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# A Book of Hours at the University of Iowa : An Analysis

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*University of Iowa*

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A BOOK OF HOURS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA:  
AN ANALYSIS

by  
Cornelia Breugem Kennedy

A research paper submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in Art History  
in the Graduate College of  
The University of Iowa

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Research paper supervisor: Assistant Professor Ann M. Roberts



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
BODY.....	1
Introduction.....	1
The Construction.....	3
The Script.....	4
The Text.....	6
The Calendar.....	7
Pericopes.....	11
Prayers to the Virgin.....	12
The Hours of the Virgin.....	13
Penitential Psalms.....	17
Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit.....	18
Decoration.....	20
The Miniature.....	23
The Artist.....	25
Provenance.....	30
Conclusion.....	32
NOTES.....	37
APPENDIX.....	42
ILLUSTRATIONS.....	44
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	62
Primary Sources.....	62
Secondary Sources.....	62



Ysabeau: "Elle ne lisait  
Donc jamais liures?"  
L'Abbé: "Si faisait  
En ses Heures de Nostre  
Dame . . .  
Devotement."  
Ysabeau: "Voire, bon homme.  
Et à quel usage?"  
L'Abbé: "De Romme  
Comme je crois . . . ."1

### Introduction

Books of Hours are found in nearly every major public and university library. Most of these have a French provenance, which is not surprising in light of the prodigious output of French workshops in the fifteenth century and especially late in that century. The University of Iowa is no exception. Its Special Collections Department contains several French Books of Hours, one of which is the subject of this research. The centuries have wreaked havoc on this manuscript, but what remains is ample proof of its past glory. The Special Collections Department has therefore decided to have it treated and rebound by the university conservator.

The manuscript also merits further study. Some questions surface immediately. How does the manuscript compare with other Books of Hours, where was it written, illuminated, and decorated, and who was the artist? A careful examination of its physical features and an analysis of its stylistic qualities should shed light on these questions. The manuscript's ravaged state makes research more difficult on the whole, and the loss of text and miniatures has often provided more questions than answers.

The University of Iowa's Special Collections Department has the manuscript on indefinite loan from the Public Library of Davenport, Iowa. Since it does not belong to the university, it is not catalogued. In 1935,

while the manuscript was still in Davenport, Seymour de Ricci investigated the Public Library's collection and catalogued this manuscript as well as others in his Census.<sup>2</sup> It lists the manuscript as part of a collection of ten, bequeathed in 1931 by C. A. Ficke of Davenport, and describes it as follows:

Nr. 4. Horae. Vel. (ca. 1480), 190 ff (18 x 11 cm.), imperfect at end. Roman use. Written in France (Paris calendar). 2 miniat. Illum. initials and borders, often mutilated. XVIIIth c. red gilt mor., lettered 'Officium.'

N. 2500 in a catalogue - obtained by Ficke in 1896.<sup>3</sup>

In the supplement of 1962, this Book of Hours is listed under the collection of the University of Iowa Library:

7-16. The ten manuscripts listed in the Census 717-719, as in the Public Library, Davenport, Iowa, have all been placed on indefinite loan in the University Library.<sup>4</sup>

The 1935 and 1962 descriptions of the Book of Hours (numbers 4 and 10, respectively) refer no doubt to the Book of Hours under investigation here. Regrettably, two corrections are needed. Since the 1935 Census, the manuscript (henceforth called the Ficke Hours) has been vandalized further and presently contains only one miniature and 139 folios. This means that a sizable body of the text, containing one miniature, is missing. Frank Paluka, former Head of the Special Collections Department, is at a loss as to where, when, and how these pages were removed. It is difficult to tell whether the loose sections in the Ficke Hours (before it was taken apart during the summer of 1986 in preparation for rebinding) were a result of the pilfering or whether the removal of many pages was made easy by the bad state of the binding. A happy by-product of the manuscript's sad condition is that the loose leaves provide insight not only into the making of the book but may also yield some clues as to the original content.

### The Construction

The parchment folios vary somewhat in quality: some folios are fairly thick and hard (e.g., the quarto quire at the beginning), while others are of a supple and transparent variety (such as the None portion of the Hours of the Virgin). The fine and coarse parchment folios fluctuate throughout the Book of Hours, but the uniformity in script and decoration make it unlikely that these leaves do not belong together. Actually, the quality of vellum tends to vary throughout most medieval manuscripts.

It seems that the pages were cut in the nineteenth century (de Ricci is mistaken in assigning the binding to the eighteenth century)<sup>5</sup> when the book was bound again. There is a great deal of contraction and expansion of vellum over the centuries; after five hundred years the size of each page undergoes a change. The gilding at the now uniform edges of the pages is therefore most likely a nineteenth-century addition.

The vellum is in very fine condition; there is only limited cockling in the folios (and only in the thicker vellum). A minute amount of chalk was applied to each area where an initial was to be painted. The gold leaf, glued to this tiny mound, was burnished, and the pressure caused some minimal stretching (and slight cockling) of all the pages.<sup>6</sup>

The vellum used was of good quality, since no discoloration, insect bites, holes, or repaired holes are evident. Here and there follicles show, but these are rare. Medieval regions or towns favored certain meats above others. For example, fifteenth-century Parisians preferred to eat bovines and sheep. Therefore, an analysis of our manuscript's parchment could provide a clue to its provenance.<sup>7</sup>

The Ficke Hours is gathered in octavo quires throughout, with two

exceptions: the Calendar, made up of a gathering of six sheets,<sup>8</sup> and the last part of the two prayers to the Virgin, which is in a quarto gathering. Further proof of the octavo gathering are the catchwords, written cursively and in vertical position at the lower right hand side of the eighth folio verso (for an example, see ill. 1).

These gatherings are not complete, since all but one of the illuminations have been taken out. The off-set of the lifted illuminations on the facing pages gives good indications where illuminations have been cut and where an octavo is no longer complete (see diagram of the Ficke Hours in the Appendix).

It is difficult to be sure whether the uncut folded sheet method was used in the production of these quires. Some pages at the end of various sections (e.g., at the end of Matins, Lauds, etc., of the Hours of the Virgin) are ruled but left blank or only covered partially. This could be an indication that more than one hand worked on the decoration, and that it was an atelier-produced manuscript rather than an artist working by himself.

### The Script

Two major horizontal rulings and two vertical lines transverse the entire page. These lines are in red ink, which is sometimes sloppily applied. The rectangle which these lines have formed contains the text, written between eighteen lines. The Calendar deviates from this pattern in that the rectangle is further divided into three more vertical lines to hold the Golden number, Dominical letter, and the date.

The text, with some exceptions, is littera gothica textualis (a script generally reserved for high quality manuscripts).<sup>9</sup> The ascenders and

descenders are not very high above the minim or below the lines, and the result is an even script. Since the words are written between the red rulings, and not on them, there is a certain dancing quality which breaks up what might otherwise be monotonous in its evenness. It is, therefore, not merely the choice of script which lifts the Ficke Hours above many other French Books of Hours of the fifteenth century, but it is also the execution, which reveals the hand of a competent professional scribe.

Toward the end of certain sections the script is contracted and made slightly more cursive (see the section after Compline, ill. 2). Perhaps the scribe wished to save on vellum at these points or to fit a text into a quire. The latter could point to a workshop production where scribe and decorator worked in quires separately.

Although it is more common in Books of Hours at this time to find the rubrics in French, they are written in Latin here. Could this mean that the Ficke Hours was a commissioned work, and that the owner was a person of erudition, who would understand the Latin instructions? The rubrics are often abbreviated ("oratio" is spelled out if there is room but is sometimes contracted to a mere "o"). Contractions of words, even in the text, are a common occurrence; e.g., "Deus nostre" [sic] becomes "d no."

Only one hand seems to have been responsible for the script. As was mentioned above (ill. 2), the devotional prayers following Compline seem to deviate especially. Yet a comparison between the two final folios of Compline and those of the Pericopes (ill. 3) shows that both sets of Latin instructions to the reader (written in black) are contracted and slightly more uneven than the rest of the text. In the Compline folios this shows more starkly. Furthermore, the red rubrics are in a larger script,

identical in size and quality to the text in other folios in the manuscript. The only possible conclusion, therefore, is that the red rubrics were written first, and, having not allowed enough room, the scribe had to contract his script to fit the circumscribed space. The uneven quality must be attributed to the difficulty of inserting the text; the free flow of writing was simply inhibited. Throughout the Ficke Hours, the red rubrics are often one and one-half times the size of the letters in the text, which seems to indicate that they were placed there before the rest of the text was written.

It is difficult to assess whether the placing of the red rubrics beforehand was normal practice. Robert Calkins, in his analysis of the unfinished Pierpont Morgan Library MS 358,<sup>10</sup> does not mention this. Folio 133 r. of MS 358<sup>11</sup> shows the same contraction in script between the larger-written red rubrics as does the Ficke Hours, besides greater letter spacing of the red rubrics.

The contracted script does not seem to indicate a different hand, for the letters show the same characteristics (e.g., see the scribe's slightly sloping "n" throughout). Although he had ample room to write the last four lines of *Compline* in the usual script, he chose to continue the smaller letter for the sake of uniformity and aesthetics.

### The Text

De Ricci identifies the Ficke Hours as the Use of Rome. The order and contents of the Use of Rome follow certain patterns: it begins with the Calendar, and continues on to the Pericopes, two prayers to the Virgin, Hours of the Virgin, Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit, Penitential



Psalms, Litany, Office of the Dead, and the Suffrages. It also may include the Ten Commandments, the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, the Seven Requests of the Lord, the Passion according to St. John, and other texts.<sup>12</sup> In its present state, the Ficke Hours contains only the most common components: the Calendar, the Pericopes, the two prayers to the Virgin, the Hours of the Virgin, Penitential Psalms, Litany, Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit, the Office of the Dead, and the Suffrages. The very ordinariness of these components could indicate a workshop production, but the aforementioned missing pages could well have included other components which would have set the Ficke Hours apart from the more common French Books of Hours. This will be discussed later in the paper.

The text itself does not totally conform to the Use of Rome. For example, in the Ficke Hours it only corresponds to one-third of the antiphons, capitulae, and hymns of the Use of Rome.<sup>13</sup> A case in point is the (often variable) Hour of Prime. The manuscript, after the last Psalm (117), has only the "Que est ista" capitulum of the Use of Rome, and, instead of the hymn "Memento . . ." and the antiphon "Assumpta est . . .," there is a prayer, "Deus qui virginale . . ." and two antiphons, "Sancta Dei omnes . . ." and "Exaudi nos Deus . . . ." This format was no doubt used in a particular region or city. Scholarly comparative textual studies have just begun.

#### The Calendar

The Ficke Hours definitely does not follow Paris usage, although the Calendar is Parisian. The Calendar is badly mutilated: the bottoms and sides have been cut away (ill. 4). It is likely that each of the twelve pages contained the same border decoration as the rest of the manuscript,

for one Calendar folio with lateral decoration remains. That the lower edge was illuminated seems indisputable, since it was cut out. The Calendar of the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek MS 1951 (Rouen, 1500)<sup>14</sup> shows (on the bottom of the page) on the recto folio the labors of that month and on the verso side the signs of the zodiac. Since the Ficke Hours' Calendar has a recto and verso side for each month, a similar illumination must have graced the lower edge.

On the left side of each page are three columns, of which the first (in gold ink) holds the "Golden numbers." Each year had a number, and the position of this number indicates the full moon throughout the year. The second column contains the "Dominical letters" (ranging from the decorated "A" for Sunday to "g" for Saturday). A configuration of both the numbers and the letters ascertained Easter.<sup>15</sup> Next to the Dominical letters are the days of the month, based on Nones, Ides, and Kalends. For example, the Ides of January occurs on January 13, so the sixth day of January is the eighth day before Ides (viii in the column).

Although in many Hours the important saints are written in red ink (hence the phrase "red letter day"),<sup>16</sup> the feast days for prominent saints in the Ficke Hours are written in gold. The other saints are assigned, alternately, red and blue ink. This alternation has no liturgical significance and was done merely for decorative purposes. The names of the saints are in French, as is common in the quasi-liturgical vernacular Calendars. Typically, in French Books of Hours, each day honors a saint, feastday, or vigil.

A fair number of the saints and feasts in the Ficke Calendar were taken from the Roman Calendar, which must have served as the basic model. Some



of these saints' or feast days were obligatory celebrations according to ecclesiastical law. They appear in the Ficke Hours without exception: for instance, the Purification, Assumption, and Nativity of Mary; the martyrs Sylvester, Lawrence, and Agnes.<sup>17</sup>

That many of the saints venerated in Paris appear in this Calendar could confirm de Ricci's assertion that it is Parisian. Although not all of them are present, a large number are, such as the well-known St. Valentin (February 14), a "fashionable" saint in fifteenth-century Parisian society.<sup>18</sup> Other important saints on the Calendar are Ste. Geneviève (January 3), St. Louis (August 25), St. Denis (October 9), and the more obscure St. Turiau (July 13), and St. Chrodegand (September 3). Many of these Parisian saints were also venerated by many communities in Northwest France, being frequently singled out with golden letters.

Further strong evidence to link the Calendar to Paris are certain Parisianisms. The Parisian pronunciation of certain saints' names shows in their spelling. For instance, St. Scolac (February 10), St. Andry (November 30), and St. Lardre (December 17) ought to have been written as Scholastique, André, and Lazare.<sup>19</sup>

Inconsistencies and errors abound, which is a common occurrence in Books of Hours. A case in point is the omission of April 30. This is especially strange since St. Eutrope, whose feast day this was, was a French saint. The abuse of the Calendar was especially prevalent in Paris, and using a Calendar such as this one for purposes of dating and localizing should be attempted with caution. Evidence that the manuscript was Paris-produced is strong, but that does not mean it could not have been intended for another town in France or even across the border. In the

Calendar can be found St. Gereon (October 10), a favorite saint in Cologne, or St. Aventin, an important saint of Chartres (February 4), or St. Nicaise (December 13) of Reims.<sup>20</sup>

Misspellings show up frequently, which is not surprising, since spelling was not standardized. The vigils before feast days are written either "Vigile" or "Vigille." Some of the mistakes in the saints' names are strikingly similar to the privately owned Livre d'Heures Friedèl; e.g., St. Basille [!] should be Babile, Lucièn ought to be Luce, and Flavièn is properly Flamen.<sup>21</sup> Also remarkable are the sex changes of the females, Stes. Dominique (July 5), Thècle (September 23), and Julienne (February 16), who have been transformed into the males, Sts. Dominique, Tècle, and Julian. These inaccuracies and misspellings merely make it clear that the scribe was not a cleric, and does not necessarily mean that the Ficke Hours was inferior to other Books of Hours.

Although the profusion of Paris saint names and Parisianisms may point to a Paris atelier or artist or patron, it is more difficult to use the Calendar to arrive at a date for this manuscript. In 1475, Louis XI instituted January 28 as the feast day for Saint Charlemagne, "roi de France et empereur."<sup>22</sup> Charlemagne, however, does not appear in the Ficke Calendar. Instead, the traditional feast day of Ste. Agnes is commemorated on that day. Furthermore, the Calendar includes neither the Presentation of the Little Mary in the Temple, a feast instituted in the Parisian liturgy late in the fifteenth century, nor saints who were canonized between 1446 and 1461.<sup>23</sup> Although this may point to a manuscript fabrication prior to 1475, it still would not conclusively prove it, especially in light of other omissions or mistakes in the Ficke Hours, such

as the leaving out of certain important Paris saints' days.

### Pericopes

The Calendar is followed by the Pericopes, beginning at folio 14 r. with four verses from the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. John. This folio contains (on the recto side) the only miniature remaining in the book, representing an author portrait of St. John on the island of Patmos (ill. 5).

This folio had been conjoint originally with folio 20 in the quire. At some time it was cut out of the manuscript and later carefully glued to folio 15 r. (see diagram in the Appendix). Two questions immediately arise. Firstly, does this folio really belong in the Ficke Hours? There is little doubt about this. The lateral borders conform in style, type, and color to the other folios. Also, the offset of the frames and of the bottom decoration of the missing miniatures can be detected on the facing pages, and these are similar to the frame and decoration of John on Patmos. The text is not only in the same script and written by the same hand as the Ficke Hours, but it continues uninterrupted from folio 14 v. to folio 15 r.

The second question is more difficult to answer: why was this folio first removed and then replaced? Only one reconstruction seems possible. After all the miniatures had been removed (perhaps their individual sale offered greater gain?), the manuscript did not sell easily. One illumination was therefore carefully reinserted. That this was not thought of immediately can be seen by the diminished size of the folio. The left margin (perhaps uneven after the removal from the manuscript) had already been cut (see ill. 5). At what time this took place is even more difficult to discover and will be discussed later in this paper.

John on Patmos is invariably the miniature that is full sized in the Pericopes of the Books of Hours.<sup>24</sup> This is also the case with the Ficke Hours. The illumination of John therefore takes two-thirds of the page, while the other Gospel fragments are illustrated with a small illumination next to the opening lines (ill. 3), each unfortunately excised.

These Gospel excerpts are in the standard medieval sequence: John, Luke (chapter 1), Matthew (chapter 2), and Mark (chapter 16). These passages were used for the Mass of Christmas, the Mass of the Annunciation, the Epiphany, and the Feast of the "Divisio Apostolorum."<sup>25</sup>

#### Prayers to the Virgin

The two prayers to the Virgin follow the Pericopes. The first one is "Obsecro Te" and was no doubt illustrated; both illustration and beginning text are missing (offset is visible on folio 20 r.). The illumination could have portrayed the Virgin's appearance at a deathbed, or the Virgin enthroned.<sup>26</sup> It was important to recite this prayer daily so that one could be assured of her presence if death were to come that day.<sup>27</sup>

The second prayer, beginning with "O Intemperate," was generally not illustrated, except in luxury manuscripts. The Ficke Hours contains no illumination here either, and "O Intemperate" follows the first prayer immediately. Strangely, the opening initial is decorated here without gold leaf and in a different way from other initials in this manuscript; instead of gold leaf, the initial is adorned with the less lustrous gold powder. The older text of this prayer is used in this book, addressing not only Mary but also St. John. The text of this prayer did vary a great deal, but most fifteenth-century Books of Hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale used the "O Intemerata" version in which only the Virgin is addressed.<sup>28</sup>

Research in some textual models of this prayer can be a helpful clue to the identification of the manuscript's locale.<sup>29</sup> More readily discernible in the prayers is the sex of the patron. The text of the "Obsecro Te" prayer, for instance, could be conjugated for a male reader: ". . . ego sum facturus, locuturus aut cogitaturus." If the manuscript were commissioned by a woman, it would read: ". . . ego sum factura, locutura aut cogitatura."<sup>30</sup> The text in the prayers is in the masculine gender in the Ficke Hours. This is not necessarily proof that this was ordered by a male patron; the masculine form was no doubt normally used for manuscripts produced for the open market.

#### The Hours of the Virgin

Even if standard Books of Hours were tailor-made for male use, they were composed entirely in praise of the feminine, the Virgin Mary. The Office of the Virgin, at least in the present form of the Ficke Hours, comes after the prayers. The break in the binding might mean that the Prayers to the Virgin were followed by another, now missing, text.

The mutilation in the Hours of the Virgin is the most severe in the entire Ficke Hours; absent folios in this section indicate that we are missing all of its illuminations. The folio introducing the Hours of the Virgin has been excised between folio 24 and 25, and might have read "Incipiunt hore beate Marie Virginis" or "Hore beate Marie secundum usum Romanum," followed by the opening verse "Domine labia mea aperies," a response, and the Gloria. It was not for the text that a folio was taken out, however, but for the frontispiece of the Hours. Of all the illuminations in this book, it would have been the most sumptuous and would have depicted the Annunciation.<sup>31</sup> Although the content of the Book of

Hours and placement of various sections varied, the illuminations of the eight Hours conformed nearly always to a set pattern of subject matter and iconography.

With the initial folio of Matins missing, the Invitatory begins therefore abruptly in the middle of the "Venite" (Psalm 95) with "Quoniam ipsius . . ." on folio 24. This Psalm is followed by the hymn "Quem Terra . . ." and by the Psalms which were recited on Sunday, Monday, and Thursday (Psalms 8, 9, and 24). For Tuesday and Friday three Psalms are given, and a set of three for Wednesday and Saturday, ending with prayers to the Virgin and the "Te Deum."

The opening folio for Lauds is also missing. Surprisingly, of the usual text, only the "Deus in adiutorium" and Gloria are absent, and the text begins with the first Psalm of Lauds (93), "Dominus regnavit," on folio 41 r. The opening section might have included the Apostles' Creed, which, with the "Deus in adiutorium" and Gloria would have filled the missing folio.<sup>32</sup> Eight more Psalms follow, a Capitulum, a portion of Luke 1 ("Benedictus dominus Deus Israel quia . . ."), and a prayer. The missing folio was illuminated on the verso side, as indicated by the offset on folio 41 r., and probably portrayed the Visitation.

After Matins and Lauds come the shorter Hours of Prime, Tierce, Sext, and None. Prime begins on folio 52, and the missing folio would have had an illumination of the Nativity (offset folio 51 v.). The general opening prayer for deliverance and accompanying prayers and hymns are missing. The first Psalm is Psalm 116, followed by Psalm 117 and the antiphon "Deus qui virginae . . . ."

Undoubtedly, the Announcement to the Shepherds was the illustration on



the missing folio introducing Tierce (offset folio 54 v.), as well as the normal plea for deliverance and the "Veni Creator Spiritus . . . ."

Instead, Tierce begins (on folio 55 r.) in the middle of Psalm 120 ("Ad dominum cum tribularer . . .") , followed by Psalms 121 and 122 and the well-known prayer to the Virgin, "Et sic in Syon . . . ."

The Epiphany certainly graced the missing folio of Sext (offset on folio 57 v.). Gone also are the usual opening verses, but the text begins in the middle of Psalm 123, continues to Psalms 124 and 125, and ends with two prayers to the Virgin.

Following Sext is the sixth Hour, None, which, apart from the standard introit, began with Psalm 126, of which only a portion appears on the first folio (61 r.). The opening text shows bleeding, which reveals that an illumination (the Presentation) had existed on the verso side of the missing folio. Two Psalms follow, 127 and 128, and the Hour finishes with a capitulum and prayers to the Virgin ("Et radicavi . . ."). Following these prayers are two more Psalms, but then the section ends at the bottom of folio 65 v.

Vespers, which follows, was a favorite devotion.<sup>33</sup> It included the popular hymn "Ave Maria Stella" and the canticle "Magnificat." They appear in the Vespers of this manuscript, but there is not much else besides these two. Vespers, however, should contain much more. Since no offset is noticeable on folios 65 and 66, it is possible that more than one page is missing. There was a break in the binding between folios 65 (end of the quire) and 66 (second folio in the following quire).

Is it possible, therefore, that a whole quire is missing? Could the missing texts have spanned nine folios? It seems likely. The text for

Vespers normally included five Psalms (121-126) and also antiphons, versicles, and responses. Matins in this manuscript, with the nine Psalms, hymns and collects, measured (in its mutilated form) sixteen folios. It is plausible, considering that nine Psalms (and additional material) covered sixteen folios, that five Psalms (and additional material) could add up to nine folios.

Although the assumption that a whole quire is missing solves the problem of the absence of offset on either folios 65 or 66, the missing opening folio of the next quire introduces another difficulty. This folio almost unquestionably had an illumination. Presuming that somewhere in the missing quire, None was completed and Vespers begun, the beginning illumination would have had to be somewhere in the middle of the missing quire. But, even though the Hours of Vespers received more lavish treatment by the end of the fifteenth century, it would be surprising if more than one illumination opened this section. The generally more richly illuminated opening of the Hours of the Virgin was on the first folio of a quire in this manuscript (to which the offset on the opposite page testifies), followed by one illumination for each Hour. It therefore is not likely that Vespers had more than one.

The last Hour, Compline, begins on folio 68, although it appears that two conjoint folios are missing between folios 67 and 68 (which are conjoint). The offset of what must have been the Crowning of the Virgin shows on folio 68 r., indicating that the end of Vespers (probably the collects) is missing as well. The introductory text to Compline begins usually with "Converte me Deus . . . ," but this text begins with Psalm 129 and continues with Psalms 130 and 131 and the canticle "Nunc Dimittis."



Following Compline are concluding devotions, generally prayers to the Virgin.

### Penitential Psalms

The Seven Penitential Psalms follow the Hours of the Virgin, and they usually hold only one illustration. The subject matter of this illustration is not as predictable as those illustrating the Hours of the Virgin. There is often a repetition of the same illumination as is in the opening of Matins (Virgin and Child)<sup>34</sup> or David in prayer or David fighting Goliath. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, three new iconographical portrayals had become popular. It is regrettable that ultraviolet photographs (discussed later), taken of the offset on the facing page of each miniature, did not sharpen the offset sufficiently to see which of the new depictions (if any) was used: Bathsheba bathing or giving a letter to Uriah, or Job visiting his friends.<sup>35</sup>

A sizable portion of the first Psalm is missing (Psalm 6: "Domine ne in furore . . ."), for two folios are missing between folios 76 and 77. The offset on folio 77 is slight and this might mean that the illumination was on the first missing folio verso. The other six Psalms (31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142) are complete.

The Psalms, according to normal practice, are succeeded without a break and without an illumination by the Litany (ill. 6). The Litany is prefaced by the Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison, followed by pleas to the Trinity, Mary, archangels, apostles, and saints.

Some of the Parisian saints who had appeared on the Calendar are also present in the Litany: Marcel, Remigi, Germane, and Geneviève (Genovefa). Yet some important Paris saints (whose feast days had appeared twice in the

Calendar) are omitted: St. Louis and St. Denis. Apart from the inclusion of some Parisian saints, the Litany follows basically the format of the Roman Calendar. No saints appear in the Litany to suggest an origin other than Paris. Furthermore, in comparison with many other manuscripts, the Ficke Litany seems meagre and bland; this again seems to point to a production for the open market.

#### Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit

Another hint that the Ficke Hours was Paris-produced is the position of the short Hours of the Cross and Hours of the Holy Spirit, which appear after the Psalms. In France outside of Paris, these were commonly placed between Lauds and Prime of the Hours of the Virgin, but in Paris they were normally placed after the Psalms.<sup>36</sup> Miniatures as well as the opening texts for each of these semi-liturgical Hours are missing, as the offset indicates on folios 91 r. and 93 r. The standard illumination for the Hours of the Holy Cross is the Crucifixion, but in an icon-like, non-narrative way, with St. John and the Virgin Mary flanking the cross. The Hours of the Holy Spirit, predictably, are generally depicted with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the disciples at Pentecost.<sup>37</sup>

The manuscript contains neither the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin nor the Seven Requests of the Lord, both of which often followed the Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit and were written in the vernacular.

Conjoint with the folio of the illumination of the Holy Spirit is the folio that must have contained the illumination of the Office of the Dead. Here, as with the illumination of the Penitential Psalms, the illumination could have pictured a variety of biblical narratives; e.g., Job on the ash pile (Job's trials were a favorite subject by the end of the fifteenth

century) or the raising of Lazarus. Also contemporary scenes dealing with death (vigils, funeral processions, etc.) were popular.

After the Office of the Virgin, the Office of the Dead, comprising five octavo quires, is the second largest section of the Book of Hours. It is divided into two sections, the "Placebo" and the "Dirige." The "Placebo" is sung at Vespers; its name is taken from a portion of Psalm 116 which opens the Office of the Dead ("Placebo domino in regio . . ." - on folio 96). Psalm 116 is followed by four other Psalms, a canticle, and prayers. The "Dirige" consists of Matins and Lauds. Matins begins with the Invitation "Venite exultemus . . ." and three nocturnes containing Psalms and lessons from Job. Lauds is not divided into nocturnes and includes Psalms, Isaiah 38, and two verses from Luke 1.

The Ficke Hours closes with the Suffrages. Since folio 135 is cut up badly, no catchword remains, so it cannot be demonstrated that a folio is missing between folios 134 and 135. This is likely, however, since bleeding is evident on folio 134 v. It seems that the Office of the Dead almost invariably follows the order of the Litany: beginning with the Trinity, it proceeds to the archangels, apostles, et al. The first page of the Suffrages begins abruptly with the prayer to the Archangel Michael (ill. 7). Had this prayer indeed been the beginning prayer, it would have been inconsistent with other Suffrages. It may thus be assumed that a folio is missing between folios 134 and 135, and that it contained a miniature of the Trinity, as well as a prayer. It is also plausible that this was a larger miniature than the other ones in the Suffrages. Even though in some Books of Hours all the miniatures in the Suffrages were small, the absence of a folio in this manuscript seems to indicate a

full-page illustration. The usual depiction would be God the Father holding the dead Christ, with a hovering dove representing the Holy Spirit (the Gnadenstuhl).

After the prayers to the Trinity (conjectural) and Michael come additional prayers: to Saints Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, and Margaret, each with small illuminations. These illuminations were excised as inexpertly as those from the Calendar pages. Portions of the prayers to Sts. Sebastian and Mary Magdalene, cut out of the manuscript, have been pasted on to folio 139 r.

It is likely that several of the prayers and illuminations were removed from the original manuscript before it was rebound in the nineteenth century. The verso side of the last folio in the manuscript (139) shows the offset of a larger miniature than those cut out of the Suffrages. Sometimes the Suffrages ended with prayers to the Virgin;<sup>38</sup> the missing illumination might have illustrated those prayers.

#### Decoration

The manuscripts produced in the latter half of the fifteenth century were generally more remarkable for quantity than for quality, according to L. M. J. Delaissé.<sup>39</sup> Is the present manuscript an example of this late fifteenth-century mediocrity? Does it reflect what he calls a "mechanical perfection in technique?"<sup>40</sup>

The Ficke Hours has border decoration (framing the text at the outer edge), decorated line-endings, and one- or two-line decorated initials. The border decoration consists of approximately ten fairly naturalistic flowers (e.g., violets, daisies, ranunculi, bluebells) and one type of fruit (strawberries). They are entirely two-dimensional and are placed

within various gilded geometric shapes, while the uncolored portions contain acanthus leaves and a stylized version of the ivy leaves of earlier manuscripts. The gilded sections, which are less shiny than the gold initials, were probably painted with powdered gold which had been mixed with the adhesive glair.<sup>41</sup>

The decoration is the same on both sides of a folio, obviously duplicated by tracing on one side the lines from the other side; this was common procedure.<sup>42</sup> Although it is possible that a pattern book was used, it does not appear that any of the borders are completely alike. Even on the folios that are conjoint, the borders are not alike. It is probable that a pattern book was used for various components which were then assembled free hand by the vigneteur.

These borders must have been painted in stages in order to let the paint dry; it is therefore surprising that there are not more places where blurring can be seen. On the whole, considering the sheer volume of decorations on 380-plus pages, they were competently executed.

Delaissé's analysis does fit this manuscript to some extent, however, in that the borders do have a certain mechanical quality. The geometric designs (sometimes in odd shapes) are somewhat jarring and automatic, not blending with the graceful designs of the acanthus leaves and the delicate flowers. Yet these geometric and often biomorphic forms (always on gold ground) compare favorably with those in some manuscripts later in the century, where the forms slash diagonally through the borders, or are divided in large angular sections. In the borders where the geometric shapes are omitted, the overall design is more pleasing, and border and text form a better unit.

The borders with the mixture of flowers (in stylized naturalism) and geometric shapes can be seen in a number of manuscripts of the middle and late fifteenth century, not only in France but in Italy, Spain, and Flanders as well. De Ricci's dating seems to agree with the dates of many of the manuscripts which contain border decorations like those in this Book of Hours.

The dentelle initials are either two lines high (when they are used in the first word of a new Hour, Psalm, prayer, etc.) or one line high. The gold leaf is presumably applied over chalk - a sizing generally used in France<sup>43</sup> - and then burnished. The golden initial is painted blue or magenta; added to the colors are fine white flourishes. Although the gold leaf is applied over a fairly high sizing throughout most of the manuscript, the folios in the first section of the book seem to be treated with powdered gold, and a raised surface is absent as well.

The one-line initial marks the various verses in a Psalm, prayer, etc., and is decorated the same way as the two-line initial. Here also a pattern book could have been used, but there is enough variation in size and decoration that this would have had to have been freehand copying as well.

The profusion of decorated initials (which could be ordered by the hundreds by a patron)<sup>44</sup> indicates that the Ficke Hours was a fairly expensive manuscript. The line-endings could also be ordered by the hundreds, and our manuscript's pages abound with them. Only rarely does a new sentence continue on the same line - generally toward the end of a section when the scribe seemed to have wanted to save vellum. The line-endings have simple, rectangular shapes (of red and/or blue), which are filled in with the same white filigree as appears on the decorated



initials. Here also are little spots of raised, burnished gold.

The border decoration provides certain, although not conclusive clues, about the locality and date. The geometric or biomorphic shapes began to be used in manuscripts as early as 1470 (ill. 9 and 10).<sup>45</sup> Inspired by the Bruges/Ghent School (ill. 11), they appeared in various areas in France but especially in the North (including Paris).<sup>46</sup> As the century progressed, the borders became more ornate, in Flanders as well as in France.<sup>47</sup> The affinity of the border of the Ficke Hours with that of Walters Gallery MS 208 (ill. 11) in terms of simplicity and a certain elegance, seems to point to a date in the later 1470s or the decade of the 1480s.

#### The Miniature

Unfortunately, only one miniature has survived the mutilation of the Ficke Hours: that depicting the Apostle John on Patmos (see ill. 5). Iconographically this depiction of John resembles the Pericopes in Books of Hours of most Western European nations, which makes localization more difficult. John is seated on a minuscule island, with the Hellespont behind him.<sup>48</sup> In his right hand he holds a pen, and in his left a book (sometimes he holds a scroll). The eagle, the symbol of John, is seated on his right. In the distance is a castle, a church spire, and some smaller buildings. Sometimes these architectural details depicted a local church or cathedral, but the forms in our miniature seem too generalized to represent an existing town.

The miniature is painted in a niche, framed by a border, in which the geometric shapes have been transformed into amoeba-like forms. This border detracts from and is at odds with the miniature and surrounding text. This is by no means unusual, this kind of border being found in many late

fifteenth-century Books of Hours. The simple window frame around the miniature and text is a stylistic element which could serve to date this Book of Hours at least two decades earlier than the turn of the century, at which time classical columns were often employed to create a heavy frame around the miniature,<sup>49</sup> or the decorated border itself became the frame.

The miniature itself compares favorably with those in other Books of Hours and certainly with the recently (1985) rebound Book of Hours at the University of Iowa Library. The Ficke miniature's space is convincing, the artist having placed various elements in a rhythmic, logical recession into the distance, so that it does not appear to have "died of an overdose of perspective,"<sup>50</sup> a common malady of late fifteenth-century manuscripts.

Although shading is not used to model the figure of St. John (except for a darker wash on the back of the cloak), he is fairly three-dimensional. The heavy cloak hides some anatomical imperfections, e.g., the unnaturally sloping shoulder, the seeming absence of legs. Modeling is used perfunctorily in the area behind the cloak and underneath the blue shrubs in the distance. With a fine pen, gold hatching or lines are applied to John, the eagle, and even a little to the nearest tree.

The artist might have used a pattern. It seems likely that a moisture trace was applied.<sup>51</sup> The miniature, under magnification, reveals several dark lines (ill. 16 detail); these could be the result of the pressing of charcoal or crayon from the pattern onto the manuscript (see especially the head and hair outline), which is confirmed by the bleeding of the missing miniature. Bleeding was by no means a common occurrence. In checking several Books of Hours, I found that offset seems to be absent in most of them; if bleeding took place at all, it was the color that left a slight



mark. It is of course also possible that the miniaturist used charcoal to sketch some of the outlines of the miniature freehand.

### The Artist

To discover the identity of the artist who illuminated and decorated the Ficke Hours is as difficult as determining its provenance. For us to reach any conclusion as to who he was, we need to compare the miniature with other miniatures with the same subject, both iconographically and stylistically. As has been mentioned, the Ficke iconography of John varies only in small details from that of other Western European manuscripts; invariably seated on his small island, St. John was accompanied by an eagle, which often obligingly held the inkwell in its beak. Even so, there were slight variations, the Walters Gallery Book of Hours 277 being an example (ill. 11). Early sixteenth-century Gospel illustrations were more ornate - not only in the frame but in the greater detail in the landscape (see Walters Gallery W. 455; ill. 12). Closer iconographically is a 1470 Book of Hours (ill. 13).<sup>52</sup> Yet the Ficke Hours is closest to the iconography passed on by the Boucicaut Master (early fifteenth century) to many workshops in France. Middle and late fifteenth-century Parisian output (still assuming that our manuscript was Parisian) was conservative, and the Boucicaut Master dominated French illuminators up to the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>53</sup> The similarity between the Ficke Hours' illumination and one in a Book of Hours in a private collection is striking (ill. 14).<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, the Ficke miniature is not a carbon copy of an early fifteenth-century illustration. Important changes had taken place in the mid-fifteenth century. What had been attempted by the Boucicaut workshop,

in terms of a realistic spatial setting (still so perspectively inadequate; ill. 14), was perfected by Jean Fouquet. Trained in Italy in the art of perspective, he brought his knowledge back to France. It is obvious that the miniaturist of our manuscript had learned from Fouquet, but he applied the new spatial insights to the older Boucicaut idiom.<sup>55</sup> Jean Fouquet used the older iconography as well but transformed it into a much more expressive medium. The miniaturist of the Ficke Hours is more traditional<sup>a</sup>, for he retains the elegance and lyricism of the International School at the expense of expressiveness. Whereas Fouquet's St. John in the Hours of Étienne Chevalier (ill. 15) shows action at rest,<sup>56</sup> the artist of our miniature depicts the apostle with a certain amount of indolence (ill. 16).

In terms of the spatial setting, he is close to Fouquet. He adopts the window frame device to create even further the illusion of space. He "copies" Fouquet's tall and slender trees, distant views, and, to some extent, the circular shapes he favored, as well as the successive picture planes.<sup>57</sup>

Jean Fouquet was at the end of his career, or had recently died, when the Ficke Hours was produced. It is just possible that the miniature could have been painted by a pupil (or a pupil of a pupil?) of his. During the second half of the fifteenth century, miniatures in France were painted by followers not only of Fouquet but also of other competent artists such as Jean Colombe (Bourges) or Jean Bourdichon (Tours) or Maître François (Paris). A few of the "minor" artists were known, but much work still needs to be done to assign specific oeuvres to them.<sup>58</sup> Some of them worked in Paris, but no definite Parisian style can be detected. In light of the

Parisian Calendar and litany, and the Parisian format of the components, it is likely that our artist labored in Paris. Paris remained an artistic center with a large output of manuscripts throughout the fifteenth century. Although skillfully and elaborately decorated, these were, on the whole, routine productions.<sup>59</sup>

The most well-known artist of the late fifteenth century in Paris was Maître François, who had a considerable atelier there. He, too, learned from Fouquet (who might have been his father)<sup>60</sup> about perspective and light. Maître François achieved form and atmosphere by a fine technique of cross-hatching and broken stroke, but, perhaps due to pressure to compete with the faster production of printed books, his atelier often produced hard and vulgar work.<sup>61</sup> On the whole, his colors are bright, and he especially loved bright orange-red and deep blue.<sup>62</sup> The figures in his compositions tend to be awkward and the faces doll-like.<sup>63</sup> Possibly, the miniaturist of the Ficke Hours deviated from the routine work of Maître François' workshop.

Another live possibility is that our miniaturist had a connection with Jean Bourdichon, whose work is often indistinguishable from that of Fouquet.<sup>64</sup> Bourdichon's strict supervision over his pupils makes it difficult to detect deviant hands.<sup>65</sup> Several Bourdichon features are present in the Ficke Hours: a gentle softness and tone, tranquility (even bordering on insipidity), the use of a strong blue background, close hatching in the shadows, fine gold highlights, the use of blue and maroon, and a fondness for naturalistic borders.<sup>66</sup>

The Bourdichon workshop was transferred to Rouen at the end of the fifteenth century. The artists of this "school" used Bourdichon's figure

types, while they created even more spatial settings. Influenced by German graphic work, they integrated the figures more fully into the landscape.<sup>67</sup> Also characteristic are the strongly differentiated levels of regression in the landscape, with a lighter color in the middle ground and a bluish landscape in the distance. All this can readily be found in the Ficke Hours (ill. 17).<sup>68</sup>

It is not easy, given the information on workshops, masters, and styles, to arrive at a conclusion as to the name or workshop of the artist of the Ficke Hours. The doll-like quality of the apostle and the strong link of the manuscript with Paris might well point to an artist in Maître François' orbit. The colors and general softness seem to suggest Bourdichon, whereas the spatial color regression is reminiscent of Rouen.

If the foregoing analysis is correct, two artists come to the fore as strong candidates to be the artist of the Ficke Hours. John Plummer, Curator of the Pierpont Morgan Library's Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, with whom I corresponded about the Ficke Hours, suggested that the artist could be "near" the "Chief Associate of Maître François," an appropriate appellation for an artist who not only completed manuscripts begun by Maître François but who also continued his designs and technique. This title may seem to suggest an artist of lesser talent or stature. But the contrary is true, for the "Chief Associate of Maître François" illuminated manuscripts for Henry VII of England and Charles VIII of France. Following in his "Master's" footsteps, his work ranges in quality from the regal to the more routine. Works from his hands can be found in a number of collections, e.g., the Walters Gallery (W. 286) and the Free Library in Philadelphia (Lewis MS 95).<sup>69</sup>

Furthermore, the Pierpont Morgan Library has a collection of manuscripts by the "Chief Associate of Maître François," one of which is a Book of Hours (M. 231).<sup>70</sup> Produced about 1485-1500, it is in composition close to the Ficke Hours. The Calendar is composite but nevertheless mostly Parisian, and the litany is short but includes Ste. Geneviève.

The same artist also produced a Psalter (about 1495-1498) in conjunction with one whom Plummer calls the "Master of Philippe of Guelders."<sup>71</sup> The latter is the second strong candidate to be the artist of the Ficke Hours. He worked both in Paris and Rouen, his activity being slightly later than that of the "Chief Associate of Maître François," whose works dated mainly from around 1490.<sup>72</sup>

We have here, therefore, an artist "near" to the main follower of Maître François (although Plummer himself did not venture to make that connection in his letter) and so, very possibly, the illuminator of the Ficke Hours. A manuscript in the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (MS 1951), strikingly similar to the Ficke Hours, is identified by Plummer as being from the hand of the "Master of Philippe of Guelders," although Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, the cataloguers of the French manuscripts in this library, make no surmises as to the name of the artist.<sup>73</sup> They place him in Rouen and do not mention a Paris connection.<sup>74</sup>

Which of these two artists, who were influenced directly or indirectly by Maître François, is more likely to have produced the Ficke Hours? This question is hard to answer, especially since my comparisons have relied heavily upon illustrations found in books. The quality of the "Chief Associate of Maître François," like that of his "master," varied from work to work. Could the Ficke Hours, therefore, be one of those standardized

works he produced to compete with the printed Hours? His tendency to repeat the same compositions, scenes, and individual elements, even in the same manuscript,<sup>75</sup> cannot be checked in the Ficke Hours, since it has only one miniature, thus making internal comparisons impossible. The folio in the Pierpont Morgan Library M. 231, with the Placebo of the Office of the Dead (ill. 18), denotes, by its very multiplicity of scenes, a more luxurious manuscript than the Ficke Hours. M. 231 probably represents one of the "Chief Associate's" higher quality works.

Little refinement can be detected in the work of the "Master of Philippe of Guelders," to retain Plummer's name for him (ill. 19). The drapery and anatomy are not as carefully articulated as in the "Chief Associate's" work, and the action is more wooden. The Virgin Mary shows the same sloping shoulders and seeming absence of legs as in the Ficke Hours.

But a full comparison of the works of these two artists with the Ficke Hours is not possible in this paper, for the reason already given. Suffice it to say that either artist could have illuminated this manuscript. The strong Parisian flavor of the Ficke Hours makes a Parisian workshop likely, and therefore the miniature could be from the hand of the main follower of Maître François. Yet there are also enough mixed Rouen/Paris elements present in the Ficke Hours to warrant a tentative conclusion that the "Master of Philippe of Guelders" painted the miniatures in the Ficke Hours.

#### Provenance

Paris remains a strong contender in terms of the Calendar, Litany, and Pericopes. As far as a Rouen origin is concerned, the Ficke Hours includes only a few Rouen saints (and most of these were venerated in Paris as



well). As has been noted earlier, Calendars are notoriously unreliable documents in proving origin, since they were often copied from another manuscript in toto. The Litany can be trusted more, but here there are no Rouen confessors, (arch)bishops, or virgins.

John Plummer, in response to my query, checked the Ficke Litany against other litanies of late fifteenth-century French Books of Hours. The closest parallels were all Parisian.

Not so conclusive were Plummer's findings regarding the Prayers to the Virgin. He did not find similar prayers among his collection of variant readings from over 400 fifteenth-century French Books of Hours. Nevertheless, he ventures to guess, on the basis of a study of the individual variants, that the text of each prayer is basically Parisian.

Many Rouen manuscripts used one page of the Pericopes to depict the four Evangelists, separated into four compartments (e.g., see the Walton MS 220; ill. 20).<sup>76</sup> Again, the fact that this is not the case in our manuscript is not absolute proof to distance it from the "Rouen School," since some Rouen manuscripts do have separate pages for the Evangelists.

In terms of decoration, the Rouen artists often employed pale grey and white interlocking acanthus leaves,<sup>77</sup> which are not found in the Ficke Hours. The geometric or biomorphic compartments in lateral and bottom decoration is often busy and unpleasant in the (later) Rouen manuscripts. This was not the case in all Rouen manuscripts, however. Some manuscripts in this locality show border decoration similar to our manuscript. But the fact that it has similar decorative designs (albeit much more tasteful than in the majority of the Rouen manuscripts) does not necessarily prove that it was produced in Rouen, because other artists employed them as well.

To make the waters muddier still, there is some evidence pointing to areas other than Rouen and Paris. Most Rouen and Paris manuscripts feature double rulings in the Calendar, but the Ficke Calendar does not exhibit these (ill. 21).<sup>78</sup>

### Conclusion

The Ficke manuscript is on the whole a fine example of a Book of Hours. The fact that the Gothica textualis formata script was used for the text indicates that the work was of better than average quality. Although the script occasionally reflects sloppiness, the overall rhythm of the letters is very even and competent. The text with the lateral decoration is composed in a way that leaves a good portion of the page blank. Despite the slightly gaudy appearance of the borders, the large white areas provide a good balance (which seems to be entirely gone in some late fifteenth-century manuscripts). Unfortunate though it be that the illuminated folios were taken out, the text and border pages present a more homogeneous whole than the example of the only illuminated page remaining.

The illumination of John on Patmos compares favorably with other late medieval illuminations of the same subject. Despite an overall generality, the compositional elements are balanced carefully so that there is a logical moving into space, marked by carefully spaced vertical elements. The order of the composition results in a tranquility which certainly matches the personality of the most gentle of apostles. This order is almost violated by the ornate border which frames almost four sides.

In terms of provenance, in spite of some Rouen elements, the Ficke Hours must have been produced in Paris. The Calendar and Litany, content of the "Obsecro Te" and "O Intemerate," and the format of the Book of Hours



point to Paris. Moreover, in view of the enormous production of manuscripts in Paris in the late fifteenth century, it is likely to have been produced there.

This of course also means that the artist was Paris-based. The likelihood that he produced our Hours elsewhere for a Paris patron is small. Enough workshops existed in Paris to satisfy a client living there. Although the "Chief Associate of Maître François" or the "Master of Philippe of Guelders" could have been responsible for the illumination of the Ficke Hours, it is quite possible that the work of another artist could be found who exhibits yet closer affinity to the Ficke Hours' illumination.

The determination of the date depends on the location of the artist. In comparing the Ficke Hours to many late fifteenth-century Books of Hours, it becomes evident that, stylistically, it belongs in the last two decades of the fifteenth century.

Sales catalogues advertise numerous late fifteenth-century manuscripts, many of them similar to the Ficke Hours. Some have equal numbers and sizes of illustrations - small, square illustrations for the Pericopes and Suffrages, and, in arched compartments, large ones in the Hours of the Virgin and at the beginning of the other portions. Many are also similar in folio size, gentle coloring, and type of decoration.<sup>79</sup>

The missing miniatures must still be in existence in a public or private collection, but the nineteenth-century cutting and aligning of the pages make it difficult to trace them in de Ricci's Census or in sales and museum catalogues. Unfortunately, many of these publications do not illustrate every manuscript described.

Ultraviolet photographs, taken of pages in the Ficke Hours where the

miniatures had left an offset, yielded little. They clarified only slightly what could be seen with the naked eye, viz., the top frame of the illuminations and the lateral and bottom decoration. The texts on the recto and verso sides of the folios impeded the reading of the vague outlines of the miniature offset (e.g., folio 60 v.; ill. 22).

Puzzling is the ultraviolet photograph of the last folio in the Ficke Hours (ill. 23); lined on the recto side, it shows an offset on the other. The amorphous outline indicates a miniature larger than those found in the Suffrages, with the exception of the (conjectural) portrayal of the Trinity. The offset is the same size as the miniature on folio 14 and shares a similar border decoration. The decorated initial, however, spans three lines rather than the two required by the initial found on folio 14. Regrettably, the outlines revealed in the ultraviolet photograph do not provide enough details to come to a conclusion about the subject matter.

Although the offset seems to belong to the manuscript, the folio must have been appended to the back later (see Appendix, folio 139). It not only is not conjoint with folio 136 but is of a much finer (almost transparent) vellum than the rest of the quire. Since the Suffrages were probably much longer, this could represent a folio from a missing quire.

Equally thorny is the matter of the missing pages - the fifty-one pages which disappeared between 1935 and 1985, when the loss was discovered. Presuming that a quire was lifted from the Vespers Hours, some forty-three folios still need to be accounted for. Where did they belong? The Ficke Hours, apart from its missing illuminations, totally conforms in its content to standard fifteenth-century French Books of Hours and, except for lost pages in various sections, is complete as it is.

Were the miniatures removed before the manuscript was rebound? If so, perhaps this was the impetus for rebinding. But it is also possible that the loose binding facilitated the vandalism. If the miniatures were cut out of a well-bound manuscript, the perpetrators certainly removed the large ones expertly. Only in a few cases does the conjoint folio show a small bit remaining of its companion page. One indication that the pages were removed from the bound manuscript is that the only remaining illumination has been pasted onto the next folio (see diagram, folio 15). In order to make the book saleable, it might have been more expedient to return one of the folios to the book - hence the pasted miniature folio. The careless excising of the small miniatures and Calendar illuminations can be of a later date, being done by persons who had no idea of its value.

After 1935, more pages were removed. Where did they belong? The manuscript's binding, before it was taken apart in the summer of 1986, was loose in several places. Spaces where there is continuity in the text (proven by catchwords) can be passed over. Only two areas can be considered. The missing Vespers quire has already been discussed.

The only other possibility is after the prayer "O Intemperate" and before the Hours of the Virgin. Yet, even here it is difficult to include a large number of pages which would harmonize with the rest of the manuscript. One remote possibility is that this book is a Psalter-Hours, in which the Psalms (sometimes a full Psalter) begin the manuscript, followed by canticles, hymns, and prayers.<sup>80</sup> A fifteenth-century Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript (774 B - Limoges Use) was composed of sixty pages of Psalms after the Calendar. The chances, however, that our manuscript is a Psalter-Hours are slim. The content of a Psalter-Hours is

invariably different from that of a standard Book of Hours, of which the Ficke Hours is such a good example.<sup>81</sup>

Another remote possibility is that the Hours of the Virgin were preceded by the Hours of St. Anne or St. Catherine (generally fairly short) or by a devotion beginning with the Hours of the Holy Trinity for Sunday and ending with the Mass of the Virgin on Saturday.

Much more common was the inclusion of the, often richly illustrated, Passion of St. John, often placed before the Hours of the Virgin, especially in Paris books.<sup>82</sup> The Passion was also divided into eight Hours and each Hour was illustrated. Although this seems to be a perfect candidate to solve the riddle, in most Books of Hours the Passion does not take up forty to fifty pages of text and illustration.

Could de Ricci have made an error in counting or copying? This would appear to be a good possibility had it not been for the mention of two miniatures, which actually verifies the accuracy of the count and thereby eliminates the easy solution.

Somewhere, in a Platonic world, Horae Nr. 4 exists, signed and dated, complete, uncockled, uncut, and entirely undamaged. Since access to this world has been denied to mere mortals, only a congeries of hypotheses can presently seek to explain the imperfect copy at the University of Iowa.

## NOTES

1. Paul Perdrizet, Le Calendrier parisien à la fin du moyen age, d'après le bréviaire et les livres d'heures (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1933), p. 15.
2. Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1935).
3. De Ricci, p. 718.
4. Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, Supplement to the Census of Medieval Manuscripts in the United States and Canada (New York: The Bibliographical Society of America, 1962).
5. This was verified by William Anthony, Conservator at the University of Iowa Library, who also provided the information about the recut and regilded pages.
6. The burnishing of the gold leaf which is applied to the plaster causes enough pressure to bring about slight cockling on each page.
7. Daniel V. Thompson, The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., [1956]; reprint n.d.), p. 28.
8. This is in conformity to general practice in Books of Hours; the Calendar consists of one or two gatherings. L. M. J. Delaissé, "The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book," in Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1974), p. 212.
9. James D. Farquar and Sandra Hindman, Pen to Press (College Park, Maryland: University of Maryland, 1977), p. 56.
10. Robert G. Calkins, "Stages of Execution: Procedures of Illumination as Revealed in an Unfinished Book of Hours," Gesta, XVII, Nr. 1 (1978), 61.
11. Calkins, p. 64.
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13. Leroquais, p. xxxviii.
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15. Andrew Hughes, Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 275-278.

16. Hughes, p. 275.

17. B. Kruitwagen, "De Beteekenis van den Middeleeuwschen Heiligenkalender, en de Kalenders van Utrecht, Toulouse en van de Karmelieten, I," Het Boek, 25 (1938-1939), 21-26.

18. Friedrich Gorissen, Das Stundenbuch der Katharina von Kleve (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1973), p. 141.

19. Perdrizet, pp. 34-35.

20. Perdrizet, pp. 61-64. H. Grotefend, Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1941).

21. Perdrizet, p. 43.

22. Perdrizet, p. 37.

23. Perdrizet, p. 22.

24. Leroquais, p. xliii.

25. Perdrizet, p. 17.

26. Leroquais, pp. xxiv, xlv.

27. Leroquais, p. xxiv.

28. Leroquais, p. xxv.

29. Perdrizet, p. 19. John Plummer, The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420-1530 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. xii. Plummer laments that not much has been done in studying these texts extensively.

30. Leroquais, p. xxxiv.

31. Leroquais, p. xlv; Perdrizet, p. 27.

32. Hughes, p. 66.

33. John Harthan, The Book of Hours (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1977), p. 16.

34. Delaissé, p. 217.

35. Leroquais, p. xlvii; Delaissé, p. 210.
36. Delaissé, p. 206.
37. Leroquais, p. xlvii.
38. Leroquais, Les Livres d'Heures . . . (Paris, 1927), II, 191, 203.
39. Delaissé, p. 207.
40. Delaissé, p. 207.
41. Harthan, p. 22; Thompson, pp. 193, 203.
42. Calkins, p. 63.
43. Thompson, p. 203.
44. Farquar, p. 72.
45. This illustration and several which follow were photocopied in the Walters Art Gallery Library. The Newberry manuscript photocopy came from French Illuminated Manuscripts from Chicago Collections (Chicago: Newberry Library, Nr. 16, April 9 to May 30, 1969).
46. Paul Durrieu, Un grand Enlumineur Parisien au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Jacques Besançon et son Oeuvre (Paris: H. Champion, 1892), p. 32. Durrieu believes compartments (a sort of marquetry) made their entry after 1480.
47. "Western Manuscripts and Miniatures," Sotheby Catalogue (London, November 26, 1985), p. 132.
48. Perdrizet, p. 24.
49. Charles D. Cuttler, Northern Painting from Pucelle to Bruegel: Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 220.
50. David M. Robb, The Art of the Illuminated Manuscript (South Brunswick, New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1973), p. 318. Robb cites E. Panofsky here.
51. James D. Farquar, Creation and Imitation: The Work of a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator (Fort Lauderdale: Nova University Press, 1976), p. 65.
52. Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, Französische Schule (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), I, S.n. 13247, f. 150.



53. Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry (New York: Phaidon Publishers, Inc., 1968), p. 70.
54. Meiss, figure 302.
55. Otto Pächt, "Jean Fouquet: A Study of his Style," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 4 (1940-1941), 88.
56. Pächt, "Jean Fouquet," p. 97.
57. Meiss, p. 70.
58. Jean Porcher, Medieval French Miniatures (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., n.d.), pp. 78, 83. Paul A. Lemoisne, Gothic Painting in France: Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, n.d.), p. 111. André Blum and Philippe Lauer, La Miniature française aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècles (Paris and Brussels: Les Éditions G. van Oest, 1930), pp. 45-46.
59. Plummer, p. 72; Lemoisne, p. 11.
60. Porcher, p. 78.
61. Porcher, p. 78; Plummer, p. 69. Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1949), p. 42.
62. "Western Manuscripts and Miniatures," Sotheby Catalogue (London, July 13, 1977), p. 157.
63. Roger S. Wieck, Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, 1350-1525 (Cambridge, Mass.: The Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library, 1983), p. 30. Cuttler, pp. 220-221; Plummer, p. 69.
64. Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, p. 44.
65. Porcher, p. 81.
66. Lemoisne, pp. 102-103; Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, p. 44; Porcher, p. 81; Cuttler, p. 222. Amédée Boinet, La Collection de miniatures de M. Edouard Kann (Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1926), plate XVIII.
67. Pächt and Thoss, II, 65.
68. Pächt and Thoss, II, 65.
69. Plummer, pp. 69, 71. Information in a letter to the author from John Plummer, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City, November 3, 1986.

70. Plummer, p. 68.

71. Plummer, p. 69.

72. Plummer, p. 68.

73. Pächt and Thoss, II, 68; Plummer, p. 69.

74. Pächt and Thoss, II, 68. By a remarkable coincidence, the miniatures in this Book of Hours are all present except for that of the Apostle John. Not only is the format virtually identical to that of the Ficke Hours but so are the placement and size of the miniatures, the frame, the borders, and the colors used in the initials and line endings.

75. Plummer, p. 69.

76. Farquar, Creation and Imitation, pp. 148-149.

77. See, for example, in "Western Manuscripts and Miniatures," Sotheby Catalogue (London, June 22, 1982), p. 161, for an illustration of a Paris manuscript of c. 1500.

78. Farquar, Creation and Imitation, p. 102.

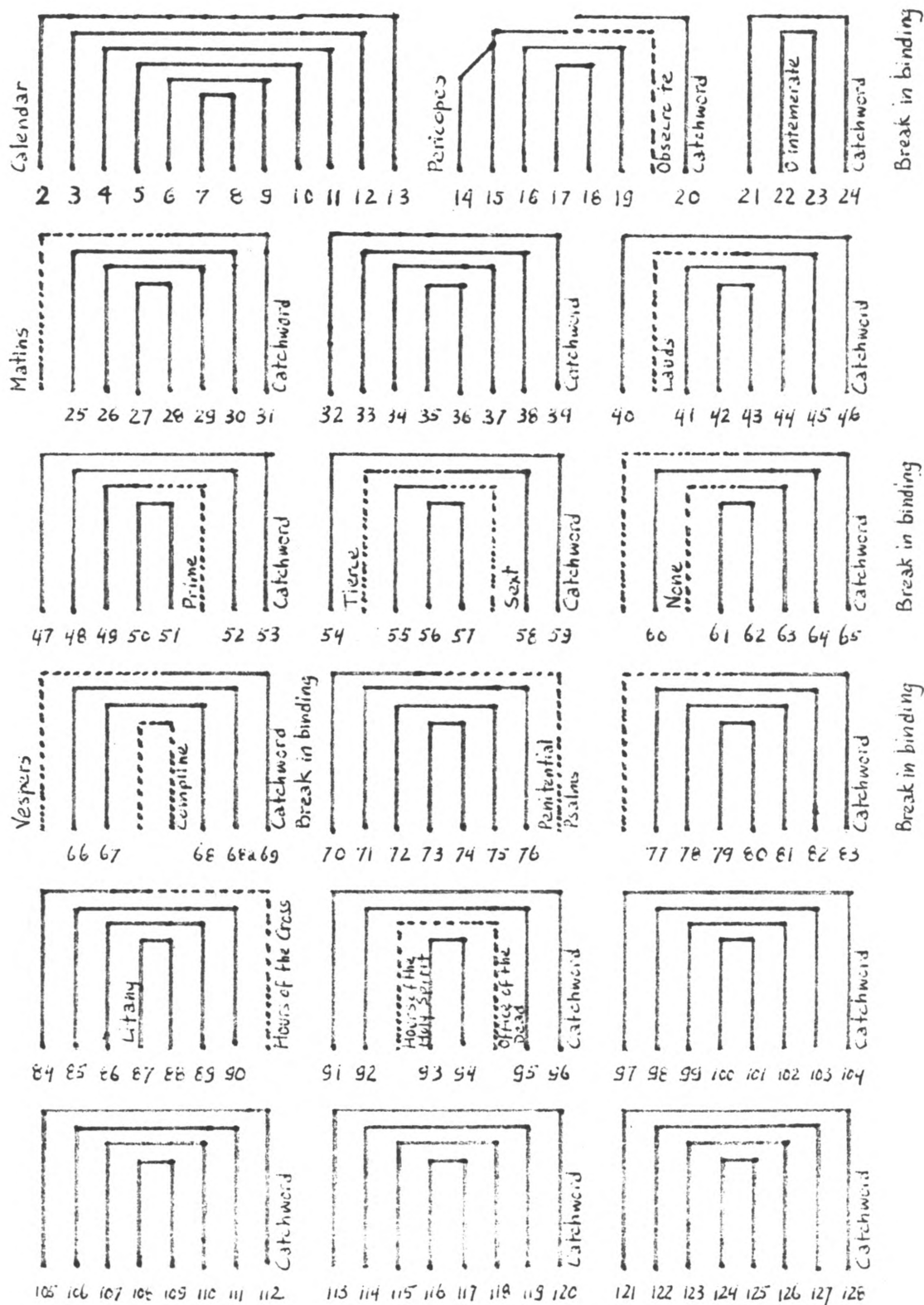
79. See, for example, in "Western and Hebrew Manuscripts and Miniatures," Sotheby Catalogue (London, December 12, 1967), p. 19, or Pächt and Thoss, II, 66, 68.

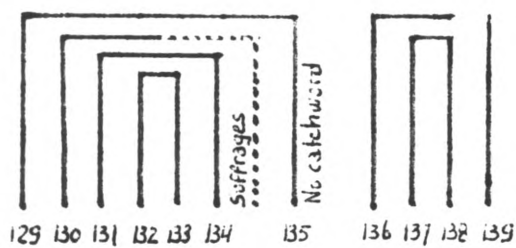
80. Millard Meiss and Edith W. Kirsch, The Visconti Hours (New York: George Braziller, 1972), p. 21.

81. An exception is a much earlier Psalter-Hours: The Psalter and Hours of Isabella of France Executed Before 1270 (London: Chiswick Press, 1905).

82. Plummer, p. 711. See, for example, the Pierpont Morgan Library manuscript, Heineman Collection H. 5, or Bibliothèque Nationale MS 923.

## APPENDIX





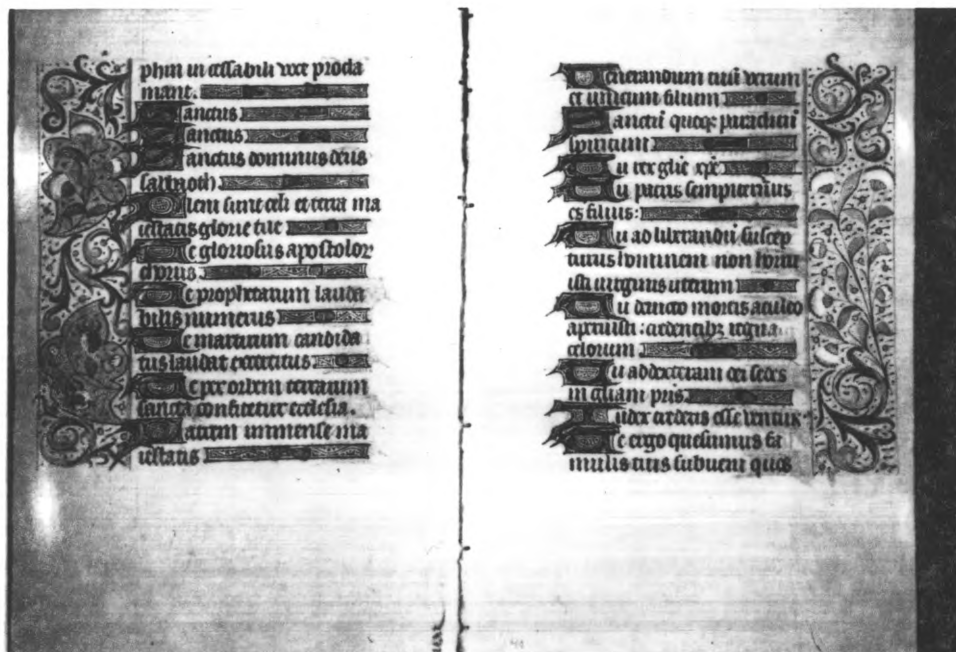
12/2/15 H. WACHA

I think this  
quire is actually  
complete.

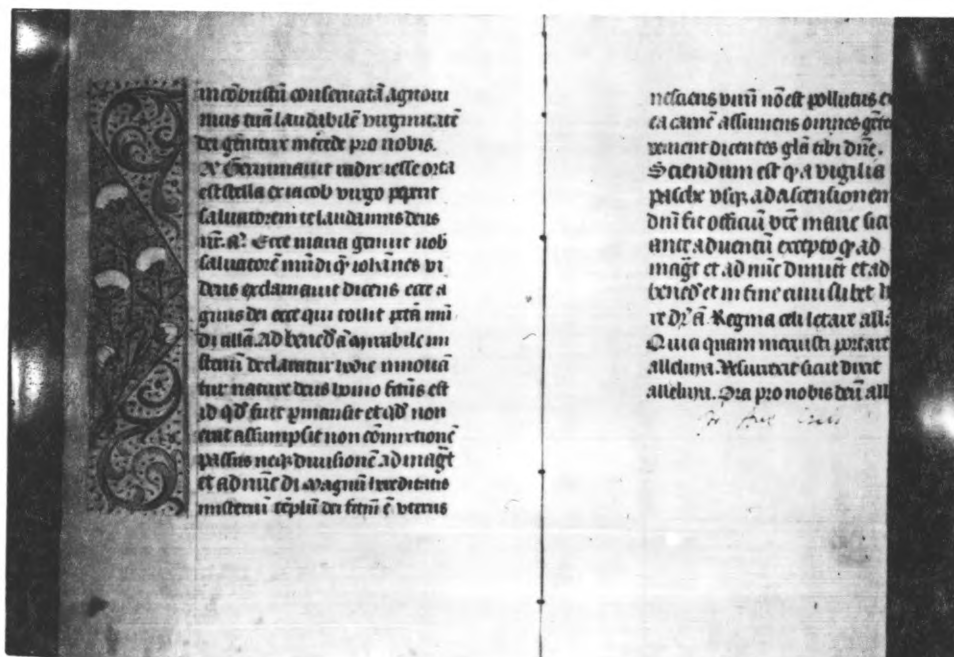


← from 5. where else.

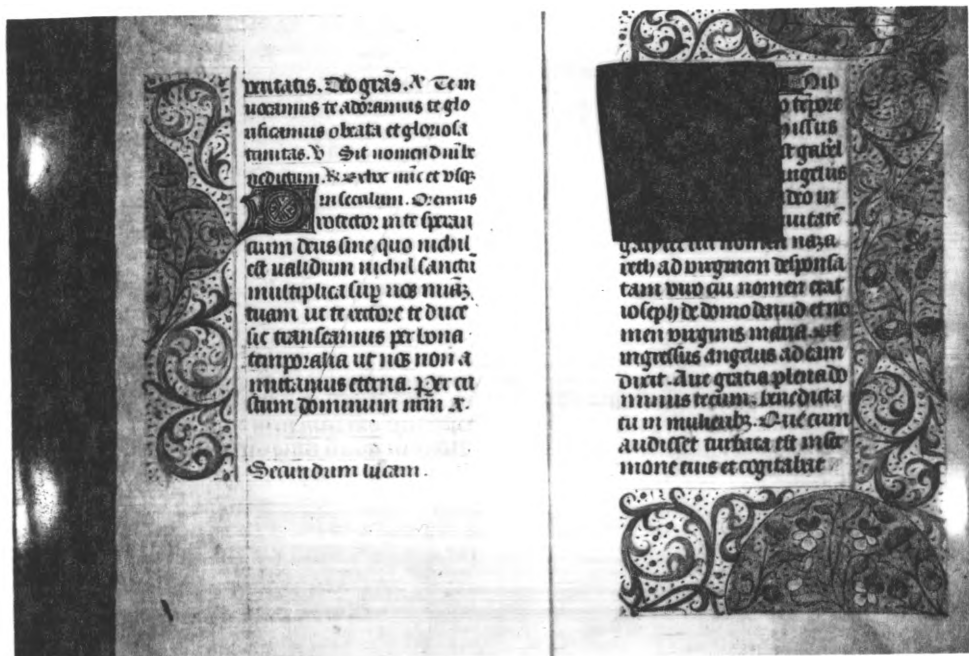
one piece of each  
folio sits on  
the last page  
as 2 different  
fragments.



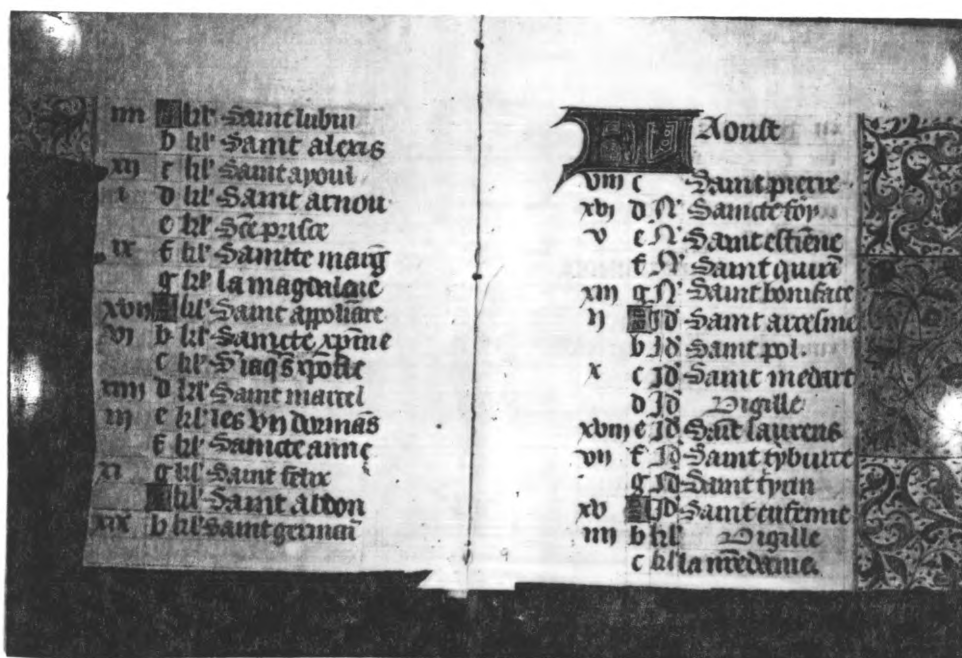
III.1. Ficke Hours  
Catchword, folio 39v.



III.2. Ficke Hours  
Compline, folios 75v/76r.



III. 3. Ficke Hours  
Pericopes, folios 15v/16r.



III. 4. Ficke Hours  
Calendar, folios 8v/9r.

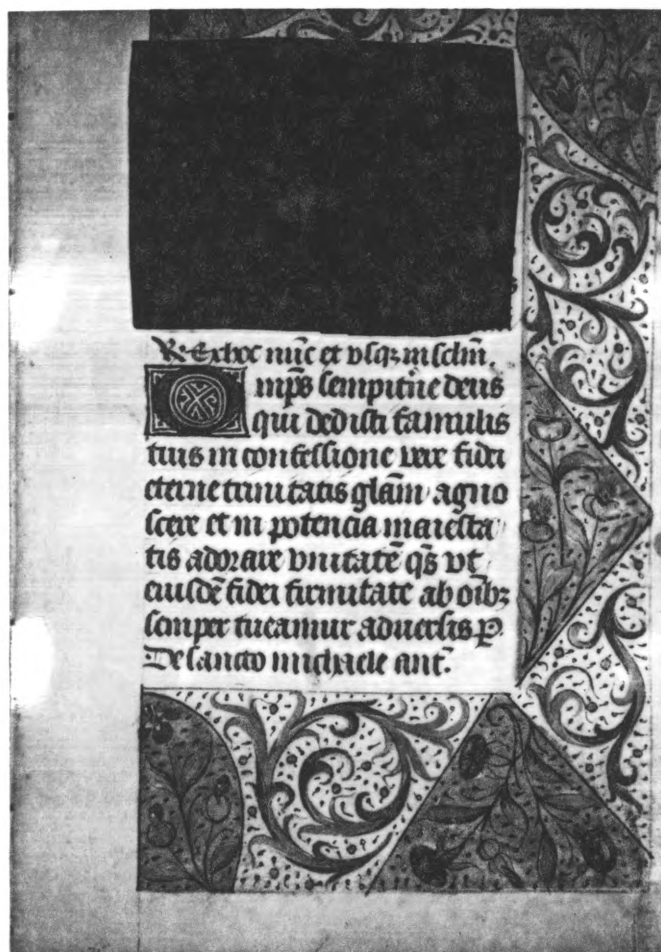




III. 5. Ficke Hours  
Pericopes, folio 14r.



III. 6. Ficke Hours  
Litany, folio 88r.



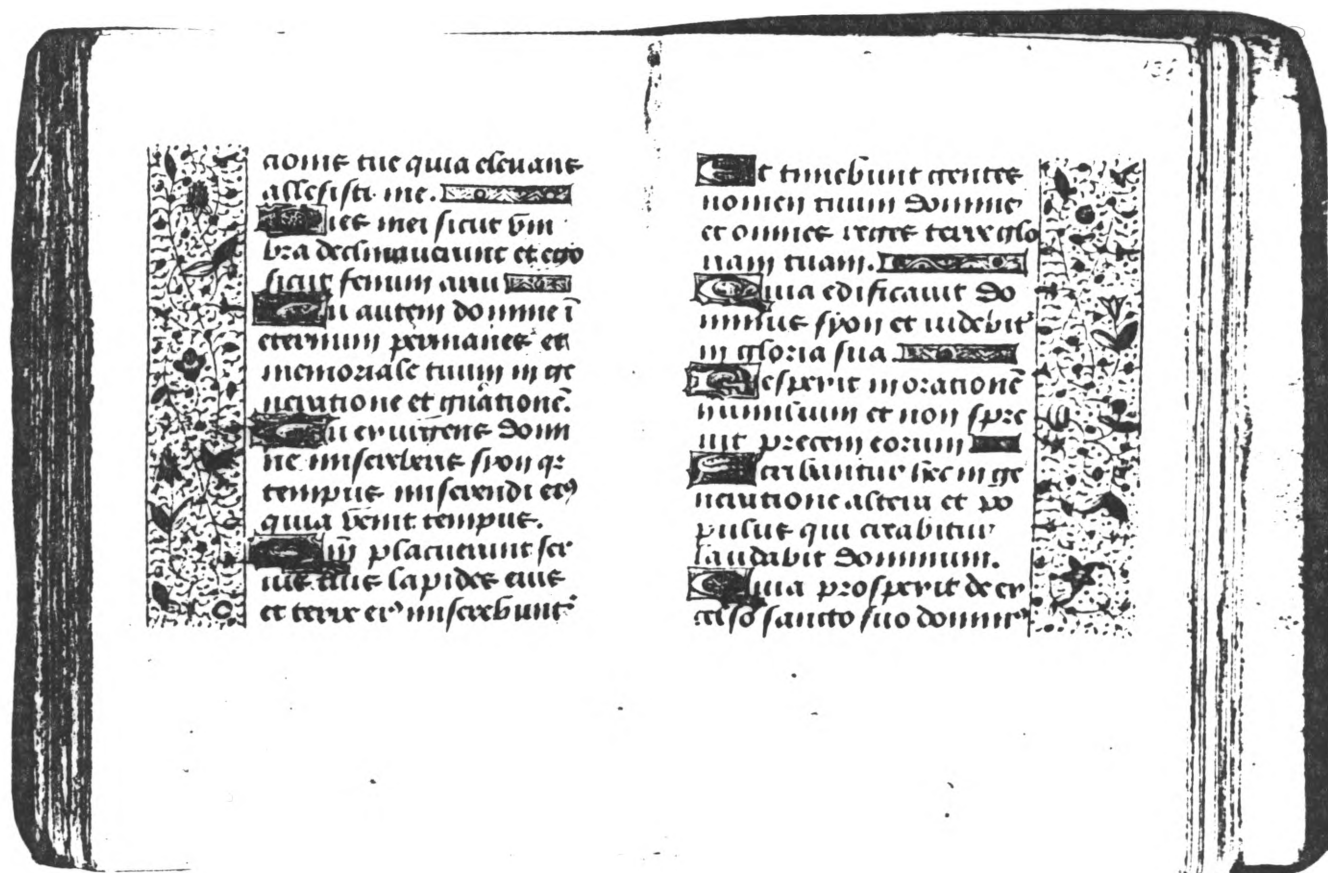
III. 7. Ficke Hours  
Suffrages, folio 135v.



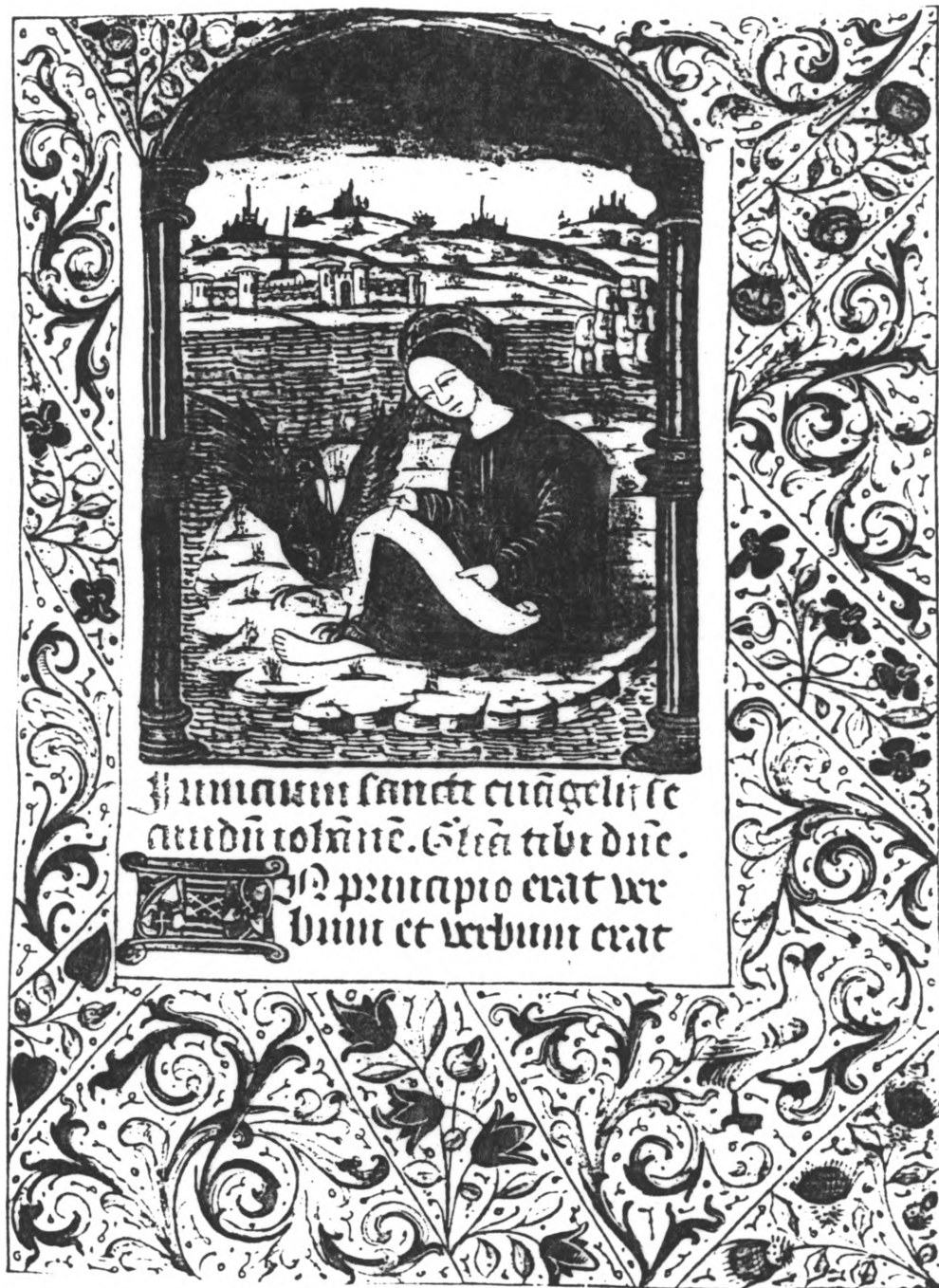
Ill. 8. Walters Gallery, Baltimore  
 (Ms. fr. W. 249, folio 1  
 1470)



Ill. 9. Newberry Library,  
 Chicago  
 (Ms. 45, N. France,  
 c. 1470)



Ill. 10. Walters Gallery, Baltimore  
 (Ms. Flemish, W. 208, folios 137v/138r  
 1460-70)



Ill. 11. Walters Gallery, Baltimore  
 (Ms. fr. W. 277, folio 16,  
 1480)





III. 12. Walters Gallery, Baltimore  
(Ms. fr. W. 455, folio 16,  
c. 1500)





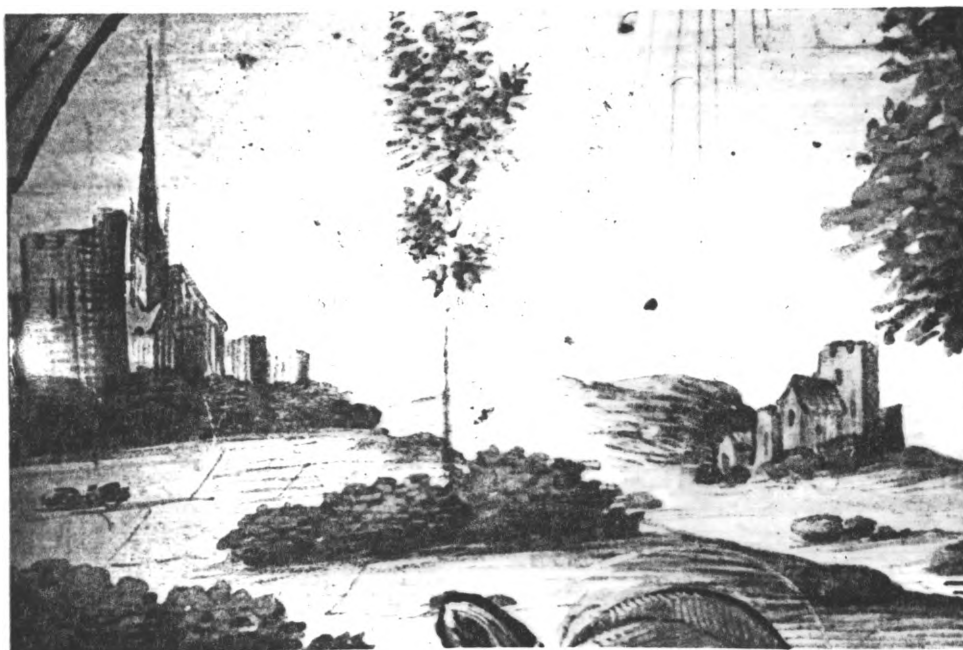
Ill. 14. Private Collection,  
 N.Y.  
 (Folio 13, c. 1450)



Ill. 15. Jean Fouquet, The Hours of  
Etienne Chevalier, folio 1.



Ill. 16. Ficke Hours.  
Pericopes (detail)  
folio 14r.



Ill. 17. Ficke Hours.  
Pericopes (detail),  
folio 14r.



III. 18. Pierpont Morgan Library,  
New York.  
(Ms. fr. 231, c. 1485)





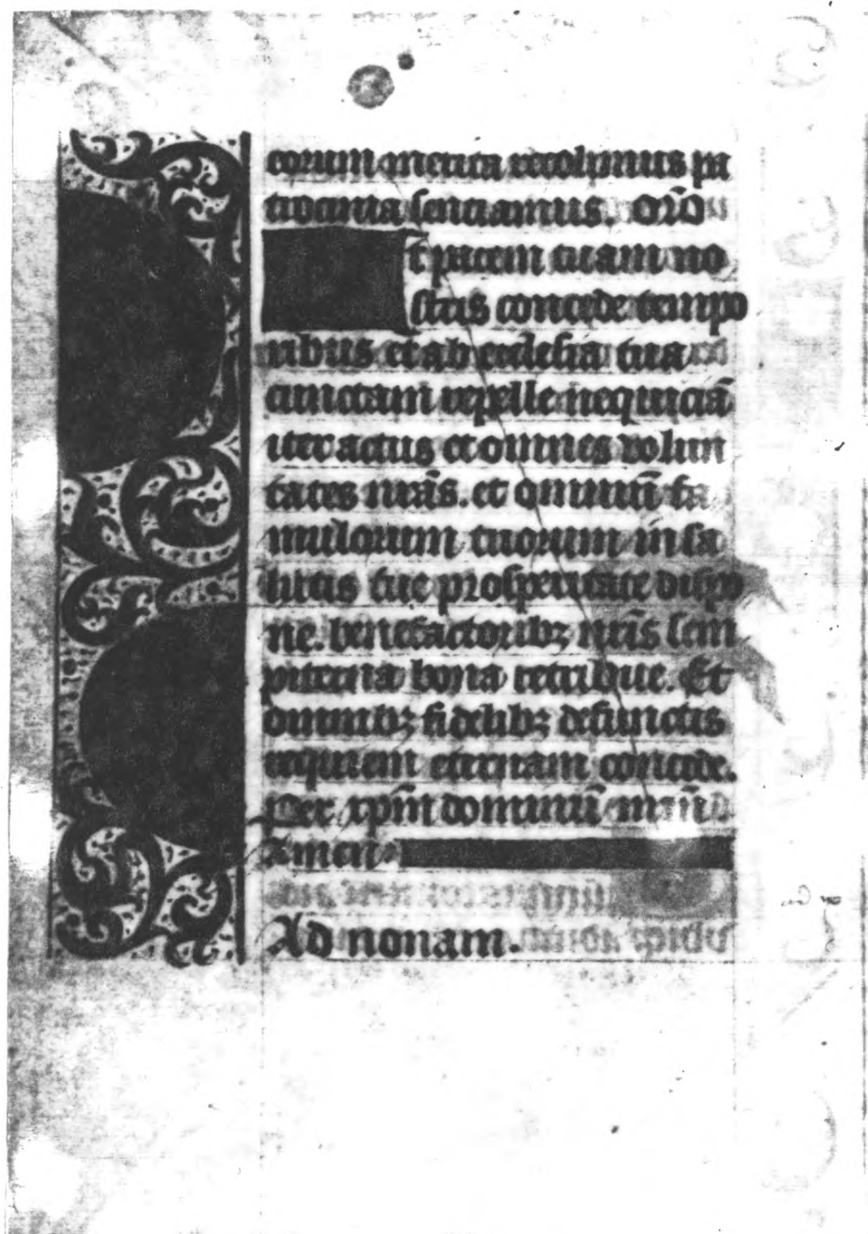
III. 19. Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna  
(Ms. fr. 1951, folios 22 r and 69r,  
1490-1500)



III. 20. Walters Gallery  
Baltimore  
(Ms. fr. W.220,  
folio 14)

Ruling:	Text Red	Calendar Red
Lines of script:	13	16
Justification:	4.4×7.3 cm.	5.9×8.7 cm.
Script:	Littera textualis formata	Littera textualis formata
Ink:	Black	blue, red, gold
Text:	Latin	
Rubrics:	Latin	

III. 21. Bibliotheque de L'Arsenal, Paris  
(Ms. fr. 575)



111. 22. Ficke Hours  
None, folio 60v.



III. 23. Ficke Hours  
Suffrages, folio 139.

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Horae MS # 31, Library of Congress.

Horae MS # 93, Library of Congress.

Horae MS # 123, University of Indiana, Ball Collection.

Horae MS # 125, University of Indiana, Ball Collection.

Horae MS # 118, University of Indiana, Ricketts Collection.

Horae MS # 129, University of Indiana, Ricketts Collection.

Horae MS # 130, University of Indiana, Ricketts Collection.

Horae MS # 132, University of Indiana, Ricketts Collection.

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