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Hours of Francis I (Use of Rome)

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment

France, Paris or Tours, dated 1539-1540

18 large miniatures and 1 historiated initial by the Master of François de Rohan (Paris, active c. 1525-1546)

93 leaves, including 3 blanks, complete without a calendar (collation: mostly in quires of 4 (collation: i-ii2, iii-xviii4, xix2, xx4+1), foliated in modern pencil 1-93, unfoliated thin paper interleaves facing miniatures, traces of vertical catchwords in italic script (ff.40v, 78v), 20 lines written in script imitating roman type in black ink between two verticals and 21 horizontals ruled in pale red ink (ff.12, 20, 65v-66, 80v-82v, 88v, and 93v are ruled, otherwise blank), justification: 140 x 85 mm, rubrics in black, red, blue, and burnished gold, one-line initials and paragraph marks in gold on alternate red or blue grounds, line-fillers in gold on colored grounds, sometimes in the form of knotty branches or knotted cords, two- and occasionally three-line initials in gold on alternate red or blue grounds, one historiated initial, each miniature accompanied by large illuminated initials with conventional and naturalistic floral and foliate designs on a gold ground, 18 large miniatures with full borders incorporating naturalistic plants and flowers, butterflies, ladybirds, a caterpillar, other borders of Renaissance architectural forms, with Renaissance motifs (putti, wreaths, garlands, cartouches, escutcheons, etc.), the text often written on trompe-l'oeil grounds (f.4 somewhat loose, thumbing and signs of use). Late 18th-century dark blue-green polished leather with gilt panels and foliate designs, the gilt spine with five raised bands, the spine densely gilt with scepter-like motifs and cherubim, the edges of the leaves gilt, endpapers of colored and gilt patterned paper, flyleaves with the "Maid of Dort" form of the "Pro Patri" watermark, a red leather title-piece lettered in gilt "MISSAL. DE. HENRY. DE. ALBRET. ROY. DE. NAVARRE (upper pastedown), probably added for Beauclerk c.1780 (some scuffing). Blue cloth box with gilt morocco spine. Dimensions 200 x 135 mm.

Composed late in the reign of Francis I, the present Book of Hours emerges as the only *Horae* with contemporary illumination made for and with a portrait of the King (Francis's first Book of Hours, Add. MS 18853, before 1524, is unfinished). Its illuminator, the Master of François de Rohan was highly favored in the royal circle. The captivating informal portrait of Francis I, coupled with the many royal shields, emblems, and motifs, contribute to the significance of this royal manuscript, which, with the exception of a brief deposit in the British Library, has always been in private hands (see RESUME).

PROVENANCE

1. King François I^{er}, Francis I, of France (1494-1547, ruled from 1515), generally considered to be France's first Renaissance monarch as a patron of the arts, man of letters, employer of Leonardo de Vinci, and effectively the founder of the Louvre art collections, as well as the instigator of the Royal Library at Fontainebleau: with his arms f. 21 beneath the

Annunciation, and his portrait f. 89 accompanied by an inscription on the panel of fleurs-de-lis behind him: "[Franciscus] re[x] francoru[m] primus." In addition, the emblems of Francis I are found in the lower corners of f. 47 with a fleur-de-lis and a salamander. Several of the miniatures are dated 1539 or 1540, although the first of these has been read, incorrectly we believe, as "1532" by more than one scholar.

2. To be noted are two marks of provenance, that could be written off as historical inaccuracies, but reconsidered they might suggest an actual provenance related to the close royal circle. The first is related to a pasted-in "supra-libris" on the front marbled pastedown inscribed in gilt lettering on a strip of red morocco. This supra-libris of English origin seems to have once figured on perhaps a previous binding or case and reads: "Missal de Henry de Albret Roy de Navarre." The second inscription was copied on a paper label, pasted on the first back paper flyleaf and reads: "This missal was Henry of Albrets King of Navarre [afterwards Henry IV of France] who married Margaret of Valois in 1527." In the inscription, the real historical inaccuracy is the passage in square brackets "afterward Henry IV of France," added by a different (later) hand. The identification of the codex as "Missal" is a common error when it comes to liturgical books. Henri d'Albret was King of Navarre from 1517 to 1555 and was the brother-in-law of Francis I (François de Valois-Angoulême). He married Marguerite of Valois-Angoulême [Marguerite de Navarre], sister of Francis I, in 1527 (her second wedding). She is the mother of Jeanne d'Albret, future mother of Henri IV. There is clearly a mistake in the second paper inscription, and a confusion on the part of the second hand, mistaking Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre (1515-1555) and Henri IV (Henri de Bourbon was Albret through his mother, Jeanne d'Albret, then becomes King of France but only in 1594). Nonetheless, the presence of these two inscriptions might suggest that there were elements in an earlier binding—now lost—that might have pointed towards ownership by Henri d'Albret or his wife Marguerite de Valois-Angoulême, Francis I's sister. At least tradition has it that the manuscript was once owned by a d'Albret. Could Francis I have given the manuscript to his bibliophile sister, Marguerite de Valois-Angoulême, married to the King's brother-in-law Henri d'Albret, to oversee its illumination? It was for Marguerite that the Master of François de Rohan painted two copies of the *La Coche* in 1541 (cf. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 522), close to the date of execution of the present manuscript.
3. John Ives, Jr. (1751-1776), antiquary and herald, on whom see *The Dictionary of National Biography*: the slip of paper inscribed perhaps in his hand, apparently cut from the flyleaf of a previous binding is stuck to the penultimate flyleaf of the present binding, and reads "This Missal was Henry of Albret's King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV of France, who married Margaret of Valois in 1527"; sold as part of his library by Baker and Leigh, Covent Garden, 3 March 1777, lot 650, for £10 15s, described as "A most beautiful Roman Missal, in a clear neat print hand, --The Illuminations remarkably fine and elegant--The last Painting represents K. Henry IV. of France on his Knees at Prayers, 4to."
4. Topham Beauclerk (1739-1780), inscribed "bought at Ives Auction at Bakers Cov[ent] Gard[en] March 6 1777. price £10-15s-0d [signed:] T:B." Beauclerk was a great-grandson of King Charles II by his mistress Nell Gwyn; a friend of Horace Walpole and Dr. Johnson

(and mentioned in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*). Educated at Eton and Oxford he left university without taking a degree, to lead a life "aristocratic, idle, and accomplished" (*DNB*). Having spent part of this idleness amassing a collection of 30,000 books, he commissioned Robert Adam to design a library for him in his house on Great Russell Street: according to Walpole it reached "halfway to Highgate. Everybody goes to see it; it has put the [British] Museum's nose quite out of joint." The binding was probably executed for Beauclerk. The library was sold after his death in a sale that started on 9 April 1781, and lasted fifty days; the present manuscript was lot 3296 in Part II of the catalogue, the penultimate lot in the entire sale, described as the "Missal de Henry D'Albret Roy de Navarre; a very elegant Missal, upon vellum, embellished with 17 [sic] beautiful Miniatures, 4to. in blue turkey"; it sold on 6 June for £12.

5. In the early 19th century the manuscript was acquired by the great-great-grandfather of Col. C.C.C. Farran, who in 1966 placed it on deposit at the British Library, where it was kept for two decades as Loan MS 58; it was subsequently withdrawn and sold in London, Christie's, 24 June 1987, lot 265 (to H. P. Kraus).

6. Private North American Collection.

TEXT

ff. 4v-11v, Gospel Sequences, each starting on a recto and preceded by a rubric written in gold leaf on the facing verso; John followed by an antiphon, versicle, response, and the prayer "Protector in te sperantium...";

ff. 12v-19v, The Passion narrative, based on John 19:1-34; followed by a verse, response, and the prayer "Deus qui manus tuas et pedes tuos...";

ff. 20v-65, The Hours of the Virgin, use of Rome, interspersed with the Hours of the Cross and Hours of the Spirit, with Matins (f. 21), Lauds (f. 28), Matins of the Cross (f. 36), Matins of the Spirit (f. 37), Prime of the Virgin (f. 38), Terce (f. 42), Sext (f. 47), None (f. 51), Vespers (f. 55), and Compline (f. 61);

ff. 66v-74, Seven Penitential Psalms;

ff. 74-80, Litany, petitions, and collects; the litany including St. Francis (Francis's name-saint) first among the monks and hermits, and St. Nicolas;

ff. 83-88, Vespers of the Office of the Dead;

ff. 89-93, 12 Intercessions to St. Marcoulph, for use by the King of France, as follow: rubric, *De sancto Marculfo*. Audiens rex quod ab angelo monitus ad eum venerat...; Da nobis eterne consolationis pater...; Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris...; Beato Marculfo occurrit vir fidelis...; Intercessio nos quesumus domine...; Omnipotens sempiterne deus...; Exaudi quesumus domine...; Audiens rex quod ab angelo monitus...; Da nobis eterne consolationis pater...; Adesto domine supplicationibus...; Sanctus marculfus sicut rosa de spinis...; Exaudi domine preces

nostras... ; Intercessio nos quesumus domine... ; Audiens rex quod ab angelo monitus... ; Da nobis eterne consolationis pater... ; Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris... ; Benedictum sit dulce nomen domini nostri... ; explicit, "[...] eius in eternum et ultra. Amen. Iesus." cf. Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, 1927, I, pp. 276-278, on these intercessions in the Hours of Henri II; see also Bloch, 1924, p. 286, who describes them as "banal," deriving from earlier lives of the saint and not mentioning the king of France).

ILLUSTRATION

The subjects of the miniatures are:

f. 5, St. John writing his gospel on Patmos, the border filled with especially fine Renaissance motifs;

f. 7, St. Luke writing his gospel; below the miniature is a historiated initial depicting the Annunciation;

f. 9, St. Matthew writing his gospel;

f. 11, St. Mark reading at an elaborate lectern;

f. 13, Betrayal and Arrest of Christ; in the background the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane; the border including a cartouche with the date "1539" and a wreath enclosing the Instruments of the Passion;

f. 21, Annunciation; the border including a cartouche with the date "1539" and a shield with the French royal arms: *azure*, three fleurs-de-lis *or*;

f. 28, Visitation; including a cartouche with the opening words of the *Magnificat*;

f. 36, Crucifixion; the border including two cartouches each with the date "1539"; a piece of jewelry (?) depicting a pierced heart; a crown of thorns enclosing a shield depicting the Instruments of the Passion with a scroll lettered "INSIGNA NOSTRI REDEMPTORIS CHRISTI";

f.37, Pentecost;

f.38, Nativity;

f.42, Annunciation to the Shepherds; the border including a blank shield;

f.47, Adoration of the Magi; incorporating the date "1539"; the lower corners of the corner with a fleur-de-lis and a salamander, emblem of Francis I;

f.51, Presentation in the Temple; the border with the date "1540";

f.55, Flight into Egypt; the background with the Fall of the Idols and the Miracle of the Cornfield;

f.61, Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity;

f.67, King David in Penitence; in the background David spying on Bathsheba; in the foreground King David wearing blue robes with a semé of gold fleurs-de-lis: the arms of France;

f.83, Raising of Lazarus, Christ's words on a scroll "Surge Lazare, veni foras"; a blank shield in the border;

f.89, Portrait of King Francis I, set against a wall decorated with fleur-de-lis and inscribed "[Franciscus] [R]ex francoru[m] primus," kneeling before St. Marcoulph dressed as an abbot, sitting on a Renaissance throne; in the background a scene showing Marcoulph healing a young man; a scroll issues from the mouth of Francis I and reads "Sancte Marculte ora pro nobis dominum"; a scroll at the foot reads "morbus permanere non potuit ubi talis, medicus manum misit." [Sickness cannot prevail where, like a doctor, he places his hand]. We have not been able to find the origin of this phrase.

History of the Scholarship

The present *Horae* was unknown before Janet Backhouse published it, along with another Book of Hours of Francis I (Add MS 18853), in 1966-67, when it entered the British Library on permanent loan. The focus of Backhouse's article was the prayers to Saint Marcoulph that both manuscripts share. Add MS 18853, although begun for Francis I probably in the 1520s, perhaps before the death of the first wife of Francis I, Claude of France (d. 1524), whose emblem, the cordelière, appears frequently in the manuscript. Initials and borders in the first half of the manuscript were completed, spaces being left for the miniatures, but only the miniature of the Annunciation was completed. The remainder of the manuscript, including a miniature of a French King curing the scrofula, seems to have only been completed for Louis XIV after 1643. Backhouse speculates that the manuscript was left incomplete when Francis was captured at the battle of Pavia and sent as prisoner to Spain in 1525.

Concerning the "royal" character of the second Book of Hours for Francis I (the present manuscript), Backhouse calls attention not only the portrait of the king with Saint Marcoulph, but also to the portrayal at the beginning of the Seven Penitential Psalms of Francis in the guise of King David. She tells the story of how Francis I emulated David in real life: "On visiting the castle of the Count of Orsonvilliers after his return from Spain, he is said to have noticed a painting of David and Bathsheba on the wall and asked to be told the story. Inspired by what he heard, he dispatched his host on a mission into Franche Comte and remained to make advances to his beautiful hostess." (p. 93; see also Kunoth-Leifels, 1962, pp. 34-35). Backhouse speculates that the Book of Hours appears incomplete perhaps because the date 1540 represents the end of the Master's activity, a speculation we now know to be incorrect.

In her article of 1998 on the oeuvre of the artist named the Master of François de Rohan, Myra D. Orth assembles the artist's work and comments on his stylistic origins and development. Active c. 1525-1546, the illuminator was originally named "The Master of François I" after the present manuscript, but was re-christened by François Avril "The Master of François de Rohan" after a copy of François de Rohan's 1530 translation of the *Fleur de Vertu* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1877; see Bats

and Damongeot, 2007). Orth published a catalogue of eighteen illuminated manuscripts and the woodcuts in at least four printed books attributed to the artist. Although he worked on a variety of texts, "The Master of François de Rohan ... excelled in the illustration of these pious books [of hours], often surpassing his contemporaries in imaginative subject matter and lively narration. [...] The Hours of François I (...) is indisputably one of the artist's mature masterpieces" (Orth, pp. 77, 80). Orth includes the Book of Hours of Francis I in her list of the oeuvre amongst the later works (see Orth, 1998, p. 85). For her, this artist left a "virtually unbroken trail of dated French manuscripts from at least 1530—the *Fleur de Vertu*—to the 1546 miniatures in the St.-Petersburg Evangelary" (Orth, 1998, p. 72). The miniatures dated 1539 to 1540 thus belong to the later work attributable to the artist, when he had reached the peak of his art.

With the exception of the brief period (approximately 20 years) that the Hours of Francis I was on loan in the British Library, it has always been in private hands and, hence, has been inadequately studied until now. Many of the questions raised concerning this interesting manuscript can now be addressed more fully with the manuscript in hand.

Master of François de Rohan

The Master of François de Rohan worked for the aristocracy and the royal court during his relatively long career. Among commissions for known patrons, there are works for Guillaume de Monmorency (London, British Library, Add. MS 25092), for Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle (London British Library, Add. MS 21235), as well as two copies of Margaret of Navarre's *Coche* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 522, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 91). *Le Fleur de vertu* was also perhaps made for Margaret of Navarre, who was Francis I's sister (see Delisle, p. 00). These last two manuscripts were painted in 1541, which confirms his proximity to the court during the years the Hours of Francis I was painted. His works are represented in the collections of the BnF, which is the repository of, among others, the eponymous manuscript, *Le Fleur de vertu*, translated by François de Rohan (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1877; see Bats and Damongeot, 2007).

The style of the miniatures combines strong, bright, colors; voluminous, often swirling draperies; crisply delineated faces and physical features; and slightly chubby facial types reminiscent of some of those by German artists. Orth notes the influence of printed designs on the artist, comparing the Adoration of the Magi in Francis's book to that in a *Biblia picturis illustrata* printed in Paris in 1540. Orth further signals the clear interest of the artist for the "everyday" with many objects finely painted and included in this composition, creating a sense of intimacy and originality. She also argues for the strong probability of a Germanic or Swiss origin for this artist.

The decoration of the volume clearly demonstrates the adoption of Renaissance taste in France: some of the borders continue the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century taste for Flemish-inspired scatter borders of illusionistic flowers, fruit, and insects on a gold ground, while the borders of the other miniatures are full of Renaissance architectural styles, motifs and features such as "trompe-l'oeil" pieces of parchment bearing the text

Relationship to the Hours of Anne de Montmorency

Recently, it was argued that the present Hours of Francis I was commissioned by Anne de Montmorency (1493-1567) to give to Francis I in 1539-40 (see London, Sotheby's, 6 July 2010, lot 35). However, this argument finds absolutely no concrete support. The hypothesis is, rather fancifully, based on a cursory comparison between two manuscripts, the present Hours and a second Book of Hours made for Anne de Montmorency. The two manuscripts are attributed to the same artist, the Master of François de Rohan, and bear the same dates, 1539 and 1540, in cartouches bordering the miniatures. According to the reasoning of the authors of the auction catalogue, the Constable of France and close associate of the monarch, Anne de Montmorency, ordered a "sister volume" at the same time that he ordered his own Book of Hours. But because he fell out of favor with the king in these years, attempting reconciliation in 1540, and then finally withdrawing entirely from this court in 1541, only to be restored to royal favor by Francis's son, Henry II, the volume was never completed and perhaps "never reached the king."

The similarity of the two volumes is largely overstated. Indeed, the two Books of Hours do share the same artist (or his atelier) and date, but here the similarity ends. Their formats are entirely different. The Montmorency Hours is of oblong format in imitation of Parisian printed Books of Hours, whereas the Hours of Francis I is of a rectangular quarto format. With the exception of the miniatures of the Annunciation, all the miniatures in the Montmorency Hours differ from those in the Hours of Francis I; they are mostly reversed variations of the compositions in the Hours of Francis I, and their settings lack the lavish attention to detail present in our manuscript. The borders are consistently different as well; none of the "trompe l'oeil" borders, so skillfully executed in the present manuscript, are employed in the Montmorency Hours. In fact, the differences are more striking than the similarities, leading to another hypothesis altogether: one might wonder whether the artist of the Montmorency Hours is, instead, a member of the workshop of the Master of François de Rohan, rather than the Master himself, since it seems so unlikely that an artist, working on two books in the same year, would willfully reverse his compositions and abandon his customary attention to deluxe details? The manuscripts are also written by different hands.

Royal Insignia

The royal arms appear on f. 21 beneath the Annunciation. On f. 47, the emblems of Francis I, a fleur-de-lis on the left and a salamander on the right, are found in the lower border decoration of the Adoration of the Magi (a royal subject). On f. 89, there is the portrait of King Francis I accompanied by an inscription on the panel of fleurs-de-lis behind him: "[Franciscus] re[x] francoru[m] primus." Wearing a robe semé with fleur-de-lis and depicted with the portrait features of Francis I, David appears kneeling in the foreground on f. 67 (King David appears a second time watching Bathsheba from a window in the background). Shields on ff. 42 and 83 are left blank.

King Francis I as David

The portrayal as Francis I as David is most unusual and was surely done at the express wishes of the patron. David kneels in the foreground, his harp and his staff on the ground before him. He wears a blue robe adored with fleur-de-lis, and he is crowned. In the background appears the king a second time at an upstairs window watching Bathsheba, while a courtier (Bathsheba's husband?) exits a door on the ground floor. This miniature is significantly different from others in manuscripts by the Master of François de Rohan (compare for example the Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS

640, f. 67v), where Bathsheba and her attendants occupy the foreground, as is more typical of later fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century portrayals of the subject.

David held a special attraction for Francis I. There is the story related by Clement Marot and recounted above about Francis I's emulation of David, which he carried to such a point that he re-enacted David's attraction for Bathsheba. In 1516, Louise of Savoie had the idea to paraphrase in French for the use of Francis I the 20 verses of Psalm XXVI, applying each verse to an action of Francis I. The text of the paraphrase was never illuminated, but the existing draft (MS fr. 2088) is illustrated with twenty images of vignettes from Francis's life. The so-called Hours of Catherine of Medici are illustrated with a half-length, post-mortem, portrait of Francis I as King David (MS nal, 82, f. 152). In the choir of the Cathedral of Auch, carved in c. 1547, a wooden statue of Francis I portrays him as David, the elect of God in Israel and the sovereign who continues the line of David, shown in profile (similar to the miniature in the Hours of Francis I) David holds his harp and carries his staff of rule. He stands next to an image of Bathsheba (see Smith and Bentley-Cranch's excellent review of Francis's identification with David in literary and artistic sources throughout his reign, 2007, pp. 608-624). It seems highly improbable that the David and Bathsheba miniature was not made expressly for the king, either at his command or for presentation to him. Francis's friend, then rival, King Henry VIII enjoyed similar relationship to King David (see below, King, 1994, and Tudor-Craig, 1989).

The Portrait of the King and the King's Evil

The payers addressed to St. Marcoulph are known to exist in only five other books, all with close ties to the royal circle: (1) the present manuscript, (2) the earlier unfinished Hours of Francis I (London, BL Add. MS 18853), and (3) the later Hours of Henri II (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 1429), (5) Hours of Henri II (Amiens, BM, Lescalopier MS 22, ff. 121v-122), (5) the so-called Hours of Francis II (probably for Henri II), now lost but described in the Bancel sale catalogue (Paris, Adolphe Labitte, 1887, p. 33) [see J. Backhouse, 1967, p. 90-91; Orth, 1998, note 33, p. 90].

The final payers addressed to St. Marcoulph are known to exist in only five other books, all with close ties to the royal circle: (1) the present manuscript, (2) the earlier unfinished Hours of Francis I (London, BL Add. MS 18853), and (3) the later Hours of Henri II [Dinteville Hours] (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 1429), (5) Hours of Henri II ["Ces presentes heures sont à l'usage de Romme, avecques les oraisons que dict le Roy quant il touche des escrouelles."], Amiens, BM, Lescalopier MS 22, ff. 121v-122), (5) the so-called Hours of Francis II (probably for Henri II), now lost but described in the Bancel sale catalogue (Paris, Adolphe Labitte, 1887, p. 33) [see J. Backhouse, 1967, p. 90-91; Orth, 1998, note 33, p. 90]. There is no evidence that the prayers existed before Francis I. his is apparently the second earliest example in which the text of these prayers occurs (cf. BL Add. MS 18853, before 1524), and scholars have speculated that they were written for Francis I (cf. Bloch, 1983, p. 286: with reference to the Hours of Henri II: "Ces compositions sont d'ailleurs d'une parfaite banalité; ce qu'elles renferment de plus particulier est purement et simplement découpé dans les vies du saint, écrites à l'époque carolingienne."). There were a series of Lives of Saint Marcoul that were redacted quite early on in the ninth century (see Baedorf, *Untersuchungen über Heiligenleben der westlichen Normandie*, Bonn, 1913; cf. *Bibliographia hagiographica latina*, no. 5266-5267; Bloch, 1983, p. 262-265)). The intercessions are the same as in the unfinished Hours of Francis I

(London, BL Add. MS 18853), and the later Hours of Henri II (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 1429). The manuscript in Amiens contains an abbreviated version of these same prayers.

St. Marcoulph was a sixth-century abbot whose relics were honored at the Priory of Corbeny (founded in the tenth century), between Laon and Reims. It became the custom of French kings after their coronation at Reims cathedral to make a pilgrimage to Corbeny (Aisne), to touch the relics, and then to heal those sick with the skin disease scrofula (*ecrouelles*), known as "the king's evil" (*mal royal*) because of the belief that it could be cured by the touch of a monarch. To quote Dom Oudard Bourgeois: "Autant que la France a eu de monarques depuis Saint Louys sacrés à Reims, autant saint Marcoul a vu de couronnes prosternées à ses piedz..." (quoted in Ledouble, 1883, p. 193). The practice continued in England until the reign of George I, and in France until that of Louis XV. It was the subject of a classic study by Marc Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges*, 1924 [edition, Paris, 1983], translated into English as *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, 1973. The feast of Saint Marcoulph (on 1 May) and the Service for the Kings of France (2 May) were celebrated in great solemnity (described in Ledouble, 1883, reprint 2007, pp. 115-116; pp. 188-196). The Confraternity of Saint Marcoulph was founded in the thirteenth century and its chief was the "roi des merciers," responsible for the overseeing of the feasts of Saint Marcoulph and the pilgrimage of the newly consecrated Kings of France to Corbeny (see Ledouble, 1883, reprint 2007, pp. 116-117). Francis I came first to Corbeny in 1515 (Ledouble, 1883 (reprint 2007), p. 191). On the cult of saint Marcoulph in general, see the detailed account in Bloch, 1983, pp. 261-280.

The pilgrimage of the Kings of France to Corbeny was closely connected with the thaumaturgical powers of the monarchs of France (and of England). Early in the Middle Ages, the idea had developed that the King of France was endowed with the power of healing the sick, in particular the sick with scrofula, referred to as "the king's evil," a series of skin afflictions subject to periods of remission (most fitting for the King who could then boast of "real" miracles). Early on, probably under Louis X, a pilgrimage to Corbeny and the shrine of Saint Marcoulph was organized, since the Saint was closely associated with the power to heal, confirming the ritual of the royal touch granted on the day of consecration (Bloch, 1983, p. 281). The pilgrimage to Corbeny was a well-regulated affair. The monks went in procession to meet the king, who received the saint skull from the prior. Then after carrying the relic to the church and, praying before the shrine, the king retires to the *pavillon royal*, a part of the monastery reserved for his use. On the next day the king healed the victims of scrofula (*écrouelles*) that presented themselves at Corbeny, touching with his bare hands and saying: "The king touches you and God cures you" (see Bloch, 1993, p. 281; Knecht, 1994, p. 47). The post-consecration visit of French Kings to Corbeny was a well-established tradition by the time of the crowning of Francis I in 1515.

Based on the published documentation, King Francis I went to honor Saint Marcoulph in Corbeny three times during his reign. The first time is well-documented and expected, immediately after his coronation, which took place on 25 January 1515, he went on the 28-30 January 1515 (*Itinéraire*, p. 412). The second time he went to Corbeny to honor Saint Marcoulph on 28 March 1533 (*Itinéraire*, p. 481), where he promulgated four ordinances (ord. 619, 620, 621, 622: cf. *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, Paris, 1960). The third time on 18-19 August 1543 (*Itinéraire*, p. 520).

Thus, we can trace at least three separate occasions when Francis went to the shrine of Saint Marcoulph at the priory of Corbeny in the Aisne Valley. Although we do not have (yet!) any documentary proof that the King was in Corbeny in the years 1539-1540 or little before, it seems useful to point out that an examination of his itinerary during that period, reveals that Francis I spent considerable time in his dwellings in the region, especially Villers-Cotterêts (where he promulgated the famous Ordinance in 1539) and Compiègne (*Itinéraire*, pp. 506-507) (see [*Itinéraire*] in *Catalogue des actes de François Ier. Tome huitième. Mention d'actes non datés, Itinéraire, Troisième supplément, Additions et corrections*, Paris, 1905). Also worth noting, is the particular attention and diligence Francis I devoted to the practice and ritual of healing the sick with scrofula, often faced with very large crowds of ill subjects awaiting to be healed. He touched some 1326 sick in 1528, over 988 sick in 1529 and at least 1731 sick in 1530. During the Emperor Charles V's famous visit to France in November 1539 to January 1540, just before entering Paris, Francis I is said to have "touched" the sick on the morning of Christmas 1539: "Le matin de Noël, dans la longue allée conduisant à la porte d'Orée, des scrofuleux s'étant approchés du roi, François pose la main sur chacun d'eux. — Le roi te touche, Dieu te guérira!" (see A. Castelot, 1983, p. 336). Bloch states that the king's exercise of the royal touch was usually conducted on major feast days (see Bloch, 1993, p. 315).

With regard to the royal portrait of Francis I—undoubtedly one of the manuscript's most significant features—Orth suggests that the devotional, rather than active, role of the king shown in the manuscript may be due to the late date of the book, coming so long after his coronation in 1515 (1998, pp. 80-91). We do not believe this to be the case. Francis is painted in lavish regal dress while he kneels down devoutly in prayer on a red pillow before St. Marcoulph. When illustrations accompany the prayers, as they do in two of the later manuscripts, they depict the King in the act of touching the sick (see below). However, there is a series of frescoes adorning the walls of the Abbaye of Saint-Riquier (Somme) that recounts the life of saint Marcoul, probably executed little after 1521, and commissioned by Dom Philippe Wallois. Amongst the frescoes is one where the Saint is bestowing the power to heal to a King of France (perhaps with the features of Saint Louis?), kneeling before the Saint, crowned and wearing a fleur-de-lisé robe (*La Picardie historique et monumentale*, IV, Saint-Riquier, pl. XXXII; also reproduced in Bloch, 1983, Pl. I and discussed pp. 284-285). This fresco recalls the composition of the unique miniature in the Hours of Francis I, in which the Saint (seated in the Hours miniature) is present before a kneeling King, clearly recognizable as Francis I.

The miniature is remarkable for its sensitive portrayal of Francis. Altogether absent is the jauntiness that characterizes the splendid portrait by Jean and Francis Clouet, or the assured smugness of the magnificent portrait in profile by Titian, or the theatrical posturing of the portrait of Francis with the attributes of Minerva, Mars, and Diana by the Master of the Hours of Henry II (Reserve NA-255-4). The many medals present yet another dimension of the king: as Renaissance man-of-letters modeled on a classical philosopher. In fact, it is the very informality of the pose of the king humbled before his patron saint that distinguishes this image in the repertory of royal portraits (see C. Scaillierez, et al., *François Ier et ses artistes dans les collections du Louvre*, Paris, 1992). Comparison with a late Book of Hours work by Noel Bellemare for Francis's son, Henri II (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 1429, f. 107v), is also interesting, for here is another manuscript made only a few years after the present one in which a French king is represented in a prefatory miniature to illustrate the prayers to Saint Marcoulph. But, in contrast to our portrait, that of Henri II, imposingly standing

in royal garb, is situated in a church healing an invalid. This contrast makes the intimate, personalized portrait in our Hours seem all the more rare and unusual.

Jean Mallard, "escripvain du Roy": scribe of the Hours of Francis I?

A document recently published in connection with Jean Mallard or Mallart, a Rouennais calligrapher-illuminator and poet, but thus far never connected with the present Book of Hours, is tantalizing.

A Jehan Mallart, escripvain, pour avoir ecript unes heures en parchemin, présentées au roy pour le faire enluminer, en don, à prendre sur les deniers de l'épargne à l'entour du roi, xlv livres" (Archives nationales, J. 961, no. 149 ; Cooper, 2003, p. 199 ; also quoted by L. Laborde, *La Renaissance des arts à la Cour de France*, Paris, 1855, I, 924).

Coupled with comparisons between Mallard's documented script and that in the present manuscript, the document, which dates toward the end of the year 1538, raises the intriguing possibility that this manuscript may be the work referred to in the document and ordered by Francis I, delivered to him without illuminations by his "escripvain du roy," and then illuminated for him by the Master of Francois de Rohan.

Jean Mallard is known to have been first at the service of Francis I as "escripvain," probably introduced by the Archbishop of Rouen Georges d'Amboise for whom he also had copied and illuminated a work presented in 1537 (see Cooper, 2003, p. 198; Georges II d'Amboise was the nephew of the other famous patron Georges Ier d'Amboise). He appears to be related in some manner to the Rouen printer of the same name (Cooper suggests that the printer may well be the father of the second Jean Mallard, calligrapher-illuminator and apparently later engraver; see Cooper, 2003, pp. 212-213). Both figure in the accounts of the Capitulary of Notre-Dame de Rouen and in the registers for the 1530s, one labeled "libraire" and the other "scriptor" or "escripvain" (see Cooper, 2003-pp. 198-199). After a period at the service of the King of France, for whom he executed at least two other codices containing versified Portulans (Paris, BnF, MSSS fr. 1382 and fr. 25375), Jean Mallard chose to expatriate himself to England, where he rapidly entered the service of King Henry VIII. He copied and presumably painted the famous codex generally referred to as the Psalter of Henry VIII (London, BL, Royal MS 2 A. xvi; see exh. cat. London, British Library, *Henry VIII*, 2009, no. 194), as well as a number of other works, including a recycled version of his versified Portulan *Le premier livre de la Cosmographie en rethorique françoise*, this time offered to Henry VIII (London, BL, Royal MS 20 B xii). Mallard leaves London after Easter 1541 and is no longer at the service of Henry VIII (Cooper, 2003, p. 209). In all we know of some 8 manuscripts copied and sometimes illuminated by Jean Mallard, for Francis I, for Henry VIII and other patrons. He apparently finished his career as an engraver of some sort, often signing his compositions with his initials IM (see Cooper, 2003, pp. 212-213).

The Psalter of Henry VIII is signed in Latin "Johannes Mallardus, regius orator, et ex calamo regi Anglie et Francie fidei deffensori invectissimo" (quoted in Cooper, 2003, p. 204). The upright humanistic Roman script and certain elements of decoration, especially the line-fillers (green-colored bois écotés stroked across with gold line, cordelières and gold patterns on colored grounds) and small decorated initials, are not without resemblance to those in the Hours of Francis

I, although it should be noted that the script of the Psalter, also a Roman humanistic script, is copied with a clearly thinner pen. The presence of stylistic and paleographical similarities with the signed Psalter of Henry VIII by Jean Mallard, as well as the existence of the document that records the existence and payment made to Jean Mallard for the copy of a Book of Hours for Francis I in 1538, constitute the first steps towards a possible identification of the present Hours of Francis I as the unidentified and lost Hours made for Francis I, copied in 1538 and then illuminated by an artist who could have been the Master of Francois de Rohan. Indeed the document states that the Hours were copied by Mallard and "présentées au roy pour le faire enlumer" [presented to the king to have them illuminated]. The proposed identification between the Hours copied by Mallard in 1538 and painted right after, presumably in 1539, remains for the time being a convincing working hypothesis, worth pursuing in light of what we know of Mallard as a scribe and "escripvain du Roy" (as he defines himself in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 25375, f. 5).

This manuscript takes its place among the royal commissions made for Francis I, who was a distinguished bibliophile. Francis had manuscripts made for and offered to him in diverse languages, including Latin, Italian, and French, and on many subjects, historical, religious, literary, etc. He was also an avid client of important printed works in many languages, printed at home and abroad. Among his manuscripts, two of the significant historical volumes made for him are: *Les troys premier livres de Diodore Sicilien historiographe grec des Antiquitez d'Egipte, Ethiopie et autres pays d'Asie et d'Affrique* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 721, in Scaillerez and Stirneman, 2001-2002, no. 10; the *Commentaires de la Guerre gallique*, illuminated by Godefroy of Batave (London, British Library, Harley MS 6205 and BnF, MS fr. 443; cf. Kren, ed., 1983, pp. 181-186). In 1544, on the order of Francis I, the library of Blois was united with that of Fontainebleau, and the inventory of 1544 includes a detailed list (see Omont, 1908). Unfortunately the inventory does not include his personal books, such as this one. In all, by the end of Francis I's reign in 1547, there were 3,000 books in his library, of which 500 were in Greek. It seems astonishing, and fortunate, that the present manuscript is the only illuminated Book of Hours to have come down to us.

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For the Hours of Henri II (MS lat. 1429), the Portrait of Francis I as Minerva , and the Hours of Catherine of Medici (with portraits of Francis I) (MS n.a.l. 82), see the Banque d'Images of the Bnf www.images.bnf.fr

For the Lescapier Hours (Amiens, Bib. Mun., MS 22), see http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/BM/amiens_294-01.htm

Complete digitized version of the Psalter of Henry VIII (London, BL, Royal MS 2 A. xvi) <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8719&CollID=16&NStart=20116>