French Texts in the Hours for Charles VIII

The manuscript Hours for Charles VIII offers one of the earliest and finest examples of the work of the Parisian publisher, Anthoine Vérard, for king Charles VIII. It also testifies to Vérard's abiding interest in and use of contemporary vernacular texts that he would continue to promote and publish throughout his career. The manuscript Hours begins with a dedication to the king, the « souverain et naturel seigneur » of the author of this prologue. Writing in French in the first person, the author declares : « J'ay composé ces presentes heures » in praise of the Virgin and in honor of the « treschristien roy ». The author's identity is nonetheless as elusive as the meaning of « composé » since the manuscript itself contains the standard liturgical texts of the Hours for the use of Paris. They are presented, however, with French verses in the margins which are unique to the manuscript. Moreover, « composer » could refer to the arrangement of the texts on the page, to their selection and order of presentation, and to their illustration. The « author » could thus be the poet of the verses or the editor of the book. Given the presence of similar prologues in the books published by Vérard and offered to Charles VIII,[1] it is tempting to attribute this text and manuscript to the Parisian libraire who, after all, had his distinctive monogram painted on the verso of the last leaf. Moreover, the script used for the manuscript is the same rounded calligraphic Gothic with which Vérard later penned a manuscript on the Passion of Christ, BnF fr. 1686. The prologue to the Passion manuscript, dedicated to an unnamed « tresnoble et puissant dame » who can be identified as Louise de Savoie, mother of king Francis I, is signed by « Anthoine Verard, libraire. »[2]

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[1] Concerning Vérard's presentation copies for Charles VIII, see Mary Beth Winn, *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian publisher, 1485-1512*: *Prologues, Poems, and Presentations,* Geneva, Droz, 1997, p. 104-123 and 219-361; p. 475-477 provide a summary list of works published by Vérard that were written, translated, or compiled for the king

[2] See Sheila Edmunds and Mary Beth Winn, « Vérard, Meckenem, and Manuscript B.N. fr. 1686 », *Romania,* 108 (1987), 288-344 ; Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*, p. 404-409.

Not only did Vérard himself cater to Charles VIII; he also produced the first editions of works having special connections with writers and clergy in the king's employ. Among them are Jean de Rély and Guillaume Tardif, both of whom are responsible for editions of religious works closely allied with the manuscript. Jean de Rély was the royal confessor and highly regarded counselor of Charles VIII at whose command he standardized the text of the *Bible Historiee* which was published by Vérard ca. 1498. Guillaume Tardif served as Charles's preceptor even before he became king in 1483 and thereafter as his « liseur ». In addition to his translations into French of the *Art de bien mourir*, the *Apologues* of Lorenzo Valla, and the *Facecies* of Poggio Bracciolini, Tardif states that he has « composé et en ordre mis ung petit volume d'Heures » in which the prayers to the saints are organized in chronological order by feast day, beginning with January 1. The « little volume » was published by Vérard in conjunction with editions of his *Grandes Heures* declared to have been completed « selon le commandement du roy ».[3]

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[3]   See M.B. Winn, « Guillaume Tardif's Hours for Charles VIII and Anthoine Vérard's *Grandes Heures royales* », *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, LVI, 2 (1994), 347-383. About their illustrations, see Mara Hofmann, « Miniaturen in inkunabeln: Die Grandes Heures des Pariser Verlegers Anthoine Vérard », *Wiener Jahrbuch* 57 (2010), 183-203.

Tardif's use of the verb « composé » for the printed Hours parallels that of the manuscript prologue, raising the possibility that Tardif also arranged the manuscript. Did he compose the French verses as well ? Did he compose the other prologues that explain the typological interpretation ? Or did Vérard himself compose the prologue as he arranged the contents of the manuscript ? For now, the questions remain unanswerable.

Whoever the author, the manuscript prologue refers to other authorities to justify his work. Saint Jerome asserts that nothing is more pleasing to human beings than to hear God's word and to comprehend His mysteries, and according to the sage (Ecclesiastes 1:8) the eye is not satisfied with seeing nor the ear with hearing. The author's purpose therefore is to enable the king to achieve knowledge of God's mysteries, using his eye to view the images (« figures et hystoires ») and his ear to understand the verses accompanying them (« dictiés consonans esdicte figures »), all of which are drawn according to Holy Scripture.

If the author of the prologue seems to claim for himself the composition of the book, several elements argue against accepting his words at face value. First of all, the prologue itself is written on a leaf that may well have been added to the book after its completion, even though the ruling is the same as for the rest of the manuscript, and the script is nearly identical.[4] Second, the text of the prologue closely resembles the ones used in two printed editions of Hours that Vérard issued on 20 February 1489/90 and 20 July 1490, as well as a Latin version included in the edition of 8 February 1489/90. In these printed editions, the prologue serves to introduce the repertoire of a particular set of images : those of the typological series that relates Old and New Testament events to narrate the life of Mary and Christ.[5] The text is expressed, not as a first-person dedication to the king, but as a more general presentation of the book: « il est decent et convenable » to describe the contents of the Hours, so that God's mysteries can be revealed to the ear

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[4]   For the last line two lines, the scribe has written *s* and *f* with descenders that are not regularly used elsewhere for these letters.

[5]   For the texts and discussion of these prologues, see Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*, p. 219-236. A similar repertoire, without a prologue, is found in two of Vérard's other early editions of Hours for the use of Rome, 6 December 1489 and 10 April 1489 (and 8 Oct. 1488, Horae B.M.V. 2015, beta.).

and eye of the reader. As in these printed editions, Charles VIII's manuscript includes a typological set of borders, but instead of a repertoire of images presented at the beginning of the book, the border images are accompanied by explanatory text in French.

BORDERS

One of the most striking features of the Hours for Charles VIII is the use of narrative borders. Except for the calendar pages and and those containing large miniatures, every page bears a lateral border in the outer margin, in which two images frame a panel of French verse.[6] Given the narrow dimensions of the border (c. 170 x 30 mm), each text fills the nine to eleven lines that have been drawn in pale red in the allotted space. The texts themselves are neatly written in blue ink in a rotunda script and, remarkably, all but two are in fact quatrains of rhyming verse.[7] While other manuscripts and printed editions with similar borders are known, this is one of the earliest and most elaborate manuscripts with so much vernacular text presented in this configuration. Moreover, the texts themselves are unique ; no other source has yet been identified for any of them. It appears that all 181 border texts were composed specifically for this manuscript. The rhyme scheme *abab* predominates, with only 15 stanzas constructed on the form *abba*.[8] The 123 stanzas composed of decasyllabic verse outnumber the 57 stanzas of octosyllables, while one irregular stanza contains 6 lines of 6 or 7 syllables.[9]

The borders constitute series of texts and images on several popular subjects, varying in length. The longest is the typological series with 68 border pieces. Four other series are represented with substantial numbers of pieces: Daniel and his visions (42), Job (21), the Sibylline prophecies (12), the Life of Mary (15), Christ's Passion (9). Other

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[6]   There are three exceptions : fol. 35 contains the large image of the Visitation, and the French verse is written below it; fols. 54 and 62 bear images of the Trinity and the Ascension respectively, and French quatrains are written in the lateral border, as for most other pages.

[7]   The stanza on fol. 91v has six lines, on fol. 69v, five lines; one line is missing on fol. 51v, but the rhyme scheme (aba) indicates that the stanza should be a quatrain.

[8]   Fols. 17v, 22v, 24, 24v, 28, 29v, 38, 48v, 52v, 53, 53v, 63v, 78, 88v, 102v. The stanza on fol. 79v has a single rhyme, *aaaa.*

[9]   Fol. 91v.

subjects are barely evoked: prayers to God and the Saints (5), the Sacraments (2), the Destruction of Jerusalem (3), Judith (2) and Holofernes (2). The borders are placed in correlation with a specific liturgical section of the Hours. The Passion borders frame the first pages of text, which present the Passion according to John. The typological borders appear with the most important section of the Hours, the Office of the Virgin. Job's story illustrates the Office of the Dead, while Daniel accompanies the Suffrages, and the Sibyls embellish the Penitential Psalms. Whatever the subject, the layout is the same: a stanza of rhyming verse inscribed between two images, in a vertical row. Whether the text explains the images or the images illustrate the text, the result is a narrative in words and pictures that proceeds in chronological order on successive pages.

Like most books of Hours, Charles VIII's manuscript opens with a calendar (fols. 2-7v) listing the feast days of every month. The borders contain images of saints and the seasons, but no text. Following the calendar are the Latin texts of the Passion according to John, and they are framed appropriately by a set of border texts and images on Christ's Passion. The first three stanzas concern Peter's denial of Christ, even though he had earlier tried to defend him by cutting off the ear of the high priest's servant, here mis-named « Marcus » instead of Malchus. Five stanzas concern Christ's appearance before Pilate who, despite finding no cause for condemning him, orders his flagellation, and after a second interrogation delivers him to the « faulx Juifs ». The text attributes Pilate's action to his fear of losing his position with the Roman emperor. To the Jews who throw dice for Christ's robe, he says he has written the words that cannot be erased, and the miniature depicts him writing in a book open on his lap (fol. 12v). Because a leaf is missing after fol. 12, the Crucifixion itself is not depicted in word or image, and the series of the Passion ends (fol. 13r) with images of the entombment and three soldiers seated in front of the tomb. The text refers to Nichodemus bringing spices to anoint Christ's body which would be laid in a new tomb. The Latin scripture ends on that page (fol. 13r), and beneath it are painted in gold a royal crown and three fleurs-de-lis. The verso of fol. 13 is blank, although ruled for the 23 lines of liturgical text ; the border space is not ruled, demonstrating that the border texts were inscribed after the main texts.

The Gospel readings on fols. 17-21 are incomplete and out of order, mixed with the two prayers to the Virgin, also incomplete : *Obsecro te* and *O Intemerata*. The

borders reflect a similar lack of order, with two borders concerning the sacraments of mariage and confirmation interspersed with typological borders that belong later in the series. Marriage is evoked on fol. 18 with images of Adam and Eve and a marriage ceremony, while the sacrament of confirmation is illustrated on fol. 21 by images of Moses ordaining Josue as Chief of Israel and a cleric confirming two kneeling youths. The seven sacraments are fully explained and illustrated with large woodcuts in the *Art de bien vivre*, which constitutes part IV of the *Art de bien mourir*.[10] Vérard's first edition dates from 12 December 1492, and was re-issued in 1496 and 1498 ; its importance for the publisher and for the king will be discussed shortly hereafter. The text explains that five sacraments are necessary for salvation, and two -- mariage and ordination -- are « voluntary » because one can be saved without them. Interestingly, the manuscript focuses on these two, although both the text and the miniatures on fol. 21v link ordination with the necessary sacrament of confirmation.

The typological borders in this section include the Baptism of Christ (fol. 13) and the Return from Egypt (fol. 20-20v). Two others, the Resurrection (fol. 18v) and the Destruction of the Egyptian Idols (fol. 19v), seem to coordinate with the larger images that illustrate the beginning of the two prayers to the Virgin. « O Intemerata » is announced by an image of the Pieta, and the border of the Resurrection was placed here perhaps to offset the image of the crucified Christ on Mary's lap. The border text explains that Jonas was delivered from the whale in three days just as Christ rose from the dead, and the two images depict Christ's resurrection and Jonas exiting from the mouth of the whale. Similarly, the image of Mary, Queen of Heaven, with the infant Christ seated on her lap, illustrates the beginning of « Obsecro te », and the border image depicts the fall of idols as Mary passes with Christ in her arms. Although this subject appears in the

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[10]   The edition consists of four parts, each published with an individual colophon : *L'Art de bien mourir* (I) [Pierre Le Rouge] for Vérard, undated ; *L'eguyllon de crainte divine* (II), Gillet Cousteau et Jean Menard for Vérard, 18 VII 1492 ; *L'Avenement de Antechrist et Les Quinze signes precedans le grand jour du jugement de dieu et des joyes du paradis* (III)**,** Cousteau et Menard for Vérard, 18 X 1492 ; *Le bien vivre* (IV), Cousteau et Menard for Vérard, 15 XII 1492. Several copies of the 1492 edition are extant, and I quote from the Bibliothèque Nationale copy, BnF Rés D-852 (4), which has been digitized on Gallica.

typological series, here the text relates it to Mary's conception, a parallel not found in the *Biblia Pauperum*. Since this border also appears out of order for the typological set, it would seem that it is used as a corollary to the central text and image.

For the Office of the Virgin, the principal section of the Hours (fols. 23-61), the pages are framed by the most extensive series of borders, the typological series. The practice of viewing Old Testament persons and events as prefigurations of New Testament occurences has a long history, but it achieved its most elaborate development in the *Biblia Pauperum* or Bible of the Poor, known through many extant manuscripts as well as in early block-books.[11] Although the number of parallels varied in different sources, by the late Middle Ages series of either forty or fifty events, proceeding in chronological order from the Birth of Mary to the Last Judgment, had become standard. For both series, two Old Testament types are cited for each New Testament antitype. In the vast majority of books of Hours, the fifty-type series is used. That is the version upon which the manuscript is based, although not all fifty types are represented. The list of subjects included in the manuscript is provided in the Appendix, along with the Biblical references. As in most books of Hours, the typological series accompanies the Office of the Virgin. Unfortunately, the first leaf of that Office is lacking in the manuscript, and the typological series begins therefore on fol. 23 with the second event, Mary's betrothal.

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[11]   Avril Henry, *Biblia Pauperum : a facsimile and edition,* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell U. Press, 1987 ; Albert C. Labriola and John W. Smeltz, *The Bible of the poor, Biblia pauperum : a facsimile edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9.d.2*, Pittsburgh, Pa. : Duquesne University Press, 1990. Vérard himself published ca. 1504 a 40-image version of the *Biblia Pauperum*, entitled *Les figures du vieil Testament et du nouvel*, with explanatory texts in French verse. They offer a variant to the border texts of the manuscript. For the typological stanzas on the Blessed, for example, the *Figures* (fol. q5v) provide eight lines that compare to the two quatrains of the manuscript (fols. 72-72v). Note that the reading "Jacob" in the Hours is an error, since the Biblical reference is to Job, as correctly indicated in the *Figures*.

Comme les filz de Job demenoient	Les filz Jacob souvent leurs seurs mouvoient
En leurs convys joye moult haultement,	Par grans convis a exaltatïon,
Signifians que les saulvez seroient	Signifians ceulx qui s'esjoÿssoient
En paradis receuz joyeusement;	Ou sain de Dieu par inspiratïon
Comme Jacob en dormant doulcement	Jacob dormit sur ung mont de pïerre
Veist l'eschielle des cieulx descendante,	La ou il vit l'eschielle qui aux cieulx
Plaine d'anges incomparablement,	Ung bout avoit, l'autre dessus la terre,
Signifians la joye permanente.	Pour descendre les anges glorïeux.
Figures du viel Testament et du nouvel,	Hours of Charles VIII, fols. 72-72v
BL C.22.b.7, fol. q5v)	

The first event, the birth of Mary, was probably depicted on the verso of the missing first leaf. In the manuscript, the New Testament event appears at the top of the border, the Old Testament event at the bottom, with the text inscribed between them. Since each page includes only one of the two Old Testament types, a second page is needed for the second type. As a result, the New Testament antitype is often depicted twice, sometimes on the recto and verso of the same leaf (e.g. 38-38v), at other times on facing pages (e.g. 39v-40). It was perhaps to avoid the redundancy that some antitypes appear with only one type. Less clear is why some antitypes are not represented at all. For others, the two Old Testament types are placed well apart in the book. For the Baptism of Christ (no. 13), one of the two types is represented on borders for the Gospel readings, while the second type appears in the proper sequence within the Office of the Virgin. We have already noted the use of the Destruction of the Egyptian Idols (no. 10) and the Resurrection (no. 39) with prayers to the Virgin that precede the Office ; the second type for those subjects appears later in the book, more or less in the proper sequence. In other cases, the chronological order is disrupted: the Raising of Lazarus (no. 15) appears some ten folios later than the Transfiguration (no. 16) which it should precede. The rest of the series proceeds more or less chronologically through the pages of the Office, but some of the key events are lacking: the Crown of Thorns, Pilate washing his Hands, the Pieta. Missing leaves can account for only the first of the series, but not the others. Exceptionally, one text (fol. 62) is written in the border between two images of prophets. It refers to the large miniature in center page that introduces the Hours of the Holy Spirit : Christ's Ascension, with its Old Testament prefiguration, Elijah ascending heavenward in the chariot of fire, depicted beneath the beginning lines of the Latin office.

The text for the typological series consists of 68 quatrains of which 19 are decasyllabic and 49 are octosyllabic. One of the stanzas (fol. 51v) lacks a line, so that the total number of lines for the narrative is 271. All the quatrains share the same rhyme scheme *abab*, and the rhymes change from stanza to stanza. The alternation of feminine and masculine rhymes is inconsistent, some stanzas having only feminine forms (e.g. fol. 23v). The first two lines of each stanza identify the Old Testament type, the last two lines its New Testament antitype. The two halves are linked by a key verb that makes clear the relationship between them. The Old Testament image "signifie" or "figure" the New

Testament event. These two verbs predominate, in various forms, present participles ("figurant") vying with relative clauses ("Qui figure"). Gideon's fleece *nous figure* the Annunciation (fol. 24), the Golden Calf *signifiant* Christ's destruction of the idols (fol. 27v). Other synonyms appear less frequently: "exposer", "donne exemple", "est denotee", "represente", "est montré" : the Queen of Sheba *represente* the Magi (fol. 26v)., Jacob's treachery toward Abner *denote* the kiss of Judas (fol. 46v). The parallel between the two events may be established with a single adverb: "aussi," "ainsi," "comme" or "en ceste façon" : Isaac carries the wood for his sacrifice, Jesus *aussi* (fol. 31). The Old Testament subject is usually presented in a straight-forward declarative sentence : "Abner vint paisiblement" (fol. 27), although more complex clauses also occur : « Par la verge de Aron fleurie… est monstré… » (fol. 26). The constraints of the rhyme result in a more complex and less fluid syntaxe for the 3rd and 4th lines, often with inverted verbs and complements (fol. 27). The poet's chief concern was to identify the typological subjects and their relationships in short, rhyming verses, so there is little stylistic ornamentation. Rhymes are often made with verb forms (*machina/donna*; *avoir/sçavoir*) or with the noun ending –*tion*, with common words (*mere/ frere*), and once with same word (*alla* v. 47). The syllable count is achieved at times by disruption of the normal rhythm. Words and names such "Moÿse" might be counted in 1, 2, or 3 syllables depending on their place within the line. Nevertheless, the poet succeeds in providing a remarkably clear narrative in varied and well-constructed rhyming verse.

Typological borders with explanatory text in French verse can be found in another contemporary manuscript, Heineman 5 in the Pierpont Morgan Library, and in one edition of Hours issued by Vérard ca. 1490.[12] In the latter, however, the attempt to provide rhymed quatrains was apparently too difficult to maintain for the whole series. Of the fifty types, only twenty-four have French explanations, and of these only five are quatrains in octosyllabic verse. Thirteen others consist of three or four lines in prose relating the Old and New Testament images. Another six are reduced to one-line summaries which identify only the New Testament scene. For the remaining types, no explanation is provided; the accompanying text consists merely of brief moral sayings

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[12]   Hours for the use of Rome, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Masson 127.

such as « Qui bien vit, bien meurt » with no direct relationship to the Biblical types. In this edition, the complete series of fifty types appears twice, first with Latin texts, then with French texts, but miscellaneous cuts from the series also appear without order at the beginning and end of the Hours, as illustrations for the calendar and for various suffrages.

Much more elaborate is the Heineman manuscript whose extensive use of quatrains of verse is very similar to Charles VIII's Hours. In both manuscripts, the series begins with the Office of the Virgin, but the Heineman series ends with no. 45 (Pentecost) whereas the series in Charles VIII's manuscript continues to the Coronation of Mary (no. 49). Not all New Testament events are exemplified by both Old Testament types in either manuscript, but those with only one Old Testament prefiguration are not the same. In Heineman 5 as in Charles VIII's manuscript, only one Old Testament type is displayed per page, so that two pages are required for each antitype, but in Heineman 5 the two images are always on the recto and verso of the same leaf. More importantly, none of the quatrains in either manuscript is identical, although there are similarities. Here for comparison are the stanzas concerning the Massacre of the Innocents (no. 11) in the two manuscripts :

Athalie, royne cruelle,	La felonne royne Athalie
Enfans faisoit tuer par cens;	Qui enfans fit mourir par cens
Aussi est figurée en elle	Herode le fel signifie
La mort des benoists innocens.	Qui fist mourir les innocens.
(Hours of Charles VIII, fol. 36v)	(Heineman 5, fol. 39)

The two texts share the same octosyllabic meter, the same rhyme scheme, and even one rhyme (*cens/ innocens*), yet they are not identical. The connection between the two manuscripts warrants further investigation.

Vérard is not the only publisher to use typological borders in his printed editions. Jean Du Pré employed a set of borders accompanied with both Latin and French texts, the French identifying the subject in brief terms, the Latin providing the relevant citation from scripture.[13] Thielman Kerver's set included Latin text. Pigouchet had three different

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[13]   For further details about these borders, see the discussion in Winn, « Printing and Reading the Book of Hours: Lessons from the Borders », in *Text and Image*: *Studies in*

sets, the first of which, with Latin inscriptions, passed to Morand and Marnef in 1492, the year that Pigouchet's second set appeared. The third set, larger in format but with only two images rather than the customary three in the lateral border, was used in an edition ca. 1502 where it is accompanied with French verse, but verse that was not specifically composed for the Hours. Instead, Pigouchet adapted text from Martial d'Auvergne's *Matines de la Vierge*, a work dating from ca. 1483 and published as early as 1490.[14] The *Matines* supplied text for many different books of Hours printed in the first decades of the 16th century.[15]

Typological woodcuts were also used to illustrate the popular moralistic work, *l'Art de bien vivre*, which Vérard published in 1492.[16] Each rectangular cut is divided horizontally into two scenes, the New Testament event in the lower half, the Old Testament prefiguration framed on each side by a prophet holding a scroll, in the upper half. Printed beneath each woodcut is a quatrain of decasyllabic verse that resembles the texts of the manuscript. The woodcuts, however, are intended to illustrate the Credo, so that the focus of the verses differs from that of the typological series, and even the association of Old and New Testament events varies somewhat. Thus, Moses and the Burning Bush is placed above a dual scene of the Annunciation and the Nativity, to illustrate the third article of the Credo: « Qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto natus ex Maria Virgine ». The manuscript border, modeled after the *Biblia Pauperum*, pairs Moses

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the French illustrated book from the Middle Ages to the present day. Special issue of the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 81:3 (autumn 1999), 177-204.

[14]   See the edition by Yves Le Hir (Genève: Droz, 1970) whose list of manuscripts and early printed editions of the text is unfortunately incomplete. Of particular relevance is the 1494 edition by Simon Vostre for whom Pigouchet printed many editions of Hours, including the one ca. 1502 containing Martial d'Auvergne's text.

[15]   About these editions, see Winn, « 'Re-sonner les Matines': Martial d'Auvergne in Books of Hours » in *Poetry and the Page*, ed. Adrian Armstrong and Malcolm Quainton, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, p. 73-94.

[16]   Several copies of the 1492 edition are extant, and I quote from the Bibliothèque Nationale copy, BnF Rés D-852 (4), which has been digitized on Gallica.

with the Nativity alone, not with the Annunciation (fol. 25v). In both sources, however, the quatrains evoke the same element of the Virgin birth:

> Ung buisson vert tout enflambé de feu
> Vit Moÿse sans quelque lesïon
> La vierge aussi conceupt le filz de Dieu
> Et l'enfanta sans nulle corruption. (*Art de bien vivre,* BnF Rés D-852 (4), fol. DD3)

> Moÿse vit le buysson ardant
> Sans consumer, qui nous figure
> Que en sa virginité gardant
> Marie enfanta nette et pure. (Hours of Charles VIII, fol. 25v)

One other parallel is shared by the manuscript and the *Art de bien vivre*: the Ascension, prefigured by Elijah and the chariot of fire.[17] In the *Art de bien vivre*, the woodcut serves to illustrate the sixth article of the Credo: "Ascendit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis," whereas the manuscript border simply presents the Old and New Testament parallel. The verses in the two sources, however, are again similar in focus to each other:

> En paradis terrestre fut ravy
> Saint Helyas par ung divin mystere;
> Le doulx Jesus, quant du monde est parti,
> Monta es cieulx a la destre son pere. (*Art de bien vivre,* BnF Rés D-852 (4), fol. DD5)

> Ou chariot ardant monta
> Helye parfait, merveilleux;

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[17]   Four other woodcuts present the same typology as the *Biblia Pauperum*, but the subjects are absent from Charles VIII's Hours: the Resurrection with the prefiguration of Samson and the gates of Gaza, Pentecost with the Ten Commandments, the Last Judgment with Salomon, and the Coronation of Mary with that of Hester.

Dieu le pere aussi exalta

Son filz Jesucrist sur les cieulx. (Hours Charles VIII, fol. 52)

The *Art de bien mourir* is relevant to the manuscript Hours for several reasons. It was produced by Vérard at a date very close to that of the manuscript, and one of the copies was printed on vellum for presentation to Charles VIII.[18] Equally important is the name of its translator: Guillaume Tardif, the king's *précepteur* and "liseur." In the prologue that he composed for his translation of the *Apologues et Fables de Laurens Valle*, also published by Vérard ca. 1493, Tardif states that he has composed or translated various works either at the command or in honor of Charles VIII: « Vous ay aussi translaté *L'Art de bien mourir* auquel, s'il vous plaist penser et entendre comme mortel que vous estes, Dieu vous aydera de plus en plus, tant a vostre salut que aussi de la chose publicque par luy a vous commise. » Can we assume therefore that Tardif composed the verse quatrains that are printed beneath the woodcuts in this edition ? As mentioned earlier, Tardif's association with both the king and Vérard is evident in another work of direct relevance to the manuscript Hours : the *Grandes Heures royales* that Vérard published ca. 1490 « au commandement du roy ». The collection of Latin prayers to the saints, organized in calendar order and occupying the center of the page, is accompanied by prayers and narrative texts in French verse, printed in the wide historiated borders which contain Sibyls, saints, praying figures, and scenes from the life of the Virgin and Christ. Some of these text make specific reference to the king of France who, however, is not named. Although none of the texts of the *Grandes Heures* is identical to any of the quatrains of the manuscript Hours for Charles VIII, Tardif's role in preparing the printed edition raises the possibility that he also contributed to the manuscript. In that light, the prayer in prose that is attached at the end of the manuscript bears careful scrutiny. The text assumes the voice of a young ruler. Could Tardif have composed this text for his pupil Charles VIII ?

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[18]   The various volumes of that copy are no longer housed in the same collection. One volume, containing the *Le bien vivre* (part IV)*,* is at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California (RB 38182) while the first volume, containing parts 1 and 2, the *Art de bien mourir* and *L'eguyllon de crainte divine,* is in Paris, BnF, Rés Vélins 354.

The typological series is the longest of the border series, but its 68 units do not suffice for the entire Office of the Virgin. Another series of borders is therefore added for the hours of Vespers and Compline (fols. 54-60v): the **life of Mary** in fourteen quatrains. The narrative extends from the episode of Mary's parents, Joachim and Anne, at the Golden Gate to the appearance of Christ to his mother after his resurrection. The choice of subjects and their presentation are somewhat surprising, and a missing leaf results in the absence of one key episode: the birth of Christ. The cycle begins in fact (fol. 54) with an unusual explanation for Mary's Immaculate Conception, a subject vehemently debated in 15th-century France: she existed even before the Creation, and her corporal body was a « creation seconde ». The text is written in the border of the page bearing a large miniature of the Trinity, but even more significant is the smaller miniature depicted below: the high priest's refusal of Joachim's offering of a lamb. Readers would have had to view the image in order to fully appreciate the border text on the verso (fol. 54v), for it begins « De ce refus Joachim fut honteux », with no verbal explanation of the episode. The coordination of text and image is striking, for the visual image has allowed for a textual ellipse. The remaining lines recount the angel's assurances to Joachim and Anne, depicted separately in the two miniatures, whereas on the facing page (fol. 55) they are shown together at the Golden Gate. The text refers to their meeting and to Anne's conviction that she will no longer be called barren. Mary's birth and presentation at the temple are recounted in one quatrain, corresponding to the two miniatures on fol. 55v. The Annunciation is presented in one miniature on fol. 56, whereas Joseph's reaction occupies three miniatures, the text explaining that his astonishment at Mary's pregnancy led to his wish to abandon her until an angel convinced him to return to her (fols. 56-56v). Mary's prayer and virtuous occupation to avoid « oysiveté » precede her marriage to Joseph (fols. 57-57v). Following a missing leaf, undoubtedly focused on the birth of Christ, the text (fol. 58) relates Christ's circumcision and the miracle of Simeon's regaining his sight, the artist carefully distinguishing between Simeon's lowered eyelids in the upper miniature and his raised eyes in the lower scene as he holds the infant Christ. Mary's discovery of the young Christ preaching in the temple (fol. 58v) is followed by the miracle at the marriage of Cana, where at Mary's request, Christ changed water into wine. The only proper name cited is Archedeclin, the name given to the maître d'hôtel in

medieval French texts such as the *Evangile de l'enfance*,[19] based on the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas.[20] Both miniatures (fol. 59) depict the banquet table, and in the lower image, Christ points toward the jug of wine held by Mary.[21] A single quatrain on fol. 59v links the scene of Christ's departure from his mother to that of his being nailed to the cross. Mary's sorrow provides the common thread there and for the facing page (fol. 60) where the miniatures depict the deposition from the cross and the entombment. The narrative does not end, however, in grief, for the last quatrain announces Christ's appearance to Mary after the Resurrection. The two scenes depict an angel announcing the miracle to the three Mary's, and a larger miniature in center page illustrates the Ascension. Since the texts of the borders focus on the Virgin, the Crucifixion itself is not illustrated in the border cycle, but it may also have been omitted because it would have been illustrated in a large miniature for the Hours of the Cross, the section immediately following the Office of the Virgin. Two leaves are missing, however, after fol. 60, so the large miniature as well as the text beginning the Hours of the Cross are absent from the manuscript.

The lives of Mary and Christ were the subject of an extensive border cycle used in books of Hours printed by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre. The iconography of some of the manuscript scenes closely resembles those of the 108 images of the Pigouchet cycle, which are assembled into 27 units with three images at the lateral margin linked to the footpiece below. Although many examples of printed Hours include

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[19]   See the editions by Maureen B.M. Boulton, *The old French Evangile de l'enfance*, Toronto : Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984 ; *Les enfaunces de Jesu Crist*, London : Anglo-Norman Text Society from Birkbeck College, 1985.

[20]   M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924, repr. with corr. 1953, p. 49-65.

[21]   This episode is also recounted in the *Mystère de la Passion* that Vérard published ca, 1493 and again in 1499. In the vellum copy (BnF Rés. Vélins 600) of the first edition, prepared for Charles VIII, two miniatures painted in the borders (fols. e2, e3) depict the banquet with Mary and Christ seated side by side, as in the Hours manuscript. A heading at the top of the page calls the episode « La mutacion de l'eaue en vin », and the maître d'hôtel is named Architriclin.

the border cycle without text, a few editions include verses in French.[22] Consisting of 27 quatrains of octosyllabic lines, rhyming *abab*, they are printed in horizontal lines in two spaces framing the central image of the lateral border. Each quatrain refers to more than a single image, however, since there are four per page. In form, the verses resemble those of the manuscript, but they are not identical. As an example, one can compare the two versions of the texts concerning Christ's circumcision. Pigouchet's text combines the Circumcision with reference to the Magi and the Presentation, since all three images appear in the same border unit:

>Circumcis fut selon la loy
>
>Affin de nous monstrer exemple;
>
>Roys l'adorent en bel arroy;
>
>Est presenté au temple. (Hours for the use of Le Mans, 25 IV 1500, fol. e4)

whereas the manuscript adds a reference to Symeon:

>Circoncir fist Marie son enfant
>
>Et puis aprez ou temple le porta ;
>
>La fut fait miracle triumphant
>
>Sur Symeon a qui veue raporta. (Hours for Charles VIII, fol. 58)

For the same set of borders, Vostre also used citations from the Bible in Latin, sometimes identified as to chapter and verse. The French quatrains appear in later editions of his Hours.

The short Hours of the Cross follow the Office of the Virgin and are framed by borders on the Biblical heroine **Judith.** A very popular figure in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Judith's beheading of Holofernes was represented in numerous works of art. In literature, the *Mystère de Judith et Holofernés,* composed between 1490 and 1500

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[22]   See for example the Hours for the use of Le Mans, dated 25 IV 1500; the text below is cited from the digitized copy of that edition in Munich SBS Ink H-345. The same text is found in the Hours for the use of Paris, printed on the same date.

probably by Jean Molinet[23], celebrated her victory and that of the Jewish people. This mystery play was published as part of a vast, composite play entitled *Le Mistère du Viel Testament,* which was printed for Geoffroy de Marnef and Vérard ca. 1500 by Pierre Le Dru.[24] Consisting of more than 49,000 lines, the play also includes texts on Daniel, Job, and the sibyls, subjects all present in the borders of Charles VIII's manuscript.[25]

The two quatrains concerning Judith (fols. 61-61v) recount her triumphant return bearing the head of Holofernes and the display of his head on the city walls, both events illustrated in the miniatures. Somewhat surprising is the representation of the Jewish leader who greets her, for he is dressed in the cloak and mitre of a bishop, and in the first miniature of fol. 61v, he kneels before the seated Judith. The text declares that by her action, the city of Bethulye has been delivered from an ennemy worse than Lucifer, thus establishing a typological parallel between Judith's victory and that of the Virgin Mary over Satan by opening the gates of Hell. Although this parallel is not part of the series based on the *Biblia Pauperum*, the text uses the same verb "signifant" as for the typological borders.

For the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the borders (fols. 62v-63v) relate key episodes of the **Destruction of Jerusalem,** which was equally perceived as the Vengeance of the Lord. The historical background, recorded in the *Bellum Judaicum* of Flavius Josephus, is the Roman suppression of the Jewish revolt of 66 CE which ended in the destruction of the Temple four years later. Viewed by medieval authors as divine vengeance for the crucifixion of Christ, the destruction of Jerusalem was amplified by the legends of Veronica curing the emperor and the punishment of Pilate. Versions in French verse date

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[23]   Such is the hypothesis advanced by Graham A. Runnalls in his critical edition of the *Mystère de Judith et Holofernés*, Geneva, Droz, 1995, p. 77.

[24]   Two copies with Marnef's name are at the BnF : Rés. Yf-11 and Rothschild IV.2.7 ; Vérard's name is found in the copy now in the British Library, C.22.b.12. The text was edited in six volumes by James de Rothschild, *Le Mistère du Viel Testament,* Paris, Firmin Didot, SATF, 1878-1885 ; Rpt Johnson 1966. The section on Judith is found in vol. V, p. 231-354.

[25]   Recent studies of the *Mistère du Vieil Testament* emphasize its composite nature, calling for a re-evaluation of the work. See especially the edition of *Judith* by G. Runnalls (note 19), p. 11-14.

from the 13th century in the form of a *chanson de geste* while numerous versions in prose are recorded in more than 50 medieval manuscripts.[26] Eustache Marcadé († 1440) composed a *Mystère de la Vengeance de Nostre Seigneur* that was later expanded into the version published by Vérard in 1491. An anonymous prologue for Vérard's edition equates the French king Charles VIII with the Roman Titus ; he is a « second Vespasien » who has rid the kingdom of Jews.[27] For his second edition published in 1493/94, Vérard prepared for the king a deluxe vellum copy whose miniatures, painted in the borders, vivdly depict the scenes of violence and cruelty found in the text.[28] They include a woman offering the body of a child on a platter to soldiers (fol. pp3). The first full-page miniature depicts soldiers amassed in front of the city while inside the walls, men are attaked with swords while a woman serves a platter of flesh. In a second vellum copy, now in the Arsenal, blood streams from victims of the soldiers' swords while a woman stands eating a human leg, the body lying in flames behind her.[29] In the first decades of the 16th century, the Destruction of Jerusalem became a popular subject for the borders of books of Hours. Gillet and Germain Hardouyn as well as Guillaume Godard arranged the story into sets of twenty-one footpieces that were used with captions in French for various editions.[30] They also combined the footpieces, three to a page, into booklets of

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[26]   See Stephen K. Wright, *The Vengeance of our Lord: Medieval Dramatizations of the Destruction of Jerusalem*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts 9, 1989 ; Alvin E. Ford, *La vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur: the Old and Middle French prose versions : the Cura sanitatis Tiberii (The Mission of Volusian), the Nathanis Judaei legatio (Vindicta Salvatoris), and the versions found in the Bible en français of Roger d' Argenteuil or influenced by the works of Flavius Josephus, Robert de Boron and Jacobus de Voragine*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, c1993 ; A.E. Ford, *La vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur : the Old and Middle French prose versions, the version of Japheth*, Toronto : Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984.

[27]   The prologue is edited and discussed in Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*, p. 437-445.

[28]   Jody Enders examines the appeal of violence in *The medieval theater of cruelty: rhetoric, memory, violence*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1999.

[29]   These images can be viewed on Gallica which has digitized both the BnF and the Arsenal copies.

[30]   See Denise Hillard, "La *Destruction de Jérusalem* en bande dessinée (Paris, vers 1515)," *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 1996, no. 2, 302-339 ; M.B.Winn, "*La Destruction de Jérusalem, bis*: a 'bande dessinée' by Guillaume Godard," *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 2008,

four or eight leaves, with longer explanatory text. The manuscript Hours for Charles VIII precedes all of these printed editions, although its border texts and images of the Destruction of Jerusalem are far fewer in number.

Vérard also published the first French edition of *Josephe de la bataille judaique* with a preface in which the translator declares having undertaken the translation to please the king, « trescrestien filz de l'eglise et souverain sur tous les autres roys », and so that he will find therein the courage to support the catholic faith as had his forebears. The text is preceded by a full-page woodcut depicting the destruction of the city, with one of the most horrific events evoked in the background : a woman eating the arm of a child.[31] The colors added to the woodcuts in the vellum copies now in the Huntington Library (RB 89998) and the New York Public Library[32] render the scene even more striking, but the most vivid depiction of the horrors is found in the vellum copy presented to the king himself. There the woodcut is overpainted with a new miniature in which captives are eviscerated while two platters of human body parts are served on tables in the background. A corpse roasts at the rear.[33]

Given this emphasis on the specific horror of a woman eating her own child, it is not surprising that the border miniature of fol. 63v depicts that scene while the text even refers to her as « Marie », the name given to her in the *Mystère de la Vengeance*. The second miniature, however, depicts Jeremiah writing, while the text evokes the exchange of thirty Jews for one *denier*, the reversal of Judas's betrayal of Christ for thirty pieces of

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no. 1, 9-41 ; M.B.Winn, *La Destruction de Jérusalem, ter*: another "bande dessinée" by Gillet Hardouyn, *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 2011, no. 2, 213-237.

[31]   The woodcut is viewable at the BnF Banque d'Images:
http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Daguerre&O=8014374&E=JPEG&NavigationSimplifiee=ok&typeFonds=noir

[32]   This copy has been digitized and is online at the NYPL Digital Collections:
http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/de-la-bataille-judaque?&keywords=&sort=sortString+asc#/?tab=about

[33]   The miniature can be viewed at the BnF Banque d'Images,
http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Daguerre&O=8016022&E=JPEG&NavigationSimplifiee=ok&typeFonds=noir

silver. Fols. 62v-63 focus on the punishments of the rulers : Herod eaten by worms, Pilate rendered insane, Caiphas and Annas eaten by monkeys and cats. Here, the two are still dressed in liturgical garb with animals only at their shoulders, but in Charles VIII's copy of the *Vengeance* (Vélins 601, fol. oo3v), a miniature displays them hanging naked upside down from the same scaffold, each being clawed by a cat. In the second miniature of the manuscript, an angel bearing the sword of vengeance hovers above the burning city, illustrating the text that Jerusalem was « mis a perdicion. » Of the many possible scenes from the account of Jerusalem's destruction, one wonders whether the rulers' punishments were specifically selected in reference to the young king. Charles VIII seems, in any event, to have had a particular interest in the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem since he is known to have purchased in 1490-91 a tapestry in six pieces representing that subject.[34] The editor of the manuscript was clearly attuned to the king's tastes and position, as well as to literary trends.

The seven Penitential Psalms are accompanied in the borders by the prophecies of the **sibyls**. If these female prophetesses were highly regarded in classical Antiquity, Christian writers quickly adopted their oracles as prophecies about Christ. Lactantius in his *Divine Institutions* quoted from a lost work of Varro to assert the existence of ten sibyls, and St. Augustine in the City of God attributes a proclamation of Christ as Son of God and Savior to the Erythrean Sibyl. By the late Middle Ages, the number of sibyls had increased to twelve, to correspond to the twelve apostles. The popularity of sibyls in late medieval literature and art is too extensive to fully consider here,[35] but a few works warrant attention because of their connection to Charles VIII, Vérard, and books of Hours. Among the verses composed on the sibyls were the « Dictz prophetiques des sibilles » by Jean Robertet, poet and valet de chambre at the court of Charles VIII.[36] In the *Mistère du*

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[34]   Nicole Reynaud, "Un peintre français cartonnier de tapisseries au XVe siècle: Henri de Vulcop," *Revue de l'art* 22 (1973), 6-21, p. 15.

[35]   Anke Holdenreid, *The Sibyl and her scribes*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, provides an extensive bibliography. Among the many studies, see H.W. Parke, and B. McGing, ed., *Sibyls and sibylline prophecy in classical antiquity*, London : Routledge, 1988.

[36]   Margaret Zuppán, editor of the *Oeuvres* of Jean Robertet (Geneva: Droz, 1970, p. 140) dates the *Ditz* as after 1481.

Vieil Testament, a dialogue between Augustus and the Tiburtine sibyl is followed by the arrival of all twelve sibyls, each proclaiming her prophecy in French verse.[37] These twelve prophecies, entitled the « Dit des douze Sibilles », are used in other editions and manuscripts, including books of Hours.[38] Among the latter are Vérard's *Grandes Heures* where the French verses are printed in the borders accompanying the hour of Prime in the Office of the Virgin.[39] The woodcut in the footpiece depicts the sibyl with her characteristic symbol while those in the lateral piece represent her prophecy, an Old Testament prophet and a New Testament Apostle. The rhymed texts, which vary in length and meter, do not identify the sibyl, but simply record her prophecy, as if spoken in the first person.

In Charles VIII's manuscript, the text is framed, above, by the image of the sibyl's prophecy and below, by the sibyl holding her symbol. Each text describes the sibyl, identifying her symbol and its prophetic significance.[40] All twelve sibyls are represented in the order of events they prophesy, beginning with Mary as the defeat of Satan and ending with Christ's crucifixion and resurrection (fols. 64v-69v, 71). This order is the same as that used in Verard's *Grandes Heures*, except that sibyl Agrippine holding a whip to signify the Flagellation (fol. 68) precedes Tiburtine, holding a hand to signify the buffeting of Christ (fol. 68v). This is the reverse order from that of the printed edition, which follows the correct chronological order. While Vérard's printed Hours use a text known from other sources, the verses in Charles VIII's Hours are unique ; they are all written in the third person, which distinguishes them from the « Dit des douze

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[37]   James de Rothschild, ed. *Le Mistère du Viel Testament*, vol. 6, p. 215-29, lxix-lxxv.

[38]   The text is edited by A. de Montaiglon and J. de Rothschild in the *Recueil de poésies françoises des XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris: P. Jannet, 1855-78, vol. 13, p. 271-280.

[39]   We refer to the undated edition for the use of Paris, BnF Rothschild 22 (I.5.7), fols. b6-c3v. The sibyls are also used, with French verse, in Vérard's *Petites Heures* and later, without text, in his Hours for the use of Sarum, ca. 1503. Among other printers and publishers who included sibyls in their editions of Hours are Philippe Pigouchet, Geoffroy de Marnef, Jean Morand, Simon Vostre, Guillaume Godard, Bonino de' Bonini. The blockbook *Oracula Sibyllina* dates from 1468-1470.

[40]   These are important elements, since some printed editions combine the wrong name or prophecy with the figure of the sibyl.

Sibilles *». *Each border text is constructed in the same fashion, the first two lines identifying the sibyl and her symbol, the last two lines interpreting the symbol as a prophecy, employing a phrase such as "prophetisant que" or "disant que". Of the twelve stanzas, seven are decasyllabic quatrains, four are octosyllabic quatrains, and one (fol. 69v) is composed of five octosyllabic lines.

The borders framing the Litany (fols. 72-75) contain prayers. The first two stanzas address saints, who are grouped together, beginning with Laurens whose name appears at the top of the list of saints named on that page of the Litany. This correlation indicates once again that the borders were added after the Latin text was written. However, while Laurens is among the fifteen martyrs named in the Latin Litany, two of the confessors named in the French border text – Jerome and Françoys – are not included in the Litany. Augustine is the only confessor who is cited in both Latin and French. The border quatrain asks all martyrs and confessors to pray « pour nous ». Twelve female saints are named in the Litany, but none by name in the French border. Addressed as a group of virgins and widows, they too are to pray. The quatrain ends (fol. 74) with an appeal to the angelic orders, dominations and thrones. The remaining texts for this series offers prayers that Christ's Passion and Resurrection obtain the remission of sins (fol. 74), that God maintain the catholic church in peace and tranquility (74v), and that He give peace to the rulers of the world so that the people can live without war (75). This last prayer seems especially designed for the young king of France to whom the manuscript is dedicated. All of these quatrains consist of decasyllabic verses, rhyming *abab*.

For the Vespers of the Dead, the borders relate the story of **Job**, which is appropriate since the lessons for Matins in that office are taken from the Old Testament book of Job.[41] The figure of Job on his dunghill was a favored illustration in books of Hours for the beginning of the office, and some manuscripts include scenes from his life for each of the lessons.[42] The story of Job occupies twenty-one borders (fols. 75v-85v), but there is one missing leaf between fols. 81 and 82, so there should be two additional

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[41]   For the texts, with translation into English, see http://medievalist.net/hourstxt/deadmata.htm

[42]   See Roger Wieck, *Time sanctified : The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*. Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, and NY, 1988, p. 132.

stanzas. All the verses are decasyllabic. The faithful Job who withstood the trials of life was a popular figure, subject of a 14th-century poem, the « Hystore Job » based on *Compendium in Job* of Pierre de Blois († c.1211) and hero of an anonymous, 15th-century mystery play, *La Pacience de Job*.[43] This may be the same work as « La Vie de Job » which is cited among the « Mistaires » in the 15th-century catalogue of a *libraire* in Tours, a catalogue of particular interest because so many of its titles were printed by Vérard.[44] A shorter « Histoire de Job » is included in the *Mistère du Viel Testament*.[45]

In Charles VIII's Hours, the story of Job begins on fol. 75v with four lines that enumerate his riches, the items exactly replicating the first chapter of the Book of Job except for the fifty yoke of oxen which are numbered five hundred in the Bible. The second stanza also lacks a final word, but since the lines concern the conflict between God and Satan and the word must rhyme with "terre," a plausible hypothesis for the omission is "guerre." The trials inflicted upon Job are depicted in the following two stanzas and their miniatures: the death of his children and livestock, and the destruction of his fields as recorded in the first chapter of the Book of Job. Yet Job continues to praise God, even when Satan beats him, and when his wife reproaches him, he likens her to the foolish women. Seated on a dunghill, Job is visited by his three friends who are named as in the Bible, but the lengthy dialogues between them that occupy chapters 4-31 in the Book of Job are reduced to four stanzas in the manuscript borders (fols. 78-79v). The Biblical Eliu who reprimands Job is not named but referred to as "ung sien amy." While the border texts are faithful to the biblical account, they add an episode that has no scriptural source but that must have appealed to the 15th-century public since it also

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[43]   Albert Meiller, ed. *La Pacience de Job*. Paris: Klincksiek, 1971. Found in a manuscript dated 1478, BnF fr. 1774, it consists of 7095 lines and 56 characters. See also L.L. Besserman, *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1979.

[44]   Achille Chéreau, *Catalogue d'un marchand libraire du XVe siècle tenant boutique à Tours*. Paris, 1868, p. 55, no. 202. As Chéreau concludes, « Il y a …tant de ces livres imprimés par Vérard que notre libraire doit avoir été ou l'un de ses voyageurs ou l'un de ses correspondants », p. 61.

[45]   ed. Rothschild, vol. V, p. 1-51. It consists of 1312 lines and 14 characters. The editor considers the text to be a very succinct treatment of the Biblical story of Job, and « dénué de toute invention ».

appears in the mystery play, *La Pacience de Job*, vv. 5544-5714. When Satan disguises himself as a beggar, the impoverished Job can give him only some lice, but Satan transforms the lice into gold and convinces Job's wife that her husband has hidden his riches beneath the dunghill. She insults and then abandons him, which leaves him in despair, but God then sends an angel to comfort him. Adhering to the Biblical text, the text on fol. 82v recalls that God also orders the three friends to bring seven bulls and seven sheep to Job so that through this sacrificial offering he might obtain for them God's forgiveness. The final five stanzas record the blessings that God bestows on Job: another seven sons and three daughters, a doubling of his wealth, and a long life of 140 years followed by angels transporting his soul to heaven. A final stanza provides a transition from "la vie Job, saint homme / Si patient que jamais ne fut tel" to the ten visions of Daniel which the author, addressing the readers directly, says they will see: "Vous pouez voir." The image above this text emphasizes the author's presence by depicting him seated, pen in hand, writing in a book open on the stand before him. In the image below, Daniel stands in a green landscape with a castle in the background. He looks upward, his hands open and fingers pointing as if for speech.

Daniel's story, which accompanies the Suffrages to the saints (fols. 86-106v), is an abbreviated and versified rendition of key episodes from the Book of Daniel. Second in length only to the typological series, it consists of 41 decasyllabic quatrains and one stanza of six lines. It begins with the captivity of Daniel and his three friends, Ananie, Asarie, and Misael, following Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Judea. The captives refuse to eat of the king's meat, as the first image shows by Daniel's protesting hands, but they maintain their appearance of good health even with a diet of legumes, as depicted in the second image. This border offers an elliptic version of Daniel 1 :10 where the prince of the eunuchs objects to their request for other food out of fear that they will look ill. Daniel responds to Malassar, here called « prevost » to approximate the Biblical reference to his being in charge of the four children. The next seven borders concern the king's dream. According to the Biblical account, the king could not remember his dream, even though he knew that it had frightened him. His advisors had therefore not only to interpret the dream, but to discover it. The border texts are too brief to provide such details, but they record that the clerics were incapable of explaining the dream and were

therefore condemned to death. Brought before the king, David interprets the vision "par le vouloir de Dieu", that phrase alone summarizing the Biblical account (Daniel 2) whereby God responds to Daniel's plea for mercy and reveals the mystery to him in a vision. The various elements of the king's dream – a great statue with a head of gold, arms of silver, breast of brass (silver in the Bible), legs of iron and clay -- are depicted in the miniatures, and the text (fols. 88v-89v) summarizes Daniel's interpretation of them, as recorded in Daniel 2:31-45. The king rewards Daniel, now called the prophet, with such authority that everyone honors him. In the next episode (Daniel 3) all are called to worship a golden statue, prompting the only 6-line stanza, of 6 or 7 syllables each, to suggest the sound of the musicians, who are depicted in the miniature singing at a music stand, with one holding a harp. When Daniel's companions refuse to worship the statue, they are thrown into a fiery furnace, but they do not burn because, as the miniature shows, an angel is at their side. The fire instead reaches those who held them. The astonished king sees in the fire a fourth man in the semblance of God, and he orders the three released. The king's next vision (Daniel 4) is of a tree reaching the heavens but then cut down (fol. 93v). An angel removes the crown from his head, and he is chased into the fields, insane and eating like a beast (fol. 94), until after seven years of penance, which Daniel had prayed God to reduce to seven months (fol. 94v), the angel restores his crown (fol. 95). Daniel's vision, as presented in Daniel 7, is then described and depicted in the miniatures: four winds in combat with four angels, and four beasts: a winged lion, bear, a four-headed leopard, and wild boar with ten horns. While the Biblical text refers only to a further horn of the beast, the border text names the Antichrist. It follows therefore the version of the very popular 13th-century *Bible Historiée* which incorporates commentary from Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica,* translated by Guyard des Moulins*,* into portions of the Latin Vulgate, edited by Jean de Rély. Vérard issued an edition of this Bible in c. 1498.[46] The Antichrist, born of a woman instructed by devils, vanquishes the wild boar, signifiying thereby his power over seven kings. To convince the people that he is the messiah, he not only preaches but has himself circumcised in public, a gesture that

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[46]   ISCT ib00623000, GW 4310

the miniaturist has not failed to depict (fol. 99v). He emprisons and then slays Enoch and Helye.

Daniel's next vision of a river and man resplendent in white are depicted in the miniatures (fol. 100v), the artist apparently aware of the Biblical text (Daniel 7:9-10) that refers to the river of fire since he paints the river red, whereas the border text mentions only a "fleuve." Daniel sees the beast slain when the Son of Man descends in a cloud, the vision interpreted as the Last Judgment. A final vision of the combat between a goat and a ram (Daniel 8) precedes Daniel's interpretation of the words written on the wall of Belshazzar's palace (Daniel 5). After proving to the king that Bel was not a living god, Daniel destoys the dragon, but the Babylonians demand that he be cast into the lion's den. God sends the prophet Abachut to nourish him (Daniel 14), and so ends the story of Daniel.

Two medieval plays of Daniel survive, a liturgical drama by Hilarius, dating from c. 1140, and a 13th-century drama with music, conposed by students at Beauvais cathedral. They follow the Biblical account of Daniel at the court of Belshazzar and his trials at the court of Darius. The major events of Daniel's life – his explanation of Nebuchadnezzsar's dream, his refutation of the god Bel, and his release from the lion's den -- are recounted in the *Mistère du Vieil Testament*, but they are interspersed with the story of Susannah whom Daniel saves.[47] Like other Old Testament personalities, Daniel was also identified in the Middle Ages with various works of divination, and several popular series of "Songes de Daniel" were recorded in manuscript before being set to print. As Maurice Hélin noted, « le nom de Daniel s'est appliqué … à de nombreux traités d'astrologie. »[48] In books of Hours produced by Simon Vostre ca. 1500, a series of twelve border pieces present Daniel as the young but wise judge in the case of Susannah, wife of Joachim, who is accused of adultery. Daniel proves her innocence and condemns to death the two lecherous elders who have made the false accusation.

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[47]   ed. Rothschild, vol. 5, pp. 130-230.

[48]   Maurice Hélin, *La Clef des Songes: Facsimilés, notes et liste des éditions incunables*. Paris, 1925; Rpt Slatkine, 1977, p. 68. "Les noms des personnages de l'Ancien Testament ont été en grande faveur pendant tout le Moyen-âge pour les titres d'ouvrages de divination : Pronostics d'Ezéchiel, Lunaires de Salomon, Apocalypses de Daniel ; … Songes de Joseph. »

It is perhaps Daniel's youth and wisdom that prompted the editor of Charles VIII's manuscript to devote so many pages to his story, rather than to choose Joseph, another Old Testament hero whose story also figured in border series for books of Hours. The episodes of Daniel's friends in the fiery furnace, his spectacular visions concerning worldly realms, and his survival in the lions' den offered colorful images that undoubtedly inspired the artist as well as the future reader, himself a young king.

The last leaf of the manuscript (fol. 107-107v) contains prayers to the patron saint of Paris, Genevieve. Its two border texts concern Holoferne, appointed lieutenant in the army of King Cambises. The story is of course incomplete : his beheading by the triumphant Judith was proclaimed in borders much earlier in the book (fols. 61r-v). The narrative ends thus abruptly, with two stanzas unrelated to the preceding account of Daniel. They may derive, however, from the *Bible Historiée* where the Book of Judith follows the Book of Daniel instead of preceding it, as in the Vulgate. An introductory passage, "Du roy Cambises", which precedes the Book of Judith in the *Bible Historiée*, explains that Cambises is there called Nebuchadnezzar. If the editor of the border texts was following the order of the *Bible historiée*, he presumably anticipated additional pages for developing the narrative in Charles VIII's manuscript. Prayers to other saints might have been added in center page, following the prayers to Genevieve, even though a book of Hours for the use of Paris rightly concludes with the patron saint. For Vérard, however, fol. 107 was considered the final leaf, since he had his monogram painted in the space below the last line of text : two gold falcons supporting the red heart bearing his initials AVR.[49]

FINAL PRAYER

Appended to the manuscript is a prayer in French prose, unfortunately incomplete at the beginning. The prayer is intended for a youthful ruler who asks for special guidance: "Sire Dieu, vous m'avez fait regner.... Je suis enfant et petit en science et ne

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[49]   Although Vérard had a woodcut device which he used in most of his printed editions, some deluxe copies display the painted version of a red heart with his initials in gold, usually supported by falcons, as in the manuscript Hours. A similar heart is painted at the end of another Vérard manuscript, originally destined for Charles VIII, the Hours for the use of Paris, now in Madrid, Vit 24-1.

congnois pas bien la maniere comme je me dois conduyre a ung si grand regime.... Je suys vostre petit serviteur..." (fol. 110). Born on 30 June 1470, Charles, would not have been considered a "child" for long after he inherited the crown on 30 August 1483; ten months later, at age 14, he was officially recognized as sovereign. Although the prayer could have been composed for him much earlier and later added to the manuscript, it seems equally plausible that the manuscript itself dates from ca. 1491, when Vérard began both to issue vellum copies of his printed editions and to personalize certain copies for the king.

The text makes reference to the divine right of kingship – it is by God's will that Charles reigns : « Sire, vous m'avez esleu roy et juge de vostre peuple », but he needs counsel since he is so young and his charge so great. Only with God's gift of « sapience » will he be able to govern justly and to be worthy of the throne of his forefathers. The use of the word « sapience » recalls the work of the 14th-century mystic, Henri Suso, *L'Orloge de Sapience,* which was published by Vérard in French translation on 10 March 1493/94. Several vellum copies are known, including one for Charles VIII (Rés Vélins 359).

This manuscript of Hours for the use of Paris was perhaps Vérard's first "royal" book, and its design as well as its materials overlap with his other publications. Prologues that present the work and dedicate it to the king are characteristic of Vérard's production for Charles VIII as well as for other patrons, and the use of historiated borders with French text is a hallmark of his printed books of Hours. This manuscript, overflowing with visual images in gold and colors that are explained in readings in French verse, offers the young king a devotional book of rare quality. While he recites his Hours, he can review the heroic acts of Biblical heroes – Daniel, Job, Judith – and of Roman warriors enacting God's vengeance in the Destruction of Jerusalem. He can appreciate the popular prophecies of the sibyls, the Passion of Christ, and the Old Testament foretelling of the most sacred events of the New Testament : the life of Mary and Jesus. Every page offers a lesson for his eye and ear by which he can achieve knowledge of God's mysteries.