of political elite that was comprised of middle-ranking nobility rather than high-ranking feudal lords. How power was wielded and by whom began to change. The army restructured and the role of the nobility within it evolved. Regional power centers in royal appanages that had been only loosely linked to a royal government during the medieval period increasingly came under control of centralized systems of taxation and administration. Feudal lords in turn lost some of their power to a rising class of office holders who were appointed by the crown. During this period political systems underwent a substantial overhaul, fundamentally changing medieval notions of power and identity that had been in place for centuries. As a result these changes made an impact on modes of artistic production, taste, and noble preferences for certain media, artists, and images.

This dissertation aims to reframe the conversation about French manuscripts at the end of the fifteenth century. It first considers the essential political shifts of the period and the impacts of those shifts on the cultural consciousness of the French royalty and aristocracy. It examines how manuscripts functioned at court, especially in representing royal, and more generally aristocratic, identity. It analyzes how artists responded to demands for other luxury media as well as how they responded to the competition posed by panel painting and print. Finally, the project provides a number of insights into many
of the potential cultural and artistic reasons that King Charles VIII may have had in mind when he refused a Flemish panel.

II. Late Medieval French Manuscript Painting Historiography and the Question of the “Renaissance” in France

Scholars have not analyzed the French manuscript tradition of the late fifteenth century in as sustained a fashion as Italian and Netherlandish painting of the same period. French works never enjoyed the same contemporary recognition and soon fell into relative obscurity. Following the tumultuous period of the French Revolution, which saw the destruction of many works connected to the monarchy, interest in national patrimony and the preservation of medieval works reignited in the nineteenth century. Driven by a desire to reestablish national patrimony, scholars sought to identify a French indigenous tradition represented by the so-called “French primitives.” The results of this research were made public at the 1904 “Exposition des Primitifs Français,” organized by Henri Bouchot and held at both the Bibliothèque nationale and the Louvre.5 This early scholarship on the subject laid the groundwork for future studies by grouping together works based on style and naming anonymous masters in order to rehabilitate them in light of national heritage.6 The corpus of works displayed at the French primitives exhibition,

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deemed French by virtue of their discovery within the country’s nineteenth-century borders, formed the canon of late medieval French painting for future twentieth-century studies.

Following the identification and revived interest in art and artists that had been ignored, Paul Durrieu and Georges Hulin de Loo began to publish some of the first significant studies of the period. Using stylistic analysis and surviving fifteenth-century documentation—including inventories, records of payment, personal communication, and fifteenth-century histories—they were responsible for establishing the field for the next generation of scholars. Building on the work of Hulin de Loo, Durrieu, and others, studies by scholars such as Jacques Dupont and Paul-André Lemoisne formed the foundation for another major public exhibition of fifteenth-century French painting. The exhibition opened in Paris in 1937 under the title *Chefs-d’œuvre de l’art français.* Like the *Exposition Primitifs Français* held thirty-three years earlier, the goal of the show was analyze the particularly French spirit and qualities that united the works. The long chronological view of the exhibition represents the culmination of the nationalistic drive in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholarship concerned with the rediscovery of works that were deemed French by virtue of their discovery within the country’s borders.

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example of such a study, see the survey by Paul Mantz, *La Peinture française du IXe siècle à la fin du XVI siècle* (Paris: L.H. May 1897).


and rehabilitation of French artists, particularly in comparison to their Italian counterparts.

Scholarship of the twentieth century gradually revised this nationalistic view by positioning France within the larger European artistic context. Charles Sterling published two influential surveys of fifteenth-century French painting in 1938 and 1941. Though he followed a similar stylistic methodology as established by Georges Hulin de Loo and Paul Durrieu, Sterling was not as interested in defining any specifically French quality of the works. Instead, he consistently positioned French art between the Netherlandish style of defined hyperrealism and Italian currents that stressed monumentality and perspectival space. Sterling provided a more complex picture of fifteenth-century France by sensitively highlighting stylistic differences among various French regions and the interaction between artists traveling among them. Grete Ring took up a similar approach in her 1949 survey A Century of French Painting, though she sought to define French art by looking at indigenous, rather than Netherlandish or Italian, precedents. Jean Porcher followed Ring’s study in 1955 with a catalog of French manuscript painting that was one of the most comprehensive published in the mid-twentieth century. In 1982 John Plummer organized his catalog for the major exhibition of manuscripts, The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, along similar regional and stylistic lines as

many twentieth-century studies.\textsuperscript{11} Plummer’s text collected and streamlined the scholarship, made several new attributions and artist identifications, and published previously neglected works that reinvigorated discussion in the field.

Nicole Reynaud and François Avril continued in the same vein of this mid-twentieth century scholarship, particularly in their focus on reconstructing the identities and careers of once-anonymous artists. Their work resulted in a monumental exhibition at the Bibliothèque nationale in 1993: \textit{Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520}.\textsuperscript{12} The book published on the occasion was, and remains, the most complete survey of French manuscript painting of the century. On the basis of stylistic analysis, Avril and Reynaud worked to define regional variations of art being produced in areas linked by language and culture. Avril and Reynaud presented France as regionally varied, but also as a synthesizer of styles from northern and southern Europe as well as a frequent participant in the larger conversations of fifteenth-century European artists. In contrast to earlier scholarship that worked to define the characteristics of a particularly French spirit, Avril and Reynaud argued for France as a place of exchange.

One of the central questions fundamental to the study of France in the late fifteenth century is the question of Italy and the influence, or not, of the Renaissance. Avril and Reynaud constructed a paradigm of stylistic adoption that in part echoed Charles Sterling’s idea about French artists as absorbers and synthesizers of regional variations. This focus has resulted in the popular modern perception of France in the

\textsuperscript{11} John Plummer and Gregory Clark, \textit{The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530} (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library/Oxford University Press, 1982).

fifteenth century as a country in transition, moving inevitably toward a delayed adoption of Renaissance ideas. The art of the period has been similarly discounted as incorporating foreign styles and trends but lacking any character of its own—in contrast to the goals of many of the early, nationalistic studies of French painting. The question of when French artists began to incorporate Italian motifs also lead to a significant strain of inquiry that seeks to answer the question of whether or not France had a Renaissance. The use of the term “French Renaissance” to refer to the artistic production and culture at the sixteenth-century court of François I further limits the interpretative possibilities for the period that immediately preceded it. It also highlights the methodological problems inherent in any attempt to define artistic production of this period, even with chronological terms like “medieval” and “Renaissance.”

The traditional view of Italy’s influence on France is for the most part unidirectional. According to this view, the first glimmering of the Renaissance can be seen in the illumination of Jean Fouquet. Fouquet, working at the royal court under Charles VII (r. 1422-1461) and his successor Louis XI, also represents the end of medieval French manuscript illumination. Fouquet famously made a visit to Rome

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13 See, for example, Anthony Blunt’s almost total focus on the degree to which fifteenth-century French artists did or did not incorporate Italianate motifs in his survey of French art. Anthony Blunt, Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700 (New Haven: Yale University Press). Henri Zerner, who finds fifteenth-century origins for the sixteenth-century phenomena on which he concentrates, perpetuated this model to a certain extent. See Henri Zerner, Renaissance Art in France: The Invention of Classicism (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003).


15 For Jean Fouquet’s life and oeuvre, see Klaus Perls, Jean Fouquet (New York: Hyperion Press, 1940); Paul Wescher, Jean Fouquet and His Time, trans. Eveline Winkworth (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1947); Claude Schaefer, Recherches sur l'iconologie et la stylistique de l'art de
around 1445 and caused a great sensation by painting a portrait of Pope Eugenius IV (1383-1447) on canvas rather than the more common wood support. As a result of this sojourn and Fouquet’s direct access to the arts of Italy, modern scholars have credited the artist with introducing the concepts and techniques of Italian Renaissance art into French painting, which were later taken up by Fouquet’s followers, thus setting in motion the inevitable move toward the “French Renaissance” at the turn of the next century. The next moment of French encounter with Italy was during the Italian military campaigns waged by Charles VIII and Louis XII (r. 1498-1515). According to this oversimplified account, Charles VIII and the French knights in his army were so moved by beauty of Italian art that they were instantly and completely won over by the charms of the Italian Renaissance. André Chastel and other scholars of the period frequently cite architecture


16 The original painting of Pope Eugenius IV by Fouquet does not survive, but it is recorded through an engraved copy made in 1568 by Onofrio Panvinio. See Dominique Thiébaut, “Fouquet portraitiste” in Jean Fouquet: Peintre et enlumineur du XVe siècle, ed. François Avril (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France/Hazan, 2003), 30-31. For the engraving, see cat. no. 2 of the same catalog.

17 The evidence about this trip to Italy again comes from only a few extant documents. One, in the Vatican archives from 1449, records that Pope Nicholas V gave a cleric of Tours named Jean Fouquet, the illegitimate son of a priest and an unmarried woman, a dispensation for that illegitimate birth. This document was held to be fact by most Fouquet scholars until recently, but now a different Jean Fouquet is considered to be the man named in that papal document. Florentine ecclesiastic Francesco Florio mentions in a letter of 1477 a “man of Tours” who when young made a portrait of Pope Eugene IV. Finally, Filarete refers to Fouquet as the artist of the same papal portrait, which he praises as being a “speaking likeness” and of very high quality, in an architectural treatise of 1460. For the Francesco Florio letter, see Avril, Jean Fouquet, ed., 421. See also Claude Schaefer, “Fouquet ‘le jeune’ en Italie,” Gazette des Beaux-Arts 69-70 (1967): 191.
and sculpture as the first places where the sea change of the Renaissance is visible in France as a result of these Italian contacts.\(^\text{18}\) The châteaux of the Loire Valley, where the royal family and other powerful noble families made their homes, formed the focus of a region with a court and capital city of Tours as its artistic center. Manuscript illuminators similarly adopted some Italianate forms, primarily visible in the approach to a deeper spatial ground within the miniatures, and in classicizing borders that drew on the formal language of Renaissance architecture. Even this account is made complex by the adherence to the stylistic language of the Gothic in some areas, while others more fully adopted Italianate plans and ornamentation.\(^\text{19}\)

The most recent attempt to define and explore the character of French art during the late fifteenth century was the exhibition mounted from 2010 to 2011 at the Louvre and the Art Institute of Chicago. The subsequent catalogs of the exhibitions differ somewhat in their focus; for example, the English-language version derived from the Chicago exhibition tends toward greater emphasis of the role of members of the royal courts as patrons.\(^\text{20}\) Yet both catalogs mark a considerable shift in the analysis of the art of this period by collectively examining the extreme variety of the visual arts in France.


\(^\text{19}\) In attempting to address this disjunction, Kavaler organizes his book by types of designs instead of using geography or political divisions as a guiding principle, though notes that some designs are more popular in certain regions, for example microarchitecture in Germany and a concentration on façade ornamentation in France. See Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic: Architecture and the Arts in Northern Europe 1470-1540* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2012).

circa 1500. The authors concentrated on exposing the vitality of French art of the period, putting a number of different types of media in conversation: tapestry, illuminated manuscripts, sculpture, stained glass, prints, panel paintings, enamels, and goldsmith work. The authors of the catalogs adopt the familiar regional organization of earlier studies but give more ideological weight to positioning this period in France chronologically between the medieval and the Renaissance. The authors also emphasize a geographic view by acknowledging that France had a native Gothic tradition that came into contact with the powerful artistic influences emanating from Italy and the North. Indeed, the artistic landscape of France around 1500 lacks discernible styles specific to individual regions. Instead, the movement of artists, the frequent travel of an itinerant court to important noble residences scattered throughout the countryside, and the increasing contact with Italy gave rise to a complex network of artistic conversations.

Given these multidirectional movements across and through France, the scholarly terminology used for this period is unstable. Late Gothic art, often limited to the end of the fifteenth century and crossing a natural chronological boundary into the sixteenth, is often described as “Flamboyant” in France (or the Spanish “Plateresque,” or English “Perpendicular”). Ethan Matt Kavaler calls the late Gothic motifs in architecture from circa 1470 to 1540, which was a style that was produced in France and the North concurrently with the new Italianate motifs, a “lithic manifestation of the late Middle Ages exceeding its bounds.” He proposes the term “Renaissance Gothic,” an intentionally provocative label that also underscores the fundamental problems with

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terminology for this period in France. While Italian art and artists were known in France during fifteenth century, there was no single moment of Renaissance epiphany like the one supposedly experienced by Charles VIII’s knights.  

France remained very much connected to its own past and its Gothic traditions.

The terminology used in the period helps to clarify the picture, though only in part. According to Pierre-Yves Le Pogam’s investigation of fifteenth-century documentation surrounding commissions and productions of works, artists and patrons in France circa 1500 thought of their art as either “antique” or “moderne.” The documents he examines demonstrate that works using Italianate motifs or in some way associated with antiquity were described with the term “antique.” For example, in commissioning the tomb of Francis II of Brittany and Margaret of Foix, Anne of Brittany turned to native Frenchman Michel Colombe and Italian sculptors, including Jérôme Pacherot. Still, the documents refer to all of them as “carvers of Italian masonry” due to the “antique” appearance of the final product [Fig. 2]. The term “moderne,” on the other hand, was used to refer to the current Gothic style that was still in use by high profile patrons, including Margaret of Austria, who famously commissioned three tombs for the monastery at Brou in the style of “moderne” Flamboyant Gothic, rejecting the originally

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24 Le Pogam, 31.
proposed Italianate plan [Fig. 3]. Le Pogam brings to light other primary sources regarding the decorative program at the cathedral of Saint-Sauveur in Aix-en-Provence, which describe the combination of Gothic and Italianate motifs as “foliage in a new art” along with “in the antique style.”

It is evident that a clear sense of a specific vocabulary described the multiplicity of styles available to patrons in the late fifteenth century, though any attempt to create a single descriptive term to encompass all artistic production of this period—for example “gothico-renaissant,” “Renaissance Gothic,” or even the more diplomatic “between Gothic and Renaissance”—is futile. Not only are such singular terms insufficient for describing a range of eclectic styles, but surviving documents containing these period distinctions between “antique” and “moderne” refer to sculpture or architecture, limiting our view of how other media fit into this dichotomy. A single term that fuses the Gothic with the Renaissance would necessarily ignore the significant regional variations that have already been established in production and in courtly tastes among the highest-

25 The primary evidence for this interpretation comes from a payment document dated July 7, 1516 in which the tombs are described as a “sepulture moderne.” The interpretation of this text has long been debated, but the relative consensus is that Margaret of Austria, as regent of the Habsburg Netherlands was renouncing the idea of the earlier Italianate project and was anticipating work in the spirit of the Flamboyant Gothic from the Netherlandish sculptors she had hired. See Laura D. Gelfand, “Margaret of Austria and the Encoding of Power in Patronage: The Funerary Foundation at Brou” in Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe, edited by Alison Levy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 145-160; Ethan Matt Kavaler, “Margaret of Austria, Ornament, and the Court Style of Brou,” in Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550, edited by Stephen J. Campbell (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. 2004).
26 Quoted in Le Pogam, 31.
28 In print, the distinction seems to have been in effect in the 1520s, when the French printer Geoffroy Tory combined Italian ornament and Gothic bâtard type, perhaps referenced in a privilege published by the printer in 1524: “histoires et vignettes a l’antique, et pareillement unes autres a la moderne.” (“stories and vignettes in the antique style, and at the same time, others in the modern style.”) See Le Pogam, 30.
ranking patrons in the newly forming nation of France. Modernity was expressed in many different ways, sometimes through imitation of new, imported Italianate styles and in other cases through the pictorial novelty of illuminated manuscripts. At the royal court and in circles close to the king, patrons appropriated every new fashion, including northern and Italian works, while at the same time preferring French court artists and traditionally luxurious media such as tapestry and manuscripts, which were both indigenous and innovative.

Many of the most recent studies, including the 2010-2011 exhibitions in Chicago and Paris, terminate on or around the division of centuries at the year 1500, by which point the so-called Renaissance seems to have become a concrete reality more than ever, the product of a process of gradual and particular adoption of certain forms derived from classical antiquity. However, art in France in the period between the end of the Hundred Years’ War and the ascension of François I was powerfully attached to the Gothic past, which continued into the sixteenth century. They year 1500 makes for a tidy turning point between medieval and modern, but art in France around 1500 was neither totally divorced from its medieval past nor can it be defined by its adoption of Italian or Northern Renaissance tendencies. Style, and the idea of stylistic simultaneity, is thus perhaps too limited as a methodology for the study and conception of French art at this moment.

Artistic tendencies varied between regions, and the preferences in taste emanating from the royal court were shared to some degree by regional courts that were culturally and artistically connected to the monarchy’s patronage. Approaches to artistic production
nonetheless could differ significantly depending on subject, patron, and local context.

The royal court, with its sphere of cultural influence concentrated among the châteaux of the Loire Valley, was indeed the source of many of the most significant artistic commissions. The destabilization of the royal court as a result of the Hundred Years’ War and its move to the Touraine from Paris caused a fragmentation and restructuring of French artistic culture. The court of Burgundy increasingly attracted artists from inside France as well as from the Low Countries.\textsuperscript{29} Where Paris had once been the undisputed cultural center of the country and the nexus of production of luxury goods from manuscripts to metalwork, new cities—including the royal residence of Tours and nearby Bourges—became the new centers of production.\textsuperscript{30}

The most recent scholarship on the subject has tended to follow the models of Avril and Reynaud and the Paris/Chicago exhibition in dividing production by geography, concentrating on identifying and defining the major stylistic trends dominating regional centers.\textsuperscript{31} For example, Nicholas Herman’s sustained analysis of

\textsuperscript{29} Marina Belozerskaya, \textit{Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 47-64.


\textsuperscript{31} Frédéric Elsig’s book, which aims to provide an overview of French painting (in both manuscripts and on panel) in the fifteenth century, is divided into sections concerned with artistic “axes.” Each axis represents a geographical conception of artistic production and exchange: the northern axis of Picardy and the Île-de-France; the western zone consisting of Champagne and Burgundy; and finally the central axis of the Loire Valley. Elsig focuses on cities and artistic centers rather than court art, and is concerned primarily with issues of the movement of manuscripts between axes, workshop practice, stylistic evolution and transfer, and matters of attribution. See Frédéric Elsig, \textit{La peinture en France au XVe siècle}, (Milan, 2004); Frédéric Elsig, ed. \textit{Peindre en France à la Renaissance I: Les courants stylistiques au temps de Louis XII}. 
Jean Bourdichon has provided a more nuanced account of that court artist and his extraordinarily long career, focusing largely on issues of attribution and the stylistic development in the arts of the Touraine circa 1500.\textsuperscript{32} Much of this scholarship, since it has been concentrated on regional styles, has still engaged the question of the degree to which French artists incorporated motifs and styles from artistic powerhouses to the north and south. The field has also been enriched by other methodologies and benefited from more focused studies on individual patrons such as Anne of Brittany, on individual manuscripts, and on individual artists.\textsuperscript{33} Additionally, a subfield of inquiry that has taken
on a new importance is the study of early print in France, often related to contemporary manuscript production.\textsuperscript{34}

Studies of the luxury arts have also proved influential, most notably Marina Belozerskaya’s rehabilitation of Burgundian tapestry among other ultra deluxe media, reestablishing a sense of fifteenth-century valuation and conception of materials.\textsuperscript{35} Belozerskaya’s focus on media and their possible significance is part of a larger trend in art historical scholarship that focuses on the art object itself, opening new areas of inquiry that consider the strategic use of media and their power to signify.\textsuperscript{36}

The goal of this dissertation is to build upon previous scholarship to provide a more comprehensive cultural analysis of book culture at the French courts in the late fifteenth century. It aims to bridge the divide between the manuscript and other media and investigate the potential meanings of media versus the more traditional stylistic approach. Like many previous major studies of the period, this project takes the idea of regional centers of power as its guiding premise. However, instead of attempting to define various regional styles in relation to one another, this study examines how political

\textsuperscript{34} See most recently Diane E. Boonton, \textit{Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany} (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010); Sandra Hindman, \textit{Pen to Press, Paint to Print: Manuscript Illumination in the Age of Gutenberg} (Chicago, Paris: Les Enluminures, 2009).


disputes and tensions between the royal court and its regional vassals conditioned modes of patronage and cultural display. It first establishes how royal power was consolidated and imaged through manuscripts and book patronage, making clearer the media relationships between the royal court and powerful regional ducal and comital courts. It argues that nostalgia for a lost medieval past and a preference for the illuminated manuscript as a vehicle for the preservation of that collective history united the aristocratic class—royal, ducal, and comital—throughout late fifteenth-century French territories. This study addresses previously unanswered questions regarding audience and reception by examining the ideological conditions of book production in late fifteenth-century France that were intersected by considerations of medium, taste, and politics. In doing so, this dissertation aims to arrive at a better understanding of the nuances of the politics that potentially divide French production in this period as well as the underlying aristocratic character that unites it.

III. Historical Conditions of France and its Courts: Politics, Center, and Periphery

The fifteenth century was especially turbulent for France amid the emerging sense of a French nation. Significant political shifts impacted both social and cultural spheres: the centers of cultural production changed; territories were consolidated; and politically significant dynastic marriage arrangements were made. These changes fundamentally altered medieval systems of government and called into question the status of a number of French institutions including feudal relationships that had been in effect for hundreds of years. These changes provide the essential background for understanding the
complexities of the aristocratic imagination at the end of the century—how the anxieties created by a loss of power engendered new interests in the realm of culture and art for regional lords and the monarchy.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century Paris was a vibrant artistic capital that had developed a sophisticated court culture at the highest levels. As King Charles VI (1368-1422) struggled with mental illness, tensions erupted into several conflicts for power between his cousin Jean, the Duke of Burgundy (r. 1404-1419), and his brother, Louis of Orléans (1372-1407). Louis was assassinated in 1407 and the Armagnac faction assumed political power in opposition to Jean, and eventually both sides attempted to ally with English forces in a civil war on French soil. In 1418 the Burgundians took Paris and massacred Bernard VII, the Count of Armagnac (1360-1418), and several thousand of his followers, creating chaos and the ideal conditions for English invasion and occupation. By the 1420s England controlled large swaths of northern France and Henry V of England (r. 1413-1422) was named heir to the French throne.

As loyalties inevitably shifted, the French king Charles VI’s successor King Charles VII (r. 1422–61) and Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy agreed to the 1435 Treaty of Arras. The agreement permitted the Burgundian forces to switch their loyalties back to the French side. With it King Charles VII secured the goal of ensuring that no Prince of the Blood, those nobles closely connected by blood or marriage with the French crown could recognize the English king Henry VI (r.1422-1461) as King of France. During the next twenty years, which saw the intervention of Joan of Arc and a rallied French army, French forces recaptured Paris and eventually regained all French territories
from the English except the northern port of Calais, which remained in English possession well into the sixteenth century. By 1453, King Charles VII of France managed to in the Battle of Castillon rout the English forces from his base in Bourges. It was the last official conflict of the Hundred Years’ War.\(^{37}\)

The traumatic legacy of the Hundred Years’ War led to an unprecedented centralization of territory and government in the second half of the fifteenth century under King Louis XI (r. 1461-1483). Louis XI continued the project begun by Charles VII to create a more centralized government. He brought rebellious vassals under the control of the French crown and limited powers of the dukes and lower-ranking noblemen France.\(^{38}\) Louis XI gained the moniker “the Universal Spider” for his ruthlessness, suppressing the privileges of many noblemen while also eliminating offices within the government bureaucracy to consolidate power for himself. The king practiced extreme fiscal prudence; he was known neither as a patron of the arts nor an active supporter of cultural institutions.\(^{39}\)

Louis XI also sought to further the project of territorial consolidation that had also begun under his father. The most powerful appanages—Orléans, Burgundy, Bourbonnais, Berry, Normandy, and Guyenne—were still part of the French kingdom but essentially independently governed. The reigning dukes of such territories exercised


quasi-royal authority in matters of taxation, legal procedure, and ecclesiastical affairs. Most tellingly they excluded, and were allowed to exclude, themselves and the subjects they represented from the governing body of the Estates General. The central power struggle of the fifteenth century was between the French crown and certain appanages that, by France’s measure, had grown too powerful.

The worst offender was the duchy of Burgundy. From 1363, the Valois dukes of Burgundy ruled the duchy, beginning with Philip the Bold (r. 1363-1404). Until the middle of the fifteenth century, a succession of dukes fostered a court that set the standard in Europe for extreme luxury and rivaled the most elaborate royal and imperial courts. The Burgundian dukes were directly connected to the royal Valois line in France but still attempted to create an independent territory, frequently clashing with the French crown for authority over Burgundian lands and administration. After the series of power struggles involving the English throughout the course of the beginning of the fifteenth century that ended with the signing of the Treaty of Arras in 1435, Duke Philip agreed to

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40 The last Capetian duke of Burgundy died in 1361 and the duchy reverted back to the control of the French crown. King John II (r. 1319-1364) then arranged the exchange of the Touraine region for Burgundy, and Philip was confirmed as the new duke of Burgundy when his brother Charles V ascended the throne of France in 1364. See Richard Vaughan, Valois Burgundy (London: Allen Lane, 1975), 14-25.


acknowledge the rule of King Charles VII of France in return for the formal recognition of independence of Burgundian lands from French control.\textsuperscript{43}

When Louis XI ascended the throne of France in 1461, Philip the Good (r. 1419-1467) reigned as Duke of Burgundy. Intent on organizing a Crusade to the Holy Land, Philip exchanged with the French king a number of territories, including Picardy and Amiens, for financial support of the endeavor. Philip the Good’s successor, his son Duke Charles the Bold, came to power in 1467 and acquired Guelders as the Burgundian Netherlands reached their greatest size and reach. Charles' dynastic ambitions became fully clear in his negotiations with the Habsburg emperor Frederick III (1415-1493) with the betrothal of his daughter Mary of Burgundy to the emperor’s son, Maximilian of Austria.\textsuperscript{44} The plans were decisively interrupted when Charles became embroiled in the Burgundian Wars (1474-1477) against the Duchy of Lorraine and its allies in the Swiss Confederacy. The course of the century was fundamentally altered when Duke Charles the Bold was killed in 1477 at the Battle of Nancy.\textsuperscript{45} Since the last Valois duke died without an heir, the Burgundian inheritance passed to his daughter Mary’s husband, the Habsburg Maximilian, who had only recently married into the family mere months prior to the battle. However, King Louis XI laid claim to many Burgundian lands, including the duchy of Burgundy, Artois, and areas of Picardy.\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{44} Geoffrey Butler and Simon Maccoby, \textit{The Development of International Law} (London/ New York: Longmans, 1928), 33.
\textsuperscript{45} Robert Knecht, \textit{The Valois}, 102-106.
\textsuperscript{46} The 1477 death of Charles the Bold raised one of the most heated issues surrounding the legal status of French territories. The supporters of Charles’s only daughter and heir Mary, contended that Charles’s \textit{appanages} were actually fiefs that women could inherit. In contrast, their
ultimately led to a peaceful division of this "Burgundian inheritance," all lands and territories associated with the duchy, leaving Louis XI with the majority of the territories.

Other territories gradually came under control of the crown. René of Anjou, living in retirement in Provence in the 1470s, made a will dividing his inheritance between his nephew Count Charles II of Maine and his grandson René II of Lorraine. Louis XI, who was also René’s nephew and left out of the will, retaliated by seizing Anjou and Bar, which were annexed to the royal domain in 1480 when René died. Provence and Maine were legally incorporated into the French royal domain only in 1486, after King René’s successor Charles of Maine also died without heirs.47

Louis XI also turned his attention to international territories, particularly Italy. Louis XI’s second marriage to Duchess Charlotte of Savoy (1441-1483) in 1451 was strategic. Though Louis was still dauphin at their betrothal, the alliance with the powerful duchy of Savoy proved useful. Today Savoy is in the Rhône-Alpes region of France, but in the fifteenth century it was an influential duchy, culturally French but politically independent.48 His marriage to Charlotte provided Louis XI with a geographic connection to other dukes of northern Italy and the opportunity to build a diplomatic relationship with Francesco I Sforza, Duke of Milan (1401-1466). Sforza even sent his son, Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1444-1476), in 1465 to lead an army to aid Louis XI in his conflict against the League of Public Weal, a group of feudal lords allied in their opposition to the king’s opponents argued that appanages were in fact subject to the same laws that prevented women from inheriting because they were still formed from the French royal domain. See Paul Saenger, “Burgundy and the Inalienability of Appanages in the Reign of Louis XI” *French Historical Studies* 10/1 (1977): 1-26.
48 Savoy was not officially annexed to France until 1792.
attempt to centralize government. The act was a symbolic gesture of the loyalty between the two rulers. After Milan’s alliance with Louis XI, King Ferrante I of Naples (1423-1494) sought a marriage between the Kingdom of Naples and France, motivated in part by the 1477 downfall of Burgundy, the most significant acquisition of territory that France had made at that point. Louis XI also created new relationships between France and the Papal States, benevolently forgetting the Pope’s past support of the Duke of Burgundy.

Following Louis XI’s example, Charles VIII (r. 1483-1498) and Louis XII (r. 1498-1515), continued the French involvement with Italy by leading military campaigns to expand French power in Naples and other lands on which they laid claim. They also continued the project of territorial annexation in France. Charles VIII’s elder sister Anne of France, the duchess of Bourbon, acted as regent in concert with her husband Pierre II, Duke of Bourbon, until 1491. A similar conflict to the League of Public Weal erupted during Anne's regency. A coalition of powerful feudal lords expressed their dissatisfaction with royal centralization efforts, igniting what became known as the “Mad War,” which lasted from 1485 to 1488. Anne and Pierre emerged victorious from the struggle with these regional lords, among them Duke Louis of Orléans (the future King Louis XII), and proceeded with their efforts to further limit the powers of the French monarchy’s subjects. Even though the French crown suppressed the conflict, the Mad War indicates the difficulties it faced in its attempt to disrupt and restructure the medieval

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feudal systems and those traditional hierarchies on which France had long depended for political and social order.\(^{50}\)

Charles VIII also used marriage as a significant diplomatic tool in his goal of territorial annexation. In one of the most controversial political decisions of the late fifteenth century, the young French king married Duchess Anne of Brittany in 1491, despite her proxy marriage to the future Holy Roman Emperor, the Habsburg Maximilian I. The original match, which had been arranged as part of the 1482 Peace of Arras, was advantageous for all parties. Charles VIII had been previously betrothed to Maximilian's daughter, three-year-old Margaret of Austria, whose mother was Mary, Duchess of Burgundy (1457-1482). As part of her dowry, Margaret of Austria brought the counties of Artois and Burgundy, and was raised in the French court under the tutelage of the king’s sister Anne of France as a prospective Queen consort.\(^{51}\) However, these plans were disrupted in 1488 when the elderly Duke of Brittany, Francis II, died in a riding accident. He left only his eleven-year-old daughter Anne to inherit the duchy. The young duchess Anne of Brittany, cautious of France’s territorial ambitions, arranged her own marriage to the widower Maximilian I in 1490 with the goal of preserving the independence of her duchy in opposition to France. Regent Anne of France and her husband Pierre II, Duke of Bourbon refused to recognize a marriage of this nature because it would place the hostile Maximilian and his Habsburg relatives on two borders. Seizing the opportunity finally to bring the duchy of Brittany under control of the crown, the French army instead invaded Brittany and Charles VIII forced the young duchess to renounce her first husband, whom

\(^{50}\) Knecht, The Valois, 107-109.
\(^{51}\) Knecht, The Valois, 114.
she had only married by proxy, and agree to marry him instead. Maximilian ever
afterwards regarded this change of events as a Brautraub, or "bride theft," and it
hardened his opposition to the crown of France.

Charles VIII’s marriage to Anne of Brittany benefited him in two major ways: he
avoided encirclement by Habsburg territories and brought recalcitrant Brittany closer to
the French monarchy.\(^{52}\) Anne of Brittany had a keen interest in maintaining Breton
independence from France, but she had not produced a male heir when Charles, just
twenty-eight years old, died suddenly in 1498 after hitting his head on a door lintel. Anne
was obliged to marry Charles VIII’s successor Louis XII of the Orléans branch of the
Valois family, who had already challenged the authority of Charles VIII and regency of
his sister as a primary instigator in the Mad War just a few years earlier. Louis XII
repudiated his first wife Jeanne of France, the other daughter of Louis XI, and divorced
her after a long trial and papal involvement in order to marry Anne of Brittany.\(^{53}\) The
marriage of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany’s surviving daughter Claude to the young
Duke François of Angoulême finally made Brittany an official part of France and assured
the eventual succession of François I to the crown in 1515.

Despite these many and ongoing complex territorial maneuverings by the
monarchy, regional powers maintained their loyalties and interests even as the French
crown worked for political control. Many lands outside the Loire Valley and the

\(^{52}\) For the politics of the marriage of Duchess Anne to the French king, see Jean-Pierre Leguay,
"La fin de l'indépendance bretonne," in *Fastes et malheurs de la Bretagne ducale 1213-1532*
(Ouest-France Université, 1992), 434-435. For Anne’s impact on the court and art patronage, see
Cynthia Brown, ed. *The Cultural and Political Legacy of Anne de Bretagne: Negotiating
Convention in Books and Documents* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2010); Georges Minois,
*Anne de Bretagne* (Paris: Fayard, 1999).

\(^{53}\) Knecht, *Rise and Fall of Renaissance France*, 47.
Touraine, where the royal French court made its home, held relatively powerful regional
courts. Some areas such as Brittany and Savoy remained autonomous. Areas traditionally
controlled by powerful noble families, notably those belonging to the House of Bourbon,
functioned relatively independent of the crown.\textsuperscript{54} Since marriage was one of the primary
means by which male rulers annexed territories, women played important roles in this
project of royal centralization. Women, notably Anne of France, sister and regent to King
Charles VIII but also duchess of Bourbon, controlled significant territories and financial
resources. Often noblewomen wished to maintain their regional centers of power, even
though they were politically allied with the crown—or in Anne’s case, related to the king
by blood.\textsuperscript{55} Anne of Brittany famously sought to preserve the independence of the duchy
of Brittany, remaining its sovereign duchess despite her marriage to two successive
French kings.\textsuperscript{56} In an attempt to preserve Brittany’s independence, Anne negotiated the
betrothal of Claude, her daughter and legal heir to the duchy, to Charles of Austria. After
it had become clear that Anne was unlikely to produce a male heir to succeed Louis XII,
the king stepped in to negotiate the betrothal of Claude to the young duke François of
Angoulême, the French heir apparent. Anne of Brittany remained committed to Breton
independence and continued to advocate instead for the marriage of Claude and Charles
as well as pushing for her other daughter Renée to inherit Brittany instead of Claude.

\textsuperscript{54} Knecht, \textit{The Valois}, 106; Knecht, \textit{Rise and Fall of Renaissance France}, 11-21.
\textsuperscript{55} Aubrée David-Chapy, “Une femme à la tête du royaume, Anne de France et la pratique de
pouvoir” in \textit{Anne de France: Art et pouvoir en 1500: Actes du colloque organisé par Moulins
ville d’art et d’histoire les 30 et 31 Mars 2012}, ed. Thierry Crépin-Leblond and Monique
\textsuperscript{56} Pauline Matarasso, \textit{Queen’s Mate: Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the
Anne continued to refuse to endorse the match between Claude and François, though they married after Anne died.

In the Angoumois, the birthplace of the future François I, the court at Cognac had a different outlook towards centralized authority than Paris and other cities closer to the crown. From 1496 Louise of Savoy, a politically involved and ambitious woman who was eager for her son to become king, controlled the territory. Before Louise married Count Charles of Angoulême she was born in the duchy of Savoy, of which her brother would later become duke, but raised under the tutelage of the regent Anne of France at the royal Château of Amboise in the Loire Valley. This example in particular demonstrates the complex web of political and social connections that linked families by marriage and blood as well as by politically advantageous alliances. The question of what constituted France in the late Middle Ages was thus an open one with a continuously changing set of answers.

IV. Politics and Artistic Production: Taste and Patronage at the Royal and Regional Courts

The French royal court was a major force in the production of art, as it had been for centuries. The king had access to most skilled artists available and commissioned products from them that supported the cultural apparatus of royal power. He maintained

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court artists that worked exclusively for the monarchy who, because they held secure household positions, were able to create an artistic vocabulary that was particular to its time and place.\textsuperscript{58} Beginning with the reign of Louis XI (r. 1461-1483), the court made its home in residences throughout the Loire Valley, chiefly the châteaux at Plessis-lès-Tours, Amboise, and Blois. The court’s presence in the area fostered the region’s political development, leading to the creation of bureaucratic office-holders and local administrators serving the court who quickly formed an important new class in the region.\textsuperscript{59} France in the late fifteenth century presented varying degrees of cultural similarities as well as political resistance between the royal court and powerful regional centers.

Despite such political divisions, which became increasingly disputed in the fifteenth century when the French monarchy sought to regain many of the lands that had long been held in \textit{appanage}, these regional centers had many cultural connections to the royal court.\textsuperscript{60} Within this network, many courtly tastes for luxury and opulence were common to aristocratic patrons throughout France, despite significant regional preferences. The different approaches to patronage at many of these regional courts were perhaps results of the oft-contested politics of the period that conditioned the specific

\textsuperscript{59} For more on the details of the government bureaucracy and the itinerancy of the court, see Robert Knecht, \textit{The French Renaissance Court 1483-1589} (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2008), 22-47.
\textsuperscript{60} At the beginning of his reign, Louis XI openly pursued his goal of bringing the \textit{appanages} of France back under royal control using arguments based on the fourteenth-century concept that while \textit{appanages} were simply “alienations of land,” they were still subject to royal authority and laws, making female succession an impossibility. Conveniently for the French crown, these policies made the absorption of Burgundy and other territories legally sound. See Saenger, 7-15.
relationships between such courts and the royal administration. While the Loire Valley and Berry were the foremost artistic centers in France, court centers in the Bourbonnais, Provence, and Burgundy were also major players. The permeability of styles and mixing of workshops can also be seen in peripheral territories that were not officially part of the kingdom, but still shared cultural and artistic ties: Anjou, Savoy, and the Lorraine. The diversity of court taste in France as well as its connections within a complex political landscape provide the essential information for understanding not only the artistic production of the late fifteenth century but also the tastes, media, and artistic trends that developed and flourished at the court of François I in the early sixteenth century.

The political legacy and reputation for artistic opulence of the Burgundian court loomed large in the collective imagination of French royalty in the late fifteenth century. As the French crown engaged in the Hundred Years’ War and moved its court from Paris, the Burgundian court grew to embody the very idea of court luxury and set the standard for aristocratic expression of dynastic legacy, chivalric ideals, and art collecting. For King Louis XI, the acquisition of Burgundian lands in 1477 represented both a territorial and an ideological victory for the crown. The upstart Valois dukes, who had attempted to become kings according to their own designs, had been brought under control in service of the expansion of French monarchical power and the creation of a strong centralized court. It was the conclusion to a decades-long struggle between the two powers, from which Louis XI emerged victorious. With the absorption of Burgundian lands into France, the monarchy also set about integrating Burgundian culture.

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61 Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, 58-64.
French royalty had long cultivated a taste for luxury, in which they continued to indulge in the late fifteenth century, emboldened to create works that communicated their dominance after the defeat of a number of powerful regions including Burgundy, with which they had long been in competition. The Burgundian model of conspicuous consumption was in part motivated by a desire for political legitimacy. A dynasty as young as that of the Burgundian dukes had a strong need to invest in art and ceremonial—clothing, armor, tapestries, books, and paintings—as a way to assert its status visibly and to establish its court as a center of power. In developing the visual language tied to a medieval past that legitimized current Valois rule, French royalty drew on the conventions and spectacle that had defined Burgundian culture and underpinned its political ideologies.


For introductions to the court culture of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, see Charles A.J. Armstrong, “The Golden Age of Burgundy: Dukes that Outdid Kings” in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage, and Royalty 1400-1800*, ed. A.G. Dickens (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 54-75; Richard Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (London: Allen Lane, 1975); For a recent reassessment of the centrality of the luxury arts at the court of Burgundy, see Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*. For selected studies on tapestry, see Dagmar Eichberger, “Tapestry Production in the Burgundian Netherlands, Art for Export and Pleasure” *Australian Journal of*
The later fifteenth-century kings were heirs to political and artistic conditions established decades earlier. By establishing a territorial administration in the provinces of Berry, Poitou, and the Auvergne, Charles VII (r. 1422-1461) built on the growth in the region begun by Jean, Duke of Berry, in the second half of the fourteenth century. The cities of the Loire Valley—Bourges, Blois, and Tours among others—developed in importance as artistic centers as the kings and their courtly entourage spent time in the area. Manuscript illumination was one of the primary media to flourish under French royal patronage in the mid-to-late fifteenth century.

Royal patrons were interested in commissioning art works of the highest quality in order to establish and reinforce their political and social ambitions. The art of Jean Fouquet (1420-1481), court painter to Charles VII and his courtiers, defined the dominant style of the royal court in Tours. Late in his career Fouquet also became court painter to Louis XI, linking the patronage of the French kings. Fouquet’s personal style became a regional style in Tours that was closely tied to the royal court. As Erik Inglis has argued, Fouquet’s success was tied to his ability to create this highly recognizable “court style.”


Knecht, The Valois, 15-16.

that appealed to a certain group of high-ranking courtiers attached to the King, such as his 1470 image of St. Luke from the Robertet Hours (Morgan Library ms. M. 834, fol. 15r) [Fig. 4].\textsuperscript{67} This style was visually novel in its fusion of new Italianate forms with the elegance of the International Gothic, and Fouquet was able to successfully brand himself as a painter to kings, drawing upon the desire of the court to establish a national identity following the destabilization of the period of the Hundred Years’ War.\textsuperscript{68} Though he completed several high-level commissions for King Charles VII and his circle, Fouquet only became official court painter to Charles VII’s successor Louis XI in 1475.\textsuperscript{69} His appointment marked a decisive change in the office, which had been previously filled by artists of Flemish origin, such as Conrad de Vulcop and Jacob de Listemont. Patronage of Netherlandish artists had begun in the late fourteenth century when the dukes of Burgundy employed sculptor Claus Sluter and the Limbourg Brothers.\textsuperscript{70} However, Fouquet’s appointment inaugurated a new indigenous tradition: for the remainder of the century and into the next, only French court painters served the French king.\textsuperscript{71}

Though Louis XI is not known as a patron with particularly strong interests in art, his second wife Charlotte of Savoy (1441-1483) was an avid collector of illuminated

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., 205-207.
\textsuperscript{69} Inglis, \textit{Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France}, 28.
manuscripts and added considerably to the royal library. One of Charlotte’s preferred illuminators was Jean Colombe (c. 1430-c.1493), native of Berry, who worked for a local clientele but also higher-ranking officials. Colombe completed several major works for the Queen, including a Book of Hours intended as a gift for Charlotte and Louis’s daughter, Princess Anne of France, who is pictured on a diptych-like folio opening praying to the Virgin, who occupies the other half of the opening (Morgan Library Ms M. 677, fol. 42v-43r) [Fig. 5]. The style of the illuminations, completed circa 1474, is similar to the artistic circle in Tours, as were the large miniatures in Charlotte’s copy of *Des douze péris d’enfer* of 1480 (BnF ms fr. 449). Each of the miniatures in the *Douze péris* is surrounded by an architectural frame in the form of a gilded double arch, decorated either with sculpted statues or more naturalistic figures. The borders are completed by a floral embellishment. Colombe often fuses Gothic with Italianate forms, as on fol. 77, in which the Gothic structure that serves as a container for the central subject is accompanied by a series of medallions that each feature a bust-length portrait of a woman in a distinctly Italianate style [Fig. 6]. Colombe also completed an extensively illuminated Book of Hours for Louis de Laval, governor of Champagne (BnF ms. lat. 920). His hometown and the location of his atelier, Bourges, was also the

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73 Wolff, ed. *Kings, Queens, and Courtiers: Art from Early Renaissance France*, cat. no. 53.
75 The *Hours of Louis de Laval* was a deluxe and highly complex commission completed by Colombe and several collaborators in two major campaigns from 1470-75 and 1480-85. It is extraordinarily large, consisting of almost 350 folios and with a program of about 1200 illuminations. See François Avril et Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France*,
location of the illuminator now known as the Master of Spencer 6, who produced a number of lavish manuscripts for the local Lallemant family.\textsuperscript{76}

King Charles VIII was a more active patron of the visual arts than Louis XI, amassing a collection of manuscripts to be added to the royal library and accepting a number of deluxe presentation copies of printed texts from printers in Paris eager to get their products into the hands of such influential patrons.\textsuperscript{77} His queen, Anne of Brittany (1477-1514), took a leading role in fostering illumination at the royal court. Anne found herself in a politically complex situation by serving simultaneously as the duchess of the independent duchy of Brittany and the Queen of France. The sometimes antagonistic relationship between Brittany and the French Crown and the political controversy of the marriage alliance of Anne and Charles VIII understandably put Anne in a compromising position at court, though her French subjects received her warmly, and it is a point of contention whether Anne personally had much contact with or knew her own duchy.\textsuperscript{78}

At her first husband’s death in 1498, Anne of Brittany was only twenty-two years old. While in mourning, she asserted her independence as duchess of Brittany. Anne had agreed to marry Charles VIII’s successor, Louis of Orléans (Louis XII), but she proved to be an astute negotiator when it came to the terms of her second marriage. The royal pair signed their marriage contract on January 7, 1499, which established that both male and

\textsuperscript{76}Avril and Reynaud, Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 325-348.
\textsuperscript{78} Dominique le Page, “Qu’es-ce qu’Anne de Bretagne connaissait de son duché?” in Anne de Bretagne: Une histoire, un mythe (Paris/Nantes: Somogy/Château des ducs de Bretagne, Musée d'histoire de Nantes, 2007), 23-30.
female children resulting from the marriage were entitled to inherit the duchy of Brittany. Even in the event that Anne predeceased him, Louis promised that he would control Brittany only temporarily until it reverted to any heirs or legitimate relations that Anne might have.79

With such security, Anne of Brittany became a more confident patron of the arts in her second tenure as French queen.80 Her major manuscript commissions were completed in this period largely by the royal court painter Bourdichon, who had begun his career as successor to Fouquet as court painter in the service of Louis XI in the early 1480s.81 One of his earliest works, the *Katherine Hours* (Getty Museum, Ms. 6), dates to this period between 1480 and 1485. As can be seen in his rendering of the Annunciation (fol. 27r), the dramatic lighting, delicate and elegant figures, and sophisticated approach to three-dimensional space show the influence of Fouquet, but also the tastes of his patrons, who expected luxurious but pictorially innovative products [Fig. 7]. By the time Bourdichon illuminated his more significant works, the *Hours of Louis XII*, his first major commission for Charles VIII’s successor, and a few years later the *Grandes Heures* (BnF ms. lat. 9474) for Anne of Brittany, the illuminator had established a particular and

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79 Anne of Brittany did eventually die before her husband, in the winter of 1513, and the duchy passed to their daughter, Claude. Claude had married François d’Angoulême, who became king in 1515, and Brittany finally became the possession of France. See Knecht, *Rise and Fall of Renaissance France*, 65-66.

80 For the most recent comprehensive account of Anne’s patronage in a variety of media, see Andreas Braem, “Anne de Bretagne: Art entre memoria, representation et mobilier” in *À ses bons commandements...La commande artistique en France au XVe siècle*, ed. Andreas Braem and Pierre Alain Mariaux (Neuchâtel, Swizterland: Éditions Alphil-Presses Universitaires Suisses, 2014), 309-374.

recognizable style of his own. The large dimensions of his miniatures—exemplified in the folio opening of Anne of Brittany in prayer (fols. 2v-3r), which recalls a painted diptych—the monumental scale of the illumination and its figures, and fictive framing devices that recall panel paintings were hugely influential in the artistic circles in the Loire Valley [Fig. 8]. Bourdichon links the kings of the early sixteenth century with their predecessors of the fifteenth. His style became the hallmark of the royal artistic vocabulary, oriented toward delighting his royal patrons while also appealing to their taste for elegant, luxurious products.

Anne also owned manuscripts completed by an artist closely connected to Bourdichon, Jean Poyer (1465-1503), an illuminator active contemporaneously with Bourdichon. Poyer’s use of Bourdichon’s distinctive and elegant style led to the artist’s achievement of similar success in the royal milieu. Anne of Brittany had commissioned the Prayerbook of Anne of Brittany (Morgan Library Ms M. 50) from Jean Poyer in 1492 to instruct her young son, the dauphin Charles Orland, in the catechism. Poyer’s rendering of the Pietà (fol. 21v) [Fig. 9] and his image of the Adoration of the Magi (fol. 49v) from The Book of Hours (Haarlem, Teylers Museum, Ms. 78) that he completed in 1485 for Guillaume Briçonnet, Charles VIII’s secretary of the treasury, clearly show the same interest in the depiction of the depth of space and figural

82 The Hours of Louis XII were disbound and now exist in a fragmentary state as part of several different collections. See Kren and Evans, eds. A Masterpiece Reconstructed: The Hours of Louis XII. See also Delahaye, Bresc-Bautier, and Crépin-Leblond, eds. France 1500, cat. no. 2; Chancel-Bardelot et. al, eds., Tours 1500, cat. no. 1.
83 Mara Hofmann, Jean Poyer: Das Gesamtwerk (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 9-42.
84 Wolff, ed. Kings, Queens, and Courtiers, cat. no. 44.
monumentality of volume as seen in Bourdichon’s work [Fig. 10]. Like many of his predecessors, Poyer also incorporated a number of references to Italianate elements, as in his *Hours of Anne of Brittany and Mary of England* (Lyon, Bibliothèque municipal ms. 1558), a manuscript originally created in 1498, possibly as a gift from Louis XII to Anne of Brittany, but later modified in 1514 for the occasion of Louis XII’s brief marriage to Mary Tudor. Elaborate architectural elements frame the miniatures, visually aligning their frames with the structure of Renaissance altarpieces complete with attendant putti playing at their bases, such as under an image of the Flight to Egypt (fol. 39v) [Fig. 11]. When Poyer completed his most celebrated works, the *So-Called Hours of Henry VIII* (Morgan Library, ms. H.8) and the *Tilliot Hours* (British Library Yates Thompson 5), around 1500 his approach to landscape, depth of space, and monumentality remained true to the Tours/Loire Valley style that was so beloved by the royal court and its courtiers. For example, in his rendering of Saint Sebastian in the *Hours of Henry VIII* (fol. 179r), the saint appears in a three-quarter-length close-up, his figure seemingly too large for the frame while a landscape extends far into the horizon behind him. In the lower half of the scene, the action of the saint’s martyrdom plays out in a muted purple palette that recalls grisaille [Fig. 12].

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85 Wolff, ed., *Kings, Queens, and Courtiers*, cat. no. 43.
86 Hofmann, *Jean Poyer*, 57.
87 The *So-Called Hours of Henry VIII* is “so-called” due to the silver clasps bearing the arms, monogram, and motto of Henry VIII. However, the clasps are not original and the tradition linking the work to the English king goes back only to the eighteenth century. The identity of the original patron is unknown, but given the quality and large size of the codex, it was undoubtedly a noble or even royal member of the élite in Tours or the greater Loire Valley. See Wolff, ed. *Kings, Queens, and Courtiers*, cat. no. 46; Roger S. Wieck, William Voelkle, Michelle Hearne, eds. *The Hours of Henry VIII: A Renaissance Masterpiece by Jean Poyet* (New York: Morgan Library and Museum, 2000). For the Tilliot Hours, see Janet Backhouse, “Tilliot Hours: Use of
The interest among the royal court in manuscripts transcends many of the stylistic shifts of the era. Illuminators’ appeal lay in their ability to stay abreast of the latest trends, but the continued interest in manuscripts as vehicles of those trends indicates the high cultural value that the French royal and noble classes assigned to books, particularly illuminated books. The medium was of primary importance, and a manuscript itself denoted luxury and royal identity despite changing styles. While some ornamental elements might be categorized as Renaissance—primarily the interest in illusionistic space inspired by Italian painting—others remained stylistically medieval, such as the continuation of flat and densely patterned borders in Bourdichon’s *Katherine Hours* [Fig. 13]. Other qualities in the manuscripts defy ready stylistic labels: the play of depth [Fig. 14]; the novelty of *trompe l’oeil* elements; the articulation of different types of materials, such as the inclusion of faux marble and architectural elements; and the emphasis on the vellum [Fig. 15].

In each case, the material products associated with the court demonstrate a fascination with visual spectacle. Jonathan Beck, in his examination of formal shifts in music and literature from the period 1470 to 1520, calls such instances “extreme formal elaboration in compositional devices” in which “ingeniousness and technical virtuosity push against the outermost limits of a medium of expression in exploratory attempts to renew an artistic language perceived as inadequate, or ‘worn out.’” 88 The

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continued popularity of the manuscript as a medium grew in part from an aristocratic desire to maintain a medieval tradition. Still, the artistic changes in manuscripts—illuminators’ push to demonstrate a mastery of the medium by subsuming all other luxury media—represent a distinctive, separate phenomenon. Manuscript artists had to renew their artistic language in order to stay relevant in a highly competitive visual environment in which new media demanded attention. Where the *grands rhétoriqueurs*, the Burgundian court poets of the mid- to late fifteenth century, were famous for their technical mastery and intricate verbal acrobatics, manuscript illuminators from the same period were working to astonish their audience with feats of formal mastery and artistic virtuosity. Though the artists working for the royal court—Fouquet, Colombe, Bourdichon, Poyer—adopted aspects of Italianate style, they were all local artists who spent their careers in Tours engaged with the royal court, forming successful ateliers, and influencing illuminators in the region who imitated their style on a larger scale for the same Touraine audience.

Other regional artistic centers developed strong characters of their own. There was no single, definable regional style but rather a layering, a shifting idea of the “moderne.” For example, the court under the control of Duke René I (1409-1480) was home to an influential artistic culture at mid-century. The duke’s sister was Marie of Anjou (1404-1463), the wife of the French King Charles VII, meaning that the duke was related to the French crown through marriage. Duke René was sympathetic to the French crown through marriage.

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royal cause through his marriage though like the Burgundian dukes, the Duke of Anjou frequently competed with the French crown for both political and cultural supremacy. From 1443, René I spent a large portion of his time in Anjou, and his court in the city of Angers, very near Tours, was a bustling center for political and cultural activity. In 1471, René moved his court to Provence, which also saw an influx of art and artists from the region. Throughout his tenure as duke, René fostered a lively artistic culture at court that was heavily inflected by the mid-fifteenth-century revival of chivalric values among aristocratic patrons. The duke founded his own chivalric order, the *Ordre de la Croissant* (The Order of the Crescent) in 1448. It counted fifty knights, who committed themselves to mutual assistance and loyalty to the order, which was soon forgotten after Provence became part of France. The Duke appears seated opposite his wife Jeanne de Laval in a small portrait diptych by the locally trained painter Nicholas Froment (c. 1435-c. 1486), wearing the armorial collar of his order [Fig. 16].

Duke René I also amassed a large library of manuscripts, and he is best known for the illuminated books in his collection that record jousts and tournaments held at his court. Three of the literary works authored by the duke survive and are part of the canon of late medieval French literature: his *Livre de Tournois* (BnF ms. fr. 2695), the *Livre du Cuer d’Amour Espris* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 2597),

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92 Wolff, ed. *Kings, Queens, and Courtiers*, cat. no. 12.
and the Mortifiement devaine plaisance. Together the texts conjure a fantasy world of chivalric endeavor, drawing on Arthurian Grail legends and the medieval tradition of the Roman de la Rose, a staple of French poetry and courtly literature. Illuminated versions of these texts and many other titles from René’s library survive, indicating a thriving literary and artistic scene at court.

A particularly important dimension to the duke’s patronage and that of his close relatives is the meeting of French, Flemish, and Italian styles of painting and sculpture at his court. Netherlandish painter Barthélemy d’Eyck (c. 1420-c. 1475) illuminated several manuscripts and painted several panels [Fig. 17]. René also employed as a court artist illuminator George Trubert (active c. 1469-1508), who was from a family of artists based in Troyes but trained in Paris. He also commissioned work from Dalmatian sculptor Francesco Laurana and the Neapolitan painter Colantonio. In this particularly multicultural milieu, the presence of a French artist named Enguerrand Quarton (c. 1410-1466) is also notable. Born in Laon and probably trained in the Netherlands, Quarton was

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active in Provence by 1444. Though no works by Quarton commissioned by René are extant or documented, many of Quarton's clients were courtiers in the duke’s immediate circle. Further, Quarton appears to have collaborated with several other artists associated with the court, including Nicolas Froment and Barthélemy d'Eyck. An unfinished Book of Hours (Morgan Library MS. M. 358) reveals the collaboration between Barthelemy d’Eyck and Quarton. Some of the miniatures appear to have been executed by both d’Eyck and Quarton, and some are attributed to Eyck and Quarton individually [Fig. 18].

Quarton, d’Eyck, and the other artists working in and around the court in Provence seem to have been equally comfortable working on both manuscripts and panels. The Provençal milieu in particular features artists who fluidly move back and forth between media for the court and local élite patrons. Quarton’s best-known work, a panel of the Coronation of the Virgin (Musée Pierre-de-Luxembourg, Villeneuve-lès-Avignon), was completed for a local clergyman named Jean de Montagny. The piece is unique because it survives along with a highly specific contract between patron and artist. The panel features a central image of the Virgin hovering over a landscape. As specified in the contract for the work, the Virgin is being simultaneously crowned by two identical haloed male figures, an unusual, medievalizing representation of God the Father and

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98 Wolff, ed. Kings, Queens, and Courtiers, cat. no. 2. The two artists may have also collaborated on a second Book of Hours (Huntington Gallery, San Marino, California, H.M. 1129). See Avril and Reynaud, Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 230-31, 372, no. 123.
Christ, physically connected through the dove of the Holy Trinity [Fig. 19]. The landscape, featuring depictions of Rome and Jerusalem in a panorama below the central figure of the Virgin, is also specified in the contract, probably due to the fact that the patron had traveled to the two holy cities as a pilgrim. Beneath the earthly landscape are Purgatory and Hell, and in the center Jean de Montagny kneels in prayer before a Crucifixion. On the left side of the panel, a church is cut away to reveal the Mass of Saint Gregory. The colors are bold and strong, with very little shading, giving the piece a graphic severity that is particular to his work and to local Provençal taste, unlike anything else produced in the 1460s and 1470s at the contemporary royal court in Tours.

The court in Lorraine under Duke René I’s grandson René II (r. 1473-1508) was politically and culturally connected to Burgundy but ruled by dukes of French origin. René II embarked on the first stage of the reconquest of Lorraine, hotly contested territory held by the dukes of Burgundy, in the 1477 Battle of Nancy during which Duke Charles the Bold was killed. When Charles the Bold began making claims on Lorraine, which was for him a link between his northern and southern land territories, René II secretly allied with Louis XI in 1474. After Charles the Bold’s death, the court in Lorraine was virulently anti-Burgundian, and many of Duke René II’s commissions reflect this hostility. A play, the Songe du Pastourel, was written in 1490 about the Battle

101 Ibid., 197.
102 Sterling asserts that Quarton’s approach to landscape recalls Italian examples, though Quarton’s figures tend to be executed in a style that is more dependent upon the Netherlandish painters Jan van Eyck and Robert Campin. See Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton*, 198.
of Nancy and the death of the Duke of Burgundy. The play was revised in 1515 and produced as a lavishly illustrated manuscript, demonstrating the centrality of the event in the minds of the courtiers of Lorraine and their interest in preserving their memories of it almost twenty years after the battle [Fig. 20]. René II also inherited his grandfather’s artists in some cases; the illuminator Georges Trubert is recorded at his court from 1491.

Another significant regional court with specific political allegiances and a distinctive visual culture was located in the city of Moulins, the capital city of the Bourbonnais and home to Duchess Anne of France (1461-1522) and her husband, Duke Pierre II de Beaujeu (1438-1503). There the situation was both politically and artistically complex. Anne, as the daughter of Queen Charlotte of Savoy and King Louis XI, had been strategically married to Pierre, the younger son of Jean II (1426-1488), the duke of Bourbon and a close counselor to Louis XI. Anne and Pierre ruled as unofficial regents of France from 1488 to 1491, while Anne’s younger brother, King Charles VIII, was in his minority. Anne’s regency was never formally recognized, though it seems clear that there was little doubt as to her authority in matters of state.

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104 The future rulers of Lorraine also set up a number of memorials in the ducal residence of Nancy and on the former battlefield to testify to the importance of the victory at the Battle of Nancy for Lorraine’s sense of identity, including a wall tomb for Charles the Bold in René’s church. The battle was commemorated annually with a procession and a reenactment, with Duke Charles represented by pieces of his armor. See Brackman, 340-342.
105 Lionelli, 145-150.
106 Knecht, The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France, 22-33.
107 The validity of Anne’s regency was hotly contested in the fifteenth century and by her modern biographers. See Paul Pélicier, Essai sur le gouvernement de la Dame de Beaujeu (Chartres: Édouard Garnier, 1882); Marc Chombart de Lauwe, Anne de Beaujeu (Paris: Jules Tallandier, 1980); Matarasso, 9-50. Notably, Louis IX’s mother Blanche of Castile in the thirteenth century established the precedent for female regency in France, though it had always applied to mothers.
and experience there was no doubt that she, not her husband, was the dominant partner.

The sixteenth-century historian Pierre de Brantôme saw Anne as the more assertive of the ducal couple, “for she [Anne] knew how to maneuver him [Pierre], the more so as he was not very sharp, indeed not at all.” As regents for the young Charles VIII, Anne and Pierre had been at the center of the Mad War and held considerable power in the monarchy early in Charles VIII’s reign. When the Breton lords rose up against the crown, the Duke and Duchess of Bourbon effectively put down the revolt. At the same time, the ducal couple also took steps to protect the interests of their own lands, helping to place Henry Tudor on the English throne in 1485. Anne’s contemporaries praised her for being very much like her father, Louis XI, in whose retinue she had been raised: bold, resolute, enterprising, and undaunted. Described by those who had come under control of the king and saw his tendencies in her, Anne was called “haughty, unrelenting, guided in all she did by her father’s maxims and just like him in character.”

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111 Chombart de Lauwe, 109, note 5.
It is a widely held position in modern scholarship that women exercised a greater freedom in art patronage after they were widowed. Anne’s pattern of patronage seems to have been the opposite.\textsuperscript{112} Anne’s most active period took place after the end of her regency between 1495, when her brother returned from his military expedition to Naples, and 1503, when her husband Pierre died.\textsuperscript{113} During Anne and Pierre’s greatest authority, members of the nobility gravitated to Moulins where the court flourished and the city attracted leading poets and artists.\textsuperscript{114} As Duchess of Bourbon, Anne was an active patron of architecture in her domain. She acquired land and oversaw the enlargement and renovation of extant ducal properties, the construction of residences at Moulins and Chantelle, and the outfitting of several religious foundations.\textsuperscript{115}

The Netherlandish painter Jean Hey (fl. c. 1475-1505) was one of the most active artists working for the Bourbon ducal couple; he found success in Moulins as the ducal


\textsuperscript{115} Wolff, “Princesses as Patrons,” 36. See also Suzanne Baron d’Hedeene, “Le Mécénat d’Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbon, ou la vie artistique à la cour de Moulins” PhD Diss. (Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1992), 102-103.
couple’s court painter. A significant corpus of portraits attributable to Hey survives, many of them fragments of larger devotional works associated with members of the Bourbon court.\textsuperscript{116} The painter initially worked for Cardinal Charles of Bourbon [Fig. 21] and was then employed by the ducal couple in the 1490s. The altarpiece wings of about 1492-93, now in the Louvre, in which Pierre and Anne and their infant daughter Suzanne are presented by Saints Peter and John the Evangelist comprise a considerably more monumental presence than the far smaller private portrait diptych made earlier by Hey for the Bourbon cardinal [Fig. 22].\textsuperscript{117} In addition, the only large-scale altarpiece attributable to Hey is the sumptuous \textit{Moulins Altarpiece}, commissioned by Anne and ostensibly also by Pierre, to take a place of prominence in the city’s cathedral [Fig. 23].\textsuperscript{118} Finished circa 1498, the altarpiece features imposing portraits of the ducal couple and their young daughter Suzanne, their only child to survive to adulthood. Anne is presented in the left wing by her patron saint, Saint Anne, serious and resolute and dressed in finery befitting her station. Additionally Saints Pierre and Suzanne accompany their namesakes. Another large-scale and public declaration of the Bourbon family’s dynastic ambition can be seen in Lyon Cathedral, in Cardinal Charles of Bourbon’s private chapel. The chapel


\textsuperscript{117} Wolff, ed. \textit{Kings, Queens, and Courtiers: Art from Early Renaissance France}, cat. nos. 56, 59-60.

was finished by 1508 in a campaign initiated by Anne, and is ornamented throughout with the initials of the ducal couple and their daughter [Fig. 24].

Jean Hey completed several other panels for the couple that further illustrate both the artistic and political tensions between the interests of the duchy and the French monarchy. One of the side wings of a now-dismantled altarpiece that features the iconography of the Immaculate Conception exemplifies the character of Bourbon devotion and both the personal and dynastic interests of Anne and Pierre [Fig. 25]. The two surviving wings show the meeting of Saints Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate and the Annunciation. The central panel of the altarpiece, which is no longer extant, probably featured a representation of the Virgin and Child enthroned, accompanied by Saint Anne and flanked by Charlemagne and Saint Louis. These two male figures give the altarpiece decidedly royal connections since both brought saintly associations to the French monarchy and were frequently represented in royal contexts. Like the Valois kings, the Bourbon dukes also claimed descent from the sainted King Louis IX. As Princes of the Blood, they were not only closely connected to the royal family through marriage, but also drew upon images of many of the same royal figures to legitimize their dynastic ambitions, though at times these ambitions were fundamentally at odds with those of the French monarchy. The primary subject of the wing, the Immaculate Conception, held special connotations for the ducal couple. First officially sanctioned by


Campbell, The National Gallery Catalogs, 754-756.
the Church in 1476, the Immaculate Conception was belief that refers to the miraculous conception of Mary in the womb of her elderly mother Anne, which in turn explained how Mary herself was born free of original sin.122 This iconography and the special role of Saint Anne provided a devotional focus for the couple’s desire for male offspring, since it suggests a parallel between Anne of France’s predicament, unable to conceive such a child, and that of her name saint Anne.123 The issue of succession, as we have seen, was crucial to noble families who wished to maintain some element of political independence and avoid absorption by default to a monarchy always looking for opportunities to consolidate territories.

Anne’s alignment with her name saint was not limited to two dimensions. The limestone statue of Saint Anne commissioned for the ducal chapel at the château of Chantelle [Fig. 26], one of the favorite residences of Anne and Peter, reiterates Anne’s commitment to the education of princesses.124 The sculpture, which represents Saint Anne teaching her daughter the Virgin Mary to read, was accompanied by additional large-scale, over-life-size figures of Saint Peter [Fig. 27] and Saint Suzanne [Fig. 28].125

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122 After a history of controversy regarding the conditions of Mary’s conception, Pope Sixtus IV officially authorized those dioceses that wished to introduce the feast to do so in 1476, and introduced it to his own diocese of Rome in 1477 with a specially composed Mass and Office of the feast. See Michael Kunzler, The Church’s Liturgy, trans. Placed Murray and Henry O'Shea (London; New York: Continuum, 2001), 434-435.

123 Saint Anne became a primary intercessor for women, and for educated women in particular due to her teaching of the Virgin. Anne’s deliberate association with her name saint is consistent with late medieval female devotional trends. See Kathleen Ashley, “Image and Ideology: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Drama and Narrative” in Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 111-130.

124 Wolff, “Princesses as Patrons,” 36.

125 The sculptures were probably placed in the chapel of the castle, to be seen by visiting court officials and members of the nobility in addition to the ducal family. See Wolff, ed. Kings,
Read along with the panels by Hey, the sculptures represent a deliberate campaign by Anne to associate herself publicly with her patron saint, taking on the qualities of Saint Anne as an educator.

Many women, like Anne’s mother Queen Charlotte of Savoy, chose to commission more personal products, creating large personal libraries of illuminated manuscripts. Charlotte was active in enlarging the Savoyard ducal library, and as queen she amassed a considerable royal collection, which then passed to her daughter Anne. In doing so, Charlotte followed more traditional social expectations for the patronage of educated royal women. Similarly, Queen Anne of Brittany concentrated on commissioning manuscripts. By contrast, though Anne of France inherited a considerable library and was given many illuminated manuscripts, a small number of manuscripts are linked with her patronage or the dual patronage of the ducal couple, Anne chose projects of a more public character. Her sustained patronage of altarpiece panels from Jean Hey, large-scale sculpture, and her involvement with many architectural projects publically supported her dynastic ambitions as Duchess of Bourbon. Anne’s program of artistic patronage illustrates the tension between the feudal independence of Bourbon and an increasingly powerful and centralized monarchy, since she had represented the monarchy and was closely connected to it, but she also ruled as a duchess of one of the remaining

Queens, and Courtiers, cat. no. 66. Philippe Lorentz has suggested that the sculptor Jean Guilhomet carved the saints based on a design by Jean Hey. Philippe Lorentz, “The Painter’s Role in the Conception of Sculpture: Jean Hey at Chantelle” in Invention: Northern Renaissance Studies in Honor of Molly Faries, ed. Julien Chapuis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 124-125.
independent, powerful feudal families.\textsuperscript{126} As her brother Charles VIII’s regent, Anne actively pursued the interests of the monarchy by limiting the power of the princes of the blood and reducing their feudal rights. However, as Duchess of Bourbon, she instead sought to maintain Bourbon power against the Crown. She maneuvered to secure her daughter’s rights as heir to the duchy and prevent it from coming under control of the centralizing royal government, and sought to increase Bourbon land holdings. In hiring a Netherlandish artist as court painter, she supported these ambitions by articulating a Bourbon visual language that was distinct, publicly so, from the contemporary developments in Tours and the Loire Valley.

To the southeast of the royal court was the duchy of Savoy, definitively culturally French in the fifteenth century even though it was technically not part of France until the nineteenth century. Its dukes were closely connected to the French crown through marriage, and the duchy was a powerful political force.\textsuperscript{127} The duchy had been formed

\textsuperscript{126} Anne was also an author with a strong sense of tradition. On the occasion of her daughter’s engagement, Anne wrote Suzanne a book of lessons (now known as \emph{Les Enseignements d’Anne de France}) containing advice on the proper social conduct and behavior for noblewomen. The text was modeled on several other advice books: the text that Louis IX (Saint Louis) had written for his daughter, the text that her own father Louis XI had written for her brother King Charles XIII when he was a child, and many works by Christine de Pizan that were part of Anne’s library. She fully intended for Suzanne to take her place as duchess and claim the Bourbon inheritance. See Sharon L. Jansen, \emph{Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter} (Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 2012). The 1878 Alphonse-Martial Chazaud edition of the text features reproductions of the nineteen illuminations in the original manuscript, the location of which is now unknown. Chazaud suggests Jean Bourdichon and Jean Perréal as the artists, because in the \emph{comptes des dépenses du roi} (from 1484-1520) Perréal is recorded working for Anne. In 1484 he made for her “deux grans chaires tourneisses par luy painctes et toutes dorées de fin or pour le service de la dicte dame” for which he was paid 24 liv. 15 sous. See Alphonse-Martial Chauzaud, ed. \emph{Les Enseignements d’Anne de France} (Moulins: C. Desrosiers, 1878, reprint New York: Octagon Books, 1978), 23.

early in the eleventh century by the lord of Arles, and eventually joined with the
territories in Piedmont and Liguria to become Savoy. The court’s habits, fashions, and
tastes were modeled on France—in the fifteenth century, with specific attention to the
Burgundian court. However, due to Savoy’s geographic position straddling the Alps, its
arts were also marked by its more direct connections to Italy. The court of Savoy was
connected by marriage and diplomacy to both France and Italy and was rather
cosmopolitan.128 The primary illuminators of the so-called “Savoyard school” are Jean
Bapteur and Peronet Lamy, whose best known work is the Escorial Apocalypse (Escorial,
Biblioteca del Monasterio MS. Vitr. 5), illuminated for Duke Amadeus VIII.129 This
work, along with the two Missals of Felix V (Turin, Biblioteca Reale, MS. Var. 186 and
Archives of State Ms j.b.II.6), is seen as indicative of a style particular to the duchy, like
its geographic position, somewhere between France and Italy or a combination of the two
[Fig. 29].130

By 1500 the library of Savoy was extensive. Twelve inventories made between
1431 and 1498 of various ducal residences on both sides of the Alps testify to a diverse

128 Enrico Castelnuovo, “Introduction” in Les Manuscrits enlumines des Comtes et Ducs de
Savoie, ed. Agostino Paravincini Bagliani (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 1990), 13-17. See also
Sheila Edmunds, “Manuscripts and Illumination in the Duchy of Savoy” PhD Diss. (Columbia
University, 1961), 254-266.
129 Clement Gardet, L’Apocalypse figurée des ducs de Savoie, facsimile ed. (Annecy: Gardet,
1969); Sheila Edmunds, “Jean Bapteur et l’Apocalypse de l’Escorial” in Les Manuscrits
enlumines des Comtes et Ducs de Savoie, ed. Agostino Paravincini Bagliani (Turin: Umberto
Allemandi, 1990), 92-104.
130 Amadeus was elected as Pope Felix V in opposition to Pope Eugene IV and reigned from
1439-1449. He is now considered an antipope. See Sheila Edmunds, “The Missals of Felix V and
Féli x V (Amédée VIII de Savoie)” in Les Manuscrits enlumines des Comtes et Ducs de Savoie,
The fifteenth-century dukes of Savoy bought and commissioned books from Paris and other centers in France, as well as the Italian centers of Geneva, Pavia, Venice, and Milan. Duke Amadeus VIII, a descendent of Jean, the Duke of Berry, enthusiastically collected manuscripts with royal provenances, including the famous *Très Riches Heures* owned by his father. Amadeus’s heir Duke Louis (1413-1465) is known to have owned a Book of Hours made for him (BnF ms. lat. 9473) and together with his wife, Anne of Lusignan, Louis continued to patronize the illuminator Peronet Lamy. The ducal successor to Louis, Amadeus IX (r. 1465-1472), was in 1452 married to Yolande of Valois (1434-1478), the sister of Louis XI and daughter of Charles VII. One year earlier, Louis of Savoy and Anne of Lusignan’s daughter Charlotte had married the French dauphin, the future Louis XI, eventually becoming Queen of France. Charlotte and Yolande thus closely bound the French crown and the House of Savoy in the mid-fifteenth century. Charlotte’s illuminator, Jean Colombe, spent some time at the Savoyard court under her nephew, Duke Charles I (1468-1490). The Duke employed Colombe to finish some of his prized manuscripts: the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS. 65) and the *Escorial Apocalypse*, which had both

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been passed to him through his grandfather Amadeus VIII.\textsuperscript{134} In one of the miniatures completed by Colombe for the duke in the \textit{Très Riches Heures}, the duke appears with his Italian wife, Bianca of Monferrato, in prayer before the Resurrected Christ (fol. 75r) [Fig. 30].

Yolande of Valois had been engaged to the future Duke Louis from a young age, and she grew up at the court of Savoy. She owned about 80 books, several of which probably came from the library of Amadeus VIII, her father-in-law. She owned many devotional works in addition to translations of classical authors, including Boccaccio in both French and Italian, and several works by Christine de Pizan. She also possessed presentation copies of two works published by Guillaume Fichet, a Savoyard who established the first printing press at Paris in 1469-70.\textsuperscript{135} Savoy did not have a printing press until Antoine Neyret settled in the capital of Chambèry in 1484, though it seems that from 1476 onwards, printed books appeared among the purchases of Yolande and her son, Duke Philibert I (1465-1482). By the end of the century the Savoyard library boasted about twenty incunabula, only one of which is identifiable today: Valturius’s \textit{De re militari} (Turin Archivio di Stato ms. j.b. IV. 4), printed in Verona in 1482 and adorned with woodcuts and additional illuminated miniatures.\textsuperscript{136} An inventory of the Savoyard library made in Turin in 1498 itemizes 298 books, consisting of about 275 manuscripts

\textsuperscript{134} After Colombe completed the \textit{Très Riches Heures}, he received the title “familiarem et illuminatorem librorum” and a significant sum for the completion of the \textit{Escorial Apocalypse}. See Elsig, 68-69.


and the rest printed books, specified as such.\textsuperscript{137} After the 1504 death of Duke Philibert II of Savoy (b.1480), his widow Margaret of Austria returned to the Low Countries with at least fifteen manuscripts that had once belonged to the House of Savoy. The main body of the library was moved during the sixteenth century from Chambèry to the ducal palace in Turin.\textsuperscript{138}

Finally, the city of Paris, which had lost its primacy as the undisputed center of French artistic production, also represented a significant regional pole in the late fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{139} Though it was not home to a ducal court in the manner of many other regional artistic centers, Paris engaged in a slow renewal over the course of the second half of the century and rebuilt its reputation as a leading French center for the arts.\textsuperscript{140} The late fifteenth-century city notably began to attract artists from the periphery of the kingdom, especially from the north. Nicolas d’Ypres (aka Colin d’Amiens, fl. c. 1495-1532), one of the capital’s leading painters, did not work under the official jurisdiction of the court as a household or court painter, but he was repeatedly offered royal commissions, indicating that his work was valued by members of royal circles.\textsuperscript{141} In 1495, Louis Malet de Graville engaged the painter to produce the “disposition and pattern” for a sculpted Entombment intended for the chapel at his residence in Gâtinais. According to the 1495 contract, a Flemish sculptor working in Paris named Adrien Wincart, executed the

\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., 327. For Margaret’s removal of the Très Riches Heures and other books from the Savoyard library, see Reynaud, Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 345.
\textsuperscript{139} Delahaye, Bresc-Bautier, and Crépin-Leblond, eds. France 1500, 119-127.
\textsuperscript{140} Avril and Taburet-Delahaye, eds. Paris 1400.
ensemble using the pattern provided by Nicholas d’Ypres. Nicholas d’Ypres died in 1497 but was followed in his art by two sons, who were also influential illuminators and might be identified with the Master of Coëtivy or the Master of the Very Small Hours of Anne of Brittany.

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries Paris also became a center of print in France. New publishers appeared including Antoine Vérard, Philippe Pigouchet, and Thielman Kervier. The city was the site of the printing of hundreds of editions of Books of Hours, many of which were decorated with series of metalcuts or woodcuts. Books of Hours printed by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre were copied from the Paris workshop of the Master of the Very Small Hours of Anne of Brittany, suggesting a close relationship between the two media in the city. Vérard in particular is known to have employed illuminators to embellish the presentation copies of his books. The Master of Jacques Besançon and the Master of the Chronique scandaleuse, though their identities are not known, were involved in both the decoration of luxury printed books as well as in the production of illuminated manuscripts. They straddled the boundaries between court and city and speak to the status of Paris as a center of printing.

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143 Avril and Reynaud, Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 58-70.
144 Wolff, ed. Kings, Queens, and Courtiers, cat. nos. 71-72.
146 Winn, Anthoine Vérard, 142-143, 343-344, 352-353, 399.
illumination, and the sale and copying of manuscripts and books surrounding the two overlapping book trades.¹⁴⁷

The tastes and media preferences of the various regional courts under cultural and political control of France in the late fifteenth century were thus multifaceted and diverse, dependent upon local traditions as well as on the flow of artists and work from other major centers of production. These regional court tastes both responded to and diverged from the dominant French tradition being cultivated in Tours among royal patrons. Sometimes they acquired a political dimension as courts attempted to preserve a local identity and remain independent, at least in practice, from monarchical control. From the shifting visual possibilities and political realities of the late fifteenth century emerged a court under François I that remained indebted to the multiplicity of court taste in France and French territories circa 1500, but moved more decisively in its embrace of the Italian Renaissance. Between these regional poles, artists and works moved back and forth, ensuring the dissemination and eventual recombination of styles and motifs. Between centers and periphery diverse stylistic trends were revived, synthesized, overlapped, and mapped out on to and between varying media.

¹⁴⁷ Jean Pichore is the artist who perhaps best represents this overlap. Trained as an illuminator and responsible for major commissions for high-ranking officials including Cardinal Georges de Amboise and Louise of Savoy, Pichore is notable for his success in the print industry producing highly successful editions of Books of Hours decorated with fine metalcuts. See Caroline Zöhl, Jean Pichore: Buchmaler, Graphiker und Verleger in Paris um 1500 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 15-28; 99-155.
V. Chapter Outlines and Goals of the Project

One cannot settle on a single descriptive term that encompasses the extremely varied artistic production of this period. Instead with this dissertation I hope to reframe the conversation by examining the cultural meaning that manuscripts held for their aristocratic patrons—primarily, they were a way to assert a particular aristocratic identity that was based in medieval traditions. Manuscripts, in addition to containing the royal iconography and visual novelty so essential for court patrons, were also the site of a tactile, media-based nostalgia. They provided a physical connection to a shared medieval past that can also be seen in other areas of aristocratic cultural life at the end of the fifteenth century: a wholehearted revival of many of the chivalric trappings of both the real and the imagined medieval past. This project analyzes the endurance of manuscript illumination as a primary, physical symptom of as well as a vehicle for a cultural and artistic ideology conditioned by the period’s politics. In sum, my dissertation aims to provide a variety of possible answers to the following central question: at the late fifteenth-century French courts, why manuscripts?

My project aims to identify and examine areas of French aristocratic book culture that highlight issues of survival versus revival, centralization versus autonomy, and traditionalism versus modernity. It explores how manuscript illumination functioned both ideologically and culturally in a historical moment defined by its transitions. Many of these transitions were political, as independent territories and duchies slowly came under control of the crown. Related to this shift was the creation of centralized governmental structures, including changes to judicial process, taxation, and the organization of the
military. On a large scale, social and cultural changes in France were conditioned by growth in trade and increasingly interconnected nature of cities and circulation of goods and people throughout Europe. Marriage diplomacy took on an increasingly pan-European character and significant matches were made that consolidated the power around emerging nation-states that would become sixteenth-century global empires. The scale of the world was growing as European explorers became aware of new lands and peoples. The introduction of print changed how information was spread and acquired.

The first chapter examines the illuminated manuscript as a site of nostalgia for the patrons at the French courts. It first examines the historical circumstances of the French aristocracy in the fifteenth century, newly under control of an increasingly powerful monarchy interested in consolidating territories and creating centralized governmental systems. As a result, medieval feudal systems were upended, and dukes and counts at regional courts were torn between support for their king and a desire to retain the power they had held for many centuries. Thus one primary characteristic of French courts in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was a gaze back at historical, medieval models of behavior in terms of patronage and self-articulation as patrons of art. Collecting patterns among aristocratic patrons focused not only on commissioning new manuscripts but also on gathering books with a significant medieval or familial provenance. These books reveal a particular interest in the creation of libraries that reached back to the past in both material and ideological terms. This chapter argues that courtly French society was emphatically nostalgic for a medieval past, which is visible through the revival of chivalric literature. A concept of courtly chivalry had, in a sense, always been backward-
looking, even in the texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which first formulated
these concepts while evoking a mythical Arthurian heyday of knighthood that never
actually existed. Books, particularly those intended for an aristocratic and royal audience,
became the primary vehicles for this reimagining and preservation of the past, which was
so important for an articulation of aristocratic identity in the early modern age. Historical
genres, including the tradition of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* and contemporary
accounts of war, mixed with romances, biblical history, and legend to create a literary
and cultural environment that required a connection to the past for princely legitimacy,
both personal and dynastic. Further, the continued interest in illuminated manuscripts, as
a medium, remained consistent with the court’s collective absorption in, and visual
preservation of, its own history.

Part of the nostalgia for the illuminated manuscript and the connection to the past
that it represented can be seen in the insistent materiality of the luxury manuscript. The
manipulation of other media was a key artistic response in illuminated manuscripts as
their artists encountered other luxury media within the visual environment of the court,
which in turn represented a continuation of court luxury that connected late fifteenth-
century aristocrats to the splendor of the past. Court artists experimented with visual
expectation: they created galleries of framed panel paintings within the pages of
manuscripts, imitated the surfaces of enamels and tapestries, and highlighted the
possibilities of the page with *trompe l’oeil* margins. In doing so, artists responded to
changes in aristocratic taste but within the sustained royal nostalgia for the medium and
the overall historical preoccupations of the French court. The medium-based dynamism
of manuscript illumination is one of the hallmarks of French aristocratic taste in this period.

The second chapter examines the genre of the presentation image, a visual convention that had its beginnings in the early Middle Ages, but became particularly widespread in French books at the end of the fifteenth century. The presentation scene in the late fifteenth century encapsulates a number of salient issues for the status of the book at the end of the Middle Ages as well as the articulation of royal prerogative in France as the monarchy looked toward consolidating, centralizing, and expanding its power. Because it seems unlikely that most of the presentations represented actually occurred, their inclusion as frontispieces in numerous amount books, both illuminated manuscripts and printed books, reveals a concentrated interest in promoting the practice of literary and book patronage among court members. These images were visions of an idealized court, and the prestige accorded to both presenter and recipient codified the hierarchies and social positions of people within the court. The public ritual of the image showed courtiers and ranking members looking on, dressed in appropriately luxurious garb in interiors that were equally as opulent. For manuscript viewers, presentation scenes offered a vision of the court at its most functional. The enshrinement of these images in manuscripts links the creation and presentation of a work with all of the book’s future viewers. They memorialized an imagined court ritual and accessed a visual tradition attached to the fabled reigns of past kings, most notably King Charles V (r. 1364-1380), who represented in the courtly imagination the ideal bibliophile monarch. Presentation scenes underline the importance of court patronage by codifying it in conventional
gestures, lending the book presentation itself a symbolic quality. For French monarchs, the presentation image became a vehicle for the dissemination of the king’s likeness and the symbolic trappings of kingship and authority. It stood in for the act of patronage itself, borrowed the language of coins and portrait medals, reaffirmed valorization of the book, and communicated the king’s legitimacy. The presentation scene thus became one of the most popular methods of representing royal patronage and for those patrons, memorialized their role in the exchange in a suitably luxurious—both in the actual material of the book and in the opulent interior represented—manner.

As presentation imagery moved beyond the illuminated manuscript to printed books that were distributed far beyond the elite ranks of the court, the royal public relations strategy was expanded to encompass a far wider audience of loyal subjects. Printers and publishers used the courtly structures of patronage already in place by creating specialized deluxe presentation copies that still appealed to the aesthetic sensibilities of royal patrons. At the same time, printers and publishers used the prestige of the social bonds they created with their patrons in order to market their books to a wider audience. In that context, the woodcut presentation scene was emblematic of that royal connection. A buyer of a printed text was able, to a certain extent, to access the hidden world of the court, giving his book a new significance, since it represented a visual connection to the original manuscript shown in the presentation scene. All printed copies thus stem from that original, enshrined in the presentation from its genesis with the author/translator and its existence due to the patronage of the receiver. By
experiencing a presentation image, buyers and readers of printed books participated in
courtly conception of patronage from a distance.

The final chapter of this dissertation focuses on one court in this late medieval
French milieu as a case study through which to examine the interaction of traditional and
modern forms of art and patronage. At the comital court of Angoulême, Count Charles
(1459-1496) and his wife Louise of Savoy (1476-1531) fostered a center of artistic
production and in particular, built a library that contained both manuscript and print.
They maintained a court artist, Robinet Testard, throughout the late fifteenth century
while also patronizing the Parisian printer Antoine Vérard, who produced a number of
deluxe presentation copies of his printed books for the couple. As court artist Robinet
Testard illuminated a variety of books for the couple, and then for Countess Louise after
her husband’s sudden death in 1496. Testard’s work for the couple is distinctive in that
his style seems at odds with contemporary trends in manuscript illumination that
incorporated pictorial elements of the Italian Renaissance. Testard was also highly aware
of print, and he engaged with it by overpainting and coloring prints as well as using
printed motifs in his illuminated compositions.

Testard made use of a considerable number of different print sources in his
illumination, particularly in the *Hours of Charles of Angoulême* (BnF ms lat. 1173), to
suggest that both the illuminator and patron were actively interested in the acquisition of
contemporary prints. Testard’s deep engagement with print represents a technically adept
merging of two media, while Vérard’s presence at court represents another bridging of
the gap between the new and old worlds of book production and court patronage.
Together they make a case study of interchange, since both the illuminator and printer in question were working for the same patron at the same time. In presenting Charles and Louise with deluxe copies of his printed editions as well as several unique manuscript examples, Vérard made the new medium palatable to the couple’s courtly tastes. The court under the widowed Louise of Savoy also provides an example of late medieval female patronage, since she was one of several powerful royal women using the visual arts to enhance her own political position. Louise of Savoy stands out as one of the only politically powerful French women of the period to patronize printed books. Her contemporaries, in particular Anne of France and Anne of Brittany, maintained their attachment to manuscripts. Louise's adherence to the traditional model of employing a court illuminator demonstrates her awareness of the medieval hierarchies that still governed the extent to which women could participate in public demonstrations of power. Her patronage of Antoine Vérard for printed books also reveals her unique position as a politically active woman who commanded attention on the public stage.

Each of these chapters investigates an aspect of late medieval manuscript culture at the French courts to provide a synthetic account of the material and ideological significance of the manuscript book during a time of substantial political and artistic upheaval. In sum, this dissertation explores the status of the illuminated manuscript in their late medieval period among French royal and aristocratic audiences. It addresses how these patrons responded to the political changes of the age in visual and material ways. In doing so, this project establishes that the discussion of late medieval manuscripts must include a consideration of the other media with which they interacted.
The manuscript form itself functioned as a repository for aristocratic identity and as an object of collective aristocratic memory that was maintained well into the sixteenth century. By examining the evolution of the illuminated manuscript, the medium of choice during this time, this dissertation clarifies a key moment in France’s history fraught with significant political, cultural, and artistic change.
CHAPTER ONE: Manuscripts, Nostalgia, and History

I. Survival/Revival

“From another side leapt a Burgundian/Charles, a redoubtable prince./He truly seemed a knight/Who wanted to have his way/As near as possible to his desire/His horse was named Pride/And was fully equipped/With armor made by Audacity.
High Endeavor had given him his lance/Great Heart his sword/The armorer was named Mastery./His dagger was called Nobility/In order to be the army's victor./When I had looked him over,
I could find no fault/Other than an excess of valor.”
—Olivier de la Marche, Le chevalier délibéré (1480)\(^\text{148}\)

“Late medieval chivalry was exhibitionist and extravagant—often to the point of vulgarity—in its ornate and imitative tendencies, and that has given it a bad name. From an aesthetic point of view perhaps this bad name is in part deserved, but it is not a sign of decadence....It was because they [the ruling class] sincerely wished to do justice to the dignity of a class ideal—their class ideal—which set a high price on worldly honor, the symbols of which are necessarily external.”\(^\text{149}\)
—Maurice Keen, Chivalry (1984)

The poetic knight in question who leaps from the pages of the late fifteenth-century work Le Chevalier délibéré was inspired by Olivier de La Marche’s personal experience at the ducal court of Burgundy. Olivier composed the work just a few years after the death of the Burgundian Duke Charles the Bold (r. 1467-1477) at the battle of Nancy in 1477, the decisive military engagement of a series of conflicts between the Burgundians and the Swiss Confederacy. The poem celebrated the character and deeds of the duke as well as Olivier’s other Burgundian patrons, following a knight’s pursuit of spiritual salvation in the guise of a chivalric quest. One of the author’s most important works, the text of Le Chevalier délibéré clearly resonated with its audience, and enjoyed


\(^{149}\) Maurice Keen, Chivalry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 216-217.
continued popularity from the late fifteenth century into the sixteenth. It was reproduced in at least eighteen manuscript copies, printed in several French editions, and eventually translated into Spanish, English, and Dutch.  

The text of the poem offered a set of allegories intended to memorialize the exploits of the Burgundian lords within the framework of modern history. While the era of the Burgundian dukes had definitively ended at Nancy, Olivier celebrates the chivalric ideals that informed the courtly culture in which he was thoroughly steeped. Many of these ideals were already an anachronism, but for Olivier and his patrons, they were very much present and influential aspects of their worldviews. While Maurice Keen typifies the popular modern view that the chivalry of this period was simply a garish spectacle, his assessment of the displays of late medieval chivalry recognizes a genuine effort by de la Marche to preserve that late medieval aristocratic ideal. The knight of de la Marche’s poem and similar other examples of backward-looking efforts to recover and preserve a lost medieval past abound among the courts of late medieval France, close kin to the Burgundian dukes.  

In France, the Hundred Years’ War significantly disrupted the French monarchical system and left an indelible imprint on French cultural identity. The era before the ascension of a truly Renaissance king, François I, has thus largely been

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150 The manuscript tradition of *Le chevalier délibéré* ranges from simple undecorated text manuscripts to lavishly illuminated copies made for royal and aristocratic patrons. Parisian publisher/printer Antoine Vérard printed the text for the first time in 1488. See Carroll, 14-28.

perceived in terms of rebuilding. Far less attention has been paid to the unique situation in France in this period and how particular decisive shifts in French politics, territorial consolidation, and the shifting role and character of the French aristocracy may have significantly shaped French taste in art and culture. Anxieties created by the loss of territory, diminished political influence, and lessened family power led both royal and noble patrons to reach into their medieval past, nostalgic for a history that loomed large in the French aristocratic imagination. As the medieval feudal society of the past gave way to a developing French nation-state, regional nobility in provincial centers that had once been home to powerful courts found themselves in flux and diminished relative to the consolidated Parisian court. The foundations of the identity that had been in place for centuries were suddenly eroding.


As a result, the provincial nobles turned to medieval models and ideals, including the heroic figure of the knight, which had been continually under construction since at least the thirteenth century. Medieval modes of behavior and cultural ideals were in turn preserved in the illuminated histories and romances that formed the foundation of aristocratic libraries. Books, particularly manuscripts, were the locus of a French identity rooted in the past. Manuscripts, and the images within them, formed the primary site of aristocratic negotiation between the medieval past and a rapidly shifting present. Scholars have recognized the primacy of manuscripts as the French nobles' medium of choice and have noted their continued proliferation in the late fifteenth century even as the newer media of print and panel painting gained footholds in other geographic regions. However the reasons for and implications of this French preference for manuscripts, especially among the noble class, have not been fully explored. This chapter aims to describe and examine the tenacious adherence to the illuminated manuscript by the French aristocracy as part of a larger cultural trend of looking backward into the past as a former golden age of the noble class.

This chapter examines the manuscript as part of a matrix of real and imagined connections to a medieval past of great bibliophiles and court art of the highest quality. The book, and more specifically the manuscript, formed the site of the reenactment and preservation of history. Codes of chivalry were revived, and jousting became a popular pastime at courts looking to maintain, or even to create, orders of knighthood. Writing contemporary history and establishing genealogical links to the past acquired new

significance during a time of turbulent political change. The aristocracy demonstrated a new interest in visualizing historical patron saints—particularly Saint Louis and Charlemagne—to make overt claims of dynastic legitimacy. Further, aristocratic book patrons collected manuscripts with celebrated historical provenances to place in libraries of unprecedented size and scope. The illuminated manuscript became for that specific group of royal and noble French patrons a receptacle of historical identity that was conceptually embedded in medieval notions of power during a time when those very aspects of French culture were shifting and being questioned. The manuscript represented both a survival and a revival: not only did it contain the past, but it also became a material signifier of that past. This chapter thus will examine the manuscript both as a medium and as part of a larger nostalgic revival of the past in aristocratic French culture at the end of the fifteenth century.

II. Current History: Politics, Territorial Consolidation, National Identity

At the end of the fifteenth century the fluid French borders that had been the hallmark of earlier periods began to solidify and the concept of a national French identity under a central monarch began to take shape. Territories that had remained semi-independent from the French crown were incrementally brought under royal control and by 1500 the Crown had gained Aquitaine, Burgundy, Anjou, and Provence. France finally gained Brittany in 1510 and Bourbon in 1523. Though the people of fifteenth-century France were divided into regional centers that varied in language and cultural character, they were unified by their religion and the popular opinion that they lived in the “most
Relations remained generally positive between the king and his *bonnes villes*, cities with a special connection to the monarch that often served as the sites of triumphal entries. However, this period also saw intense political change. For members of royal and aristocratic circles, the consolidation of territories and the centralizing political effort during this period also challenged deeply held assumptions about their identities and their ingrained, traditional conceptions of courtly life and character as defined by medieval tradition. Ducal and comital powers that had been the mainstay of medieval society in regional centers were being significantly challenged as governmental systems were centralized: law courts and systems of taxation were taken out of the hands of regional lords, increasing royal authority. Instead, a council selected by the king was responsible for the administration of justice that had formerly been the purview of feudal lords. The role of these royal administrative departments was expanded and the office-holding men who served as notaries and secretaries in the king’s bureaucracy began to form a new and increasingly influential class of their own.

While the nobility still controlled vast territorial holdings, they no longer had the same authority over the governance of those territories. In 1472, a new agreement finalized between the king and the Pope gave the king the authority to control the appointment of bishops. The king also began raising taxes among his subjects to increase

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156 Contamine, 17-18.
royal revenues, centralizing the revenue stream that funded royal initiatives. Feudal lords resisted such efforts, forming a number of alliances, such as the League of Public Weal in 1465 in response to the unification efforts being mounted by King Louis XI, though such moments of resistance to royal authority were largely unsuccessful. As a result, anxieties about the implications of the loss of that feudal power played out in a number of ways: in addition to overtly political military operations, including the retaliation of feudal lords against the French King Charles VIII now known as the Mad War (1485-1488), aristocratic anxieties became visible in culture, in both literature and art. Regional courts that had been powerful in the recent medieval period resisted the increasingly centralized authority of the royal court and in turn, fostered their own political and artistic cultures. These political upheavals also engendered a collective look back amongst the French aristocracy that transcended regional loyalties. This was especially visible through a widespread revival of the heroic past and a nostalgic emphasis on the medieval traditions that formed the bedrock of aristocratic class identity.

III. Envisioning History: Chivalry, Nobility, Writing, Illumination

The shifting political landscape of late fifteenth-century France significantly affected governmental systems: the organization and mobilization of military forces; and the oversight of many civic systems, including taxes, infrastructure, and the apparatus of French law courts. For an aristocratic class, these shifts also held particular cultural and social implications. Anxieties about the loss of centuries-old power led some noble

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157 For an overview of the French bureaucracy, structures of royal councils, provincial governors and local administration, and systems of taxation, see David Potter, *A History of France*, 90-164.
families to become nostalgic for their medieval past. They turned with renewed fervor to aspects of medieval tradition that had been operative at the upper echelons of French society: rich traditions of history writing mingled with vernacular romances; overarching concepts of chivalry that informed these literary genres as well as aristocratic conduct and values; and a conception of dynastic legitimacy that was continually established through the production of genealogies. The continued production of manuscripts in the shifting political landscape can be interpreted as a medium-fueled nostalgia that fits perfectly into the late fifteenth-century revival of chivalric literature.

The medieval conception of courtly chivalry had in some senses always been fundamentally backward-looking. Texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the concepts and values of chivalric conduct were first articulated, were similarly grounded in nostalgia for a heroic age that had passed. Such texts evoked, first for the audiences of the twelfth century and then continually adapted for audiences of the late medieval period, a mythical Arthurian heyday of knighthood that never actually existed. In the fifteenth century chivalry was redefined and expressed as a grandiose ideal of a society that frequently depended on heraldry, tournaments, and other symbolic connections to the past in order to legitimize itself in the present.

The term “chivalry” was developed in the mid-twelfth century in France to apply to a code of conduct, particularly military in its original conception. Permutations of

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158 For introductions to the very extensive topic of chivalry and its many cultural, social, and military permutations in medieval Europe, see Maurice Keen, Chivalry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Richard W. Kaeuper, Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). For chivalric attitudes and practices specific to France,
the chivalric code developed in other European contexts, though the French code connected certain literary topics, a new social status, and honorable military techniques to the figure of the knight and ethos of proper conduct and behavior in battle and at court. Though the original conception of the chivalric code was most heavily associated with the early medieval warrior’s exercise of military virtue, cultural elements of chivalric conduct informed medieval romances. Modern historians, including Maurice Keen, have argued that the idea of chivalry was “no more than a veneer, constituted of words and ceremonies that provided a means whereby the well-born could relieve the bloodiness of life by decking their activities with a tinsel gloss borrowed from romance.”

This twelfth-century version of chivalric ideals was continually modified and underwent a revival during the fourteenth and fifteenth-centuries, a moment that also saw the considerable elaboration of chivalric rules of etiquette and their expression in public ceremonial.

“The idea of chivalry,” as Johan Huizinga calls it in a chapter dedicated to the concept in his foundational text *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, is one of the governing cultural constructs of the late Middle Ages. His classic account argues that the imitative propensities of late medieval court culture, which included the staging of tournaments in Arthurian dress and the reenactment of scenes modeled upon romances, provide evidence of a dying age, to which late medieval courtiers desperately clung. In

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159 Keen, *Chivalry*, 3.

160 Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth to the XVth Centuries* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1924), 56-64.
comparing actual military techniques of the age to contemporary literary standards of chivalry, Huizinga finds the imitation of an ideal past superficial, evidence of the aristocratic cultural excess, and ultimately, a cultural decline in France and Burgundy at the end of the Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{161} The devotion of the nobility and aristocratic class to chivalric ideals indicates a concentrated interest in the revival of the past in an uncertain present. Some historians have identified the collective trauma of the Hundred Years’ War and cited military conflicts as a source of this interest.\textsuperscript{162} The character of war in the fifteenth century had changed. New tactics involving massed infantries and early use of artillery produce an “increasingly murderous” type of warfare, which in turn engendered a renewed interest in the idealized modes of war of the past.\textsuperscript{163} Aristocratic French culture by the end of the fifteenth century was steeped in these chivalric ideals, which called for knightly decorum above all. Such ideals were perhaps illusory, though such an intense cultural commitment to them should not be dismissed as simple noble fantasy.

Chivalric literature, whether fictional forms such as romances, or non-fictional works such as knightly biographies, manuals of chivalry, and chronicles, set out models of behavior based on medieval history. Courtly French authors became entangled with the writing of history from the perspective of chivalric ideals. Illuminated histories and romances presented a glorious past that emphasized the genealogical basis of dynastic inheritance and also massaged historical fact to create a version of events favorable for

\textsuperscript{161} Huizinga, 30.
\textsuperscript{162} Keen, 216-218.
the current king. Fifteenth-century aristocratic readers actually aspired to emulate such models rather than simply regarding them as elaborate fantasies.\textsuperscript{164} Late fifteenth-century conceptions of chivalric conduct, however, were the product of a long process of accumulation of ideas and refinement of beliefs that stretched back to the thirteenth century.

Beginning with the cultural patronage of the Louis IX (r.1226-1270), writing history had been a mainstay of the French literary imagination that also continually argued for the genealogical claims of the French monarchy and reified the sense of a French identity rooted in its own history.\textsuperscript{165} The manner in which French manuscripts were written and consumed was conditioned by the growth of the French monarchy, whose power grew exponentially in the thirteenth century. Capetian kings gained and consolidated land and political power, eventually possessing more of each than any single family than at any time since the era of Charlemagne.\textsuperscript{166} King Louis IX built on the efforts of his grandfather and became the largest single landholder and the wealthiest man in France. He also gained a reputation as a pious crusader, attempting his first Crusade in 1248 and his second in 1270, during which he was killed.\textsuperscript{167} As part of the expansion of royal authority and legitimization of the crusading project, literary genres that included

\textsuperscript{164} This phenomenon is more thoroughly documented in the English context. See, for example, Raluca Radulescu, \textit{Romance and its Contexts in Fifteenth Century England: Politics, Piety, and Penitence} (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2013).
\textsuperscript{167} Pope Boniface VIII canonized Louis IX in 1297. For the process and texts involved in this decision, see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, \textit{The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages} (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 21-66.
royal history and French genealogy flourished under his patronage and that of his immediate circle. His mother, Blanche of Castile, was particularly active in this campaign, which included universal histories translated from Latin into French for the first time. Besides history, the illuminated romance also gained great popularity in the thirteenth century. Vernacular romances and texts by such authors as Chrétien de Troyes, which had come into vogue in the twelfth century, were revised and updated for new audiences. The historical conditions of the thirteenth century—aggressive consolidation of territories under the French crown and the resulting loss of lands and power by feudal lords—were mirrored again in the fifteenth century, when there was a similar turn to illuminated histories and romances grounded in a comparatively illustrious past.

The fourteenth century saw the continued production of deluxe manuscripts for wealthy court circles in Paris. French romances, histories, and hagiography texts that had first been introduced in the thirteenth century grew even further in popularity and

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169 Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman, eds. *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250-1500* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 2.

reached an increasingly literate secular audience. Some texts were fused into hybrid creations that straddled genre conventions, bringing together elements of history and hagiography to create seemingly documentary texts that incorporated elements of the divine. Particularly popular titles in the historical genre, including the *Grandes Chroniques* and *Histoire ancienne*, were updated and expanded with new textual and pictorial content. Completely new texts were written in vernacular, and updated translations were made of older texts, both of which indicate a growing interest in the preservation of French history. These could be literal records of past events, which included the production of a new version of the *Grandes Chroniques* for Charles V, or more hybrid genres that included the *Roman de Fauvel*, which merged an allegorical romance with references to historical events. The copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* completed for King Charles V included images of current events, including the performance of a Crusade play at a feast [Fig. 331], and celebrate the deeds of figures like Saint Louis, the thirteenth-century king canonized in 1297 [Fig. 332]. French patrons also increasingly turned to the history of the classical past. By the end of the century, audiences of readers were highly familiar with histories in all of their forms whether biblical, ancient, French, or a combination of them. Aristocratic reading communities were well versed in the apprehension of historical deeds in elaborate image cycles that connected the past to the present.

The fifteenth century inherited and subsequently built on these reading and viewing traditions and saw the relatively uninterrupted production of illustrated histories,  

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which continued to be produced in deluxe editions for a royal and noble clientele.

Following the Treaty of Arras and the end of the Hundred Years’ War, new artistic centers such as Moulins, Rouen, Anjou, Tours, and Bourges challenged the preeminence of Paris and expanded the increasingly wealthy ranks of the political elite in Paris and in regional centers. There existed a greater demand for history manuscripts produced both in Parisian ateliers and by regional court artists than had ever existed before.\footnote{Rouse and Rouse, vol. I, 285-302.} Eventually printing brought history out of the court and to the masses: the first vernacular text printed in Paris was a text of the celebrated and, by that time, ubiquitous, \textit{Grandes Chroniques}, which was informed by a centuries-long manuscript tradition.\footnote{Printed editions of \textit{Grandes chroniques} first appeared in 1477 and subsequently proved popular enough to warrant the printing of four different editions between 1477 and 1518. They contained the text of the manuscript versions to 1380, supplemented by other texts that updated royal history. The first illustrated edition was printed by Antoine Vérard in 1493 in three volumes containing nearly 1,0000 woodcut illustrations. Vérard also printed deluxe illuminated presentation copies of the \textit{Grandes Chroniques} on vellum for royal patrons. For a paper version (New York Public Library Spencer Collection French 1493), see Morrison and Hedeman, cat. no. 53. See also Mary Beth Winn, \textit{Anthoine Vérard Parisian Publisher, 1485-1512} (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1997), 254-265.}

The history of the \textit{Grandes Chroniques} as the preeminent French history illustrates the growth and change of the role of histories among a noble clientele. The lack of a strong royal presence in Paris during the English occupation of the French capital from circa 1420 to 1440 resulted in the dearth of illuminated copies of the \textit{Grandes Chroniques} from that period. Once the immediate political danger posed by the English had passed and court structures of artistic production stabilized, the tradition of writing, illuminating, and reading the \textit{Grandes Chroniques} was revived at court. The text by this time was slightly out of date, even anachronistic, in the way that much of French
aristocratic culture was at this time. The landmark version of the *Grandes Chroniques* that had been produced for Charles V in the fourteenth century had been amended so that it ended early in Charles VI's reign. Michel Pintoin then revised this version with the addition of a new Latin account of Charles VI’s life and reign. To this had been added Jean Chartier’s account of the life of Charles VII, also in Latin. To make the reading of the *Grandes Chroniques* more accessible to late fifteenth century readers whose facility with the difficult Latin texts was lacking, the texts of the lives of Charles VI and his successor Charles VII were translated into more easily legible French in the 1430s and 1440s. These efforts to make new translations of fairly recent history are indicative of the desire to make the present part of the continuum of the heroic past. Including the life of Charles VII, whose reign was probably still fresh in his translator Jean Chartier’s mind, with the traditional text of the *Grandes Chroniques* puts recent history on the level of the legendary.

Several manuscript copies of the *Grandes Chroniques* produced in the fifteenth century reflect the capacity of France’s primary historical text to encompass and communicate contemporary interests while enveloping them in the legitimacy of the past. These copies illustrate the renewed interest in comprehensive accounts of French history though they are also indicative of the late fifteenth-century aristocratic interest in dynastic issues, and in particular, how those interests took the visual form of public ceremony. In the mid fifteenth century, Jean Fouquet completed a copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* for his patron, King Charles VII (BnF fr. 6465). The illuminations place a particular

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emphasis on recording such public ceremonies as state funerals and official royal entries, as Anne Hedeman points out in the epilogue to her study on fourteenth-century *Grandes Chroniques* manuscripts produced for Charles V and his circle.\(^{175}\) For example, the illuminations that recorded the landmark reception of the Holy Roman Emperor by the King of France, Charles V in 1378 stressed the ceremony and splendor associated with the meeting of these two heads of state [Fig. 333].\(^{176}\) The image depicts the two rulers on horseback reaching out to shake their right hands. His royal retinue accompanies each man as the historic meeting takes place outside Paris, described visually through the crenellated stone wall, elegant rooftops, and the spires of the Sainte Chapelle rising above the city, only slightly visible in the background. The entry gate to the city features the crowned royal arms of France held aloft by two angels over a trio of carved stone saints under Gothic baldachins. At the center stands the headless Saint Denis, patron saint of the city. The image is deeply French through its use of French symbols and recognizable architectural features, which Erik Inglis argues is indicative of the civic pride evident in France following the Hundred Years’ War.\(^{177}\) The focal point of the image remains the meeting of rulers, decked out in textiles embroidered with golden fleurs-de-lys and trimmed with ermine. Their exchanged glance implies their official, diplomatic

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\(^{175}\) Hedeman, *Royal Image*, 180-182.


\(^{177}\) Inglis, 178-182.
relationship, solidified through their physical touch. The depictions of the courtiers who witness the event record and legitimize the meeting for historical posterity. The interest in this image lies with the event’s sanctioned, official execution, a state event with specific political significance memorialized through ritual and ceremony. The same entrance to the city appears again in an image of Charles V entering Paris (BnF ms. fr. 6465, fol. 417r), which again depicts the king in full ceremonial regalia, accompanied by his royal retinue and preceded by trumpeters who announce his arrival to a crowd of gathered subjects.

The same interest in ceremonial, particularly royal ceremonial, can be seen in two other manuscripts produced at about the same time in the late fifteenth century (BnF ms. fr. 5729; BnF Arsenal ms. 5128). Though the text of these two manuscripts is abridged from the Grandes Chroniques text, the visual focus on Charles V had royal and imperial connotations for its fifteenth-century audience. Each describes the same 1378 meeting of the Holy Roman Emperor and Charles V accompanied by miniatures that depict the meeting of the two monarchs outside Paris [Fig. 334]. The illumination of the event in BnF ms. fr. 5729 (fol. 3r) similarly to Fouquet’s rendering, depicts the two rulers meeting on horseback at the center of the image, the space between them becomes the focal point of the image, implying their conversation as the subject. Again the image is suffused with a sense of official state business being conducted, with each man accompanied by his attendants and perhaps important figures of state. It commemorates the meeting as an

178 Hedeman, Royal Image, 180-181.
historic event of diplomacy, reinforcing the idea of the king as official representative of
the state.

Even these copies of the *Grandes Chroniques* produced in the fifteenth century
were conceptually associated with Charles V, who had commissioned the best known
translation and illuminated version, and these particular books glorify the fourteenth-
century king. Late fifteenth-century French kings made their connection to Charles V
obvious as a point of dynastic legitimacy, and this association was particularly important
to Louis XII, who claimed Charles V as his last direct royal ancestor.¹⁷⁹ Further, though
they represented historical events and memorialized the deeds and accomplishments of
Charles V and other French kings, these late fifteenth-century illustrated copies of the
*Grandes Chroniques* also provided their audience with visual analogues for the
ceremonies associated with Valois, who increasingly relied on the public displays of
authority that constituted royal entries and funerals.¹⁸⁰ For example, the manuscript with
a record of Anne of Brittany’s elaborate funeral made for Louise of Savoy featured
several images of the proceedings, commemorating current events while enveloping them
in the highly organized system of aristocratic ceremony and pageantry (BnF ms. fr. 5094,
fol. 12v) [Fig. 35].¹⁸¹ The late fifteenth-century *Grandes Chroniques* manuscripts mark
a particular moment in the development of the royal vocabulary of public ceremony and
are related to other contemporary manuscripts that recorded and in turn, memorialized,

¹⁷⁹ The depiction of the fourteenth-century Holy Roman Emperor is also indicative of the French
monarchy’s imperial aspirations. See Robert W. Scheller, "Imperial Themes in Art and Literature
¹⁸⁰ Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics,
¹⁸¹ Cynthia J. Brown, “Books in Performance: The Parisian Entry (1504) and Funeral (1514) of
the tableaux from royal entries and other key events in royal ceremonial, including coronations and funerals. Fifteenth-century histories form a continuum with and had an explicit connection to earlier copies of the *Grandes Chroniques*, but provide an example of how historical texts and images were mobilized to adapt to contemporary interests and concerns ¹⁸²

The *Grandes Chroniques* was a standard text in most royal and noble libraries by the end of the fifteenth century, but also formed a cornerstone of the larger genre of illuminated histories. French kings of the late fifteenth century expanded their historical horizons by also commissioning more contemporary histories, such as Noël de Fribois’s *Abrégé de l’histoire de France*, an abridged and more portable version of French history inspired by the *Grandes Chroniques*.¹⁸³ The textual and visual tradition of the *Grandes Chroniques* conditioned the writing of these modern histories, and together both historical genres shaped the royal image. As Anne Hedeman says in her analysis of Laurent de Premierfait’s translation in the early fifteenth century of Bocaccio’s *De casibus*, the deliberate visual enhancement of history in these genres made strong claims for seeing both Biblical and ancient history in a continuum with contemporary French events. The popularity of these texts reinforced the idea of dynastic continuity from this prehistory to the present. In short, “this attitude towards histories of blood and office binds past and present together inextricably, associating past models with the present and creating a climate in which late medieval French images about the past always also

¹⁸³ Ibid., 181.
address the present and create expectations for the future.\textsuperscript{184} The \textit{Grandes Chroniques} produced in the late fifteenth century reach back to historical precedents, but also provided models of historical thinking that influenced the creation of new historical texts and images that were specific to the late fifteenth-century political climate.

The textual content of such lavishly illuminated manuscripts encompassed contemporary historical developments, memorializing them and elevating them to the historical record. The writing of history by appointed court chroniclers became an important part of the propaganda machine developing in monarchical centers as well as in the powerful regional courts and emerging artistic centers outside of Paris. Nowhere in France was the reliance on the collection and writing of history as propaganda more important than at the court of the Valois dukes of Burgundy, which came to provide the model for the same genres of writing at the French courts at the close of the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{185} At mid-century, the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good (r. 1419–1467) adopted a cultural policy that revolved around the ideals of chivalry, hoping to put the duchy of Burgundy on the same level of political and historical importance as the kingdoms of France and England.\textsuperscript{186}

The Dukes of Burgundy had fostered a lively court for the duration of the duchy’s independent existence, setting the fifteenth-century standard for aristocratic luxury and

\textsuperscript{184} Anne D. Hedeman, \textit{Translating the Past: Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio’s ‘De Casibus’} (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), 211.
\textsuperscript{186} Le Brusque, 78.
opulent display in service of dynastic ambition for France and Europe at large. As in royal French circles, a large library began to grow under Dukes Philip the Good and Charles the Bold as they commissioned and collected luxury manuscript copies of historical works that included copies of existing texts, compendia, and newly created original works by his court writers. Following the model of the bibliophile king Charles V, translation was a major component of this initiative, since the Latin of times past was inaccessible to the dukes and the majority of courtiers in their circles. The translation into the French vernacular came at considerable expense and effort among court scribes and illuminators, and demonstrates the centrality of these texts for the duke at their court at large. For example, Jean Wauquelin, a writer and translator well known at the Burgundian court, produced several translations for the dukes. These included a translation of Jacques de Guise’s fourteenth-century text of the Chroniques de Hainaut, which was illuminated with perhaps the most famous manuscript presentation scene of the fifteenth century. The scene, attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, shows Wauquelin kneeling before Duke Philip the Good, offering the text, bound with leather straps and

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188 For the foundational text on Burgundian court literary tastes, see Georges Doutrepont, Littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne (Paris: H. Champion, 1909).
featuring heavy escutcheons on its cover [Fig. 336]. Wauquelin was also responsible for translations of life and conquests of Alexander the Great and a new text of the *Chronicle of Brabant*, which had originally been written in the fourteenth century. Under Philip the Good, the Burgundian library grew considerably, amounting to about nine hundred works by his death in 1467. Other major historical works in the ducal library spanned the great length of history, consisting of the ancient histories of Rome and Jerusalem, several accounts of the Crusades, a copy of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, and Jean Froissart’s chronicle of the events of the Hundred Years’ War.

In addition to these historical texts that had become the foundation for royal and ducal libraries, the Burgundian dukes also embarked upon a program to create a dynastic foundation for their duchy that would give it the same historical legitimacy that the kings of France had. The basis for French dynastic right to rule stretched back in time to Clovis, the first Christian king of France and the key figure in the establishment of a Frankish kingdom. Claiming Clovis as a direct ancestor justified a French king’s right to rule in a way that was both historical and semi-divine. By the fifteenth century, both ceremonial

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and juridical bases for French dynastic succession stretching back to Clovis had been well established and found expression in an elaborate coronation ceremony. Lacking the same rights to a sovereign kingdom and its accompanying royal titles, literature and history writing became a tool with which the Burgundian dukes could establish a true political dynasty. As in France with the tradition of writing and updating the Grandes Chroniques, the interest in the past revolved around the politics of the present. In 1455 Duke Philip created a paid position for a writer, who held the title of indiciaire from 1473, who would chronicle the happenings at court and the deeds of its members. The three professional Burgundian indiciares employed by the dukes, Georges Chastellain, Jean Molinet, and Jean Lemaire de Belges, constructed a continuous, comprehensive account of the Burgundian dukes. The employment of these chroniclers and the resulting textual histories represents a conscious effort on the part of the Burgundian dukes to create a body of written work that would serve as the historical record and the foundation for their dynastic and political aspirations. The creation of history had a legitimizing effect,

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creating the basis for contemporary political aspirations through the molding of an ideal past.\textsuperscript{198}

One of the primary chroniclers of the Burgundian state, Georges de Chastellain (c. 1415-1475), demonstrates the power of state-sponsored propaganda to shape ducal and aristocratic identity.\textsuperscript{199} After first working at the French court, he entered ducal service in Burgundy.\textsuperscript{200} Chastellain’s presence in France as a minor court figure himself, suggest that he was at least in part sympathetic to the French royalist cause as well as the fluidity between the French and Burgundian households.\textsuperscript{201} In his writing, Chastellain keeps with the French historical tradition of tracing the French royal lineage, and in connection the Burgundian ducal lineage, back to Clovis.\textsuperscript{202} In doing so, he ties together Burgundian ducal ambition and French history, drawing on the insistence of France as a most Christian kingdom. Following Chastellain’s death, Jean Molinet (1435-1507), began his tenure as the next Burgundian court’s official chronicler in 1475. He continued Chastellain’s rhetorical project of promoting the political influence of the Burgundian dukes, and the idea of Burgundy as a separate entity from France, while grounding it in historical legitimacy.\textsuperscript{203}

\textsuperscript{198} Strøm-Olsen, 1-3.
\textsuperscript{199} For an introduction to the vast literature on Chastellain, see Graeme Small, George Chastellain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy: Political and Historical Culture at Court in the Fifteenth Century (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997).
\textsuperscript{200} Small, George Chastellain, 40-45.
\textsuperscript{201} Strøm-Olsen, 12-17; Small, George Chastellain, 41-42. See also Claude Thiry, "Rétoriqueurs de Bourgogne, Rhétoriqueurs de France: convergences, divergences?" in Rhetoric, Rhétoriqueurs, Rederijkers: Actes du colloque d'Amsterdam, novembre 1994, ed. J. Koopmans, M. A. Meadow, K. Meerhoff and M. Spies (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1995), 101-116.
\textsuperscript{202} Beaune, "Saint-Clovis," 139-156.
\textsuperscript{203} Paul Zumthor, Le masque et la lumière, la poetique des grands rhétoriqueurs (Paris: Seuil, 1978), 39-48; 65-77. For more on Molinet’s rhetorical style, which depended on Christian and
When the attempt to secure Burgundy’s independence from French control failed with the death of Charles the Bold in 1477 and Louis XI of France absorbed the territory, it also brought many of the courtiers, culture, and art from the duchy—including Olivier de la Marche—into French noble circles. The French monarchy used its court writers to continue writing contemporary history in the style that the *grands rhetoriqueurs* of Burgundy had inaugurated, drawing the past to memorialize a dynastic legacy that stretched back through the centuries. The style and devices used at the Burgundian court had proved quite effective, and many post-Burgundian court writers employed the same strategies.  

Several key writers attached to the French court were particularly influential in the glorification of French rule, the king’s role in global political affairs, and the creation of royal propaganda that created the idealized public image of the court. These writers—principally Jean Marot (1547-1526), Jean Lemaire de Belges (1473-1515?), André de la Vigne (c.1470-1515), and Pierre Gringore (c. 1475-c.1539), among others—formed a second generation, active in the last decades of the fifteenth century and dynamically involved in the writing of contemporary history for the political figures with which they are associated.  

The texts produced in praise of the French king and his endeavors fit into the chivalric tradition of chronicling history as well as elevating modern events to the level of legendary history. As Jean Chartier states in his *Chronique de Charles VII*, a fifteenth-century update to the *Grandes Chroniques*, he has set out to

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204 Zumthor, 65-70.
write the history of Charles VII “so as to perpetuate the memory of the deeds and exploits of the said king, of his adversaries, and of their acts of chivalry [chevalleries].” As court propagandists, these rhétoriqueuers played a major role in governmental politics and its program of ceremonies of all kinds—coronations, funerals, entries, court festivities, the daily life of the king—cultivating an image of a country that was based on a close relationship with the past.

As the fifteenth century marched on, the kings of France tended to favor the rhetorical style of the chivalric chronicle that had been promoted by the Dukes of Burgundy. At the dawn of the sixteenth century the bombastic, heroic and ornate style of the Burgundian rhétoriqueur was mobilized for texts about the French conquest of Italy. André de la Vigne, now considered part of the grands rhétoriqueur tradition, accompanied the French King Charles VIII on his expeditions to Italy, acting as official chronicler of the endeavor. His major works, La Ressource de la Chrestienté (1494) and Le Voyage de Naples (1495-1498), both present allegories inspired by the contemporary political atmosphere and claim to provide eye-witness accounts of the king’s endeavors. Vigne’s works show a dependence on the tradition of writing prophecies, a practice that had been popular in religious circles but that in the late fifteenth century was put to use in the propaganda campaign that preceded the Italian military project. Vigne’s account of the Italian campaign records the various triumphal entries made by the French king into various Italian cities, to celebrate the monarch as a new emperor in the Roman imperial sense. The presentation copy of La Ressource (BnF ms. fr. 1687) repeats on every folio a

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206 Le Brusque, 86.
207 Scheller, “Imperial Themes,” 7-10.
series of symbolic patterns that constitute a tribute to Charles VIII and Anne by lauding the union of France and Brittany.\textsuperscript{208} The decorative borders of the folios alternate between the French national coat of arms and the ermines of Brittany, coming together in striped borders that represent the alliance of the two political entities (fol. 7v) [Fig. 337]. The other text by Vigne, \textit{Le Voyage de Naples}, records the daily events of the Italian campaign as witnessed by the author, with an emphasis on recreating and celebrating the king’s actions to present the French project in Italy as favorably as possible.\textsuperscript{209}

Under Louis XII, the Italian wars grew far more complex and became a struggle that implicated not just France and Italy, but also several other European dynastic powers.\textsuperscript{210} André de la Vigne continued to produce propagandistic texts for the king, and several other authors joined him. Jean Marot, secretary to Queen Anne of Brittany in 1506 and official poet of both King Louis XII (beginning in 1511) and Francis I, is best known for his record of the French victory over the Genoese and for the triumphal entry program for the French king in the city in 1507. For this well-documented and publicized event, Marot and Vigne, among others, exalted this moment of French military and political glory.\textsuperscript{211} Marot’s account, \textit{Voyages de Gênes}, juxtaposes historical verse passages that record the French victory with mythological and allegorical scenes. Such allegorical frameworks for a modern historical event would have likely served to attract

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{208} Brown, \textit{The Shaping of History and Poetry}, 13.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{209} Ibid., 14-15.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{211} Vigne composed two short poems about the Genoese encounter, \textit{L'Attolite portas de Gennes} and \textit{La Patenostre quis es in celis de Genevois}, both of which exist in printed form. Brown, \textit{Shaping of History and Poetry}, 43 and for the full text of each poem Appendices I-II, 163-172.}
\end{footnotes}
the attention of an aristocratic public that was accustomed to the use of such rhetorical
strategies in more literary pieces.\textsuperscript{212} The presentation copy of the text, which Marot
dedicated to Queen Anne and offered to her in 1508, features the king as a prominent
textual and visual presence (BnF ms. fr. 5091).\textsuperscript{213} The majority of the eleven miniatures
in the manuscript, all executed by court painter Jean Bourdichon, feature military
skirmishes and ultimately, French triumphs, reinforcing Marot’s claim that he had
“thought several times about recording the magnificent victory of the most Christian king
Louis XII, achieved by him in May 1507 against his rebel Genoans according to the truth
without any addition, just as I continually saw it in witnessing his activity, including both
his actual exploits and their aftermath up to his return.”\textsuperscript{214} For example, the miniature on
fol. 20v depicts the citizens of Genoa on their knees before King Louis XII, who looks
out over the crowd from horseback [Fig. 338]. The Genoese, clad in somber black robes,
beg the French king for mercy for their city and the rest of the French army crowds the
scene, with their banners flying triumphantly from the Genoese fort in the background.

\textsuperscript{212} Cynthia J. Brown, \textit{The Queen’s Library: Image-Making at the Court of Anne Brittany, 1477-
\textsuperscript{213} François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, \textit{Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520}
(Flammarion/Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1995), cat. no. 167. Marie-Hélène Tesnière, ed.\textit{ Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France} (New Haven:
Elisabeth Delahaye, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier and Thierry Crépin-Leblond, eds. \textit{France 1500: Entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance} (Paris: RMN, 2010), cat no. 5. For the reading of Marot’s text in
terms of political tensions at court, the manipulation of gender and personification, and
underlying political tensions between king and queen regarding Breton and French interests, see
\textsuperscript{214} “J’ay à diverses instances pourpensé de coucher par escript la magnanime victoire du roy
trescrestien Loys XIIe, par luy obtenue en l’an mil cinq cens et sept au moys de may contre les
Genevoys ses rebelles selon le vray effect sans adjunction ainsi que je l’ay continuellement veu
suivant exercice tant à la exploict que aprés jusques à son retour.” Quoted in Brown, \textit{Shaping
History}, 82.
The next image appears two folios later (fol. 22v) and features an image of Louis XII making his triumphal entry into the conquered city [Fig. 339].

Jean Lemaire de Belges, a disciple of Jean Molinet, was first attached to the court of Margaret of Austria, though he eventually entered the service of Queen Anne of Brittany. One of his best-known works created for the French monarchy is his *Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye* (1510–1514), which presents an account that transcends history to argue for a direct genealogical connection the Trojan prince Hector and the dukes of Burgundy. Hector was a figure well known to late medieval French audiences as one of the Nine Worthies, a series of historical characters who encapsulated the ideal expressions of chivalry and moral virtue.²¹⁵ On the same theme, Lemaire’s *Epistre du Roy a Hector de Troye* (1511) was written as a response to Jean d’Auton’s *Epistre du preu Hector transmise au Roy Loys XIIe de ce nom*.²¹⁶ According to Cynthia Brown’s analysis of the rhetorical style, Lemaire’s rejection of the usual third-person narration creates the sense that the king speaks directly to the audience, comprising both the king’s contemporaries and Hector.²¹⁷ In doing so, Lemaire participates in an ongoing court game while also placing the king at the narrative center of the work. The basis for the identification between Louis XII and Hector stemmed from

²¹⁵ First grouped together by Jacques de Longuyon in 1312 as a literary device, the Nine Worthies became a popular visual theme in the late Middle Ages. The nine in question were heroes of the past arranged in three sets: Ancient, Jewish, and Christian, which also represented Augustine’s division of history into three time periods. The visual theme was adapted for illuminated manuscripts, survived in a popular printed text called *Le triomphe des neuf preux*, and appeared in sculptural programs, tapestry sets, and wall paintings. See Thierry Delcourt, ed. *La Légende du Roi Arthur*, exh. cat. (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2009), 127-137; Glynnis M. Cropp, “Les vers sur les neuf preux” *Romania* 120/3-4 (2002): 449-482.


the popular late medieval view that a direct genealogical existed between French and Trojan lines.\footnote{Brown, *Shaping History*, 103. For the appearance of Troy in late medieval visual sources, including illuminated histories, see Scot McKendrick, “The Great History of Troy: A Reassessment of the Development of a Secular Theme in Late Medieval Art,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 43-82; Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).} Lemaire develops the comparison between Hector and Louis XII as military heroes, presenting events so that Louis XII’s Italian campaign was less an imperialistic pursuit of new territories and more a pious Christian defense of the Church grounded in Crusader ideals.

During this period, in addition to writing contemporary history, authors were encouraged to bring histories up to date for fifteenth-century readers. Important books in Old French that were incomprehensible to Middle French readers were updated, retranslated into clearer French, and illustrated with contemporary narrative cycles that aligned them to the text of contemporary chronicles.\footnote{Morrison and Hedeman, cat. no. 44.} The illuminations of historical texts also had an important function in making the past present to French readers. For example, the illuminations in a manuscript of *Des faits et dits mémorables* attributed to three anonymous masters active in the Loire Valley (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Ms. 66 B 13) bring the images of a text by Valerius Maximus into contemporary history.\footnote{Ibid., cat. no. 45.} Simon Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse, working under Charles V and the Duke of Berry, had translated the Latin text into French, and the moral tales of Valerius Maximus remained popular in the late fifteenth century. The Hague copy is one of the most extensively illustrated versions, featuring several frontispieces each containing
scenes drawn from episodes from Roman history. For example, the illuminated frontispiece for the story of the Rape of Lucretia (fol. 289r) enhances the visual story for readers by representing the events in a French town square, and each miniature narrative scene is set off by Gothic microarchitecture [Fig. 40]. The figures wear highly fashionable attire, featuring the brocades and elaborate headpieces that would have been visible at court. In doing so, the artists make the events of the past relevant and immediate to fifteenth-century viewers.

Particular historical forms that directly connected the present day to an illustrious past also became popular in the second half of the fifteenth century. A text known as the universal chronicle (Chronique universelle) for its comprehensive approach and integration of legendary, Biblical, and actual history survives in two different versions preserved in the form of about twenty-nine large manuscript scrolls that each measure about a half a meter wide and range from 17 to 23 meters in length.\[^{221}\] A Chronique universelle dating to the 1470s from Eastern France (Boston Public Library Rare Books Ms. 32), like many from the genre, interweaves biblical, historical, and fictional information in order to produce a “genealogy of the Bible.”\[^{222}\] The chronicle contains an emphatically Christian conception of history from the beginning of the world to its end with the Second Coming of Christ. It also includes historical genealogies for Roman emperors, Christian popes, kings of England and France, and the Christian kings of


Jerusalem. The chronicle mobilizes text and image over sixteen individual membranes bound in a scroll form, drawn from historical and visual traditions in order to present a version of history heavily weighted toward depicting French interests with a positive slant. French history is given a place of pride in the later section of the chronicle, with roundels containing images of French kings, including Clovis, Dagobert, and Louis IX [Fig. 40]. Some scenes, including Dagobert’s foundation of Saint-Denis and Clovis’s miraculous baptism [Fig. 41], presume prior knowledge on the part of their readers of other historical works, particularly the *Grandes Chroniques* that featured the same historical events. The preservation of this history in the form of the scroll may also be significant. The scroll format was periodically used throughout the Middle Ages for texts that included information designed to be apprehended in a specific order and with certain relationships between various groupings of text and image: genealogies, heraldic works, and necrological rolls. Scrolls were the ideal carriers for this information since it was easy to simply unroll the text as the reader proceeded. However, scrolls also had Biblical connotations, as Old Testament prophets frequently carried them. The relatively sudden production of this significant historical text in scrolls in the late fifteenth-century potentially draws upon the ability of certain media to signify history itself; the scroll was perhaps the most appropriate format and medium for the recording of royal lineage.

The writing and illustration of history, both ancient and contemporary, at the French court was thus intended both to legitimize and memorialize contemporary events by linking them to the heroic past. By putting them in traditional, even archaic,
manuscript form, contemporary events took on historical importance for their noble audiences. Illustrated historical cycles of the Italian wars and of the triumphal entries of Charles VIII and Louis XI into Italian cities visually aligned with events in the medieval and classical past, serving to aggrandize the current king. Aristocratic audiences looking at these image cycles would have known exactly how to interpret these images, since their visual culture was steeped in such manuscripts, which had populated noble libraries for at least a century or more.

IV. Reenacting History: Aristocratic Behavior and Chivalric Revival

The ideals present in the histories and romances written and consumed at court bled into aristocratic life in a number of ways, informing and shaping life at court in a way that was emphatically nostalgic. One of the primary ways that this tendency can be seen is in the creation by the French monarchy and high-ranking Princes of the Blood (male relations of the kings of France in the line of royal succession) of quasi-religious orders of chivalry, meant to emulate the knightly deeds and ideals of the past.224 The orders of chivalry founded by these Princes of the Blood and kings served an important social function in that they codified the hierarchical courtly relationships between the king and his noblemen. The Order of the Golden Fleece, established by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1430, was founded on high-minded ideals of chivalry, but also

served to reiterate the duke’s political position above his noble subjects. The foundation of orders also provided a venue for the display of symbolic royal and noble devices that were integral to the monarchy and the aristocracy’s conception of their own identities. The orders of chivalry were rooted in historical precedent and further built upon the display of loyalty through heraldry and the language of political loyalty communicated through coats of arms and other symbols of aristocratic legitimacy.225

Louis XI established his own chivalric military order, the Order of St. Michael, in 1469. The foundation referenced relatively current political events, as the patron of the royal order, St. Michael, was connected to the French victory over the English Mont-Saint-Michel.226 Jean Fouquet produced the most well known image the organization in a manuscript copy of the Order’s statutes (BnF ms. fr. 19819, fol. 1r). The image depicts King Louis XI seated frontally in the center of a room accompanied by the knights and officers of the order. An image of Saint Michael appears above, sanctioning and legitimizing the event, though it seems that the order never met during Louis’s reign [Fig. 42].227 The formation of fifteenth-century military orders, largely to demonstrate royal power and to reaffirm the loyalty of the knights of the realm to their king through a visual language of symbols, were fundamentally backward-looking in terms of the traditions upon which they drew.228 The chivalric orders on which the fifteenth century depended were initially religiously based Catholic orders, originally founded during the medieval

225 Marti, Borchert, and Keck, Splendor of the Burgundian Court, 186.
227 Inglis, Jean Fouquet, 135-138.
228 Boulton, 1-26. King Charles VIII also owned an illuminated copy of the Order’s statutes (BnF ms. fr. 14363). Duke Pierre II of Bourbon also owned a luxury copy (Morgan Library ms m. 20) that includes two small portraits of Louis XI (fol. 6r, 32v) in his capacity as the Order’s founder. See France 1500, cat. no. 194.
Crusades and the quest to win back the Holy Land (1099-1291). The fifteenth-century orders and the conception of the knight within them was still, at least in formulation, were connected to this Christian crusading tradition that reached back to Godfrey of Bouillon and even beyond him to Charlemagne. Crusading themes were particularly popular at the court of Burgundy under Duke Philip the Good, who hosted a Feast of the Pheasant at Lille in 1454 for members of his Order of the Golden Fleece. Further, the duke of Burgundy undertook a series of efforts to mount a crusade of his own throughout the 1450s and 1460s, though his plans were ultimately unsuccessful. While Crusading orders had been founded for military purposes, the fifteenth-century orders instead defined a courtly fashion and consisted largely of material trappings and honorifics. Talk of mounting a crusade to reclaim the Holy Land continued sporadically throughout the late fifteenth century and while the French court incorporated elements of crusading symbolism into royal propaganda, it was far less enthusiastic about the subject than the Burgundians had been. In practice, no king or duke had been on crusade in recent memory and the idea of doing so carried a greater significance than actually embarking upon one. The age of medieval crusade came definitively to an end under François I,

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229 Godfrey of Bouillon (1060-1100) was a twelfth-century French duke famous for leading one of the Western armies in the First Crusade and for being chosen as the first Latin ruler of the new kingdom of Jerusalem. In later chronicles he was remembered as towering figure of the First Crusade, Christ-like, and through literature became an example for all crusaders who followed him. See Annette Güntzel-Basel, “Godfrey of Bouillon: The Stylization of an Ideal Ruler in Universal Chronicles of the 12th and 13th Centuries” Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik 70 (2013): 209-222.

230 Moodey, Illuminated Crusader Histories, 149-173.

231 Keen, 179-199.


233 Elizabeth Moodey suggests that Philip the Good’s motives for championing his own crusade were primarily religious, the product of his recognition that he was an aging sinner in need of the
when the French king made a diplomatic alliance in 1536 with Suleiman the Magnificent, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

Though they lacked a cause like an actual Crusade, the military orders did serve to perpetuate the kinds of knightly behavioral standards that were the mainstay of chivalric culture and courtly romance. The concept of the Christian knight, like the one in Olivier de la Marche’s *Le chevalier délibéré*, was a powerful cultural influence in late medieval France. In the late thirteenth century, Ramon Llull in his *Book of the Order of Chivalry*, provided the classical picture of knighthood: above all he is a skilled horseman well-trained in many types of combat. He honorably upholds the code of chivalry by force. He is a pious warrior for the Catholic faith and enforces justice for his earthly lord. He is charged with the protection of all those weaker than him. He is the consummate soldier and his participation in tournaments and jousts is required. At the end of the fifteenth century, the figure of the pious Christian knight still carried the ideological weight of history and tradition, though in reality his conditions had changed considerably. While the warrior values associated with the knights of lore persisted, they were detached

spiritual reward of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. See Moodey, 170-173. The crusade of most recent memory for late fifteenth-century aristocrats had taken place in 1396, led by Sigismund of Luxemburg, king of Hungary. John the Fearless, future Duke of Burgundy led the crusade’s military factions, and he was joined by many other French nobles joined the cause. The forces attacked the Greek city of Nicopolis, where the Ottoman forces soundly defeated them on September 25, 1396. See Peter Lock, *Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (London: Routledge, 2006), 200-201.

from the idealized figure of the lone knight glorying in deeds of individual bravery, and were instead attached instead to a new military ideal.

Throughout the late fifteenth century, rulers throughout Europe began to form standing armies upon which they could call to defend their nations. In France, the creation of such an army served the larger project of governmental consolidation, as it drew the military under direct control of the king instead of each of his feudal lords having authority over his own soldiers. Charles VII had begun the process in the 1440s with his establishment of the *compagnies d’ordonnance* that served as the foundation for later iterations of a larger and more organized national French army under Charles VIII and Louis XII.235 From the point of view of the medieval nobleman whose rights to knighthood had once been promised by his lineage, the change that this implied was one of significance. In this new system, if a man claimed to be a warrior, he must instead belong to an official military company under the direction of his king.236 In a medieval feudal hierarchy, the king relied upon the nobility and the knights in its ranks to handle small-scale military threats. Fifteenth-century kings instead became more concerned with the formation of permanent military companies that ideally were ready to go to war at his direct orders. The medieval knights of the past had effectively ceded their military


standing to a new breed of soldier in a new type of modern army built to handle the larger scale, even global, conflicts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.  

As a result of this shift in military power away from the historical concept of the medieval knight, tournaments and jousts began to take on new meaning in the late fifteenth century. The social role played by the creation of military orders, in which nobles were not expected to participate in any real military capacity, was inherently tied to the revival of traditional jousts and chivalric tournaments in the fifteenth century. The continuing popularity of these activities was based on history as well as Arthurian models, and new modes of combat in which knights could demonstrate their prowess were invented. Like royal celebrations, tournaments held at princely and noble courts grew increasingly elaborate, and they became the special purview of the aristocracy. The dukes of Burgundy and Anjou sponsored and dramatized such events, which attracted nobles anxious to prove their valor in an age when warfare was becoming increasingly professionalized. The tournament became a place of courtly display in which men who called themselves knights adopted the postures of an earlier age. Kings and nobles gloried in the armorial bearings that linked them with their lineages, and tournaments provided a

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237 In addition to the creation and growth of standing armies under the exclusive control of the monarchy, the technology of war was changing dramatically. The use of arrows and then gunpowder and muskets increased and eventually replaced the older swords, lances, and pikes. Increasingly, the figure of the medieval feudal knights was replaced with organized companies of gunners and archers. Heavy artillery versus knights at arms became the primary mode of warfare. See Hale, *War and Society*, 46-56 and Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 8-24.  


way to display them on hangings, tapestries, clothing, and banners, which were meticulously recorded in both text and image. These symbols were manifested outward and visible signs of rank, status, and dignity, which set their bearers apart from others. Ultimately the tournaments’ relevance to contemporary warfare was minimal, but for those aristocrats that looked to the past fondly, the exercises of knightly prowess were powerful.

A *pas*, a pseudo-military event that involved two groups of knights engaged in a series of jousts performed for chivalric effect, was particularly popular at the courts of Burgundy and Anjou. One text, the *Pas de Saumur*, offers a poetic chronicle of the competition that took place at the château of Saumur, along the Loire River, between June 26 and August 7, 1446, which was sponsored by Duke René of Anjou. A surviving manuscript (St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Fr. F. XIV. 4) of the chronicle was written and illuminated between 1470 and 1480 after the original text, written by a cleric shortly after the original event and owned by René’s first wife, Isabelle of Lorraine (d. 1453). The manuscript itself, produced between thirty and forty years after the original event, preserves the spirit of the *pas*, but renews it for a new generation of viewers even further removed from the chivalric world that the tournament was intended to evoke. The text links René’s court to an illustrious past by linking contemporary French history to a pseudo-historical and legendary past that included Arthurian myth and the textual and visual traditions of the Nine Worthies. According to Mérindol, because the text mentions Lancelot specifically several times, the *Pas de Saumur* was

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240 Morrison and Hedeman, cat. no. 46.
conceptualized in relation to a history that was rooted in Arthurian legend, as if the myth were actual history.\textsuperscript{241}

The images of the Pas further glorify the heroic chivalric past in the present. Thirty-six large and fifty-three smaller miniatures accompany the text, giving visual form to the heraldry and events described within. A series of miniatures of identifiable historical figures, including René himself, are marked through a combination of textual description and the visual language of the tournament once so recognizable among the aristocratic and royal classes. The procession to the tournament field is illustrated (fol. 6r) followed by several variations on the same themes that enumerate the various events of the jousts from the issuance of the challenge to a victor emerging from the contest. The illustrations offer the viewer an eyewitness account of the proceedings, bringing to life for the next generation of aristocrats the pageantry of the joust. The illuminations feature the heraldry of each participant and his associated emblems prominently for each event.

For example, the scene of René himself being led in procession from the castle of Saumur to the tournament (fol. 24r), features the duke wearing a fleur-de-lys atop his helmet that is nearly the size of his torso [Fig. 44]. The manuscript offers a vision of the present seen through the lens of the past, an idealized version of courtly diversion wrapped up in the continual enactment of a heroic historical and legendary past.

The same interest in these chivalric themes is on display in another manuscript of circa 1460 with text written by Duke René himself and with illuminations by his court artist Barthelemy d’Eyck, the \textit{Traicitié de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournoys}, or

the so-called “Tournament Book” (BnF ms. fr. 2695). The text describes the “form and organization of a tournament,” which included all the rules to be followed by its participants, the order and character of events, extensive descriptions of the knights’ armor and other accessories, and all the heraldic elements involved. Though it seems that the tournament that the Duke René described in the text never actually occurred, unlike the *Pas de Saumur*, it presents a comprehensive view of the late fifteenth-century ideas of chivalry and aristocratic conduct that were deeply committed to ceremonial process and practices rooted in medieval traditions. The illuminations record everything from significant moments in the tournament, helmet styles and armor styles (fol. 23v), to the event itself. For example, the depiction of the melee event (fol. 76v) shows the heat of the battle with all participants engaged, many identifiable through the heraldry that they or their horses wear. Onlookers, courtiers of both genders, witness the event from elevated viewing boxes for the best vantage of the proceedings. In other images, processions of knights display their heraldry prominently on banners (fol. 101r), creating an impression of the event as both momentous and dramatic in its performance of the chivalric values that informed aristocratic culture in this moment. Louis de Gruthuise later commissioned a manuscript as a presentation copy for King Charles VIII.

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(BnF ms. fr. 2692) that contained a similar program of illuminations, but added a presentation scene (fol. 1r) and arrays of heraldic material (fols. 4v-6r). 245

The continued survival, even revival, of chivalric values at the end of the fifteenth century took shape as illuminated histories and romances were produced and as tournaments and jousts displayed knightly valor in combat. The noble and royal classes who engaged in such chivalric play were attempting to recapture a lost heyday amidst their loss of power during the nation-building process that strengthened central government at the expense of regional power centers. The splendor of those tournaments that attempted to recapture lost chivalric ideals were themselves recorded in illuminated manuscripts, the chosen medium of the aristocracy to preserve their past. Such aristocratic interest in the survival of cultural and social chivalric values has been criticized as empty, as a ceremonial without meaning, using exaggerated, even comical codes of display and behavior. However, the visual splendor and chivalric codes evident in René of Anjou’s manuscript of the Pas de Saumur and the Livre des Tournois not only memorialized one event of the fairly recent past, but also embodied the continuing noble interest in safeguarding those values that defined their class and social status.

V. Holy History: French Patron Saints

The recording, preservation, and continual enactment of history also took on a divine character, as the mid-to-late fifteenth century also saw a revival of the interest in

French patron saints, particularly sainted kings, related to both the interest in chivalric history as well as a nascent sense of national identity. Despite the challenges from powerful feudal lords and Princes of the Blood, the French monarchy’s conscious promotion of their own past and their genealogical connection to medieval exemplars was part of the religion royale, active especially during the reign of Louis XI but continuing well into the late fifteenth century and reaching new heights under Charles VIII and Louis XII. Following the end of the Hundred Years’ War, French royalty relied upon a system of traditional symbols of their rule in order to reaffirm their authority and promote the regeneration of a sort of nationalistic pride. Explicit connection to the medieval past, largely through genealogical means, were among the most significant aspects of this religion royale. French kings’ articulation of lineage and the idea of dynastic continuity were evident in the frequent appearance of French saints, including St. Denis and St. Louis, but also with the inclusion of historical figures, including Charlemagne. Tracing a visual lineage to these patron saints became a particular feature of the continual reification of royal legitimacy the late fifteenth century.

The genealogical legacy of the French kings was traced ultimately back to Clovis, the historical founder of the Merovingian dynasty and first to ruler to bring all the Salian Frankish tribes under a single ruler, and thus, the first king of France. Clovis was

246 The term religion royale was first introduced by Marc Bloch in 1960 and has been frequently used by scholars to refer to the ideological foundations of the monarchy that saw itself as sanctioned by the divine, a belief enacted in a variety of elaborate rituals. See Joseph Bergin, The Politics of Religion in Early Modern France (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 17-42. See also Elizabeth A.R. Brown, “The Religion of Royalty: From Saint Louis to Henry IV (1226-1589)” in Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France, ed. Marie-Hélène Tesnière, (New Haven: Yale University Press/Library of Congress/Bibliothèque nationale de France), 131-168.
sanctified publicly as early as the fourteenth century, when references to him as “saint” first appear, though it was not until the reign of Louis XI that his cult first achieved official recognition.247 A royal ordinance of 1481 called for the celebration of his saint’s day, despite the fact that the Church had never canonized him.248 The story of his conversion and baptism elevated him to a level somewhere between myth and history, and made him a second Constantine, the first Christian ruler of a great empire.249 The Holy Ampule of the miraculously delivered baptismal chrism of Clovis was preserved at the Cathedral of Reims. It was used to ceremoniously anoint new kings of France as a central event in the coronation ritual, supporting a notion of French sacred kingship, physically connecting medieval kings to their historical ancestors.250 The Holy Ampule appears in a painting completed in 1501 for the confraternity of Puy-Notre-Dame d’Amiens. Only the wings of the triptych survive, but they provide a rich image of the divinely ordained nature of French kingship. They pair images of the anointing of King David, the ancestor of Christ, with the same event during the coronation of Louis XII [Fig. 45]. The French king kneels below a circular baldachin suspended at the top of panel embroidered with the maxim VNG DIEV. VNG ROI. VNE FOI (“one God, one king, one faith”) surrounded by lay and ecclesiastical figures, a strong statement of centralized monarchy and a country united under the sacred rule of its king.251

247 Beaune, Birth of an Ideology, 80-82.
248 Beaune, "Saint-Clovis,” 139-156; Beaune, Birth of an Ideology, 77-81.
249 Beaune, "Saint-Clovis,” 139-142.
251 Wolff, ed. Kings, Queens, and Courtiers, cat. no. 31.; Avril and Reynaud, Manuscrits à peinture, 390-91.
Clovis came to represent not only the historically first Christian king but also the fundamental type of French kingship, endowed with the virtues of chivalry, wisdom, and piety. Royal figures increasingly adopted other exemplary historical figures who embodied similar qualities as Clovis as their patron saints, primary among them Saint Louis and Charlemagne. A leaf with a portrait of Louis XII would originally have opened the lavish *Hours of Louis XII* that court artist Jean Bourdichon painted for him. The king appears in full armor, probably of the type he would have worn in celebratory royal entries and other events, perhaps his recent 1498 coronation. The image shows a solemn, official image of the new king presented by a number of royal saints: Saint Louis, the king’s namesake and personal patron saint; Saint Denis, the patron saint of France and the royal household; Saint Michael of the French royal chivalric order; and Saint Charlemagne, from whom the French kings traced their genealogical descent. A French king could do no better than to be presented by this trio of historical and holy figures. The image encapsulates the ambitions and models for a French monarchy whose legitimacy was explicitly based in both history and legend.

St. Louis in particular represented a unique figure and model for the French monarchy as the only French king to be sainted (despite claims for the holiness of Charlemagne and Clovis). He was Louis IX, a Capetian king who reigned from 1226 to his death in 1270, active in the most Christian pursuit of crusading, but also an active

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252 Robert Scheller sees the importance of Charlemagne to the French monarchy in this period as indicative of the crown’s imperial aspirations. Charlemagne was incorporated into the liturgy of the French church, his feast day regularly celebrated, and frequently depicted carrying his attributes—an orb and a sword. See Scheller, “Imperial Themes,” 9-10.

patron of the arts and a zealous collector of holy relics, housed in perhaps his most famous commission, the Sainte Chapelle. Pope Boniface VIII proclaimed his canonization in 1297, just twenty-seven years after his death. St. Louis’s canonization provided his successors in the French royal family with a preeminent symbol of sacral authority and historical prestige. They frequently turned to Louis IX as an example of the ideal Christian monarch, mindful of their descent from the saint-king, so they exhibited particular devotion to him. Louis served to remind, and even to instruct, the kings of France in royal virtue. This devotion can be traced even to the early fourteenth century: King Louis X (d. 1316) owned four texts of the deeds of Saint Louis; noted bibliophile Countess Mahaut of Artois (d. 1329) also possessed a manuscript of the Hours of Saint Louis.

The Capetian line of French kings, of which Louis IX had been a part, ended in 1328 with the death of Charles IV, though this did not affect Saint Louis’s status as a holy king or his importance to the ruling family. The Valois kings could also claim direct descent from Saint Louis and as a result, continued to mobilize his image to legitimize their rule and positions as the “most Christian” monarch. King John II the Good (r. 1319-1364) owned copies of the Grandes Chroniques that continued to emphasize Saint

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255 Gaposchkin, 198-230.

256 For the conception of France and its king as the “most Christian,” a common designation by the end of the medieval period, see Beaune, Birth of an Ideology, 172-177.
Louis as a crusader, a just and wise king, and above all the holy ancestor to the kings of France. John’s successor, Charles V was particularly devoted to the saint-king, citing Louis legislative sessions of Parlement while also professing a certain personal commitment to him.\(^{257}\) By the end of the fifteenth century, the image of Saint Louis and the ideals he embodied were not only familiar to French royal audiences but integral to their self-conception. When Charles V (d. 1380), during the first century of Valois rule, established the royal library in 1371, his collection included seven copies of Louis’s life and miracles in several different formats and copies of the Office of Saint Louis. Charles V was said to have kept a copy of the Hours of Louis and a prose life of Louis with him at all times.\(^{258}\) The *Petites Heures* (BnF ms. lat. 18014) owned by the Duke of Berry began with a copy of Louis’ *Enseignements*, the set of instructions that the saint-king had written for his son regarding the duties of Christian kingship.\(^{259}\) Saint Louis was particularly known for a set of miracles, illustrated in a program for the young queen Jeanne (1310-1371), the third wife of King Charles IV (r. 1322-1328), in her Book of Hours: the *Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 54.1.2) by court artist Jean Pucelle, illuminated circa 1324-26.\(^{260}\) Joan Holladay argues that the miniatures


\(^{258}\) Gaposchkin, 197.


\(^{260}\) For more on Jeanne d’Evreux’s patronage and consumption of books, see Joan Holladay, “Fourteenth-century French Queens as Collectors and Readers of Books: Jeanne d’Évreux and her Contemporaries,” *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 69-100; Madeline Caviness, “Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for her Marriage Bed” *Speculum* 68 (1993): 333-362. For the most recent inquiries into Jean Pucelle as a court artist and his work for high-ranking patrons, see Kyunghee Pyun and Anna D. Russakoff, eds. *Jean Pucelle: Innovation*
illuminating the *Hours of St. Louis* in this devotional book commissioned by a king for his queen with the intention to condition her behavior generally, but his embodiment of the Acts of Charity clearly prescribe his virtues to the young queen.\footnote{Joan Holladay, “The Education of Jeanne d’Évreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in her Book of Hours at the Cloisters,” *Art History* 17/4 (1994): 585-586. For more on fourteenth-century books featuring miniatures of St. Louis, see Martin Kauffman, “The Image of St. Louis” in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Exeter/London: Short Run Press/King’s College London, 1993), 265-287.} The dedication to the saint did not end at devotion, but carried through to imitation in the fifteenth century, when the figure of Louis often appeared in *tableaux vivants* during royal entries and other ceremonies, sometimes with other French saints including Charlemagne and Saint Denis.\footnote{Gaposchkin, 239; For more on royal entries, see Bryant, *The King and the City*. For a discussion of the *tableaux* staged at the entries of Anne of Brittany on the occasion of her coronation, in which Louis appeared, see Cynthia Brown, “Books in Performance,” 75-79.} Charles VIII owned a luxury presentation copy of a book printed by Antoine Vérard, featuring a collection of saints’ lives decorated with an image of Charlemagne and Louis ushering him to heaven (BnF Rés. Vél. 689) [Fig. 47].

Outside the royal family, establishing a direct connection to Saint Louis was a way for other noble families to legitimize their own claims to power, particularly when those powerful families that were closely related to the monarch. The image of the king-saint was especially important in the fifteenth century for members of the House of Bourbon, who traced their lineage to the youngest son of Louis IX. The Cardinal Charles II of Bourbon (1434-1488) commissioned a luxury manuscript of the life and deeds of Saint Louis for eventual presentation as a gift to the duchess of Bourbon (BnF ms. fr. 2829). The manuscript was extensively illuminated throughout with scenes of the various collaboration in manuscript painting (London: Harvey Miller, 2013).
miracles performed by Saint Louis, for example his pious collection of the bones of his fellow Crusaders [Fig. 48]. The House of Bourbon’s promotion of its genealogical connection to St. Louis also had a political dimension, which found particularly interesting expression in the late fifteenth century, when the House of Bourbon increasingly competed with the crown for power and land. As one of the most prominent and powerful families in France, the considerable holdings of the Valois Bourbons were some of the last to be acquired by the French monarchy, not coming under its control until 1523. Though both the French royal house and the House of Bourbon were considerably linked through politics and marriage, and though each highlighted their dynastic legitimacy in terms of the same historical figure, Saint Louis, the power struggle that played out between them provides an example of late medieval aristocratic power loss taking place over the course of the late fifteenth century.

The monarchy’s interest in patron saints drawn from its own history is ultimately connected to a nascent national consciousness that had taken hold in the period immediately following the Hundred Years’ War. Sacred and secular histories were crucial to the French royal promotion of a strong, centralized monarchy.263 The Hundred Years’ War had been a significant and extended conflict in French history and emerging from it, the French were forced to consider their place in the world on a larger scale.

Camille Serchuk has identified a map of France in a manuscript copy of the A tous

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263 At its core, the Hundred Years’ War consisted of a series of conflict over economic resources and, ultimately, resistance to the efforts of the French state to centralize government. The state of affairs in the fourteenth century was considerably exacerbated by disagreement over proper lines of French succession following the 1328 death of the last Capetian king of France, Charles IV. See Inglis, 71-75. For a comprehensive introduction to the causes and implications of the Hundred Years’ War, see Philippe Contamine, La Guerre de Cent Ans, 9th edition (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010).
nobles, of circa 1460 (BnF ms. fr. 4991) [Fig. 49].264 The work presents a compilation of a variety of historical works intended to articulate the significance of French history and to express a unified French kingdom. Serchuk argues that we should see the map as a visual and spatial articulation of a French national identity, intended to strengthen French claims to disputed lands, with the larger context of a manuscript that emphasizes the position of the French monarchy within an uninterrupted dynastic tradition.265 The strong interest in proving a connection to storied dynastic lines through blood was connected to parallel noble concern to align the ruling house to specific French patron saints, whose images again often blurred the lines between history, faith, and myth.

The frontispiece to a manuscript copy of the Life of Saint Denis (Walters W. 306, fol. 11r) visually encapsulates the values of historical legitimacy and sacred history [Fig. 50].266 In the miniature that begins the text, eight historical French kings sit side by side in a walled garden with beds of flowering plants in a checkerboard pattern. In the center of the image, a tent houses a blue lily and two angels flank a coat of arms emblazoned with the fleur-de-lys emblem of the French monarchy. The lily is given a place of honor in the center of the kings and is placed beneath a canopy that evokes the cloth of honor so often seen in images of the lit de justice, as well as ubiquitous in presentation scenes and images of coronations. The national flower also was a symbol long been associated with Mary’s purity as well as a royal symbol increasingly mobilized by the French monarchy.

265 Serchuk, 136.
266 Sandra Hindman and Gabriel Spiegel, “The Fleur-de-Lis Frontispieces to Guillaume de Nangis’s ‘Chronique Abrégée’: Political Iconography in Late Fifteenth-Century France” Viator 12 (1981): 381-408.
to reaffirm the divine character of French kingship. The grapevines that climb the willow fence are associated in turn with the sacrament of Mass, and together with the lily they affirm the Christian piety of the French kings. The image thus effectively weaves together Christian symbolism with the emblem of the monarchy, strengthened through the image of the illustrious kings of the past to create a complete image of sacred kingship, a true visual expression of the *religion royale*.

**VI. Assembling History: Book Collecting and Library Formation**

The history being recorded at court by fifteenth-century chroniclers, the medieval and ancient history preserved in manuscripts through translation of both text and image, and the chivalric ideals consistently made new again for a fifteenth-century audience were all carefully preserved in royal and noble libraries. The collection and preservation of precious books, the idea of assembling a library fit for a king or queen, took hold in a new way in the mid-to-late fifteenth century. Where libraries had typically been quite small with the exceptions of those assembled by bibliophiles with extraordinary means, such as King Charles V and his brothers, aristocratic collectors of the late medieval period assembled libraries of unprecedented size. Charles V’s preferences in books, which numbered over one thousand volumes, were for extensively illuminated manuscripts that had been the bedrock of the French royal collections.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ The original inventory of Charles V’s library was prepared in 1373, though it is no longer extant, it was copied in 1380 and revised in 1411 to include the incipits of the second and last folios of each volume. The 1380 inventory of Charles V’s library survives as Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. Baluze 397. See Marie-Hélène Tesnière, “Medieval Collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France: From the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century” in *Creating French
Elaborately illuminated manuscript copies formed the foundation of the royal collection, and Charles V’s library included volumes inherited from his ancestors, including the late thirteenth-century deluxe volume, the *Breviary of Philip the Fair* (BnF ms. lat. 1023). Habits of book collecting formed in the fourteenth century were perpetuated, however, and reached new heights. Charles V’s interest in commissioning and circulating translations, especially of classical texts, constituted a consistent intellectual and cultural policy. The copies, often luxury books, produced for his brothers, the dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and Bourbon, ensured the imitation of this among the lay aristocracy. The feudal nobility thus acquired a shared historic and national consciousness, facilitated by book collecting and by the imitation in numerous smaller aristocratic libraries of the model laid out by Charles V. Under Charles VII and Louis XI, not much is known about the status of the royal library, though they established collections in their residences in the Loire Valley. Individual volumes belonging to each king have been identified, including the previously mentioned *Statutes of the Order of Saint-Michel*, illuminated by Jean Fouquet. More is known about the library of Louis XI’s wife, Charlotte of Savoy, who built an impressive library in her residence at

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Amboise in the Loire Valley, made up of both books from the Savoyard ducal library and those that she actively commissioned.²⁷²

Charles VIII, who reportedly had a medieval taste for chivalric romances and books of history, also brought back to the royal collection several manuscripts belonging to the House of Aragon, captured by France from Duke René of Anjou, also the titular king of Naples.²⁷³ From the dukes of Milan the French king took some 450 manuscripts and 200 printed books, which formed the core of the Italian holdings in the royal library.²⁷⁴ These new Italian additions supported the French king’s imperial ambitions and provided a physical means through which he could proclaim his inheritance of antiquity.²⁷⁵ Louis XII continued that project, augmenting the collections with a number of Visconti and Sforza manuscripts from his campaigns to the duchy of Milan. Louis XII also oversaw a major part of the acquisition of a number of aristocratic lay collections for the growing royal library.²⁷⁶ Early in Louis XII’s reign, the library at his castle at Blois grew considerably. The personal library of Charles VIII was added, and the thirty volumes that Charlotte of Savoy had set aside for her son Charles VIII following Louis


²⁷⁴ Coron, 153; Baurmeister and Laffitte, 87-158.

²⁷⁵ Scheller, “Imperial Themes,” 14.

²⁷⁶ Coron, 153-155.
XI’s death in 1483, were the first to be passed down between kings of France since Charles V. 277

Collecting books with an esteemed pedigree was also an interest of late fifteenth century collectors. In some cases such objects were embellished and brought up to date by contemporary artists. For example, the career of illuminator Jean Colombe (c.1430-c.1493) was largely built on his finishing of manuscripts begun by other artists. He is best known for his work for the Savoyard Duke Charles I, for whom he completed the illumination of the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, which had been left unfinished by the Limbourg Brothers in 1416. There has been much scholarly dispute regarding how much artistic agency Colombe had when completing the *Très Riches Heures*. Jonathan Alexander posits that Colombe simply carried out the artistic scheme that the Limbourg Brothers had laid out for him, and did little original work in the manuscript. 278 Raymond Cazelles argues that Duke Charles of Savoy probably ordered Colombe to finish the Book of Hours in his own style, since the style of the Limbourgs from sixty years earlier would have looked “outmoded,” so the duke wished for the manuscript to be updated with more current techniques. 279 However, the motivation behind hiring Colombe to complete the manuscript may have been less related to style; instead this assignment demonstrates a patron's interest in preserving a book with considerable prestige attached to it while also bringing it up to date for a contemporary audience. In hiring his court


artist to complete the manuscript, the duke of Savoy also made a statement about his own status and ability to own manuscripts of the highest caliber, imitating and outdoing the book’s original owner, the Duke of Berry.

Fifteenth-century feudal lords, such as Jacques d’Armagnac and Louis of Bruges, lord of Gruthuuse, also assembled significant book collections. Jacques d’Armagnac had inherited some books from his ancestor, the duke of Berry, but he was arrested and executed by the crown for treason in 1477. A significant portion of his library passed to the duke of Bourbon, Pierre II de Beaujeu, who found himself very close to the king, his brother-in-law by virtue of his marriage of Anne of France. 280 Louis of Bruges, as advisor to the dukes of Burgundy, amassed a considerable library, one of the few to include a substantial number of printed books alongside luxury manuscript copies. However, the royal library and the libraries of book collectors in France continued to be primarily collections of manuscripts until well into the sixteenth century. 281

VII. Emulating History: Material Luxury

As indicated by the collecting habits of the aristocracy and the composition of the royal library, the adherence to the manuscript as a form, both in terms of collecting time within libraries and displaying them in courtly contexts, indicates a certain nostalgia for the courtly medieval past and its associated trappings. Like the tournament, which

280 Tesnière, 28-30.
allowed fifteenth-century aristocrats to continually enact a historical past in their present, the manuscript as a form represented a tangible connection to the past to which they so enthusiastically and continually turned. The insistent materiality of the late fifteenth-century illuminated book—both the actual luxury materials from which it was constituted as well as the media virtually referenced within its folios—was the defining feature of court manuscripts produced during this period. The court’s taste remained decidedly ostentatious and that manuscripts, with their ability both to imitate and to contain a variety of materials, provided court patrons with the visual novelty that made illumination their preferred mode of production and display among this class of late medieval French viewers.

Manuscript illumination deliberately engaged with several types of other luxury media in pictorial terms, readily legible to the trained, media-sensitive eyes of court patrons. The common thread that binds manuscript illumination to each of these media—textiles, enamels, and other luxury objects—is an element of trompe l’oeil. Often the techniques of trompe l’oeil are most visible in manuscript borders and framing devices. French manuscripts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries mobilized borders in innovative ways that were markedly different than their earlier medieval counterparts. By the end of the fifteenth century, the marginalia of the Gothic manuscript that featured miniature dramas of grotesques and other creatures, and floral exuberance had fully given way to illusionistic renditions of luxury goods, often in three dimensions.

Scholars have tended to see this shift as essentially negative. Otto Pächt, in his studies of fifteenth-century Flemish page design in manuscripts by the circle of the
Master of Mary of Burgundy, argued that this new development in book illustration ultimately meant the end of the medieval idea of manuscript illumination. He recognized the *trompe l’oeil* borders in the *Hours of Engelbert of Nassau* (Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Douce 219-220) [Fig. 51] and the frequently discussed pages in Mary of Burgundy’s own *Hours* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex Vindobonensis 1857) [Fig. 52] as fundamentally inventive, but in representing objects that seemed to exist in real space, artists had affirmed that the manuscript page was inherently two-dimensional. According to Pächt, these artists broke down the “aesthetic equilibrium of Gothic book decoration,” which meant that illumination in its purest medieval sense, was doomed. Similarly, Michael Camille termed the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries “the end of the edge,” since for him, there can be no possibility for a true edge when the entire folio is the setting for “realistic (*trompe l’oeil*) painting.” In this conception, the appearance of *trompe l’oeil* objects—real objects with their attached economic value—in manuscript margins accomplishes an entirely different goal than the *marginalia* of Gothic manuscripts that presented socially and politically separate (“marginal,” both literally and figuratively) characters.

Jonathan Alexander has also analyzed the illusionism of the *trompe l’oeil* borders in the *Hours of Engelbert of Nassau* by the Master of Mary of Burgundy at length. He argues that the manuscript’s text, copied on visible vellum, acts as a mediating element.

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between the *trompe l’oeil* objects that seem to occupy “real” space and the central miniature, which often recedes into deep but fictive space.\(^{285}\) Myra Orth also interpreted the new illusionistic focus in margins not as a subversion of the central image, but rather as a tool for enhancing the images they surround.\(^{286}\) In the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, painted by Jean Fouquet between 1453 and 1461, instead of conceiving of the folio as a central illusionistic miniature surrounded by a comparatively flatter border, he fills the page with narrative as in the folio depicting the Charity of St. Martin, in which the scene pushes out into the viewers space as if he or she were viewing it in a convex mirror [Fig. 53].\(^{287}\) Fouquet often breaks up the folio into narrative registers while leaving the text boxes at once integrated but spatially separate from the images. For example, on a folio on which the central miniature features the Lamentation, two angels support a text box that contains the letter “S,” the first letter of the text of the Office of the Cross that begins the next page [Fig. 54].\(^{288}\) The box interacts with the image but simultaneously occupies a space outside of the image, offering a sort of window into the text that will follow, interrupting the effect of the three-dimensional space that the central action of the miniature occupies. In doing so, Fouquet achieves a sort of reversal of viewer

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\(^{287}\) The *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* were disbound and forty-eight leaves from the manuscript are dispersed across collections in the United States and Europe, the majority (40) are part of the collections of the Musée Condé in Chantilly. For the most recent effort to put the leaves in their original order, see Nicole Reynaud, *Jean Fouquet: Les Heures d'Etienne Chevalier* (Paris: Éditions Faton, 2006).

expectations: the text becomes the central focus of the page because it draws attention to the two dimensionality of the page, while the illusionistic effect of his illumination is pushed to the edges. Some decorative borders—usually composed of abstract floral and acanthus motifs in dense patterns—remained in use into the sixteenth century, for example in a typical Book of Hours produced in Tours circa 1500 (Morgan Library MS. M. 12, fol. 24v) [Fig. 55]. In all of these scholarly interpretations, the essential shift of the late fifteenth century was the increasing awareness among artists about the uses of illusionism and changing senses of meaning in the representation of space. Each of these elements was crucial to the decoration of the page in the second half of the fifteenth century.

In the sixteenth century, the fashion for this type of illusionistic border continued to prosper in French illumination and artists combined natural motifs with classically inspired Italianate architectural frames [Fig. 56]. This tendency can be seen, for example, in a Book of Hours in the collection of the Morgan Library (MS M.348, fol. 155r). On this folio, a miniature opens the Office of the Dead with an image of a personification of Death emerging from a sarcophagus [Fig. 57]. The borders feature a combination of the traditional floral scatter border around the outside edge with an Italianate frame as the inner border. The first word of the prayer, “Placebo,” is inscribed at the base of the frame, again fusing the traditional text of the book with a framing device. These types of trompe l’oeil borders that featured luxury materials and blatantly imitated others added a signifying component. Such works were only within the reach of

the wealthiest patrons; indeed, the technique of containment of all luxury within a single manuscript was what made these books so appealing to the highest echelons of court society. Depiction of such objects underscored the richness of the book itself as an object, irrespective of its contents. But French illuminators consistently added elements of *trompe l’oeil* that were not intended to trick their audiences, but rather served to underscore the artifice and virtuosity of their creations and which drew attention to the material quality of the manuscript itself.

These previous analyses of manuscript borders have tended to see illumination in an artistic vacuum, with changes in style and approach to the border limited to circles of artists. However, a primary feature of illumination during this period is how manuscripts made recognizable references to other luxury media while containing them all within the manuscript form. This tendency could be productively analyzed within the framework of material significance and its potential political and social implications. As Christopher Berry points out in his chronologically wide-ranging study of the conception of luxury in western society, “luxury” is deeply implicated in the question of social order and the definition of a “good” society. The definitions of luxury that operate in a given society reveal its values, which invariably also have political dimensions. That the manuscript remained the medium of choice among aristocratic patrons reveals the medium’s status as a signifier of social and political status that was embedded within a medieval worldview.

Illuminators sought to recapture the luxury market with books that responded to the nobility’s visual culture. In some cases, artists made deliberate references to the

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aesthetic effects and materials that were common in a courtly setting, and in doing so, recreated for their patrons a glimpse of the court trappings of the illustrious past. For example, the *Hours of Charles VIII* (BnF ms. lat. 1370) contains the standard iconographic program for a Book of Hours during this period, but instead of traditional miniatures surrounded by floral borders, the artist has re-imagined them as scenes on tapestry. In a set of facing folios (fols. 35v-36r) [Fig. 58], Christ on the left holds his hand in blessing toward the facing page, where Mary sits in prayer. Both figures are shown half-length, their bodies turned to interact across the space of the open book. The artist has imagined the tapestry image as a wall-hanging, and has included *trompe l’œil* nails that seemingly secure the fabric to the page and cause the image to “hang” slightly away from the parchment, creating a fictive shadow, emphasized by the tassels at the bottom of each fabric square. The pattern of the textile recalls the shine of finely wrought brocade or of fabrics enriched with silver-gilt thread. Yet somewhat confusingly, the central figures are not depicted as part of the fabric, but rather simultaneously in front of it, and in some cases inside it. The faint outline of a frame appears behind the figures, seemingly covered by the fabric. This arrangement echoes that of half-length devotional diptychs on panel, such as a pair painted by a follower of Jean Fouquet in the Touraine circa 1480 [Fig. 59]. These panels were probably slightly arched at the top, like the panel held by St. Luke that appears within an illumination by Bourdichon in the *Hours of Anne of Brittany* (BnF ms. lat. 9474, fol. 19v) [Fig. 60]. The arched format of the

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miniature diptych in the *Hours of Charles VIII* is still visible on the reverse of the sheets, but was ultimately covered by a cloth of honor of gold brocade woven with white flowers.

The conspicuous use of cloth of gold within manuscript illumination must be viewed within the context of sumptuary law. The Burgundian devotion to luxury textiles, ultimately a feature of the Valois courts, is well documented, and the use of textiles both as wearable markers of status and as political gifts made them a central aspect of sartorial culture at one of the most famously wealthy courts in Europe. Material and visual display was especially important during the late fifteenth century as a means to assert social position, so members of the court were skilled at reading and interpreting social status in terms of the materials of dress and accessory. The showcasing and pictorial imitation of luxurious textiles in the *Hours of Charles VIII* blurred the material boundaries between brocade and vellum and further highlighted the role of manuscript as material object. Like the costly textiles of the Valois courts—silks, cloth of gold, and brocades—manuscripts were active participants in the creation of a visual court luxury based on material value and a high level of craftsmanship.

Many other examples of borders in French manuscripts from the late fifteenth century show a shift toward the densely patterned aesthetic of tapestry, with solid or dark colored backgrounds adorned with sweeping gold foliage or flowers that call to mind the elaborately worked floral tapestries, *mille-fleurs*, also commissioned by the nobility [Fig.

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The aesthetic of intricate patterning, as well as of bright colors contrasted against dark backgrounds, not only evokes fabric examples, but also calls attention to the quality of the pigments and high level of artistic skill inherent in the creation of the book. \(^{294}\)

Manuscript illuminators began decorating books in ways that showcase their skills as painters, and reveal the aesthetic contact between fabrics and manuscripts. Borders are often subdivided with diagonal lines that juxtapose several different colors, patterns, and textures. This new style was created, and tellingly became a popular type, beginning in the second half of the fifteenth century. It sometimes mixes gold and plain parchment or several different painted patterns that recreate the opulent fabrics of a courtly setting. Court patrons were sensitive to the subtle material references to other luxury media within manuscripts. The price difference between paper and vellum was substantial, even without the addition of hand-colored illustrations or other customizations. Manuscript inventories made of ducal and royal libraries indicate keen attention to material support, as entries are careful to remark whether a book is on paper or vellum, also whether it is illuminated; in some cases they identify the artist. Incorporating plain vellum into the decorative border could be a strategy intended to highlight the manuscript’s more expensive support material while also making use of gold on the same page. In such examples, the parchment itself is equated with fabric, becoming part of the juxtaposition of pattern and texture, and not simply the background support material. In the example of

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a manuscript copy of the *Vita Christi* (University of Glasgow, MS Hunter 36), the interplay between decorative border and fabric is readily visible. The blue and gold fleur-de-lys pattern, symbol of the French monarchy, which appears throughout the borders, is echoed several times in the pictured garments of the king and denotes the book’s status as a presentation copy for King Charles VIII [Fig. 62]. The juxtaposition of several different patterns and textures throughout the borders imitates the visual experience a courtier may have had at a banquet or other court spectacle. The borders evoke the proliferation of overlapping fabric patterns, rich colors, and gold ornament that would have been prominently displayed at such an event.

Manuscript illumination also engaged with a number of other media that illustrate the central place of luxury at court. In particular, enamels were frequently in dialogue with manuscript illumination at this moment. Limoges enamels, once popular for reliquaries and caskets in the thirteenth century, were revived at just this moment in the second half of the fifteenth century in a new technique for painting enamel directly on to copper panels. The new method involved a piece of copper that was fully covered on both sides with enamel, so that in the firing, both sides expand and contract to the same degree. This technique allowed for the surface picture to be painted in enamel without the use of wires or cavities to hold the fluid substance, which was necessary in the earlier medieval cloisonné and champlevé enameling techniques. The development of this technique meant that artists who were not necessarily trained metalworkers could create what were essentially paintings in enamel instead of pigment. For example, Jean Fouquet’s hand has been attributed to two enamels, most famously his self-portrait [Fig.
These small enamel works, which often took the form of plaques, imitated the aesthetic qualities of gold and other semi-precious stones, quickly became popular among the nobility. They also took the form of small folding triptychs and single plaques with jeweled frames and were used for the same devotional purposes as related works on panel and in manuscripts, adding another visual cross-reference to the material environment of the court. In a striking image from a manuscript made for Réne of Anjou, his court painter Georges Trubert depicts what is probably an enamel plaque mounted in a jeweled frame hanging from the manuscript page (Getty Museum Ms. 48) [Fig. 64]. The renewed interest among court patrons in objects executed in enamel indicates an interest in making the subjects and compositions of print and panel suitable for court enjoyment by executing them in a more visually striking and materially valuable technique. These court enamels provide another example of the aristocratic taste for luxury, and constitute an important visual pendant to the continued interest in the manuscript form.

The newly developed enamel technique of the mid-fifteenth century became increasingly popular for the decorative arts, particularly for drinking vessels and plates at court in the sixteenth century, and enamel has been largely recognized as an art form in its maturity in the mid to late sixteenth century under François I and Henry II. However, the “early enamel period” in France from about 1470 to 1530 marks a period when enamel plaques were often grouped together to form a triptych in echo of larger

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295 Inglis, Jean Fouquet, 10.
panel painting models. Here the use of prints as models for pictorial composition is obvious, though Terry Drayman-Weisser suggests that popular colored prints served as inspiration for enamellers in terms of their color palette and “painterly effects.”

The style of these new enamels also resembled those contemporary small panel paintings and manuscript illuminations. Drayman-Weisser suggests that “in fact, it is possible that the impetus for the rebirth of enameling in Limoges was to compete with the small personal devotional paintings being created at the time.”

Illuminated books and the revived form of enameling are comparable on several levels. One of these elements is an obvious stylistic parallel in the use of gold highlights to enhance drapery folds, faces, and architectural decorations in each medium. While a direct relationship between artists of illumination and enamel probably did not exist, notwithstanding exceptional cases (Fouquet), there is indeed a distinct conceptual link between the two media. The two media also served similar devotional functions as

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299 Drayman-Weisser, 285.

300 The artists and workshops producing enamels produced before 1530 remain mysterious. Usually such works are unsigned and difficult to assign to distinct hands. In addition, very little scholarly work has been done on the significance and meaning of the revival of enameling and its adoption by the court at this mid fifteenth-century moment. Ross was the first scholar to propose a potential link between Books of Hours illuminated in Limoges and the style of early painted enamels attributed to the Master of the Baltimore and Orléans Triptychs. He suggests that the artist responsible for the illuminations in a small Book of Hours for the Use of Limoges (Chicago, Art Institute, 1915.540) was both an enameller and a painter. See Marvin Chauncey Ross, “The Master of the Orleans Triptych: Enameller and Painter” Journal of the Walters Art Gallery 4 (1941): 16-17. This argument has been generally reaffirmed; see Susan Caroselli, The Painted Enamels of Limoges: A Catalogue of the Collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1993). Philippe Verdier stopped short of attributing the miniatures directly to him, but claimed that it was indeed plausible that they came from the workshop of an artist working in both media. See Philippe Verdier, The Catalogue of the Painted Enamels of the Renaissance (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1967), 57-88.
small images meant to provide a focus for prayer. Patrons probably owned examples of each type of medium, perhaps even the same types of images, and the precious enamel versions of painted triptychs and devotional images may have furnished a method of making the panel appropriate for court by giving it a jewel-like quality. For example, the enamel *Triptych of Louis XII*, attributed to the anonymous Master of the Louis XII Triptych and dated to circa 1500, stands out among courtly commissions of such work (Victoria & Albert Museum, London) [Fig. 65].

The triptych consists of nine separate plaques organized around a central scene of the Annunciation. In the left leaf, Saint Louis holds the *main de justice* and stands behind King Louis XII, who kneels at a *prie-dieu*. To the right of the Annunciation, a plaque depicts the kneeling queen, Anne of Brittany also with her patron saint, Saint Anne. The iconography is familiar from numerous examples in paint of similar scenes, the arrangement in particular recalling the depictions of Duke Pierre and Duchess Anne of Bourbon in the *Moulins Altarpiece*. However, the portrayal of the French royal couple on a triptych during this period is unique, which introduces several relevant questions about the nature of the royal image, royal iconography, and patronage of luxury media at court. The presence of the royal couple on this triptych and its presumed place within the courtly visual environment is also indicative of the success of the revival of enameling with new techniques and in turn, new kinds of products, at Limoges in the mid fifteenth-century. That the illuminator Georges Trubert reproduced an enamel plaque in full,

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301 Much of the recent scholarship on the subject has concentrated on chemical analysis of enameling techniques. See Suzanne Higgot, *The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Glass and*
complete with its jeweled frame hanging off the manuscript’s vellum page, speaks volumes about the court’s taste for visual luxury in addition to material preciousness as well as novelty.

Royal taste tended to accommodate the small and the precious rather than the oversized, an impetus that may have spurred the creation of these tiny versions of painted triptychs for noble patrons. Another notable example of the transformation of panel into a more jewel-like material for personal use is a small enamel (London, Wallace Collection W.34) produced at the court of the House of Bourbon in Moulins [Fig. 66].302 The iconography of the large *Moulins Altarpiece* completed for Moulins Cathedral by Jean Hey, however, was made suitable for a courtly audience in this tiny but important work. The enamel was possibly made as a gift for Suzanne, also circa 1498, simultaneously with the *Moulins Altarpiece*, by Anne’s court goldsmiths, several of which are recorded in the employ of the duchess between 1497 and 1502.303 The miniature enamel is a slightly different technique from those produced in Limoges: a *basse-taille* enamel on gold, giving the object the impression of a precious jewel.304 The current diptych

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304 Another contemporary enamel in the same technique that features St. Anne teaching the Virgin is related to the style of the Wallace enamel and to the paintings by Jean Hey made for the court, potentially indicating an active production of such objects by Bourbon court goldsmiths. (Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. 1947.508). Martha Wolff suggests that this enamel was worn as a piece of jewelry. See Martha Wolff, “Anne de France et les artistes: princesse et commanditaire” in *Anne de France: Art et pouvoir en 1500: Actes du colloque organisé par*
arrangement features the ducal couple on one side, presented by their respective name saints, Saint Anne and Saint Peter, plus Saint Charlemagne and Saint Louis on the other side. These tiny panels have been remounted, but were probably originally arranged as a small but extremely precious triptych. The enamel illustrates the pervasiveness of this royal iconography, and the ambitions that Anne had for her daughter as the next inheritor of the duchy. Enamels, like manuscripts, made works of art sufficiently sumptuous for use and ownership at court. Their development in the late fifteenth century and their subsequent popularization should be seen in concert with the continued popularity of manuscripts, and overall, within the preference of the French court for highly personal and opulent products.

Illuminated manuscripts were the ideal medium for the tastes of the French courts. Illuminators drew attention to their own artistic skill while also responding to the nobility’s interest in gems and other luxury objects. In the Book of Hours (Getty Ms. 48) made for Duke René of Anjou that reproduced the enamel plaque, Trubert also recreated other luxury items that were prized possessions in the duke’s art collection. In one illumination, Trubert depicted a tabletop altarpiece that itself depicted a bust-length devotional image of a Madonna gazing down away from the viewer (fol. 159r) [Fig. 67]. Rays of golden light and a ring of stars frame her within the image, though the gold and silver frame of the small altarpiece provide a secondary framing device. The

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Campbell, The National Gallery Catalogs, 756.

altarpiece is also adorned with pseudo-Arabic inscriptions, and below the Madonna, Trubert painted the first words of the prayer *O Intemerata*. This provides another layer of *trompe l’oeil*, since the text appears to be written on a piece of parchment affixed somewhat hastily with a small tack to the wood of the frame. For this miniature, Trubert copied a celebrated Byzantine icon of a weeping Madonna that belonged to Duke René, but the elaborate frame seems to be a fabrication, not found in any of the duke’s inventories.\(^{307}\)

Illuminators also made particular artistic statements about the capabilities of the manuscript. Jean Bourdichon, for example, did not simply copy the perspectival space of contemporary panels on to vellum pages. Instead he included entire panel paintings complete with *trompe l’oeil* frames and inscriptions on wood in the pages of his books. They seem to hang from the folios, creating a miniature, portable gallery. This feature, which became widely imitated among artists in the Loire Valley and beyond, is especially visible in his famous *Grandes Heures* for Anne of Brittany. Golden frames mounted against the painted backgrounds of each folio can be found in nearly all the full-page miniatures in the manuscript. Bourdichon’s explicit reference to panel comprises a claim for his own artistic ability while also demonstrating a deep knowledge of contemporary work on panel.

In another particularly illustrative folio opening in the *Hours of Frederick of Aragon* (BnF ms. lat. 10532, fols. 198v-199r), a collaborative project between Jean Bourdichon, the Master of Claude of France, and Italian illuminator Giovanni

\(^{307}\) Gautier, 262.
Todeschino, we see the pictorial assertion of artistic skill combined with an emphasis on luxury materials and craftsmanship [Fig. 43].\(^{308}\) The central miniature seems to be overlaid by a piece of parchment, in which the miniature and its frame are viewed as if through a square hole cut into the leaf. The viewer’s attention is drawn to this parchment by variety of simulated tiny holes, tears, and repairs. On both sides the parchment features delicately sewn rips. The layering of frames goes even deeper. The central miniature of the Deposition and the facing text are imaged as panel paintings set into elaborate Italianate frames on altars, from which angels draw back curtains. The viewer looks on to this scene from an arched architectural setting, where candlesticks mark the threshold between viewer and imagined space. This layering of materials and space distinguishes French manuscript illumination of this period. The ostensible focus of the page, the religious scene, intended to inspire piety and devotion in the book’s user, has been implicated in a dense web of material signification. The *trompe l’oeil* parchment holes and repairs announce and insistently remind the viewer that this luxury product is actually pristine vellum. Such overlap, echo, imitation, and dialogue between manuscripts and across other media formed part of the court’s visual environment as the very hallmark of the era. These ultra-luxurious manuscript products that formed the core of the court’s visual field were undoubtedly recognized as valuable and coveted objects, but the investment the late fifteenth-century French courts made in opulent manuscripts also had a historical component. French nobility actively sought a connection to their past, and the

commissioning and collecting of these objects was part of the legacy of the medieval court culture that served as their idealized model.

VIII. Conclusion

As Gabriel Spiegel and R. Howard Bloch have argued regarding the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the expansion of royal power, military conquest, and the judicial revolution by which the monarchy gained control over a feudal system of private wars deeply affected cultural production among the aristocratic class. Spiegel and Bloch are both interested in how certain literary forms—the epic, the courtly novel, and lyric poetry—were deeply rooted in the political and legal ethos of their time, and consequently how they express an aristocratic anxiety about power and territory loss due to the expansion of royal power under Philippe-Auguste and Louis IX. The late fifteenth century offers a parallel example, both in terms of the significant social and political changes engendered by the centralization of the French crown as well as in the development of the artistic patronage.

In this case, illuminated manuscripts as a medium, especially in the early era of print, became the vehicles for the visual imagining and preservation of aristocratic social ideals. The persistence of the illuminated manuscript as the medium of choice among

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309 Spiegel argues that the turn to prose as the preferred medium of historical writing occurred as a result of an ideological shift among the elite mobilized in order to authenticate its claim to historical legitimacy and was ultimately a quest for a lost world of aristocratic power. See Gabriel Spiegel, Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), especially chapter 4, “Contemporary Chronicles: The Contest over the Past,” 214-268. R. Howard Bloch, Medieval French Literature and Law (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

310 Spiegel, 8-10.
royal and aristocratic patrons is perhaps unsurprising, because these patrons depended on manuscripts to preserve and to articulate medieval conceptions of chivalry. Late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century French royals and nobles were enthusiastically embedded in their own past, so they consistently and deliberately turned to historical models, both real and imagined, to inform their values and behavior. The political upheaval caused by the Crown’s aggressive acquisition of feudal territories was one of the primary threats to the identity of an aristocratic class that had become accustomed to certain medieval ways of life. The cultural, social, and political changes of the fifteenth century resulted in the emergence of an increasingly national consciousness that accompanied the nascent French nation-state. With these changes came a significantly different conception of royalty and aristocratic privilege than in the previous medieval period, and manuscripts could become a site of nostalgia for royal and aristocratic patrons. Manuscripts embodied the stability of the medieval past during a particularly uncertainty time, anxious about the future both material and cultural terms. The enduring French preference for manuscripts among court patrons at the expense of other media was part of a larger interest in the revival of earlier medieval culture, evident in the fifteenth-century interests in chivalry, translations of chivalric literature into vernacular languages, the dependence on medieval patron saints, and the amassing of medieval books into libraries of unprecedented size and scope. Manuscripts, with their ability to imitate, contain, and transcend other media, provided a tactile, visual, and conceptual connection to an

311 For the conception of Jean Fouquet as a particularly “French” painter, responsible for translating this national consciousness into form through architectural portrait and the development of a recognizable court style, see Inglis, 220-227.
imagined past—a Middle Ages of knightly deeds, romances, bibliophile kings, and courtly splendor before the rupture of the Hundred Years’ War. This turn to the past—the revival of chivalric values and their performance in semi-public aristocratic venues, the preservation of history in terms of military and cultural traditions, and the efforts to make the past not simply legible but extremely relevant and important to a late fifteenth-century audience—reveals anxieties of the noble class regarding their family's future, their identities, and their ways of life.
CHAPTER TWO: Presentation of the Book in Manuscript and Print

I. Royal Power and the Book Presentation Image

In a luxury manuscript copy of Petrarch’s *Les remèdes contre l'une et l'autre fortune* produced for the French King Louis XII circa 1503 (BnF ms. fr. 225), a frontispiece features the king himself in the midst of receiving the manuscript from its translator (fol. Av) [Fig. 69].

Louis XII sits on a throne framed by a cloth of honor of rich blue and a pattern of repeating gold fleurs-de-lys, the ubiquitous symbol of France and its monarchy. This color scheme and pattern is echoed in the fabric of the king’s royal regalia, a sumptuous mantle trimmed with large swaths of ermine at the collar and sleeves opens to reveal a crimson cloak underneath. The king wears an elaborate open crown and carries with him the scepter of his office in his left hand. The blazon is supported on either side by two porcupines, an official symbol of the king. The king reaches out with his right hand to grasp the large book that the translator presents, the image capturing the exact moment of exchange between the two men. The large manuscript being passed between them is adorned with five large escutcheons and is closed with two heavy clasps. Several courtiers witness the presentation, their attention fully dedicated to the events before them. The scene is framed with elaborate gold

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313 The porcupine was a reference to the chivalric order created in 1394 by Louis XII’s grandfather Duke Louis I of Orléans, the *Ordre du Porc-Épic*. Though Louis XII terminated the order in favor of the Order of Saint Michael, he continued to use the porcupine as a heraldic symbol.
columns; an arch of decorative acanthus leaves stretches across the top of the page. The royal heraldry is repeated at the top of the image, where a blazon appears with the triple fleur-de-lys of France surmounted by a crown, a visual echo of the one atop the king’s head. Putti stand at the top of each column, displaying coats of arms of the kingdom of Naples, France, and Jerusalem (left) and the duchy of Milan (right).  

At first glance, the image appears to document the king’s reception of a new manuscript into his library. The manuscript itself visually commemorates the ritual of its own production and subsequent presentation in a way that would invite the viewer of the image who holds the book in question, to imagine the book at this event, in the hands of the king. However, this presentation event probably never actually occurred. Instead, the stiff and highly prescribed gestures enacted by the participants in the presentation help to construct an image of idealized royal power. This copy of Petrarch’s text was commissioned for presentation to the king by Cardinal Georges d’Amboise (1460-1510), an influential religious figure, advisor to the king, and active patron of the arts. The image thus memorializes a diplomatic gift between a loyal subject and his king while also accessing a language of symbolic representation. The use of royal symbols—the fleur-de-lys, the porcupine, the crown and scepter, the throne, and cloth of honor—is appropriate in a manuscript intended for royal use, but also acts in the construction of the presentation

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image as a site of an official activity, sanctioned by the king while also reaffirming his authority. The image is one example of a widespread genre that was extremely popular among the French royalty and its circles at the courts in the fifteenth century.

The particular character of the French royal court at the end of the fifteenth century was one built on such symbolic examples, looking toward a future of consolidated central power.\(^ {316} \) By 1300, the French king was already the authority of a large territory, the capital of which was Paris, and he presided over central political and juridical institutions. The legitimating force of Saint Denis, the first patron saint of the crown, and the hereditary inheritance of royal blood combined to sanctify the ruling dynasty.\(^ {317} \) This structure of monarchical power was challenged by the fourteenth-century medieval feudal crisis, followed by the English invading French territory in pursuit of their claims to the legitimate ancestral right to rule France. The counter-campaign of Charles VII, with the help of Joan of Arc, was ultimately successful and drew on a new symbolic repertoire that was heavily based in medieval conceptions of monarchical power.\(^ {318} \)

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\(^ {318} \) For the formation of Joan of Arc as a symbol of French nationalism, see Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*. For Joan of Arc’s influence on political relations between England and France in the
By the end of the fifteenth century, the representation of the French king and the court began to take on pervasively new significance with the consolidation of power within French territories and the expansion of royal interests outside of France, most notably into Italian lands. The conception of the king’s power had changed considerably by the fifteenth century. Where in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the king depended on his vassals to confirm and support his power, in the fifteenth century he was given more authority than ever before. Feudal law continued to inform the governmental structures of late medieval France, though the monarch’s power increasingly expanded into more legislative and military control than in previous centuries. It was at this moment that the conception of the “state” was beginning to form. As David Potter has pointed out, historians and chroniclers Claude de Seyssel and Philippe de Commynes working under the reigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII were the some of the first writers to use the French état to refer to the state in its institutional and governmental meaning. Furthermore, the development of the conception of the king of France as more than a lord, as emperor, of his kingdom was also beginning to take hold in this period. As historians including David Potter and Robert Scheller have observed, the principle of the king as imperial sovereign had been present in France since the thirteenth century, but

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Hundred Years War, see Deborah Fraioli, *Joan of Arc and the Hundred Years War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2005).

319 Potter, 30.

320 Ibid., 30-31.
became one of the central pieces of royal rhetoric to legitimize the king’s rule in France and his rights to foreign lands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.\(^{321}\)

The French invasion of Italy beginning with Charles VIII and continued by Louis XII necessitated the construction of a propagandistic narrative of rule that positioned the king as the divinely appointed head of a unified nation. The French claims to such encompassing power were bolstered by connections to historical figures that legitimized imperial rule. For example, writers in the service of King Charles VIII advanced the idea that not only was the French king given the title *Rex Francorum* by virtue of his direct connection to Charlemagne, but was also the successor to the Byzantine emperors.\(^{322}\) By the mid-sixteenth century, the imperial connotations of French kingship were well established, though in the second half of the fifteenth century, the French monarchy had begun forming a doctrine of governance that was what historians now see as “Absolutist.”\(^{323}\)

The need for official royal imagery that presented a strong impression of control and power was thus needed more than ever before. The rebellion of feudal lords against an increasingly centralized governmental structure under Louis XI, followed by the forays of Charles VIII and Louis XII into Italy at the end of the century created a need for

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\(^{322}\) Potter, 33-38.

\(^{323}\) The literature on absolute monarchy in France is vast and touches on many different subject areas. For the beginnings of this phenomenon in the fifteenth century see Potter, 36-38. For a review of the literature on contrasting definitions and approaches to the problem of absolutism, see Richard Bonney, “Absolutism: What’s in a Name?” *French History* 1/1 (1987): 93–117. For a historiographical approach to the topic, see Fanny Cosandey and Robert Descimon, *L’absolutisme en France: Histoire et historiographie* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2002).
images of royal authority and their subsequent dissemination. Louis XI succeeded in creating some greater political stability, which allowed the royal visual propaganda machine at the courts of Charles VIII and Louis XII to flourish and continue the project of royal power consolidation.

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries thus saw a great elaboration in the visual language of royal legitimacy. This move, in part, took the form of state ritual and ceremonial. One of the most powerful visual manifestations of this turn to absolute, sacred kingship was the image of the *lit de justice*, a type of formal session in the Parlement of Paris at which the king presided, enthroned as supreme judge. Charles VIII resumed the practice, which had been employed under Charles V in 1384. In such sessions, the king appeared officially and in his royal majesty under a canopy on a

324 Scheller, “Imperial Themes,” 53-54
327 The early history of the *lit de justice* and an analysis of the circumstances under which a Parlement session was considered a *lit* is reviewed by Brown and Famiglietti. The fifteenth-century kings of France prior to Charles VIII seem to have participated in ceremonies that were akin to the *lit de justice* sessions, particularly for the trial of Jean II, duke of Alençon, which was presided over by Charles VII and famously recorded in a manuscript miniature the Master of the Munich Boccaccio, a follower of Jean Fouquet (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Cod. Gall. 6, fol. 2v). See Elizabeth A.R. Brown and Richard C. Famiglietti, *The lit de justice: Semantics, Ceremonial, and the Parlement of Paris, 1300-1600* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1994), 19-44.
platform above the assembled crowd. His power was confirmed by presence of lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries on either side of the dias, the *lit de justice*. The *lit de justice* in practice communicated the monarchy’s involvement in the judiciary dealings of the kingdom and signaled royal participation in such events. This practice was transformed into symbol, and the visual arrangement of the *lit de justice*—the image of the king enthroned in majesty before a canopy of fleur-de-lys—became the basis for a variety of political visual idioms. The image of the king presiding over his Parlement presented the king in his most official role, and as an embodiment of the state in the figure of the monarch to his willing subjects.

Presentation scenes in manuscripts should be seen in this context, as a type of *lit de justice* image that presented in the king in majesty, along with the expansion of royal imagery in the contexts of coinage, portrait medals, and seals. Though presentation scenes were certainly not limited to royal books—many hundreds of examples of French presentation imagery exist from this period—these central patrons, as figureheads of courts with the power to make and shape taste, provide a set of images from which we can begin to draw conclusions about the function of this late medieval genre of images. This chapter examines the proliferation of royal images consisting of the image of the

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328 Potter, 47-50.
329 There is much scholarly debate about the frequency of true *lit de justice* sessions in Parlement and when they took place, if at all. Sarah Hanley controversially argues that the first *lit de justice* was not held until 1527, though other historians have largely refuted this assertion. See Sarah Hanley, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 52-71. For the refutation of her assertion and establishment of the *lit de justice* as a key ceremonial element of the French monarchy and its involvement with Parlement, see Robert J. Knecht, “Francis I and the Lit de Justice: A Legend Defended” *French History* 7 (1993): 52–83; Brown and Famiglietti, 31-44.
330 Brown and Famiglietti, 41-42
king himself in addition to a complex system of royal symbols and devices. It argues that royal manuscript presentation images during this period can be seen as part of the project of aggressive political consolidation and a shift in the very conception of French kingship to one of more centralized, singular authority. Presentation images carried the visual message of the French nation-state and helped to codify an idealized vision of court life and court patronage centered on the illuminated book and the figure of the king and his close circle. The visual success of presentation imagery depended on their ability to effectively communicate the importance and role of ceremony and court ritual, and in turn, the reveal the highly calculated nature of royal imagery during this period.

Presentation images also reveal the status of books, court artists, and literary patronage at court. The conception of appropriate courtly patronage was centered on the book, and manuscript presentation scenes were a way to advertise a high level of participation in such a culture.

Finally, the introduction of print and the developing nature of publishers’ relationship to court patrons placed the presentation scene at the center of royal visual propaganda. This chapter considers presentation scenes primarily from the second half of the fifteenth century and produced for noble and royal patrons at the French courts. It traces the initial significance of the genre in manuscripts and in its subsequent adoption by printers and publishers, who incorporated the presentation scene into the early printed

331 The printed presentation has been largely seen as a tool for authorial agency and self-presentation for writers working at the royal courts. For examples of this, see Cynthia J. Brown, “Text, Image, and Authorial Self-Consciousness in Late Medieval Paris” in Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books circa 1450-1520, ed. Sandra Hindman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 103-142; Mary Beth Winn, Anthoine Vérard: Parisian Printer 1485-1512: Prologues Poems, and Presentations (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1997), 41-70.
book. I argue that presentation scenes in both media ultimately participate in a self-conscious replication of noble and more specifically, royal, identity. The combined efforts of royal patrons together with the reproduction of their image carried out on their behalf by their subjects formed a well-planned and effective public relations policy regarding the monarchy and its goals.

II. Manuscript Presentations

Art historians have generally dismissed presentation images as a highly conventional, and thus unremarkable, feature of late medieval manuscripts. Other scholars have addressed the topic of presentation miniatures and prologues, though almost exclusively from the perspective of the author or translator of the text and rarely from an art historical point of view. Dhira B. Mahoney discusses how presentation images, along with textual dedications or colophons, carefully delineated the role of the author/translator. In her investigation of the miniatures in terms of the verbal dedication or prologue that accompanies them, she also stresses the importance of the added visual component in such luxury presentation copies, pointing out that fifteenth-century authors

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332 Texts that discuss presentation miniatures in a general way and in terms of extended time periods are: Joachim Prochno, *Das Schreiber-und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei, 800-1100* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1929) and Evelyn Benesch, “Dedikations- und Präsentationsminiaturen in der pariser Buchmalerei vom späten dreizehnten bis zum frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhundert” (PhD dissertation, University of Vienna, 1987).

333 The primary source on the topic of authorial prologues is Dhira Mahoney, “Courtly Presentation and Authorial Self-Fashioning: Frontispiece Miniatures in Late Medieval French and English Manuscripts,” *Mediaevalia* 21 (1996). In addition to her seminal article on the subject, Elizabeth Salter and Derek Pearsall have also taken up the question of authorial self-conception in late medieval poetic texts, in which authors borrow the iconographic formulae of preaching images, in which the author inserts himself into the role preacher and reads his text to a group. See Elizabeth Salter and Derek Pearsall, “Pictorial Illustration of Late Medieval Poetic Texts: The Role of the Frontispiece or Prefatory Picture,” in *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1980), 100-123.
did not consider their work solely as a written text, but also were concerned with how the book was decorated and how it appeared as a complete object. Mahoney groups manuscripts with presentation miniatures into the category of “luxury” manuscripts,” acknowledging the role of the book as a display object with potential political implications at court.\(^{334}\) As Mahoney points out, the presentation scene adhered to a set of visual conventions similar to the rhetorical strategies frequently used by authors and translators in their verse dedications. Writers employed what Mahoney calls an “affected modesty” topos, in which the author establishes a relationship with his audience and ensures the patron’s goodwill.\(^{335}\) Text dedications and prologues, often on the same or facing folio as the presentation miniature, worked to contextualize the purpose of the gift, constructing an image of the author/translator that worked within a certain political or social agenda. In the same way, a particular set of visual conventions is followed, in which the author or translator of the book in question kneels before the royal patron to present his work. The book forms the focal point of the composition, often oversized and of obvious luxury.

Late medieval book presentation scenes form part of a larger genre of images depicting a person in the act of giving an object. In many, the recipient of the gift is present and such images span the Middle Ages and the early modern period. The variety of objects presented is equally as wide-ranging and might include books, reliquaries, and altars, among many other things. For example, small models of churches represent the donation or dedication of a new church, as in the late twelfth-century mosaic scene of the

\(^{334}\) Mahoney, 97.
\(^{335}\) Ibid., 100.
King of Sicily, William II (1155-1189) offering a model of Monreale Cathedral to the Virgin Mary [Fig. 70]. More specifically, images depicting the ceremonial presentation of books were produced throughout the Middle Ages, from the sixth to the sixteenth century [Fig. 71].336 The tradition of painting presentation images had faded somewhat in the early thirteenth century, but was revived toward the end of the same century by a more politically assertive French monarchy.337 The resuscitated tradition can be seen in the earliest surviving presentation miniature in a vernacular text, dated to circa 1274: the royal copy of the Grandes chroniques de France (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Genevieve MS. 782), made for King Philip III (r. 1270-1285).338 The text is an anthology of French chronicles, translated into French from Latin by the monk Primat of Saint Denis. The image depicts Primat as the compiler and translator, accompanied by the abbot of Saint Denis, Matthew de Vendôme, and a number of other monks who also kneel to present the work to the king [Fig. 72].339

Fifteenth-century images of book presentations, though, are more closely linked to examples from the reign of by Charles V, king of France from 1364 to 1380 and

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337 Inglis, “A Book in the Hand,” 58.


339 Ibid., 12.
remembered as a bibliophile and active patron of the arts. Charles ruled France during the Hundred Years’ War and created a public image of patronage that was deliberate and effective through the work of scholars and intellectuals that produced texts in support of his reign. Many translations that he sponsored or that others produced for him came with prologues that celebrate the glories of French history and legitimacy of his dynastic heritage. Under Charles, presentation iconography as frontispieces to such translations became an important element in support of French national policy. For example, the frontispiece of *L’information des princes* shows Charles receiving the translation that he commissioned from Jean Golein (BnF ms. fr. 1950) [Fig. 73]. An updated translation of the same text was produced for Charles VIII (BnF ms. fr. 1212) that also contains a presentation miniature (fol. 1r) that draws on the same symbolic authority as the manuscript made for Charles V, his ancestor and model of French kingship [Fig. 74]. The imagery emphasized the divinely bestowed authority of the Valois monarchs in the fleurs-de-lys that frequently cover the King’s robe and the canopies that frame him. The fleur-de-lys, used liberally as a symbol of the French monarchy in the late fifteenth


century, has a long history as a French symbol. As an element of French heraldry, it dates from the twelfth century, when it was first adopted by Philippe II (1180-1214) and was perhaps already in use by his father Louis VII (1137-80). The arms of an azure ground with golden fleurs-de-lys are associated with French kings from 1200. The symbol appears on French coins and seals from the tenth century, decorating the edges of crowns and the ends of scepters, symbolic instruments of royal rule. By the twelfth century there is a strong association between the fleur-de-lys and royal sovereignty. The symbol also took on a semi-divine connotation; an angel was believed to have delivered it to Clovis, the first Christian king of France, on the occasion of his baptism as a sign from the Virgin Mary. Images associated with the Kings of France thus, when they depict fields of the fleur-de-lys against a rich blue background for cloths of honor canopies and royal robes, access a symbol that not only signified the French crown but carried connotations of a divinely-ordained authority.

Presentation imagery also appears in books that were given to Charles as gifts. Charles is perhaps best known for his appearance in his 1372 Vaudetar Bible (The

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343 Beaune, Birth of an Ideology, 202-204. For other specific uses of the fleur-de-lys in the context of late medieval illumination, see Mary Channen Caldwell, “'Flower of the Lily': Late-Medieval Religious and Heraldic Symbolism in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Français 146” Early Music History 33 (2014): 1-60; Sandra Hindman and Gabrielle Spiegel, “The Fleur-de-Lis Frontispieces to Guillaume de Nangis's Chronique abrégée: Political Iconography in Late Fifteenth-Century France” Viator (1981): 381-408.

344 Beaune, Birth of an Ideology, 70-89.

345 Heraldry became connected with hereditary inheritance in the twelfth century, and French kings adopted the fleur-de-lys. The azure and gold were already royal colors, but the fleur-de-lys appeared slowly: first, during the reign of Louis VI (r. 1108-1137) when the royal mint produced pennies with a stamped cross and fleur-de-lys. Around 1250, the heraldic lily took its simplified form, spreading to the seals of the royal courts and gradually came to represent the greatness of the French royal house and the entire kingdom. See Beaune, Birth of an Ideology, 202-225; Michel Pastoureau, “La fleur de lis, emblem royal, symbole marial ou thème graphique?” in La monnaie, miroir des rois, 251-273 (Paris: Hôtel de la Monnaie, 1978).
Hague, Museum Meermanno, MMW, 10 B 23, folio 2r) seated at the left, gesturing to the open book in the translator’s hand [Fig. 75]. The inscription facing the miniature attributes the picture to the pictor regis Jean de Bruges, and states that it was made at the king’s command, implying that Charles V commissioned the frontispiece. Like most presentation pictures, the image was painted before its depicted event actually took place; it is an anticipatory commemoration. At the high water mark for presentation images, they were widely imitated by rulers and aristocrats of the fifteenth century.

Art historians Corine Schleif and Erik Inglis both engage the question of such antecedents and meaning of the presentation miniature as a distinct genre in the long view of the medieval period. Schleif examines selected examples of images from the first half of the Middle Ages that include a recipient and a book presenter. Examining these images within the context of the ideology of medieval gift exchange, she concludes that early medieval book presentations promoted the hierarchical medieval structures of feudal relationships. The bond created through gift exchange formalized oaths of fealty between the giver, who received protection from his lord, the receiver, in exchange for his loyalty. Inglis instead concentrates his attention on presentation imagery from the second half of the Middle Ages. He investigates the written descriptions of manuscript presentations in order to elucidate if and when such rituals actually took place and how such descriptions can account for the conventional nature of book presentation scenes.

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348 Schleif, 70-71.
from the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. Each of these authors agrees that presentation miniatures accompanied a textual prologue as a visual expansion of the prologue’s sentiment. These images were the visual embodiment of a concept rather than a record of an actual event. Mahoney says that scholars should consider these scenes as “primarily symbolic and performative” and as combined with the text prologue to provide “prefatory discourse.”

Inglis concludes from the available documentary evidence that actual presentations of manuscripts from authors/translators to patrons seem to have been very rare occurrences. Following Richard Firth Green’s remark in his *Poets and Princepleasers* that records of book presentations are uncommon, Inglis investigates a variety of sources—colophons, poems, chronicles and diplomatic letters—to find only seven such accounts. Written reports of the ritual include those penned before the presentation and included in the given book, plus those accounts written after the presentation. Only two accounts written before the presentation are known: Raoulet d’Orleans’s colophon in the *Vaudetar Bible* presented to King Charles V of France and John Lydgate’s translation of Laurent de Premierfait’s *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, commissioned by Duke Humphrey of Gloucester circa 1431.

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351 Mahoney, 126-127.
five accounts, describing events that occurred after the presentation, date between 1370 and 1460.\textsuperscript{354}

Therefore, given the dearth of accounts of book presentation rituals at court but the disproportional proliferation of this genre of images, the overwhelming majority of presentation scenes appearing in manuscripts and later in printed books in the fifteenth century do not represent actual events. The assertions of scholars examining these images are thus confirmed. However, the idea that these images serve only as visual counterparts to text prologues, confirming the symbolic relationship between author and patron and conferring prestige upon them both, is insufficient to explain the popularity of these images. Inglis points out a key feature of presentation images: though text accounts describe a ritual of presentation, examination, and storage, images of the event never show the recipient alone holding the book but rather always focus on the book as object, either in the donor’s hands or at the exact moment when the book changes hands.\textsuperscript{355} Inglis concludes that the convention of the presentation image emphasizes the object’s origin, and in doing so, underscores the giver’s actions rather than its recipient or the beauty of the book. Presentation scenes in this conception remind the book’s recipient of the person who gave the book and emphasize the donor’s role over every other stage of the ceremony.\textsuperscript{356}

Manuscript book presentation images, however, were not simply illustrations of a hypothetical event that accompanied text dedications and prologues. Certainly by

\textsuperscript{354} Inglis, “book in the Hand,” 61-62.
\textsuperscript{355} Ibid., 68.
\textsuperscript{356} Ibid., 70-71.
concentrating on the moment when the book changed hands, the image clarified and enhanced the privileged position of the donor, which was outlined in the textual prologue. Presentation images emphasized the importance of the book as a valuable material object and formalized the public relationship between the producer and recipient of the book. The audience for such images was not limited to just the receiver of the book in question, and the images, in addition to conferring prestige on their royal recipient, also functioned as advertisements of the patron’s largesse, erudition, and social position in court hierarchy.

The fact that actual book presentations were rare makes the adherence to the conventional gestures of the presentation image even more important, since images provide many details about the image of the court that text prologues could not. These additional visual aspects of the miniature had the capacity to signify far beyond the gesture between giver and receiver alone. Though presentation miniatures feature authors and not artists, the book itself can be seen to stand in for the artist as a product of his highly esteemed skill. Moving beyond the central gesture, the presentation of the book occurs in public, usually in a throne room filled with courtiers who witness the event. Emphasis on the ceremonial ritual of the making and delivering of the book in such a setting reinforces the status of the patron through abundant fine fabrics, luxurious costumes, the courtly trappings of marble floors, stained glass windows, jewelry, and even the elegant greyhounds that were the mainstay of court fashion in pets [Fig. 76].

357 The greyhounds that often appear in presentation images stand in for the qualities of nobility and refinement. Greyhounds were used in hunting, but were also popular among royalty and the aristocracy as pets. In his Livre de la chasse (BnF ms. fr. 616), Gaston Phebus praised the speed
In her comparison of English and French presentation miniatures, Mahoney found that French examples depict particularly lavish settings compared to English versions of similar scenes; moreover, there are far fewer English examples in general. Joyce Coleman’s investigation of the appearance of presentation miniatures in the English-language manuscript context supports this point. In her database of nearly five hundred such images, only eighty-five are English. Given the surviving visual evidence, presentation scenes in manuscripts in the late Middle Ages almost exclusively result from French patrons, authors, and illuminators.

III. Presentations and their Material Significance: Ceremony and Court Ritual

Presentation images held an important function for the creation of a patron’s image at court. Presentation imagery augmented the prestige of both giver and the given object. The book’s power was visually maximized, and the significance of the object was thereby magnified and passed on to later exemplars in which the image was copied. Later owners derived a shared benefit for recipient, author, and artist. Images of book presentations, in addition to showcasing the central gesture of the book changing hands, take place in the court environment itself. A variety of courtly witnesses observe the scene, and artists carefully delineate the presentation place. Though the evidence suggests

of the greyhound in hunting, but also its obedience and graciousness at home. Dogs in presentation images often sport fine decorative collars, signifiers of pets and household animals but also connotations of domesticity. See Hannele Klemettilä, *Animals and Hunters in the Late Middle Ages: Evidence from the BnF ms fr. 616 of the ‘Livre de chasse’ by Gaston Fébus* (New York/London: Routledge, 2015), 100-103.

358 Mahoney, 113.

that most of these images did not link back to an actual event, they instead envision an idealized world in which court ritual is continually enacted and pictures reinforce stable social hierarchies, to articulate a particularly aristocratic conception of the world. The idea of court festivity lay at the heart of the French aristocratic social imagination at the end of the fifteenth century. Presentation scenes encapsulate and represent key features of this world through their emphasis on material luxury as well as the ritualized activity of presentation that articulated proper forms and attitudes toward art patronage at court.

One main way that ritual and festivity acquired such significance was through material trappings. Presentation scenes accordingly almost always take place in a lavishly decorated court interior. For example, in the presentation image in *Le Voyage de Gênes* (BnF ms fr. 5091, fol. 1r) of circa 1507-1508, illuminated by court artist Jean Bourdichon, the author Jean Marot kneels before his patron, Queen Anne of Brittany [Fig. 77]. The central action of this presentation takes place in the center foreground, where the queen daintily grasps the book as Marot supports it with both of his hands. Walls draped in woven textile and an elaborately coffered ceiling complement the red and white marble floor. The large windows are adorned with inlaid stained glass coats of arms. Queen Anne sits on a chair framed by a cloth of honor of red and gold brocade that extends over her head. The abundance of crimson and gold refers to her husband, Louis

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361 For more on this manuscript, see Avril and Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France*, cat. no. 167; Elisabeth Delahaye, Geneviève Brese-Bautier and Thierry Crépin-Leblond, eds., *France 1500*, cat. no. 51; Robert W. Scheller, "Gallia Cisalpina : Louis XII and Italy, 1499-1508" *Simiolus* 15 (1985): 37-40. For a reading of this image and the others in this manuscript that stresses the gender politics at court, especially between Anne of Brittany and her male writers see Cynthia J. Brown, *The Queen’s Library: Image-Making at the Court of Anne of Brittany, 1477-1514* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 74-107.
XII, who adopted them as his livery colors.\textsuperscript{362} The audience of the presentation looks on from the background of the scene. The queen’s ladies accompany her; the closest female figure is dressed in yellow trimmed with spotted ermine, as she clasps her hands respectfully at her waist. Other, similarly luxuriously clad women whisper to each other as they observe the scene. Farther back a group of men stand with postures that echo those of the women; their hands are gathered into sleeves or clasped at the waist as they quietly observe. The status of the patron and significance of the manuscript’s delivery is emphasized through the material luxury of the environment. The book echoes the fabrics and colors of the queen’s gown: the gold leafed page edges pick up the gold of Anne’s underskirt while the crimson velvet of the binding and covers perfectly matches the rich velvet of the queen’s surcoat. The room itself is draped in red and gold, as both the cloth of honor textile and the tapestry hung between the windows feature intricate floral patterns in the color scheme. The image is visually connected through repeated use of these two colors, but the repetition also serves a royal purpose. The material value of the book is equated with the luxurious fabrics of the court’s garb.

Modern scholars have tended to categorize the arts of the medieval period as “major” arts—such as sculpture and painting—or “minor” arts such as goldwork, ivory, tapestry, enamel, and to some extent, manuscripts and other books. This habit obscures the fact that these so-called “minor” arts were often the preferred luxury media among

court patrons. Such distinctions and the inherent difficulties in these types of categorizations have engendered a new scholarly interest, particularly in the realm of luxury or the “sumptuous” arts. The early Valois courts developed a keen interest in the production and display of the luxury arts, which was actively imitated throughout Europe, most notably at the court of Burgundy. Often this type of patronage took on a political component, as the Valois adherence to the production and consumption of luxury goods was a statement of cultural supremacy. It was common to see rich fabrics documented in presentation scenes at court. Textiles remained one primary form of ostentatious aristocratic display, both as wall hangings and wearable costume. Marina Belozerskaya has argued for the primacy of textiles, namely large-scale hanging tapestries often woven with narrative scenes, in the creation of court displays. Tapestry formed an essential element of the construction of royal and courtly identity based on the luxury arts. Their raw materials—expensive silks from Lucca, imported gold and silver thread from Venice, Turkish dye, Spanish and English wool, and jewels—meant that tapestry was striking in its physical appearance. They were highly portable and adaptable

365 Brigitte Buettner, “Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society,” Art Bulletin 74/1 (March 1992): 75-90. Other recent publications have stressed the role of a number of different types of luxury media among members of the courts at the beginning of the fifteenth century. See especially Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, ed. Paris 1400: Les arts sous Charles VI (Paris: Fayard, 2004); Stephen N. Fliegel, Sophie Jugie, and Virginie Berthélemy, eds. Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless 1364-1419 (Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2004).
366 Belozerskaya, 75.
while remaining semi-public, transforming the space of the court. As a medium, tapestry was the ideal medium for advertising a culture of conspicuous consumption and ostentatious display at the Valois courts throughout the medieval period and into the early modern.367

The fifteenth-century emphasis placed on wearable fabrics as indicators of status also remained important, related to the display of jewelry and other ornaments popular in court fashion.368 The luxury arts, particularly their commissioning and ownership, were instrumental in the communication of wealth and status among members of the court. The market for Italian gold brocades, like the ones pictured in the presentation image of Anne of Brittany in the *Voyage des Gênes*, was particularly restricted to the Church and the princely courts of Europe, due to their extremely high cost.369 Considering this specific emphasis on lavishly worked or imported fabric, such media as panel painting were perhaps considered too humble to be appropriate for representing noble magnificence.370

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370 Italian inventories of the fifteenth century record large paintings and tapestries at about the same value, but brocades and clothing made from them list at a much higher price, bested only by objects incorporating silver, gold, and gemstones. See Rembrandt Duits, “Figured Riches: The Value of Gold Brocades in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painting,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 62 (1999): 62.
Further, the nobility was highly sensitive in their reading of objects in order to deduce their expense and use of fine materials. Cloth of gold, a textile made from embroidering gold threads into velvet, silks and brocades, and rich color dyes were highly regulated by sumptuary laws, which allowed for the identification of social class based on dress and accessory. Such material and visual display became especially important during the late fifteenth century as a way to assert social position, so members of the court were skilled at reading and interpreting social status in terms of the materials of dress and accessory.

Presentation imagery shows these luxurious status symbols at work. Beyond simply providing their viewers with pictures of luxury materials, presentation scenes in manuscripts were themselves similarly constituted of valuable stuffs in the materiality of the book. The visual rhetoric of the presentation image, which asks the viewer to identify the book that contains the imagined image of presentation with the book pictured in the scene, is both reflective and reflexive. The viewer, holding the very book pictured in the scene, is implicitly asked to equate the depicted material luxury with what is held in the hand. Books, particularly those made from fine materials—vellum, expensive pigments, velvet, and tooled leather bindings—are embedded into the basic visual rhetoric of the

presentation scene. In this way, manuscript presentation imagery codified and reinforced the continued importance of the book as a material object at court. Scholars have identified the fifteenth century as a new phase in presentation imagery that differed from earlier examples, when book presentations became an author’s prerogative rather than makers of books.\textsuperscript{372} This is largely due to the elaborate verbal prologues that are primarily sites of authorial self-fashioning. However, the explosion of images depicting patrons in the fifteenth-century and the near-ubiquity of the presentation scene in manuscript culture in France of the period point to the continued centrality of book patronage as a courtly activity. By showing themselves as recipients of books, patrons could show themselves as the original owners and users of the manuscript, an aspect of patronage that, in an age of increasing multiplication of images through print, became more important than ever.

The material value of the book itself in its sumptuous environment provides the background for the presentation scene. Other elements in presentation images complete the image of court ritual: the social contract is actively created through the gift of the book. The onlookers in the scene—the collective court audience that witnesses the presentation—provide visual reinforcement of court social hierarchy. The relationship established between the presenter, most often the author or translator of the text being presented, and the recipient/patron retains primary importance. In his seminal \textit{Essai sur le don, forme archaïque de l’échange}, Marcel Mauss determines that the act of giving and

\textsuperscript{372} Mahoney, 126-27; Schleif, 69.
receiving gifts creates important social bonds between involved parties. Such acts can be based on the exchange of material goods, but often carry immaterial social obligations between giver and receiver. In cases where the exchange occurs between people of different social ranks, the giver implies that his gift is of considerable value, enough that the receiver wants the object. The acceptance of that gift puts the higher-ranking receiver in the debt of the giver, while at the same time, the lower-ranked giver receives the appropriate social prestige of having presented the receiver with a desirable gift. This power dynamic and the reciprocal relationship created between giver and receiver is fully visible in late fifteenth-century presentation images, though the basic configuration appears in much earlier medieval examples, such as the dedication miniature in Hrabanus Maurus’s poem *De laudibus sanctae crucis*, composed at the beginning of the ninth century (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 652, fol. 3v) [Fig. 78].

An example of such a power dynamic appears in a 1482 example of a double-presentation frontispiece illuminated by the Master of the Cardinal of Bourbon of a manuscript of the *Vie et miracles de monseigneur saint Louis*. The top half of the folio shows a courtly scene in which the book is presented to its patron, the Cardinal of Bourbon (BnF ms. fr. 2829, fol. 1r) [Fig. 79]. He, in turn, is shown presenting the same

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374 Schleif points out that this miniature is generally considered to be the first medieval dedication miniature, though antecedents reach still further back in history to Late Antiquity. These early images generally depict rulers seated on thrones while their subjects stand to their left and right, often presenting them with objects. The best-known examples of this type are ivory consular diptychs such as the Barberini Diptych (c. 500: Paris, Louvre). See Schleif, 55-58.
375 For more on this manuscript, see Elisabeth Delahaye, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier and Thierry Crépin-Leblond, eds., *France 1500*, cat. no. 43; Isabelle Delaunay, *Echanges artistiques entre*
book to the Duchess of Bourbon (probably Jeanne de France), for whom the cardinal had
the book produced. As Brigitte Buettner has established, gift giving among members of
the French court constituted an important means to establish and reinforce power
relationships and hierarchy. Buettner analyzes how gift exchange lay at the core of a
courtly social contract. She examines the seasonal gift giving of New Year’s Day at the
Valois court during the reign of Charles VI around the turn of the fifteenth century, which
laid the groundwork for later social expectations regarding gift culture at the French
court. Buettner asserts that objects and images play a key role in shaping court social
relations. Images of book presentations commemorate such acts of patronage and
subsequent gift giving. This image articulates both the transfer of a book to a patron who
was responsible for its creation as well as the afterlife of the manuscript as a gift that
communicated loyalty by the cardinal to his duchess and formalized their relationship
within a courtly context.

Images of presentations occur in a semi-public space, but one that was only
accessible to a certain group of people. Beyond the central action of the scene and the
prestige that it accorded to the presenter, social currency is also conferred upon those
courtiers shown in attendance at the event. Their attendance at a royal event and presence
within the privileged space of a courtly interior communicates their own social status.
These images, however, as we have seen, do not reflect an experienced reality. Viewers

livres d’heures manuscrits et imprimés produits à Paris (vers 1480-1500) (PhD Dissertation:
Sorbonne, 2000), 154-168.
376 Brigitte Buettner, “Past Presents: New Year’s Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400,” Art
of these images were perhaps invited to imagine a similar court ritual, whose presentation image offered an ideal, socially organized court, visually reinforced by the patron’s position in the center of the image, whether enthroned or otherwise the focus of the presentation through receipt of the book. Presentation scenes represent one way in which pictorial conventions for patronage at a high social level were repeated and codified as a requirement for conformity in luxurious self-presentation.

To the patron viewing this frontispiece image, presentation pictures must have provided a satisfying vision of the court as it should be, in a continual present in which they received the products of their patronage and formed the central object of the attention and loyalty of their subjects. The kings and queens of fifteenth-century France, however, often found themselves in conditions less ideal than the ones pictured in their manuscripts. The project of territorial consolidation by the French crown engendered some political instability and insurrection among feudal lords who had seen their power considerably curbed, resulting in internal conflicts among the nobility and the crown including the Mad War (1485-1488) and beyond France, as Charles VIII and Louis XII led campaigns to conquer Italian territories that varied in popularity among other nobles in the country. Therefore, for patrons, the flourishing of presentation imagery in royal books can be partially attributed to the creation of an imagined reality in which the court functioned smoothly and all its attendants recognized and adhered to the proper social codes, and showed unswerving loyalty and deference to their leaders. These pictures represent a conception of monarchy that was still being created and reinforced during a
period that would eventually see the entrenchment of the concept known as absolute monarchy in the later sixteenth century.

IV. The Image of the King: Portraiture, Royal Devices, and Symbols

Because presentation images in most cases did not record actual events and instead represented an idealized courtly transaction, their inclusion in many manuscripts illustrated the concept of book patronage at the court, conveying prestige upon both giver and receiver. Presentation images represented specific events but depicted the ritual and roles rather than actual history. Most presentation images of the late fifteenth century thus function as visual images for the act of socially appropriate patronage rather than as representations of actual enactment. Manuscripts in this concept—as objects that both contain the imagined memory of presentation and which function as luxury gifts in their material existence—thus form a medium that participated in providing models of court society. Court viewers understood the import of giving a book and having it accepted in the system of book patronage. The pictorial syntax of the presentation scene must have enjoyed instant recognition.

In the presentation miniature for the royal copy of *Le verger d’honneur* (BnF ms. fr. 1687, fol. 1r), the author André de la Vigne kneels to present his book to the king, who sits completely frontally, acknowledging the gesture with a slight turn of his head and motion of his left arm [Fig. 80]. A cloth in his livery colors of red and gold that extends above his head to show an embroidered Sun of Justice, a popular royal device, frames the king’s central figure. The hanging textile that hangs behind the king echoes the standard
royal fleur-de-lys motif of his royal robes, trimmed in ermine. This conventional presentation image advertises its royal connections through a system of symbols, and begins to move the depiction of the king into the realm of the schematic and the symbolic. Scheller argues that the system of royal propaganda based on such symbols became increasingly familiar during this period and reached its fullest expression during the reign of Louis XII.\textsuperscript{378} The years following Louis XII’s accession in 1498 were marked by a more stable political atmosphere and saw increased interactions between France and foreign powers, both of which triggered a need for visual markers of the king’s authority in both France itself and in the new realms that Louis brought under the monarchy’s influence. The royal arsenal of visual devices, heraldic symbols, and armorial markings that were used to proclaim authority had emerged in the fourteenth century and expanded, refined, and codified throughout the fifteenth and reached a new level of complexity.

The visual language of royal symbols was extensive, and had a long history in France. The technical vocabulary of medieval heraldry consisted of blazons, which are also sometimes referred to as \textit{devises}, which generally refers to the person’s livery or colors.\textsuperscript{379} Heraldic arms functioned similarly to armorial markings, which were personal

\textsuperscript{378} Scheller, “Ensigns of Authority,” 78-80.

\textsuperscript{379} The term “livery” originally referred to the allowance of food, drink, and clothing that members of royal and noble households were paid. In both France and England “livery” came to be applied to the clothing distributed by a lord or confraternity. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, livery referred to a uniform for wear on festive occasions and between 1350 and 1400 the practice spread to royal households. In France, during the period of Charles V, a system of livery colors was introduced at the royal court and after 1370, livery colors and badges specific to individual kings were worn by courtiers and soldiers. See Colette Beaune, “Costume et pouvoir en France à la fin du moyen âge: les devises royales vers 1400” Revue des sciences humaines 183 (1981): 125-146; Michel Pastoureau, “Aux origines de l’emblème: la crise de
signs that distinguished their owners from their families and other specific members of their own family. These markings or symbols were commonplace, but something the owner considered personally significant: hearts, pearls, tears, different kinds of flowers, and birds. The term “devices” or the French devise most accurately refers to the combination of word, or personal motto, with such an image. For example, Chancellor Nicolas Rolin’s (1376-1462) device was composed of a star with the word Seule, referring to his wife, his only star [Fig. 81]. The device had originated to take the place of armorial markings as heraldry began to develop into a more rigidly organized system of conventional identifying marks and colors used to encode genealogical relationships and familial ties.

When Louis XII became king, he used a number of different types of symbols based on the occasion. At the highest level of state ceremonial, which depended on the weight of history and tradition for legitimacy, both the coronation ceremony and the official regalia in which the king appeared were unchanged. Louis then added the

l’héraldique européenne aux XVe et XVI siècles” in Emblèmes et devises au temps de la Renaissance, 129-136 (Paris, Touzot, 1981); Pastoureau, Traité de Héraldique, 218-219. For earlier medieval terminology regarding the formation and description of coats of arms on which the late medieval system is based, see Brault, Early Blazon.
381 Ibid., 25-28.
382 The anointing and coronation, known jointly as the sacre, formed an important part of legitimizing a new king, and was firmly rooted in historical practice. See Scheller, “Ensigns of Authority,” 81. For more on the precedent for the fifteenth-century French royal coronation ceremony and its associated regalia, see Jacques Le Goff, “A Coronation Program for the Age of Saint Louis: The Ordo of 1250” in Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual, ed. Janos M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 46-57; For studies of the manuscripts that contain texts related to the oaths and rituals of the coronation process, see Richard Jackson, “Manuscripts, Texts, and Enigmas of Medieval French Coronation Ordines” Viator 23/1 (1992): 35-71; Elizabeth A.R. Brown, ‘Franks, Burgundians, and Aquitanians’ and
devices of his dynastic association, the House of Orléans as well as several of his own personal devices. Louis XII adopted the porcupine as a personal badge, as the porcupine had been the emblem of the Ordre du Porc-Epic et du Camail, the short-lived chivalric order that his grandfather Louis d’Orléans had founded in 1394. It appeared as heraldry on many royal commissions: on buildings, on cannons, in the borders of miniatures, and at official entries. Another of the king’s personal devices was his first initial “L” encircled by a royal crown, which usually appeared in concert with the fleur-de-lys [Fig. 82]. When he became king, he was also granted the devices of the kingdom of France as well as those of the House of Valois: the cerf volant (the winged and crowned stag), the Sun of Justice, and the trappings of the Order of Saint Michael. All of these royal images, representing both his official and personal capacities, appeared regularly in manuscripts made for the king, often in the borders or on a folio facing a presentation miniature in a particularly deluxe folio opening, as can be seen in the presentation copy of Xenophon’s Anabasis (BnF ms. fr. 702, fol. Av) in which the cerf volant and the porcupine support the triple fleur-de-lys coat of arms, surmounted by a royal crown. From the coat of arms hangs the collar of the Order of Saint Michael. Each element combines to create a definitive statement of royal ownership and authority [Fig. 83].


Nichole Hochner, “Louis XII and the Porcupine: Transformations of a Royal Emblem” Renaissance Studies 15/1 (2001): 17-36. For one of many examples, see the borders of a manuscript copy of Fausto Andrelini’s work, in which porcupines are prominently displayed, crowned, and accompanied by Anne of Brittany’s ermines and cordelière (BnF ms. lat. 8395, fol. 2r). For more on the practice of official royal entries, see Lawrence M. Bryant, “The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris,” in Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 88-118.

Scheller, “Ensigns of Authority,” 81.
A number of fifteenth-century devices, including Louis XII’s porcupine accompanied by the motto “De près et de loin” or Anne of Brittany’s ermine, also served as identifying marks for the chivalric orders of the late Middle Ages [Fig. 84]. Because of the broad audience and practical function that many of these devices had, they tended to be simple and straightforward declarations of military and personal authority. In this period, the device joined a system of conventionalized symbols including heraldic and armorial colors and markings to form a sophisticated message of personal authority supplemented with historical authority. \(^{385}\) Louis XII’s porcupine often appears without its motto, entering the realm of decorative motif but emphatically associated with him specifically. Several porcupines appear on the exterior of the Château of Blois along with his initial L and open-top crowns. The same combination of personal symbols appears embroidered on the trumpeters’ banners in the panel of the Coronation of Louis XII [Fig. 85] for the Confraternity of Puy Notre-Dame d’Amiens. \(^{386}\) The porcupine made its way into a host of manuscript images, even including those associated with Louis XII’s queen. In Bourdichon’s presentation scene to Anne of Brittany in the Voyages des Gênes (BnF ms. fr. 5091 fol. 1), a subtle image of the porcupine is repeated throughout the coffers of the queen’s ceiling [Fig. 86].

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\(^{385}\) The conception of the French devise is often connected with the later development of the French emblem. Daniel Russell distinguishes the two by referring to the devise as the two-part form of motto and image while “emblem” refers only to the combination of picture and text found in emblem books of the sixteenth century and onward. The study of French emblematics is a distinct field of inquiry, begun by Mario Praz’s Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, 2nd ed. (Rome, Storia e Letteratura, 1964). Emblematics has thus been seen as an early modern phenomenon, though its origins can be found in the late medieval period. See Daniel Russell, Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture (Toronto, Toronto University Press, 1995).

\(^{386}\) Crépin-Leblond and Wolff, 79. See also Wolff, ed. Kings, Queens, and Courtiers, cat. nos. 99 and 31.
There were also a number of more personal devices that were created to serve a more commemorative function, for example to mark the occasion of a successful military campaign, a particularly honorable tournament victory, or to celebrate a marriage.\footnote{Russell, \textit{Emblem and Device}, 25-28.} King Louis XII displayed such a device on his armor and horse textiles during his ceremonial entry into Genoa after his 1502 victory over the city: a swarm of bees accompanied by the motto \textit{Rex non utitur aculeo} (“the king has no sting”), a clever play of word and image for the knowledgable courtier.\footnote{Ibid., 32.} In the \textit{Voyages des Gênes} manuscript, an image of the king in pursuit of Genoa depicts (fol. 15v) depicts the porcupine motif as part of his soldiers’ costume while the king himself wears the beehive emblem [Fig. 87].

Louis XII’s queen, Anne of Brittany also used a number of familial and personal armorials and devices. The most recognizable of these are ermines of Brittany, which appear everywhere from manuscript borders (as in her Small Book of Hours, BnF ms nouv. acq. lat.3027) [Fig. 88] to the exterior of the Château of Blois alongside her husband’s porcupine [Fig. 89].\footnote{For Anne’s Small Hours, see Avril and Reynaud, cat. no. 238; Zöhl, 52-55; Wolff, ed. \textit{Kings, Queens, and Courtiers}, cat. no. 35.} Anne also frequently used the image of a knotted rope known as the \textit{cordelière} that was associated with her father Duke Francis II of Brittany and the Franciscan monastic order. It appears in her manuscripts, including her \textit{Grandes Heures}, where it appears encircling her coat of arms on one of the beginning folios of the manuscript [Fig. 90] and forms the rim of the reliquary-like vessel for her heart that was...
placed in the tomb of her parents [Fig. 91]. In 1498, following the death of her first husband, Anne even formed a ladies’ order for widows of the nobility called the *Ordre de la Cordelière*, which took the cord as its identifying symbol. A Book of Hours made for a member of Anne’s order at the beginning of the sixteenth century features the *cordelière* throughout its margins, associating its owner explicitly with the queen (Beinecke Library, ms. 375, fol. 4v-5r) [Fig. 92]. By the end of the fifteenth century, most nobility at court used the device. The language of royal devices, colors, and heraldry thus occupies a central place in the visual vocabulary of the French court in the late fifteenth century. The late fifteenth century courtier was well versed in all of these symbolic conventions in the same way that he or she was familiar with the specific sumptuary and vestimentary codes that prescribed the details of color, cut, and design for court ceremonial dress.

Late fifteenth-century French presentation miniatures also suggest some portrait-like specifics about their individual subjects, both patron and author or translator. France already had an established tradition of the individualized portrait, to the extent that medieval portraits offered accurate physiognomic representations. For example, there seems to be at the very least a basic consistency of features across depictions of Charles V in both manuscript miniatures and in sculpture. Stephen Perkinson has proposed that the origins of physiognomic likeness lie in the desire of court artists to show the appropriate loyalty to the monarch rather than in an artistic quest for realism. In the fifteenth century, this drive is visible in portraits of kings and queens with recognizable

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392 Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King*, 189-277.
features by Valois court artists. Jean Fouquet's meticulous portrait of Charles VII, for example, (Paris, Louvre) [Fig. 93] features the king in a three-quarter profile view, dominating nearly the entire space of the image. White curtains part to reveal the king, who is framed by a green background, and clasps his hands, just visible under his fur-lined cuffs. Where painted portraits of Charles V and Charles VI largely appeared in manuscripts, Fouquet’s monumentally sized portrait is a major break with traditional depictions of the king. The king seems to have intended for the portrait to be displayed in the Sainte Chapelle in Bourges, first founded by Duke Jean de Berry and an important royal space under Charles VII. The king’s image in this context imbues the space with continued royal connotations, marking it with an official portrait. However, the king’s unidealized physiognomy is notable, since the portrait lacks the ceremonial aspects of crown, scepter, and fleurs-de-lys robe that Fouquet included in portraits of the king in his Grandes Chroniques de France (BnF ms. fr. 6465, fol. 301v). Inglis argues that the

394 Inglis, Jean Fouquet and Invention of France, 110. Nicole Reynaud points out that this is the earliest life-size half-length independent portrait in Western art. See Nicole Reynaud, Jean Fouquet, exh. cat. (Paris, 1981), 15.
395 Thiébaut, 101-102.
emphasis on the king’s individuality anticipates future viewers and in doing so, acts a historical document intended to preserve the king’s character for posterity.\textsuperscript{397}

The interest in the king’s physical appearance seems not to have extended to his successors. Fouquet’s only portrait of Louis XI appears in the frontispiece and only miniature of the king’s copy of the \textit{Statutes of the Order of St. Michael} (BnF ms. fr. 19819, fol. 1r), shortly after the king created the order [Fig. 94].\textsuperscript{398} Designed to solidify the loyalty of important courtiers, the choice of Saint Michael as a patron made perfect sense within the visual language of royal symbols and devices. The image shows the members of the order, the chevaliers, wearing many of the insignia given to them by the king. Most recognizable is the collar of the order, which signaled both the loyalty of the wearer to the order and the king, but also his high rank at court. A crowned coat of arms with the triple fleur-de-lys of the monarchy is prominently displayed on the back wall directly above the king’s head and a panel of Saint Michael, and all the members of the order wear Louis XI’s livery colors of red and gold draped over their shoulders.

From later in the century, several portraits of Louis XII by court painters Jean Bourdichon and Jean Perréal are also extant. One example by Bourdichon in the fragmentary \textit{Hours of Louis XII} depicts the king kneeling in prayer, one half of a diptych-like arrangement of images across a folio opening [Fig. 95].\textsuperscript{399} The king’s portrayed

\hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{397} Inglis draws particularly on contemporary literature, from advice manuals to prescriptive literature about government, to argue that Fouquet depicted the king with the tension between the need for the king to share his inspiring presence and to maintain a degree of distance in mind. See Inglis, \textit{Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France}, 114-122.

\hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{398} Ibid., 104-105.

\hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{399} Wolff, ed. \textit{Kings, Queens, and Courtiers}, cat. no. 40; Avril and Reynaud, 295-296. The rest of the book survives in fragments; sixteen large miniatures are preserved and fifty-one pages of text are now in the collection of the British Library (Royal Ms. 2 D XL). See Thomas Kren and Mark
features are distinctive, including his long nose, hooded eyes, slight double chin, simply cut dark hair, and thin face, and are at least somewhat consistent with other images of the king, such as in a stained glass portrait dated to circa 1500-1505 and attributed to a design by Jean Perréal [Fig. 96].

Equal if not more visual weight in the Hours of Louis XII example is dedicated to the depiction of the trappings of the king’s station. He kneels in his dress armor, wearing the collar of the Order of Saint Michel, on a cushion of brocaded fleurs-de-lys. At his knees sits an elaborate helmet adorned with the royal crown. A coterie of four male saints connected with Louis XII and his role as king of France present him. Among the four, Saints Charlemagne and Louis appear draped in the fleur-de-lys of the office, holding the familiar symbols—Charlemagne with the globe and Louis with the scepter and main de justice. Though this example appears in a book made for the king, it is exemplary of a visual vocabulary designed to complement and enhance Louis’s imperial ambitions and his divinely appointed position as king.

A similar image of the kneeling king appears in a manuscript text of the Cosmographia by Ptolemy (BnF ms. lat. 4804, fol. 1v) by Jean Perréal [Fig. 97]. Here the king appears in prayer, similar dress armor kneeling on a cushion and a cloth of brocaded fleurs-de-lys. The king’s initial L topped by a crown appears against a cloth of his livery colors of red and gold. These images by Bourdichon and Perréal represent the increasingly recognizable likeness of the king at court and in court products. However,


401 Elisabeth Delahaye, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier and Thierry Crépin-Leblond, eds., *France 1500*, cat. no. 33.
the value of the king’s likeness in the context of state symbolism, beyond products made for the court, was beginning to become an important part of royal propaganda in the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{402} The royal portrait as state device became known in France during the reign of Louis XII (r. 1498-1515). The standard portrait of Louis XII that was used as the model for the simpler coin and medal portraits may derive from a panel prototype by Jean Perréal in which the king is shown in a three-quarter view, in ornate robes, wearing the collar of the Order of St. Michel [Fig. 98].\textsuperscript{403}

By the late fifteenth century, court audiences had become accustomed to a slightly more physionomically accurate rendering of the king’s likeness, but the image of the monarch remained highly standardized. Presentation miniatures containing this system of royal symbols can be viewed alongside the coins and seals that bore the king’s heraldry, devices, and his likeness. In mobilizing the same set of devices, heraldic colors, and armorial markings as other official royal images, presentation images functioned in a similar way. They legitimized the office of the king and his power, and validated his personal authority with institutional symbols. The symbolic aspects of royal portraiture—the fleur-de-lys, the collar of the Order of Saint Michel, personal devices—were the primary means by which the monarch was identifiable as such. These images, along with the highly performative public appearances the king made in Parlement and during royal entries, made the king a recognizable figure to his subjects. The court knew the king’s likeness, but in the late fifteenth century, the availability of the king’s image as a state symbol spread beyond these court products.

\textsuperscript{402} Scheller, “Ensigns of Authority,” 81-84.
\textsuperscript{403} Meyer, 43.
Versions of the king’s likeness were disseminated on a larger scale as his face and the symbols of his office appeared on coins intended for wide circulation within the kingdom. For example, a coin minted under Charles VII features an effigy of the king with the symbolic elements of scepter and main de justice on a field of fleurs-de-lys [Fig. 99]. The portrait coin in France, the teston, was minted from 1514 and was an important addition to the royal collection of devices. Because it functioned as currency, it enjoyed a much larger area of circulation than the medal and could reach a larger portion of the population. These coins feature an effigy of the king holding a scepter and main de justice in front of a ground of fleurs-de-lys [Fig. 100]. Thus, images of the king circulated among the court and eventually throughout the kingdom. Though they gesture toward physical likeness, they rely on the presence of royal symbols and devices to communicate their connection to the French crown.

One major development of the late fifteenth century was the increased popularity of the portrait medal, which made the widespread circulation of the king’s likeness possible.

404 Earlier versions of the king’s likeness on French coins also exist on coins minted for Charles VII (r. 1422-1461) and Louis XI (r. 1461-1483). See Perkinson, Likeness of the King, 89-98; 121-123.
405 Though the minting of the teston in France itself did not begin until 1514, they were produced in Italy before that, circulating between the two countries. Portrait coins of Louis XII circulated as Naples, one of the Italian territories to which he laid claim. Some French dukes, including Duke Pierre II of Bourbon and the Dukes of Lorraine, ordered portrait coins of their own to be struck in their mints. See Scheller, “Ensigns of Authority,” 89; notes 58, 148. See also Jean Lafaurie, Les monnaies des rois de France, I: Hugues Capet à Louis XII (Paris/Basel: Bâle, 1951); Luisa Cogliati and Ermano Arslan, “Le monnayage milanais de Louis XII et ses antécédents sous les Sforza” in La monnaie, miroir des rois, 99-138 (Paris: Hôtel de la Monnaie, 1978).
possible. Such products are distinct from coinage because they are larger, were not used as currency, and circulated primarily among aristocrats and royalty in France.\textsuperscript{407} Most portrait medals of Charles VIII clearly derive from the conventions of coinage in both their iconography and gold material.\textsuperscript{408} One such portrait medal of Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany was struck in 1494 to celebrate the royal couple’s ceremonial entry into the city of Lyon (BnF Dept. of Coins, Medals, and Antiquities, série royale 31) [Fig. 101]. The king and queen appear in profile, crowned, against a background of fleurs-de-lys.\textsuperscript{409} The king wears the collar of the Order of St. Michael while the queen wears a mantle covered in her signature ermine. These medals were so emblematic of the city that they were re-struck two more times, in 1502 and 1514, further disseminating the royal images among a considerably large group of courtiers. When Charles VIII’s successor Louis XII entered Lyon for the first time in 1499, the same goldsmiths who had made the Charles VIII medals outdid themselves by creating a large golden porcupine for the king.\textsuperscript{410}

Several portrait medals of Louis XII have survived from his reign; they rely upon the same system of royal devices as coins, feature large portraits of the king, and were originally minted in gold. They proved very popular as collector’s items among members of the court. For example, the medals of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany produced in Lyon in 1499 by goldsmith Jean Lepère and his colleague Nicolas Leclerc were recast

\textsuperscript{407} Scheller, “Ensigns of Authority,” 82-90.
\textsuperscript{409} Wolff, ed. Kings, Queens, and Courtiers, cat. no. 24. The Latin inscriptions read: FELIX FORTVNA EXPLORATVM ATVLIT 1493 (“Propitious fortune has brought us that which was long awaited 1493”) and R P LVGDVNE NEN ANNA REGNANTE CONFLAVIT (“The republic of Lyon had me wrought in the reign of Anne”).
\textsuperscript{410} Wolff, ed. Kings, Queens, and Courtiers, cat. no. 24.
many times until the nineteenth century (Musée National de la Renaissance, Ecouen, ECI.477; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1925.142.43) [Fig. 102]. The original medal was struck to commemorate the entry of Anne of Brittany into Lyon following her second marriage to Louis XII. The medal is of a considerably larger scale, a little more than four inches in diameter compared to the two inches of the Charles VIII medal struck in the same city only five years earlier. Recipients of such medals thus acquired both an image of their king’s likeness as well as an object of significant economic value. These artifacts are known in France as a pièce à plaisir, manufactured for presentation to the king and/or queen by a city for occasions that included ceremonial entries or made at the king’s command to commemorate events such as military victories. Four examples produced to commemorate royal entries survive. They show Louis XII, usually in profile, framed with a background of fleurs-de-lys, though the medal presented to the king at his entry to Paris in 1498 pictures him in three-quarter view, again perhaps inspired by Jean Perréal’s painted portrait. The medal presented to Louis XII by the city of Tours in 1500 (BnF département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, série royale no. 49) shows the king in profile on one side and on the reverse the king’s royal device, a porcupine surmounted by a crown [Fig. 103].

411 Wolff, ed. Kings, Queens, and Courtiers, cat. no. 25
412 Ibid., cat. no. 25 and 26.
413 Scheller, “Ensigns of Authority,” 83.
416 Elisabeth Delahaye, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier and Thierry Crépin-Leblond, eds., France 1500, cat. no. 29
Royal charters were also decorated with the king’s devices, name, and sometimes his portrait. The royal seal usually accompanied such charters. The seal of Louis XII borrows from the iconography of coins and portrait medals to articulate the king’s authority, and compares closely to the way the king is imaged in presentation miniatures. The official seal of Louis XII features a frontal, crowned figure of the king under a cloth of honor covered in fleurs-de-lys; he holds the scepter and the *main de justice* [Fig. 104]. Compare this to the presentation miniature in a luxury manuscript of Petrarch’s *Des remèdes contre l'une et l'autre fortune*, illuminated by Jean Pichore for the king (BnF ms. fr. 225) [Fig. 105]. As on the seal, the king sits enthroned and crowned, oriented almost completely frontally beneath a cloth of honor covered in fleurs-de-lys to match his royal robe. He extends his right hand to receive the proffered book from the kneeling man, while his left hand maintains his grip on the *main de justice*. The same iconography appears on the Golden Bull of Louis XII, produced in Paris in 1500 (BnF, Dept. of Coins, Medals, and Antiquities, 56.439) [Fig. 106]. Probably used for the official treaty that divided the kingdom of Naples between Louis XII and Ferdinand of Aragon, the seal features Louis XII in high relief dressed in a robe that combines the arms of France, Naples, Anjou, and Jerusalem. On the reverse, a coat of arms representing France is surrounded by the collar of the Order of Saint Michael and paired with the arms of Naples with the motto *Los en crossant* (“increasing honor”) above the crescent.

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418 Scheller, “Ensigns of Authority,” 89.
symbolizing Ferdinand’s military order. Coins and seals with their readily recognizable royal devices created in their audiences the ability to establish relationships between media.

By borrowing coronation imagery of the figure of the king below a cloth of honor, surrounded by royal insignia, presentation images connected to the idea of an approved, traditional image, or even a generic image of “kingship” that operated through a language of symbols rather than pure physiognomic replication of the king’s face. Audiences of presentation miniatures would already have been familiar with the coin-like arrangement of the king’s appearance in presentation scenes, oriented frontally and bedecked in royal symbols and personal devices. Neither the examples representing Charles VIII nor the ones featuring Louis XII are particularly distinctive in terms of physiognomic likeness. These images operate on the same level as portrait medals: particularities of the king’s face are less important than the system of symbolic devices that surround him.

A series of manuscripts containing the translation of Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, which describes the military retreat of an ancient Greek army, prepared by Claude de Seyssel for King Louis XII exemplifies the function of presentation imagery as a type of royal image and its function in service of royal visual propaganda. In the opening years of the sixteenth century and the early years of Louis XII’s reign, Seyssel acted in several capacities for the king, primarily as a diplomat and later in his life as bishop of Marseilles and archbishop of Turin. He also composed a number of works for Louis XII as an author.

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420 Mary Beth Winn identifies and briefly analyzes this set of manuscripts in terms of what they say about Louis XII’s preference for manuscripts in her recent article on royal presentation images in both illumination and print. Mary Beth Winn, “Paint, Pen, and Print: Royal Presentations in France, 1470-1515,” *Manuscripta* 50 (2006): 205-208.
and translator. Seyssel completed an extensive set of texts for the king, most famously a political treatise entitled *La Monarchie de France*, in addition to legal commentaries, works of propaganda for the French monarchy, and some of the first translations from the Latin and Greek of several ancient authors into French.\(^{421}\)

Though Seyssel found success with the French king, he remained largely outside the circle of writers at the French court, without connections either to *Grands rhetoriqueurs* such as Jean Lemaire de Belges and André de la Vigne. However, Seyssel had an advantageous political connection to the court of Savoy, the territory that provided access to Italy through Alpine passes. Louis XII probably regarded this as a mutually beneficial relationship, since he required access to the Alps to reach Milan, the conquest of which was one of his primary goals. Rebecca Boone suggests that Seyssel probably believed his translations could serve his own interests at court; they could cultivate royal patronage and enhance his reputation as a scholar while also supporting the French military project in Italy.\(^{422}\) In this way, Seyssel participated in court life primarily as a diplomat and royal councilor rather than a writer and in order to garner the king’s favor, Seyssel responded directly to the king’s interest in histories, which he enthusiastically cultivated. His translations of ancient histories, however, were never published, but instead were reserved for the king and his court.\(^{423}\) Boone suggests that Seyssel chose to

\(^{423}\) Seyssel completed several other secular histories, all dedicated to Louis XII: Appian of Alexandria’s *Wars of the Romans*, Plutarch’s *Life of Mark Antony*, Justin’s *Epitome of History*, and Plutarch’s *Life of Demetrius*. He also translated his only non-secular history, *The
translate Greek works because they were new and cutting edge; such Greek texts had never been available in translation to a French audience but were also privileged reading materials. The contents of ancient history contained information that should be limited to the king and his circle and kept from a general public audience. She reaffirms A.C. Dionisotti’s assertion that Seyssel’s translations catered to the same audience of court nobles who were interested in medieval romances but were largely inexperienced with Latin and Greek but instead preferred to hear stories read in French vernacular prose.

Seyssel also presented a number of illuminated manuscript copies of his history translations to the king, each produced with the king’s royal taste for luxury books in mind, many of which have an illuminated presentation miniature in keeping with the authorial and artistic trend of the period. Seyssel’s translation of the *Anabasis* exists in three known deluxe manuscript copies: the presentation copy for Louis XII (BnF ms. fr. 702), which is now regarded as the original, a second copy intended for the English King Henry VII (British Library Royal 19 C VI), and the third and final copy presented to Duke Charles II of Savoy in 1508 (BnF ms. fr. 701). The Master of Spencer 6 decorated both ms. fr. 701 and Royal 19 C VI, which seem to have been produced concurrently, both after the original intended for Louis XII, BnF 702. In the prologues of the second and third copies destined for King Henry VII and Duke Charles II of Savoy, Seyssel explained that Louis XII believed the text should be safeguarded: “Because of the

Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, in 1514, which he dedicated to Anne of Brittany. Finally, Seyssel translated Appian’s account of the Punic wars in 1515, intended for Louis XII, but dedicated to the new king Francis I after the death of Louis XII. See Boone, 565.

424 Boone, 564.
425 Boone, 566; Dionisotti, 73-89.
singularity of the book, it seemed to [Louis XII] that it ought not to be made public, rather as a rare thing it ought to belong to princes and important persons only.\footnote{The prologue reads: “Et tellement que pour la singularite du livre luy a semble quil ne debuoit point ester divulgue ains comme chouse tresrere ester communiqué a prinpces et grans personnaiges tant seullement.” BnF ms. fr. 701, preface to the translation of Xenophon’s \textit{Anabasis}. For a transcription of the prologue, see Dionisotti, appendix, 91-95.}

Dionisotti, Boone, and Winn all agree that Seyssel deliberately never had his translations printed because their limited availability made them rare, and was thus an important aspect of their value.\footnote{Dionsotti and Boone focus largely on the form and content of the text itself, while Winn sees this strategy as primarily flattering Louis XII, who preferred to hoard his treasured books. See Winn, “Paint, Pen, and Print,” 205. Seyssel’s translations were eventually published only after his death by the order of Francis I, and directed by the king’s lecteur Jacques Colin. See Dionisotti, 86.} Seyssel’s strategy of creating only luxury copies of his translations was specific to his courtly environment. By making his texts exclusive to the king, he imbued his gifts to his patrons with even more value, increasing his own intellectual prestige by creating sought-after and novel new texts for a court audience while also flattering his royal patrons’ taste in literature and for unique, beautiful books.

The character of the presentation scenes in each copy of the \textit{Anabasis} further helps illuminated the function of such images both at the French court and in diplomatic courtly gift giving. Louis XII’s copy (BnF ms. fr. 702) was produced first, illuminated by the Master of Philippe de Gueldre and featuring an elaborate presentation scene as part of a folio opening [Fig. 107]. The presentation, which draws on the symbolic vocabulary of the monarchy employed on coinage, sits opposite a heraldic page with the \textit{cerf volant} and a porcupine holding up the triple fleur-de-lys of the French monarchy. In the center of a circular area delimited by a low wall, Seyssel kneels to the king, with his back visible to the viewer, as if the viewer holding the manuscript was witnessing the scene from a
privileged position just beyond the wooden barrier. Louis XII is seated and dressed in a formal robe strewn with fleurs-de-lys beneath a canopy that repeats the fleur-de-lys motif. To the king’s right sit six ecclesiastical figures, ranging in rank from cardinal to friar. To the king’s left is the laity, comprising representative figures of a constable, a duke, members of Parlement, and commoners.428

This is an atypical presentation image, but it draws upon recognizable and conventional models. At its basic level, it depicts the enthroned king among the various representatives of the French classes, both secular and religious. Additional motifs, such as the figure of God the Father presiding over the image from above the canopy with rays of light streaming down over the king, offer an image of kingship intimately tied to divine right.429 Textual inscriptions also call the viewer’s attention to this reading. Four of the rays, which touch the heads of the assembled company, have Latin inscriptions tying them to Biblical passages and identifying them as several of the Holy Ghost’s seven gifts.430 Scheller asserts that this pictorially and intellectually dense image encompasses an absolutist view of French kingship with Louis XII positioned as intermediary between the divine and his loyal and willing subjects.431 The image draws on presentation conventions, picturing the moment when the book changes hands from Seyssel to the King, but it is also wrapped in a web of symbolism that is specific to the king and his rulership of France. As the intended recipient of this copy, Louis XII would be reminded

428 Scheller, “Ensigns of Authority,” 100.
429 Ibid., 99.
430 Scheller identifies and translations each of these Biblical citations in “Ensigns of Authority,” 100.
431 Scheller, “Ensigns of Authority,” 100.
of his divinely ordained right to rule and his responsibility to his subjects as their king. The relationship between Louis and his translator would be reformalized upon each viewing and the act of book presentation elevated to the realm of the image’s solemn, Biblical message.

The second and third copies of the *Anabasis* translation were also intended for “princes and important persons,” as the prologue to the text specifies, and they each also contain a presentation scene of the book being given to the French king by Seyssel. A few years after the Seyssel had presented his translation to the French king, he made a diplomatic visit to the English court in 1508, where he presented the second copy (BL Royal 19 C VI) to the English king, Henry VII. ④32 This book contains not one, but two presentation miniatures: the first, a full-folio image of Seyssel kneeling before Louis XII [Fig. 108]; the second, a half-folio representation of Seyssel with his back to the viewer, in the midst of giving a book to Henry VII [Fig. 109]. Each image is followed by a textual dedication to the respective ruler. The reasons for such a multiplication of images and dedications are manifold. Henry VII had requested a copy of the translation, which Seyssel provided only with the consent of Louis XII. ④33 Seyssel was following the expectations of courtly conduct in presenting his host, the English king, with a deluxe manuscript version his translation. As a high-ranking figure at the French court whose livelihood depended on remaining in the good graces of the king, Seyssel was also

required to pay homage to his original patron. As a result, the finished manuscript contains dual presentation scenes as well as two separate prologues to each monarch. The dual presentations and prologues also carry significant meaning in the diplomatic relations between England and France. In the prologue addressed to the English king, Seyssel offers praise of Louis XII’s library, effectively advertising the vast, erudite, and materially rich holdings of the French library abroad. The presentation miniature of the book to Louis XII in this second copy sends a powerful visual message to the English king that when combined with the text of the prologue, makes the origin of the translation and of the deluxe manuscript clear to its recipient. In the secondary prologue to the English king, Seyssel also praises Henry VII’s preferences in reading and the quality of his library, though with perhaps slightly less gusto than that with which he described the “tresnoble amas” (“very noble collection”) contained in the French library at Blois.434

The British Library’s copy of the presentation image of Seyssel and Louis XII is, by comparison to the christomimetic version in BnF 702, much more conventional and of a different style. It shows the translator offering his book to the king, who is seen in profile view at the left seated on a throne bedecked with a textile of golden fleurs-de-lys on a blue ground; the whole scene is witnessed by a generic group of onlookers that fills the background. The text prologue to the British Library manuscript identifies Seyssel as the translator, but Henry VII, king of England as the recipient of the book (“Prologue de messire Claude de seyssel translateur / de ce present livre au trespuissant et tressaige Roy dangle/terre henry vie de ce nom”), with the king’s portrait as part of the presentation

434 Winn, “Paint, Pen, and Print,” 206.
scene (f. 17r) and the English royal arms supported by greyhound and a red dragon (fol. 16v) [Fig. 110], or encircled by the English military Order of the Garter (fol. 20r) [Fig. 111], the portcullis representing the house of Beaufort (fols. 16v and 20r) [Fig. 112], and the red roses of Lancaster (fol. 20r). These two presentation images serve a very particular purpose. With the complex iconography of the original stripped away and replaced with the standard issue presentation iconography, the image of Louis XII draws heavily on the symbolic repertoire of the monarchy, advertising the origin of the book for its new recipient. The half-page image of the English king, though, mobilizes similar symbolic language as the original, surrounding the English king with a number of representatives of both the ecclesiastical and secular classes. A small image of God the Father appears above the canopy, though this image lacks the inscribed rays of the original. The illuminator appears to have drawn on the composition of the Louis XII’s copy, though he has simplified the iconographic message. When viewed in succession, the appearance of the French king first followed by his prologue, and then the English king several folios later, the dual presentation images effectively provide the reader with a clear statement of where the book originated and by whose authority Seyssel was able to present the manuscript to the English king.

The third copy (BnF ms. fr. 701), produced at the same time as Royal 19 C VI but presented to Duke Charles II of Savoy, whose support and alliance Louis XII needed to secure the Alpine passes to Italy, replicates the presentation to the French king in the British Library manuscript almost exactly [Fig. 113]. The scene shows precisely the same people in the same dress, and perfectly replicates the audience of onlookers from the
same viewing angle, though the image in Royal 19 C VI is seen from a slightly more recessed viewing point. In place of the English heraldry and presentation to the English king, one sees the heraldry of the duchy of Savoy, a white cross on a red ground held aloft by lions, facing a presentation scene featuring Seyssel kneeling to give the book to Duke Charles, who sits in front of a cloth of honor embroidered with the knot motif and “FERT” devices belonging to the house of Savoy [Fig. 114]. The multiplication of presentation images again in succession from French king receiving the book to the Duke receiving a copy of the same book several folios later, has a similar visual effect as the British Library’s copy for Henry VII. The book functioned effectively as a diplomatic gift, and in order to do so, the giver (Seyssel) and the patron who authorized the translation and the production of another luxury copy (Louis XII), were clearly identified for the book’s final recipient, the Duke of Savoy. All of the images draw upon a rich visual language of heraldry and aristocratic symbolic devices; the presentation image itself acts as another type of these images—conventional, but powerful in its content.

While printed versions of the *Anabasis* and several other translations originally made for the king were produced only after Seyssel’s death in 1520, he used the press for other means. Seyssel was a member of the court who relied on royal patronage, though he also proved deft at manipulating patronage structures to produce works at both the highest courtly level but also in more modest terms, depending on the social status of his audiences. Seyssel had two of his texts for a public audience: *Les Louenges du Roy Louis XII* (1508) and *La Victoire du Roi contre les Vénitiens* (1510). Unlike the ancient

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435 Boone, 564. See also Winn, “Paint, Pen, and Print,” 207.
histories that were perhaps privileged knowledge intended to be specific to princes and court audiences, these texts were written as propaganda pieces to glorify the king’s achievements in Italy and praise his fine character and the quality of his leadership.

Specially produced luxury vellum copies of these editions were also commissioned, demonstrating that Seyssel continued to be sensitive to the tastes of his aristocratic audiences. Seyssel employed Antoine Vérard, who had by that time gained a reputation for producing high-quality vellum print copies for aristocratic patrons both at home and abroad, to produce his presentation copies. For example, Queen Anne of Brittany received a specially prepared volume of Seyssel’s *Louenges du roy Louys XIIe de ce nom*, which glorifies the heroic deeds of her husband, published in 1508 by Antoine Vérard (BnF Rés. Vél. 2780). For Anne’s copy, Seyssel had the generic presentation woodcut of a cleric offering his book to the French king replaced with a miniature depicting the queen as the sole dedicatee receiving the book from Seyssel [Fig. 115]. The gray background adorned with black ermine symbols that decorate the frame around the miniature echo those covering the throne upon which the queen sits. Her arms appear in the lower margin. The queen’s costume also features gold fleurs-de-lys on a blue field, symbolizing the French-Breton alliance. This presentation copy still features the lengthy dedication to Louis XII, as did all the paper copies that were printed of the text. In this way, Seyssel maintains his association with the king while also denoting Anne as the specific reader of this specially made book. In each of these specially prepared

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437 The woodcut printed in the paper copies of the volume features the French arms in this space. Paper copies of the text featured a woodcut of a stock presentation scene that had been used by
manuscript copies, the presentation scenes are still highly schematized, symbol-laden versions of idealized events, since none of these presentations actually took place. The symbolic language of monarchy—the fleur-de-lys, crown and scepter, and other trappings—was embedded within the image type, so that the presentation scene itself became a symbol of patronage and ultimately, an image of royal authority that authors like Seyssel could use to personalize and flatter his patrons.

The symbolic language of presentation was also highly visible and common in another medium: the new oil panel painting popular in the Netherlands and increasingly circulating throughout the French kingdom. The common format for devotional triptychs of the period featured patron saints presenting the triptych’s patron to a central figure, commonly the Virgin, or a religious scene. Panels were rare at the French court, however, and book presentation scenes instead became the appropriate way to image patronage. Flemish panels configured their patrons as observers of a religious event while situated in the privileged viewing space of the wings, often with their name saints. Viewers understood that this configuration denoted their patronage of the panel and perhaps sponsorship of its installation in a private or public chapel. In France, however,

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Vérard to depict a number of different people over many years. Louise of Savoy and Cardinal George d’Amboise also received specially prepared copies of this text (BnF Rés. Vél. 2779 and 2781) that do not have presentation images but are decorated with their coats of arms. There is no extant copy of the version that Louis XII might have received from Seyssel. According to Winn, Seyssel seems to have controlled the publication of this work, as he did with others that he wrote and Vérard published. See Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*, 97.

the book, not the panel, remained a primary mode of patronage, and as such the presentation scene became the principal way to represent court patronage.\footnote{There are a few notable exceptions to this rule. Jean Fouquet completed panels for high-ranking court patrons Jouvenal des Ursins and Etienne Chevalier. A single panel, an altarpiece triptych, survives by his successor Jean Bourdichon, though, and the number of luxury manuscripts and even luxury printed books far outnumbers the number of painted diptychs and other panels made for the French court. For Fouquet’s work for Ursins and Chevalier, see Inglis, \textit{Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France}, 10-15; François Avril, ed. \textit{Jean Fouquet: Peintre et enlumineur du XVe siècle} (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale/Hazan, 2003), 110-137 (cats. 5-9). For the \textit{Hours of Étienne Chevalier} specifically, see the most recent facsimile: Nicole Reynaud, \textit{Jean Fouquet: Les Heures d’Étienne Chevalier} (Dijon: Éditions Faton, 2006) and Nicole Reynaud, “Image et Texte dans les Heures d’Étienne Chevalier” in \textit{Jean Fouquet: Peintre et enlumineur du XVe siècle}, ed. François Avril (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale/Hazan, 2003), 64-69.}

The royal figures represented in book presentation scenes were not intended to be portraits in the narrowly defined physiognomic sense, but rather depictions of the act of patronage more broadly. Heavily symbolic in gesture and steeped in the use of recognizable royal devices, presentation scenes showed their viewers the appropriate form and function of court patronage and effectively branded products in which they appeared as participating in those systems. In the case of the three copies of Seyssel’s \textit{Anabasis} translation, the presentation image of Seyssel and his original patron, Louis XII, served to legitimize the subsequent gift copies of the text in the same way that a royal emblem or seal might legitimize a document.

\textbf{V. Printed Presentations}

By the end of the fifteenth century, presentation miniatures had become a conventional fixture as frontispieces in manuscripts made for the monarchy and court members who emulated this method of advertising patronage and political status. As the new technology of printing gradually made its first appearance in France, printers and
publishers built upon this precedent and adopted presentation miniatures to legitimize and promote their own products. However, printed presentations had a variety of different functions, given the varying interest of the monarchy in the new medium and the tailoring of printed books to a variety of audiences by printers and publishers. French royalty continued to collect examples of deluxe books that were specially made as presentation copies, often with unique presentation images illuminated by a manuscript artist in the traditional way. Plain woodcut presentation images were also included in printed editions for wider consumption, creating visual linkages between original and copy while subtly changing the function of the presentation image as it moved between media and accessed a variety of audiences, both in and outside the court. The visual conventions and symbolic function of manuscript presentation images provided a means through which publishers adapted the new medium for a courtly audience, altering and overpainting woodcuts to specify and flatter certain royal patrons, while plain woodcuts brought presentation imagery to a more public audience, linking back to a conceptual original and legitimizing the copies.

The arrival of the printing press in Paris corresponded with the period in French political history of a slow but irreversible reinforcement of the apparatus of royal power. As we have seen, royal power was imaged through symbols and devices that were increasingly visible through portrait medals and other means. The 1470s saw the

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440 The first instance of a presentation scene in print did not occur in France, but in England, in William Caxton’s printing of Raoul LeFèvre’s *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, printed in Bruges in 1473. The printed frontispiece draws directly from manuscript precedents, depicting Caxton kneeling before Margaret of York, the English-born duchess of Burgundy. This printed presentation replicates manuscript precedents exactly, depicting Caxton kneeling in front of the Duchess, the book just leaving his hands for hers.
beginning of the printing industry in France, with the first press established in Paris at the Sorbonne. Louis XI was known as a calculating politician but was also a noted intellectual and he acknowledged the potential economic gain inherent to print.\footnote{Nichole Hochner, \textit{Louis XII: Les dérèglements de l’image royale} (Paris, Champ Vallon, 2006), 11-33; Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, \textit{Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500}, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000), I: 330-332.} Despite his support for the commercial establishment of print in France, it seems that Louis XI did not collect printed books himself, since none have been connected with him or his library. The only printed works that are associated with Louis XI appeared after his death. One of these is a woodcut of the king as a young man appears in the first edition of \textit{Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles}, published by Antoine Vérard in Paris in 1486, in which Louis appears seated on a chair with a dolphin, identifying him as “dauphin,” the heir apparent to the French throne, at the time the collection of stories within were performed [Fig. 116].\footnote{Winn, “Paint, Pen, and Print,” 198-199.} The woodcut clearly draws from presentation imagery, depicting the future king seated above an audience of onlookers. The unrestrained use of fleurs-de-lys on the columns that frame the miniature and on the crowned coat of arms that hangs directly above the dauphin makes the royal connection obvious through its use of symbols. The printed version of the \textit{Statutes of the Order of St. Michel}, of which Louis XI owned the manuscript copy with introductory miniature by Jean Fouquet, was eventually produced, though it was not issued until fifty years after the king’s death. It was illustrated with an image that represents Louis XI with a repurposed woodcut that depicted Charles VIII in an edition of the \textit{Ordonnances de la prevoté} published in 1500, though in both instances
the crowned figure is specified only through the accompanying prologue text [Fig. 117].

Louis XI’s son and successor Charles VIII was far more active in adding printed books to the royal library. (BnF Rés. Vél. 723). The earliest French printed book to enter the library of Charles VIII the presentation copy of *La Mer des histoires*, printed by Pierre Le Rouge in 1488 (Paris, BnF rés. Vél. 676-677). The two-volume work is atypically large for a printed book, and was produced using fine vellum and illuminated throughout, containing more than 1,600 miniatures that were produced using hundreds of woodcuts. The striking difference between luxury royal presentation copy and standard edition is made clear in a comparison of the beginning page of the second volume’s printed version for wide distribution and the same page in the version made for the king [Fig. 118]. In the king’s version, the only hint that this work began as a printed text is in the small text marking “feuillet i” at the top of the page; the original woodcut has been completely obscured by an expanse of exuberant floral decoration. This work is truly a hybrid product, as much manuscript as print, and most definitely a unique product intended for a specific (and royal) patron.

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43 Winn, “Paint, Pen, and Print,” 197.
44 Ibid., 198.
45 The earliest printed volume to enter Charles VIII’s library was Italian, a vellum copy of the *Commentaries on the Deeds of Francesco Sforza* by Giovanni Simonetta, but it was originally intended for Louis XI. See Winn, “Paint, Pen, and Print,” 198. For Pierre le Rouge and the *Mer des histoires*, see Wolff, ed. *Kings, Queens, and Courtiers*, cat. no. 28; Robert Brun, “La Mer des histoires de Pierre Le Rouge offerte à Charles VIII” *Humanisme actif: Mélanges d’art et de literature offerts à Julien Cain*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1968), 191-197.
Charles VIII went on to create the post of printer to the king in 1488 and subsequently began a fruitful relationship with the printers of Paris. Though Pierre Le Rouge, the creator of La Mer des histoires, was one of the first successful commercial printers to set up shop in Paris, it was his successor, Antoine Vérard who found success as a provider of luxury printed books to royal patrons. After Charles VIII came of age and his sister Anne of France was released from her regency, he began to acquire printed books. Antoine Vérard was his primary supplier, presenting the king with about 40 deluxe copies of printed editions until the king’s death in 1498. Vérard’s success in catering to his royal patron depended on his knowledge of court patronage structures and on his ability to create products that appealed to the court aesthetically. Vérard in some respects was essentially a court printer, analogous to the court painter, though he never held the office of royal printer. In order to actively pursue royal patrons such as the king, Vérard frequently associated himself with the top illuminators of the day, including the Master of Jacques de Besançon, member of one of the most prolific ateliers of the second half of the fifteenth century. Notarial documents reveal that Vérard was compensated

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447 His successor Louis XII also granted royal privileges to printers of books in 1513 and effectively replaced university support of the book trade. See Richard and Mary Rouse, Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Paris 1200-1500, 2 vols. (Harvey Miller, 2000), I: 330-332.
448 Winn, Anthoine Verard, 104-105
449 Vérard and the Master of Jacques de Besançon worked together for a number of presentation copies. The anonymous Master of Jacques de Besançon worked in a particularly prolific illuminators’ workshop in Paris in the second half of the fifteenth century. Durrieu first identified the atelier in the late nineteenth century and attributed almost 50 manuscripts produced over a period of more than 40 years to a series of artists present there. Durrieu also attributed the illuminated illustrations in about thirty printed books to the illuminator of a miniature depicting St. John (Paris, Bib. Mazarine, MS. 461, fol. 9r) in a book whose colophon records the donation of the work to the confraternity of St John the Evangelist by “Jacques de Besançon enlumineur.” Durrieu later renamed the artist Maître François and the workshop’s artistic personalities were
with considerable sums from the king, and the publisher responded by producing works that were consistent with the king’s taste and then personalizing them with prefaces, dedications, miniatures, and illuminations fit for a courtly environment. Vérard was the first to grasp how to market the new medium to a royal and aristocratic audience, and he did so effectively, using his understanding of courtly patronage structures. Vérard’s use and manipulation of the conventional presentation image offers an example through which to examine how presentation scenes made the move across media from manuscript to print.

In navigating the new problems and potential of print, the pressure was on printers and publishers to distinguish themselves. One of the primary ways they could do so was by associating themselves with royal patrons. Using manuscript text prologues by authors and translators and their accompanying presentation images as their inspirations, printers and publishers tried to advertise their connections to the king using these same

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further broken down into three successive artists: the Master of Jean Rolin, c. 1440–65; Maître François, c. 1460–80; and the Chief Associate of Maître François, c. 1480–98. Both Sterling (1990) and Reynaud (1993 exh. cat.) rehabilitated the name Jacques de Besançon in the group, although Reynaud modified it to the “Master of Jacques de Besançon,” citing ambiguity in the meaning of the term *enlumineur*. While employed by Vérard, the Master of Jacques de Besançon was responsible for numerous frontispieces for wealthy clients and occasionally for longer programs of illumination in Vérard’s print/illumination hybrid books. Based on a number of previously unpublished archival documents, Mathieu Deldicque has recently proposed the names of two Parisian miniaturists, François le Barbier and his son of the same name, as possible identifications for the Master François and the Master of Jacques de Besançon. See Paul Durrieu, *Un Grand Enlumineur parisien au XVe siècle: Jacques de Besançon et son œuvre* (Paris: H. Champion, 1892); Charles Sterling, *La Peinture médiévale à Paris, 1300-1500*, vol. II (Paris: Fondation Wildenstein, 1990), 177-80, 215-219; Mathieu Deldicque, “L’enluminure à Paris à la fin du XVe siècle: Maître François, le Maître de Jacques de Besançon et Jacques de Besançon identifiés?” *Revue de l’Art* 183/1 (2014): 9-18.

strategies. They addressed the king by name in their prefaces and included woodcut presentation scenes. However, there are distinctions to be made between presentation images in volumes intended as deluxe copies for the king or other noble patron, and undecorated woodcut presentation images available in paper copies of the same texts for wide release.

In a series of presentation images in deluxe printed books prepared for King Charles VIII, Vérard’s aspirations to be the printer to the king are evident. With his Orose, published by Vérard on August 21, 1491, the publisher initiated his series of hand-painted vellum presentation copies for the king (BnF Rés. Vél. 682-683). This edition, specially translated and compiled for the king, includes a half-page miniature of Charles VIII receiving the book from a kneeling figure, probably Vérard himself [Fig. 119]. The presentation is conventional, with the familiar cloth of honor and the king’s robes decorated with gold fleurs-de-lys on an azure ground, a motif taken up in the borders and finished with the royal arms held aloft by angels in the lower border. The binding of the book being presented is also notable. The cover bears a fleur-de-lys in each corner and the royal coat of arms mirroring the one in the border adorns the center. The image of the book matches the binding of the actual book, particularizing the scene and grounding it in physical reality, though there is no evidence that this presentation actually occurred.

In a particularly lavish 1493 presentation copy of Boccaccio’s La louenge et vertu des nobles et cleres dames (BnF Rés. Vél. 1223), illuminated by the Master of Jacques de

Besançon and filled with fine illuminations, the presentation image that prefaces the book is no exception [Fig. 120].\textsuperscript{452} Here the king is marked by the abundance of textiles covered in fleur-de-lys, which adorn his clothing and his cloth of honor. Further, the motif of gold fleur-de-lys on blue background motif also forms the image’s border, marking the book itself as a thoroughly royal product both in its abstract sense, as the audience looks on at Vérard displaying a red book with heavy gold escutcheons within the image, and in its material physicality. Vérard and his illuminators used this technique to denote royal books, as in the presentation copy of the Apologues et Fables Laurens Valle (BnF Rés. Vél. 611, fol. a\textsubscript{1}), published c. 1490, which shows Vérard kneeling to present the book to Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany, both bedecked in textiles embroidered with fleurs-de-lys, and several members of the assembled audience craning their necks to get a better view of the ceremony [Fig. 121].\textsuperscript{453}

While presentation images in luxury printed copies follow the same conventions as manuscript versions of similar scenes and served much the same purpose in creating a reciprocal relationship between humble giver and noble receiver, Vérard also advertised his royal connections to a wider audience. He visually aligned himself with the sponsorship of the monarchy in the visual language of the day—the symbolic device.

Vérard’s printer’s device features his monogram, which appears under the royal coat of arms displaying the triple fleur-de-lys [Fig. 122].\textsuperscript{454} Vérard frequently manipulated the

\textsuperscript{452} Winn, Antoine Vérard, 114-116.
\textsuperscript{453} Ibid. 88-89.
\textsuperscript{454} By using the shield of the French royal arms, Vérard suggests his direct association with the crown though, unlike his predecessor Pierre Le Rouge, Vérard never held the official title of “libraire du roy.” See Winn, Antoine Vérard, 419-423.
content of the text prologues to reflect the current ruler, often inserting him into older texts. For example, in the edition of Honoré Bouvet’s *Arbre des batailles*, printed in 1493, Anthoine Vérard changed the author’s dedication, originally written in the 1380s, from Charles VI to Charles VIII. Vérard’s prologue retained most of Bouvet’s original, but with careful changes: he deleted Bouvet’s name and references to the fourteenth-century author’s native Provence, deliberately confusing the authorship of the text.

This altered prologue was printed in all copies of the edition below a large woodcut of the king receiving the book from a kneeling cleric, a print that Vérard used in several editions of other texts [Fig 123]. The image, though generic and used for a number of different figures over time, stands in for the symbolic image of the king but is specified through the accompanying textual prologue that contains the current king’s name. In this way, Vérard takes advantage of the possibilities of the woodcut—easily and cheaply reproduced—while also publicizing his connection to the current monarch for a wide audience.

Much of Vérard’s success lay in his ability to balance associating himself closely with noble patrons to impress his public while also catering to those aristocratic patrons who expected a certain type of product. In the presentation copy of the *Arbre des batailles*, created for Duke Charles of Angoulême, the standard woodcut presentation has been overpainted to depict the presentation of the book by Vérard himself to the duke.

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456 For the full text of the prologue, see Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*, 246-247.
457 This woodcut was first used in the 1488 edition of Aristotle’s *Ethiques* and appears in the 1491 edition of *La Vengeance nostre Seigneur* (BnF rés. Yf 72) with an inserted title. See John MacFarlane, *Antoine Vérard* (London: Chiswick Press, 1900), frontispiece; Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*, 437.
(BnF Rés. Vél. 521, fol. 2r) [Fig. 124]. The illumination, attributed to the Master of Jacques de Besançon, follows the general lines of the woodcut but has been changed to highlight the prestige of the receiver: the seated figure wears an ermine-trimmed robe, but the crown in the original woodcut has been modified to a gold circlet, and the chair upon which the receiver sits has been overpainted in the woodcut with a gold floral pattern instead of the fleur-de-lys.\footnote{Winn, Anthoine Vérard, 250-251.} In this example, the presentation image, intended for a public audience, advertised Vérard’s connection to the French crown by providing a stock image of the king that was easily identifiable through the use of the royal devices. However, Vérard was also able to manipulate the presentation image for a specific client, in this case Charles, the Duke of Angoulême.\footnote{For more on Vérard’s work for the court of Angoulême, see chapter 3 of this dissertation.} In this way the Parisian printer shows his understanding of the various needs of his clientele: the duke received an appropriately luxurious illuminated copy that was specific to his station in terms of its material sumptuousness and its symbolic content, and the event was individualized from the generic woodcut image, while the average reader is impressed by his association with the monarchy, as evidenced through the woodcut version of the scene that depicts the king himself.

Vérard’s text prologues are characterized by modesty; he usually refers to himself using the stock phrase “very humble and very obedient servant.”\footnote{Winn, Antoin Vérard, 41-70.} While they reflect his social position with respect to his noble clients, these prologues reveal Vérard's ambitions, when he replaces the author, translator, or compiler of the text. Vérard
understood the importance of the handmade, personalized book to the court, so he offers his books as his own creations, an effective marketing strategy for making the printed book appropriate for the court. Vérard also enhanced the drama of his presentations. For example, he not only placed himself into presentations taking place in the traditional courtly environment of the throne room, but also inserted them into the court’s leisure activities, as in his 1492 printing of Guillaume Tardif’s *Art de fauconnerie et des chiens* (BnF Rèserve Vél. 1023, fol. a2r), in which he presents the book to Charles VIII surrounded by courtiers about to leave on a hunt, wittily referencing the content of the book [Fig. 125].

In his 1492 printing of *Bataille judaïque* by Flavius Josephus, the woodcut featuring the book presentation depicts Vérard, kneeling at center, presenting his book to King Charles VIII (for example, BnF Rés. H10) [Fig. 126]. Behind Vérard, the ancient author Josephus holds a scroll with his name, identifying him he looks on approvingly. Behind and to the right of this cluster of figures in the center background of the image, a scene of mayhem typical of *The Jewish War* plays itself out. In the foreground, a mounted King Charles enters Paris. In this woodcut image, history itself is collapsed, and Josephus himself acts as witness to the ritual of book presentation, further legitimizing it and enhancing its importance. The royal copy of this text (BnF Rés. Vél. 696) has a full-page illuminated presentation miniature by the Master of Jacques de

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463 The BnF also has two uncolored copies: Rés. H 10 and Rés. H 341. The copy of the same text in the collection of the New York Public Library features fully colored, but not completely over painted, woodcuts.
Besançon that depicts Charles VIII on horseback, accompanied by soldiers bearing a royal banner (fol. A1v) [Fig. 127].\textsuperscript{464} The king receives the book from a kneeling Vérard. This illuminated version is much more luxurious though it carries the same anachronism as the woodcut. The bearded figure of the text’s author, Josephus, identified by a handwritten inscription, introduces the publisher and bows to the king. Vérard’s role as intermediary, presented by the ancient author of the text while in the process of presenting the translated text to the king, is obvious. The translator who composed the verbal dedication, Claude de Seyssel, is erased completely from the visual equation.\textsuperscript{465}

The project of catering to a royal clientele did not always go successfully. Printers fell out of favor with their royal patrons as quickly as some manuscript artists. For example, the effect of Charles VIII’s departure for the Italian wars on Vérard’s publications was decisive. Vérard’s prologues and presentation copies for the king are concentrated between 1491 and 1494, when the king left Amboise for Italy.\textsuperscript{466} The number of royal copies declined significantly after 1494 and Vérard’s relationship with the crown was endangered with Charles VIII’s sudden death in 1498. In an attempt to secure the patronage of Charles VIII’s successor, Vérard added a specially prepared dedication to the new king Louis XII to the royal copy of the printed edition of the \textit{Ogier le dannoys} (Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale MS XV.V.183, fol. 2r).\textsuperscript{467} The prologue was added underneath a presentation miniature typical of Vérard, in which the publisher

\textsuperscript{464} Winn, \textit{Antoine Vérard}, 107. For this copy, see also Baurmeister and Laffitte, 131.

\textsuperscript{465} Vérard used the same woodcut was the following year as the frontispiece for the 1493 printing of the two-volume \textit{Grandes Chroniques de France}. For an example, see BnF Arsenal FOL-H-1586.

\textsuperscript{466} Winn, \textit{Antoine Vérard}, 122-123.

\textsuperscript{467} Ibid. 370-375.
presents the book to the king, who sits on his horse at the head of his army, perhaps a reference to the contemporary military campaigns undertaken by the French monarchy [Fig. 128]. This was the first and last prologue Vérard dedicated to the new king, for Louis XII was not the collector or patron of printed books that had so interested his predecessor. Although Louis XII was the first to offer royal privileges to book printers and publishers, he preferred manuscripts to printed books for his personal collection.469

Printed presentation imagery served myriad functions for Vérard and other printers in the marketing of their books to a non-noble audience. Vérard used the revenue gained from the special copies he marketed to the court in order to finance larger print runs of a more modest character for his general public. The public, composed of a variety of at least semi-educated and literate people with access to and need of printed texts, recognized when a printed edition was connected to a royal patron through the presentation image.470 For the non-royal, non-aristocratic audience of printed presentation images, the kneeling donor could be publisher, as in the case of Antoine Vérard, or an author/translator specified in the prologue. The recipient in the standard woodcut was reduced to a visual symbol—he was always the king, denoted by his crown and other royal and courtly trappings: fleurs-de-lys, the main de justice, and his seated position before a crowd of onlookers. Occasionally the blocks themselves were modified to fit new situations, as in a 1516 edition of Jean Bouchet’s Temple de bonne renommée, in

468 For the full text of this prologue, see Winn, Antoine Vérard, 370-375.
469 Louis XII recognized the economic and practical importance of printing and exempted books from importation charges when they were transported in French domains, allowing printers and publishers to take advantage of the new medium to publicize the monarchy’s military campaigns in Italy. See Winn, “Paint, Pen, and Print,” 203.
470 Winn, Antoine Vérard, 101-103.
which the royal crown was cut from the block entirely in order to make the book suitable for presentation to Duke Charles of Bourbon, who is named in the text dedication (BnF Rés Ye 357) [Fig. 129]. In any case, the generic woodcut presentation was successful because it advertised the printer or publisher’s royal favor in visual terms that were familiar to a fifteenth-century audience well versed in the manuscript tradition of similar images.

Printed presentations, unlike manuscript images, were multiple. As such, they were conceptually linked to an original. The deluxe presentation copy that contained the illuminated presentation frontispiece was connected to the many undecorated woodcut versions of the same or some similar scene that circulated among a much wider audience. The inclusion of these scenes in books for wide distribution is a testament to the recognizability of the image and the social cachet the image held for the printer or publisher who appeared in the image with a royal or aristocratic patron. The figures in woodcut presentation scenes were intentionally ambiguous, though the gesture was not. Vérard had a number of standard woodcut presentations, which he used over and over, but he changed the textual colophon, which was responsible for identifying the patron in question. In these cases, the symbolic function of the image is made even clearer. Printers and publishers adopted the convention, because it already signified the act of patronage purely through its configuration, its invariable iconography. If portraiture was not the goal in most manuscript versions of presentation scenes, where the idea of royalty was signified mainly through heraldry and symbolic devices, still less was it the goal in

\footnote{Winn, “Paint, Pen, and Print,” 194.}
printed versions. The woodcut presentation scenes imitated their manuscript precedents, usually depicting the king with crown and scepter seated on throne draped with fleurs-de-lys while receiving the book. Unlike the manuscript miniature, which was produced for a particular work and thus was unique, the woodcut was polyvalent and meant for a larger audience. The woodcut, even more than the manuscript versions, represented the idealized ritual rather than remembered or specific events.

Thus, presentation imagery successfully made the transition between manuscript and print at a variety of social levels. Vérard and other enterprising publishers continued to rely on manuscript techniques to personalize their presentation copies, often overpainting woodcuts or adding illuminations to a printed text. The presentation miniatures in these books served the very particular function of courting favor with royal and aristocratic patrons that was largely the same as their manuscript counterparts. These hybrid works existed simultaneously beside manuscripts in the same material environment and participated in the same visual conventions and expectations. Vérard pioneered the position of court printer, making the new technology appropriate for a courtly audience through his use of presentation imagery that drew on medieval precedent. Presentation imagery, like the colored woodcuts or added illuminations, worked to legitimize the new medium, to make it familiar and accessible to a courtly clientele who would have otherwise been uninterested in such products. Woodcut presentations brought this iconography to a wider audience, imaging royalty for them in

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472 For a fuller discussion of the practice of overpainting prints and the potential motivations and meanings of this practice, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation, which discusses Vérard’s luxury productions for Louise of Savoy.
the same way as contemporary portrait medals and coins, disseminating the royal face, codifying symbolic royal devices for a variety of royal subjects, and legitimized printed products with a type of royal seal.

VI. Conclusion

The material and pictorial conventions of presentation images, continually repeated in their basic conceptions, were powerful. In the transitional period of the late fifteenth century, in which French kings sought to consolidate power and advertise it through visual means, tradition was mobilized for political ends. Conventional presentation imagery for court patrons in the fifteenth century still satisfied particular needs for both patrons and authors. For patrons, it was a way to state publicly their involvement in both the creation and consumption of art and literature. For authors and printers, it offered a way to assert their role in the creation of the book, with themselves as recipients of the social prestige that accompanied the production of luxury goods for court patrons. As manuscripts became more and more luxurious and limited in production as the sixteenth century progressed, presentation imagery played a less important role as royal symbol. Printed books became increasingly normalized, and their explicit connection to the patronage of royal and aristocratic court members was less paramount. Printers and publishers diversified their businesses and became less dependent upon the court and their association with nobles for the social prestige that was once a specific denotation of printed presentations.
The presentation scene in the late fifteenth century encapsulates a number of salient issues in the investigation of the manuscript at the end of Middle Ages. Because it seems unlikely that most of the represented presentations did not actually occur, their frequent inclusion as frontispieces of both illuminated manuscripts and printed books reveals a concentrated interest in promoting the practice of literary and book patronage among court members. The images provided visions of an idealized court, and the prestige accorded to both presenter and recipient codified the hierarchies and social positions of people within the court. The public ritual that the image showed, with courtiers and ranking members looking on, dressed in luxurious garb and located in opulent interiors, represented for manuscript viewers a vision of the court at its most functional. The enshrinement of these images in manuscripts link the past origins of a work with future audiences by placing the giving and giver into a continuous present tense. They memorialized an imagined court ritual and thus accessed a visual tradition attached to the fabled reigns of past kings, most notably Charles V, who represented the ideal art patron-king in the courtly imagination. Most importantly, presentation scenes underline the importance of court patronage by codifying it in conventional gestures so that the book presentation itself took on a symbolic and legitimizing quality. They stood in for the act of patronage itself as well as provided an official image of kingship, akin to a coin portrait or other royal device.

As presentation imagery moved beyond the illuminated manuscript to wide dissemination in printed books, the royal public relations strategy expanded to encompass a far wider audience of loyal subjects. Printers and publishers used the courtly structures
of patronage already in place by creating products—specialized deluxe presentation copies—that appealed to the aesthetic sensibilities of royal patrons. At the same time, printers and publishers used the prestige of the social bonds they created with their patrons in order to market their books to a wider audience. In that context, the woodcut presentation scene remained emblematic of that royal connection. Buyers of a printed text were able, to a certain extent, to access the private world of the court, and their book took on a new significance as it represented a visual connection to the original manuscript shown in the presentation scene. All printed copies thus stem from that original, enshrined in the presentation from its genesis with the author/translator and its existence owing to the patronage of the receiver. Buyers and readers of printed books, through a presentation image, participated in courtly conception of patronage from a distance.

That books themselves were the carriers and the objects of this imagery indicates the central role of manuscripts in French court culture. The explosion of presentation imagery, particularly in France and particularly during this period, belies an increased awareness of the book as a material object with the power to signify both luxury and social power. In royal books, this imagery has political overtones. At the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, the monarchy was becoming a self-consciously powerful element in the political structure of France.
CHAPTER THREE: Manuscript and Print at the Court of Angoulême

I. Mixing Media

In the mid-1480s, a manuscript illuminator named Robinet Testard (fl.1470-1531) sat at the court in Cognac, in the Poitou-Angoumois region of France, hard at work on a new manuscript intended for his patron, the Count of Angoulême. Trained as an illuminator, Testard worked with the familiar materials: pigment, parchment, and brush. For this project, however, he was carefully trimming an engraving, an impression of the Communion Tondo by German print artist Israhel van Meckenem. After trimming the engraving on the right and left sides to fit the folio size of his manuscript in progress, Testard pasted the engraving onto the parchment. He did not stop there, however, but continued modifying the black and white scheme of the print by painting over it with pigment, bringing color to the work while also changing the subject of the central scene. To blend the round print seamlessly within the rectangular parchment page, Testard then added spandrels to match the style and character of the tondo, and then painted four additional roundels. Finally, he finished the page corners with vine and floral motifs to disguise the point of transition between print and illumination [Fig. 130].

The resulting single folio captures the paradox of French book culture in the late fifteenth century. Not only did Testard use one such print, but he also integrated a complete set of Meckenem’s Passion series into his project and drew pictorial inspiration from a several other graphic sources, all in service of creating a unique hybrid product: a Book of Hours for his noble patron. This book entered the library of the count, a growing collection of books of both manuscript and print that has the potential to provide a greater
understanding of the fifteenth-century French interest in print, largely left out of the history of the medium’s development. A study of the additions made to this library in the late fifteenth century also can provide a more thorough understanding of how artists working in both manuscript and print changed their products in response to one another.

This chapter explores the intersection of manuscript and print at a single court, the comital court of the Angoulême family in Cognac between circa 1480 and 1515. The court and its two primary patrons, Count Charles of Angoulême (1459-1496) and his wife Louise of Savoy (1476-1531), was home to illuminator and valet de chambre Robinet Testard and was frequented by Parisian publisher Antoine Vérard (active 1485-1512). The presence of both of these artists catering to the tastes of the same patrons provides an opportunity to examine the interaction of the medieval past—the tradition of the court artist and a continuing aristocratic interest in acquiring the most luxurious book arts possible—and the early modern future, which consists of the introduction and adoption of the new art of printing in its many forms. The court at Cognac and the patronage of Charles and Louise therefore provide a microcosm in which manuscript and print encountered each other amidst the tastes of their courtly patrons, resulting in the production of highly original, often hybrid, books that encapsulate the uniqueness of book production for an aristocratic clientele in France at the end of medieval period.

II. The Fifteenth-Century Court: Count Charles of Angoulême and Louise of Savoy

The court of the count of Angoulême was located in Cognac, in the vicinity of Limoges and Poitiers, which connected the art of the court to the larger Poitevin milieu.
Cognac had been home to a court since the twelfth century, when it became part of the earldom of Angoulême. A port constructed on the Charente River economically supported the city’s development. Cognac was granted tax privileges due to its involvement in the salt trade, which favored the development and eventual fortification of the town. By the fifteenth century, it had become a favorite residence for a small provincial court that was nonetheless a center of art and literature. The region was home to a circle of illuminators that was also frequently in contact with the courts in the nearby Touraine, particularly in Tours and Bourges. Count Charles and his wife Louise were responsible for widening Cognac’s sphere of cultural influence by fostering a thriving artistic center and patronizing artists near and far.

Charles d’Orléans, Count of Angoulême (1459-1496) oversaw the court established in that city during the late fifteenth century. He was a member of the Orléans branch of the Valois family, claiming direct descent from King Charles V through Louis I de Valois, Duke of Orléans. He married Louise of Savoy (1476-1531), a descendant of Charles I, Duke of Bourbon through his daughter of Margaret of Bourbon and Duke Philip II of Savoy. The couple was thus connected to several of the most powerful duchies in France through blood and marriage. Charles was known as an avid patron of the arts and a bibliophile. He and his wife Louise shared a love of books, and many examples of both manuscripts and printed books were produced for them during a period when they jointly patronized several projects. Charles had inherited a considerable manuscript collection from his father, and added to it substantially. Louise, who married Charles when she was only eleven years old in 1488, outlived her husband by about
thirty-five years, and during that time she flourished as a patron in her own right. In addition to retaining Robinet Testard (fl. 1470-c. 1531) as court painter, the court at Cognac also employed Jean Saint-Gelais, who attained renown as Louis XII’s historian; his brother Octavien Saint-Gelais became a famous translator of ancient texts. The Angoulême household thus stood at the forefront of the French Renaissance in its appreciation of the ancients, an aspect that Louise emphasized in the humanist education of her son François.473

Louise often employed art to advance her own political position and that of her son, the future François I. François was her only son with her husband Charles, who claimed direct descent from King Charles V. The comital couple was thus extremely close to the royal family, though they did not expect to inherit the throne, since Charles VIII, François’s third cousin, was young at the time of his ascension. Similarly Louis XII, Charles of Angoulême’s cousin, was also fairly young when he came to the throne. However, those two kings died without male heirs, and Salic Law prevailed in France, rendering women ineligible to inherit the throne. This meant that Louis XII’s daughter Claude had no legal claim, and was passed over in 1498 for the Count of Angoulême, the young François. François was thus the presumptive heir to the throne of France from 1498. From 1496 to her death in 1531, Louise of Savoy advocated for her son and was especially politically active during the early years of his reign, even serving as his regent

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473 One of Louise of Savoy’s official devices was “Libris et Liberis” (for my books and for my children). Mary Beth Winn, “‘Louenges’ envers Louise: un manuscript enluminé d’Anthoine Vérard pour Louise de Savoie” in Livres et Lectures de Femmes en Europe entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance, ed. Anne-Marie Legaré (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 119.
in 1515 during the king's war in Italy, and again from 1525 to 1526, when the king was at war and then serving time as a prisoner in Spain.

The court at Cognac, the political center of the Angoulême family and the birthplace of the future king of France, increased its influence and visibility over the course of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Like other high-profile noble French patrons, Charles and Louise fostered the practice of the visual arts at their court. The simultaneous presence of Testard and Vérard at court makes Cognac a worthwhile case study for the interaction between print and manuscript in a moment when noble patrons were exploring print while the tradition of manuscript illumination was being upheld. Testard illuminated a variety of books, first for the noble couple and then for Louise of Savoy a widow. Testard’s work is distinctive; his preference for shallow spaces devoid of perspectival space and stylized figures remains at odds with contemporary trends in manuscript illumination, which incorporated pictorial elements of the Italian Renaissance. Testard was also highly aware of print and engaged with it extensively in his artistic practice. In particular, the *Hours of Charles of Angoulême* (BnF ms lat. 1173) suggests that both illuminator and patron were actively interested in acquiring contemporary prints. While Vérard was perhaps the only printer of the period to successfully navigate the changing possibilities for books successfully by creating luxury hybrid products for his patrons, Testard exemplifies an attempt by an illuminator to similarly explore the possibilities of the hybrid page.

The court at Angoulême under the widowed Louise of Savoy also provides an example of late medieval female patronage. She was one of several powerful royal
women in France using the visual arts to enhance her own political position. Louise of Savoy, however, emerged as one of the only politically powerful French women of the period to patronize printed books. Her adherence to the traditional model of employing a court illuminator demonstrates her awareness of the medieval hierarchies that still governed how much women could participate in public demonstrations of power, while her patronage of Antoine Vérard for printed books distinguishes her patterns of patronage from her female contemporaries. Louise was aware of the public implications of the dissemination of her image in print. Her patronage of Vérard should be seen as part of her public relations project as a politically active woman who commanded attention on the public stage and who was in a position to advocate for her son, François, in his pursuit of the French throne.

**III. Robinet Testard: Early Career and “Enlumineur” for the Court of Angoulême**

Robinet Testard, the court artist for the comital couple in Cognac beginning circa 1484, represents traditional noble French patronage. His work for the couple developed over several decades, but he is best known for his idiosyncratic style of illumination, which has been recognized by modern scholars but which has remained largely unexamined, since it does not fit comfortably into the historiographical narrative of increasing French adoption of Italian Renaissance style and motifs. For example, Testard is far less interested in perspective than in a more shallow arrangement of pictorial elements and shows little naturalism in his figures, preferring instead to elongate their limbs, enlarge their heads, and give them expressions that seem generic and at times,
highly caricatured [Fig. 131]. He displays a marked interest in costume, preferring fashionable garb and even “orientalizing” features such as turbans. Throughout his career he maintained a technique of heavily outlining figures and objects, using a palette of rich but flat colors with little modeling. Even late in his career, Testard’s work remained adamantly uninfluenced by the trends emanating from Italy. Testard nevertheless remained an asset to his patrons. His approach effectively combined the new art of printing with the traditional medium of illumination within the medieval models of noble patronage.

Though scholars have known him since the nineteenth century, Testard has yet to be the focus of a monograph. Léon de Laborde was the first to mention Testard in his publication of documents from the accounts of Charles d’Orléans and Louise of Savoy. These accounts attest that Testard held the titles *varlet de chambre* from 1484 and *enlumineur* in 1487. Prior to his court appointment, Testard’s training and first


activity, specifically his early work produced within the Poitevin milieu, dates from circa 1475 to 1484. Following the stylistic groupings made by Delisle’s catalogs of manuscript illumination of the period, Jean Porcher connected the name “Robinet Testard” found in the extant documentation surrounding the Angoulême court to the work of the anonymous Master of Charles of Angoulême and attributed several more manuscripts bearing the Angoulême family arms to Testard. A number of other manuscripts and single leaves that date from before Testard’s association with the court illustrate the extent of his activity outside Cognac and early training. Kathrin Giogoli has also recently identified cuttings of leaves that belonged to a breviary, probably of Poitevin use, in the Philadelphia Free Library, of which five are the work of Testard, while the other four are the work of Testard’s collaborator Master of Yvon du Fou. This breviary was probably completed between 1485 and 1486 before his employment at the Angoulême court, when Testard was work predominately on religious and liturgical

_d’Angoulème au château de Cognac en 1496_ (Paris: A. Claudin, 1861), 186, which records “Robinet Testard, enlumineur, la some de trente livres tournois pour ses gaiges dudit ans.”


478 For a list of manuscripts with House of Savoy-Angoulême coats-of arms, attributed to the Master of Charles of Angoulême, see Jean Porcher, cat. nos. 342–346.

479 Véronique Peyrat Day, in a dissertation concentrating on Poitevin illumination in the fifteenth century, principally concerning the Master of Yvon du Fou and his circle, identified a group of liturgical manuscripts that are strongly associated with the Poitou-Anjou region. She convincingly demonstrates that these manuscripts are evidence that Testard was working in this province before his regular employment at the Angoulême court. Day also identifies instances of Testard’s collaboration with Poitevin artists, such as the Master of Yvon de Fou and the Master of Walters 222, localizing Testard’s career in that region. Testard collaborated with these Poitevin artists in the canon pages of the Pontifical for Raoul du Fou in 1479, and under the supervision of the Master of Yvon du Fou, Testard helped to complete the large Missal of Montierneuf (BnF ms lat. 873) circa 1480. See Day, 180–182.

480 Giogoli and Friedman, 150.
books. The artist’s early training and stylistic debt to the Poitevin milieu can also be seen in his illuminations in a small Book of Hours now known as the *Morgan Hours* (Morgan Library, MS. M. 1001) specifically shows particular Poitevin pictorial characteristics: spaces comprising bold flat planes of simple color populated by large, caricatured figures [Fig.132]. Avril and Reynaud proposed the Master of Adelaide de Savoie as Testard’s mentor, based on the style of a manuscript of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* with which Testard is associated as his earliest surviving work [Fig. 133]. Avril and Reynaud have also attributed a number of Books of Hours made for the use of Poitiers to Testard’s hand, testifying to his origins in this artistic circle.

After establishing himself professionally, Testard acquired a sought-after court appointment. François Avril has underscored the importance of Robinet Testard’s period of work for the court of Angoulême. For Charles and Louise, Testard produced largely secular texts, all luxuriously and extensively illuminated, including among many others the copy of Platearius’s *Book of Simple Medicines* now in the collections of the (Russian Public Library of St. Petersburg MS Fr. F.v.VI,1) [Fig. 134]. While at work for the court, Testard performed many other duties typical of court artists. For example, three manuscripts formerly in the possession of Duke Charles’s father Jean d’Angoulême

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481 For a full account of Testard’s stylistic associations with illuminators working in the Poitevin milieu, see Day, 180-187.
482 Avril and Reynaud, 403.
483 These Books of Hours are: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS. M. 1001; the La Rochefoucauld Hours (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique ms. 15077); and Besançon, Bibliothèque municipal ms. 150. See Avril and Reynaud, 403.
(1400-1467) contain his work, either in the form of updated miniatures or new initial miniatures.\(^{485}\)

Testard’s work also reveals his familiarity with other well-known and highly regarded painters and illuminators active in the same regions, including Jean Fouquet and Jean Bourdichon.\(^ {486}\) Like Fouquet, Testard emphasizes exotic costumes, turbans, and elaborate women’s hairstyles, which also appear with regularity in Fouquet’s *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* [Fig. 135].\(^ {487}\) Testard collaborated with Bourdichon on several manuscripts, and several stylistic aspects of his late work are close to Bourdichon.\(^ {488}\) The *Hours of Charles of Angoulême* (BnF ms. lat. 1073), in addition to its distinctive printed material, also includes three miniatures by Bourdichon (*Nativity, Adoration of the Magi,* and *Purification of the Virgin*), which may have been added later but support the hypothesis of an artistic collaboration between the two court artists [Fig. 136].\(^ {489}\) Thus Robinet Testard, while developing a personal style that was closely related to the regional characteristics of the Poitevin circle, also took part in a much larger system of book production linked to the maintenance of artists by the major court establishments in France and beyond. The corpus of manuscripts now attributed to Testard has grown

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\(^{485}\) These three manuscripts were identified recently by Giogoli as BnF ms. fr. 537, *Songe de vergier,* BnF ms. fr. 231: Boccaccio, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*; and BnF ms. fr. 2824: William of Tyr’s *Roman de Heracle.* See Giogoli and Friedman, 140.

\(^{486}\) See Avril, *Platéarius,* note 27; and Plummer, cat. no. 62.


\(^{489}\) Day, 188-189.
considerably, making him a significant figure in the history of late fifteenth-century French illumination.\textsuperscript{490}

After his involvement with the court at Angoulême between about 1484 and 1515, Robinet Testard later appears in royal accounts from the sixteenth century as an official illuminator, receiving an annual wage of thirty-five \textit{livres} at the court of François of Angoulême before the young count ascended the throne in 1515. Testard is recorded in the royal accounts for the last times in 1523 and 1528, at which times he received a pension from King François I.\textsuperscript{491} In sum, Testard is first recorded in the mid-1470s, associated with Cognac and the Angoulême family by the mid-1480s, and continued his work for them well into the sixteenth century, developing a career that lasted about five decades.\textsuperscript{492}

Robinet Testard was one of many officially appointed court artists working in France for noble patrons in the late fifteenth century. The title of court artist seems to have originated in France in the mid-thirteenth century. In 1298 Etienne d’Auxerre, who carried the title “magister pictor,” traveled to Rome, perhaps on a diplomatic or artistic mission ordered by King Philip the Fair. Later, in 1301, Etienne appears as \textit{valet de}

\textsuperscript{490} The most recent and complete list of manuscripts attributed to and associated with Robinet Testard has been assembled by Giogoli and Friedman, a corpus totaling about 29, including groups of cuttings and single leaves. See Giogoli and Friedman, 160-161.
\textsuperscript{491} The 1528 document refers to Testard as a “pensionnaire” and is his final appearance in the royal accounts. See Laborde, \textit{La Renaissance des Arts à la cour de France}, 170-171.
\textsuperscript{492} These dates seemingly constitutes an almost unbelievably long career, but Testard’s enduring appeal and success garnering aristocratic and royal patronage should nevertheless not be dismissed as particularly unusual. For example, Jean Fouquet’s career also stretches over a period of about forty years, circa 1440-1480 and royal French court artist Jean Bourdichon also remained active for nearly forty years, between circa 1475 until his death in 1521.
chambre, a rank accorded to a salaried employee in the hierarchy of court servants.  

This title was not automatically associated with the French title peintre du roy or Latin pictor regis, painter to the king. The first instance of this title is in 1304, when an artist by the name of Evrard d’Orléans worked at the court of Philip the Fair. With the introduction of court patronage in France, this new type of illuminator and painter appeared with greater regularity after the beginning of the fourteenth century, when a secular, courtly clientele, united by their refined taste, developed in Paris. This type of artist worked exclusively for the royal family and other noble patrons. In doing so, he was freed from the commercial existence that defined artists serving a less exalted clientele, namely the middle class and university circles that demanded the production of manuscripts for a variety of uses. François Avril calls this type of artist “the palace artist,” and he charts the evolution of this position from Master Honoré at the end of the thirteenth century to Jean Pucelle a quarter century later. He credits these “palace artists” for the remarkably consistent, elegant style that quickly became the hallmark of fourteenth-century French illumination. Under Charles V, Jean Le Noir and other artists continued the tradition of the court artist, catering specifically to the princely tastes of the king and his associates. Following the king’s example, his three brothers, Duke Louis of Anjou, Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy, Duke Jean of Berry all employed regular

494 At that time, three Italian men held lifetime pensions, with one of them holding the title of pictor regis. See Warnke, 5.
495 For the university influence on book production and sale, see Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500 (London: Harvey Miller, 2000), 73-98.
artists who held household titles. Martin Warnke credits the French model of court artist for providing the example for other courts throughout Europe.497

The nature and benefits of this official position and the relationship between artist and employer remains unclear in the documents and is much debated, though it is perhaps surprisingly understudied for the late fifteenth century in France and beyond. The fifteenth-century iterations of court painter positions drew on past examples and the job seems to have usually carried with it a regular salary. Some artists, including Testard, received a pension for life, and an agreement of exclusivity in which the artist in question agreed not to undertake any commercial work. The title of valet de chambre was still given to such artists, and having accrued a century’s worth of social weight, it remained a formal title with considerable cultural cachet and social benefits. For the artist, an official position at court exempted him from the jurisdiction of the painters’ guilds in his city, but also meant that he was bound to the will of his court patrons for a number of artistic activities outside of manuscript illumination and painting. For example, under Louis XI, Jean Fouquet was appointed peintre du roy in 1475, a position that allowed him to supervise a sizeable workshop responsible for the production of manuscripts and many other products for the king and court.498 Fouquet was responsible for ephemeral works that served decorative roles in royal ceremonies. For example, Fouquet is recorded as having produced banners and the scaffolding for a play performed at the royal entrance of

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497 This included the Holy Roman Empire under Emperor Charles IV, who had been educated in France, and at the court in Prague, in addition to courts in northern Italy and England. See Warnke, 20-23.
498 Erik Inglis, Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France: Art and Nation after the Hundred Years War (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 10.
Louis XI into Paris and a decorative canopy for the visit of the King of Portugal, Alfonso V, to Tours.\textsuperscript{499}

In the second half of the fifteenth century, nearly every major court in France employed one or several court artists. At the French Valois court, Jean Fouquet (1420–1481) was court painter for Charles VII (r. 1422-1461) and was succeeded by his student Jean Bourdichon. Today Bourdichon is among the most highly regarded manuscript painters of the period, just as he was in the fifteenth century, serving as court painter to four successive French kings: Louis XI (r. 1461-1483), Charles VIII (r. 1483-1498), Louis XII (r. 1498-1515), and François I (r. 1515-1547). Outside the royal court, ducal and comital courts maintained their own court artists. Jean Colombe worked extensively for the court of Savoy, producing work for Charlotte of Savoy; he even completed the unfinished \textit{Très Riches Heures} for Duke Charles I of Savoy, a work begun in the early fifteenth century by perhaps the most famous group of court painters employed by any French patron, the Limbourg Brothers.\textsuperscript{500} At the Bourbon court in Moulins, Louis XI’s

\textsuperscript{499} Inglis, \textit{Jean Fouquet}, 10-11.

\textsuperscript{500} Jean Colombe, court artist to the ducal household of Savoy in the city of Chambéry during the late 1470s and 1480s, completed two works for Charles I, duke of Savoy: the \textit{Très Riches Heures}, which had been begun by the Limbourg brothers (Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 65) but left unfinished at the death of the Duke of Berry and an \textit{Apocalypse} (now known as the \textit{Escorial Apocalypse}) begun by Jean Bapteur (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, E. vit. 5). An entry in the account books for the House of Savoy identify Colombe as the painter of “a certain canonical hours,” no doubt the \textit{Très Riches Heures}, for twenty-five gold pieces in 1482. Following his satisfaction with Colombe’s work, the Duke of Savoy appointed him as illuminator to his household at an annual salary of 100 \textit{écus}. Colombe was also a favorite court painter of Charlotte of Savoy, who commissioned several manuscripts from Colombe while she was Queen of France as wife of King Louis XI, including \textit{Le livre de douze perils d’enfer} (BnF ms. fr. 449) for herself and the \textit{Hours of Anne of France} for her daughter (New York, Morgan Library MS M.677). For Colombe’s completion of the \textit{Très Riches Heures}, see Raymond Cazelles, \textit{Illuminations of Heaven and Earth: The Glories of the Tres Riches Heures Du Duc De Berry}, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988), 216. For his work for Charlotte of Savoy, see Anne Marie Legaré,
daughter Anne of France and her husband Duke Pierre II of Bourbon employed a Flemish artist, Jean Hey, who completed several panel paintings for the couple.⁵⁰¹ Duke René of Anjou oversaw a bustling court in Provence, where he employed artists of several nationalities, including French illuminator Georges Trubert, who held the title valet de chambre.⁵⁰² None of these artists has been the subject of a monograph, and the significance of their careers with regard to court structures and the status of the artist at the close of the medieval period remain largely unanalyzed.

Court painters continued to be maintained in the sixteenth century. François I employed his predecessor’s painter Bourdichon and granted his mother’s court artist

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⁵⁰¹ Jean Hey, now securely identified as the Master of Moulins, was a Flemish painter employed by the Dukes of Bourbon, particularly the daughter of the French king Louis XI, Anne of France and her husband Pierre II of Bourbon. He is listed as court painter for the Bourbons in a document dated 1502-03 and further identified by an inscription on the reverse of a damaged painting, *Christ with Crown of Thorns* (1494, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium), identifying the artist as Jean Hey, “teutonicus” and “pictor egregius.” Notably, he is one of the only Flemish painters to be employed by a French court, and in Moulins seems to have produced exclusively panel paintings, not illuminated manuscripts, for the ducal couple. See Catherine Reynolds, "Master of Moulins" in *The Grove Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996): 731-734; and Martha Wolff, “Anne de France et les artistes: princesse et commanditaire” in *Anne de France: Art et pouvoir en 1500*, Actes du colloque organisé par Moulins ville d’art et d’histoire les 30 et 31 Mars 2012, ed. Thierry Crépin-Leblond and Monique Chatenet (Paris: Picard), 133-144. See also Martha Wolff, “The Bourbons and the Bourbonnais,” in *Kings, Queens, and Courtiers: Art in Early Renaissance France*, ed. Martha Wolff (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 122-139.

Testard a pension in addition to hiring his own artists, among them several Italians.\textsuperscript{503}

Outside France in the nearby Low Countries, painters including Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden worked as court artists while maintaining urban workshops.\textsuperscript{504} Margaret of Austria, an avid patron of art in a wide variety of media, named Gerard Horenbout her court painter and \textit{valet de chambre} in 1515.\textsuperscript{505} Certainly countless other artists, even those who remain anonymous today, benefitted from the patronage structures in place at court and in court centers through their appointment as official painters to the court.

Court artists thus held a very different position in medieval social structures than did artists working in ateliers or producing manuscripts on speculation or for export. In

\textsuperscript{503} François I famously employed Rosso Fiorentino, Giulio Romano, and Primaticcio to decorate his palace at Fontainbleau. For an introduction to his patronage, see Cécile Scaillière, \textit{François Ier et ses artistes: dans les collections du Louvre} (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992) and Anne-Marie Lecoq, \textit{François Ier imaginaire: Symbolique et politique à l’aube de la Renaissance française} (Paris: Macula, 1987).

\textsuperscript{504} Jan van Eyck was appointed court painter to the Burgundian court under Duke Philip the Good in 1425 and the duke paid him a yearly salary until Van Eyck’s death in 1441. See Jozef Duverger, "Jan van Eyck as Court Painter," \textit{The Connoisseur} 194/781 (1977): 172. The literature on Van Eyck’s possible involvement of the Turin-Milan Hours as “Hand G” while he served as court painter is as complex as the history of the manuscript itself. As recently as 2014, Carol Krinsky has argued against the inclusion of Jan van Eyck as one of the Turin-Milan painters. See Carol Krinsky, “The Turin-Milan Hours: Revised Dating and Attribution” \textit{Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art} 6/2 (2014): 1-36. See also James H. Marrow, “History, Historiography, and Pictorial Invention in the Turin-Milan Hours,” in \textit{In Detail: New Studies of Northern Renaissance Art in Honor of Walter S. Gibson}, ed. Laurinda Dixon (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 1-14, and the introduction to the facsimile of the manuscript: Anne H. Van Buren, James H. Marrow, and Silvana Pettenati, \textit{Heures de Turin-Milan, Inv. No. 47, Museo Civico d’Arte Antica, Torino} (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1996). Rogier van der Weyden’s work for the court is less contested but undocumented, and his participation in traditional court structures of patronage can be seen in his famous 1448 presentation miniature of Jean Wauquelin presenting his text of the \textit{Chroniques de Hainaut} to Duke Philip the Good (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique MS. 9242, fol. 1r) See Lieve Watteeuw, “A Closer Look at Rogier van der Weyden's Presentation Miniature (1447–1448)” in \textit{Rogier van der Weyden 1400–1464: Master of Passions}, ed. Lorne Campbell and Jan Van der Stock (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2009): 370–418.

\textsuperscript{505} Margaret of Austria worked with a number of major artists. In addition to Horenbout, she appointed Bernard van Orley, who created a number of her official portraits, as her court painter. Dagmar Eichberger, \textit{Women of Distinction: Margaret of York and Margaret of Austria} (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005): 84; 179.
Martin Warnke’s foundational study, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist*, the author argues that at court artists held particular positions of influence, which in turn brought them an official recognition regarding the intellectual basis of the art that they practiced. Warnke’s study, however, was conditioned by his search for the origins of the “modern artist,” the notion of an aesthetic versus utilitarian conception of art itself. Court artists in France and elsewhere occupied a particular place through their establishment of social ties with a prince and/or a prince’s household, which constituted a less tangible form of compensation than they might have received in a city-based atelier that depended on popular demand. Artists active as court servants were entitled to a number of benefits in addition to their salary, including housing, food, and status. That we know many names of court-employed manuscript illuminators during this period not only attests to the contraction of the number of active illuminators to a smaller, highly selective number of practitioners, but also how important it was to the court to employ star illuminators of highest skill and reputation, bestowing upon them the social prestige that came with the rank of *valet de chambre*. For patrons, this system ensured the continuing production of high quality books in a distinctly traditional, medieval mode.

Trained in the traditional manner under a master illuminator in a workshop of Poitevin artists, Testard was very much the product of the established market of

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506 The idea of the fifteenth-century French court artist has best been explored in two cases. Jean Fouquet presented himself as a courtier in his work and was very successful in attracting the admiration and loyalty of the French nobility; and Claus Sluter in his long career at the court of Burgundy acted as sculptor, diplomat, and court functionary. See Erik Inglis, *Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France*; and Sherry C.M. Lindquist, “ ‘The Will of a Princely Patron’ and Artists at the Burgundian Court,” in *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity 1300-1550*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell (Boston: Isabella Steward Gardner Museum/University of Chicago Press, 2004), 46-56.
manuscript production. As the demand for manuscripts constricted among the middle class, who turned to printed books, artists like Testard sought noble patrons. Testard was successful; having apprenticed and collaborated with established illuminators, he found a position at the court of Cognac beginning in 1484 for the count and continued under Louise of Savoy after the count’s death. At least seven titles that can be securely attributed to Testard were destined for Louise alone. The character of Testard’s work for the couple conforms to what one would expect from a late medieval court artist with a household pension: sustained high-quality production of illuminated books of texts that the couple desired to add to their library, the addition of coats of arms and initials to extant manuscripts, and presumably ephemeral material for court functions, though none survives.

Though Testard’s work has been criticized by modern scholars for being anachronistic in its rejection of the prevailing Italianate stylistic trends, less considered is the social role that he held at court. In his appraisal of Testard, Thomas Tolley writes: “Like Bourdichon, Testard attracted extended loyalty from his patrons, notwithstanding his failure to keep abreast of the latest stylistic trends. Conceivably some respected knowledge of the visual arts and personal qualities endeared him to the family he served.” Certainly Testard’s extraordinarily long career for his Angoulême patrons

507 They are BnF ms. fr. 143: Les echecs amoureux; fr. 252: Raoul Le Fèvre, Recueil des histoires de Troie; fr. 875: Épitres d’Ovide translated by Octovien de Saint-Gelais; fr. 1848: Le Parement des dames, fr. 2242: Louanges du sexe feminine; fr. 2471: Jacques de Cessoles, Échecs moralisés; and most likely fr. 12247: Le traité des vertus. A late fifteenth-century manuscript of the Roman de la Rose (Bodleian Library MS Douce 195) made for Louise also has illustrations in the style of Testard and may be attributable to his hand. See Avril, Platerius, 282.

attests to a more complex relationship between patron and court artist than simply his ability to produce works of art that adhered to current stylistic trends.

His particular style, easily identifiable, has allowed the attribution of other works to Testard with relative security. More recent work in light of a new interest in French art and artists of the late fifteenth century reevaluates Testard’s work. Giogoli and Friedman praise his “imaginative compositions” and “use of color and ornament” but highlight his “primitive contours of figures and lack of plasticity” as evidence for their conclusion that his style is “old-fashioned and essentially Gothic in inspiration.” They do caution against a negative assessment of Testard’s work, rightly pointing out that it would have little to do with what would have been considered modern or old-fashioned to Testard’s audience. In this case, Testard’s highly specialized courtly clientele may have valued his style precisely for its identifiably un-Italianate (“Gothic,” in Giogoli and Friedman’s words) tendencies.

The appeal of his characteristic style can be seen in a manuscript executed for Louise of Savoy in 1497 (BnF ms. fr. 875), a translation of Ovid’s Héroïdes by Octavian de Saint-Gelais, a poet in the service of the court who eventually became bishop of Angoulême in 1494. The manuscript features text by the scribe Jean Michel, recorded in Louise’s account books. Robinet Testard was responsible for the manuscript’s nineteen full-page miniatures that accompany the text, love letters purportedly written by classical

509 Giogoli and Friedman, 154.
510 Ibid., 154-155.
Ovid’s text seems to have been particularly popular among aristocratic patrons; another manuscript copy of the text belonged to Louis XII (BnF ms. fr. 873), and several additional manuscript copies of the Saint-Gelais translation are known from the early sixteenth century. Louise’s copy was identified by the presence of her arms, those of France-Angoulême and Savoy (fol. 1r, 16v, and 117v.) [Fig. 137] and by her first initial "L" (f. 5v) [Fig. 138], represented on the glass of some of the windows in the background of the miniature. The manuscript was part of the library at Cognac until it entered the personal collection of François I, and then was included as a portion of the ancien fonds royal of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in the sixteenth century.

Testard’s style is on full display in his miniatures of women writing letters, usually depicted in three-quarter length bust views. His attention to surface pattern, for example in the image of Phèdre writing a letter to Hippolyte (fol. 16v), is particularly notable [Fig. 139]. The woman’s headwear, a finely embroidered cloth embellished with a row of pearls at its edge, topped by a delicate gold crown is linked by its burgundy color with her ermine-trimmed cloak of expertly-executed brocade. Her sleeve pattern contrasts with the interior pattern of the cloak and the densely linear embroidery of the skirt. The bodice features a row of jewels set off by clusters of pearls. Many other figures wear costumes that represented the high fashion of court in the late fifteenth century, for

512 Another manuscript copy of the Octavien de Saint-Gelais’s translation of the Héroïdes, whose illuminations have been attributed to Testard but for which the patron remains unknown, is housed in the collection of the Huntington Library (San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, MS HM 60).
513 Paris, Assemblée nationale, bibliothèque de la Chambre des députés, ms. 1466; Paris, BnF, bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5108; Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Oc. 65 (now destroyed); Oxford Balliol College, ms. 383; London, British Library, Harley 4867; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2624.
514 Sénemaud, La bibliothèque de Charles d’Orléans (1861), 197.
example the figure of Oenone (fol. 23v) [Fig. 140], who writes in profile to display her elaborately slashed sleeves, a late fifteenth-century Italian fashion, and a rich red velvet surcoat. Testard emphasized the fabric, imitating the appearance of velvet under light through his use of strategic fine black crosshatching. Testard’s figures lack depth, appearing instead as puppet-like, with exaggerated foreheads and large hands, and exhibiting a flatness and aversion to perspectival space that recalls theater sets.\textsuperscript{515}

Testard’s approach to the miniatures in the \textit{Héroïdes}, large figures in a tightly bounded, intimate space, focuses the viewer’s attention on the surface pattern, and his frequent depiction of the latest fashion, elaborate jewelry, and luxurious fabrics makes these images particularly relevant to the eyes of court patrons, who were especially attuned to such material aspects of their visual environment. The resulting style has been described as “profoundly gothic and anti-realistic,” but it was especially appropriate to his courtly audience, who were particularly sensitive to the intricacies of dress and sumptuary law.\textsuperscript{516}

Around the time of the completion of the illumination of the \textit{Héroïdes}, Testard received a monetary gift from the newly widowed Louise, recorded in her expense book from 1497: “Robinet Testart, enlumineur la somme de trentecincq livres tournois pour ses gaiges dudit an.”\textsuperscript{517} This very large sum of money must indicate the production of a

\textsuperscript{517} “Robinet Testard, illuminator, the sum of 35 livres tournois for his wages in the aforesaid year.” See Sénemaud (1861), 61.
number of books for Louise herself. Testard was closely connected with Louise for more than thirty years, so his output presumably responded to her personal taste. For example, many Testard manuscripts for Louise feature women. One of the most elaborate of these, Boccaccio’s *Des cleres et nobles femmes* (BnF ms. fr. 599), has a presentation miniature with the author offering his book to a woman with the arms of Louise of Savoy below (fol. 2v) [Fig. 141]. Out of the manuscripts Testard illuminated, those focusing specifically on women include, besides the two copies of the *Héroïdes* and the Boccaccio: a second manuscript of the Boccaccio text (also called *Dialogue a la Louange de Sexe Feminin*, BnF ms. fr. 2242), in which Testard painted three of the miniatures;[^18]

*Traités sur les Vertues Cardinales* by François Desmoulins (MS fr. 12247), a member of Louise’s court;[^19] and the anonymously authored *Le Parement des Dames* (BnF ms. fr. 1848). In addition, three of the books that Testard illuminated for Louise had a large number of female personifications or figures: Evrard de Conty’s *Livre des eschecs amoureux* (BnF ms. fr. 143); a travel narrative called the *Secretz de la Nature* (BnF ms fr. 22971);[^20] and her copy of the *Roman de la Rose* (Bodleian Library ms. Douce 195).

Testard’s pictorial approach, drawing on contemporary court culture and presenting a stylistic novelty that was valued by his patrons, won him considerable loyalty from the Angoulême family. After 1515, with roughly thirty years of continuous service to the court in Cognac, Testard was employed in a similar capacity by François, after

the duke of Valois, who succeeded Louis XII as king of France on January 1 of that year under the name of François I. Testard remained active in royal service until 1523, and his name appears for the last time in these accounts when François paid “le veil Robinet, paintre” eighty livres in 1531, the year of Louise of Savoy’s death. Testard was able to create unique illuminated manuscripts that appealed to his court patrons throughout their lives and made him a valued member of their household and its hierarchical social structures. He responded to his patrons’ taste in subject matter and his distinctive manner highlighted his knowledge of court tastes for luxury fabrics and materials. Thus Testard secured himself a stable position as court artist, continuing the traditional arrangement between patron and court artist that had been established at least a century earlier.

IV. Robinet Testard and the New Medium of Print

As the official court painter for the Angoulême court, Robinet Testard completed highly specialized and luxury work for his patrons. In addition to his service, there is ample evidence that the court formed the center of a network of artistic connections facilitated by Charles and Louise. In the late nineteenth century, Sénemaud published the inventory of the library of Count Charles of Angoulême produced at his death in 1496, which described the contents of the library as well as an appendix devoted to Louise of Savoy’s account book. While revealing Louise’s considerable interest in collecting books, these accounts also show that she employed a variety of different types of artisans

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521 Laborde, 170-171.
522 For the documents related to the library, see Sénémaud (1860), 130-183 and Sénemaud, La Bibliothèque de Charles d’Orléans (1861).
from the region and attest to the existence of a nexus of artistic production at the court. For example, she sent a “scribe” (in the accounts as “escrivain”) named Johannes to Saintes and Angoulême to purchase parchment. A Touraine merchant named Victor Cochon was paid to deliver a group of books: “cinq volumes de livres de Vincent l’Historial” and “unes Vigilles en français, en parchemin, toutes ystoriées” (five volumes of books of Vincent l’Historial and a prayer book in French, written on parchment and illuminated throughout) to Louise of Savoy along with other “relics, ribbons, and chests.”

Louise also paid a certain Anthoine Quarré, “libraire d’Angoulême” the sum of ten sols tournois for a copy of Les Chroniques des Roys de France abrégées that he had purchased on her command.

Charles and Louise also commissioned or purchased existing manuscripts and books from a number of artists in nearby Berry, Limousin, and Poitou as well as from further afield, from Parisian publisher Antoine Vérard, from Parisian illuminator Jean Pinchon, and a Flemish illuminator known as Guy le Flameng. In this way, the court in Cognac fostered artistic connection, and clearly the comital couple reached out beyond their immediate region to acquire books and artwork from many artists besides their court artist. With this in mind, it is reasonable to assume that in addition to his own distinctive style of illumination, Testard had other knowledge that “endeared” him to his patrons:

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523 Sénemaud, La Bibliothèque de Charles d’Orléans (1860), 183-186.
524 Sénemaud, La Bibliothèque de Charles d’Orléans (1861), 59.
525 Sénemaud, La Bibliothèque de Charles d’Orléans (1860), 184; 189.
extensive awareness of, and perhaps even collection of contemporary prints and his willingness to use them both literally and conceptually in his work.\textsuperscript{526}

In the 1480s, when Louise and Charles took on Testard as court painter, the newly developed medium of print was beginning to take hold in Europe. Printed books and single-sheet prints were derived directly from manuscript counterparts. Printed books, especially printed Books of Hours, found parallels with manuscripts in terms of organization and content, making what had been an expensive product for an exclusive clientele cheaply available to a larger number of people desiring a means of personal devotion. In the late fifteenth century, the two media coexisted and competed with each other in a complex period of artistic interaction that was not a simple linear progression from manuscript to print. Some illuminators became printers, while some others were hired as woodcut designers, and still others were hired to hand-color prints.\textsuperscript{527} Manuscript illuminators were challenged in particular by the appearance of the single-sheet print, and they competed by producing single-sheet illuminations designed to be inserted into manuscripts and other books.\textsuperscript{528} Similarly, luxury printed books in the 1470s and 1480s used woodcut illustrations that were made from blocks cut and trimmed to fit within frames of type that were printed together with the text in complete pages. This meant that such books were, as David Landau and Peter Parshall have said, “caught in a commercial

\textsuperscript{526} While many scholars have called Testard’s style “gothic” in nature, it has also been described as “graphic” (and essentially, modern) perhaps responding to contemporary developments in print and even in the newly-revived form of small devotional enamels. Reverchon describes Testard’s execution as “sèche et graphique,” 24. Avril and Reynaud, 103.

\textsuperscript{527} Rouse and Rouse, 329.

and aesthetic struggle with the illuminated manuscript, a struggle that [the form of the luxury printed book] was destined to win for obvious practical reasons. For a number of decades, however, luxury print competed directly with an upscale market for traditional illuminated manuscripts. Each medium vied for the attention and patronage of a small circle of French court members, such as those at Cognac.

The overlap and interaction of illuminators with printers is better documented in the Netherlands and the Low Countries, where guild records are preserved. Aside from Books of Hours and other codices, illuminators had found a market early in the century for single-sheet illuminations that were purchased independently and could be inserted into existing books or framed to form devotional diptychs. In France, the situation regarding illuminators and their competition with printers and publishers is less studied and documents are particularly scarce. Diane Boonton’s large-scale study of the regional development of the print industry in Brittany between 1364 and 1532 provides one detailed example. The first regional press in Brittany appeared only in 1484 in Nantes, where there was a university and thus demand for cheaply produced printed books. The city did not have a press until 1493. The region housed only 10 presses through 1532 and

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531 Landau and Parshall, 26-27. See also Reynolds, 16.
532 Diane Boonton, *Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).
published fewer than 50 titles, few of which appear in regional collections. Early printing in Lyon, recognized with Paris as one of France’s most important centers for the new art, was facilitated by the presence of at least three German printers after circa 1475-1480.

A native French printing industry developed fairly quickly, though French woodcutters and engravers are less well documented than their counterparts in the Netherlands and in Germany. The 1465 statutes of the playing card makers of Toulouse record a Jean du Boys, “a cutter of molds for cards,” who was working in Lyon as early as 1444. The 1470s saw the beginning of printing in Paris, where Guillaume Fichet and Jean Heynlin produced books largely for the use of audiences associated with the Sorbonne. The early French printing industry was at first dependent on the products and knowledge of German woodcutters. Martin Husz published the first French illustrated book, *Le mirouer de la redemption de l’humain lignaige*, in Lyon in 1478 using woodcuts previously used in German publications. The *Missel de Paris*, published by Jean du Pré in 1481, was the first illustrated book published in Paris but included woodcuts by German carver Desiderius Huym. This French printing industry grew rapidly, and by 1484, du Pré published the first illustrated book in French, a

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533 Boonton, 97-125.
537 Grivel, 34.
538 Grivel, 34. See also Clair, 64-65.
translation of Boccaccio in conjunction with French woodcutter Pierre Le Rouge.\textsuperscript{539} Du Pré continued working for major publishers in Paris, among them Vérard, and was joined by Guy Marchant, another Parisian printer who found success in producing illustrated books. Marchant’s five illustrated editions of the \textit{Danse Macabre}, the first of which was published in 1485, along with numerous editions of printed Books of Hours illustrated with engravings and published by Simon Vostre and Vérard, were among the most popular printed titles among late fifteenth-century French audiences.\textsuperscript{540} By 1500, Paris took the lead with more than sixty printmaking workshops, though additional houses of production sprung up all over France, most notably in Rouen, which became an important center for the printing of liturgical texts for export to England.\textsuperscript{541}

German and Netherlandish prints and printed books did make it into French collections. Court painters responded creatively to the challenge posed by elaborate printed books, which were increasingly becoming available after the introduction of the press to France in the 1470s. No firm documentation exists to foster a hypothesis about the dissemination of German and Netherlandish prints in France beyond the evidence provided by the \textit{Hours of Charles of Angoulême} (BnF ms. lat. 1173). In 1484, when Robinet Testard began working at the court of Angoulême and when he began the \textit{Hours} for the count, French printing was still in its nascent stage. However, printed material from the Low Countries, particularly by Israhel van Meckenem and the Master E.S.

\textsuperscript{539} Grivel, 34. Pierre Le Rouge would eventually hold the post of “king’s printer” from 1488 and was part of a family of printers and other book artisans who were active through the first quarter of the sixteenth century. See Clair, 66.
\textsuperscript{540} Clair, 65-67.
\textsuperscript{541} Clair, 71; Grivel, 35.
among others, was more readily available. Testard is one of the few court artists working at the highest levels of aristocratic society who is known to have made extensive use of German and Netherlandish prints. His *Hours of Charles of Angoulême* is perhaps his most well-studied work, unique in its literal use of a wide variety of actual prints as well as several illuminated scenes derived directly from print sources. This suggests that both artist and patron were highly invested in the collecting of prints and had access to, or even personally owned, many.

This manuscript was most thoroughly studied by Anne Matthews, who documented the sources for many of Testard’s prints, examining several ways in which he modified, overpainted, and borrowed iconographic motifs from several German and Netherlandish printers of the late fifteenth century. At least seventeen illuminations in the manuscript can be related to printed alphabets of the 1460s, and ten others display a “clear dependence on or knowledge of” Netherlandish and German engravings [Fig. 442]. Other pages use prints more literally, pasted in as foundations for added coloring or complete overpainting. For some pages he used Netherlandish or German engravings, mostly by Israhel van Meckenem, sixteen of which he pasted into the volume and then overpainted/illuminated [Fig. 143]. These prints are roughly contemporary with the manuscript; Meckenem’s *Passion* series dates to 1480, just before Testard’s manuscript was made circa 1482-1485. Several other compositions in the manuscript, while not actual prints pasted in and overpainted, derive from printed sources. For example, the full-page illumination with anthropomorphic letters devoted to the opening words of

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542 Matthews, 4-18
543 Ibid., 6.
Gabriel’s greeting to the Virgin demonstrates knowledge of at least four woodcut alphabet series, but also comprise letters of Testard’s own invention. [Fig. 144].

Testard considerably modified the printed Communion Tondo, which is based on a reversed copy by Meckenem after the Master E.S. [Fig. 145], so that only the interlocking circles and foliage designs are retained [Fig. 146]. The engraving has been considerably trimmed to conform to the page, but Testard has gone much further and changed the central image from St. John in the Wilderness to a scene of the Blessing Christ in Majesty. The final product is a manuscript-print hybrid that creatively enhances print sources while also sublimating them into a new creation entirely.

Kathrin Giogoli and John Block Friedman took up several of these themes in their recent collaborative article examining Testard’s career, in particular his interest in the graphic arts as sources. Their primary contribution is to outline Testard’s use of graphic media in more detail and to hypothesize his indebtedness to a printed set of tarot cards associated with Andrea Mantegna. Based on this new evidence, they suggest that Testard had access to a large variety of different printed exemplars, so they posit that he owned a rather large collection of prints as well as a number of model sheets, illuminations, and perhaps tracings of easel paintings to form an artist’s pattern book for his own use. They praise Testard for using this collection of patterns in a unique way, choosing elements of printed materials selectively and deliberately to the desired effect,

Matthews has exhaustively identified the sources of the anthropomorphic letters: the Master E.S. engraved alphabet, the 1464 woodcut Grotesque Alphabet, the Basel woodcut alphabet, and the engraved Banderoles series. See Matthews, 7 and note 9. Giogoli and Friedman, 154.
as in the May calendar page detail of two men on horseback drawn from another Meckenem example [Fig. 147].

Even in the event that Testard did not have as much access to Mantegna’s tarot patterns as Giogoli and Friedman suggest, his use of the Meckenem *Passion* engravings makes the case for the illuminator’s sustained commitment to using the medium in particular ways. Testard pasted the Meckenem *Passion* engravings directly into the *Hours of Charles of Angoulême* in a very literal vein with little modification compared to other print sources. While he did paint them, the overpainting is relatively thin compared to other areas of the manuscript, and the Meckenem monograms, camouflaged on other Meckenem prints or motifs used elsewhere in the volume, are allowed to show through [Fig. 148]. Matthews, and more recently Giogoli and Friedman, allude to the idea that such an innovative, wide-ranging, and thorough use of these various print sources indicates a patron and/or an artist who was himself a collector, had access to an array of graphic sources, and perhaps delighted in the visual novelty that a hybrid book presented. Meckenem’s monograms were left visible because of the cultural cachet that such products carried; either the count wanted to show himself as a collector of prints or else the artist was aware of the commodity value of the foreign prints to the extent that leaving the monogram visible enhanced the value of the manuscript into which they were inserted. Certainly the growing body of evidence that Testard not only had sustained access to an extremely wide variety of print sources, dating from the 1460s to the mid 1480s when the *Hours* was completed, leads to speculation about the level of print

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546 Giogoli and Friedman, 160.
knowledge of the artist and his patron. Testard’s inclusion of print sources directly into the book as well as his integration of various pictorial motifs inspired by graphic sources suggests that the artist was not simply using prints as a shortcut, a readymade series of illustrations, but strategically incorporated them into his creations for specific purposes.

The question of how Testard and his patron the count may have acquired such a large variety of contemporary prints is pertinent to understanding the significance of their inclusion in such a high-level court commission. The dissemination of German and Netherlandish prints across Europe is speculation, but we know from many sources that they did travel far and wide. As German and Netherlandish cities became the first major producers of works in this new art, collectors in those immediate areas had more complete access to the first prints. The print collection of Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514), an early example, comprises mainly works produced in Nuremberg, Schedel’s local market, though he also owned a number of other engravings from other regions. The means by which Schedel collected such examples, however, remain unclear though it is known that prints traveled across the Alps and farther afield as well. A 1441 decree issued in Venice regulated the importation of foreign-printed playing cards, which demonstrates that even early prints were being traded across regions. Israhel van Meckenem, whose engravings feature prominently in Testard’s hybrid creation, distributed his prints from Northern Germany across a wide swath of Europe. He worked

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directly with his fellow artists in Rhenish Germany, supplying them with prints from the North while also creating new material as he made engravings from their paintings.\footnote{Metzger, 110.}

Examples by the eminent Martin Schongauer were circulating among Italian artists, and sheets by the Master E.S. traveled at least as far as the Alps, where two of his engravings formed the basis of frescoes in Mače, Slovenia.\footnote{The best-known appearance of a Schongauer engraving in Italian painting is the small painted panel copy of Schongauer’s 1470s \textit{Torment of Saint Anthony}, by the young Michelangelo (painting dates to c. 1487-88). This work was the subject of a recent study and 2009 exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. See also Landau and Parshall, 65; Metzger, 111.}

Because much of France has been left out of the history of early printing, it is difficult to discern exactly how far German and Netherlandish prints traveled across the country, in what quantities, and through what channels. Some clues about this dissemination may be found in the comparatively better-known production and spread of printed books throughout France in the same period. Though printing presses did not appear in Paris until the 1470s, Parisian booksellers (\textit{libraires}), including Andry Le Musnier, a prominent figure in the Parisian commercial book trade in the mid-fifteenth century, were buying and selling printed books that had been produced in Germany.\footnote{Rouse and Rouse end their study of the commercial book trade in Paris over several hundred years in the Middle Ages. Though they conclude their discussion at 1500, they discuss Le Musnier as a representative example of how Parisian manuscript ateliers dealt with the introduction and subsequent competition to their industry presented by the printed book. Rouse and Rouse, 303; 320-323.}

The contact between Paris and prominent German figures in it, including Peter Schoeffer, was significant. Schoeffer had worked as a scribe in Paris while he was a student at the University of Paris, and along with his contemporary Hermann of Statboen, he returned...
to the city to sell printed books by the late 1460s and early 1470s. Andry Le Musnier was never a printer himself, but he probably bought and sold printed books. By 1475, when he died, Paris bookshops were full of printed books, besides the imports from numerous German presses. By that date Paris had about twenty printers of its own and their number was increasing rapidly. We also know of many other printers in Paris during this period, including Antoine Vérard and other enterprising members of the French book market. Calligraphers and scribes expanded their repertories to include rubrications for printed books, and there was no shortage of work for illuminators who turned to the embellishment of initials and borders in printed texts.

The explosion of printed books in the Parisian market is not quite the same as the production of single-sheet prints of the type included in Testard’s *Hours of Charles of Angoulême*, though it is significant that Testard used comparatively more engravings than woodcuts, perhaps indicating a more sophisticated knowledge of prints on the part of the patron (and possible collector). The print sources present in the *Hours* provide evidence for a more active and sophisticated French interest in, and acquisition of, prints than has previously been known. However, it must be said that the extent of the use of print

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552 Rouse and Rouse, 321.
553 Ibid., 325.
sources in this example is somewhat anomalous. No other preserved example from the period is known in which original illuminations, overpainted prints, and illuminations drawn from print sources intermingle with such liberty. Other examples of manuscripts with prints pasted in as surrogates for a program of illumination are known, though nearly all seem to indicate a fairly straightforward use of such imagery in books meant for a decidedly more middle class audience. Landau and Parshall conclude that “by 1500 most prints continued to be sold nearby the place they were made,” yet the print sources put to use by Testard for his aristocratic patron seem to suggest that the audience for such work was not quite so limited and that the prints that were potentially in the count’s collection had traveled a considerable distance.\(^{555}\)

If we accept that either the count or Testard himself was able to acquire a range of print sources through these various channels, the question remains about their significance in the context of a hybrid, illuminated book completed by a court artist. The manuscript’s patron, Charles of Angoulême, was the son and grandson of royal bibliophiles. He carried on their legacy and was known as both a collector of manuscripts and as a patron of early Parisian printer Antoine Vérard’s deluxe printed editions. In 1492, Vérard himself delivered some of earliest books that he presented to the count, which included a printed Book of Hours on vellum with added illuminations (Morgan Library 127725, ChL f1523 B).\(^{556}\) In addition to payment for the books, Vérard requested

\(^{555}\) Landau and Parshall, 65.

\(^{556}\) Winn identifies two different surviving printed Books of Hours with added decoration typical of presentation copies for high-profile patrons. The Morgan Library copy is on vellum, but is undated and does not appear in the count’s inventory, though is decorated with the Angoulême
reimbursement for his travel expenses to Cognac. In the bill preserved in Louise of Savoy’s account book, he indicates that he made several trips to Cognac and that they were made at the express demand of the count: “Et pour la compense de sa peine d’estre venu a plusieurs voiaiges dudit Paris a Coignac, par l’ordonnance de feu mondit seigneur, tant pour apporter lesdits livres que pour querir ladite somme desdites parties.”

Since the Hours of Charles of Angoulême was produced shortly after 1480, when Meckenem’s print series was still relatively new, the use of prints in the count’s personal Hours actually predates his regular contact with Vérard, but may have also been a reaction to the direct competition posed by prints and printed books that were already beginning to enter the space of the court in an unprecedented way.

The use of Meckenem’s prints in particular may indicate his contemporary reputation as a founder of printmaking, as evidenced as early as 1505 by the German chronicler Jacob Wimpheling, who cited Meckenem among Dürer and Schongauer in significance. There is other evidence of Meckenem’s prints moving great distances in short periods, evidenced by their use among other painters and manuscript illuminators from the Baltic to Spain. Meckenem’s genius for the market has been noted, and

arms. The other potential Book of Hours is now BnF Rés. Vél. 2235. See Winn, Anthoine Vérard, 157-158.


558 Landau and Parshall, 57.

559 Ibid., 57. Further, Lynette M.F. Bosch describes several instances in an illuminated manuscript known as the Isabella Missal, produced for Queen Isabella of Spain (Toledo, Biblioteca El Escorial Vit. 8), in which several compositional elements are clearly derived from Meckenem’s Resurrection print from his engraved Passion series. See Lynette M.F. Bosch Manuscript Illumination in Toledo (1446-1495): The Liturgical Books (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 1985), 109-110; Lynette M.F. Bosch, Art, Liturgy, and Legend in Renaissance
Parshall and Landau credit his success partially to his knowledge of “packaging” and strategic understanding of the print as a commodity.\textsuperscript{560} His \textit{Passion} series, which appears to be the most commonly incorporated imagery for illuminated books, was published in small sets and cycles especially suitable for just that purpose, to be pasted into devotional books as illustrations.\textsuperscript{561} Printed \textit{Passion} sets in general were common in the fifteenth century, most composed of woodcuts and associated with manuscript or typographic text.\textsuperscript{562} Though these examples are simpler and less expensive and produced for a wider audience, the images’ popularity corresponds with the motivation to include a complete set of Meckenem’s \textit{Passion} series in a more costly, aristocratic manuscript production. Certainly this strategy was effective, and helps to explain the proliferation of such complete Meckenem \textit{Passion} sets contained within several examples of manuscripts.

\textbf{V. Antoine Vérard’s Work for the Court}

Testard’s early experimentation with prints as source material suggests both a patron and an artist interested in the new medium and perhaps even the novelty of a hybrid book. The count, after receiving his \textit{Hours} replete with visual quotations from prints (perhaps in his or the illuminator’s collection) and a complete set of Meckenem’s \textit{Passion}, actively pursued products from Antoine Vérard. The Parisian publisher first appears in the historical record in a colophon to an edition of Hours dated September 12, 1509.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Toledo: The Mendoza and the Iglesia Primada} (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 177.
\item Landau and Parshall, 58.
\item Ibid., 58-59.
\end{itemize}
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1485, roughly contemporary with Testard’s *Hours* for the count.\(^{563}\) This early edition from Vérard, the first illustrated edition of Hours, the earliest to be printed in France and the first printed with French and Latin text, places him at the forefront of the evolving print industry in France.\(^{564}\) Charles of Angoulême was thus on the cutting edge in terms of his enthusiastic acquisition of engravings from abroad even before his interest in acquiring Vérard’s deluxe print copies, participating in a vogue among noble patrons for Vérard’s products. Beginning in 1491 with his first presentation to King Charles VIII, Vérard acquired a host of noble patrons, including the count, his wife Louise, the king’s sister Anne of France, Jean d’Albret (King of Navarre and Comte de Foix), and Georges and Madeleine d’Amboise.\(^{565}\) He later added the next king, Louis XII, and King Henry VII of England to his list of illustrious clientele.\(^{566}\) The Count of Angoulême, with the help of his court artist Testard, was on the cutting edge of the developing world of print made palatable for a noble clientele through its assimilation of manuscript techniques. Testard was able to adapt his *Hours* for the count, making it modern and considerably novel through the integration of various print sources while Vérard represents a parallel attempt to navigate the tastes of a courtly entourage by creating particularly lavish, unique presentation copies for each of his patrons, making the new art of printing work in

\(^{565}\) The first book he presented to the king was in 1491, a two-volume work entitled *Orose*, an edition specially compiled and translated for the king, embellished with a presentation miniature (BnF Rés. Vél. 682-683). Vérard more than any publisher cultivated noble patrons, though he competed for the king’s attention with at least one other rival, Pierre Le Rouge, who was responsible for the printing and illumination of Charles VIII’s copy of *La Mer des Histoires* of 1488-89, the first printed book to enter the king’s collection. See Winn, *Antoine Vérard*, 102; 104-107.
\(^{566}\) For the full accounting of Vérard’s royal and high-ranking noble patrons and his products for them, see Winn, *Antoine Vérard*, 101-206.
a medieval mode of patronage. With the regular visits of Vérard to Cognac, the privileged space of the court and the special position held by the officially named court illuminator were increasingly in direct contact with the market forces of the city with the introduction of print. Vérard’s work for the court at Cognac throughout the 1490s and beyond indicates that his patrons were interested in his new art of print and acquired several books from him while continuing to commission manuscripts from their court artist.

After Count Charles of Angoulême’s death in 1496, his wife Louise of Savoy took control of his affairs. In his will, Charles confidently designated his nineteen-year-old widow as guardian of his children and manager of his estates. The count’s library was inventoried at this point, providing a detailed record of the library Louise inherited as his widow.  

Seventy-three items are identified as individual volumes by title and summary description of their physical appearance. The first items in the list are those books located in the count’s “chambre de librayrie,” where each book is identified by its title. These descriptions carefully denote materials: paper or parchment, manuscript or print, the presence and number of illustrations, and types of bindings. Additional items are described in groups, but not identified by their titles. Of the total, about one third (twenty-four volumes) are printed, fourteen on vellum. Vérard, not wanting to lose the patronage of one of his most important clients, also sent a bill itemizing recent products for the count immediately after his death. The evidence of this document survives in

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568 Ibid., 19-56.
Louise’s account book, which records a payment of more than 207 *livres tournois* made to the publisher for five books delivered to the count. The costs of each are itemized: parchment, small and large illustrations, gold rubrication, binding, tooling, and gilding.\(^{570}\)

From the payment made to Vérard and the inventory made of the count’s library, we can conclude that during the first phase of Vérard’s activity in Cognac, he supplied the count with about twelve printed titles.\(^{571}\) Of these, only one is printed on paper; the rest were produced on vellum, which seems to have been a trademark of Vérard, since no other publisher issued vellum copies on the same scale or with the same regularity.\(^{572}\) Vérard began preparing deluxe presentation copies for the count at about the same time he began catering to King Charles VIII, and he often portrayed the count in specially commissioned presentation miniatures.\(^{573}\) Such illuminations and others that abounded in these deluxe copies are attributable to the Master of Jacques de Besançon and the Master of Robert Gaguin, two of Vérard’s most high-profile artists. The count was one of Vérard’s most valued clients; he provided a key connection to the workings of the French court, and only on the count’s sudden death did the publisher itemize his costs of the work produced for Charles.

The second phase of Vérard’s activity for the court revolved around Louise of Savoy and her son. Vérard’s fears about losing his valued patrons in Cognac were

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570 The account book, the *Livre de dépenses*, records the payment as such: “Anthoine Vérard, libraire de Paris, la somme de deux cens sept livres dix sols dix deniers tournois, pour les parties qui s’ensuivent par lui baillées à feu Monseigneur le conte.” Winn, *Antoine Vérard*, 167.


573 For more on Vérard’s presentation scenes for French kings, see chapter 2 of this dissertation.
unfounded, since he continued to produce luxury presentation copies of his books for Louise, and potentially even fostered a closer relationship with the court and its artists, particularly Robinet Testard. From the death of Charles until the arrival of François d’Angoulême at the royal court, Vérard catered to the countess Louise, selecting largely editions of devotional texts that suited her taste. He prepared vellum copies, most extensively illuminated, that were aimed at pleasing a bibliophile who appreciated illuminated manuscripts. Though Louise’s name is not explicitly mentioned in the prologues that accompany the printed texts produced with her in mind, the publisher, who had a deep knowledge of the structures of aristocratic patronage, made sure to include personalized presentation miniatures of Louise and occasionally of her son, reflecting an interest of both publisher and patron in advertising his or her status. Vérard issued printed copies of the books that he presented to Louise to the general public, at times with the prologue to his patron. His association with her functioned as an advertisement for the quality of his books and his social status. For Louise, the books formed one part of a political public relations strategy geared toward enhancing her own political position and that of her son, on whose behalf she advocated forcefully in support of his claim to the throne.

Presentation miniatures appear in about ten of the presentation copies of the books Vérard dedicated to Louise in the early years of the sixteenth century, the most concentrated period of their relationship. Together, this group of books provides evidence

that Vérard not only continued to supply books to the court at Cognac after the count’s
death, but also that he took great care in courting Louise as a patron. The presentation
miniature and text prologue in the 1505 *Passetemps de tout homme* (BnF Rés. Vél. 2249),
Guillaume Alexis’s verse translation of a text first composed in Latin by Pope Innocent
III, provides a particularly representative example of Vérard’s offerings to Louise. In the
text prologue, Vérard call himself “Je Anthoine Verard, humble libraire,” but goes on to
say that he “desirant trouver art d’invencion” (“an art of invention/a new art”). The
presentation miniature that accompanies this prologue in the volume depicts a garden
with a central figure of Louise in a long black gown and headdress sitting on a chair
covered in red fabric embroidered with gold flowers (fol. a1v) [Fig. 149]. She holds the
hand of a boy, identifiable as the young François, wearing a short golden robe, red
stockings, and a black hat. To her left, a man in a gray robe in the midst of kneeling
presents her with a large red and gold volume. The preponderance of red and gold for the
dress, books, and interiors in presentation miniatures for the pair most likely reference the
livery colors of Savoy (red and white) and those of Louis XII and by connection, the
throne of France (red and gold). Louise’s usual dark dress and headwear refer to her
status as a widow.

These books are: *Jardin de vertueuse consolation* (BnF Rés. Vél. 1759); *Regles de bien vivre*
(BnF Rés. Vél. 1764); *Livre du Saint Sacrement de l’autel* (BnF Rés. Vél. 1750); *Mirouer des
pecheurs et pecheresses* (BnF Rés. Vél. 2229); *Livre de l’amour de Dieu* (BL C.22.a.3). Each is a
quarto-size volume of a devotional text printed on vellum in a type evocative of Gothic book
hand; all of them have a miniature representing a lady and her son on the verso of the title page.
Winn also attempts to connect at least five other books published by Vérard with Louise and
François, though these are somewhat less securely associated with Louise personally. If these
identifications are correct, the total number of presentation copies produced by Vérard for Louise
would come to ten. See Winn, “Books for a Princess,” 611-612.

For the full text of the prologue, see Winn, *Antoine Vérard*, 384.
In another example from just a few years later, the presentation miniature in the vellum copy of the *Epistres de Saint Paul* (BnF Rés. Vél. 124, fol. a1v), published in 1507-1508, appears on the verso of the printed title page, which was specially printed and illuminated exclusively for this copy [Fig. 150]. Louise appears in a gown cuffed with fine fur and wearing a black headdress and kneels at a *prié-dieu*. She reaches out to accept a bound volume from a youth wearing a gray cloak, who also kneels. Saint Paul is pictured standing behind him, identifiable by his halo and sword. A three-dimensional architectural frame with Italianate decorative flourishes typical of manuscript illumination of the same period surrounds the miniature and below, the two columns of text that begin the prologue that Vérard addressed to a “treshonnoree excellente princesse.”

This prologue, printed on both sides of a sheet that was then inserted into the volume after the title page, appears to be unique to this copy of the edition, the only known volume of the edition on vellum. Thus Vérard seems to have composed this prologue expressly for the presentation copy and intended the prologue only for Louise, the recipient of this specialized production.

Each of these examples represents a personalization of a printed edition for a high-profile patron. The frequent inclusion of Louise’s son François in the presentation miniatures added to Louise’s books indicates a sensitivity not only to her personal tastes and interests, but further reflects a considerable understanding of her politics, particularly

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577 Though other scholars have identified the recipient of this book as Anne of Brittany, Vérard never uses the term “royne” in this verse, where he always does in other cases in which he refers to King Charles VIII and Louis XII as “roy de France” and to Anne of Brittany as “royne de France.” Winn points out that the lady here is described only as “princesse” and “dame.” See Winn, “Books for a Princess and her Son,” 607.
her interest in positioning her son in an advantageous position from which to inherit the French throne. The young François, in addition to eventually receiving a small library composed for him by his mother, had a traditional medieval education in jousting, dancing, history, and Latin. Louise was also committed to his education in the new humanist writings being produced in Italy, even commissioning translations of classical texts from Octavien de Saint-Gelais and a number of his contemporary thinkers. By 1505, when Vérard was presenting these titles to her, she had appointed Cardinal Amboise, a noted French humanist, to be François’s tutor. In this presentation copy of the Passetemps, François is portrayed again wearing nearly the same dress in a second miniature (fol. a2) [Fig. 151]. He stands in a library opposite a seated woman dressed in a long black gown and matching headdress, identifiable as Louise in her characteristic dress. She seems to be writing with a book held in her lap, while several other large volumes are on display in the room around the pair. The two look toward each other and the young boy’s hand is outstretched, giving the scene a casual affect, perhaps even referencing Louise’s instruction of her son. The inclusion of François in both of these books was an effective marketing strategy on Vérard’s part, and perhaps also indicates his knowledge of the contents of the Cognac library.

A comparable image of the pair appears in a manuscript entitled Le Compas du Daulphin (BnF ms fr. 2285). The manuscript begins with a frontispiece miniature of Louise in her dark gown and headdress holding François’s hand as he looks back toward

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her. With her right hand she carries a large compass, referencing the contents of the text and her role as guide and instructor for her young son, whose position is indicated by the large dolphin that appears next to him [Fig. 152]. Yet another similar illuminated depiction of Louise and François can also be found in the frontispiece presentation scene in a manuscript copy of her text of *La Vie Nostre Dame* (BnF ms. fr. 985, fol. 2v) [Fig. 153]. Louise and François are seated in the foreground and in the midst of receiving the book from the author while finely dressed ladies appear in a manicured garden with trellises, not unlike the ones that appear in Vérard’s presentation miniatures for Louise, in the background.

One final example of a luxury vellum presentation copy published by Vérard in 1503 further illuminates the degree to which Vérard was sensitive to Louise’s personal and political ambitions. The presentation scene in the book, the *Sejour d’Honneur* by Octavien de Saint-Gelais (BnF Rés. Vél. 2239, fol. a1v), shows a man dressed in a brown and black robe reaching out to present the volume to a young man in a fine gold robe [Fig. 154]. Witnessing the scene is an older lady with Louise’s typical dark dress and headgear. It seems with this book, for which Winn suggests the presentation scene must have been added later, that Vérard understood that Louise was grooming François as heir apparent.\(^{580}\) He takes over the central place of honor in the presentation scene as the recipient in the book while Louise looks on watchfully. If the miniature is indeed somewhat later than the printing of the text as Winn suggests, dating possibly to circa 1509 and after all the presentation miniatures that feature Louise as the central recipient

of the book, François was reaching his maturity and inching closer to the throne.\textsuperscript{581} The miniature may reflect a passing of the torch in some respects from Louise to her son.

The similarity of presentation scenes that Vérard included in his books for Louise and the manuscript versions of similar scenes may indicate Vérard’s familiarity with Louise’s library and its contents. At the very least, Vérard clearly understood the priorities that Louise had in commissioning works that responded to her promotion of her son as heir and his education. That Louise patronized Vérard for many years after her husband’s death indicates that she apprehended the possibilities of the new medium of print. However, Louise, in maintaining the standards of a fifteenth-century noble household, continued to commission manuscripts from Testard and other illuminators while also maintaining her relationship with Vérard.


After the production of the hybrid \textit{Hours of Charles of Angoulême} for the count, Testard continued in his capacity as court artist, though he did not complete another work akin to the \textit{Hours} in terms of its considerable overlap and blurred boundaries between media. The court, though, was a site of contact between manuscript and print, as Testard and Vérard had a common patron in Louise of Savoy after 1496. Some other instances of potential dialogue between the two artists and their work for her are relevant to the discussion of the relationship between the appeal of manuscript techniques and potential uses of print in a particular regional court.

\textsuperscript{581} Winn, “Books for a Princess,” 612.
One of these instances consists of two titles on chess, one produced by the illuminator and the other by the printer. Vérard’s copy of *Le Jeu des eschez moralisé* (BnF Rés. Vél. 1018) was issued on September 6, 1504 and a deluxe version on vellum with a presentation miniature was presented to Louise in 1505 [Fig. 155]. The presentation miniature depicts Louise seated in garden before a trellis painted on the verso [see Fig. 155]. She reaches out to François, dressed in his characteristic red stockings and a gold tunic. Simultaneously, Louise’s other hand extends toward a young man entering the scene from the left, in the midst of kneeling before her. He offers her a large volume bound with a clasp, his almost-kneeling posture recalling the familiar arrangement of author/translator and patron in a presentation scene. This man might be identified with Vérard, who often did insert himself into such miniatures.\(^{582}\)

Vérard’s edition of the *Jeu des eschez moralisé* was issued with two other French translations of chivalric literary works, whose titles are not cited on the title pages: the *Ordre de Chevalerie* and the romance *Méliibée et Prudence*. The text that Vérard used derived from a fifteenth-century translation of the *Jeu des eschez*, a late thirteenth-century moral treatise by Jacobus de Cessolis that had been translated from the original Latin around 1350 by Jean de Vignay.\(^{583}\) The manuscripts of Vignay’s translation include a preface by the translator addressed to Jean de France, a “tresnoble et tresexcellent prince” (BnF Rés. Vél. 949). Vérard’s edition, using this prologue as an obvious model, is addressed to a “treshaulte, puissante et excellente, ma treshonnoree dame.”\(^{584}\) Vérard

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\(^{582}\) Winn, “Books for a Princess,” 606.

\(^{583}\) For a full transcription of the prologue text (fol. a₂), see Winn, *Antoine Vérard*, 376-377.

\(^{584}\) Ibid., 376.
also repeats the original prologue’s claim “ay mis nouvellement ung petit livret de latin en françois” (“I have newly translated this small book of Latin into French,”) boldly taking undeserved authorial credit for the translation.\textsuperscript{585} Vérard’s prologue to Louise, the “treshonnoree dame” in question, is included in all copies of this edition along with a woodcut that gives the reader a preview of the text’s content appears on the the verso of the title page: an image of a king and queen playing chess surrounded by a series of depictions of small figures each representing a station of life [Fig. 156]. This standard woodcut also appears in the presentation copy volume [Fig. 157], though it has been colored and moved to the end of the table of contents while the original printed title on the other side was simply scraped off the vellum support.\textsuperscript{586}

The presentation miniature of Louise and François in the garden was painted on the verso of the title page, but in this luxury volume the title page offers a hand-written imitation of the printed title, even including a subtle but clever reference to printing, “nouvellement imprimé à Paris” [Fig. 158]. Winn suggests that Vérard’s motivation for offering the book at this moment was related to Louis XII’s recovery from a serious illness, dashing Louise’s hopes (for the moment) that her son would imminently become king; Vérard intended for the book to be a consolation, evidenced by his addition to the prologue text of his hope that the lady and her son would find solace in the book.\textsuperscript{587} Winn notes that this portrayal of Louise of Savoy dressed in a red gown is somewhat unusual, since she is usually depicted in a dark gown trimmed with ermine and a black headdress.

\textsuperscript{585} Winn, “Books for a Princess,” 605.
\textsuperscript{586} Ibid., 605-606.
\textsuperscript{587} Winn, \textit{Antoine Vérard}, 378-379.
that nearly covers her hair.\textsuperscript{588} However, later in Louise’s copy of the \textit{Jeu des eschez moralisé}, the woodcut that introduced the text of the \textit{Ordre de Chevalerie}, in other copies a woodcut image of the crucified Christ was overpainted with a new miniature portraying Prudence, Fortune, and a male figure [Fig. 159]. Prudence is portrayed with the same dress as the lady receiving the book in the presentation miniature, creating an obvious visual equation. This depiction of Prudence is particularly relevant for Louise, who had a predilection for the virtue of prudence and was portrayed as a personification of Prudence in another manuscript illuminated by none other than Robinet Testard (\textit{Traité sur les Vertus}, François Demoulins, BnF ms. fr. 12247, fol. 4r) [Fig. 160].\textsuperscript{589}

Louise already possessed a manuscript version of the other currently popular treatise on chess, \textit{Jeu des echecs amoureaux}, which had been illuminated by Robinet Testard circa 1496 to 1498 (BnF ms. fr. 143). Testard’s illuminations accompanied the other popular work related to the moral dimensions of the game of chess at the time, a prose commentary by Evrard de Conty on an anonymous allegory derived from the \textit{Roman de la Rose}. The miniatures feature various allegorical subjects, including one of the Garden of Nature and another of the author writing with a couple playing chess in the background [Fig. 161]. Manuscript and printed edition were produced within a few years of each other, and Vérard’s work, particularly his choice of text and garden location for the presentation miniature, was likely a result of his knowledge of the manuscript text. This chess book is the single work Vérard offered to Louise that is not devotional in

\textsuperscript{588} Winn, “Books for a Princess,” 606.
\textsuperscript{589} Winn, \textit{Antoine Vérard}, 380. See also Lecoq, \textit{Francois I Imaginaire}, chapter 3: Le fils de Dame Prudence, 69-115.
nature; it is also the first printed edition of the French translation, so Vérard may have used Louise’s manuscript as its inspiration. Though the translation used for Vérard’s edition is different from that of the manuscript of the Jeu des eschez (BnF ms. 143) illuminated by Testard, if Vérard was acquainted with this codex from the Angoulême library, his decision to produce the Jeu des eschez for Louise represents an attempt to capture her attention by producing a luxury printed copy of a book on a similar theme.\textsuperscript{590} Since he included the prologue addressed to Louise, he also deliberately advertised his connection to her and her patronage to a wide audience. Though the prologue did not name her specifically, an astute reader, perhaps a member of a court circle or with at least some knowledge of early sixteenth-century politics, would be able to identify the “dame” in question. The question of how Robinet Testard might have responded to the competition posed by Vérard attempting to court the favor of his patron so stridently must remain purely speculative. Testard depended on his ability to create products that responded to Louise’s interests and tastes for continued employment in her household, and Vérard, in his regular visits to the court, certainly would have presented an interesting potential challenge to the illuminator’s position.

Though there is no evidence that the two artists ever met or saw each other as potential competitors, a further look at the material conventions of Vérard’s work for Louise demonstrates that the manuscript was still very relevant to Louise’s interests. Vérard’s attempts at catering to Louise went beyond the printed book, and even beyond the luxury presentation copies that were specially illuminated for her. Louise remained an

\textsuperscript{590} Winn briefly suggests a possible correlation between the two titles. See Winn, “Books for a Princess,” note 13.
aristocratic patron with certain expectations of material value, and Vérard responded with at least two non-print products in an effort to impress and delight his high-profile “princesse.” One of these works is a manuscript that contains an anonymous 324-verse poem handwritten in a late fifteenth-century humanist script on the Passion of Christ, illustrated by a series of twelve Passion engravings by Israhel van Meckenem, colored and surrounded by painted borders (BnF ms. fr. 1686). On the first folio a prologue by Vérard addresses a lady whom he does not name. Winn and Edmunds assert that given the nature of the work, the probable recipient is Louise, whose preference for devotional works was well known, and Vérard’s penchant for leaving Louise unnamed in books dedicated to her has also been established.591

The prologue of Vérard’s creation is addressed to a “tresnoble et puissant dame,” consistent with his other dedications to Louise of Savoy. Indented beneath the text are two lines that read “Cest vos treshumble et tresobeyssant serviteur,” which suggests that Vérard not only composed the prologue but also, as suggested by Edmunds and Winn, that he can be identified as the scribe of the entire manuscript.592 He goes on to imply that the images he has included in the manuscript originated with the text, though they are in fact the familiar Meckenem prints that appeared in Cognac as early as the mid-1480s in Testard’s Hours for the count. The work is a particularly fifteenth-century production: an inventive combination of visual strategies: both manual and graphic techniques married together, and produced by a publisher for a noble patron. Each folio

592 Ibid., 290.
opening features a Meckenem image, printed directly on the vellum and then overpainted, which faces a portion of the text, each element functioning as both explanation and commentary for the other [Fig. 162]. However, the images that appear in ms. 1686 are unique, because they are not pasted in, but rather printed directly from the plates onto the same parchment as the text. The frames that surround each image obscure the indentation made by the edge of the plate. Edmunds and Winn suggest that Vérard acquired Meckenem’s *Passion* plates around 1503, the date of Meckenem’s death, at which point they had been re-engraved several times and were quite worn; they further propose a date of circa 1503-1508 for the book, which would be consistent with Vérard’s most active period of production for Louise.\footnote{Edmunds and Winn, 296.}

Though there is no evidence that Vérard had direct access to the *Hours of Charles of Angoulême*, it is tempting to make a connection between the two books, particularly in light of the curious replication of this set of prints in two examples. The first is Testard’s *Hours*, a manuscript made by a French court illuminator using roughly contemporary German prints pasted in and overpainted. The second is Vérard’s *Passion* poem, a manuscript made by a French publisher/printer using twenty-year-old German plates to create impressions that were then overpainted by a French illuminator. As previously mentioned, the Meckenem *Passion* prints were in wide enough circulation to provide for their inclusion in these two books, and indeed in yet another book, now in the collection of the British Museum (1897,0103.7). This example represents a similar attempt to integrate prints into a manuscript form, as it features the complete set of twelve prints.
pasted into a vellum book with handwritten pages. The prints are uncolored, but each is
given a gold trompe l’oeil frame and faux marble border, creating the impression of
illuminations in grisaille [Fig. 163].

Since the Passion poem (ms. 1686) was the second book in the library of Cognac
to contain a complete set of the Meckenem Passion series engravings, it seems likely that
Vérard at the very least knew the broad and continuing appeal of the Meckenem prints,
even long after their initial appearance. In the prologue of Louise’s Passion poem, Vérard
states that he believes that “signes” (“images”) are better for communicating the ideas in
the text to the reader.594 In his attention to providing Louise with extensively illustrated
books, he also provides some insight into Louise’s expectations for how books should
look and in what ways they should be used.595 When he was able to acquire Meckenem’s
plates, Vérard was then able to execute the small devotional book, though other examples
of using copper engravings as illustrations for a printed book are extremely rare. He may
have had inspiration from Jean du Pré, who had printed a Book of Hours in Paris in 1488
using a set of metalcut borders, and Vérard acquired du Pré’s material after the latter’s
death in 1493.596 Vérard did not produce any other extant copies of the poem with or
without illustrations after ms. 1686 for Louise. He seems not to have used the Meckenem
plates again, though he later published a conceptually related work, a French prose
version of a Jean Gerson sermon, Les contemplations historiees sur la Passion, using

594 Edmunds and Winn, 292.
595 Vérard modified the text (found in two other manuscripts, BnF ms. fr. 2272 and lat. 3536)
considerably to ensure that it fit the cycle of engravings. See Edmunds and Winn, 297-298.
woodcuts instead of engravings, a vellum copy of which belonged to François I (BnF Rés. Vél. 949). Furthermore, the handwritten text, perhaps from Vérard’s own hand, personalizes the book for his patron to an even greater degree. The publisher’s monogram (AVR) can be seen in one other manuscript product, the Book of Hours of Charles VIII (Madrid, Bibl. Nac. ms. Vit. 24-1, fol. 112v) [Fig. 164], and two additional works have been attributed to him based on similarities to the Madrid manuscript: a bilingual Psalter that also belonged to Charles VIII (BnF ms. lat. 774) and a manuscript copy of La Ressource de la Chrétienté by André de la Vigne (BnF ms. fr. 1687).

One final example by Vérard should be considered, further illustrating the overlap of new and old worlds of book production at the court of Cognac. The Louenges a nostre dame (BnF ms. fr. 2225) is a collection of poems in honor of the Virgin, handwritten and illuminated on parchment. This is the second manuscript work that Vérard produced specifically for Louise, and it also features miniatures of her. Louise appears kneeling in prayer to the Virgin (fol. 3v) [Fig. 165] and as part of the Annunciation (fol. 6v) [Fig. 166]. It ends with an acrostic poem (fols. 31v-32r) [Fig. 167] whose first letters form the name “Anthoine Verard,” which Winn hypothesizes is the equivalent of his printer’s mark, claiming responsibility for the production of the work. The manuscript is most likely from the same period as the Passion poem book (circa 1503), based on the similarities between it and the colophon in Vérard’s printed edition of the Louenges a

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597 Edmunds and Winn, 298.
599 Winn, “Louenges envers Louise,” 120.
Nostre Dame (cf. BnF. Rés. Vél. 831, fol. 3r), which also features a printed version of the acrostic poem based on the letters of Vérard’s name [Fig. 168]. The manuscript version of the acrostic was personalized for Louise, addressing her as “ma loyalle maistresse” and “noble, dame, excellante princesse,” and Vérard stresses his role, as ever, as Louise’s humble servant. Illuminations in the manuscript copy presented to Louise, particularly the image of the Immaculate Conception representing the young Virgin surrounded by text scrolls of Latin litanies (fol. 17v) are clearly based on print sources [Fig. 169]. The same image of the Virgin with text inscriptions was common in printed editions of Books of Hours printed by Vérard as well as several other early printers active in Paris, including Simon Vostre and Germain Hardouyn [Fig. 170].

Vérard thus set aside the printed materials available to him in order to make a manuscript copy of the text using the conventions of luxury manuscript production: illuminations, handwritten text, and a personalized colophon. This work is not a presentation copy of a printed work, like his past works, but a manuscript that Vérard knew would appeal to his patron and demonstrates his keen understanding of the material demands of the court. The production of manuscripts by Vérard also reveals the fluidity of book production during this period; a printer could produce everything from a printed book with colored illuminations, the Passion poem that featured engravings printed directly on parchment, and a manuscript in the most traditional sense, depending on the tastes and preferences of his patrons. In this case, Louise of Savoy desired books that

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600 Winn, “Louenges envers Louise,” 129.
601 For example, an edition printed in circa 1510 for the Use of Rouen (BnF Rés. Vélins 2862, fol. s1r). See Winn, “Louenges envers Louise,” 124.
were “beaux et dévots,” as Vérard himself says in the prologue composed for Louise’s presentation copy of the *Epistres de Saint Paul.* Clearly Vérard only produced handwritten works when the stature and taste of the patron called for it, and even as he utilized print, he catered to a persistent taste for luxury in the form of the traditional art of the book. The *Jeu des eschez moralisé* is a printed book with special manuscript additions that responded to the manuscript contents of Louise’s library. The small *Passion* poem that he executed for Louise represents a bespoke creation that was at once highly original but that also made deliberate references to the past through the use of the Meckenem print series printed directly on to the parchment, which further obscured the boundaries between printed and manuscript illuminations. The manuscript of the *Louenges* does away with printed elements altogether in order to meet the demands of courtly taste; perhaps the printer saw the court’s manuscript illuminators as his direct competition and responded by demonstrating his facility with all modes of book production.

Antoine Vérard’s success in making products that appealed to Louise of Savoy can also be attributed to a particular interest in print evident at the court of Cognac as early as the 1480s, with the count’s commissioning of the *Hours* from Testard. Louise of Savoy’s patronage of Vérard drew some inspiration from her husband’s patronage of the medium, and she further responded directly to the emergence of printed books as major competition for manuscripts among the nobility. Louise and her husband Charles had together been active patrons of books, but she continued to patronize both manuscript

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602 The prologue reads “Pource que sçay et bien congnois pour voir/Que desirez de livres vous pourveoir/Beaulx et devotz, comme de vostre grace/M’avez escript, de quoy je vous rendz grace…” Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*, 396.
illuminators and printers on her own, indicating her adaptation to these new and expanded possibilities for books. Throughout her life, she amassed more than eighty books. Five printed books and twenty-three manuscripts are dedicated to her. Fifteen printed books and thirteen manuscripts include miniatures that represent her, some of which depict her accompanied by her son.

Her unique timing during the early history of the book in France distinguishes Louise’s pattern of patronage. Coming of age at the turn of the sixteenth century, she understood the potential of print in a way that her slightly older contemporaries did not. However, she maintained her court artist, Robinet Testard, in a gesture that connects her with her forebears. Instances of both continuity and change can be observed between Louise’s approach to patronage and the examples provided by other royal and aristocratic women of the period, most notably Anne of France and Anne of Brittany. Louise is connected to these other women through her sustained patronage of a single court artist, Testard, and through the use of art to reinforce her political position as regent, but her embrace of Vérard and the medium of print distinguishes her approach to the art of the book.

Vérard was probably particularly interested in garnering Louise’s support due to her status as the mother of François of Angoulême, the presumptive heir to the French throne.503 When Louis XII fell ill in 1505, François was only eleven years old, but Vérard and many French citizens recognized him as the heir apparent. Most of the books Vérard dedicated to Louise date from around this time, about a dozen titles between 1503 and

1508. As the wife of Charles of Angoulême, Louise had almost certainly met Vérard when he traveled to Cognac to deliver books. As mother of the heir to the throne and a cultivated princess in her own right, Louise merited the attention of a bookseller such as Vérard, “humble servant” to the nobility that he was. Vérard’s astute understanding of the patronage system among members of the French nobility meant that he sought patrons of the highest social standing, Louise of Savoy first among them.

However, Vérard’s attention to and subsequent success with the countess seems to have been unique. Louise’s adoption of print also differs from her female contemporaries who were also public figures and were politically active. Anne of Brittany, queen of France and wife to both Charles VIII and Louis XII, was an avid art patron but conspicuously few printed books can be associated with her patronage or even her ownership. Winn has convincingly concluded that that only one book by Vérard bears a text prologue to the queen, the 1497 edition of Le Tresor de la cité des dames, his first printed edition of the work by Christine de Pizan. Vérard seems to have even taken extra steps to exclude Anne from his products. Anne had commissioned a translation of Boccaccio’s Des nobles et cler es dames, of which Vérard later published a printed edition in 1493. In the deluxe presentation copy of the book (BnF Rés. Vél. 1223) Vérard erased the translator’s address to Anne by replacing the entire prologue with a presentation

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604 Vérard died only four years later, in 1512, after receiving one of the first royal privileges for print from King Louis XII and having printed more than 250 editions of various titles over the course of his 25-year career. See Winn, Antoine Vérard, 28-29.
606 Ibid., 669-670; see note 11 for a list of the five extant copies of this edition.
scene to King Charles VIII, a patron with whom Vérard found much greater sustained success [Fig. 171].

That Vérard addressed many prologues to King Charles VIII and several additional examples to Louise of Savoy, but only a single book to Anne of Brittany, indicates that he was unsuccessful at attracting her interest in future works. However as in the case of the Boccaccio, Vérard occasionally had Anne of Brittany portrayed in presentation miniatures. Sometimes she appears seated beside King Charles VIII, as in the Boccaccio and in the edition of the *Apologues Laurens Valle* (BnF Rès Vél. 611) [Fig. 172]. After marrying Charles VIII’s successor Louis XII, Anne appeared alone in the presentation miniature of the deluxe version of a text dedicated to praising her husband, the *Louanges du roy Louis XII*, BNF Rés. Vél. 2780) [Fig. 173]. It seems that Anne’s lack of interest in collecting printed books discouraged any further attempts by Vérard to attract her patronage.\(^7\) She remained firmly committed to the manuscript, and sought products such as court painter Bourdichon instead.

Louise of Savoy had grown up at the court of Bourbon under the supervision of Anne of France, Charles VIII’s sister and regent. Surviving material evidence suggests that Anne, though she did own manuscripts and printed books, preferred the media of

\(^7\) There is not a single printed Book of Hours recorded in Anne’s library despite the fact that Vérard was a very successful printer of Books of Hours, which were one of the most popular types of texts among audiences of all classes in the late fifteenth century. Vérard produced luxury presentation copies of his *Grandes Heures* for royal patrons King Charles VIII and his sister, Anne of France, duchess of Bourbon. Anne’s copy of the *Grandes Heures* is listed in MacFarlane, *Antoine Vérard*, 202 (Boh. 219). See Winn, “Treasures for the Queen,” 680; Mary Beth Winn, “Guillaume Tardif’s Hours for Charles VIII and Vérard’s Grandes Heures Royales,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* LVI (1994): 347-383; and most recently Mara Hofmann, “Miniaturen in Inkunabeln: Die Grandes Heures des Pariser Verlegers Anthoine Vérard” *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 58, 1 (2009): 185-186.
panel painting and architecture and maintained the Flemish panel painter Jean Hey as her court artist instead of a French illuminator.\(^{608}\) Louise harnessed the propaganda power of print, as prologues named her in all copies of the editions produced for her. She also used the medium to create a public persona for herself as a patron while continually reminding the audience of such books, through the inclusion of François at her side in both text and image, that she was the mother of a presumptive heir to the throne.

After 1515, when her son became king of France, Louise continued to commission manuscripts. Her personal tastes remained essentially courtly, oriented toward the production and collection of luxury books. In 1516 she commissioned a manuscript illustrating the life of Saint Mary Magdalene, to whom Louise was particularly devoted (BnF ms. fr. 24995) [Fig. 174]. She became very active in commissioning translations, especially from François Demoulins. For the king, she commissioned an interpretation of Psalm 26 (\textit{Dominus illuminato mea}, BnF ms. fr. 2088) in which illustrations by Godefroy Le Batave represent François I and his mother as defenders of the True Cross, the successors of Constantine and Helena [Fig. 175].\(^{609}\)

\(^{608}\) Anne received a presentation copy of an edition of Vérard’s printed Hours and appears in the printed presentation scene accompanying Symphorien Champier’s \textit{La Nef des dames virtuoses}. Anne of France had inherited the manuscript collection of her mother, Queen Charlotte of Savoy, amassed during her tenure as duchess and then as queen to Louis XI, but she added few books to it. See Élodie Lequain, “Anne de France et les livres: la tradition et le pouvoir,” in \textit{Patronnes et mécènes en France à la Renaissance}, ed. Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier (Saint-Étienne: Université de Saint-Étienne, 2007), 162-165.

\(^{609}\) The illuminator Godefroy le Batave collaborated with Demoulins on several works created for Louise and her family, including the \textit{Dominus illuminatio mea} and the \textit{Commentaire de la guerre gallique}. For Godefroy le Batave, see Myra Orth, “Progressive Tendencies in French Manuscript Illumination 1515-1530: Godefroy le Batave and the 1520s Hours Workshop” (PhD diss., New York University, 1975). For the manuscript of \textit{Le Vie de la Magdalene}, see Barbara J. Johnston, “The Magdalene and ‘Madame’: Piety, Politics, and Personal Agenda in Louise of Savoy’s \textit{Vie de...
When Louise of Savoy died in 1531, she was mourned throughout France. Fittingly, her son the king organized an elaborate public funeral, and the official royal printer, Geoffrey Tory, published a collection of twenty epitaphs by court poets in Latin and French on the day of her funeral. Nine days later Tory issued a second edition with additional epitaphs under the title *Epitaphes a la louenge de ma Dame Mere du Roy, faictz par plusieurs recommendables Autheurs*. Each epitaph celebrates Louise’s particular political successes and her ability to transcend the usual shortcomings of her gender.\(^{610}\)

**VII. Conclusion**

The court at Cognac during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries encapsulates a number of salient issues regarding the interaction of print and manuscript in France during a period of artistic change. Robinet Testard offers an example of one illuminator bridging the technical and aesthetic gap between the old and new worlds of book production. He looked to the world of print to inspire compositions and using contemporary works to enliven his manuscript production. Antoine Vérard was one of the only early French printers to successfully work within the changing structures of book production in France. Like Testard, he represents an attempt to bring together the old and new. The range of books that Vérard produced included everything from plain paper books with simple woodcut images to deluxe illuminated printed books on vellum to traditional manuscripts, for which he personally acted as scribe.

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The contents of the Cognac library reveal a web of personal and artistic relationships. At various points of intersection stand two principal figures: Vérard, who took on roles as donor, manuscript maker, publisher, and bookseller; and Testard, who served as an illuminator, collector, and beloved member of the comital household. The patrons on the other side of the equation were Count Charles, who can perhaps be considered an early print collector, as suggested by the range of materials to which his court artist had access, and his wife Louise, also a noted bibliophile with a wide range of material interests. The range of books in their collection, their various permutations and hybridity, suggest a fluid boundary between the worlds of print and manuscript in the late fifteenth century. Each example in their library, however, was produced to maintain a standard of luxury and opulence that was appropriate for the courtly environment of the noble people who collected them. Drawing on the medieval structures of patronage and book production that were put in place in French aristocratic circles centuries earlier, the court at Cognac provided a stage for the artistic changes of the late fifteenth century, where manuscript and print come together to interact with aristocratic taste and to produce a brief period of media-based experimentation. The resulting books were entirely new yet conditioned by both their manuscript past and their printed future.
CONCLUSION

A multitude of different media and styles were available to patrons and
tastemakers of the highest ranks in France around 1500. As I have argued, books—in
particular, the illuminated manuscript—played a central role in the articulation of public
and private aristocratic identity. Among other regional courts Angoulême showed a
particular sensitivity to issues of media, especially to the interaction between manuscript
and print, as embodied by two court artists: Robinet Testard and Antoine Vérard. One can
observe the overlap between these two book markets and the importance of book
patronage to a French court audience in the proliferation of presentation scenes in both
illuminated manuscripts and printed books. The reliance on illuminated manuscripts as a
site of material and historical nostalgia for a particular group of patrons forms part of a
larger cultural matrix that was built upon the revival and survival of the medieval past. To
conclude, I examine the continued popularity of the manuscript at the French court into
the sixteenth century and pan-European aristocratic interest in the medium as well as the
ideals of the medieval past evident even outside of France.

I. Manuscripts and Artistic Culture at the Sixteenth-Century French Court

By 1515, the courts of France were in theory united and culturally linked under
the control of an increasingly strong centralized monarchy. In practice, regional centers
were still in some ways artistically divergent and by no means politically settled. The
legacy of these nuances played out in the early years of François I’s reign and well into
the sixteenth century. Developments in French court art under François I and his circle
can be seen as part of the continuum of the preferences first developed at the royal court under Louis XI, Charles VIII, and Louis XII. The royal court continued to patronize manuscripts and court illuminators well into the sixteenth century, increasingly serving as the central engine of cultural and artistic production and hegemony. Styles changed, becoming decidedly more Italianate. François I’s patronage and court followers deliberately and consciously turned toward Italy, now more unified in terms of style than the previous art across France in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century under Louis XII. The Loire Valley style of the royal circles found new expression in the work of court illuminators, and François I and his court still commissioned and owned large collections of illuminated manuscripts. Though they are of a decidedly more Italianate stylistic vein, French illuminators continued to find a market for their luxury products.\textsuperscript{611} Manuscripts produced for the opulent early modern courts of François I, Henry II, and later rulers are similarly understudied, but they serve as important material connections to this complex and transitional moment of the late fifteenth century. The survival of manuscripts as a court art form well into the sixteenth century makes clear how much continuity prevails across the book culture of the French court in the late fifteenth century.

For many modern scholars the ascension of François I (r. 1515–47) to the throne at the relatively young age of eighteen marks the official beginning of the “French

The royal court became the center of a bustling artistic milieu and the king took a major interest in commissioning large-scale projects and in importing works and artists from Italy. François, the son of Count Charles of Angoulême and Countess Louise of Savoy, was the first king of the Angoulême branch of the Valois, succeeding his cousin and father-in-law Louis XII. The young François had been raised and educated under the tutelage of his formidable mother, who saw to it that the heir presumptive to the French crown was educated in the new humanistic ideas that were becoming popular in France. The future king also received a traditional education in history and Latin, as well as chivalry, dancing, music, archery, falconry, hunting, and jousting. Louise of Savoy has been criticized for her involvement in her son’s reign, acting in politically strategic ways and even acting as his regent twice during his campaigns to Italy.

Since Chastel’s assertion that too little was known to “draft an accurate overview of French Renaissance art,” a considerable amount of work has been done to fill this lacuna. See André Chastel, “French Renaissance Art in a European Context” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 12/4 (1981): 77–103. The two primary surveys of French Renaissance art are Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), the most recent fifth edition of which was published in 1999, and more recently, Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France: The Invention of Classicism* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003). Zerner’s account stresses the versatility and experimental nature of classicism within the French context and in doing so, offers a somewhat corrective and more nuanced version of events than Blunt. While Zerner acknowledges the role of the Italian artists at the school of Fontainebleau, he also points out the dearth of painting in France and instead organizes the study around the court designer Jean Cousin and around a range of media: murals, architecture, stained glass, tapestry, ceramics, engraving, and printed books. Largely missing from Zerner’s study are luxury manuscripts produced for the court patrons, on whom he concentrates as both patrons and viewers.

Louise’s court was home to the Saint-Gelais family, and Octavien had long worked for her translating classical texts. By 1505, Louise had appointed Cardinal Amboise to be François’s tutor. Louise remained closely connected to her son throughout his early reign, and her influence upon her son was well recognized by her contemporaries. See John Freeman, “Louise of Savoy: A Case of Maternal Opportunism” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 3/2 (1972): 77-98.

Louise took an active political role as regent. One of Louise’s great political victories was her negotiation of the 1529 Treaty of Cambrai which came to be known as “the Ladies’ Peace,” since it was brokered between Louise as representative of France, and Margaret of Austria as daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor and regent of the Low Countries. The two were sisters-in-law.
the arts, François I has received much of the credit for reviving French art, though he was fully shaped by his upbringing in the royal courts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. He witnessed his mother’s extensive patronage of court artists, who included illuminators, goldsmiths, musicians, and poets. He was conditioned by the patronage and consumption of the arts at their most opulent. The Italianate stylistic language that he fully embraced as an adult patron had already been part of his visual education since his early childhood, evidenced by Louise of Savoy’s extensive and ever-growing library. His standards and expectations of court luxury were indebted to the rich visual environment maintained by his mother’s generation and by the generation that preceded her, extending back into the early fifteenth century and beyond.

Given François’s influence as a patron and the survival of the manuscript as the aristocratic medium of choice, it is perhaps unsurprising that the illuminated book on parchment retained its medieval prestige among a select group of upper-class patrons. François himself inherited over 200 books from his family’s library at Cognac and continued to add high-profile commissions to it. Production in Paris, Tours, and Rouen through marriage, and had both been raised under the tutelage of Anne of France. See Sharon L. Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 185-194; Kathleen Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2013), 114-120.

615 Louise often appears in presentation miniatures with her son beside her, and seems to have collected and commissioned books especially for his educational purposes, with the goal of building his own personal library. See Mary Beth Winn, “Books for a Princess and her Son: Louise de Savoie, François d’Angoulême and the Parisian Libraire Antoine Vérard” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 46/3 (1984): 603-617.

616 After Louise of Savoy’s death in 1531, the rest of her personal collection of books was combined with those of the Angoulême family. To this, François added the collection seized from Moulins in 1523, which comprised about 100 volumes dating back centuries to the reign of Charles V, from the libraries of the Duke of Berry and the Dukes of Burgundy. See Antoine Coron, “The First Libraries: Blois, Fontainebleau, Paris” in *Creating French Culture: Treasures*
remained substantial into the 1520s and 1530s. Due to the technical difficulties of printing in color, illuminators continued to find work in the ornamentation of printed books, filling the empty passages left by the printer, or by overpainting prints completely, as Robinet Testard had done for François’s father, the Count of Angoulême. Recent scholarship has begun to focus more specifically on the manuscript production in early sixteenth-century France, most notably on the illuminator known as the Master of Claude of France. In addition to Bourdichon and Perreal, among others, this artist was active for court patrons in the period surrounding François I’s ascension to the throne.

The Master of Claude of France, probably trained by Bourdichon, is so-called due to his involvement in the production of a tiny prayerbook for the young queen, Claude. The Prayerbook of Claude de France is a palm-sized manuscript made by the anonymous master for the queen (1499–1524) around 1517, probably on the occasion of her coronation. Claude’s ownership of the book can be established first of all by the appearance of her coat of arms three times throughout the manuscript, the first instance appearing on fol. 6r below an image of Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem [Fig. 176]. The tiny

617 These artists usually straddle the boundary between the official end of the “medieval” at circa 1500 and the beginning of the true “French Renaissance.” Avril and Reynaud’s catalog extends to 1520. Thomas Kren’s Illuminating the Renaissance catalog ends with a section on c. 1510-1561, which is identified as “new directions” for the Flemish context, specifically the careers of Simon Bening and the Master of James IV as the last of the great Flemish illuminators.
manuscript features a full program of intricate, jewel-like images fit for a patron of her high station: both recto and verso borders of each leaf are painted, and the illustrations number about 130 images of traditional devotional imagery drawn from the lives of the Virgin Mary, Christ, and saints. Much of the action takes place in the manuscript’s borders, for example in the *Ecce Homo* (fol. 11v), which appears in the left side of the folio, as onlookers ducking their heads below the text box filled with a clear humanist script [Fig. 177]. The illuminator was active in the royal city of Tours during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, working in the elegant courtly style that had been the taste of Claude’s mother Anne of Brittany and other members of court circles. Only about a dozen manuscripts painted by the artist survive, including a companion Book of Hours also made for the queen (in a Paris private collection). The high quality and delicacy of the illuminations in his surviving work are indicative of the continuation of luxury illumination in a medieval mode at the court of François I.619

The success at court of the Master of Claude of France and other artists, such as Jean Perreal and Jean Poyer, both of whom were active at the opening of the sixteenth century, testifies to the persistent strength of the Loire Valley tradition that had been inaugurated by the art of Fouquet and nurtured by the patronage of the French court well into the late teens and 1520s. This visually very distinct royal court style expanded into the expression of a particularly French Renaissance style in manuscripts by a group of artists known as the 1520s Hours Workshop.620 Their atelier concentrated on the

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620 Myra Orth, whose scholarship on French art in the sixteenth century offers almost the only comprehensive work on the subject, named the group. See Myra D. Orth, “Progressive
production of private, luxurious books of hours, for which many patrons were willing to spend considerable sums of money, despite the brisk international trade in French printed books that already existed by the third decade of the sixteenth century. The earliest dated manuscript from the 1520s Hours Workshop is the Rosenwald Hours (Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection Ms. 10), dated to 1524. The miniatures of this manuscript show compositions with elaborate costumes and exaggerated poses that were typical of the Antwerp Mannerists, while also fully integrating Italianate decorative motifs. For example, the folio opening that depicts the Annunciation on the left side features a classicizing architectural frame with a panel-like scene at its center facing a richly ornamented border of blue and gold [Fig. 178].

The 1520s Hours Workshop also produced a series of elaborate illuminated frontispieces for a group of vernacular treatises carried out by royal secretaries for the king, his family, and close royal associates. Important manuscripts have been attributed to four primary miniaturists in the atelier, the best known of whom has been given the name the Master of the Getty Epistles, for a manuscript of the Epistles of St. Paul (Getty Ms. Ludwig I 15) [Fig. 179]. These manuscripts of the 1530s and 1540s, though they adopt more fully the French Mannerist style that was being produced by artists in the

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Orth, “1520s Hours Workshop and the Master of the Getty Epistles,” 44.

Ibid., 44-45.

This group also includes Morgan Library M. 452; British Library Add. 35318; and the Hours of Anne of Austria (BnF ms. nov. acq. lat. 3090).
Fontainebleau milieu, represent the unswerving attachment to the material luxury of illuminated books. The medium continues to transmit a message about the primacy of the illuminated book to court patrons, even in this decidedly non-medieval moment.

The continuity between the late fifteenth century and the so-called French Renaissance can also be seen through the artists at court. Jean Bourdichon also served François I as court painter, linking medieval and early modern over his career. Bourdichon completed one of his final works made for the king, the Description des douze Césars, between 1515 and 1520. The manuscript features a series of portrait medallions of Roman emperors, from Julius Caesar to Antoninus Pius, each isolated on a folio of fine vellum [Fig. 180]. The frames are reminiscent of Bourdichon’s trademark trompe l’oeil frames from other royal commissions, though here they are round, meant to evoke the form of antique portrait medals and coins. The manuscript was produced concurrently with the discussions of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the important political meeting between the rulers of France and England in June 1520. As court artist Bourdichon was responsible for overseeing the production of many of the lavish banners and other decorations for this meeting. In addition to the copy retained by the French

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624 One of these manuscript copies was recently acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF ms. nouv. acq. fr. 28800), the other two presentation copies are extant, and housed at the Walters Museum in Baltimore (Ms W.467) and the Bibliothèque de Genève in Switzerland (Fondation Comites Latentes, ms. 258). See Nicholas Herman, ""Ut certius et melius ipsum depingeret": observations sur la production et l'activité tardive de Jean Bourdichon" in Peindre en France à la Renaissance I: Les courants stylistiques au temps de Louis XII et de François Ier, ed. Frédéric Elsig (Milan: Silvana, 2011), 225-226. Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot, Pascale Charron, Pierre-Gilles Girault, and Jean-Marie Guillouët, eds. Tours 1500: Capitale des Arts, exh. cat. (Paris: Somogy, 2012), cat. no. 109.

625 The French pavilions at the meeting were said to have cost some 300,000 ducats, and were described by one commentator as “the most beautiful” he had seen, “and large in number.” The main structure had an exterior covered in gold brocade decorated with stripes of azure velvet and
king, the manuscript was produced with two other copies of the same text, presentation copies intended for King Henry VIII of England as well as the young Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. The manuscripts’ illuminations present an imperial portrait gallery in a form that was deeply traditional—the illuminated manuscript—yet illustrated in a distinctly modern way for a royal audience who readily associated military victories with the classical heroes of antiquity. Bourdichon, who died in 1521 after an extraordinarily long career, had successfully pivoted to make his work relevant and appealing to the new Renaissance tastes of European royalty while preserving elements of his trademark style, all within the material support of the illuminated manuscript.

François I earned a well-deserved reputation as a Renaissance prince, active in the pursuit of art and artists from abroad. François was famously able to bring Leonardo da Vinci to his court early in his reign. Leonardo in turn imported several of his own works, including his Mona Lisa and the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne. François also hired many Italian artists to realize his program to remodel or built anew many châteaux at court centers in the cities of Amboise, Blois, Chambord, and especially Fontainebleau. Italian artists created many of the works that are now fundamentally golden fleurs-de-lis, and the pavilion was surmounted by a gilt figure of Saint Michael holding a shield emblazoned with the arms of France. See Sydney Anglo, Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 139-142.

627 Ibid., 69-71, 153.
associated with the opulent taste of his court, including Benvenuto Cellini’s (1500–1571) famous gold saltcellar (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).  

The court’s taste also turned to indigenous products by French artists, providing the impetus for the creation and development of medieval traditions. The expensive and visually opulent materials of illuminated manuscripts remain significant to the court patrons of the sixteenth century as cross-media interaction among luxury products at court continued to influence both their production and reception. The French court under François I enthusiastically continued to commission luxury enamels. The mid-sixteenth century saw the rise in popularity and brisk production of painted Limoges enamel in grisaille, continuing the revival of enameling in court circles that had begun in the early fifteenth century. Though enamellers continued producing plaques of religious imagery, patrons increasingly showed interest in ceramics ornamented with scenes from classical mythology.

The late fifteenth century saw the broad adoption of print among many segments of society, but the aristocratic and royal classes continued to demand luxury, handmade books. These were often manuscripts but occasionally included printed books of the highest quality, illuminated and presented as unique copies. The sixteenth century was a


631 Higgott, 17-19.
new era of print, with more and more titles produced in Paris and other major centers.\textsuperscript{632}

The monarchy’s involvement with the printing industry, begun by the issuance of privileges by Louis XII, continued to grow. The revolutionary nature of the medium was undeniable.

During his reign, François I also employed a court printer, who had a position at court similar to a traditional court artist but also worked independently of court patronage structures. As Pierre Le Rouge had been at the close of the fifteenth century, Geoffroy Tory became the royal printer in 1531 after rising to fame as a publisher and a royal bookseller in Paris in the 1520s.\textsuperscript{634} Between 1524 and 1526, Tory actively solicited and received court patronage for his publications, using this social and financial standing to assist with production of larger print runs for the general public. In this he followed the model that had been established by Antoine Vérard in the late fifteenth century.

\textsuperscript{632} Marianne Grivel, “Printmakers in Sixteenth-Century France,” in The French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque nationale de France, 33-58 (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California), 35-36.

\textsuperscript{633} Coron, 157-158.

\textsuperscript{634} Orth, “1520s Hours Workshop and the Master of the Getty Epistles,” 47.
Tory has been associated with manuscripts as both scribe and miniaturist. Myra Orth has postulated a link between the work of miniaturists and the woodcuts that Tory published in Paris. She also observed that the texts used by the 1520s Hours Workshop in their books of hours are very close to those in Tory’s 1525 Hours, published in Paris, suggesting a link between them, though it is unclear who copied whom. In late 1525 or early 1526 Tory had also visited the library at the royal château of Blois, where he surely would have been made aware of the work of the 1520s Hours Workshop artists who had worked on Etienne le Blanc’s works for Louise of Savoy, including a text of the *Gestes de Blanche de Castille*.

The generations of artists who followed Bourdichon, many of whom made their names at the court of Francis I and are known today for their contributions to the burgeoning “French Renaissance,” have significant connections to the court artists of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. For example, it is possible that Jean Clouet (c. 1485-1541) may have been active in France before Louis XII’s death in 1515, and perhaps even worked for him. Clouet’s name appears regularly in the royal accounts beginning in 1516, though he seems to have begun working for a considerably lower wage than Jean Bouridchon and Jean Perréal, the two other court painters at that time who were well established in their positions at court. After Bourdichon’s death, Clouet began to receive the same wage as Perréal, indicating a promotion to *painctre et varlet de

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635 Orth, “1520s Hours Workshop and the Master of the Getty Epistles,” 47-49.
636 Ibid., 47.
chambre for François and an increase in respect and responsibility. Clouet was never naturalized as a Frenchman, but lived out his life near Tours while the court remained in the Loire Valley. Sometime between 1526 and 1527, when he was recorded in Paris, Clouet moved with the court to Paris and the château of Fontainebleau after François I’s release from his imprisonment under Holy Roman Emperor Charles V following the Battle of Pavia in 1525.

The artists of the French Renaissance are also indebted to their late fifteenth-century counterparts in terms of artistic style and technique. Jean Clouet’s legacy, which his son François took up at the French court, is in founding the French tradition of portraiture in the early modern period. Clouet, however, was indebted to a tradition of French portraiture dating to the mid-fourteenth-century portrait. Clouet was also following the example of Jean Fouquet’s rendition of King Charles VII (c. 1445) [Fig. 181]. In more recent memory was Jean Perréal’s portrait of Charles VIII (c. 1492-1495), whose adoption of a three-quarter view of the sitter’s head and shoulders was part of the formula that made Clouet’s work so popular among members of the French court [Fig. 182]. Clouet produced a corpus of portrait drawings in chalk—black, red, or occasionally a combination of the two colors [Fig. 183]. Drawings by Bourdichon and Perréal

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638 Jollet, 23-25.
639 Clouet and his wife, Jehanne Boucault are recorded in Tours notarial records from 1521-1525. See Peter Mellen, Jean Clouet: Complete Edition of the Drawings, Miniatures, and Paintings (London: Phaidon, 1971), 82-86.
640 Ibid., 86.
641 In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, as Stephen Perkinson argues, images were particularly valued among their noble patrons, playing a central role in a “system centering on the role of memory.” They functioned as diplomatic and royal gifts and were and admired in manuscript image cycles as well as on display in galleries and collections. See Stephen Perkinson, The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 257.
demonstrate that chalk techniques were already in use in the fifteenth century. Even Jean Fouquet produced a number of surviving drawings in black chalk.  

Jean Clouet’s attachment to French traditions can also clearly be seen in the relationship between his portraiture and illuminated manuscript production, particularly in a set of manuscripts commissioned by François I. The portrait miniatures in the manuscripts dedicated to the Preux de Marignan are among Clouet’s first drawings for the king. The images of the Preux de Marignan, (“the worthy [knights] of Marignano”) formed part of the second volume (of three) of the Les Commentaires de la guerre gallique, produced between 1518 and 1520 (vol. I: British Library MS. Harley 6205; vol. II: BnF ms. fr. 13429; vol. III: Musée Condé). François I ordered this deluxe production, the text of which consists of a dialogue between the French king and the ancient Roman ruler Julius Caesar, in order to commemorate the French victory over the Swiss army in the 1515 Battle of Marignano, an event pictured by the manuscript’s primary illuminator, Godefroy le Batave [Fig. 184]. Volume one features a portrait medallion by Clouet, quite similar to the series of emperor portraits that Bourdichon completed for the king at the same moment [Fig. 185]. The portrait miniatures in volume two, which represent Caesar’s commanders according to the text that accompanies them, are also attributed to Clouet [Fig. 186].  

As some of the earliest of their type, these portraits connect

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642 Clouet might have also already been familiar with Leonardo’s sfumato technique. Da Vinci died near Amboise in 1519, the two artists might have overlapped in their tenures and Clouet was certainly familiar with the elder painter’s works or those by his followers. See Mellen, 27-29.
643 Mellen, 30-32; Jollet, 41-43.
manuscript illumination to independent portrait miniatures, creating a significant formal bond between fifteenth and sixteenth-century visual cultures.\textsuperscript{644}

The serialization of versions of portrait miniatures within books was also evident in other media. The first printed collection of French royal effigies appeared in 1528, in Jean Bouchet’s work \textit{Les anciennes et modernes genealogies des roys de France}, containing information about the reigns of fifty-seven French kings alongside woodblock prints of the images of the king in question [Fig. 187].\textsuperscript{645} An elaborately illuminated manuscript text of Jean Du Tillet’s \textit{Recueil des roys de France, leurs couronne et maison}, featuring full-page illuminations of the kings of France, was presented to Charles IX in

\textsuperscript{644} Stephanie Buck, “Beauty and Virtue for Francis I: Iohannes Ambrosius Nucetus and the Early Portrait Miniature” \textit{Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes} 71 (2008): 191-210. A similar vogue for portraits and portrait miniatures can also be seen at the English court. Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/8-1543) enjoyed great success from his position at the court of Henry VIII, where he was responsible for a number of portraits of high-profile patrons including the king himself, his wives Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, and Catherine Howard, as well as his son Edward Prince of Wales. Holbein received a regular salary from the English king. It has been suggested that the French and English kings exchanged portraits, due to similarities between the c. 1537 portrait of Henry VIII completed by Holbein (Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza) and portraits of François I. See Susan Foister, \textit{Holbein in England} (London: Tate Britain, 2006), 93-103; Stephanie Buck, “Portraitist of the Renaissance” in \textit{Hans Holbein the Younger: Painter at the Court of Henry VIII}, trans. Rachel Esner (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 24-33. Later in the century, Nicholas Hilliard (1547-1619) and Levinia Teerlinc (1520-1576), a Netherlandish artist, also painted highly successful portraits for English monarchs Edward VI (1547-1553), and Elizabeth I (1533-1603). Teerlinc was apprenticed to her father, Simon Bening (1483-1561), a central figure in Netherlandish illumination and prominent figure in the Ghent-Bruges school. Teerlinc was particularly successful as a court painter to Queen Elizabeth I, for whom she painted portrait miniatures. See Katherine Coombs, \textit{The Portrait Miniature in England} (London: Victoria and Albert Museum Publications, 1998), 13-51; Susan E. James, \textit{The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485-1603: Women as Consumers, Patrons, and Painters} (Surrey/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 287-334.

1566 (BnF ms. fr. 2848). Each portrait is a formal full-length image of each French king either standing or seated on a pedestal, appearing with the accouterments of the office: main de justice, robes of fleur-de-lys embroidery, crown, and scepter. The example of Charles VIII (fol. 148v) presents the young king with portrait-like features, but in an extremely regimented way that relies on the system of royal symbols of kingship to which French viewers were so accustomed [Fig. 188]. Printed versions of the text ornamented with engraved portraits of the kings were published in Paris between 1580 and 1618.

François I’s successor and son Henry II (r. 1547–1559) is not remembered for particular interest in the arts. Henry II and his wife Catherine de Médici were married in 1533, and Catherine, who followed in Louise of Savoy’s footsteps to act as regent of France for their son Henry III (r. 1574–89), became an active patron of arts and culture. In the realm of the decorative arts, she collected luxury ceramics by Bernard Palissy (1510–1590), who created works that drew on the court’s interest in novelty, creating dishes that imitated semi-precious stones and others that rendered snakes, frogs, fish, and other specimens so naturalistically that they appeared about to slither away. [Fig. 189]. In the realm of sculpture, the royal couple commissioned several Valois funerary

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648 Zerner, Renaissance Art in France, 310-311.
monuments, including King Henry II’s own tomb at Saint-Denis (1563–70) from sculptor Germain Pilon (1536/7–1590) [Fig. 190].

Beyond the work of the 1520s Hours Workshop, which extended into the late 1540s, the court under Henry II continued to collect and commission luxury manuscripts. The miniatures in the *Heures de Montmorency* (Chantilly, musée Condé ms. 1476) [Fig. 191], Jean du Tillet’s *Recueil des Roys* (BnF ms. fr. 2848), the illustrations of the *Heures dites de Henri II* (BnF ms. lat. 1429), and the *Heures de Dinteville* (BnF ms. lat. 10558) [Fig. 192] collectively represent the high level of illumination and patronage at the court of Henry II. The style of the illuminations represents the full adoption of Italianate forms: the border styles are reminiscent of the fruit and floral garlands that adorned François I’s palace at Fontainebleau. The illustrations themselves are akin to small panel paintings, recreating a similar effect to Bourdichon’s *Grandes Heures of Anne of Brittany* of a miniature, portable gallery of paintings on vellum.

The court of Henri II preserved its taste for manuscripts throughout the 1530s and 40s, and manuscripts produced as late as the 1570s for Queen Catherine de Medici can be

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seen as part of the continuum of manuscripts produced for the late medieval court. Henri II commissioned an illuminated presentation copy of the Statuts de l’ordre de Saint-Michel in 1551 as a gift to the young king of England, Edward VI. This gift can be seen as both the continuation of the medieval tradition of illuminated manuscripts as diplomatic gifts as well as an indication of the continued adherence to the chivalric ideals of the military orders. These mid- and late sixteenth-century manuscripts, like their late fifteenth-century counterparts, represent an anachronistic adherence to medieval precedents, despite their adoption of the stylistic qualities of the Italian Renaissance and a native French Renaissance style, as well as their use of humanistic scripts with a close relationship to contemporary printing practices. Catherine de Medici owned an extensively illuminated Book of Hours made for her (BnF ms. NAL 82), with a series of portraits of the immediate royal family in addition to a host of extended relations [Fig. 453].

Catherine de Medici also continued the tradition of adding manuscripts to the collections of the royal library as well as marking her ownership of certain books with historical provenance. For example, she and her husband King Henry II had their arms

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653 Orth and Crépin-Leblond, eds., 19-23.

654 This small volume has received very little scholarly attention, though fits into the sixteenth-century interest in collecting portrait series in manuscripts. In addition to her immediate family, Catherine’s portrait gallery featured ancestor portraits, including François I (fol. 152r), Louise of Savoy (fol. 2v), See Victor Leroquais, Les Livres de Heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale, vol. II no. 363 (230-234); Henri Zerner, “Le portrait de Henri II” in Henri II et les arts: Actes du colloque international École du Louvre et musée national de la Renaissance Écouen, ed. Hervé Oursel and Julia Fritsch (Paris: École du Louvre, 2003), 24; See also Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Myra D. Orth, "Jean du Tillet et les illustrations du grand Recueil des roys" Revue de l'art, 115/1 (1997): 16, 22 (no. 44 & 55).
added to manuscripts of the fifteenth century when they entered their collection, including the Bedford Hours (BL Add MS 18850), begun in Paris circa 1415 [Fig. 194]. The year 1589 saw Catherine’s death, and shortly afterwards, the death of her son King Henry III, the last of the Valois. By the end of the sixteenth century, the French royal collections had been considerably enlarged and had been moved from their quarters in Fontainebleau to Paris. Notably, until the second half of the seventeenth century, the royal collection was overwhelmingly comprised of manuscripts despite royal support of the printing industry.

II. Chivalry and Nostalgia: Aristocratic Identity Beyond France

The ideals of chivalry that had been revived in France as a response to the shifting political territory of an increasingly centralized governmental structure also continued to have a significant bearing on French social structures. These values united the royal courts with many of the regional courts, the members of which shared a similar interest in chivalric revival. As has been discussed, several regional courts drew on the same visual iconographies to establish dynastic legitimacy through connections to the same historical kings that the French monarchy promoted. The values of chivalric revival, including a valorization of knightly virtue, were maintained in such regional courts, particularly among the circle of René of Anjou in Lorraine. Beyond France, similar phenomena can

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be observed in England and in Spain, where the valorization of medieval military practice can be seen in the maintenance of medieval military orders and near-constant creation of new orders of chivalry. Pan-European chivalry was a medium that functioned for international understanding and communication by providing a common social, political, and cultural language.

In England, the Tudor kings maintained the Order of the Garter, which had been founded by Edward III. Fifteenth-century century chivalric manuals, such as *The Book of the Order of Chivalry*, *Knighthood and Battle* and *The Book of Noblesse*, communicated the romantic and medieval viewpoint of chivalric ideals to a wider audience outside court. Texts of Arthurian romances continued to be popular, and even took on new political significance for their fifteenth-century audiences.

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657 By the end of the fifteenth century, most major courts in Europe were home to a knightly order. Several orders had special rules for the induction of foreign princes, and the inclusion of a foreign royal was used as a type of diplomacy. For example, the Order of the Garter allowed installment by proxy, and the Order of the Golden Fleece allowed foreign princes to defer their induction to the next convenient chapter meeting. Since it was often the case that foreign princes never visited for a chapter meeting, the Orders of the Garter and the Golden Fleece adopted the practice of investing such princes in their own courts. The practice of exchanging orders or electing foreign princes to knightly orders seems to have only been common beginning in the mid to late fifteenth century. Several German and French dukes accepted the Order of the Garter between 1403 and 1440. Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy exchanged orders with Alfonso of Aragon in 1445, Edward IV of England was elected to the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1468, and Charles the Bold of Burgundy exchanged orders with Ferrante of Naples. This practice would become a standard element of international relations in the sixteenth century. See D’Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, NY: Boydell, 2000), 448-501.

658 Ibid., 96-166.

Radulescu argues, the same audiences that read Henry Lovelich’s *History of the Holy Grail* and Thomas Malory’s *Le Morte d’Arthur* both witnessed and participated in the creation of fifteenth-century political propaganda, which drew on the familiar chivalric themes of royal lineages and piety as well as contemporary political concerns veiled in escapist fantasy narratives. At court, King Henry VII (r. 1485-1509) and his court sponsored tournaments and feats of arms that were close in style to those of the Burgundian court. Royal leadership in chivalry took on a new importance for the early Tudors as the crown became the regulator of aristocratic status, and more generally, the holder of a monopoly on legitimate and honorable knightly violence. The knightly skill of the king helped to bolster his claims to dynastic consolidation and supreme power as the glamor of chivalric displays drew noblemen to a court where the majesty of the king was constantly proclaimed. King Henry VIII (r. 1509-1547) continued the tradition and was known for his gusto in tournaments; he frequently hosted jousting matches to celebrate important occasions. Further, he established the King’s Spears, the royal bodyguard that consisted of noble blood and who were trained in chivalry for royal service in times of war and peace alike.

In Spain, the anxieties surrounding whoever might call himself “aristocratic,” and the meaning of that station, reached a height in the late sixteenth century, when the production of lavishly illuminated *cartas ejecutorias de hidalguía* ("letters patent of

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661  Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry*, 98-123.
nobility”) exploded. These documents, often introduced in this period by lavishly illuminated frontispieces, were executive writs, produced primarily by the Royal Chancery courts in Valladolid and Granada, which verified one’s nobility and status privileges [Fig. 195]. Such a document was required for admittance into the Spanish Military Orders, which had been in existence since the twelfth century. The Military Orders enshrined the values of Golden Age Spanish society: religious fervor with a military flavor, the pursuit of chivalric and knightly honor, and the cults of hidalguía (nobility) and blood/racial purity. In the sixteenth century, the value of knighthood in Spain lay primarily in its historical tradition, since the Military Orders were essentially anachronistic after the 1492 capture of Granada. The continued existence of, and widespread participation in the Military Orders reflects the same concerns with nobility

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663 The Hispanic Society in New York probably has the largest collection of cartas ejecutorias, but they were not included in Charles Faulhaber’s extensive cataloguing project of the 1980s because they are all dated later than 1501, his cut-off date, though Faulhaber says in his introduction to part II of his catalogue that cartas ejecutorias number “more than 800 items.” See Charles Faulhaber, Medieval Manuscripts in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America, Part Two: Documents and Letters (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1993), xxvii. Soterraña and Postigo mention in a footnote that there are about 500 cartas ejecutorias still in the Archives of the Chancelleria of Valladolid. See Maria de la Soterraña and Martín Postigo, La sala de hijosdalgo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid (Valladolid: Ámbito, 1990), 29.

664 The historiography of Spanish, and particularly Castilian, conceptions of nobility has concentrated on a number of issues which have included the discrepancies between legal and cultural status of hidalgos, the appearance of or lack of class coherence among hidalgos, their role in politics, their family structures, ideologies, and lifestyles. See Concepción Quintanilla Raso, “Nobleza y señoríos en Castilla durante la Baja Edad Media: Aportaciones de la historiografía reciente,” Anuario de Estudios Medievales 14 (1984): 613-39; see also Marie-Claude Gerbet’s comprehensive account of Spanish nobility through the Middle Ages to the fifteenth century, Les noblesses espagnoles au Moyen Âge, Xle-XVe siècle (Paris: Armand Colin, 1994). The most recent comprehensive work is Enrique Soria, La nobleza en la España moderna: Cambio y continuidad (Madrid, Marcial Pons Historia, 2007), while studies on specific regions have also appeared. For one such example, see José Ramón Díaz de Durana, Anonymous Noblemen: The Generalization of Hidalgo Status in the Basque Country (1250-1525) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); James Casey, Early Modern Spain: A Social History (London/New York: Routledge, 1999), 140.
that spurred the production of official nobility documents that included *cartas ejecutorias*: membership in the Military Orders was at once definitive proof of family nobility and purity of blood, and advancement in terms of Castilian social hierarchy.\textsuperscript{665} The Military Orders, specifically the Order of Santiago, were closely connected with the crown, and in turn to historical ideals of chivalric and aristocratic ideals that were obligatory for Spanish *hidalgos*.\textsuperscript{666}

In Germany, the court of Maximilian I (r. 1459–1519) also participated in the glorification of the chivalric past. His father, Emperor Frederick III had arranged the 1477 marriage of Maximilian to Duchess Mary of Burgundy I, which gave the Habsburg Austrians their entry into the politics of Europe and made it a powerful new element of European dynastic maneuvering. As part of a concentrated and deliberate program of dynastic self-representation, Maximilian was deeply invested in the visual arts and scholarship at his court. Culturally and socially, his court also participated in the revival of many of the same chivalric impulses that had appeared at other European courts. One of these was his commissioning of a stylized autobiography in the guise of a romantic knightly chivalric tale. The German text of the *Weisskunig* presented a biography of Maximilian I, written by Maximilian himself along with his secretary Marx Treitzsaurwein between 1505 and 1516.\textsuperscript{667} It was an ambitious project, and was accompanied by a series of 250 woodcut illustrations, made between 1514 and 1516 in

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\textsuperscript{666} Ibid., 43.

Augsburg, chiefly by Hans Burgkmair and Leonhard Beck. The text owes itself to the traditions of courtly romances that featured knights in armor as well as the Burgundian tradition of fictional romances as well as the histories written by Chastellain and others. Maximilian I participated in the larger chivalric conversations across Europe as a member of the Order of the Garter after being nominated to it in 1498 by King Henry VII of England. The emperor was also head of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece through his marriage to Mary of Burgundy, who inherited the duchy after the death of her father in 1477, territories that were hotly contested between Maximilian I and the French king.668

Chivalric ideals became a kind of diplomacy in late medieval and early modern Europe. The courtiers of Kings Henry VII and Henry VIII served as jousting ambassadors. Their contemporaries on the thrones of Europe—Emperors Maximilian I and Charles V, Ferdinand of Aragon, and the French Kings Charles VIII, Louis XII, and François I—were enthusiastic in their pursuit of a revived form of chivalry. They all held tournaments to celebrate events, and the ability of visiting courtiers to share in feats of arms could smooth dealings with the kings and noble councilors to whom they were sent. The English Sir Charles Brandon’s feats in the tournament held to celebrate the marriage of Louis XII and Henry VIII’s sister Mary in 1514 annoyed several of his French competitors, who resorted to fielding a mysterious German in the foot combats in the hopes of humiliating him.669 Despite this challenge, Brandon did well and greatly

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668 Silver, 205-206.
669 Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the history of England, during the reign of Henry the Fourth, and the succeeding monarchs, to the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth, in which*
impressed Louis, who exclaimed, “no prince christened has such a servant for peace and war” and in turn placed great confidence in Brandon in subsequent negotiations. In a social and political climate in which rulers shared a common courtly and chivalrous culture, knightly accomplishments could serve as effective ambassadorial credentials. The participation in medieval traditions along with the revival and practice of chivalric activities and ideals was thus a common feature among the aristocratic and royal classes of Europe as they moved out of the medieval period and into the early modern.

Along with the sustained enthusiasm for chivalric trappings, manuscripts remained popular at the court of France as well as at the royal courts of many other European dignitaries. Emperor Maximilian I had a Book of Hours produced in 1513 that was designed to be printed but was very much in the style of a handwritten manuscript, including faux rubrications and ornamentation by artists such as Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach the Elder, and Hans Baldung Grien [Fig. 196]. In England, King Henry VIII and his second queen, Anne Boleyn, assembled impressive royal libraries of manuscripts. Anne Boleyn, who had spent considerable time at the court of France as a young woman, collected a number of French manuscripts that formed the cornerstone of

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are particularly described the manners and customs of those periods. Carefully collated with the editions of 1548 and 1550 (London, Printed for J. Johnson, 1809, reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1965), 571-573.

670 Hall, 573.

671 Another luxury book project, the Teuerdank, was completed in multiple copies for a restricted audience of the emperor and his close noble circle. See Silver, 7; Walter L. Strauss, ed. The Book of the Hours of the Emperor Maximilian I (New York: Abaris; 1974).

her personal collections. King Henry VIII himself was depicted in his personal Psalter, written and illuminated in 1540 by Jean Mallard, an emigré from the court of the French king François I (British Library MS. Royal 2 A xvi). Intended for the king’s personal devotions, the book is small and shows signs of use. The King was depicted in the manuscript alone while reading his devotions (fol. 3r) in his privy chamber, which is outfitted with a floor of checked marble and a bed draped with sumptuous fabrics [Fig. 197].

As monarchs of Spain, Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand were also avid collectors of luxury manuscripts, particularly those imported from the Netherlands. The best known of these is the Isabella Breviary, completed circa 1497 for the Queen in a number of campaigns by Flemish artists including the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, Gerard David, and the Master of James IV of Scotland [Fig. 198].

III. Conclusions

Each chapter in this dissertation investigates an aspect of late medieval manuscript culture at the French courts to provide a synthetic account of the material and ideological significance of the manuscript book during a time of significant political and artistic shifts. This study has implications for the trajectory of court art in the sixteenth

century. Manuscripts produced for the opulent early modern courts of François I or Henry II also connect the French court to a pan-European dialogue about the medieval past. François I, under whose direction the court of France deliberately and consciously turned toward Italy, still commissioned and owned manuscripts, as did the members of his court. Though they are of a decidedly more Italianate stylistic mode, French illuminators continued to find a market for their products. Examples produced well into the mid- and late sixteenth century can be seen as part of the continuum of manuscripts produced for the late medieval court in terms of their anachronistic adherence to medieval precedents, despite their adoption of the stylistic qualities of the Italian Renaissance. In sum, this dissertation articulates the French attitudes about the status of the illuminated manuscript in the shifting artistic environment of the late Middle Ages during complex transitional moments in the histories of both books and the French monarchy. This project addresses how these patrons responded to those changes. In doing so, it establishes that discussion of late medieval manuscripts must engage with questions of material significance, patronage, reception, and production among the highest echelons of tastemakers in late medieval France. The royal and aristocratic book patrons of late fifteenth-century France mobilized the manuscript form, even as it continually encountered other luxury media and print, as an object of collective aristocratic memory and maintained it well into the sixteenth century.

The continued interest in illuminated manuscripts as a medium was entirely consistent with the court’s collective absorption in its own past, both real and imagined. Manipulation of other media as a key artistic response by illuminated manuscripts
responded to changes in aristocratic taste but within the sustained royal nostalgia for the medium and the overall historical preoccupations of the French court for its medieval privileges and traditions. Material conventions, in this case the adherence to illuminated manuscript as a site of royal identity, are more difficult to explain than a general courtly preference for illuminated histories. Manuscript artists responded to changes in the book market and to unprecedented competition from new media, even while the book remained central to the performance of patronage at court by its members. The manuscript form, not just the book in general, remained significant to royal and aristocratic patrons despite other novel options available to them. During this period painting at its most sophisticated remained “in manuscripts,” as the curators of the Bibliothèque nationale put it. Manuscripts were part of an aristocratic matrix of dependence on the medieval, one part of a mode of viewing and consumption that was ultimately rooted in both the revival and survival of medieval France as it moved into the modern age.
APPENDIX: ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1

Figure 2
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