ARTISTIC PATRONAGE IN LATE MEDIEVAL TROYES, 1380-1520

Cody James Wyant

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil at the University of St Andrews

2012

Full metadata for this item is available in Research@StAndrews:FullText at:
http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:
http://hdl.handle.net/10023/3599

This item is protected by original copyright
Candidate Declaration

I, Cody Wyant, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 40,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in February 2010 and as a candidate for the degree of M.Phil. in July 2012; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2010 and 2012.

_______________________________ Date: ______________

Supervisor Declaration

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of M.Phil. in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

_______________________________ Date: ______________

Permission for electronic publication

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that my thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use unless exempt by award of an embargo as requested below, and that the library has the right to migrate my thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis. I have obtained any third-party copyright permissions that may be required in order to allow such access and migration, or have requested the appropriate embargo below.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the electronic publication of this thesis:

(i) Access to printed copy and electronic publication of thesis through the University of St Andrews.

Candidate: ___________________________ Date: ______________

Supervisor: __________________________ Date: ______________
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgments ........................................................................................................... 4  
List of Figures .................................................................................................................. 5  
Map of Troyes .................................................................................................................. 7  
Abstract .......................................................................................................................... 8  

Introduction ..................................................................................................................... 9  
  Review of Scholarship .................................................................................................... 13  
  Historical Context ......................................................................................................... 15  
  Demand for Art, State of Patronage ............................................................................. 21  
  Arts and Artists of Fifteenth Century Troyes ............................................................... 27  

Manuscript Illumination ................................................................................................. 35  

Sculpture ......................................................................................................................... 58  
  Ecclesiastical Patronage ............................................................................................... 60  
  Patronage of the religious orders ............................................................................... 72  

Metalwork ......................................................................................................................... 83  

Painting ............................................................................................................................. 91  
  Glass Painting ............................................................................................................... 94  
  Panel Painting .............................................................................................................. 102  

Tapestry and Textiles ...................................................................................................... 110  
  Tapestry ....................................................................................................................... 110  
  Textiles, Clothing and Vestments ................................................................................. 114  

Conclusions ....................................................................................................................... 114  

Figures .............................................................................................................................. 130  

Bibliography ................................................................................................................... 155
Acknowledgments

The formulation of this research has been greatly influenced and assisted by many resources and individuals. My undergraduate advisor from Bowdoin College, Stephen Perkinson, is responsible for shaping my interest in the art of the middle ages. More specifically, his dynamic courses in Gothic art were the first to pique my interest in the visual culture of late medieval France. I am also greatly indebted to Tom Tolley at the University of Edinburgh for having introduced me to the topic of Troyen illumination at the M.Sc. level. Under his mentorship I was able to scratch the surface of fifteenth century art from this community. And finally, I have great gratitude for Julian Luxford at the University of Saint Andrews, who has advised me in carving out this thesis. Along with this the support staff at the Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes and Archives de l’Aube have been extremely helpful in the process of gathering local historical documentation. Many thanks to the musées Saint-Loup and Vauluisant for providing exhibition information, display guidance and photography permissions. Claudie Pornin, curator of the municipal collection, has been a great resource offering answers to countless questions and consent in accessing museum files and photocopying. And finally, I owe thanks to Rachel Hart at St. Andrews for her transcription expertise.
List of Figure Illustrations

Fig. 1 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF), ms. Lat. 962, f. 1, Pontifical of bishop Étienne de Givry, Preparation for the celebration of mass

Fig. 2 Paris, BNF, ms. Lat. 864, f. 89v., Missal from the church of Saint Pierre, Ervy-le-Chatel, Crucifixion scene

Fig. 3 San Marino, California, HM 1179, f. 166, Book of Hours, William, bishop of Bourges, before the kneeling patron

Fig. 4 Paris, BNF, ms. Lat. 924, f. 13v., Book of Hours, Berthier family members before Saint Michael and Saint Catherine

Fig. 5 Paris, Société des manuscrits des assureurs français (SMAF), ms. 79-5, f. 19v., Book of Hours, Guyot Le Peley, his wife Nicole and their children before Saint Nicolas

Fig. 6 Paris, BNF ms. Fr. 2598, f.131, Chronique of Charles VI, Arms of Jean Mole

Fig. 7 Paris, BNF ms. Fr. 2598, f.1, Chronique of Charles VI, Le Jardin de France

Fig. 8 La Haye, Koninklijke Bibl., ms. 76, g 8, f. 93, Hours of Simon Liboron and Henriette Mauroy, Bathsheba bathing

Fig. 9 Paris, BNF ms. Lat. 920, f. 158, Hours of Louis Laval, Bathsheba Bathing

Fig. 10 Lille bibl. munc. ms. 5, f. 68, Hours of Catherine Mauroy, David and Goliath

Fig. 11 Les Enluminures, Paris, f. 117v., Veauce Hours, Tours, c. 1480, David and Goliath

Fig. 12 Troyes bibl. munc., ms. 3901. f. 42v.-43, Hours of Guyot Le Peley, Annunciation

Fig. 13 Florence Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, ms. Pal. 241, f. 174v., Hours of Jean Le Peley, Adam and Eve holding Le Peley Arms

Fig. 14 Paris, BNF Fr. 22540, Faites de Romains, Two Female figures with Le Peley Arms

Fig. 15 Paris, BNF Fr. 22540, Faites de Romains, Triumphal entrance of Caesar

Fig. 16 Rodez Soc. Des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l’Aveyron, ms. 1, Hours of Jean II Molé, Job and his Friends

Fig. 17 Rodez Soc. Des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l’Aveyron, ms. 1, Hours of Jean II Molé, Portrait of Jean Molé II

Fig. 18 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 356, f. 58v-59, Hours of Claude Molé, Claude Molé before the Virgin

Fig. 19 Chimera gargoyle, Tower of Troyes Cathedral, late-15th to early 16th century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes

Fig. 20 Seated female gargoyle, Tower of Troyes cathedral, late-15th to early 16th century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes

Fig. 21 Seated winged gargoyle, Tower of Troyes cathedral, late-15th to early 16th century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes

Fig. 22 Choir screen, designed by Jean Gailde, Church of Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes 1508-1517

Fig. 23 Christ preaching to his followers, choir screen detail, carved by Nicolas le Flemand (Nicolas Halins), Church Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes, 1512

Fig. 24 Armorials and monogram, choir screen detail, carved by Simon Mauroy, Church Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes, 1515-16

Fig. 25 Trinity group, carved wood, Church of Saint-Urbain, early 16th century

Fig. 26 Baptismal font, originally in the Church of Saint Jacques-aux-Nonnains, Troyes, 15th century

Figs. 27-33 Details from the baptismal font, originally in Saint Jacques-aux-Nonnains, Troyes, 15th century

Fig. 34 Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, constructed in the late 15th century, drawing produced by Max Berthelin (1811-1897), Musée de Troyes

Fig. 35 Chapel of the Passion and Library, Couvent des Cordeliers, drawing produced by
Max Berthelin (1811-1897), Musée de Troyes
Fig. 36 Angels with Arms of Champagne, Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 37 Le acrobate capital, signed ‘Jubert’, Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 38 Le docteur capital, Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 39 Angel with armorial console, Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 40 Meeting of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony capital, Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 41 Hommes sauvages keystone, Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 42 Architectural niche with the arms of Charles de Refuge, Abbey of Montier-la-Celle, Troyes, late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée St-Loup
Fig. 43 Portrait of Charles de Refuge, late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 44 Lavabo with the arms of Nicolas Forjot, Abbey of Saint Loup, 1485-1514, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 45 Virgin and Child with Nicolas Forjot, originally in the Hotel-Dieu-le-Comte, 1510, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 46 Figure of Nicolas Forjot (detail), originally in the Hotel-Dieu-le-Comte, 1510, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Figs. 47-48 Kneeling donor fragments, produced in the late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 49 Roundel of Nicolas de Lyra, Troyes cathedral library, late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 50 Saint Francis, Troyes cathedral library, late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 51 Saint Roch, Troyes cathedral library, late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 52 Saint Anthony, Troyes cathedral library, early 16\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 53 Saint Catherine, Troyes cathedral library, early 16\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 54 Saint William of York and a male patron, Troyes cathedral library, early 16\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 55 Nicolas La Muet and son before Saint Nicolas, Church of Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes, 1490
Fig. 56 Catherine Boucherat and daughters before Saint Catherine, Church of Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes, 1490
Fig. 57 Simon Liboron, Henriette Mauroy and children before saints Louis and Yves, Church of Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes, 1507
Fig. 58 Etienne Chevalier portrait, Jean Fouquet, from the Melun diptych, 1450, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp
Fig. 59 Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins portrait, Jean Fouquet, around 1460, Musée du Louvre, Paris
Fig. 60 Virgin of the Red Coat, anonymous artist, early 16\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 61 Virgin and Child in a Landscape, Master of the Embroidered Foliage, 1492-1498, Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Fig. 62 Legend of Saint Anne, anonymous artist, early 16\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Map of Medieval Troyes
ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the development of artistic patronage in the city of Troyes between 1380 and 1520. It takes into consideration the patrons and artists involved in the creation of manuscript illumination, sculpture, metalwork, panel painting, stained glass, tapestry and textiles. As a localised study it draws source documentation from the Bibliothèque municipale, Archives de l’Aube and museum collections in Troyes. The theme of ‘patronage’ is the basis for examination of visual culture produced locally during the late middle ages. I acknowledge the drive behind patronage involved the notion of enhancement, whether individual or institutional, that required the need for visual display. The role of the artists was an integral part of the performative process that shaped the development of this system and fulfilled the cultural impulse toward the outward expression of devotion, power and prestige. I argue that these works relate to the individual and community they represent as the product of a compound relationship between the process of art production and a movement toward visual display. In light of this it can be concluded that the manufacture of art and impulse to produce and collect it had connections to the cultural, social and economic climate. The dissemination of patronage in the city denotes an increasing degree of organisation in the complexity of artistic practices at local level. This evidence therefore represents a microcosm of greater developments witnessed in late medieval France.
INTRODUCTION

One might ask upon reading the title of this thesis: why is patronage important? And, moreover, why is the study of patronage in Troyes during the late middle ages worth scholarly attention? To understand the answers to these questions it is crucial at this point to clarify what is meant by the term ‘patronage’ in relation to the parameters of this study. This can be a relatively difficult task given that many forms of it existed in the medieval world. For the purpose of this study the consideration of artistic patronage is of primary concern.

The formulation of one resolute definition is somewhat problematic considering historians of art possess differing perspectives on the exact meaning and terminology it encapsulates. At the most basic level the study of artistic patronage is based on the examination of patrons and their social, political and religious ambitions in relation to the art they donated and collected. A great deal of consideration in this area involves looking at the financial investment patrons made toward production. This fits with Luxford’s consideration of patronage in his study on English Benedictine monasteries which considers the term in reference to ‘the commission and financing of a given work or works’. ¹

Various acts of this type of patronage will be considered in effort to highlight the process and means by which art was produced. More specifically these will take into account the formal and informal arrangements made between the patrons (institutions or individuals offering monetary support) and artists (individuals offering physical labour) involved in the manufacture of art. This raises the question: what is meant by ‘art’? Belozerskaya has pointed out that the ‘modern concept of art did not exist in the fifteenth century and those artefacts considered such today served practical functions with messages of political declaration, religious devotion, familial honor or civic pride’. ² Although this paper adopts the modern term it is interpreted along these lines to encompass the study of artefacts such as books,

¹ Luxford 2005, p. xvii.
² Belozerskaya 2002, p. 49.
sculpture, stained glass, panel painting, metalwork, tapestry and textiles. This approach characterises the presence of patrons, artists and works of art as evidence for the development of social, economic and political ideologies.

The study of artistic patronage is one approach to the field of Art History that has been the focus of many historians over the years. In the first half of the twentieth century patronage studies in medieval art began with the examination of works produced for the royal class. The greatest and most illustrious patrons and art came first and foremost. The 1904 Exposition des Primitifs français in Paris stimulated interest in this area through the exhibition of many objects associated with royal patronage (e.g. Très Riches Heures and Apocalypse tapestries). To a certain extent this fascination trickled down into generations of scholarship through influential research conducted by notables like Meiss, Panofsky and Plummer. It was not until the 1970s when scholars began to broaden their scope on the subject to ‘identify greater patron groups and reconstruct connections between works of art and the intentions, ideologies, demands and desires of individuals who paid for them’. The theme of ‘development’ in the following research stems from this theoretical movement. And moreover involves a methodological examination surrounding the process and production of art. Process is representative of the resources supporting the structure that allowed for production. This theory focuses on the cultural, economic or industrial means by which patronage came to be. Production, on the other hand, involves taking this analysis a step further and exploring the means directed toward making an end product. The component of ‘making’ is important for understanding the product on a social level: it allows for the study of relationships and or interactions among individuals involved in the productive process. This approach differs from standard historical methods like Berenson’s that focus on stylistic.

---

3 The works in this exhibition are compiled in Bouchot 1904.
aspects of authenticating works.\textsuperscript{5} It also moves away from the agenda Panofsky constructed around the emphasis placed on the iconological mechanisms of meaning and content.\textsuperscript{6}

The evaluation of development through material and physical evidence in this study is moreover related to documentary art history. Historically, the final years of the middle ages in France are of significant interest due to the fact that major economic, political and artistic developments took place. Through presenting documentation and objects from local record this approach aims to trace the impulse and implications associated with the production and collection of art at the municipal level. As Caskey has pointed out, ‘despite the recent interest in studies of patronage there have been few attempts to discuss the theme more broadly’.\textsuperscript{7} This research probes into this theme in such a way by considering the phenomenon of artistic patronage witnessed in a medieval community. Some may associate this method with Marxist theory and materialist interpretation. Marx’s scheme of history involved the concept of totality that retained the notion of providential purpose and development in history and human action.\textsuperscript{8} This non-idealist approach correlates with the assertion that time itself is a principle of change. Inevitably, some form of development (or change) in patronage is traceable. The stimulus of context in this system is punctuated by discussion of developments in the social, economic, religious and political environment.

In due course these developments converge with discussion of style. Intentions in this area move away from any sort of principled Wölfflinian formalism. Moreover, the discussion of style adopted in this paper is partial toward the interpretation of Schapiro, who demonstrated that analysis in this area could be used as a diagnostic tool indicative of the artist and culture at large.\textsuperscript{9} This association harnesses the belief that underlying cultural and

\textsuperscript{5} Take, for instance, Berenson’s attempt to define distinct qualities of Italian ‘schools’ of painting in his 1897 publication \textit{Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance}.
\textsuperscript{6} Consult Panofsky 1957.
\textsuperscript{7} Caskey 2006, p. 194.
\textsuperscript{8} Summers 2003, p. 141.
\textsuperscript{9} This discussion is raised in the ‘Style’ chapter in Schapiro 1994, p. 51.
normative values inevitably are linked to physical evidence, further forming the perspective that art is the product of a social history embedded with super-structural relationships. One minor issue in this scheme is difficulty in the assessment of agency. In reference to stylistic analysis the influence and authority particularly of the patron cannot be precisely deciphered in many cases. Looking for patronal influence is like an archaeological excavation and requires the additional capacity of sifting through remnants of archival record. It is more often the case that records are unfruitful and the physical object stands alone as evidence. In this situation it can be challenging to ascertain the various levels and means of control involved in projects. Lindquist’s concept of agency in the study of the Chartreuse de Champmol offers the best solution to this problem. She centres on the idea that the object domain does not simply represent a collection of images but it also embodies determinants for mediated social relationships. Under this contention agency is a manageable concept that can be dealt with in relation to greater ideas around social and cultural developments. Moreover, this research will not primarily focus on the agency of one individual or institution and strives to also consider the nature of many undocumented works. This approach therefore intends to reflect on the practice and diffusion of artistic patronage witnessed in a single municipal community in effort to create a picture of cultural development.

The interrogative approach of dealing with artistic patronage at a communal level has yet to be fully utilised by the greater art historical community, who in recent years have tended to apply the study of artistic patronage through a lens focused on individual artists, patrons, works of art or artistic fields. The present study ventures away from this model and explores evidence from all fields of artistic activity (manuscript illumination, sculpture, painting, textiles and metalwork) to build an understanding of Troyes as an autonomous community of artistic patronage. It is important to point out that the following research does

---

10 This is discussed in the chapter on ‘Agency’ in Lindquist 2008, p. 85.
not encompass the detailed study of local architecture, which is a vast area that chronologically extends prior to this study and has been adequately accounted for in scholarship. The focus on the study of art produced in Troyes provides an outlet for these forms to be recognised and discussed by a wider audience. On account that there is yet to be comprehensive research synthesising this material in one publication this study offers the academic field a new contribution. By presenting a combination of archival material, secondary sources and physical evidence it illuminates a new perspective on the patronal mechanisms and products that bound the city of Troyes to its patrons and artists.

Review of Scholarship and Material Sources

The present state of scholarship available on the study of medieval Troyes consists of a scattered body of research. In order to gain a fuller picture this paper draws from these resources in conjunction with archival and physical evidence from the period. At this point it is important to be aware of the history of scholarship concerning the medieval city. The first modern writers to take interest in this area were local antiquarians of the nineteenth century. The publication of A.F. Arnaud’s *Antiquités de la ville de Troyes* in 1822 brought together a body of surviving physical evidence that was a starting point for piecing together the city’s material past. Alexandre Assier’s two-volume *Les arts et les artistes dans l’ancienne capitale de Champagne* published in 1876 offered the names of various artists active in the city between 1250 and 1680. Assier derived this information from local church archives and organised each professional art in chronological order. His interest in this most likely stemmed from earlier transcription work around fabric records of local parishes.\(^\text{11}\) With this, few other historians of the period compiled and transcribed medieval inventories and documentation discovered in various churches. In the later part of the century Charles Lalore
published a good portion of records for institutions within the diocese while H. Arbois de Jubainville pieced together medieval construction documentation for the cathedral.\textsuperscript{12} Through their efforts a significant body of localised church documentation was preserved.

Scholarship on medieval Troyes tapered in the first half of the twentieth century and was revived with the debut of the \textit{La Vie en Champagne} review in 1953. This publication provided an outlet for historical and material examination of the Champagne region and its cities. Today the publication hosts articles by academics and local historians, and offers a fair number of medieval studies on a regular basis. In terms of major independent research there have been a few contributions in the past twenty years. Most notably, Stephen Murray’s 1987 study on the building of Troyes cathedral was the first modern work to assess a great deal of documentation from the late Gothic period. In terms of the study of art much of what has been done represents studies of regional significance. For example, in the area of sculpture studies on the development of regional style in Champagne have been presented by Jacques Baudoin in \textit{La Sculpture Flamboyante en Champagne-Lorraine} (1990) and more recently by Véronique Boucherat in \textit{L’art en Champagne à la Fin du Moyen age: Productions Locales et Modèles Étrangers} (2005). In the field of manuscript illumination Francois Avril’s \textit{Très Riches Heures de Champagne} (2007) pieced together a body of manuscripts localised by their related Uses to Troyes and surrounding towns.\textsuperscript{13} Perhaps the only area that has been studied to a high standard is stained glass, in which Danielle Minois, Sylvie Balcon and Elizabeth Pastan have completed meticulous research around various medieval campaigns.\textsuperscript{14}

In turn, the majority of primary documentation presented in this paper is derived from the Archives de l’Aube. This repository holds the collection of municipal and church records

\textsuperscript{12} See Arbois de Jubainville 1862 and Laloré 1893, 1882 and 1880.

\textsuperscript{13} It must be noted that Francois Avril’s contribution to the manuscript section of this paper is substantial; his research in the area of Gothic illumination has encompassed studies considering patronage of royal circles (Avril 1993, 2003, 2004) and, more recently, the rise of provincial illuminators in the later middle ages. (Avril 2007) These publications have proved useful in gathering a compendium of comparative evidence for regional activity and an understanding of the evolution of illumination in France.

\textsuperscript{14} Consult Minois 2005 and Balcon and Pastan 2006.
for the regional department. Archived materials at this site are organised by alphabetical series. Of particular importance to this study is ‘series G’, classified as ‘clergé séculier’, which contains the documents retained by the churches of Troyes consisting of registers, fabric accounts, wills, receipts and expenses. Along with this I present a body of physical evidence gathered from library and museum collections. The majority of this material was evaluated in person and where this was not possible the consultation of images from electronic databases and secondary sources sufficed.

**Historical Context**

In the later middle ages Troyes was a city of considerable importance in the French kingdom. As the capital of Champagne it was established as a regional centre for religion, government, trade and commerce. By the late fourteenth century ecclesiastical life was firmly rooted and vibrant. From the early middle ages the churches of the city cultivated close ties with the aristocratic ruling class and following the reign of the last count of Champagne in 1316 the ecclesiastical community forged powerful relations with the ruling municipal council.15 This relationship endured throughout the fifteenth century and allowed the municipality to maintain a balance of independent governance. The culmination of this social environment created a power vacuum through which the bishops of Troyes emerged as influential leaders and assumed prominent position within the local community, bishopric and kingdom. The dedicated bishops themselves were highly educated men that performed an integral role in the city’s social fabric and served an average of twenty years in their respected positions.16

---

15 See Bibolet 1939-1942, pp. 295-315.
16 Between 1380 and 1520 the city was the seat to only five bishops; each having been trained in Paris and elected to the Troyen bishopric through either connection with the royal government or Troyen familial relations. Louis Raguier and his nephew Jacques, for example, each held the seat between 1450 and 1518 and in effect solidified their employment through royal affiliation; Louis’ father Hémon came to France from Bavaria with queen Isabeau in 1386 serving as her treasurer and was later promoted to the royal treasurer of war and
Troyes cathedral composed the nucleus of this religious activity and advanced as a model for ecclesiastical architecture, education and organisation. The construction of the complex began around 1200 and like many cathedrals in Europe remained in an incomplete state through the centuries. Rising from the centre of town, the massive building showcased the mutable intricacies of northern Gothic design achieved through the talents of a flow of architects and craftsmen. Stephen Murray’s study of the construction history shows that fluctuating economic conditions throughout the middle ages affected this process dramatically. The most crucial issue centred on the problematic issues the administrators of the fabric had in securing funding. These officials organised initiatives to involve the community in various projects to rally financial support. Although the community became an integral force in the organisation of this process the cathedral canons assumed the greatest responsibility in the building. Identified in documentation as ‘proviseurs’ of the fabric they were primarily responsible for managing continued support and building.17 This type of situation was not particularly unusual, as Evelyn Welch has noted in her research on the construction of Milan cathedral the advisors of the fabric at this site were responsible for collecting funds and orchestrating participation in civic devotion to aid this process.18 In Troyes and Milan the organised outpour of civic pride and religious devotion around the cathedrals fuelled the creation of a complex source of patronage.

In terms of education the cathedral held control over the Grande école organised and monitored under the watchful eye of the bishop. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the school reached a high standard of instruction through the leadership of bishop Étienne di Givry (1395-1426), who took initiative in the instruction of courses to ensure that his cures

---

17 Murray 1987, pp. 110-11
could read at a high level.\textsuperscript{19} Aside from the educational efforts of the cathedral other churches in the city cultivated programs for children that taught reading, writing and singing.\textsuperscript{20} Along with such initiatives the churches provided a platform for various communal activities. Public involvement in these endeavours was paramount in the success of this system. The staging of theatrical mysteries, for example, brought interest and intrigue from the lay community. The events would take place over three day periods and were organised by a companies of clergy, bourgeois and artisans.\textsuperscript{21} Étienne de Givry even organised a performance on behalf of Queen Isabeau called \textit{Le Jeu de la Résurrection} in the courtyard of the cathedral on the Monday of Easter, 28 March 1418.\textsuperscript{22}

Aside from the performance of sacred drama local churches organised the staging of processions and elaborate displays in accordance with feast and holiday celebrations. The inventories of goods held by churches like Sainte-Madeleine and Saint-Urbain, for example, present a potentially rich imagination of the grandeur displayed during such events.\textsuperscript{23} In both cases, the churches held a luxurious assortment of ornate objects and costume. Along with this the display of relics initiated an assemblage of ritual importance for the community. The cathedral held an important collection in their treasury, an inventory from 10 October 1429 notes some notable relics including the chalice of the Last Supper, a portion of the True Cross and the heads of saints Philip and Savinien.\textsuperscript{24} As will be discussed later, in the fifteenth century these ancient relics were revamped in new displays through the patronage of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{19} Carré 1888, p. 5. The author notes that this mode of instruction was recommended by Étienne in 1399, and along with this he instituted strict examination schedules and harsh penalties to enforce a high standard.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Bibolet 1999, p. 115. The pupils of these schools were the children (boys and girls) of merchants and lawyers. Upon completion male students were allowed to enter the Grande école (around the age of fourteen), and many would go on to obtain further university qualifications in Orléans or Paris.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Bibolet 1999, p. 142. Titles of productions included the \textit{Mystère de la Passion} (1482) and \textit{Le Jeu de Saint Loup} (1454).
\item \textsuperscript{22} This production was staged many times throughout the fifteenth century in Troyes; for more about performed drama in this period consult Beuve 1913.
\item \textsuperscript{23} The records from Sainte-Madeleine show that the church was a vibrant place, not only in terms of the amassed collection of objects but also in terms of lay patronage. It moreover appears to have been an institution with great communal presence and activity. The church of Saint-Urbain, on the other hand, was important in the organisation of religious hierarchy, as a collegiate it was established in the thirteenth century by Pope Urban IV, a Troyen native, and offered the city a direct link to the papacy.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Hany-Longuespè 1998, p. 5.
\end{itemize}
institutions and individuals. Overall, the cooperation among the churches and laity made for a social environment.

Efforts of organisation and interaction among the municipal and religious hierarchy was complemented by local economic activity. From the early middle ages the geographic position of Troyes proved to be quite beneficial. The famed fairs of Champagne were held in the region from the thirteenth century and provided a substantial economic base. The intersection of trade routes resulted in an amicable environment for business interaction and as host to this activity the city became recognised more for its commercial and financial functions than its industrial. The arrival of international traders brought great profit in the early years, but was disrupted when their presence began to dwindle in the late fourteenth century. Not one factor can be specifically attributed to this situation; but more importantly the effects of this decline had great implications for local trade and industry. For example, Troyen producers of the textiles were forced to institute alternative methods of production to cut the cost of employing labourers. This type of situation required industry in the city during the first half of the fifteenth century to adapt to managing smaller-scale commercial functions.

In the political realm the ravages of the Hundred Years War and internal struggle for power in the Valois court only added to the uncertain climate. The bouts of mental instability, or ‘madness’, of Charles VI allowed the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans the opportunity to formulate attempts to gain control of the kingdom. Upon the death of Philip the Bold (1404) his son John the Fearless assumed power and wasted no time in launching a campaign against his uncle Louis I, duke of Orléans. The conflict escalated in 1407 when he ordered the

26 See Yante 2008, pp. 32-35.
27 Abu-Lughod 1991, p. 73. The author notes that many events and changes took place in the early fourteenth century; for example, the development of new trade routes to other centres, heavy taxation on foreign merchants and the devastation of the Black Death had significant impact on the local economic practices.
28 Boutiot 1872, pp. 90-1.
assassination of Louis in Paris. The enmity between the opposing sides went on for years and provided Henry V of England with ample time to plan his attack on France. Amidst the ever-tightening political tension Troyes found itself in a peculiar position. The city faced pressure on two fronts: first, with its decision to support either the Burgundian or Armagnac internal quest for the French throne; and second, it was confronted with the increased fear of English hegemony. Remarkably, in this most decisive period of the Hundred Years War the city came to the centre stage.

By 1417 the government and inhabitants of Troyes aided Burgundian efforts and became the leading fortified stronghold against the Argmanacs when they welcomed John the Fearless and queen Isabeau to establish royal offices in the city. Over the next few years the events surrounding the official judgment of Charles VI as a heretic led to the drafting of the Treaty of Troyes, which arranged upon the marriage of Henry V and princess Catherine the English king would inherit France. Henry V arrived in Troyes on 20 May 1420 with a parade of escorts accompanied by an army of men. While in the city he took residence in the royal hotel with the duke and Charles VI. The queen and princess relocated to the Couvent des Cordeliers. On this occasion the inhabitants offered gifts to all parties and presented the men with multiple casks of wine and women with linen fabrics and other fine garments produced by the local weavers. The following day the two kings came together in the cathedral and pledged their allegiance to the terms of the treaty. See the new French regent

---

29 Documentary information from this period is derived from a handbook kept by the provost of the city, Pierre d’Arantieres, between 1419 and 1421 which records receipts and writings about events and news in Troyes (Original manual at Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, BB 8 cart. 1 cart.). His brief writings miraculously survive and provide insight on the installation of the new government and the process of receiving the royal family. For example, an entry explains that the queen and duke were coming to Troyes and dined at the chateau de Marigny, where Arantieres arranged for some nobles to travel thirty kilometres to greet and welcome the royal court. In another instance an entry shows how the provost was to overlook the giving of gifts of wine and fabrics. Also see, Bibolet 2005, pp. 12-13.

30 Prior to this the queen was installed in the hotel of Jean Saugette, pannetier of the king, who before her arrival paid high expenses for repairs, garden maintenance and the purchase of new furniture. Generosity toward the queen did not cease here, but was also met by the council that paid the bill for the guards and other royal functionaries. The municipal generosity did not cease with this action, but was continually renewed by various groups and individuals. They city itself offered a receipt of special tax to the entourage and provided an endless supply of Beaune wine to her chancellor. See Bibolet 1999, p. 79.

31 Bibolet 1999, p. 81.
Henry decided to preserve the royal privileges of Troyes and requested that the local subjects of Charles VI give oath of their obedience. The following day a crowd of fifteen hundred gathered in front of the cathedral to watch the parliamentary president preside over the oaths given by more than seventy nobles of the community.\(^{32}\)

The acts of the treaty did not signify the conclusion of the feud but moreover planted new seeds of internal and external struggle beneath the feet of the French monarchy. These soon flowered into a new phase of the Hundred Years War that had great ramifications for the duration of the fifteenth century. In Troyes, as was the situation throughout France, the next twenty years were filled with periods of war and economic deprivation. The early signs of relief were granted in January 1435 with the Treaty of Arras that ended Burgundian allegiance with the English king. The reconciliation between the Burgundians and Argmanacs forced the English to steadily withdraw from the area and in due course the trade routes were opened. In 1437 a new route was established along the Seine between Paris and by 1444 the fairs were reinstated by the king. These followed the old circuit in Champagne and the city of Lyon was added in an effort to profit from the growing transactions in the city.\(^{33}\) Economic recovery was well under way as the English withdrew from Bordeaux in 1453, officially concluding the devastation of the Hundred Years War. The reign of Charles VII ended with his death in 1461 and it was under his rule that Troyes made significant progress as a proven ally in the kingdom of France.

On 15 August 1461 Louis XI was crowned in Reims after years of feuding with his father.\(^{34}\) In this period Troyes continued to support the monarchy’s crusade against the

---

\(^{32}\) Bibolet 2005, p. 14. These nobles included the bailiff, abbots, priests, royal functionaries, lawyers and leading merchants.

\(^{33}\) Heers 1997, p. 70. The fairs were circuited three times per year, each lasting twenty days in length. The added routes to Lyon opened a greater opportunity for trade to this area, which was a growing centre for interaction with merchants from Geneva and the Mediterranean.

\(^{34}\) In 1440 he had joined a group of French nobles in the Praguerie revolt against the political reforms outlined by king Charles VII. By 1456 he fled to the protection of his uncle Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. Charles promptly sent an army to collect his son and in response the duke refused to hand him over. It was only after he claimed the French throne a few years later that Louis began to feud with the Burgundian family that had aided
The city not only financially supported this endeavour but the municipal government willingly became host to a commission of royal functionaries asserting control over these matters. Once again Troyes emerged as a base for national planning and mediation. Wealthy families of the city actively performed in this process and through their involvement carved out a niche as powerful leaders on the local stage. Their influence in the political situation was even noticed by king, who at the League of the Public Weal in 1465 accused some of Troyes’ elite of offering intelligence to the duke of Burgundy. For the most part Troyes and its leaders supported the king’s attempt to centralise the French monarchy that was to be achieved through the restoration of feudal governments on an independent basis. This plan was a direct effort to stop Charles the Bold from absorbing these lands into one kingdom with Flanders, Brabant and Holland.

By 1470 Louis XI gained control over the duchy of Burgundy and in effort to centralise power in the cities of his kingdom he transformed the structure of local government by replacing their charters with the échevinage. In Troyes the longstanding municipal council took responsibility for organising this new system composed of thirty-six counsellors that elected twelve échevins (aldermen). These representatives were to serve two-year terms and brought with them sixty-four nobles from differing quarters of the city. This larger system of local governance became host to two powerful families, the Hennequins and Mauroys, who in this period came to the forefront of the ruling class. The rise of affluent families was a direct consequence of their allegiance to the crown and the economic expansion promulgated by the king. Investment in the industries of textile, leather and silk boosted the local economy and provided a base for trade interactions in Lyon, Italy and Flanders. In turn, these families

him. His wrath focused on Philip’s son, Charles the Bold, who had joined forces with Charles de Valois, duke of Berry, to lead the League of the Public Weal rebellion.

35 Bibolet 1999, p. 129.

36 Bibolet 1999, p. 130. From the mid-1460s the king launched an investigation against these two families under the assumption that they were leaders in providing intelligence to the duke of Burgundy. By 1474 there was no evidence to conclude that they were guilty of this accusation and both families continued to prosper.
began to acquire various titles for allegiance to the kingdom.\textsuperscript{37} It was in this social and economic climate that the late middle ages came to fruition in Troyes, ending a century of civil war and international conflict.

\textit{Demand for Art, State of Patronage}

In order to examine the state of patronage in Troyes it is important to be aware of the practice in wider context. Broadly, the patronage of art in northern Europe during the fifteenth century has gained considerable interest in recent years. The 2004 Louvre exhibition entitled \textit{Paris 1400} presented a great deal of material for the re-examination of the patronage of Charles VI and his court.\textsuperscript{38} Susie Nash’s books in the subjects of André Beauneveu, Claus Sluter, Northern Renaissance art and manuscript illumination in Amiens extended this scope to offer modern analysis on various aspects of artistic patronage and the material production of a work in the medieval north.\textsuperscript{39} Sherry Lindquist’s research on the visual program of the Chartreuse de Champmol presented a site-specific study focused on reading the social and visual discourse associated with the patronage of Philip the Bold, and moreover offered a look at the process of developing visual politics in French art.\textsuperscript{40} And moreover, Stephen Perkinson’s work on portraiture of the Valois dynasty presented understanding of the modes of social interpretation in relation to perceived representations of visual ‘likeness’ arranged between artist and patron.\textsuperscript{41} To some extent this Franco-centric scholarship is reactionary to the attention associated with patronage of the Italian Renaissance. It is moreover representative of a trend in medieval scholarship concerned with tracing the pre-existing modes of patronage in northern Europe; with particular focus afforded to those systems cultivated in France and the Netherlands. Marina Belozerskaya honed in on this trend in

\textsuperscript{37} Bibolet 1999, pp. 139-140.
\textsuperscript{38} Avril and Taburet 2004.
\textsuperscript{40} Lindquist 2008.
\textsuperscript{41} Perkinson 2009.
research around the Burgundian court by pointing out that non-Italocentric studies offer a
comparative interpretation to standard art historical views of late medieval patronage, which
in turn paints a fuller picture of the subject as a cultural practice in a pan-European context.\textsuperscript{42}
This observation is at the core of synthesising the context of such activity in Troyes.
Examining the development of patronage in context of this small French city offers
comparative perspective on the greater cultural practice. In what ways was the situation in
Troyes similar or different to those developed elsewhere? How does understanding this
system relate to the culture and practice surrounding the production of art? This research
aspires to explore these questions.

Gaining wider perspective in this area begins with examining the cultural system in
which Troyes participated. In this realm the city shared political, social and religious
affinities with two French courts, those based around the king and duke of Burgundy.
Undoubtedly, the collecting habits of these courts influenced artists and patrons of lower
social strata. The patronage of those associated with this circle reached a new standard
around 1400 when the shift in the cultural priority of these groups toward the consumption of
art presented an intense moment of production that resulted in a diverse dissemination of
work. It may be fair to say that to some extent this situation emanated from the artistic
agenda of the monarchy surrounding Charles VI. The production of costly projects and
organisation of ‘international’ artists bred a new visual culture moulded through the
patronage and political prerogatives of the king and his brothers (the dukes of Burgundy,
Berry, and Anjou).\textsuperscript{43} The innovation of the artistic output associated with the royal class
influenced artists and patrons throughout France and affected what was commissioned and
made in smaller centres like Troyes. Admittedly, the precise correlation of the diffusion of
this art has yet to be contextually examined with the application of modern methodology; it

\textsuperscript{42} Belozerskaya 2002.
\textsuperscript{43} Chancel-Bardelot 2004, p. 173.
however most likely focuses on the diffusion of artistic training in and out of Paris and the *emulative* spread of patronage among social classes.\(^{44}\)

Many historical factors complicate the web of patronage studies in this area and at the same time make for an amusing French drama. The extreme rivalry between the princely brothers intensified the artistic environment. Competition for the most talented artists opened a market for professionals from all over the medieval West. The interchange of training, ideas and collaborative projects made for an exclusive artistic culture of competition. At the same time rivalry between artists for their own demand ensued. For example legal documents from 1399 reveal that Jacquemart de Hesdin, illuminator under the patronage of the duke of Berry, was accused of stealing sketches and murdering a fellow artist. This occurred when Hesdin was working in Poitiers at the duke’s castle, where the painter John of Holland accused the illuminator of breaking into a box and stealing his models. The dispute escalated when Hesdin and two other men confronted Holland’s brother-in-law, who in the ensuing fight was stabbed in the stomach. Hesdin and his accomplices fled for asylum at the abbey of Montierneuf while the duke issued a royal decree pardoning them.\(^{45}\) The undertone of artistic competition shows that the exchange of ideas among artists in the court was guarded to a certain degree and perhaps hints that some artists viewed their career mobility in terms of artistic ingenuity. This evidence also reveals much about the valued relationship between artist and patron in the French court. The patron’s favoritism toward the genius of specific artists was a compelling incentive. For artists outside association with the royal circle there was perhaps more opportunity for the exchange of ideas that resulted in an awareness of

\(^{44}\) The first attempt to assess this situation occurred in terms of looking at the evolution of shared artistic style in the art of Western Europe. The term ‘international gothic’ coined by French art historian Louis Courajod in the late nineteenth century is still used by many historians today and to some extent is quite limiting due to the fluid use of its meaning. Courajod’s special interest in the theory arose from his studies on the transition of style witnessed in sculpture produced in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; in this pursuit he identified national factors as determinants of style. Since the birth of this theory much more information concerning nationhood and race has proven to represent a much more complex web than Courajod could have imagined. Along with this, the academic field’s continued use of the term reinforces the notion of standard nineteenth century art history – forcing all art into defined parameters of style to fit a schematic chronology.\(^{45}\) Camille 1996, pp. 128-9.
significant developments in the art produced for noble patrons. This is most evident in studies of style, and in particular the transfusion of style witnessed in manuscript illumination. As will be discussed later remnants of this process in Troyes raise discussion concerning the value placed on the style of court artists in the wider market.

The events of the Hundred Years War burgeoned at the feet of this artistic environment and caused disruption between art and economy. In the early years of the dynastic struggle between the Burgundians and Armagnacs Troyes ultimately lent its support to the dukes of Burgundy. The rise of Burgundian influence began under the aegis of the king’s uncle, Philip the Bold, who acquired the duchy of Burgundy in 1363 as a reward for his valorous debut at the Battle of Poitiers some years earlier. Taking residence in Dijon he cultivated the Burgundian branch of the Valois dynasty. His court grew renowned for its indulgent extravagance, territorial prowess, artistic patronage and religious fervour. The status of the court grew as Philip asserted more power over the French throne and by the 1380s he was instrumental in the management of the kingdom. From an early period the duke recognised Troyes as an important financial and religious centre. Most noteworthy were his attempts in forging connections with the local ecclesiastical community. Evidence for this relationship moreover emerges from bishop Pierre d’Arcis’ prominent role in the dedication of the duke’s Carthusian foundation, Chartreuse de Champmol, in 1388. Moreover, with the death of Philip in 1404 the cathedral was elected one of twelve prestigious stops in the funeral cortège and in return was given a Lucchese drape. The elaborate display of this

---

46 In this period Philip premiered as regent on behalf of the young Charles VI: for instance, in 1385 he proposed the marriage between Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria; and in 1382 he was instrumental during the re-imposition of taxes and subsequent suppression of the Harelle revolt in Rouen.

47 The date of the dedication is found in register B 11671, Comptes de la chartreuse, fol. 249v provided in Prochno 2002, p. 303. I have translated this from the Middle French transcription: ‘Money paid for the said amount for the organisation of the dedication of the church of this chartreuse which was dedicated on the day of the Trinity, 24 May 1388, by the bishop of Troyes and others of the holy church…[10.6.1388].’

48 The list of transactions for the funeral of Philip the Bold were recorded in the Compte de Jean Chousat, treasurer and receveur general of the duke of Burgundy, 1403-1404, held in the Dijon archives, B 1538, fol. 243v. The reference to Troyes cathedral reads, ‘To Jacques Rapondi for the purchase and delivery of twelve Lucchese drapes which by instruction of my said lord of Nevers were taken and purchased by Jacques for
event involved the procession of a 700 pound lead coffin placed in a hearse that was draped in a golden cloth embellished with a crimson velvet cross and drawn by six horses ornamented in black finery. A group of sixty mourners draped in dramatic costume accessorised with various hats and hoods made from 2,000 ells of black cloth that had been ordered in Brussels followed behind.\textsuperscript{49}

The proceeding dukes of Burgundy continued to invest their wealth in countless opulent projects to justify their multifaceted ambitions. The art they were patrons to materialised to express political aspiration and at the same time celebrated the prowess of conquered achievements.\textsuperscript{50} The growth of the empire, both economically and territorially, cultivated a syncretic visual culture. The Burgundians were therefore greatly responsible for the diffusion of Franco-Netherlandish art, and their investment in this visual culture set a standard for artistic consumption and production across Europe. In this respect, those associated with the French court were not only political leaders but also served as cultural as well, constructing a model for the classes of patrons and artists of differing wealth and skill.

The diffusion of art in Troyes followed a trend associated with this culture: the rise of powerful religious institutions and urban bourgeoisie with a shared interest in cultural products associated with religious devotion, civic class and personal prestige. Over the

\footnotesize{donation to the churches where the body of Monseigneur rest in the journey from Halle to Dijon and they were handled by Martin Ponier, confessor of my lord of Nevers, who distributed and delivered them to the churches of Villers, de Gradmont, d’Audenanrde, de Courtray, de Saint Pierre de Lille, de Saint Anne de Douay, de Saint Quentin de Neuf Chastel, de Saint Pierre de Troyes, de Bar sur Saine, de Notre Dame de Chastelles en l’église de Saint Soigne and in the chartreuse of Troyes, de Bar sur Saine, de Notre Dame de Chastelles en l’église de Saint Soigne and in the chartreuse of Dijon, it is known that each of these churches has one drape, each one [valuing] XII escus.’ I have translated this from the middle French transcription in the appendix in Prochno 2002, p. 269.}\n
The mention of Jacques Rapondi shows the special relationship the duke had with the Rapondi family, which had served the duke in various ways. Originated in the Italian city of Luccan the Rapondi family was active in the financial industry of the late middle ages, being based in Lucca, Paris and Bruges. Between 1360 and 1470 they dominated the circles of ducal and urban finance in the west. Their success in this area was ultimately the result of an incomplete state formation; they took interest in selling luxury silks and granting large loans to the French king, transferred hundreds of thousands of florins to the Avignon papacy and cultivated a close relationship in managing the finances of the Burgundian empire. For more on the activities of the Rapondi see the study of Lambert 2006.\textsuperscript{49} Vaughan 2002, pp. 1-2.\textsuperscript{50} Belozerskaya 2002, p. 48. The author notes that the Burgundians strove for a balance of brilliance and ingenuity in their displays, employing the best artists and most expensive materials to fashion an impression of magnitude.
duration of the fifteenth century, as in many other French cities, the culture of patronage developed as churches and individuals, both clergy and lay, acquired a taste for various luxury objects. The market for illuminated books, sculpture, painting, stained glass, metalwork, tapestry and clothing met the coveted needs of a devout community. In turn the affable rapport between church and community made for a warm artistic environment. Where churches did not have the funds to patronise their demands were met through means of private donation from individual or family. The endowed culture of ‘gift-giving’ was beneficiary to both involved. The church received objects it required for function and display while the donor firmly rooted their presence and devotion in the eyes of church and community. The rise of affluent families involved in this interaction infused a wave of patronage and consequently paved a way for acknowledgement of their participation in the religious, political and social fabric of the city. To some extent these families followed in the church’s footsteps. Throughout the first half of the fifteenth century the church played a primary role in civic affairs and although the ecclesiastical community’s participation in these efforts did not decline toward the end of the middle ages the implantation of wealthy families in this milieu punctuated a new environment. As a collective base for artistic demand the churches, individuals and families of Troyes came to support a community of artists and skilled craftsmen.

*Arts and Artists of Fifteenth Century Troyes*

Who were the artists and craftsmen that composed the artistic community of Troyes? This is a challenging question to assess in consideration of the fact that surviving physical and documentary evidence often does not meet in a harmonious fashion. The most viable evidence supporting the presence of these professionals is found in fabric accounts that were kept by local churches. In the period between 1380 and 1520 the names of approximately
thirty illuminators, fifty-two painters, sixty-seven glaziers, sixty-seven sculptors and eight tapissiers emerge from these documents. As financial records the fabrics do not offer abundant detail concerning the individual or work. They moreover briefly record a dateable year, artist name, project and payment. In some cases the mention of the town the artist came from provides evidence of foreign artistry, which indicates that ‘outside’ influence was present. Another source of information derived from ecclesiastical archives are inventories, which offer insight on the general collection of goods. These are not trustworthy documents in terms of tracing artists and local production but are useful for the purpose of gaining perspective on the collecting habits of institutions. Complimenting this area are wills and testaments that record the private goods individuals amassed and donated to the church upon death. Together all of these sources are evidence for a specific market of patrons, namely that of ecclesiastical institutions and their associated individuals. In turn, evidence for patronage of the lay classes offers some insight on the artists of the city. From an archival perspective lay patronage is more difficult to ascertain due to the fact that independent records of individuals and families are non-existent in the archives. Without this documentation material objects with indications of ownership (e.g. armorials) are the most reliable source for analysis. Overall, information for artists in Troyes is to some extent greatly dependent on such physical material. Complicating this equation is the perpetual fact that for the existing archival evidence there is no surviving physical evidence and vice versa. Taken at individual value each area provides pieces to the grand puzzle of artists and patrons.

Consideration of the status of the arts and artists in other cities during this period offers comparative observation. In relation to what was happening in surrounding urban centres Troyes was placed in a unique position. The city’s geographic proximity to these centres harnessed the potential for artistic exchange. And as discovered in the progression of this research there is some evidence for this type of interaction. To the west the city of
Bourges during the first half of the fifteenth century was a leading artistic haven. Much of this activity focused on the patronage of the duke of Berry and his near by chateau Mehun-sur-Yèvre. His patronage attracted the most skilled artists and architects from various locations across Europe. There is some evidence for interaction between professionals in Troyes and those working at this site. The cathedral fabric from 1413-1414 reveals that the master mason (Thomas Michelin) and master of work on the bell tower (Jehan de Nantes) made a trip to the chateau to see the bell tower. This exchange is perhaps evidence for a system the ducal court established for the instruction of outside craftsmen. Indeed those under the patronage of the duke were granted freedom to interact with professionals outside the royal circle; in another cathedral document from 1417 Jehan de Nantes and proviseur Jehan Blanche made a trip to Paris to discuss the making of the windows, pinnacles and balustrades of the bell tower with Jehan Guerart, master of works for the duke of Berry.52

One major issue prohibiting the study of this system of artistic exchange is the fact that the Mehun complex does not stand today, and along with this its accounts were destroyed by fire in 1737 at the Chambre des Comptes in Paris. The famed illustration of the chateau witnessed in the miniature of the Temptation of Christ from the Très Riches Heures offers a glimpse into the visual splendour of the site. In this the chateau appears as a four-towered structure with many sculptural elements in its decoration. The architect responsible for the design and construction of the complex was Guy de Dammartin, who started work around 1370.53 Many craftsmen were employed at the site not only during this period, but

---

51 Murray 1987, p. 141.
52 Murray 1987, p. 143.
53 The first documentation of this master notes that he was trained in the workshop of Raymond du Temple (master mason to Charles V and Charles VI) and first worked in Paris for Charles V in 1365 on the sculptural program and great staircase of the Louvre. In 1370 he was working for the Duke de Berry as master in charge of overseeing the construction and renovation of ducal residences; specifically he is mentioned as working on those in Poitiers, Bourges, Riom, Concessault and Mehun-sur-Yèvre. He was known for his extensive use of Flamboyant style, which made him one of the earliest French masters to utilise this aesthetic. For more see ‘Guy [Guillot; Guyot] de Dammartin’, Oxford Dictionary of Art Online <<accessed 12/02/2012>>. In terms of its construction, by 1383 the Duke laid the first stone for the passage between the chateau and chapel. In 1385 sections of the building were habitable; evidence for this comes from Froissart who noted that the duke’s
also after the construction a flow of artists continued. According to Froissart by the end of the 1380s André Beauneveu was present as the superintendent of sculptural and painted works.\textsuperscript{54} By 1393 artists outside of the duke’s patronage were visiting Mehun. A document reveals that Philip the Bold sent Claus Sluter and Jean de Beaumetz from Dijon to Mehun ‘to visit certain painted works, sculptures and metalwork of the duke of Berry’.\textsuperscript{55} The use of the chateau as a site for international art production and training is a significant development that highlights the sophisticated level of communication achieved among artists of varying backgrounds. Undoubtedly the work and training that took place at the site influenced the production of art and architecture throughout France.

Moreover, the work associated with the chateau trickled into residential Bourges where many professionals lived. While under the patronage of the duke the Limbourg brothers lived in the city. The eldest, Paul, was given a house on the duke’s behalf in 1411 at number 5 rue Porte Jaune. The residence previously belonged to the court treasurer Christophe de la Mer and in documentation from 1434 was described as ‘one of the largest, distinguished and most spacious residences in Bourges’; it is likely that this site was where the brothers established their workshop.\textsuperscript{56} As the capital of the duchy other local projects associated with the court offered the artistic community work. Two of the most illustrious were the construction and decoration of the Sainte-Chapelle of the duke and the hotel commissioned by Jacques Coeur, financier of Charles VII.

To the south of Troyes the court of Burgundy in Dijon posed as another nucleus of

---

\textsuperscript{54} Bober 1953, p. 742.
\textsuperscript{55} Scher 1968, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{56} Dückers 2005, p. 22. The highly organised nature of the duke’s support of his artists did not cease here, it seems that his court took great concern in welfare of his workers. For example, in a letter to the duke dated 23 March 1386 the Infante John of Aragon informs explains that the wife and sons of the master Moorish potter Pascual Marti (whose services had been specifically requested by Jean de Berry in 1382) received notice from Bourges of his death, and that they wish for the duke to arrange for the return of the master’s goods to the family. For reference to this see Evans 1948, p. 136.
high-level work. Like the situation in Bourges the majority of art production was not city-
centric, but was focused more in the private realm around the needs of the court.\textsuperscript{57} In the late
middle ages many prominent artists took residence in the city. The painters Jean de
Beaumetz, Jean Malouel, Henri Bellechose and Melchoir Broederlam all secured patronage
under the duke along with the sculptors Jean de Marville, Claus Sluter and Claus de Werve.
The majority of this work was concentrated at the Charetreuse de Champmol, a site that
became a monument exemplary of ducal power and Carthusian devotion. Charged with
potent political and religious imagery the artistic reputation of Champmol came to symbolise
a bureaucratic model for the tight control and use of artistic innovation to reinforce a
conservative worldview.\textsuperscript{58} With this in mind, there is no doubt as to why Philip the Bold
allowed a few powerful outside members a glimpse into this world. The duke’s use of bishop
Pierre d’Arcis (1378-1395) in the dedication of the site provides evidence of this interface.
Along with this the duke apparently extended generosity toward Troyes cathedral to not only
benefit his religious agenda but also in attempt to stimulate religious building projects.\textsuperscript{59} The
Chartreuse, in effect, stood in the middle of this landscape as a visual model symbolic of
Burgundian devotional and political authority.

Another major centre during this period was Paris, which had been established as a
hub for craftsmen from all over western Europe. In this location architects, masons, sculptors,
illuminators and painters all contributed to the development of a significant market for
training and production. The city housed the largest population of any urban development in
Europe and by 1400 established the leading artistic industries.\textsuperscript{60} In the early fifteenth century
events surrounding the decentralisation of the capital resulted in an exodus of these
populations. The greatest danger was the state of factional violence that erupted into

\textsuperscript{57} Antoine 2004, p. 289.
\textsuperscript{58} Lindquist 2008, p. 206.
\textsuperscript{59} Antoine 2004, p. 167.
\textsuperscript{60} Nash 2008, p. 76.
continuous civil war. Along with this the presence of the troops outside of the city resulted in lock down after gates were filled with masonry and closed for years at a time. Even with accessibility out of Paris the roads were unsafe, because of this the lack in distribution of adequate food and fuel resulted in a growing unhealthy population susceptible to epidemic.\textsuperscript{61} For both patrons and artists the trade and production of luxury goods was inauspicious. Professionals were forced to seek asylum or leave in search of new patronage. The workshop of Christine de Pizan, for instance, was forced to close in this period when political events spiralled out of control. She found refuge in the abbey of Poissy for a period of time to avoid the dangerous urban atmosphere.\textsuperscript{62} Confronted with this situation some professionals opted to settle in smaller cities like Troyes. This artistic displacement created a new source of demand in provincial cities. This situation in the book trade, for example, resulted in a democratic shift in ownership and production when illuminators became accessible in smaller cities and were available to the needs of a middle market.\textsuperscript{63}

The rise of a greater middle markets developed across the North in this period, and to the east of Troyes the Burgundian cities nestled in the Netherlands formulated competition with French industries. The shift toward the production of luxury goods in these cities became a strong magnet for artists and consumers following the misfortunes of Paris and the collapse of the demand for luxury goods after 1420.\textsuperscript{64} By the second half of the fifteenth century the Burgundian towns of Bruges, Brussels and Antwerp accrued the largest concentration of artists. Judging from the recorded activity of their guilds the registered number of new members in these cities continually increased at a rapid pace over the

\textsuperscript{61} Rouse and Rouse 2000, p. 286.
\textsuperscript{62} Laidlaw 2006, p. 301.
\textsuperscript{63} Nash 2008, p. 25. The author notes that this democratic shift was characterised by the fact that more manuscripts were owned by more people, many of which were produced for the speculative trade that demanded a middle market for less expensive objects.
\textsuperscript{64} Nash 2008, p. 72.
It is unfortunate that no evidence of artistic guild organisation has been discovered in Troyes. These were established in many larger cities during the period and enacted with multifaceted intentions. As Susie Nash points out in her work on the Northern renaissance the regulations perpetrated by guilds aimed to systematise the training of apprenticeships and establish the rules and procedures for mastering a craft, which included the regulation of materials used and the protection of members from competition of foreigners, imports and monopolies. Overall, guilds insured the quality of local work and production. It may perhaps be the case in Troyes that the records do not survive, but it is very likely that these guilds did not exist. In his research Stephen Murray has noted that over the entire history of the construction of the cathedral no evidence supporting the establishment of trade unions or guilds is present. What the documents record is the presence of masters instituted a system of hiring workers on an ad hoc basis. One might question what this means for the artistic community of the city? At the most basic level the lack of guilds in any artistic craft must have made for a fluid environment, one in which artists could come and go as work was available. The status of this situation will perhaps become clearer as this paper takes into consideration the material and physical evidence from Troyes.

On account of the fact that guild regulations often outline the use of raw materials the lack of this evidence in Troyes hinders the study of materials traded and used by local artists. In this area the objects themselves and fabric accounts that record their creation remain the most vital source. It is known that the supply of stone, for example, was often sourced from the county of Tonnerre in Burgundy. This association is found in fabric accounts from churches in Troyes beginning in the thirteenth century. This specific stone was used for construction at Saint-Urbain, which as an architectural project set the standard for refined

---

65 Nash 2008, p. 76-77.
67 Murray 1987, p. 111.
Gothic architecture in Troyes. In his massive work on French architecture Viollet le Duc notes that this stone was used at the church because those found in and around Troyes were of chalk quality, being only appropriate for filling vaults. He also explains that the stone from was expensive from an early period and although it was firmly rough it possessed a tight grain for carving. Structurally the stone was quite versatile, as it was also used in support for foundational walls and also for decorative portions of the building. The strength of the material even survived two destructive campaigns led by a group of vengeful nuns who in effort to halt work at the site attempted to destroy the interior.

In terms of the skills used in working materials it is evident that some artisans in Troyes possessed mastery in various mediums. In the fifteenth century there emerge nine painter/illuminators, ten painter/glaziers, eleven painter/sculptors, twenty carvers/sculptors and ten mason/sculptors working in various respects. Although the malleability of craft was common among artists in northern Europe during this period it was not always accepted. Cities with guild regulations often prohibited this type of work. Along with this, the local presence of multi-skilled artists presents a problem in accurately identifying the numbers of specified ‘groups’ of artists. Moreover, what can be inferred from their presence is a sense of flexibility among patrons, who supported this system by offering jobs of flexible capacity. In church documentation large projects were far outnumbered by the need for short-term ‘odd’ jobs (such as repair, painted decoration and heraldic work). With this, versatile artisans were more often the ones who filled these roles. The fact that the work of these professionals was

---

68 Viollet le Duc 1856, vl. 4, p. 186.
69 The church was commissioned by Pope Urban IV in May 1262; through the bequest of ten thousand silver marks he intended for the monument to commemorate his birthplace. The chosen site was originally the location of the cobbler shop owned by his father and had previously been bequeathed to the convent of Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains. In a note to the abbess Urban asked for the return of the land so that he might build a church and establish a college of canons to be directed under papal supervision (See Hayward 1998, p. 167). The early period of the construction was fuelled with politics as the convent fought ardently to reclaim this territory, and the abbess was even credited with orchestrating two destructive invasions of the church which; the first, a break-in that left the main altar destroyed, doors broken and tools of workers stolen, and the second a major fire (See Davis 1984, p. 851).
70 Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, ‘Fiches Natalis Rondot’.
acceptable among patrons further supports the notion that there were no guild regulations stipulated in the city. With the lack of regulations this type of work was not monitored, leaving divisions between crafts a grey area and giving artists with diverse skill levels the opportunity for employment.

MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION

The market for the production of illuminated manuscripts in Troyes developed over the late middle ages. In terms of gaining perspective on the professionals involved in the local industry the most reliable information comes from church archives. In the period of this study the names of thirty some illuminators can be firmly identified. A great majority of these illuminators worked for the cathedral, which kept meticulous record of payments for various services in their fabric accounts. For example, in 1456-1457 Jean Foulain was paid 13 sous 9 deniers for ‘certain histories’ and another 5 sous for working on a history of Beatus vir and breviaries for the bishop. In 1460-1461 Antoine Lescuier illuminated a Vie des Saints and was paid 7 sous 6 deniers. In 1484-1485 Jean de Bargues illuminated and bound five volumes of church law on paper for 100 sous. It is rare for the documents to render detailed information beyond identification of work, illuminator and payment but in one rare instance an illuminator’s behaviour outside the patronage of the church is mentioned. An episcopal docket from 1494 recounts on the first Thursday of Lent the illuminator Jean Camus participated in gambling with his companions and in multiple card games lost 70 sous given to him by Étienne Le Boucherat for illuminating a book of hours. In a comical twist of events Camus was forced to surrender the clothes on his back as further collateral. With this, the libraire Jean Gauthier sent Camus to prison for his debts, where he remained until

71 Troyes, Archives de l’Aube,‘Fiches Natalis Rondot’.
72 Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, G. 308, f. 27.
73 Troyes, Arcives de l’Aube, G. 2318, f. 423.
74 Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, G. 1568, f. 199.
Monday. The lack of reference to any regulating body among these workers, such as a guild, perhaps shows that no such organisation was in order. This practice was not particularly uncommon, in larger centres like Amiens and Rouen guilds were not established in the book trade. Without the governance of a guild working practice was apparently upheld to a certain degree by municipal law. Moreover, the documented interaction from the cathedral docket highlights the productive and financial dependence of working arrangements within the book industry. Illuminators were not the only individuals responsible for the production of books but they were a part of a greater professional community that formed a network of commercial trade.

Supporting the work of illuminators was the presence of thirty-seven bookbinders (relieurs), sixteen scribes (écritains) and seven book dealers (libraires). It is often the case that these professionals fulfilled more than one role in the book industry. For example, in 1486-7 Jean Thierry (alias ‘Jean de Brienne’) was paid 16 sous 8 deniers for binding five grand volumes for the bishop and along with this he was given payment of 54 sous 8 deniers for ‘using pigment of blue, gold and red to illuminate the books which the bishop had purchased from printers in Troyes’. This shows that not only did the multi-faceted skills of local professionals add to the services of the industry but also the presence of the printing press in the late fifteenth century introduced a new aspect to the organisation of the trade.

The first press appeared in Troyes in 1483 under the ownership of Jean Le Rouge and his son Guillaume. This technology was introduced around the same time in other French cities, with the first books being printed in Paris in 1470, Lyon 1473, Angers 1477, Toulouse

---

75 Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, G. 4183, f. 4.
76 Nash 1999, p. 49.
77 Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, ‘Fiches Natalis Rondot’.
78 The purchased books included Décrétales, Sixiesme, Clémentines, Catholicon, La Bible, Racionale divinorum officiorum, Ratio et Modus, Répertoires de Brixienne and Exposition du Psautier’. G. 317, f. 34. The reference to the purchase of books from printers in the city is evidence that the printing press was established in this period, and also shows that local illuminators adapted to this technology.
1479, Caen 1480 and Brittany1484. The press in Troyes appears to have closed when Guillaume left for Paris in 1494. This halted printed production until 1506 when Jean Lecoq came from Paris and established a press on la rue Notre Dame. Lecoq may have been drawn to the city as industry competition stiffened in the capital and was perhaps lured by Troyen libraires who conducted business with Parisian printers to meet local demand.

It is also in this period that libraires first appear in local record. Although their archival debut may seem quite late, the organisational role of these professionals were likely adopted by binders and scribes. This is perhaps supported by the fact that the seven identified Troyen libraires can be associated with both professions. Historically, the nature of terminology applied to those in the book industry in the middle ages was loosely interchangeable. In Paris, for example, libraires were established from the thirteenth century and performed multiple roles as sellers, contractors, scribes and in some cases illuminators. In contrast, while between 1438 and 1500 sixteen libraires in Amiens were recorded no reference to binders appears until the seventeenth century; indicating these services were performed by scribes and libraires. Furthermore, the arrival of the libraire in Troyes denotes an organised industry of trade comparable with those established in other cities with active book markets. The Troyen libraires’ association with the Grande Rue, between the church of Saint-Urbain and the Hotel de Ville, may indicate the site of the book trade. As Richard and Mary Rouse have shown in their research it was a common pattern for the book industry in medieval cities to be clustered into communal neighbourhoods.

Evidence for the interaction of book professionals can be witnessed in archives that in some instances show elements of work appropriation and cooperation on various projects. In 1420-14211 the cathedral commissioned two graduals that were written by Jean l’écritain

---

79 Booton 2010, p. 97
81 Rouse and Rouse 2000, p. 25.
82 Nash 1999, p. 49.
83 Rouse and Rouse 2000, p. 19.
and illuminated by Nicole Pontie; they were covered with leather and closed with clasps
made by silversmith Jean La Rotière. In 1499-1500 Jean Du Bois was given 20 deniers for
writing and illuminating the *Vie de Sainte-Marguerite* in three books of parchment that were
then bound by Lyonnet Housse at the cost of 20 deniers. Although these instances do not
detail working technique or procedure they nonetheless provide a glimpse into the stages of
production and number of individuals involved in individual projects.

In terms of the collection of illuminated books the efforts of Troyens evolved over the
fifteenth century. Illuminated books were among the most sought after luxury objects among
the literate class. In particular, members of the ecclesiastical community collected a multitude
of books. Evidence for this trend emerges from not only church fabric records but in
collections of inventories and surviving wills of canons, priests and bishops. The documents
are helpful for analysing the established culture of book collecting and demonstrate that a
diversity of books were collected; these ranged in genre from missals, books of hours,
romances and biblical commentaries by Latin authors. The sheer number amassed by some
individuals leaves the impression that there was a used trade for collecting in the city and also
hints that some patrons were likely participating in external markets.

One notable bibliophile emerging from documentation is Guillaume Galeret, who
upon his death possessed a collection of forty-six manuscripts. Galeret played an active role
in the municipal and religious communities. He is recorded in 1398 as a canon at Saint
Étienne and also again at Troyes cathedral in 1409. In 1412 he was elected lieutenant bailiff
of the city and obtained the title of ‘maître’ for his role as clerk on the pontifical chancellery
counsel where he was ‘d’abréviateur’ of apostolic letters sent to the papacy in Avignon. An
inventory of possessions compiled after his death in 1434 reveals that Galeret lived a

---

84 Archives de l’Aube, G. 1561, f. 273.
85 Archives de l’Aube, G. 1571, f. 282.
relatively modest domestic life. In his chamber he possessed two beds, a hemp night cap, another bed covered with a cushion, three feather pillows covered in white fabric, a copper bath basin, three trunks of clothing and linens, a safe holding sums of money, one dresser, three oak tables, three old benches, one stool, one clock, a pair of firedogs and an alabaster sculpture of the Virgin which was to be donated to the church in his hometown of Piney. Galeret’s collection of forty-six manuscripts is quite noteworthy. Much of his collection was devoted to biblical commentaries, judicial church theology and works on pastoral functions. He also possessed standard copies of such works as De proprietatibus rerum and Legenda aurea. The list also includes descriptions of a missal and breviary (both Use of Rome) that are noted by the writer as being ‘very beautiful’.

Another individual by the name Jean Blanche, described as a ‘priest and poet of the cathedral’, possessed in his 1438 will ninety-eight manuscripts. The scribe of the will, Guyon Mine, compiled this list by noting the type of book, a description of the cover and details of the interior folios. Similar to Galeret’s collection, Blanche possessed numerous books for the Use of Troyes as well as a significant number of liturgical works with Uses outside the city. Although books with Uses of Troyes could have been produced outside of the region this is unlikely given that surviving books share a distinct style, which as a homogenous group can be chronologically organised. Supporting the notion that these books were actually made in the city is the presence of at least ten local illuminators in this

---

86 The will of Galeret is preserved in Troyes, Archives de l'Aube, G. 2288, totalling 48 folios. The list of books (ff. 46-47) in his possession have been transcribed and published by A. Chalandon in Les bibliothèques des ecclésiastiques de Troyes du XIV au XVI siècle, pp. 88-90. F. Bibolet also discusses the career and collection this individual in her 2002 article ‘Deux chanoines et un évêque à Troyes’, pp. 137-142.

87 Based on their Uses these books were likely produced outside of Troyes and may be evidence that Galeret had access to an external market. Indeed, it may be correct to assert judging by the diversity of books identified in wills that the city had ties to an external market. At the same time, it may be possible that these books were simply handed-down through inheritance and had been collected years before. Either way it was inevitable that books produced and collected outside of the city were in the hands of Troyens.

88 Two documents are preserved in the Archives de l’Aube relating to his possessions; the first G. 2289, 33 folios, consists of a list of goods from his home including descriptions of vestments, furniture and household objects; and second G. 2290, folios 32-39, an inventory of his library. For transcription of the second see Chalandon 2001, pp. 42-46.

89 Avril 2007, pp. 36-37. The author explains that on account of the great number of hours produced for the ‘Use of Troyes’ it is relatively easy to establish a chronology of books and makers through characteristics of style.
period. As the centre for the diocese and commerce Troyes possessed the means to support the practice of illumination.

In terms of surviving physical evidence quite a few illuminated manuscripts can firmly be traced to Troyen individuals and families. In his work on illumination in Champagne during the late Middle Ages François Avril notes that surviving evidence demonstrates that in the fifteenth century artists in Troyes steadily produced a variety of books for a wide clientele. In terms of local illumination prior to this period very little is known. Evidence from the fourteenth century identifies only six professionals that are associated with work for the cathedral. With this, physical evidence of their work is limited to few examples of miniatures and initial decoration. As it appears the history of illuminated activity in the city during the late middle ages began around 1400 with the debut of an illuminator known as the Master of Troyes. The surviving works of this artist are the earliest examples of illumination in this period. In terms of what is left to study the books he (or she) produced were of all types (missals, pontificals, books of hours) and for various patrons.

Although there is significant physical evidence for his presence scholars know virtually nothing about this artist. A unified body of his work first came to light in Millard Meiss’ massive volume on fifteenth century French manuscript illumination, in which Meiss classified him as a ‘minor master who illuminated manuscripts for Troyes and two other towns nearby in Champagne between 1390 and 1415’. Painted as a ‘minor master’ the illuminator’s contributions have been largely disregarded by academics. What is known is that the Master of Troyes’ career most likely began under the patronage of the cathedral and

---

90 Rondot 1882, pp. 42-43.
91 Avril 2007, p. 41.
92 Meiss 1974, p. 46.
93 The term ‘minor master’ further denotes the prejudice that traditional medieval art historical scholarship has placed on artists who did not produce high quality results.
Étienne de Givry, bishop of Troyes between 1395 and 1426.\textsuperscript{94} One of the earliest works he produced was a pontifical (BNF Lat. 962) with the arms of the church and bishop. Étienne was known to be a bibliophile who had a great impact upon the religious and cultural life of the city. He began his career in the collège de Dormans where he was in charge of accounts between 1381 and 1391 and also held another position in Paris as an advisor to the Parliament.\textsuperscript{95} Upon his death in 1426 a record of books found in his Paris residence was recorded.\textsuperscript{96} The compiled list renders descriptions of a luxurious collection, describing nine books illuminated in gold and rich colours and bound in covers adorned with pearls and silk. Of particular interest is the description of his pontifical which reads; ‘Item, another so-called pontifical, Use of Troyes, closed with two silver clasps and a blue enamel of the arms of the said Reverend, in each of these enclosures hangs lapis, a cover of red silk with a pearl button; illuminated with gold, blue and other colours; vignettes and histories all painted, the arms of the church and said Reverend located on the seventh folio...’.\textsuperscript{97} Although the description lacks any bit of contextual lustre concerning the painting found inside it is fortunate that this book survives today for scholars to study. The Master of Troyes produced twenty miniatures in this that depict scenes of confirmation, ordination, blessing and church dedication. The figures rendered were modelled with a great deal of sophistication and detail. Furthermore, the spaces in which these figures inhabit were meticulously planned and richly detailed with decorative framing complimented by a wide-use of pattern and colour. All of these elements are witnessed in the page showing the Bishop preparing for Mass (\textbf{Fig. 1}) in which a group

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{94} Avril 2007, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{95} Courtalon-Delaistre 1783, pp. 382-385.
\textsuperscript{96} Chalandon 2001, p. 119. The other folios contain lists of Etienne's vestments and precious goods. One receipt notes that Jean Pougeoise, head of the chapter, left Troyes on 9 March and arrived in Paris three days later after 'surpassing great danger', the purpose of his trip dealt with the execution of the testament.
\textsuperscript{97} Archives de l'Aube, G. 2645, f.13v. Transcribed by Chalandon 2001, p. 121. The Middle French reads, 'Item un autre apellé Pontifical, a l’usage de Troyes, fermant a deux fermeillez d’argent et esmaillez d’azul des armes dudit Réverend, en chacun desquelz fermeillez pendoit un laz et mouchet tout de soye vermeille et un bouton de perles, enluminé d’or, d’azul et autres couleurs, a vignettes et a histoires tout [a] pinssiaux, arnnoyé ou septieme fuillet des armes de la dicte eglise et dudit Reverend, commencant ou second fuillet be et iusticioiam et ou derrenier Servarum remissionem, auquel livre avoit une pipe de perles a laquelle estoient atachees huit enseignes de soye de plusiers couleurs, a boutons de perles et a mouchez de soye.'
\end{footnotesize}
of bodies are neatly assembled in the initial. These figures attend to the seated bishop and take various roles to prepare him for his coming duties. Two figures hold open a book while one fits a shoe and another kneels holding the end of an altar cloth that rests on the bishop's lap. The border decoration of the page expands into foliate spiked-ivy leaves sprouting from thick-stemmed tendrils affixed to a gold and blue frame. Below, the arms of the bishop and church unite next to each other in a uniform manner. In terms of the overall composition and style the display represents a return to the Parisian illumination popularised under the reign of Charles V.98

The cathedral fabric account from 1418-1419 outlines payments associated with the production of a pontifical that may refer to this work. The document records, ‘Expense for the making of a small pontifical containing chapters of prayers, annual feasts and many other observances for the Mass.’99 It goes on to further list the payments to individuals for their services: Brother Philip de la Trinité acted as scribe for 100 sous, Droyn bound the work for 25 sous and Guillaume the illuminator provided miniatures for 100 sous. Could this mentioned expense be the surviving pontifical of Étienne? Considering the fact that a pontifical acted as a manual for the divine rites performed by the bishop this book would have been primarily consulted by Étienne. In this case it appears the pontifical was likely commissioned by the church on his behalf. The joint nature of this patronage may be supported by the fact the surviving work (BNF Lat. 962) includes the arms of the church and the bishop. Moreover, if this document references the surviving pontifical ‘Guillaume the illuminator’ may in fact be the Master of Troyes.100

The Master of Troyes’ surviving works extend beyond the pontifical for Étienne.

Meiss identified eleven manuscripts from libraries around the world associated with this

98 Avril 2007, p. 84.
100 This identification is difficult to firmly establish at this time due to the fact that I have not yet come across supporting archival records for this individual. Indeed, I am ardent in the belief that more references exist in fabric accounts from this period and hope to pursue this research further in my doctoral thesis.
illuminator. A great portion of these had been produced for other ecclesiastic clients. For example, a missal for the church of Saint Pierre in Ervy-le-Chatel displays work produced for patrons outside of Troyes and the demonstrates the full development of the his talent. In the Crucifixion scene (Fig. 2) the proportional quality of the layout and geometric background achieve a high quality of precision. The alternating blue and red tiles separated by gold lines provide a base pattern for the figures to appear. Close inspection of the curvature and outline of the forms reveals intricate skill. For instance, beneath the faded blue paint of the Virgin's mantle thin lines and an advanced under-drawing emerges. These shadowed lines are repeated in painted form on the outlined musculature of Christ's body. Further detail expands to the desolate desert ground at the bottom of the miniature where sprouting plants are composed with miniscule lines that resemble those used for the hair of the figures. The light simplicity of line is carried over to the ivy decoration in the border where supple gold leaves appear less ‘spiky’ and connect to a network of elegant swirling stems. The full-page miniature represents a calm style characterised by refined detail.

Aside from these commissions the Master of Troyes made a significant portion of hours. In the fifteenth century hours constituted a substantial part of illuminated output geared toward the consumption of private individuals and families. A book of hours in the Huntington library (HM 1179) is an example of one such book of hours the Master of Troyes produced for a single patron. The final miniature of the book (Fig. 3) shows the patron kneeling in prayer before William, bishop of Bourges. The patron wears a fur-lined red cassock with a collar and hood. Attention to detail was also given to the dress of the

---

101 It is important to note that a great majority of these books have not been studied, and along with this their miniatures have not been digitally published. It is likely that many other books produced by the Master of Troyes exist and have not yet been documented. From those that I have studied it is apparent that an evolution in the style of the illuminator can be witnessed, making this body of work an intriguing case for assessment.

102 This attribution is based on an inscription found in folio 213v., which reads, ‘This missal belongs to the church of Saint-Pierre d’Ervy’; along with this a later inscription reads: ‘This missal belongs to M. de Vienne, counsellor’, referring to a seventeenth century owner, Louis de Vienne, seigneur de Géraudot and lieutenant mayor of Troyes, documented in Leroquais 1924, vol. 3, p. 28.

103 Judging from his dress it is difficult to determine if the patron was a member of the lay or ecclesiastical
The bishop, who wears a mitre and a grey cope embroidered with a gold design and lined with red fabric. The association with William of Bourges possibly connects the patron with this city, but it was likely produced for someone active locally on the basis of the intended use of Troyes. The geometric pattern of the background appears as a mirror design of that found in the *Crucifixion* of the missal from Ervy-le-Chatel. In the space below the miniature the script addresses the patron by name (Guillermo, or William) and instructs him to pray to his saint: ‘De sancto Guillermo antiphona, O Guillerme pastor bone…’. Such an invocation added a personal function to the manuscript that further integrated the patron’s presence into the act of devotion. The display can be read as an indication of the increasing importance placed on sight and the act of devotion. This encompasses a trend reinforcing the spiritual authority of imagery and the didactic relationship between vision and prayer.

Interest in the Troyes Master’s work is evidence that his style, a form of illumination harking back to earlier Parisian Gothic, was quite desirable. This is evident in another book of hours made sometime between 1415 and 1420 for Catherine and Michel Berthier (BNF Lat. 924). Like the Huntington hours this book demonstrates that the illuminator served a private clientele by offering his products with the option of detailed personalisation. Evidence for this comes from two individual miniatures (Fig. 4) that incorporate figures of the patrons kneeling before their saints. The male patron appears wearing a red robe lined with fur and kneeling on a purple pillow. A green blanket with orange pattern covers the desert ground and a small table holds a book resting on blue fabric. Before him Saint Michael is perched above the injured dragon swaying in a victorious pose as his extended right arm that holds the community; in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the cassock was a non-Eucharistic ecclesiastical vestment worn by both groups. However, as laymen changed the fashion of their dress the cassock was retained by the clergy and incorporated into their daily wardrobe. For more see Houston 1939, p. 150.

---

104 See the Huntington collection entry for the manuscript, HM. 1179, in Dutschke and Rouse 1989.
105 For general discussion concerning sight and devotion in the late Gothic period refer to Rothstein 2005.
106 Evidence for this patronage comes from the presence of the family’s arms on folio 17; discussed in Leroquais 1927, pp. 41-42. The patrons’ names are linked with their individual association with saints Catherine and Michael.
weight of a sword. The gentle facial features of the figures and detailed drapery of their wardrobes provides a contrasting realism to extended background that is composed of a fleur de lys motif done in gold and blue. In the opposing scene the female patron appears in prayer before Saint Catherine. She wears a red dress with a fitted bodice and a black hat. Unlike her male counterpart she kneels on the bare ground without the furnishings of a set prayer space. The saint before her towers as a statuesque figure covered in a voluminous purple and green robe. Both female figures display rounded facial features with almond shaped eyes, pursed lips and porcelain skin. The background furthermore boasts a fantastic motif of gold ivy branches swirling in a rich blue. When writing about this book Panofsky noted that is was surprising to see ‘life-like figures set in such linear settings which were not progressive in treatment of space’. 107 The divide between figure and setting perplexed Panofsky because many books illuminated in this period used impressive landscapes and aerial perspective that was developed by the Boucicaut Master and his followers around 1405. With this in mind, the Master of Troyes’ outward rejection of ‘progressive space’ and choice to retain the old-fashioned linear background for some of his works is quite interesting. 108 Nonetheless the recognition and implementation of both new and old design demonstrates a cognizant approach to illumination.

Awareness of these trends perhaps egressed from interaction with other artistic personalities. A book of hours, Use of Châlons-sur-Marne, currently in Vienna (National Bibl., ms. Ser. nov. 2613) provides evidence of collaboration with the Breviary Master, who was an illuminator active in the Burgundian court that an had close affinities with the Boucicaut, Egerton and Walters 219 masters. In the hours this illuminator produced two

---

107 Panofsky 1971, p. 52. Although the Master of Troyes’ oeuvres were still anonymous at the time the author was writing, he classifies the illuminator as a ‘traditional-minded master of Paris’; showing that Panofsky believed the stylistic trends in this book pointed toward some sort of interaction with Parisian training.
108 From my own analysis it seems the Master of Troyes had an interest in landscape, intriguingly this appears in his early works, particularly his books of hours. This evidence hints that his rejection of spatial design may have been a deliberate and late development in his career.
miniatures (scenes of the Annunciation and Trinity) while the Troyes Master completed the remaining ten. A few developments of his style are noticeable in these: first, the general layout of the compositions appear more balanced, for instance when he incorporates architectural buildings and background cityscapes they do not appear as randomly placed as they are in works like the pontifical of Étienne de Givry and a book of hours in the Edinburgh University collection (University Special Collections ms. 44); second, the use of natural formations (like rocks) to frame scenes denote a new sense of framed perspective. Also noteworthy is the use of arched frames for each miniature, an element not witnessed in his other books. This display likely indicates the influence of the Breviary Master who had contact with the Limbourgs that employed these frame-types in their *Très Riches Heures*. Overall, these stylistic developments are evidence that the Master of Troyes cultivated some degree of outside connection that placed him within a network of illuminators working in various capacities throughout northern France.

In turn, there is some evidence to support the legacy of the Troyes Master’s contributions in the practice of illumination. This is found in Meiss’ theory that he acted as mentor to the Rohan Master based on the fact that both artists shared distinct qualities in their work.\(^{109}\) Evidence for some form of interaction is possible considering the earliest books attributed to the Rohan Master embodied books of hours for the Use of Troyes. At first glance the traditional aesthetic of these books depart dramatically from the avant-garde stylistic persona scholars have recognised him for. Moreover, the visual similarities between the two artists may indicate that the Master of Troyes had established a workshop functioning with apprentices. If it is the case that the Rohan Master began his career in this situation, under what circumstances did he secure patronage at the House of Anjou in the 1430s? Did

\(^{109}\) Meiss 1974, p. 259. He notes the particular similarities employed by both artists in regard to the composition of Gothic architectural features and the use of a specific style of cruciform halo employed only by the two. Avril also notes the activity of the Rohan Master in this region; hypothesising that he began in Champagne, migrated to Paris around 1420 and then to Angers establishing a workshop by 1430. See Avril-Reynaud 1993, pp. 25-6.
the Troyes Master harness royal connections to secure a position for his protégé? And if so, in terms of his own career, did the Troyes Master make a deliberate attempt to not produce work for those offering royal patronage? Adding to this intrigue is the Rohan Master’s departure at this later stage from his assumed ‘trained’ traditional style to the debut of a new expressive mode. These questions require further specialised research beyond the scope of this paper.

The Master of Troyes remained active throughout the 1420s and in the following years after his presence there is little physical evidence for manuscript production in the city. It is not until the second half of the fifteenth century that the work of local illuminators resurfaces. The collecting of illuminated books by Troyen clients in this period was made possible through the economic recovery at the conclusion of the Hundred Years War. Production was supported by a flow of patrons from the ecclesiastic and lay communities who had a renewed interest in owning books. The bishop of Troyes, Louis Raguier, followed in the footsteps of his predecessors through his patronage. His armorials are found in a lectionary housed in the Bibliothèque nationale (BNF ms. N.a.l. 2629). The miniatures have been attributed to the Master of the Glazier Hours who completed this work sometime in the 1460s. The style reflects the influence of Parisian artists (like the Coëtivy Master) that were strongly familiarised with trends in Flemish painting. One interesting fact is that the border decoration and initials appear incongruent with the standards of mid-century conventions and more closely fit with that found in earlier works produced by the Master of Troyes. It is probable this work was left unfinished by his workshop and later discovered by the Master of the Glazier Hours.\textsuperscript{110} Indeed materials for manuscript illumination were expensive and it was common for illuminators to re-use or finish uncompleted books.

Another book owned by Raguier, a copy of Nicolas of Lyra’s \textit{Postilles sur le

\textsuperscript{110} Avril 2007, p. 140.
Pentateuque, survives in the municipal library of Troyes (ms. 129). The opening page displays his arms and is accompanied with the inscription: ‘Ludovicus Raguier episcopus Trecensis me dedit’. Sometime around 1470 he commissioned this work and upon his death donated it to the cathedral library. Evidence for this comes from his 1483 will that lists his ownership of sixteen manuscripts. The first two items in the compilation are identified as ‘libros de Lira’. Raguier’s interest in the commentary of Lyra was concurrent with advanced exegetical study of the late middle ages. These texts were the most influential on the topic and represented the culmination of two centuries of Christian Hebrew study that attempted to resolve the difficulties inherent in Christian recourse to rabbinic text. The illuminator responsible for the miniatures was the Master of the Pierre Michault of Guyot II Le Peley, an artist active in Troyes between 1470 and 1490. In the book he produced four miniatures and seven diagram figures of Jewish ritual objects and symbols. In formulating these educational figures the illuminator perhaps was guided by written instruction or other didactic materials. On the other hand the style of the miniatures reflects Parisian training of the period, showing strong influences with the followers of the Coëtivy Master. The fact that the Coëtivy Master worked outside of illumination in various design capacities (including panel painting and plan-drawings for stained glass and tapestry) allowed his technique to be absorbed by a many artists. The use of this shared style demonstrates highlights a progressive trickle effect in manuscript painting that was symptomatic of the re-growth of artistic industry in the Paris and the increased competition and cooperation among illuminators in France, The Master of the Pierre Michault’s adoption of this style and local

112 Copeland-Klepper 2007, pp. 1-2. Lyra was the foremost biblical commentator and Franciscan Hebraist at the University of Paris in the first half of the fourteenth century; his work explored the possibility of proving the advent of Christ through Jewish Scriptures.
113 He gains his name from one of his earliest works for Guyot Le Peley, a wealthy Troyen merchant and French loyalist. In 1476 the illuminator made a copy of Le doctrinal du temps présent and La Danse Aveugles (BNF ms. Francais 1654), both composed in the mid-1460s by Charles of Charolais’ secretary and poète moraliste, Pierre Michault. Avril, 2007, p. 142.
114 It has been suggested by Reynaud that this master may have been Colin d’Amiens; an painter, designer and illuminator based in Paris between 1461 and 1488, see Avril-Reynaud 1993 pp. 58-59.
transmission in Troyes is a further result of this profusion.

Additional example of this illuminator’s local work appears in a book of hours for Guyot Le Peley and his wife, Nicole Hennequin (Paris, SMAF, ms. 79-5). The Le Peley family was established amongst Troyen elite from the early fifteenth century and maintained affluence through alliance with the Lésguisé and Molé families. Their fortune was derived from involvement in the Mediterranean merchant trade. The marriage between Guyot and Nicole solidified a strong connection with another powerful family: the Hennequins, who were deeply involved in commerce and local politics. A portrait of the couple and their children materialises in the final miniature of the book (Fig. 5) in which they are depicted kneeling on a staircase below Saint Nicholas, name saint of the distaff patron.Situated next to the towering figure of Nicholas is a basin with three nude children, further representative of the resurrection miracle the saint performed on three boys that had been mutilated and thrown in a pickling-tub by a money-hungry Myran innkeeper. Between the couple two prayer books are situated on tables embossed with the Le Peley and Hennequin armorials. The presence of these armorials lends equal credence to the protective union bonding the progeny of two prosperous families. Moreover, the physical setting is framed by a two-pillar architectural structure leading to an interior corridor with a door leading outside. The intimate space does not appear to be a religious building but is in fact a domestic environment. Such images of domestic devotional practice increase in the late fifteenth century books of hours, and moreover demonstrate the importance placed on private prayer within the home and the spiritual preservation of the family unit through this practice.

115 Evidence for the family’s trade in the Mediterranean comes from documents written after the death of Guyot in 1487, these reveal that two merchant ships belonging to Guyot were sold by the family to Etienne de Nesve, a merchant from Montpellier. See Béchu, Greffe and Pélony 1993, n. 329 and n. 479.
116 Further examples of each family’s armorials are found in Palasi 2008, which provides an alphabetical compendium of armorials localised in record of the Aube department between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries.
117 Take for example the hours of Macé Prestesaille (BNF ms. Lat. 1179) produced by the Master of the Yale Missel in Tours around 1475, the opening miniatures to the books shows the family praying in a domestic space before the Virgin of Pity.
In the same period the Master of the *Pierre Michault* secured work with the prestigious Molé family. Between 1475 and 1480 Jean Molé commissioned copy of the *Chronique des rois de France* (BNF ms. Fr. 2598), evidence for his patronage comes from one of the initials in the manuscript (*Fig. 6*). Jean made a living in the merchant trade and also held position as a member of the municipal council. He was married to Jeanne de Mesgringy, the daughter of the squire and tax collector of Troyes, Jean II de Mesgrigny.\(^{118}\) Both of these noble families were loyalists, with the Molé’s allegiance dating back to their assistance in bringing Charles VII and Jean d’Arc to Troyes in 1429.\(^{119}\) In Jean’s *Chronique* the connection to France is recognised in a miniature that incorporates the family armorial in a scene representing an allegory of the French kingdom (*Fig. 7*). In this, kneeling angels take centre stage and present the arms of France before a group of courtly figures. The scene takes place in a walled garden structure in which the king of France enters on the right holding a crown and sceptre. On the outer wall two Molé armorials adorn the façade; their official presence creates a sense of ownership of the book and perpetrates a message of allegiance to the kingdom.\(^{120}\) Not only is the chosen book itself representative of the Molé’s loyalty to the French king but the miniature takes it a step further by visually representing this idea.

Along with his works for members of the Le Peley and Molé families the Master of the *Pierre Michault* completed a book of hours for Simon Liboron and Henriette Mauroy around 1485 (Hague, Koninklijke Bibl. ms. 76). Liboron served as a lawyer and was elected mayor in 1489 and 1497, and his wife was a member of the wealthy Mauroy family whose establishment in the city dated back the fourteenth century.\(^{121}\) In terms of evidence of

\(^{118}\) Avril 2007, p. 28.

\(^{119}\) In 1429 Guillaume Molé (father of Jean) was deputy mayor of the city and with the help of his stepbrother, bishop Jean Lésquisé, he was instrumental in opening the gates to Jean d’Arc and the army of Charles VII. This was in response to a letter she sent to the bourgeois of the city asking for their alliance with the Argmanacs; a transcribed copy of this document can be found in the introduction of Berthier 2006, p. 25.

\(^{120}\) For more on illuminated political iconography in France during this period refer to Hindman and Spiegel 1981, pp. 381-407.

\(^{121}\) Mauroy 1887, p. 29.
ownership the arms and initials of Liboron were painted on two pages while the name of his wife was placed in two others. ¹²² The miniatures represent a new phase of work for the illuminator that appears less influenced by the style of Coëtivy Master and more adapted to that achieved by Jean Colombe. ¹²³ This can be witnessed when comparing scenes of *Bathsheba Bathing* (Figs. 8-9); in these both artists make use of a similar perspective and outline their composition in a strikingly comparable manner. Colombe produced his some ten years before the Master of the *Pierre Michault* with inspiration that trickled down from observation of rival Jean Fouquet who re-invented the sensual image of Bathsheba that was repeated by a broad range of illuminators in the second half of the fifteenth century. Taste and preference at the Valois court for this type of image helped to popularise the theme. ¹²⁴ Liboron’s interest in this imagery represents the diffusion of this taste among non-royal elite, while the adoption of this composition by the Master of the *Pierre Michault* further demonstrates the illuminator’s awareness of developments in French illumination and a willingness to follow the latest conventions in his craft.

In another book of hours (Lille Bibl. mun. ms. 5) the Master of the *Pierre Michault* draws inspiration from Jean Fouquet. When comparing their scenes of *David and Goliath* (Figs. 10-11) it appears that the two share a similar iconographic and compositional formula. In both representations David stands in the centre holding the severed head of Goliath and rests the large sword on his right shoulder. Goliath’s massive body is positioned at the bottom of the pages with blood dripping from his neck. In the background both make use of panoramic landscape detailed with hills and castles. An inscription indicates that the book was made for Catherine Mauroy, wife of Pierre Mauroy, lord of Colaverdey. The book is further evidence that this illuminator worked for various members of the Mauroy family and perhaps gained repute through a network of familial connections. On a larger scale the use of ¹²² Liboron’s initials and arms found in f. 15 and f. 28; the name of Henriette found in f. 50 and f. 59v. ¹²³ Murard 2000, pp. 12-13. ¹²⁴ Kren 2005, pp. 51-56.
these connections may have sourced the wider output of his talents in Troyes, as it is evident that he secured patronage with numerous leading bourgeois families in the city. What drew the elite to this artist? The physical evidence mirrored through the master’s work shows that his knowledge of trends in contemporary illumination and mimetic participation in shared-style (through the adoption of models developed by leading French illuminators) was marketable to this class of patrons.

Further evidence supporting interest around current trends in manuscript illumination among these families is observed in their motivation to own books produced by prominent artists outside the city. Surviving manuscripts show that the Le Peley and Molé families purchased books by Jean Colombe. Colombe had established himself in Bourges in the 1460s and with the help of his scribe, André Rousseau, established a large workshop that was in high demand amid bourgeois and royal patrons. The workshop produced many types of books for a select clientele and had the prowess to pick and choose to work only for the most affluent patrons. Among these patrons was Guyot Le Peley, who in the late-1470s acquired a Colombe book of hours (Troyes bibl. munc. ms. 3901). Upon examination of this luxurious manuscript it is apparent that no expense was spared. A full two-page miniature of the Annunciation (Fig. 12) attests to this exorbitance. On the left, the kneeling Gabriel wears a gold robe and behind him the scene opens to an outdoor landscape decorated with castles, hills and a flowing river. On the right, the Virgin is seated on a geometric tapestry with an open book placed on her lap while a mass crowd of angels appear behind in a church setting of decorative carving. The entire scene is framed by a gold architectural structure embossed with high Gothic tracery and sculpted figures. The arms of Guyot Le Peley appear in the Calendar section where Adam and Eve stand behind a medallion in surrounded foliage. Nearly every space in the book is filled to show a taste for idyllic landscapes, proportioned

figures and grandiose detail complete with intricate gold embellishments.

Another member of the Le Peley family owned a book of hours produced by the Colombe workshop (Florence Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, ms. Pal. 241). It was perhaps commissioned for Jean Le Peley, son of Guyot. In this the armorial of the family appears in a full-page exposition (Fig. 13) where solemn-looking hommes sauvages take hold of a fur-lined robe to reveal the crest hidden beneath. The scene takes place on a green hill overlooking the sprawling countryside. This naturalistic style moves beyond the frame that consists of rustic wooden sticks. A similar armorial composition appears in a copy of the *Faits de Romains* (BNF Fr. 22540) made in the mid-1480s by Colombe for another member of the Le Peley family (Fig. 14). In this, two nude female figures present the armorial that sprouts tendrils of flowing acanthus leaves of blue and gold. Like the Le Peley hours the scene takes place outside in a country environment complete with rolling hills and greenery.

Moreover, the miniatures found throughout the book exemplify the developed talent of Jean Colombe and his workshop. This is evident in the *Triumphal entrance of Caesar* (Fig. 15) that combines Colombe’s interest in landscape, action scenery and depiction of crowded space.

In the same period Jean II Molé (son of Jean Molé) acquired a book with fifteen miniatures produced by Colombe’s workshop (Rodez soc. des lettres, Sciences et Arts de l’Aveyron, ms. 1). The book also combined the efforts of the workshop belonging to the Master of Guillaume Lambert based in Lyon. This collaboration is perhaps the geographic link to the family’s access of Colombe’s work, further denoting a possible connection with a Lyon based libraire associated with both workshops. One fascinating miniature presents a

---

126 Avril, 2007, p. 174. The author hypothesizes this attribution, and suggests that this work was probably completed shortly before Charles I commissioned Colombe to complete the miniatures in the *Très Riches Heures* which were left unfinished by the Limbourg brothers some seventy years earlier. Upon witnessing the detailed naturalism in his work for the Le Peley family it is understandable that Colombe would be chosen to produce miniatures on par with the Limbourgs.

127 Avril 2007, p. 184. The author notes that the arms of the family can be found in many books by the Master of
local landmark that the illuminator studied first hand; in *Job and his Friends* (Fig. 16) the Sainte-Chapelle of Bourges towers in the background as a magnificent structure. One miniature done by the Lyon workshop presents an image of Jean II (Fig. 17), who is depicted kneeling in prayer before an open book.\(^{128}\) The scene takes place in a space with a carved architectural niche and porphyry columns, while on the left a window opens to reveal a blue sky and landscape with a tree that holds the arms of the family. The patron is presented as a young man with alabaster skin and soft facial features. He is not dressed in an ostentatious fashion but moreover wears a simple black gilet and gold undershirt in a style reminiscent of the demure couture worn by male members of Burgundian court. Moreover, the surrounding border acts as a frame to the miniature giving the effect of a painted panel. The image not only indicates a claim to ownership over the book but also valorises Jean II’s patronage and devotion.

How would the artist have captured the likeness of the patron? Two situations may be considered. First, the illuminator may have worked from a sketch of the subject. It may be possible that such an image was sent from Troyes to the workshop, or Jean may even have had the opportunity to be sketched in Lyon. This is feasible considering that he may have visited the commercial centre frequently in dealing with family business. Second, a written physical description of Jean could have been composed for the illuminator. As a form of transmitting vital information this type of practice was used in the preparatory stages of artistic projects. For example, in organising the construction of the tomb of Louis XI the illuminator Colin d’Amiens was hired to produce designs for the statue of the king. Through written instructions he was advised: ‘Master Colin d’Amiens, you are required to make a

---

\(^{128}\) In terms of the division of work among the workshops, the Master of Guillaume Lambert completed the scribal work, calendar miniatures and patron portrait. See Jacob 2008, p. 17.
portrait of the king our lord. It should be that he must be kneeling on a square box with his dog beside him, hat clasped between his joined hands, sword at his side, his horn hanging from his shoulders on his back; both ends showing and with boots, not of little value, in the most respectable manner possible; dressed like a hunter, with the most handsome of faces, youthful and broad, that you can manage; with a slightly longish and high-set nose, as you are aware. And don’t make him bald! With this in mind, it is plausible that a written request in favour of Jean’s ideal physical requirements was composed for such purpose. The organisation and delivery of this description would have been dutifully orchestrated by the intermediary libraire responsible for belaying the patron’s wishes to the workshop.

The presence of Colombe’s work in Troyes poses fascinating ideas concerning the city’s patronage of books at the end of the century. At the most basic level it demonstrates that wealthy Troyens had a vested interest in the patronage of illuminators considered en vogue; perhaps showing that this class possessed an awareness of the wider book market and collecting habits of other French nobles. The fact that Colombe worked for local families shows that these patrons were affluent enough to access his services -- not only in terms of wealth, but also in terms of their ability to harness connections at the highest level of the book market. This is deduced from the theory that the Le Peley and Molé families possessed some connection to Colombe’s workshop, perhaps a common libraire? The association with the Lyon workshop may be the source of this connection. Indeed both families actively participated in merchant trade, which in this period was centred in Lyon. Through collecting these books Troyen patrons were able to solidify their social position in both the city and kingdom. The interest in owning this work conveys much about the mimetic nature of their collecting habits and reveals their desire to compete among the echelons of French

129 Richardson 2007, p. 341.
130 Bibolet 1999, p. 140. Lyon was a base for Troyen merchants in the late middle ages, the city offered the opportunity for wealth through establishing a circuit of fairs and also was a strategic base for access to the Mediterranean.
aristocracy. And finally, the influence of Colombe in the work of local illumination (e.g. the Master of the Pierre Michault) attests to the fact that Troyen artists were aware of these ideas, and thus to some extent profited from the adoption of Colombe’s models.  

The movement toward collecting illumination produced outside Troyes continued through the end of the century and reached an intensified level by 1500 when efforts became virtually focused in the markets of other French cities. A book of hours made around 1500 for Claude Molé, lord of Villy-le-Maréchal and brother of Jean II, is a very rich example of the type of work that drew patrons away from Troyes. Though nothing is known about the Parisian-based illuminator who produced this the quality of work nonetheless reaches an impeccable standard. The two-page miniature of Claude before the Virgin (Fig. 18) shows the Virgin on the left seated on a structure and draped in a white mantle embellished with gold. A crowd of angels gather behind draped in white and painted in grisaille to give the scene a sculptural aesthetic. To the right Claude kneels on a marble-tiled floor accompanied by his patron saint while the room in the background boasts multi-coloured marble and refined architectural decoration. Both patron and saint don white clothing with delicate shadowed folds. While the facial details of the Virgin conform to standard facial types those of the patron present a distinct likeness with the use of a long face, small chin, protruding nose and wrinkles to show mature age. Moreover, the two scenes are surrounded by frame structures. At the bottom of the right frame reads the Claude’s motto, ‘CVIDER DECOIT’, reminding the viewer of his imperiousness toward deceit.

One might ask why patrons developed an appetite for books produced outside Troyes? There appears to be not one simple answer, but seemingly multiple factors influenced this circumstance. Understanding this situation requires consideration of the evolution of the book market over the late middle ages. The ‘golden age’ of illumination in  

---

131 See Jacob 2008, p. 22. The author recognises that ‘certain Troyen illuminators benefited from the imitation of these models’. 
the first decades of the fifteenth century was cut short by the pressing political situation. Numerous leading scholars (Meiss, Nash, Sterling, Reynaud, Avril, etc.) in the field have noted that the decline of the capital in these years led to an exodus of artists that left Paris to settle in other cities, and along with this displacement the intensity and economic instability resulted in a decrease production of manuscripts. In the interim years the trade persevered and to some extent it was maintained through a network of workshops bound by a shared community of training and an awareness of developments achieved in illumination. Following the Hundred Years War the increased prosperity of French elite gave rise to investment in these trades and precipitated more expansive recoveries in Paris and larger cosmopolitan centres.

The situation in Troyes appears to fit into this schematic conclusion. In the case of physical evidence from the city the commencement of the fifteenth century illumination seemingly began with the Master of Troyes’ workshop and dwindled between the years of 1430 and 1450. By the 1460s the recovery from the Hundred Years War brought forth a stronger aristocracy that created a demand for manuscript production. The combined ecclesiastic appetite for all genres of manuscripts and the lay upper class’s desire for the work of well-known illuminators naturally led patronage to extend beyond the city. It is not surprising in this environment that at the dawn of the sixteenth century the city could not compete with the rise of larger workshops in cities like Tours, Rouen and Paris. The same holds true for Amiens where, as Nash has pointed out, the localised industry began to decline in the same period. Nash attributes this trend to the lack of a local printing industry, which apparently forced patrons to ‘focus on the importation of books’.\textsuperscript{132} Comparatively, Troyes had established a printing industry from the 1480s and a similar situation arose. This perhaps is evidence that regardless of the technology of print the decline of the book industry was a

\footnote{Nash 1999, p. 51. The author points out that the first printing press was established in Amiens in 1609.}
general trend at the beginning of the sixteenth century in cities where a majority of patrons were focusing their resources externally. Cities throughout northern France constituted an advanced market where nearly all demands could be met and in this situation patrons developed the financial prowess and ability to collect and consume at a high level. Whether for the new technology of print or the visual lustre supplied by leading illuminators, the demands of a patron’s market made for a competitive atmosphere.

SCULPTURE

Comparable to the assemblage of professionals in the local book industry the workforce associated with sculpture in Troyes represented a diverse class of craftsmen with various skills. Patrons to this medium came in the form of institutions and individuals with funds derived from private and public sources. The workforce of sculptors assisted in the embellishment of churches and creation of public monuments. In these roles they became subject to the visions of patrons and the hierarchy of masters (often trained sculptors as well) that were hired to oversee such grand projects. A great deal of material evidence from this period rests in the city and is found in church and municipal museum collections. Very little has been done in terms of the study of Troyen sculpture due to the scattered nature of evidence. Most notably, a few studies of sculpture in Champagne present some synthesis with primary focus on early sixteenth century regional variations in style and compositional developments.\textsuperscript{133} In terms of earlier material general studies in fifteenth century sculpture assess the achievements of André Beauneveu and Claus Sluter. The gap between these efforts has great potential for enriching the connections between the influence of the Beauneveu-Sluter tradition and the development of the late Gothic sculpture in France.

Primary evidence for assessing patronage of sculpture in Troyes during the late

\textsuperscript{133} Refer to Baudoin 1990, and Boucherat 2005.
middle ages comes from a combination of two sources: archival documentation and surviving physical evidence. The archives document between 1380 and 1520 the presence of forty-three sculptors, twenty-four carver-sculptors, eleven painter-sculptors, ten mason-sculptors and one goldsmith-sculptor.\footnote{134 Rondot 1887, p. 2. The author came to this finding through recording those identified in fabric accounts and municipal records.} The titles given to these professionals were dependent on their specific recorded service and recognised skill. A majority of these individuals fit in three categories: master masons (maitre macons), sculptors (tailleurs d'images) and carpenters (menuisiers-sculpteurs).\footnote{135 See Assier 1876. The author classifies the work of these professionals into these categories.} The first group of masons were those placed in the powerful positions of overseeing the organisation of an architectural project. They dealt with all aspects of construction and design: architectural planning, decoration and maintenance. In this respect they are often identified as ‘premier architectes’ and because of their important role it is these individuals who appear most frequently in fabric accounts. The second group, sculptors, were those who produced statues (images) and so they were recorded in accounts as tailors of ‘images’. They laboured for short periods of time on one specific statue or set of works. In many instances they appear in various fabrics, demonstrating that they would outsource themselves to various patrons. In records they are often addressed by first name and the city or geographic region they called home. The documented descriptions of their work are more often bland and lack contextual detail. The third group of carpenters were those sculptors who completed projects such as carving choir stalls, doorways, tabernacles, windows and columns. Included among both the class of carpenters and sculptors were painter-sculptors that specialised in the polychrome of stone and wood. All of these professionals exhibited flexibility in skill and were viable candidates in the completion of new projects and the maintenance of old.
Ecclesiastical Patronage

It is perhaps fitting to begin discussion in the realm of ecclesiastical patronage on account of the fact that a substantial body of physical and archival evidence exists in this area. The most documentation available to study comes from the construction of the cathedral. The project was initiated around 1200 and took over three centuries to complete. Over this period the site demanded the talents of craftsman and the funds to support building. The canons of the cathedral were the primary initiators of the fabric funds in which they became responsible for making decisions over the construction and raising money. A similar situation occurred at Milan cathedral where officials in charge of the fabric held control over every major decision in the construction and allocation of finances. In effort to collect funding in both Milan and Troyes the fabric-tenders initiated special events to gain donations from citizens, clerics and the greater monastic community.

The precarious funding situation in Troyes perhaps accounts for the fact that a majority of sculptors were brought in from outside and hired on an ad hoc basis. The informal nature of this arrangement fostered an unrestricted workforce. This is further supported by the fact that the over the span of the entire period the construction documents offer no reference to guild organisation. It may be inferred that if these were not involved in the building of the cathedral (by far the most grandiose local project) they were not established for groups of artisans in Troyes. Moreover, the fact that sculptural workshops cannot be identified at the site solidifies this idea. Workshops were not only governed by guilds, but were also the creators of these corporations. Guilds were in charge of the governance of workshops through regulating aspects of training, production and sale. As early as the mid-thirteenth century Paris was host to around one hundred and twenty guilds that watched over

136 Welch 1995, p. 60.
137 Murray 1987, p. 111.
the workshops of the city. Their absence in Troyes is unique in that it exposes a lenient system that appears self-sufficient and sustainable over the span of hundreds of years.

The only documented individuals to hold any sort of contractual agreement with the cathedral were those hired as master masons. Over the longue durée of construction the cathedral became host to a stream of masters that introduced various design plans and schemes. These professionals were hired to oversee the completion of repair, maintenance and decoration. Their duties also included searching, recruiting and managing qualified sculptors and craftsmen to make progress on the sculptural program. In one instance a sculptor had the opportunity to move among the hierarchy and become master. The event took place in October 1382 when the Henri de Brusselles submitted an alternative sculptural plan for the choir screen. At this time the original plan was produced by masters Michelin Hardiot and Jehan Thierry, who shared responsibility in orchestrating work on the site from 1365. According to the fabric account from 1382-1383 bourgeois and labourers were gathered to make a decision between two plans and decided that Henri’s was a better project.

Following this decision both Hardiot and Thierry disappear from documentation while Henri appears to have taken charge with his Parisian colleague Henry Soudan, and later with his brother Phelippot. In the following years of his tenure an influx in artists from Germany and the Low countries appear in the fabric. This situation may have not only been the complete influence of Henri but also may have resulted from the close relationship the cathedral held with the dukes of Burgundy, who employed a number of these foreign artists.

---

139 Troyes Cathedral Fabric Account, Bibl. Nat., lat. 9112, f. 78. ‘Another expense for the said choir screen made after 27 October when Michelin and Jehan Thierry, mason, ceased the said work. First, for a portrait made on parchment for the said choir screen by Henri de Brusselles, mason, on the orders of my lords to show to the bourgeois and workers of the city next to another portrait made by Michelin the mason, this portrait made by the said Henri was decided to be better by the bourgeois and workers, for this the payment to Henri at the order of my lords, 20s.’ Murray 1987, p. 129.
140 Indeed by the late-fourteenth century the ecclesiastical community established close relations with the dukes. Bishop Pierre de Villiers (1375-1378) at one point made entry into the city accompanied by Philip the Bold, while Pierre d’Arcis (1378-1395) dedicated and made several visits to Philip’s Carthusian foundation Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon. At Chartreuse many German and Netherlandish artists were employed, and it may be
Although the Burgundians maintained an amicable relationship with Troyes during the first quarter of the fifteenth century their control over the city and heavy taxation harmed the stability of expendable revenue. In the period of the Hundred Years War donations from the people of Troyes to the cathedral fabric declined sharply. To deal with this situation church officials made an effort to incorporate citizens in the planning of the church. Cathedral records reveal that those who donated to the fabric were allowed to be ‘proviseurs’ of certain projects. In a specific documented instance this type of relationship was forged: in effort to collect funds for the construction of the bell tower the ‘bourgeois, inhabitants and clergy’ of Troyes who donated to the church were given provisional seats as ‘masters of work’.\textsuperscript{141} It appears not only were masters of work in charge of overseeing this project but church officials retained just as much responsibility in their efforts to harness funding. This type of relationship is exemplary of the leadership the clergy offered the cathedral and also demonstrates their willingness to become an integral part of civic life.\textsuperscript{142}

Aside from the work of master masons and architects the cathedral employed independent sculptors throughout the construction period. In nearly every instance only the documentation of their work survives.\textsuperscript{143} For example, fabric accounts reveal in 1382 Girard de Han made a statue of Saint Paul and in the same year Drouin de Mantes produced one of Saint Peter. Droiun also worked on the image of God on the portal with assistance from the painter Denisot. In 1384 Coinrot de Strasbourg came to work on the choir screen, and in 1389 Peyret arrived to continue this work and sculpt a statue of Saint John. In 1411 Trubert Perrin sculpted gargoyles for the façade and spent the next year working at the church of Sainte-

\textsuperscript{141} Murray 1987, p. 46. The author classifies this patronage as ‘institutionalized support on part of the municipality’.

\textsuperscript{142} Murray 1987, p. 47. The author points out that the clergy seemingly maintained good relations with the city and according to the nineteenth century town historian Boutiot they did not “behave as chiefs but as fellow-citizens”. In this role, members of the ecclesiastical community exploited their good relations with the townspeople to raise money.

\textsuperscript{143} These documents from fabric accounts are assembled in Assier 1876, pp. 91-96.
Madeleine. In the 1420s Jeannin repaired the statues of saints Peter and Paul on the portal. Between 1430 and 1470 the economic situation of the Hundred Years War affected the progress of work at the cathedral. Under the leadership of bishops Louis Raguier (1450-1483) and his nephew Jacques Raguier (1483-1518) papal patronage was renewed and the grant revenue toward the fabric was increased. This environment marked a new campaign for the construction and decoration of the site, which throughout its history had witnessed a multiplicity of problems.  

In terms of the materials used by sculptors limestone and wood feature prominently in comparison to the few references of costly materials like as alabaster and marble. The accounts show large shipments of stone were sourced from Tonnerre in Burgundy. The stone was sturdy enough for structural building and of substantial quality for fine sculpture. For instance, in 1463-1464 master mason Antoine Colas continued sculptural work on the portal in June during the feast of Saint Barnabas with a purchase of stone from the site. The reputation of this stone was so distinguished that it was even used at Chartreuse de Champmol, where receipts between 1395 and 1396 show that Claus Sluter was charged with employing Jean de Rigny, stonemason of Dijon, and his associates for four trips between Dijon and Tonnerre for the cutting and transport of stone. Moreover, in Troyes the material donation of stone could be associated with an act of patronage. As work commenced in 1446-

---

144 Murray 1987, pp. 67-69. At this point two vaulted bays collapsed and officials were faced with the decision of demolishing major portions of work in order to initiate new technology or continuing to employ traditional methods with further risk structural collapse. It seems the cathedral attempted to meet halfway on the issue. Jaquet le Vachier, master of work between 1451 and 1455, emerges out of building documentation with a traditionalist view. In his plans he envisioned copying and adapting the formulae presented on the existing bays of the nave aisles. In 1455 a master Bleuet was called in from Reims cathedral when Vachier was not capable of dealing with the structural deficiency of a primary pier. Upon his arrival in Troyes Beluet devised a plan for the frontispiece of the cathedral and placed a craftsman named Anthoine Colas in the role of capital carver. Shorty after Colas was given the role of carrying out Beluet's plans, while Vachier resigned from the position. Bleuet moved away from the traditional aesthetic of his predecessors and with his work in the nave he was able to achieve a uniform design that produced a powerful optical effect. With this design he in a sense became the first ‘Late Gothic’ master mason at the cathedral.

145 In the late middle ages the fabric accounts reference shipments from Tanlay and Saint-Maure, but for the majority of work Tonnerre was the primary material provider.

146 Archives de l’Aube, G. 1564, f. 235.

147 Frisch 1987, pp. 122-3. Over the seventy-eight working days Jean de Rigny was paid 42 francs, 6 ½ gros.
1447 on the masonry of the cathedral the Comte de Bar-sur-Seine donated ‘pierre de Tonnerre’ toward these efforts.footnote{148}

Tangible evidence for the use of this stone can be witnessed on the façade of cathedral and in the municipal collection. The outside of the cathedral boasts a wonderful restoration that was planned and constructed under the supervision of the Parisian master Martin Chambiges shortly after 1500.footnote{149} As the most illustrious French cathedral architect of the time Troyes competed with Beauvais for his services.footnote{150} Chambiges was hired to resolve the problem of demolishing the tower to make way for the new façade and in turn he designed a three-bay division that enveloped the old tower and replaced the flying buttresses of the nave. His design for the new façade represented a late-Gothic interpretation done in Flamboyant style based on geometric scale and Parisian articulation.footnote{151} Three fantastic monster-gargoyles from this phase of construction survive in the municipal collection. The first is a chimera (Fig. 19) depicted as a male reptilian mammal with a muscular body and fur of flowing curls; the second, a seated headless female figure with hooves and curling hair (Fig. 20); and third, a seated winged figure covered in reptile scales and a curling tail (Fig.21). These representations attest to the high level of detail and craftsmanship achieved during the last Gothic campaign and are representative of the ‘marginal’ sculpture tradition.footnote{152} In the late Gothic period marginal sculptures emerged from once hidden places in ecclesiastical buildings and became a greater part of public scenery.footnote{153} Bordering on grotesque and comical themes these statuary types varied dramatically and ranged from images of screaming

footnote{148} Archives de l’Aube, G. 1563, f. 65.
footnote{149} Chambiges worked for various cathedrals, among his other projects included the design of the transepts and facades of Sens, Beauvais and Senlis. He first appears in the Troyes fabric account in 1501 for ‘giving advice on the completion of the church and its towers’; Archives de l’Aube, G. 1571, f. 375.
footnote{150} Wilson 1990, p. 250.
footnote{151} Flamboyant style refers to the flickering flame-like nature of tracery pattern, a form that was perfected in the late-Gothic period. Refer to themed chapter in Stoddard, p. 311.
footnote{152} The term ‘marginal’ refers to the works of corbel and gargoyle series that were produced for marginal placement in buildings; usually functioning as outside decoration that was not completely visible to all viewers. Over the four hundred years of this tradition marginal sculpture changed in style, but remained consistent in image and subject. See Kenaan-Kedar 1995, p. 1-3.
drunkards to wild monsters with human breasts and genitalia. Those produced in Troyes are quite potent on this spectrum and their presence perhaps shows the sculptors’ understanding and fluency in the practical history of marginal sculptural subjects. These works offered the patron and sculptor some creativity by allowing for discourse of design around themes intersecting comedy, horror and religion. The presentation of such images in the public realm was acceptable visual dialogue for patron, sculptor and local audience.

Local parish churches were also instrumental in supporting the visions of sculptors and the public presentation of artistic talent. A great deal of documentation from the church of Sainte-Madeleine reveals rich information relating to some projects. Construction on the church began in the twelfth century and by the late Gothic period increased fabric funds allowed for major renovation that involved the construction of a new tower, interior decoration and a stained glass program. In terms of sculpture from this period there are a few examples to discuss that are important for assessing patronage. The most monumental work commissioned on behalf of the church in the late middle ages was the choir screen designed by Jean Gailde (Fig. 22). Gailde was a French architect and a leading mason who came to Troyes in final years of the fifteenth century. He is first documented in the 1490s under contract with the municipal government for work on the Belle Croix, which he completed with famed sculptor Jacques Bachot for the Hotel de Ville. In 1504 he became master of work on the Beffroi city gate, of which he was responsible for designing the sculptural program. His work on the gate included fleurs de lys designs, angels holding the French arms

154 Chancel-Bardelot 2010, pp. 56-58. The author introduces the screen in discussion of related projects of the period.
155 No firmly attributed physical evidence of Bachot’s work remains, through descriptions of his work scholars have postulated that he was one of the most celebrated sculptors in Champagne, working in Troyes and then moving to Metz to work for Henri de Lorraine. In the early sixteenth century he came back to Troyes where he was elected as a representative of the booksellers, embroiderers, painters and sculptors in the city (1513). See Arnaud 1822, pp. 83-4. His first major project, the Belle Croix, was a monumental bronze crucifix with surrounding figures at the base; the work was melted down in 1793 for 8,142 livres. A short description is found in ‘Croix’ subject entry in Viollet-le-Duc 1856. For more on Bachot consult Koechlin and Vasselot 1990, pp. 75-85. The Belle Croix monument is discussed later in this paper under the subsequent ‘Metalwork’ section.
and two tabernacles against pillars.\textsuperscript{156} Gailde continued this type of work on other gates of the city and in preceding years redesigned those in the Croncels and Comporte districts. In 1506 he submitted a plan to design the façade and towers of the cathedral in competition against Martin Chambiges, and although this design was not approved he received 7 livres for his efforts.\textsuperscript{157} Gailde’s crowning achievement came when he was commissioned to design the choir screen for Sainte-Madeleine in 1508.\textsuperscript{158} The style of this project adopted the use of flamboyant tracery and interlacing design motifs. Bridged between the two piers the screen was divided into three arched bays that displayed intricate radiating voussoirs. The sides of the structure displayed thin pinnacles outlined with tracery and set with carved niches for statuary. The exuberance of the screen’s construction was not only in its decoration but also in its lack of intermediate support and being held together by a pendant keystone.\textsuperscript{159}

Fabric accounts from the period of construction show that Gailde employed few sculptors on the project and established himself as principal sculptor. In 1512 Nicolas le Flamand (identified by some scholars as Nicolas Halins) carved three ‘rounded sculptures on the front of the screen’; this most likely references the three scenes on the front that present Christ preaching to his followers (\textbf{Fig. 23}). These scenes are taken from the Sermon on the Mount and further denote the structure’s use as a pulpit. For his services Nicolas was paid 2 livres, 4 sous and 2 deniers.\textsuperscript{160} In 1515 another sculptor named Simon Mauroy ‘carved the shield and armorials inside the centre’, which are the ‘MS’ monogram and fleurs de lys shields adorned with armorial bearings situated on the choir side (\textbf{Fig. 24}). For his work he was given 13 sous and 4 deniers.\textsuperscript{161} In comparison to the wages of these two sculptors master Gailde was not paid a significantly greater salary for his work. The fabric indicates he was

\textsuperscript{156} Rondot 1887, p. 77.
\textsuperscript{157} Assier 1876, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{158} Collet 1987, pp. 13-20.
\textsuperscript{159} Kavaler 2000, pp. 243-244.
\textsuperscript{160} Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, 16 G 47. For transcription refer to Assier 1854, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{161} Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, 16 G 48. For transcription refer to Assier 1854, p. 47.
given 6 sous 3 deniers per day while the masons working under him made between 4 and 5.\textsuperscript{162} By 1517 the screen was complete for inauguration on Christmas day. Upon the presentation it became highly celebrated among the church community. For this accomplishment Gailde was recognised as the ‘master mason of the king our lord’ and upon his death in 1519 he was memorialised when the church allowed for his burial under the screen.

Aside from being the crowning achievement in the career of Gailde the choir screen at Sainte-Madeleine was the also the platform for the debut (at least in archival terms) of Nicolas Halins in Troyes. His exemplary effort in the project granted the opportunity to work for the church in the following year (1513), producing a wooden reliquary that was carved with griffin feet at the bottom and held a relic of Saint Loup.\textsuperscript{163} He is not documented again until the 1520s when he appeared at the cathedral to sporadically produce a group of four small prophets, carved wooden pillars, five histoires from the lives of saints Peter and Paul, angels holding a shield, a group of statues of the Virgin, Magdalene and Saint John, and a statue of Margaret in wood.\textsuperscript{164} From these accounts it is apparent that as a craftsman with skill in stone and wood Halin’s talent was appropriate for a range of work. These skills were an attractive incentive to patrons like the cathedral that required various finishing touches to their building campaign.

Not only were churches in the city extending patronage to sculptors but members of these parishes offered assistance in funding the embellishment of their respected institutions. In doing so, these patrons were able to present a visual statement memorialising their contribution and community. A wood Trinity group (Fig. 25) donated by two patrons at the

\textsuperscript{162} Assier 1854, pp. 35-6.
\textsuperscript{163} Transcribed in Assier 1854, p. 27; it reads, ‘For Nicolas Halins, sculptor, for having made a wooden reliquary in a carved fashion, the bottom set with griffin feet and the top a reliquary of Saint Loup, for this he was paid 27 sous’.
\textsuperscript{164} Records for his work in this period are found in Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, G. 1589 ff. 98, 175, 290; and G. 1590, ff. 62, 106, 204; G. 1591 ff. 79, 281; G. 1592, f. 217.
church of Saint-Urbain in the early years of the sixteenth century is such an example. This work shows three figures seated on a bench each holding their respective accoutrements. The Father sits in the middle adorned with a three-tiered crown and holding an orb while to his left the Son wears a crown of thorns and holds the cross. And on the right the Holy Spirit appears holding a dove. Each figure wears a mantle with flowing drapery that extends to the bottom of the grouping where a single foot emerges from the folds. Moreover, the distinct facial characteristics of the figures in the work highlights the differing nature of each member of the group: the Father has a face scattered with wrinkles and full beard; Christ is shown with sunken cheeks, short beard and flowing hair; and the Holy Spirit has sunken eyes, a thin nose, cropped hair and a youthful complexion devoid of facial hair. The contrast in aging features (especially among Father and Son) fits the mould of conventional historical ‘types’. Through such scheme the identity of each figure is prominent: God the ancient elder, Christ his young prodigy and the unfading Holy Spirit. Presented as a triumvirate their materialised presence visually emphasises individual role in the Trinitarian doctrine. Furthermore, this manifestation is observed by the male and female patrons who kneel in prayer at the feet of the group. Both have suffered significant damage, making it difficult to fully reconstruct the original level of their composition, but it is likely that their faces had some sign of personal physiognomy. Their corporeal incorporation in the scene places them in a realm of observance to the viewer and synchronously stages aspects of their physical identity, devotion and association with the church.

In turn, it must be noted that the choice to represent the Trinity (more specifically, the Trinity composed of three human figures) is quite peculiar. The presence of three human-type figures in such representations was a new visual theme in this period. In French manuscript illumination during the two preceding centuries, for instance, only two human figures were
generally depicted (Father and Son) along with a dove (Holy Spirit). Undoubtedly the image of the three figures had a powerful effect, particularly around the festival of Pentecost in celebration of the revelatory descent of the Trinity upon the apostles. In providing this imagery accompanied by representations of themselves the patrons outwardly expressed a visual conception of this theme that signified their progressive understanding of the doctrine. Witnessed through this lens their patronage fulfils an agenda relating to the Trinitarian doctrine that was apparently accepted and shared by the community of Saint-Urbain.

Moreover, the medium of wood for such projects was commonly utilised by sculptors and not necessarily viewed as a low quality material. Just a century earlier the famed Jacques de Baerze created lavish wood altarpieces for Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon, a site recognised for its artistic opulence. And as the documents from Troyes cathedral and Sainte-Madeleine show Nicolas Halins produced works in both stone and wood – demonstrating that this medium was preferred for some projects. Considering the option of wood in sculptural projects offered patrons the opportunity to seek the talents of both sculptors and carpenters. Those professionals identified as ‘menuisiers-sculpteurs’ and ‘huchiers’ were perhaps the most skilled in woodworking and offered services in carved sculpture, embellishment and furniture construction. One such master was Jean Oudot who in 1429 ornamented the stalls of the cathedral choir with ‘delicate wooden sculptures’, and in 1439 constructed behind the main altar a tabernacle to hold relics. The construction of relic-related displays appears to have been his specialty considering he emerges again in 1446 producing with his brothers a carved tabernacle with enclosures at the cost of 26 sous, 8 deniers, and also in 1448 a lid to

165 The closest comparable visual tradition to associate a three-figured representation with would be the image of three angels (or biblical men in guise as angels) used by the church in the East; but even in this instance the iconography does not necessarily correspond, aside from the use of three separate figures. For description of Eastern Holy Trinity imagery see Lossky 1982, pp. 200-205.
166 Assier 1876, p. 104.
168 Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, G. 1563, f. 65.
cover the body of Saint Helen.  

The importance of investment in the renovation of such displays was a priority of the church, which through ownership of many relics managed various cults and the revenue they accumulated. The body of Saint Helen of Athyra, for example, was acquired in the beginning of the thirteenth century after the Fourth Crusade through the efforts of bishop Garnier de Traînel who also procured a portion of the True Cross, the head of Saint Philip and a cup purported to be the Holy Grail. The cathedral was quick to choose the body of Helen as their most sacred relic and progressively initiated a campaign to create a local cult around the virtually unknown saint in effort to finance the building construction. By the late middle ages the investment in the public display of ancient relics, like the body of Helen, presented a source of cyclical patronage that brought financial gain to both the church and hired artisans, like Jean Oudot, involved in this process.

The commission of sculpture was perhaps the most viable route in the domain of the public display of patronage. Churches were a major platform for this practice, both in promoting their own visions of patronage as well as those visualised by their extended clerical and lay communities. Sculptural projects that could be celebrated, or even used, in a public fashion fostered these conventions. An example of such a work is a baptismal font (Fig. 26) produced on behalf of a member at the church of Saint-Jacques-aux-Nonnains.

The bath was carved in an octagonal shape with seven individual scenes placed in Gothic

---

170 Geary 1994, pp. 222-223. Prior to his death in 1205, bishop Gernier was appointed ‘procurator sanctorum reliquarum’ by the Latin conquerors and arrangements for the collection he set aside for Troyes was passed on to his successor, Nevelon de Cherisy sometime before 1215.
171 Geary 1994, p. 224-230. The author notes that the cathedral went great lengths to promote and validate the identity of Helen of Athyra; among these efforts was the fabrication of her vita and other forgeries authenticating her historical personality. In some sense, the fact that the cathedral held possession of the entire body would allow them to have complete control over her historical identity and cult. In this respect Helen’s obscurity would be beneficial as the oversupply of relics related to popular saints ultimately deflated the value of well-known saintly relics. The interest in little-known saints therefore was a lucrative business in the eyes of church officials.
172 The font presently sits in the church of St-Urbain. Saint-Jacques and its associated convent, Notre Dame-aux-Nonnains, were destroyed in the Revolution. It was probably in this period that the font made its present location.
The fact that the eighth scene was left blank hints that the structure was intended for display against a wall. The octagonal form adheres to the ancient formulae of font architecture, and is found in many produced in Italy and France throughout the middle ages. The use of eight sides was an application of mystical arithmetic taught by the church as the symbolic number for regeneration and new life, a fitting message for the baptism of children.\textsuperscript{173} In terms of design the font in Troyes follows a traditional Gothic scheme through the separation of each vignette as an individual scene staged between Gothic arch structures. The imagery as well adheres to late trends in decoration that utilised holy personages, evangelistic symbols and instruments of the passion.\textsuperscript{174} The first scene (Fig. 27) shows a male in a red mantle and a figure holding a chalice, perhaps personifying the figures of Saint John and Mary Magdalene. The second shows again two figures (Fig. 28), this time both male with one holding a cross – perhaps Saint Andrew. The third scene comprises of three figures (Fig. 29), on the left Saint Thomas holds a square while the male patron kneels before him with his hands in prayer while on the right another Evangelist stands with an object in hand. The next has two figures with the one on the left holding a palm branch, symbolic of martyrdom (Fig. 30). The following shows the baptism of Christ who is placed between an angel holding his clothes and Saint John pouring the holy water (Fig. 31). The sixth scene represents the Coronation with the Virgin being crowned by Christ as they both are seated on a slab (Fig. 32). And the final scene depicts Saint Christopher carrying the infant Jesus accompanied by Saint James who is identified by his shell symbol (Fig. 33). The iconographic message found on the baptismal font correlates the rites of baptism with the identification of saintly personages (ones commonly chosen as guardians for baptised infants) and the predominant notion of salvation. The incorporation of a range of saintly figures

\textsuperscript{173} Mâle 1951, pp. 14-15.

\textsuperscript{174} Combe 1844, p. 14. The author explains that the use of this type of iconographic decoration on baptismal fonts began in the late middle ages and was considered new in comparison to fonts produced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which contained ‘little beyond architectural ornament’.
perhaps improved the communal experience of the display. By presenting a selection of figures that many in the church community could relate their devotion to (through the possible identification with their protector saints) the visual appeal of the font conveyed an inclusive message. Paired with the baptismal function it served, the iconographic program elevated the receptive appeal of the object. In this situation it is not so surprising that the presence of the patron, placed in the central display panel, plays into this juxtaposition. In a position among the evangelists he takes centre stage among the celestial hierarchy. Kneeling before his respected saint the patron is personified as a devout and pious individual, and through his carved presence the recognition of his contribution enters the public realm.

The ‘public’ function associated with patronage of sculpture in ecclesiastical contexts presents a dimension to the study of patronage. As decoration open to all eyes of the community the sculptures produced in and for ecclesiastical environments had a collective nature that played to a civic audience. Churches as patrons themselves had control over the visual display of this program and therefore presented and enticed their followers with a deliberate iconographic scheme. Those from the outside who became patrons to individual works in the church offered enhancement to this environment. The appeal of this act had many incentives; perhaps the most compelling was the opportunity to have their image included the visual program of the church. Moreover, in this system the patronage of both the church and those associated with the church allowed both parties the occasion to display devotion and emphasise their contribution to the greater community.

*Patronage of the religious orders*

By the fifteenth century the religious orders had been long established in Troyes. In accordance with the wave of renewed building projects at the cathedral and parishes in the city monastic complexes witnessed construction and decoration campaigns at the end of the
century. Due to the fact that many of these sites were destroyed in the Revolution primary forms of documentation are limited. Making up for this discrepancy are antiquarian accounts that offer insight on the history of the orders and their building complexes. Admittedly, deciphering aspects of patronage in this sphere is somewhat problematic given the private character of each community. But it may be inferred that the importance of patronage among these communities had much to do with collective identity, both as a monastic group functioning in a local and pan-European context. Aspects of competition among community hierarchy and the establishment of authority further played a role in shaping this process.

The Franciscan order organised itself in 1236 when Thibault IV granted the group a field outside the city walls near the Comporte gate. After twenty years in this location they moved the couvent des Cordeliers to city residence situated on the parish grounds of Saint Frobert, between the cathedral and church of Saint-Remi. Despite gaining permission from the count the cathedral and parish church were against this move, citing that they did not want to lose income from the property. By the 1260s the land was sold to the order and construction was underway. The only major renovation of this site occurred in the late fifteenth century; most information on the structural developments from this campaign come from scattered documentation gathered by antiquarians and physical remains in the municipal collection. Much of the site was destroyed during the Revolution and left in ruins until it was completely demolished in 1834 to make room for the construction of a prison. It is fortunate that local historians in this period documented the history and late Gothic ruins.

The chapel of the Passion (Fig. 34) was constructed between 1476 and 1481. A historical description of this structure accompanied by detailed illustrations comes from the F.A. Arnaud, a local early nineteenth century Troyen historian. Arnaud reveals that the chapel’s construction was led by the initiative of two Cordeliers, Nicolas Guiotelli and

---

175 Primary documents relating to the founding of the Troyen order come from Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, 13 H 6.
Regnault de Marescot.\textsuperscript{176} Guiotelli was ultimately responsible for the first steps in planning the project. He had studied with the pope in Bologna and used these close connections to receive funding and privileges for a new chapel complex. Shortly after the construction of this project began Regnault was appointed to assist with planning the decorative program. From illustrations it appears the building was a rectangular shape with one open room divided by five bays. Arnaud’s description of the interior provides evidence that there was significant interior decoration with Gothic tracery, large arcades and a floor tiled with a large fleur de lis. There was also a mural on the southwest side of the building representing the Last Judgment with nine figures of donors below.\textsuperscript{177} This provides strong evidence that funding was not only offered by the pope but was likely granted from local private sources. Such support also may be indicative of the acceptance of the order in Troyes in this period, which apparently escaped the movement of anti-monasticism unleashed against communities of Cordeliers in France. Beginning in the late middle ages Franciscan Cordeliers were targeted by ecclesiastical institutions for preaching sermons that criticised clergy of being uneducated in church doctrine.\textsuperscript{178}

In terms of the sculptural program the chapel was fitted with niches for large statues of saints placed between the buttresses supporting the windows. Although these works do not survive some physical evidence for sculpture from the site is in the municipal collection. On the floor above the chapel was a library with ten windows on each side. The library would have been a resource for the continued education of the brothers; many of which had likely studied at the schools established in Paris, Toulouse or Bologna.\textsuperscript{179} From an exterior view

\textsuperscript{176} See Arnaud 1837, pp. 105-110.  
\textsuperscript{177} Arnaud 1837, p. 108.  
\textsuperscript{178} This movement was rampant in France from the late middle ages through the sixteenth century; in some instances the Cordeliers were distrusted by the populace who came to view them as corrupt in their monastic vows. Refer to Stephenson 2004, pp. 140-142.  
\textsuperscript{179} By this period Franciscan educational ties with the universities of Toulouse and Paris had been well established since the thirteenth century when the institutions developed new emphasis on improving instruction of their Franciscan theology departments; in this situation the \textit{studium generale} of the order became a part of the university system. Robson 2010, pp. 264-266.
(Fig. 35) the façade exhibited a display of royal armorials. One of these survives today and shows the arms of Champagne held by two angels (Fig. 36). The colossal sculpture is of high quality and renders refined detail in facial composition and clothing. The particular treatment of the surface of the stone is unique and also appears on a capital of a young man identified as ‘the acrobate’ (Fig. 37) from the library. This shows a young man with his arms and legs extended as he emerges from the leaf tendrils of a capital. Similar to the angels on the Champagne armorial the acrobat’s facial features are very refined. He was given a rounded facial composition defined by thin lips, almond-shaped eyes and hair that twists in the same fashion as the tendrils of the capital to form delicate rows of flowing curls. The form-fitted tunic he wears reveals the movement and shape of his body and moreover is complemented by a textured surface giving the illusion of fabric. This work is not only distinct for its unusual theme but it is unique in that it offers the signature of the sculptor who produced it. Behind the figure on the branch of a vine appears the name ‘Jubert’ in Gothic script. At this time documentation containing this name has not come to light.

However, one other tantalising piece of Jubert’s manifests in another capital from the chapel complex showing a writing theologian, identified as ‘the doctor’ (Fig. 38). This shows a man with a cape and voluminous mantle emerging from the capital while holding a large piece of parchment. Like the other two works presumably produced by Jubert this uses delicate modelling in facial composition, bodily features, and the impeccable textured-surface technique. The doctorial theme references the hierarchy of the order, which was traditionally led by a guardian who held the grade of doctor and professor. There is no evidence supporting the notion that this may be an image of a specific individual associated with the

---

180 Boucherat 2005, pp. 353-358. The author discusses both works in detail, and in offering analysis on the possible models that influenced their design she specifically notes the influence of the German engraver identified as Master E.S., active in the Rhine region between 1450 and 1467.

181 Viallet 2001, p. 137. The author discusses this hierarchy in relation to evidence for the couvent des Cordeliers established in Romans. Along with the guardian there was usually a group of officers who assisted with the affairs of the community.
local Cordeliers, but the figure’s placement in the library would no doubt be reminder of the importance of this role in the religious and scholastic structure. The focus on education, or what was considered a proper education, was a prominent value held by the order. The anti-monastic movement in this period toward the Cordeliers in other French cities was a reaction to their judgment in this area; for their criticism over the educational ignorance of the ecclesiastical clergy the order was attacked for being disobedient to their vows.\footnote{Stephenson 2004, p. 141.}

The contribution of other patrons and sculptors involved in the decoration of the site is evident in a few other works from the municipal collection. A console decorated with an angel holding an unidentified armorial (Fig. 39) demonstrates that visual devices of patronage were incorporated in the decoration. The angel seemingly mimics those witnessed in Jubert’s arms of Champagne with long flowing hair and detailed costume, but the foreshortened form and placement on the console departs Jubert’s advanced spatial awareness and composition. Although it may be the case that he worked on this it is very difficult to judge given the fact that the face has suffered significant damage. In terms of composition the console is more closely assimilated with a capital showing the Meeting of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony (Fig. 40). Like the angel the figures in this are foreshortened solid masses. The facial features are much different than those witnessed in Jubert’s work; the figures are presented with sunken large eyes, petite noses and protruding foreheads. Saint Paul wears a similar scale-pattern tunic to the one witnessed on the angel console. The similarities of these works indicate that a second sculptural personality was present. And finally, a third sculptor likely accompanied these professionals. Evidence for this comes from a keystone showing a pair of hommes sauvages holding an unidentified armorial (Fig. 41). The composition and facial types departs from the other work and shows the presence of a sculptor with slightly asperous style. His solid compositions make use of hard lines and square features to create an
overall compact effect. Furthermore, the sculptures from the couvent’s chapel and library suggest the presence of a group of independent sculptors, or perhaps a workshop.

What can be inferred from this evidence is consideration of the organisation of patronage among the Cordeliers. The interest in having individuals with direct ties to Italy involved in aspects of planning and building is noteworthy. In this period the renovation of the Grandes Cordeliers complex in Lyon, for example, employed project director Simon de Pavie, who had been a medical doctor by trade that entered the Cordeliers after the death of his patron king Charles VII.183 Moreover, Simon is identified with Italy through his epitaph: GENUIT SIC ITALIA TELLUS (Brought forth from the land of Italy’). Like Guiotelli in Troyes Simon exerted his royal connection to secure funding from the papacy for the project and oversaw the reconstruction that (similar to the complex in Troyes) included a great display of armorials on the façade. In Troyes and Lyon the leadership opportunities afforded to Cordeliers of Italian descent appears to have been a factor in organising patronage. The incentive of employing these individuals appears two-fold, with value being placed on their direct connections to papal funding and also their authority in discerning acceptable building and decorative programs. This methodology reveals a systematic approach to the construct of the order that further conveys the legitimacy afforded to the primacy of Italo-Franciscan authority.

In the same period another local order witnessed renewal of its complex. The Benedictine abbey of Montier-la-Celle, founded in 650 CE when Clovis II granted lands to saint Frobert, was renovated at the end of the fifteenth century. Coming into its ‘golden age’ in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the order solidified a close relationship with Troyes cathedral that endured through the late middle ages. This is evident in the organisation of management at each institution. For example, prior to becoming bishop Louis Raguier served

183 Pavy 1825, pp. 35-39
as the ‘premier abbé’ at the site, where he was succeeded by his nephew Nicolas de la Place who had served as a doyen at the cathedral.\textsuperscript{184} During the Hundred Years War buildings on the site were easily targeted for destruction because of their location outside the protection of the city walls. Reconstruction and renewal came under the leadership of Charles de Refuge (1488-1514) who elevated the visual appeal of the complex to become ‘the most beautiful in the city’.\textsuperscript{185} A few surviving works offer a glimpse into the Charles’ decorative program. An architectural niche with his armorials (\textbf{Fig. 42}) symbolises the majestic level of décor that adorned the complex. The niche forms an elegant scallop interior between two carved pillars topped with angels holding a vegetal wreath. A complementing scallop-shell motif was repeated throughout the surface design while the abbot’s arms were placed in a central position on the base platform. A portrait of Charles de Refuge in prayer (\textbf{Fig. 43}) perhaps shows the interior setting in which the niche was placed. In this the abbot kneels before an open prayer book perched on a small table covered with a beautifully woven cloth. The interior room behind expands into a space of carved pillars surmounted with multi-coloured capitals around a two-layered font. The space opens further to a hall passage where another monk stands reading an open book. The impression given by the marble floor, painted walls, decorative mouldings and columns is one of an immaculately colourful space for devotion.

The epicurean scene undoubtedly fits with the Italianate style of the niche and attests to the immaculate vision Charles had for the sculptural program of his domain. Interest in this design may indicate the presence of Italian sculptors or, at least, sculptors with training in Italianate decoration. Moreover, the appearance of Italian architectural decoration in France developed in the mid-fifteenth century when artists from the south began to produce and influence the dissemination of these designs in north cities.\textsuperscript{186} The presence of such motifs in

\textsuperscript{184} Lalore 1882, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{185} Lalore 1882, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{186} Chancel-Bardelot 2012, p. 356. The author also relates this trend in Italian decoration to the work of Jean Fouquet, who in his illuminated manuscripts took great interest in such representations as scalloped niches.
Troyes demonstrates the diffusion of this aesthetic movement and the taste in classical decorative repertory. Although this trend could be recognised as ‘ancient’ it would have been quite innovative in context of the flamboyant Gothic mise-en-scène of late medieval Troyes. Leading the renovation at Montier-la-Celle, Charles de Refuge initiated enthusiasm for this vibrant display and in doing so he ostensibly moved away from the parochial high French Gothic aesthetic embraced by the cathedral and parishes of the city.

Similar to the patronal activities Charles de Refuge offered through his leadership another abbot in this period patronised his order in a comparable manner. The name of Nicolas Forjot, abbot of the Saint Loup between 1485 and 1514, is connected with two surviving sculptural works in the municipal collection. A lavabo from the abbey (Fig. 44) divided into three frontal sections displays his armorials surrounded by gargoyle heads. The upper border consists of a vine and grape motif supported by columns topped with Gothic pinnacles. The structure rests on two hexagonal supports; one carved with a monumental ‘F’ (Forjot) and the other with a crown and another letter that is badly damaged. The sculptural use of para-heraldic signs, emblems and devices was another way of bringing forth identity of the patron. This type of display was coveted and developed by members of the French court over the preceding centuries. By the fifteenth century the evolved visual vocabulary embodied by this practice was familiar to all classes of sculptors and patrons. Unlike those displayed in manuscripts the presentation of such symbols held a different status in sculptural context. As works accessible to a larger audience the heraldic devices performed less as determinants of ownership and more as visual memorialisation of the gratuitous act of patronage. Furthermore, the placement of Forjot’s lavabo likely intensified this message. It was common for Cistercian monasteries to place these basins in a pavilion near the entrance.

Perkinson 2009, pp. 240-241. The author relates this discussion to the development of gift-giving culture among the royal court, which as a custom had undertones of the public display and exchange of wealth, patronage and art.
to the refectory near the courtyard of the cloister.\textsuperscript{188} The basin would have been used on a regular basis as a communal wash after the offertory and prior to entering the refectory. As a work that functioned in a common area to serve members of the order the visual presence of the abbot’s contribution would have been recognised on a regular basis.

This function may also be deduced about a magnificent Virgin and Child (Fig. 45) Forjot donated around 1510 to the Hôtel-Dieu-le-Comte. The statuesque Virgin is presented with long hair, refined features and stands holding in her right hand a bouquet of roses and the child Christ in her left. Her voluminous mantle is embroidered with the inscription ‘VIRGO MATER PULCHRE DILECTIONIS’, terminology further establishing her cult status as the ‘Virgin of Fair Love’. The inscription does not directly invoke or address the Virgin as much as is identifies her with certain characteristics (love, beauty, chastity). Her physicality attests to these traits with an elongated neck, rounded face, full lip, almond-shaped eyes, high forehead and tendril waves of curled hair. The association with roses may have conjured connections with contemporary literary perspectives on female beauty and love; perhaps referencing the assimilation of these gendered ideals with the poetic imagery of comparisons produced in popular literature like the \textit{Roman de la Rose}. Increasingly in this period perceptions of the Virgin as a rose without a thorn appear. And in painted media, for instance, German and Netherlandish artists developed a class of images in which the Virgin was associated with rose gardens.\textsuperscript{189} These themes were used to complement the presence of the Christ child and symbolise the beauty of the Divine Motherhood. Moreover, the child in Forjot’s sculpture holds a cluster of grapes to allegorically reference the importance of the Eucharist. This association was a pervasive element of late Gothic Madonna’s produced by German sculptors.\textsuperscript{190} The iconography was adopted by artists like Lucas Cranach the Elder as support for Reformation ideals involving the admiration of the Virgin for her faith and

\textsuperscript{188} Dobson 2000, p. 832.  
\textsuperscript{189} Fisher 2011, p. 94.  
\textsuperscript{190} Noble 2009, p. 181.
humility and the conviction that laity should receive the Eucharist in both bread and wine. As a cohesive pair attributed with individual accoutrement symbols Forjot’s Virgin and Child represents a late Gothic incarnation of ideas embracing traditional notions of what Saint Cyril of Alexandria coined kallitokos, the ‘bearer of him who is true beauty’.

The humble nature of this theme is further complemented by the presence of the abbot (Fig. 46). At the feet of the Virgin the pious Forjot is shown clasping his hands in prayer. His ‘likeness’ is captured as an aged man with a high brow, bulbous nose, receding hairline and plump cheeks. The convergence of donor figures in prayer before the Virgin created a prayerful relationship between the real and depicted worlds. Forjot was not the only donor to do so in Troyes, but countless local patrons presented themselves in a similar manner. Dozens of kneeling statuettes from this period are displayed in the musée Vauluisant (Figs. 47-48) and appear in comparable size and structure. These types, classified as ‘donateurs agenouillés’, are evidence that patrons of sculpture in the city participated in this trend and recognised the appeal of visually expressing devotional presence.

The donation of this sculpture to the Hôtel Dieu was not a random act of patronage on behalf of the abbot. Aside from his duties at Saint Loup Forjot also held the position of ‘maître’ at the Hôtel Dieu. He first appears in records at the site in 1485 identified as ‘magister hospitalis, ordinis s. Augustini, and theologie professoris’. By 1509 he gained additional titles as ‘sacre theologie doctor’ and ‘humilis abbas’. A foundation document dated 30 July 1509 cites Forjot’s establishment of a confraternity between his abbey and the hôtel. Such organisations were voluntary and those that joined were devoted to the public expression of external forms of piety. As a solitary group the members formed artificial families bound by voluntary fellowship. The donation of the Virgin and Child perhaps correlates with the foundation of this alliance. As the creator of this group, and esteemed

192 Guignard 1853, pp. 19-20.
religious leader with communal responsibilities, Forjot’s sculpture appears as a pious expression at an opportune time. The sculpture further materialised as a visual instrument for public veneration and as a didactic model of patronage for members of the new confraternity.

The conclusions that can be drawn from evidence for the development of sculptural patronage in Troyes follow a historical pattern similar to the area of manuscript illumination. Whereas the ravages of the Hundred Years War depleted surplus wealth of the earlier period a new wave of finances became available in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Supporting the allocation of this wealth were subgroups of patrons. The patronage of the ecclesiastical order supported a consistent flow of work aimed at the maintenance and decoration of building projects. Churches continually fuelled this area with resources collected through private and public means. The growing wealth of private individuals and their increased fabric donations led to the manufacture of works that were used to embellish the visual opulence of the city and its churches. The patronage of the religious orders followed this pattern on a smaller scale by offering means for the decoration of individual religious communities. Considering the fact that these sites were closed to the public their goal ultimately focused on internal institutional enhancement for the benefit of a niche community. Acts of communal patronage in monastic context were therefore grounded in the idea that community was an autonomous entity. In this conceptualisation patronal initiatives were organised by individuals in authoritative positions. In all, this environment set the stage for a flowering of visual ideas concerning the building of a late Gothic Troyes.

---

194 Luxford 2005, p. 51. This is the assertion made by the author in discussion of the trend in patronage of English Benedictine monasteries.
METALWORK

The medium of metalwork in the middle ages was a craft prized by many patrons. In Troyes a great demand for various forms of metal arts supported a class of goldsmiths, engravers and sculptors. These professionals produced a range of objects such as liturgical accoutrements, decorative book covers, statuary, jewellery and household goods. As early as 1369 Charles V established statutory regulations for goldsmiths living in the city and along with this the circuit of trade fairs provided opportunity for the exchange of goods and materials.\(^{195}\) It is difficult to assess the local development of management among the professionals considering a lack of documentary information. Certainly, by the sixteenth century some form of a guild was in order. Evidence for this comes from the cathedral register of 1501-1502 that explains the case of Thibaut Boulanger. In this Thibaut is identified as ‘goldsmith and cleric’ that was imprisoned for the illegal purchase of joyaux. The documentation of this incident claims that he violated statutes of his profession established in Troyes through making purchases from unknown individuals and not informing the appropriate ‘maîtres du métier’.\(^{196}\) The fact that the cathedral was aware of professional regulations shows that a hierarchy of metalworkers enforced authority over the trade.

As for the individuals who made up this community of craftsmen it appears that a significant majority came from families that had been involved in the profession for generations. Brault-Lerch’s publication in this area is a starting point for looking at these relationships. Her published chronology of goldsmiths and engravers in the city was compiled through church fabric accounts and antiquarian records.\(^{197}\) The recorded names that

\(^{195}\) Brault-Lerch 1986, p. 3.

\(^{196}\) Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, G. 4186, f. 109. The purchased goods were four silver chalices that had been stolen from the monastery of Saint-Martin d’Épernay.

\(^{197}\) Refer to Brault-Lerch 1986. Although this work offers very little analysis it is a useful source for access to
appear show that groups of families were involved in metalwork over many years. The Chevry family, for instance, had a longstanding connection to the trade and was actively documented between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at many parishes. The earliest reference to the family comes from 1431-1432 when Nicolas Chevry produced a cross for the cathedral. His work continued there for the next twenty years, where he is mentioned in the repair and production of various crosses, cups and reliquaries. The records unfortunately do not render full details concerning his work. It is not until a mention of Jehannin Chevry (likely the grandson of Nicolas) that slightly more detail is revealed; cathedral fabric accounts from 1476-1477 show that he produced a reliquary of silver and brass of Saint Urs along with his son. Additionally, it states that the model he followed was created by the painter Cordonnier, who was also responsible for the polychrome of statues on the portal of the cathedral. This record is interesting for the fact that it highlights a working process that involved collaboration with his son and another professional, perhaps showing that the project was an opportunity for the cultivation of familial training and the cooperative alliance with another artist. Such collaborative practice among artisans must have been common given that in 1461-1462 a goldsmith named Pierre Barat produced a reliquary for the church of Sainte-Madeleine that was based on a model drawn by sculptor Perrin Trubert. In this case, Perrin was likely a suitable candidate for the job not only for his talents but also for his

---

198 Transcribed documentation found in Brault-Lerch 1986, p. 102. The reference to Cordonnier likely refers to Jacquet Cordonnier, active from the 1450s at the cathedral, Sainte-Madeleine and Saint-Etienne; in each instant he is recognised for the ‘redore et repare’ of various statues. His son, Nicolas, also was trained as a painter and emerges in reference to various works at the cathedral in the beginning of the sixteenth century. For record of the Cordonnier’s see Assier 1876, pp. 47-55.

199 The document reads: ‘Il exécute un reliquaire pour l’église de Sainte-Madeleine suivant le modèle, ou patron de papier, remis par Perrin Trubert. On lui remet IX livres pour la peine et salaire d’avoir fait ce reliquaire, plus la valeur d’achat de deux marcs et une demi-once d’argent fin employé a cet ouvrage, au prix de IX livres, soit XVIII livres XI sols III deniers’. (He made a reliquary for the church of Sainte-Madeleine following the model, or paper pattern, produced by Perrin Trubert. For this he was given IX livres for making the reliquary along with the purchase value of two marcs and the half-ounce of fine silver used in the work, the price of IX livres, totals XVIII livres XI sols III deniers.) Archives de l’Aube, 16 G 29.
relation to Thomas Trubert, a ‘master goldsmith’ of Troyes. Through this connection it was plausible that Perrin was aware of the working processes and trained techniques mastered by goldsmiths, in this situation he possessed the ability to draw designs for feasible projects based on his knowledge and understanding concerning the visual and technical limitations of the trade. In turn, Perrin may also have been considered an authority on design through his travels to other sites; he is recorded in cathedral documents from 1456 as accompanying the masters of work on a tour to visit the cathedrals of Reims, Amiens and Paris. On these tours he would have had the opportunity to absorb information concerning trends in the design, production and display of metalwork and sculpture.

It is not surprising that a great deal of planning was involved in the production of reliquaries, which by the late middle ages became quite an expensive practice in which patrons often spared no cost in the gathering of materials and labour. The ample finances put into these objects were worth the investment considering the crowds of pilgrims and cult devotees that brought offerings. As an economic venture for many churches the allocation of funds for the upkeep of these objects was not unusual. The reference to repairs and construction of displays (as explored earlier in the discussion of sculpture) frequent fabrics throughout the fifteenth century, and additionally short descriptions of ancient relics faithfully appear in inventories compiled over many centuries. This is very much the case at the cathedral which held a potent collection consisting of the foot of Saint Margaret, the bodies of saints Helen of Athyra and Mastida, the vase of the Last Supper and the heads of saints Savinien and Philip. Complementing the veneration of these traditional relics was

---

200 The Trubert family can be traced from the late fourteenth century, being associated with production in metalwork and sculpture. The offspring of Perrin are later found working throughout France, and were responsible for forming significant regional workshops. More on the spread of this family outside of Troyes can be found in Hamon 2004, pp. 168-89.


202 These relics all appear in the inventories of 1429, 1611 and 1700. Those of Savinien and Mastida were derived from local hagiographic record while the more popular Helen, Philip, Holy Grail and True Cross were sourced from the Fourth Crusade and brought from Constantinople to Troyes through the efforts of bishop Garnier de Trainel around 1215.
the creation of new displays. In some cases the church did not expend funding for such development, but individual patrons associated with the church offered their patronage. During his tenure bishop Louis Raguier (1450-1483) donated to the cathedral a reliquary in the form of a gilt statue of Saint Peter that was placed on a crown-shaped pedestal made of precious stones; the figure held in his right hand a book with the saint’s tooth enshrined with gold filigree, the object weighed in total fifteen marcs. The bishop’s donation to the cathedral not only was an opportunity to display his charity but it held the prospect of other communal benefits: the integration of the new display had the potential to revive cult interest that would be advantageous to both the devotion of the community of worshippers and the fabric and of his church.

Other acts of patronage on behalf of individuals associated with religious institutions can be documented in this period. At the abbey of Saint Loup in 1410 abbot Persin donated a reliquary of saint Barbara that consisted of a figure of the saint in front of a church structure with a bell tower, transept and pinnacles gilded in bronze. This saint was associated with the Eucharist and through this connection the relic may have been placed on the high altar. Elevated in such a position the relic was a highly function donation serving prominent liturgical purpose and cult veneration. In the following year Persin donated another reliquary statue in silver of the Virgin holding Christ that was twenty-two inches in height and 18 marcs weight. A receipt dated 1 September 1411 reveals that Aimery Danricart and his son, Nicolas, completed this work for fifty livres tournois. The figure apparently held the breast milk of the Virgin and was perhaps an important source in the focus of her local cult. The milk of the Virgin first appeared in France in 1241 when Louis XI purchased a portion from the emperor of Constantinople and enshrined it in the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris. From here the

203 Lalore 1893, p. 178.
204 Lalore 1893, p. 178.
206 Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, 4 bis H 35.
diffusion of the cult spread with the similar relic promotions sprouting in Chartres, Avignon, Aix-en-Provence and Toulon. By the fifteenth century these relics along with the images of the ‘Virgo lactans’ continued to draw perpetual interest.

Abbot Persin’s example was followed nearly a century later when abbot Nicolas Forjot donated gilded châsses to replace the old ones of Saint Carmelien and Saint Evode in 1496. Forjot’s most expensive donation came in 1503 when he hired a goldsmith named Jean Papillon to replace the original twelfth century silver reliquary of Saint Loup that had been broken and repaired in 1364. The end product was sizable structure that cost a staggering 2,220 livres. The top portion of the object represented the silver head of the saint supported by two angels, while the bottom was ornamented with sixteen enamel plaques from Limoges that represented the saint’s life. The magnificence end product apparently deserved great pomp and circumstance, as it required a consecration ceremony led by bishop Louis Raguier on the first Sunday after Easter 1505. Forjot’s investment in the revitalisation of these ancient relics formed an integral part of his plans for the enriching his domain and honouring the responsibilities bestowed upon him by his predecessors. The church at this site was dedicated 20 May 1425 under the leadership of abbot Simon Potuelli.

---

207 Chancel-Bardelot 2012, p. 348. This author discusses the history of the cult around the milk of the Virgin in relation to images found in manuscript illumination showing the breast of the Virgin.

208 This information is offered by the church historian M. Des Guerrois, f. 409, who in 1637 recorded that abbot Forjot donated these in 1496 on the day of saints Simon and Jude in the presence of Jacques Guerrin (priest of Ricey, cure of Lassicourt, apostolic notary), Odin Porée (prior of Saint Loup) Pierre Adelin (prior of Laines), Jean Saget (provost) and Pierre l’Espagnol (treasurer); furthermore the relics were taken from the old boxes and repositioned in the new.

209 A note by abbot Martin records: ‘L’an 1503, maitre Nicolas Forgetot, abbé de Saint-Loup, fit faire par Jean Papillon un reliquaire pour le chef de ce saint, qui est une des plus belles pieces d’orfévrerie que l’on puisse inventer. Tous les étrangers et curieux qui en passant par cette ville le voyent et examinent bien avouent que c’est un chef-d’oeuvre’. (In the year 1503, master Nicolas Forgetot, abbot of St-Loup, had made by Jean Papillon a reliquary for the head of the saint, which is one of the most beautiful pieces of metalwork ever produced. All those foreign and curious who pass through the city and see it have considered it a masterpiece.) I have translated this from the transcription provided in Brauch-Lerch 1986, p. 228

210 The head of the Saint was broken in 1794, but the enamels remain in the treasure of the cathedral; these are illustrated in Chancel-Bardelot 2010, pp. 260-61, who relates them to the workshop of the Master of the Triptych of Louis XII, furthermore hypothesizing that model drawings and watercolours were sent from Troyes for the workshop to follow.

211 Courtallon-Delaistre 1783, p. 279. In his chapter on the abbey this antiquarian source also claims that the reliquary was presented in 1503 on the feast of the saint. There is no explanation as to why the consecration came three later; it may have to do with the fact that it was either unfinished in 1503, or perhaps in the intervening years the enamels were added and it was unveiled a second time for this purpose.
His successor Pierre Andoillette was instrumental in the construction of the complex, overseeing the further building campaigns around the nave and bell tower. Following his death in 1491 this leadership was transferred to abbot Forjot. At this stage in the construction of the church his primary duties were relegated to the chapels, windows, organ and library.\textsuperscript{212} Seemingly at this stage the renewal of vital relics was essential. Forjot’s efforts in this realm were not only aimed at the gratification obtained through displaying a personal act of patronage but were emblematic of his greater responsibilities in the management of the site.

In turn, the type of work other goldsmiths completed on behalf of churches was varied. Between 1409 and 1430 Jean La Rotiere appears in cathedral accounts, being paid for such tasks as repairing a statue of Saint Philip, fashioning closures for the gradual and gathering supplies for other projects.\textsuperscript{213} In 1418 Colinet Garnier was summoned by the cathedral to appraise the value of various metal objects donated through he will of Thierry de Neuchatel, doyen of the cathedral.\textsuperscript{214} In 1511 Pierre Belin rejuvenated the statue of Mary Magdalene at Sainte-Madeleine with joyaux, outfitting her with a book in the left hand, a box held in the right and a crown of pearls.\textsuperscript{215} This evidence demonstrates that the craftsmen did not only function in the sphere of creating luxurious liturgical objects for church patrons, but were involved in a menial system that demanded pliable skills in repair, appraisal and renovation.

Aside from the patronage of churches the ductile expertise of these professionals was consumed in the area of secular work. Individual patrons and families would have commissioned and sought repair for such things as household items, jewellery, fashion adornments, decorative mounts for horse riding and other personal effects. The aristocratic

\textsuperscript{212} Courtalon-Delaistre 1783, p. 278. Aside from these duties Forjot followed a regimented style of management in observance of ancient tradition; he is accredited with restoring the practice of ancient regulations and overseeing the management of finances.
\textsuperscript{213} Archives de l’Aube, G. 1560, G. 1561, G. 1562.
\textsuperscript{214} Archives de l’Aube, G. 4126. His donation consisted of various vestments and metal goods. Among the items appraised by Colinet were a silver belt, a statue of Saint Catherine, spoons, cups and coins.
\textsuperscript{215} Lalore 1893, p. 343.
class particularly enjoyed owning, displaying and using such ornate objects to denote their social status.\textsuperscript{216} Along with this the city hired goldsmiths for the upkeep of currency, honorary medals, defence systems (walls, guns, doors, etc.) and other municipal projects. One such documented interaction took place in May 1486 when the échevinage council paid four goldsmiths to make twelve cups that were offered as gifts to Charles VIII by bishop Louis Raguier on behalf of the people of the city.\textsuperscript{217} As a civic endeavour the project was an opportunity for communal enhancement in homage to the French monarchy. Through this offering the city celebrated the king’s arrival and participated in the practice of royal gift giving that had been cultivated among the aristocratic court over the last century.

The projection of civic pride was not only manifest during occasions of royal celebration but it was also transmitted through the display of municipal monument. The most grandiose example of this was embodied in the Belle Croix constructed in the centre square of the Grande Rue between 1484 and 1497. It is difficult to piece together a picture of the work given that it was destroyed in the Revolution, but fortunately a few nineteenth century writers recorded their knowledge on the subject. The director of the project was master mason Jean Gailde, who was assisted by two sculptors (Jacques Bachot and Nicolas Halins) and one goldsmith (Henri le Sarrurier).\textsuperscript{218} The first antiquarian reference to the monument comes from the writing of Pierre-Jean Grosley who mentioned in 1812 the existence of a Belle Croix in Troyes that was ‘one of the greatest pieces of sculpture executed in bronze’. The only information he rendered about the structure was that it displayed statues of Simon Magus and the Antichrist, and that it was originally protected by a surmounted canopy which

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{216} Ross 2003, p. 30.
\item \textsuperscript{217} Although the documentation does not specify what these objects looked like it is interesting to see the organisation of a team for such a project; the four goldsmiths (Nicolas Petit, Lambert d’Assencieres, Estienne Lechat and Guillaume de Marisy) must have represented the best in their profession in order selection. Furthermore, the collaborative nature of their work is evidence that patrons and goldsmiths were willing to participate in this type of exchange. For reference to primary documentation refer to Brault-Lerch 1986, pp. 53, 237.
\item \textsuperscript{218} Baudoin 1990, p. 56. Considering the size of the monument these men likely had assistants working under them, each atelier working closely together.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
formed a dome that was painted gold and blue and decorated with images of the Crucifixion.\textsuperscript{219} A greater description of the monument emerges in A.F. Arnaud’s 1837 publication in which it is revealed that that the monument was placed on a fifteen-inch high masonry platform and distinguished by three levels rising thirty-six feet in height. The base consisted of three pillars topped with the figures of Satan, Simon Magus and a female serpent. The mid-level formed the core of the structure with two statues of the Virgin and Saint John placed in decorative niches. And at the top level emerged the cross and Crucifixion scene, displaying small statues of Christ accompanied by Mary Magdalene at the base and surrounded by the Virgin and Saint John. Covering the surface of the monument were various mouldings embellished with decorative foliate designs, while thin gothic buttresses with tracery rose from the base pillars to support the higher registers. On each end of the cross were rounded foliate boxes decorated with acanthus that held various relics.

In terms of its function the Belle Croix may be classified as a type of civic reliquary that exemplified an expression of municipal and religious devotion. The promulgation of this exhibition is unique for two reasons. First, the use of bronze was not particularly common in the construction of public crosses in France during this period. In the late middle ages many were still carved from stone, and it was not until the later sixteenth century that bronze representations became increasingly produced. Perhaps, in this case, the function preceded design and bronze was chosen for the purpose of securely containing relics; as it would be virtually impossible to create sturdy enclosures in stone. Second, the use of the public monument as a reliquary is distinctively curious. The business of reliquary production and display was managed customarily by churches while municipal governments were relegated to the realm of supporting this system through management of civic processions and

\textsuperscript{219} Grosley 1812, p. 313.
celebrations around such objects.\textsuperscript{220} The adoption of this privilege by the government is indicative of the extension of civic authority in a sacred context. The city as unified governmental force had the right to participate in the domain of religious jurisdiction. As patron to such a project the municipal government entered the sacred dimension of civic religion, asserting their authority into the urban landscape with a message of devotion.\textsuperscript{221} The public grandiosity of the monument would have been a visual reminder of the civic and religious confluence of law and devotion, as well as a symbol of the accomplishments achieved by the community of goldsmiths and sculptors in Troyes.

---

**PAINTING**

The topic of French painting outside manuscript illumination is one that has yet to be fully examined by scholars of medieval art. When discussing painting in France during the fifteenth century art historians have tended to focus primarily on developments in the practice of illumination. While these studies provide a glass through which to trace the practice of French painting there is much work to be done in other areas. For instance, there is yet to be a significant study taking into consideration all forms of painting. Though this may seem like a task of great magnitude, a focused approach to this topic could be highly beneficial for understanding the multi-faceted demands placed on professional painters. This section attempts to synthesize painted activity of Troyes in such a way. Indeed many types of projects in the city required craftsmen skilled in various painting techniques. Sculptures required polychrome, barren walls cried for decoration and weavers had demands for painted cartoons. In Troyes during the late middle ages many types of artisans trained in the skill of

\textsuperscript{220} This type of interaction developed among municipal governments in Flanders, northern France and Germany at the end of the thirteenth century and endured through the late middle ages. Refer to Brown 2011, p. 39.

\textsuperscript{221} The term ‘civic religion’ is used by A. Brown to denote a process that encompassed the blending of civic authority and urban landscape to create a sacred kind of influence. It highlights a social dimension of medieval life and the links made between religious practice and civic government. Brown 2011, p. 3.
painting worked in various ways. Their presence provides a basis for understanding the flexibility and demand for various painted arts and artists.

The most information available on painters active in Troyes comes from fabric accounts of churches throughout the city. Through the fifteenth century fifty-two painters can be identified; among these are nine painter-illuminators, ten painter-glaziers and eight painter-sculptors. The words used to describe these professionals are ‘peintre’ or ‘poinctre’, the spelling varying from account to account. All of these individuals held various positions that demanded a variety of duties and technical skills. Troyes cathedral, for example, employed a consistent number in a diversity of projects. In one instance the painter Gilet was one of the workers committed by the chapter to judge the stained glass made by Jean de Damery in the 1380s. In 1413 Perrin Lopin was commissioned to paint a sculpture of Saint Peter and a group of angels. In the following year he painted the image of the Virgin surrounded by angels and columns on the high altar, details on the eagle before the altar, double-arm candelabras and a few taffeta banners at the cost of 24 livres. In this same year Rasset Tau painted a reliquary that Lopin had failed to complete in the space of two years, being paid 8 livres. A few years before on 21 June 1411 he was paid 3 sous 4 deniers for his work on the canopy above the high altar. And between 1419 and 1420 he painted a sculpture of an angel made by the sculptor Jean and with this also painted some gold stars and a background for 22 livres, 10 sous. A painter named Gillequin decorated part of the cathedral organ between 1419 and 1420 and also made some paintings for the church around 1440. Between 1428 and 1436 he worked for the church of Saint-Etienne painting various statues and the weather vane of the steeple.222

The parish church of Sainte-Madeleine also provided work for skilled painters. Around the same time decoration on the high altar of the cathedral was completed funds from

---

222 Rondot 1882, pp. 36-41.
the parish’s fabric were allocated toward the refurbishment of their high altar. In 1411 Rasset Tau is recorded as painting images on the altar at the cost of 14 livres.\textsuperscript{223} This painter’s presence at both sites demonstrates that ecclesiastical patrons shared the labour specific individuals on similar projects. Another project at Sainte-Madeleine that involved a painter was the production of a tapestry of Mary Magdalene. The process of creating this piece began in 1425 and involved a number of professional artisans and designers.\textsuperscript{224} One painter named Jacquet performed an integral part in the planning of the project; documents from between 1425 and 1426 reveal that he produced in November a small drawing of the life of Mary and was paid 10 sous. Later in the year he made a second and was given 115 sous and in the following year his expertise was consulted twice more, each time rendering large-scaled tapestry cartoons at the rate of 12 livres.\textsuperscript{225} These payments were expensive bills for project and attest to the importance of a skilled painter in the stages of tapestry production.

Similar to the documented evidence for other areas of artistic activity, that for Troyen painters declines in the 1430s and only resurfaces at the end of the fifteenth century. In this period glass painters take the forefront in producing great works funded on the behalf of churches and the wealthy families of their lay communities. The physical evidence and documentation of their work provides insight on the development of glass production in the late-Gothic period. At the same time the art of panel painting emerges in the city and provides a new medium for patrons to consider. Both glass and panel painting attracted support from a new generation of individuals and families with a surplus of expendable wealth.

\textsuperscript{223} Ibid, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{224} Full discussion of this project will be raised in the following section.
\textsuperscript{225} Original documentation found in Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, 16 G 7. Transcribed in Guignard 1851, pp. X-XIII.
Glass Painting

The tradition of Troyen glass painting can be traced to the early middle ages. Projects like the building of Troyes cathedral and Saint-Urbain required the skills of glassmakers as early as the thirteenth century. It was, however, not until the late fifteenth century when glass production in the city was revived and celebrated by new elite. Unlike other areas of local artistic activity the study of stained glass has received adequate attention from the scholarly community. Elizabeth Pastan and Sylvie Balcon’s work on the early campaigns at Troyes cathedral provide a departure for looking at the early medieval development of glass in the city. Complementing this is the research of Danielle Minois, who has focused her efforts on stained glass campaigns between 1480 and 1560. This work has brought together physical and archival evidence to form a relatively full picture of the progression of glass campaigns in Troyes.

From a multitude of primary documents relating to activity surrounding glass painting Minois has revealed that some sixty-six individuals identified as ‘peintres verriers’ worked in the city during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The composition of glass workshops consisted of a master and two or three assistants who laboured under supervision; in cases of extreme demand assistants were outsourced to other masters. The contacts between these professionals were frequent and often intersected on joint projects at various churches. Along with this, their primary workshops were located in close proximity, in the quarters of Saint Jacques and Comporte. For these reasons the environment for glass production in this period is often referred to as a ‘school’, being interpreted as a organized body of collaborative work and training.

The output of this body provides insight on aspects of church planning and patronage.

---

226 Balcon and Pastan 2006.
227 Minois 2005.
228 Minois 2005, p. 309.
229 Minois 2005-2, p. 27
Two groups of people were patrons of this art, namely churches and members of their lay communities. In terms of the forged relationships between glass workshops and these groups it seems that churches assumed sole responsibility as patron. Even with financial support from private elite the church maintained an overall responsibility in planning the execution of work. Surviving contracts outlined in fabric accounts demonstrate that the church was in charge of drawing up agreements with the masters and having them signed before a notary. Documents of this type emerge from the archives of the cathedral, where between 1485 and 1520 some twelve master glaziers were contracted to construct the nave windows.\(^{230}\) It is interesting to see that donor figures of individuals and families were not corporeally represented in the windows, but were included only through the presence of armorials. The windows were moreover organised to follow schematic biblical representations devoid of any other visual links to the patrons. This leaves the impression that the cathedral may have already cultivated their program and placed the donors in it as they saw fit. In doing so, the cathedral retained control in all stages of glass organisation.

Another project at the cathedral during this time that required windows was the construction of the chapter library. The fabric from 1479-1480 recounts that the initiative to renovate the old library was lead by bishop Louis Raguier who set aside some 1,600 livres for the project.\(^ {231}\) The library was built under the supervision of Jaquet de la Bouticle and Colleson Fauchet, assistants to the master of work Anthoine Colas, who were paid 3 sous 4 deniers per day. Their plan for the structure was a rectangular building with a rose window at one end and seven bays on each side for the placement of fourteen windows.\(^ {232}\) Colas decorated the buttresses and piers with small armorials of the bishop for the paid amount of 16 sous 8 deniers. Toward construction efforts the bishop personally funded the rose window that also displayed his heraldry that was produced by blacksmith Perrin Lavocat, who was

\(^{230}\) For evidence of this work consult appendices in Minois 2005, pp. 310-357.
\(^{231}\) Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, G. 1567 ff. 212-271.
\(^{232}\) See Chaussé 1997, pp. 231-236.
paid 5 sous 10 deniers. In August of that year Claude Piqueret and his son Henriet were paid 33 livres for producing the windows. The fabric accounts mention that three canons offered personal donations for this project: Nicolas de la Place, dean of the chapter, donated 100 sous for two windows and his fellow canons Nicole Coiffard and Pierre Frene offered 50 sous each for two more. Two roundels are the only surviving works of this campaign. One of Nicolas de Lyra (Fig. 49) is in the municipal collection and another of Pierre Comestor in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. For what reason was the cathedral drawn to these scholars? Pierre Comestor was a twelfth century theological writer who began his career in Troyes and eventually became the head of the theological school at Notre Dame, Paris. His most influential work, the Historia Scholastica, remained popular throughout the fifteenth century. His placement in the library windows creates a direct connection between his Troyen origins and accomplishments. Nicolas de Lyra, on the other hand, was a fourteenth century Franciscan writer who provided one of the most widely used biblical commentaries; multiple copies of this work are documented in the wills and testaments of local ecclesiastic patrons in the city. This is witnessed in earlier discussion around the collection of bishop Louis Raguier’s, which had two of these works. Lyra’s incorporation in the library window program celebrates the importance of his scholarship and further solidifies the authority the cathedral hierarchy placed on this contribution. Leading the construction of the library bishop Raguier perhaps requested the presence of these figures in the windows. Moreover, a reference to the original program written in 1745 by canon Tremet reveals that the windows also included roundels of Thomas Aquinas, king David and saint Peter. Judging from the similar composition of the two surviving works it may be safe to assume that the others followed a comparable composition with each done in grisaille complimented with yellow

---

234 Minois 2005, p. 207. The author offers a translation of canon Tremet’s short description; which simply names the figures in the windows with no visual description of the program. Moreover, it appears that the original decision to use these figures was established among members of the cathedral hierarchy, it is unclear whether or not the canons that provided funds had any influence in this decision process.
and silver.

A few other examples in the municipal collection are dated to the period and may possibly be linked to the library. Displaying a similar style and compositional characteristics to the roundels these may have been produced in the original campaign; for example, the windows of saints Francis and Roch (Figs. 50-51) show grisaille figures placed in simple settings and accompanied by child-like angels. The heavily draped saints were painted with heavy lines and rise like statues in their inhabited spaces, appearing proportionately larger than the angels. Roch is given columnar limbs and large hands while the Francis is presented as a draped solid mass. Along with this they have full faces characterised by almond eyes, pouted lips and bulbous noses. A similar style appears in a pair of windows showing saint Anthony and Catherine (Figs. 52-53). These figures, however, slightly depart from saints Francis and Roch through their inclusion of more detail afforded to delicate drapery and clothing embellishment. The background in both windows expands into natural landscapes with formations of buildings and foliage. Anthony stands in the company of a pig in a scene with pastoral hills and small houses, while Catherine stands in an outdoor court before a castle. The more refined nature of these stylistic details indicates that the windows were produced in another campaign, slightly later than those of the original, sometime shortly after 1500.

Another window from this later campaign shows William of York and a male patron (Fig. 54). In this, William is seated on a golden structure furnished with a lavish textile fitting. Kneeling below a patron with long hair dressed in a dark robe turns away from the saint clasping his hands in prayer (‘Saint Guillaume, priez pour moi’). The initials ‘GF’ appear twice in the roundel, once at the bottom and again on the brick wall to the left of the scene and represent that shared initials of the patron and saint (who through hagiographic

---

235 For catalogue description consult Pornin 1998, p. 27.
record was identified as William Fitzherbert). Like the other windows in the library the use grisaille, yellow and silver was used in effort to maintain the harmony of the original program. What attracted the patron to the veneration of a twelfth century English saint? According to William’s *Vita* his father served as chamberlain to William the Conqueror, and through both parental sides he possessed lineal connection to the ruling counts of Maine. In a privileged position William’s career was promoted by his family and punctuated by politics surrounding his election as archbishop of York, exile from this role and an imposing re-election to the position. After his supposed death through poisoning of the Mass chalice miracles concerning his tomb and life circulated into local legend. William’s papal canonisation in the thirteenth century was the high point of his international reputation; as a conventional figure of the past without popular appeal and no institutional support outside of York his memory was essentially maintained in the English province. With this in mind the presence of the saint in Troyes is all the more obscure. Considering the localised nature of William’s cult the patron may have had a connection to York, or perhaps a lineal connection to the Fitzherbert family through genealogical relation to the counts of Maine.

Aside from the cathedral the church of Sainte-Madeleine witnessed significant glass production in this period. Renovation of the choir and chapels began in the late fifteenth century and required the installation of a new glass program. The physical evidence shows that some lay families provided the finances for many windows. The earliest of these dates to 1490 and shows the Passion of Christ with an inscription identifying Nicolas Le Muet and Catherine Boucherat as patrons. The Le Muet family was of signorial lineage and active in local record from the early fifteenth century. Slightly more can be said about Catherine as she

---

238 Norton 2006, p. 202. The author also explains that there was an attempt to revive this cult in around York in the early fifteenth century, being promoted by clerics who supported the political rise of the Lancastrians. Still, this autochthonous movement appears to have no connection to Troyes.

239 Assier 1854, pp. 30-37. This is detailed in a summation of fabric records from this period.

240 The inscription reads, ‘Praise God for the honourable Nicolas Le Muet, his wife Catherine Boucherat, their children and generosity’.
was the daughter of Pierre Boucherat, salt merchant of Troyes in 1471, and sister of Edmond Boucherat, elected alderman in 1493. In the window Nicolas appears with his son in the lower right corner kneeling before Saint Nicholas who sits on a carved bench with three nude children in a basin at his feet (Fig. 5). Catherine appears opposite right with two daughters kneeling before a seated Saint Catherine (Fig. 6). Both scenes take place in interior settings with colourful pillars and tiles. The saints are seated before large tapestry structures that act as backdrops for the devotional space. Similar visual expressions of family devotion were produced throughout northern Europe around this period. Evidence for this comes from works like the Jouvenel des Ursins family panel in the Louvre and the Moreel Triptych at the Groeninge. Such images denote the importance placed on the family as a social force. In some way this idea relates to ideologies around the system of familial hierarchy practiced the royal class. The display of these images further conjures notions of lawful marriage, procreation, lineal legitimacy and religious practice.

Another window following this theme was donated in 1507 on behalf of mayor Simon Liboron and his family. The upper portion of the window follows the lives of saints Louis and Yves. As patrons to the practice of law the visual use of these saints references Liboron’s training and political life. Prior to becoming mayor of the city he practiced law and held various public and royal titles. Linked with these saints Liboron publicly acknowledges devotion to his faith and profession. He further promoted himself and his family as active patrons in local religious and political life. The register inscription on the window further conjures this idea, it reads, ‘Master Simon Liboron licensed lawyer, procurer of the king and our mayor of Troyes donated this window with his wife Henriette Mauroy in 1507. Praise

241 Minois 2005, p. 158.
242 Similar use of iconography associating Saint Nicholas with the miracle of saving three boys from a pickling tub is discussed earlier in relation to the book of hours for Guyot Le Peley and Nicole Hennequin (Fig. 5).
243 Murard 2000, pp. 4-5. Liboron began his career as a lawyer, first emerging from documentation in a 1473 case where he settled disputes over trade on waters of the Seine; following this he became a royal functionary and gained such titles as advocat du roi and President of the municipal council.
Above this Simon and Henriette kneel in company of their children before the two saints (Fig. 5). The parental unit both wear red and have before them tables set with individual prayer books. The children settle in the surrounding space while the statuesque saints tower over the group before textile backdrops. The familial presence intensifies the scene as a crowded act of devotion. Such display publicly records the solidarity of the group’s attitude toward private devotion in family practice. And moreover presents the ideal composition of the late medieval family as a moral unit that was facilitated through bonds of kinship and devotion.

While some affluent families preferred to visualise their patronage as a family affair others at Sainte-Madeleine opted to use less ostentatious means to display support. In a window showing the Triumph of the Cross, dated to the early sixteenth century, the Le Tartier family simply included their armorials in the top register. The lack of any inscription and inclusion of only one armorial makes it difficult to specify a date and familial members. The Le Tartier family was quite large and throughout the years held various esteemed positions in the local government, merchant trade and church. The decision to present the viewer with their armorial, opposed to figural imagery of themselves, follows the standards of glass patronage witnessed in the earlier campaigns at the cathedral. In turn, there is one instance in which a patron at the parish decided to not leave any visual evidence of their support. The window showing the Tree of Jesse provides no visual indication of patronage but was apparently funded by Agnes Bonjean, the widow of Jean Thevenin, royal notary of Troyes. Recent evidence for this attribution comes from documents written in 1619 by the grandson of Agnes who claimed she funded two windows at the church; only one is identified by theme and location as ‘the Tree of Jesse located behind the grand altar’. From these

---

244 The original inscription reads, ‘Maistre Simon Liboron licencié es loys procureur du roi nostre sire ou bailliage de Troyes Henriette Mauroy sa femme ont donné ceste verrière l’an V et VII. Priez Dieu pour eulx.’
246 Minois 2005, p. 165.
examples it is evident that patrons of glass at Sainte-Madeleine were afforded the opportunity to make decisions on how their support was presented to the community, further indicating that they exercised a degree of control over the visual display of their patronage.

And finally, a window at the church provides evidence that at least one guild was established in the city. This shows the legend of Éloi and was donated by the goldsmiths, who identified their patronage in the bottom register with an inscription dating the work to 1506. The fabric account from this year reveals Nicolas Cordonnier was paid 30 livres to produce it.²⁴⁷ What motivated the guild to investment in stained glass at the church? Sainte-Madeleine may have been an ideal location because it afforded patrons some freedom in the visual display of their patronage. The guild may have not wanted to extend support to the cathedral based on the fact that they would have been restricted to a set visual program. Or it may be the case that when the funds of the guild became available the glass campaign at the parish was the only major project open for investment. Moreover, the guild’s interest in stained glass was likely relates to their role in the production of windows: many metalworkers were involved in fitting frames for tesserae of painted glass. Through investment in glass the guild was able to share support among their professional community and the glaziers with which they shared work.

The conclusions that can be drawn about stained glass activity are not particularly novel. Minois’ work covers a solid compendium of archival documentation and presents the most important developments available from local record. Activity in the city is notable for the amount of surviving physical evidence. In particular, the programs composed at the cathedral and Sainte-Madeleine offer evidence for the patronage of glass over a short period. The value of evidence from Troyes is heightened in comparison to other French cities in this period, which either did not witness comparable output or if they did much has not survived.

²⁴⁷ Cordonnier apparently produced various works throughout the city between 1497 and 1531, with a great majority of this being for the cathedral. He was born in Troyes around 1470 and was from a family of artists that had established themselves in the Troyes sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century. Minois 2005, p. 315.
In Tours, for example, it is difficult to discern the records of glassmakers due to the fact that the archives place them in association with painters and primarily reference works associated with panel and illumination. Moreover, the windows from Troyes epitomise the height of French glass production in late middle ages. The use of highly saturated colour, detailed compositions and an overall mastery of narrative design place them among the regional campaigns witnessed in Paris and Normandy.

Panel Painting

Similar to many cities throughout France the market for panel painting in Troyes appears at the end of the fifteenth century. It is difficult to ascertain the number of painters working on panel in the city during this period considering that documentation dealing with individuals identified as ‘painters’ appears more frequently without descriptions of work. Moreover, those instances that render descriptive titbits fail to identify concrete associations with works on panel. Though out of the time scope of this study it interesting to see that some two hundred painters emerge over the progression of the sixteenth century; and even with such great numbers in this period the physical and documentary evidence for these Renaissance artists remains difficult to trace.\(^{248}\) At this point the examination of panel painting activity in Troyes remains quite clouded. In turn, the municipal collection contains the most concrete evidence of early panels can be linked to patrons in the city.

Traditional scholarship has tended to discuss such early works through a lens of stylistic analysis, searching for unifying ‘international’ characteristics and regional variations. Often times with no documentation available this analysis is a starting point for assessing regional trends in consumption and production. This seems to be the incipit method for examination of early panel painting in Troyes. However, rudimentary exploration must begin

\(^{248}\) Rondot 1887, pp. 147-171. For a compiled list of painters derived from church documents see Rondot 1882, pp. 34-41.
somewhere. One of the earliest surviving panels presents the image of Charles de Refuge (Fig. 43), abbot of the abbey of Montier-la-Celle between 1488 and 1514. In this Charles kneels before an open book placed on a table covered with a decorative cloth holding his coat of arms. In the space interior abbey space behind him another figure appears in a doorway glancing down at a book. The incorporation of books is particularly interesting in light of the fact that under his leadership Montier-la-Celle witnessed renewed scribal activity and manuscript production. During his tenure Charles instituted a program to produce new books for the abbey and provide upkeep for those already in the collection. Because the cost of printing books was very expensive he hired two scribes to write breviaries and antiphonals for the private use of the community. Along with this he contracted Jean de Marisy for four years (1509-1513) to oversee the maintenance and enrichment of the collection.249 The abbot’s renewal efforts did not stop here, but extended to the entire physical structure of his abbey. He was a leading force in the reconstruction of the complex, which under his direction became one of the most lavish monastic buildings in the region. This renovation may perhaps be witnessed in the interior decoration that envelops the scene around the patron. The incorporation of carved columns made from rich coloured marbles, decorative tiles and moulded architectural detail presents the image a grand environment that contrasts starkly to the austere nature of the black-draped Charles. Moreover, his face renders a sense of character and realism; he is depicted with a bulbous nose, weighted cheeks, pouted lips and a pronounced under-bite. The composition of these features are presented as asymmetrical, with one eye slightly smaller and set lower than the other. In this setting the veristic nature of Charles’ corporeal likeness indicates a matured devotion and places him in direct relation to the religious domain he helped to build.

The style of the panel was described by M. Albert Babeau in 1903 as ‘incontestably

249 Godefroy 1932, pp. 61-66.
of the French school with strong influence from the work of Jean Fouquet. Babeau’s visual observation is merited given that many of Fouquet’s works follow similar conventions. Take for instance the panel of Étienne Chevalier from the diptych produced for his tomb in Melun (Fig. 58). In this the patron appears on the left panel kneeling in prayer across from the enthroned Virgin and Child on the right. He is accompanied by his saint who stands to the left holding a book topped with a stone from his martyrdom. Similar to Charles de Refuge the figure of Étienne appears in an Italianate decorated interior with coloured marbles and tiles. Étienne’s name appears on the wall behind, identifying his patronage of the work. Comparatively, his facial features move away from the refined architectural splendour to illustrate a harsh realism. He is given a distinctly thick nose, protruding eyes set close together and wrinkles of age. Paired with the lavish aura of the setting these detailed effects create an aesthetic comparable to the image of Charles.

Another Fouquet work with similar characteristics is the painting of Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins (Fig. 59). As the baron of Traînel Guillaume was appointed chancellor to the king in 1445 and commissioned this work near the end of his professional career, sometime around 1460. Like that of Chevalier this panel was a part of a larger work that may have been placed in the Ursins private family chapel in Notre Dame, Paris. The work shows Guillaume much like Charles, as an aged man kneeling in prayer before an open book placed on a small table. The scene takes place in an elaborate setting carved with intricate foliate detail gilded in gold. Upon close inspection symbolic images of bears (urs) climb

---

250 Babeau 1903, p. 52. The tendency to classify ‘schools’ with nationalistic associations stemmed from academic discourse that is to some extent remains debated in contemporary scholarship. Theories concerning the natal developments and melding of such Italian, Flemish and French schools were argued among Dimier, Courajod and Bouchot in the early twentieth century.

251 Étienne was the notary and secretary of Charles VII who remained faithful to the royal family through the Hundred Years War. His association with the court undoubtedly gave him access to Fouquet’s talents. The diptych was made around the time Étienne became the head of the treasury of France in 1452. It was intended for placement above his wife's tomb in their local parish of Notre Dame in Melun. The work represents the increase of wealth expended toward artistic patronage in France at the conclusion of the Hundred Years War. And moreover is an example of the style of panel painting consumed and popularised by members of the royal circle. For more on this work consult the entry in Avril 2003, pp.121-30.

252 Avril 2003, p. 113.
tendrils and even appear in capitals displaying the family coat of arms. These elements were used to not only personalise the work but also to claim ownership. The combination of the patron’s image and armorial devices held a public and private function. Through this visual mode private devotion is displayed in a public way and manifests as a memorialisation of individual piety and patronage. It may be possible that Charles de Refuge’s decision to display himself through these means not only fulfilled a public agenda related to his devotion and deeds performed on behalf the community, but it may also indicate his awareness of the growing trend in the medium of panel painting as an appropriate vehicle for such display.

While some patrons opted for inclusion of their own image in panels, others commissioned work devoid of corporeal association. The Virgin of the Red Coat (Fig. 60) held in the municipal collection embodies such an example. In lieu of the presence of donor figures two armorials were incorporated at the bottom, identifying association with the La Ferte and Godier families. Such devices present a less intrusive claim to ownership, perhaps showing that the patrons intended for the work to have loose connection with the visual acknowledgement of their personal devotion. Through the use of a devotional subject it had a greater utility geared toward consumption by a larger audience. Unlike the memorialisation function expressed in Charles de Refuge’s panel the red coat Virgin was intended to function as an image for prayer. This assertion is supported by the fact that the painting was originally placed in a prayer chapel in the chapel of Saint Gilles (demolished 1940).

In terms of composition the crowned Virgin holds the Christ child and is draped in a voluminous red coat embellished with refined stitching, gold detail and pearls. The treatment of her long hair, oval face, embroidered dress and seated position mimic the Madonna-type produced by the Master of the Embroidered Foliage in works like the Virgin and Child in a

---

253 Attributed by the Musée de Vauluisant, Troyes. For description of armorial see Palasi 2008, p. 304.
Landscape (Fig. 6). The body of works attributed to this master between 1480 and 1520 were likely the product of a group of artists that worked and trained from shared compositional models under the practice of a common workshop in Brabant. Although the figure of the Troyen Virgin correlates with the diffusion of these artists’ models the overall disinterest in landscape departs from this tradition. The use of a simple gold background allows the figures to become the focus; furthermore, by not enticing the viewer with a fantastic landscape the work further communicates a more focused devotional function. Though it is not clear if the painting was produced in the city the association with Troyen patrons is evidence that such Netherlandish models were accessible through means of outside trade or adoption by local painters.

The consumption of what may be considered ‘outside models’ may also be witnessed a triptych showing the Legend of Saint Anne (Fig. 62), following the account written by Jacobus de Vorgine in his *Legenda Aurea*. The left panel shows Joachim bringing an offering to the temple, where three priests throw their arms in rejection of his arrival. Below, the male patron of the work is kneeling in prayer before an open book placed on a small table that is decorated with the Le Page family coat of arms. In the central panel Anne and Joachim meet before the golden gate of Jerusalem in an embrace. Behind the figures the landscape of the city expands as the archangel appears from the clouds. On the right panel the birth of Mary takes place; in this, Anne is perched in a canopy bed with her hands in prayer while two attendants assist her. In the background another room opens to a domestic scene with a woman drying a cloth next to a fire. At the bottom of the painting another woman bathes the new-born Mary in a small bath while the female patron of the work appears kneeling in the same manner as her male counterpart on the left panel, with the Le Be family coat of arms.

---

256 Attributed by the Musée de Vauluisant, Troyes. For description of armorial see Palasi 2008, p. 420.
The style of the panel follows the conventions of Italian models through showcasing a geometric layout set with palatial architectural detail and a high mountain landscape. Moreover, through the iconography it is apparent that the patrons wished to highlight themes of marriage and childbirth. By placing themselves in the appropriate male and female realms of the legend the couple outwardly acknowledged their roles prescribed through the institution of marriage. The incorporation of armorials plays into this as a visual indicator of their commitment to this union and the chapel community for which it was donated.

Like the Virgin of the Red Coat the work originated from the chapel of Saint Gilles. The social history of this building relates to discussion concerning these works and the development of local patronage in the area of panel painting. The original chapel was unprotected by the city walls during the Hundred Years War and destroyed by fire in 1429. Sixty years later plans for reconstruction were organised by inhabitants living around the site. This began with an attempt to collect the surviving ‘ornaments, vestments, chalices, bells, books, crosses and other joyaux’ that were retained by the neighbouring church of Saint André after the destruction. The repatriation of these goods was granted by royal commission and enforced by the bailiff of Troyes in 1489. Reconstruction of the building was a gradual process that began with production of a ‘small wooden edifice’ to cover the remnants of the original façade. Sporadic periods of construction continued throughout the sixteenth century as funding allowed. Along with this the collection of painted panels became quite numerous. The surviving Virgin and Saint Anne works are perhaps evidence of this patronage, and further show the enthusiasm on behalf of the laity in the renewal of the chapel.

What drew patrons at Saint Gilles to the medium of panel? A few ideas may be worth

---

257 Attributed by the Musée de Vauluisant, Troyes. For description of armorial see Palasi 2008, p. 398.
258 Aufavre 1853, pp. 10-11.
259 Aufavre 1853, p. 22.
consideration. First, as a chapel the small scale of the building differed from the expansive atmospheres of larger parish churches and the cathedral. The sheer size of the structure presented limitations in the choice of display and ornamentation. Panels offered the flexibility of change through being easily moveable objects. In the midst of the beginning stages of rebuilding the donation of such an object may have been viewed as a suitable choice in this environment. Second, on account of the sporadic nature of construction the chapel may have not had a concrete plan for the organisation of work. This approach may have affected the process of deciding what type of donations the chapel required from the community. In this situation those wishing to make a donation were not encouraged or bound to the demands of the institution; which in the case of the cathedral and Sainte-Madeleine seems to have been dictated by the need for structural adornment like stained glass. And finally, judging from the communal involvement taken in the repatriation of goods it appears the chapel community possessed a vested interest in amassing a collection of goods. The concern in the retention of these old objects is symptomatic of the attitude toward the cyclical trend of collecting: along with accumulating old the community felt inclined to invigorate the chapel with new.

Although only few examples of panel painting in Troyes can be firmly attributed to this period those existing provide some insight on the type of work that was collected. Compared to the vast supply of painting in illumination the body of evidence for panel work is quite slim. Sterling perhaps provides the reason for this situation in noting that the consumptive trend in panel painting was less appreciated by French audiences in relative comparison to their interests in the flourishing manuscript tradition.\textsuperscript{260} As for evidence in local archival documents it is not until after 1520 when painters begin to be identified with the craft of panel, possibly indicating that a wider interest emerged in the later sixteenth century. The evidence suggests that in this period production of works in glass and sculpture

\textsuperscript{260} Sterling 1987, p. 18.
were of prominent concern to patrons. This mentality perhaps shadowed the development of panel painting and is supported by the lack of documentary and physical evidence. Nonetheless, despite this situation the small amount of physical evidence provides a degree of salvageable information. Examination of the styles employed in these paintings shows that artists trained in various schools and regions worked for local patrons; whether or not these artists produced this work in Troyes is not clear. Considering the favourable economic conditions at the onset of the sixteenth century the city harnessed the potential to draw the interest of professional panel painters. In a broader scheme the presence of foreign artists in the region is concurrent with trends elsewhere and was precipitated by the efforts of patronage in the Burgundian court which welcomed the confluence of artists from the Netherlands, France and Italy. In turn, evidence renders information on how local patrons utilised panel painting. From this perspective it appears patrons had an interest in both images that function in the areas of memorialisation and devotion. The inclusion of their image and symbols of identity (i.e. armorials) was a prominent theme, highlighting the need for a visual means to outwardly express ownership. The development of panel painting in the city, broadly speaking, offered these patrons another means through which they could visually acknowledge their devotion and communal presence.

---

261 Babeau 1903, p. 49. The author notes that the production of sculptural and glass works outweighed painted activity, and further explains that archival documents from the beginning of the sixteenth century offers scant information on painted works and professionals.

262 Bouchérat 2005, p. 83. The author explains that it is extremely difficult to trace panel painting in the city at the end of the middle ages, and bases much of her idea concerning the presence of Netherlandish and Italian artists on the evidence of foreign models. She, however, brings no discussion of the possibility of training in the city – which must have occurred to a certain degree.

The art of tapestry weaving emerged as a leading art form in the later middle ages. With large-scale production being documented as early as the fourteenth century in northern cities the trade for these objects expanded artistically and commercially.\textsuperscript{264} Arras in particular was renowned for the quality if its products. Spanish nobleman Pero Tafur travelled through the city in the 1430s noting in his writings that it was a ‘pleasant place, very rich, especially by reason of its woven cloths and all kinds of tapestries, and although they are also made in other places, yet it well appears that those made in Arras have the preference’.\textsuperscript{265} Based on the high cost of materials and immense time it took to organise labour tapestry was viewed as the most luxurious investments. Those that were created performed decorative and narrative functions. The famed Apocalypse tapestries of Angers, for instance, depicted a historiated version of the events written in John’s \textit{Revelation}. Under the patronage of Louis of Anjou in the late fourteenth century painter Jan Boudolf designed the compositional layout while Robert Poinçon directed the weaving. Each panel included an inscription at the bottom narrating the scene it complimented.\textsuperscript{266} A project of this scale demanded the collaboration of various professionals that it took years to organise work, find skilled labour and gather materials for construction. In Troyes, two such projects of this magnitude can be studied through documentation. The first involve fabric accounts discussing a tapestry made at Sainte-Madeleine in the 1420s; and second, a set of instructions for artists producing cartoons for a tapestry with the legends of Saint Urban and Saint Cecilia for the church of Saint-Urbain at the end of the fifteenth century.

A list of payments from the fabric accounts of Sainte-Madeleine reveal sums rendered

\textsuperscript{264} Sponsler 2004, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{265} Richardson 2007, p. 182.
\textsuperscript{266} Henderson 1985, pp. 208–219.
to individuals involved in the manufacture of a tapestry showing the life of Mary Magdalene. Completed between 1425 and 1430 the project brought together a team of various professionals that worked in different capacities and stages. Brother Didier composed the ‘ystoires’ following the life of Magdalene and was paid 2 livres, 10 sous. In terms of understanding the relationship between patron and workers his role is crucial. The initial written document (identified as the ‘Life of Magdalene’) that he composed was at the heart of the operation and acted as the instructional plan of action that conveyed the church’s requirements for the tapestry. Brother Didier was likely an educated man, even perhaps, a scholar. In securing this role his knowledge of narrative composition in the realm of hagiography was deeply valued by officials at Sainte-Madeleine allocating funding. In the next stage his ‘ystoires’ were given to Jacquet the painter to make preliminary sketches at the rate of 2 livres 10 sous. Because the finished tapestry was the inversion of this design the painter would have wrote correlating numbers and words in retrograde as instruction to the weavers. Following this Symon the illuminator and Jacquet produced full-scale cartoons, each artist being paid about 21 livres. As an enlarged version of the original drawing these were produced on linen prepared by seamstress Poinsète and her assistant, for which they were given 2 livres 10 sous. The finished cloths embodied the final plan with display of the proper dimensions that were to be followed in the weaving. In cities with guilds the use of painter’s in making these cartoons was established by working custom and maintained through municipal law. In 1476 the painters’ guild in Brussels, for instance, brought a lawsuit against the weavers for reproducing cartoons for tapestries they were not involved in making. The city magistrate Hendrick van den Eycken sided with the painters and ruled on 6 June that weavers reserved the right to take initiative in the design of drapery, trees, foliage, grass, birds and animals without having to take painters into account. Therefore, the majority of

---

267 Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, 16 G 7, fols. 3-35.
figural and architectural representations followed by weavers were solely in the design rights of hired painters.\textsuperscript{269} In turn, the final cartoons made by Symon and Jacquet were given to weaver Thibaut Climent and his nephew who were paid a total 300 livres for the weaving. These payments provide a time-line concerning the stages of production and the professionals employed. The repeated payment of 2 livres 10 sous given to those working in the initial design stages shows an egalitarian approach to the base-organisation of the project. The uniform payment does not devalue or overvalue the contributions of each professional, perhaps demonstrating the church as a patron was diligent in the balancing the fiscal treatment and duties of those involved.

Another project of similar proportion arises in documents relating to the manufacture of a tapestry at Saint-Urbain. At the end of the fifteenth century the church commissioned a group of professionals to design a tapestry showing the legends of saints Urban and Cecilia. The only evidence to survive from this project is the written instructions composed for the painters.\textsuperscript{270} The instructions were likely composed by the Troyen based author and chronicler Pierre Desrey, who is recognisable in the manuscript through the inclusion of his motto at the end of each notebook, ‘Tout par honneur’. The hystoires he wrote acted as a preliminary document outlining the visual composition of the overall tapestry, with the introduction specifically identifying the work as a ‘memoire for the organisation of hystoires and mysteries to be included and portrayed in a tapestry’.\textsuperscript{271} The author goes on in narrative to describe the legends of the saints and provides devotional commentary on the subject matter and the visual layout of twenty-two scenes. In a scholarly fashion the he supports the validity of this interpretation by citing various Latin texts (Master Vincent Gale’s \textit{Mirror of History},

\textsuperscript{269} Richardson 2007, pp. 205-206. The document also stipulates that the ruling allowed weavers to lengthen patterns with charcoal, chalk or pen in cases of corrections or missing portions exclusively for their own use and not for resale in any form. If found guilty of this the master or journeyman was to be fined.

\textsuperscript{270} Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, 10 G 8. In the mid-nineteenth century Philippe Guignard, an archivist at the Département de l’Aube, published these documents and more recently they have been studied and published in English by Tina Kane.

\textsuperscript{271} Kane 2010, p. 71.
the *Summa* of Antoninus, the *Chronicle* of Martin of Poland, and the *Fascicle of Times*).

Desrey’s employment in such a scholastic endeavour is evidence that the high-end tapestry market required validity through the value of learned talent. The role required quite a deal of specialised knowledge in the areas of scholarship, church history, narrative writing and compositional design. At core of project the importance of narrative interpretation added to the religious value of the tapestry assigned by the patron. It is perhaps comprehensible that Brother Didier’s work some fifty years earlier at Sainte-Madeleine resembled Desrey’s document. The strategic roles fulfilled by Didier and Desrey in stages of planning are indicative of the heightened economic value and religious function afforded to tapestry. Although the finished products from both churches do not survive the documents relating to their manufacture are of greater historical significance for understanding the individuals and processes in the patronage of tapestry.

In terms of tapestry construction throughout the city there appears to be no significant activity outside the documented work at Sainte-Madeleine and Saint-Urbain. Surprisingly, the meticulous fabric records for the cathedral do not mention comparable ventures. Scant references to related work involve a donation from bishop Louis Raguier in 1463 of two partially finished tapestries showing the life and miracles of saint Pierre that served to adorn the seats on both sides of the choir.\textsuperscript{272} And along with this in 1497-1498 the tapissier Nicolas Facin received 40 sous for stitching images of the Crucifixion, Virgin, two bishops and the Tree of Jesse.\textsuperscript{273} It appears that through the fifteenth century the most work for weavers remained at Sainte-Madeleine, where at various points between 1448 and 1519 six tapissiers were employed to administer repairs on the ‘grandes tapisseries’.\textsuperscript{274} Considering the costly demands and continual work Sainte-Madeleine allocated into the upkeep of their tapestries it

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{272} Archives de l’Aube, G. 2681.
\bibitem{273} Archives de l’Aube, G. 1571.
\bibitem{274} The professionals are identified by name and in fabric recorded years: Jehan I Cochet 1448-1449, Guillaume le Grugeur and Jaquet le Hunois 1455-1456, Andry du Chemin 1456-1457, Jehan Hollon 1461-1462, and Robert Lestellier 1519.
\end{thebibliography}
may be reasonable to understand the reluctance the cathedral and other parishes may have had in considering investment in tapestry. The documents exemplify the fact that tapestry was an expensive and laborious project for any patron to pursue.

**Textiles, Clothing and Vestments**

By the fifteenth century Troyes had established an industry for the trade and manufacture of various textiles and fabric.\(^{275}\) This gave rise to a local market for high quality clothing, vestments and textiles that could be traded and sold through merchant connection and the local fair circuit. Production and sale of fabric was conducted at mills built in the city and financially supported by the investments of wealthy merchant drapers. The cycle of the fairs began and ended in Troyes annually and among this circuit a market for wholesale cloth from Italy and Flanders was established. At such events drapers exhibited their products in tents grouped together by the name of their cities.\(^ {276}\) Civic celebration of this industry is apparent in an instance where the townspeople offered local linens and fine garments to queen Isabeau and princess Catherine before the arranged marriage to Henry V following the Treaty of Troyes in 1420. Isabeau was given one piece worth 33 livres, while Catherine received three respectively worth 40 livres, 32 livres and another at 30.\(^ {277}\) Like many trades in this period the industry was affected by the imposing war and in effort to deal with the economic situation weavers adopted new methods of production to cut the cost of labour. These were maintained for decades until construction of new mills in the late fifteenth century revived the manufacture of linen, leather and silk.\(^ {278}\)

Physical evidence for the collection of such goods is virtually non-existent. There is, however, documentary evidence in the form of wills and testaments that show a trend in the

---

\(^{275}\) See Boutiot 1872, pp. 90-1.
\(^{276}\) Kane 2010, p. 53.
\(^{277}\) Bibolet 1999, p. 81.
\(^{278}\) Bibolet 1999, p. 137.
consumption of clerical vestments. One such document from cathedral dated 1382-1383 records the sale of goods belonging to Jean de Alinges, curé of Meilleray. It explains that since he had no heirs his goods were property of the bishop and were to be sold on the church’s behalf. The list of clothing and vestments consists of a few coats, mantles and hats; in comparison to the size of his substantial collection of iron pots and pans his wardrobe was rather small. Some fifty years later the will of canon Guillaume Galeret tells a different story. Upon his death he possessed a couture collection of lavish vestments consisting of two black pourpoints, three mantles, three capes, ten jackets, seven richly-coloured robes, three caps, one gilet, fox furs, delicate silks, money belts, five breeches, a collection of ten hats and bonnets, four shirts and a corset.

Inventories of local churches from this period show a similar trend in the mass collection of various textiles and vestments. An inventory from Saint-Urbain dated 25 August 1468 gives an idea of the goods the chapter had amassed. The document opens with descriptions of twenty-six cloths (poilles) of multi-colour silks decorated with various designs and images. Among the most notable were a cloth with the image of the Virgin and three kings, another on green silk displayed the Annunciation and another with the image of saint Urban and two prophets in roundel. The document goes on to describe fifteen decorative sheets (parements) in the collection; the first entry is a sheet for the grand procession on the day of the Sacrament, which had an image of the Corpus Domini and the painted arms of Pope Urban, Champagne and the kingdom of France. Other items in this section are described as banners, large canvas curtains and small textiles all done in ‘diverses couleurs’. From here the list describes twenty-five capes (chappes) of varying colours with images of apostles, griffins and armorials. The most extravagant appears first on the list as is described as the ‘chappe de Monsieur le doyan’ and was made on vermilion silk with the images of

279 Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, G. 265.  
280 Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, G. 2288.  
281 Troyes, Archives de l’Aube, 10 G 66.
two angels, leopards and a gold border. The final items of this sort are descriptions of other garments (chasubles, aubles, estolles and manipules) produced from linen, silk and satin. Many of these were also decorated with images of saints, Christ, floral designs and beastly figures.

The evidence described in the inventory demonstrates that there was a local market for the collection of clerical vestments. Although it is impossible to determine if these were produced in Troyes the development of the local industry through means of manufacture and merchant trade perhaps indicates that the city possessed the capability for such production. The trend among churches and individuals associated with this hierarchy in the amassing of vestments highlights the fact that the ecclesiastical community followed the standards of traditional costume. Their vestments were not for daily use, but were employed more specifically for ritual purpose. Costume was not only symbolic of ritual but it was symbolic of identity and role within the religious community. Considering the sheer number and diversity of these goods the market for producing and collecting textiles and clerical vestments in Troyes was enterprising.

**CONCLUSIONS**

This study hopefully provides an introductory scope for assessing artistic patronage in Troyes between 1380 and 1520. It considers surviving archival and physical material as evidence for the development of cultural trends in relation to the production of art and architecture. Various objects and acts of patronage have been considered to highlight the process and means forming the structure of this local system. More specifically, these take into account formal and informal arrangements of finance and production exchanged among patrons and artists. It also places great importance on examination of the artistic objects
representing the final product of this interaction. In this methodology the objects and archival material are symptomatic of the greater social and economic climate that influenced the evolution of visual culture. The foregoing chapters contribute to findings in these areas and with this analysis some final questions offer opportunity for final synthesis.

What does the archival and physical evidence from Troyes reveal about the organisation of patrons and artists?

In terms of documenting the organisational efforts of artists and patrons the archives of ecclesiastical institutions present the most information. Throughout the period the cathedral, parish churches and monastic institutions of the city recorded a significant amount of activity. The fabric accounts from these institutions validate the organisation and allocation of funds and physical labour. In many instances the records provide a means for analysing projects of varying degrees. The greatest of these efforts occurred at the cathedral where officials focused on the enrichment of the institution’s collection of goods and building of the complex. Enrichment of the collection involved investment in objects like illuminated manuscripts. Accounts citing production of manuscripts show the organisation of production through identification of illuminators, binders and scribes and the payments given for their contributions. Through the accumulation of books the cathedral aided the studies of the religious community and stimulated the establishment of a greater library. In turn, enrichment in the area of decorative upkeep of collected objects demanded the skills of goldsmiths, sculptors and carpenters. The display of reliquaries, statues and other joyaux were vital to the liturgical environment. The perpetual mention of payments to such professionals in the archives demonstrates the excessive organisation the cathedral took in managing objects in its collection.

The organisation of construction at the cathedral involved arrangement of labour for
many other professionals (architects, sculptors, painters, glaziers etc.). The expenditure of finances was planned by the canons in charge of overseeing the fabric while the management of labour, for the most part, was organised by the masters hired by the institution. These men designed plans and appropriated the labour required for projects like the façade, reconstruction of the nave and construction of the chapter library. Though the process of recruiting craftsmen is not documented the accounts reveal that workers came from various locations and were hired *ad hoc*. This type of agreement afforded freedom to both patron and artist and seemingly was accepted by both parties without reserve.

Overall, the working environment at the cathedral encouraged the exchange of ideas concerning aspects of internal communal organisation. The construction of the choir screen in 1382, for example, involved a contest in which the masters of work and sculptor Henri di Brusselles had their plans judged by a group of craftsmen and bourgeois. The craftsmen were individuals of professional experience with valued opinion on the visual layout of the cathedral, while the bourgeois were likely given an extension of patronal responsibility for their donation to the fabric. This situation was also witnessed in the building of the bell tower, some thirty years later, when donors were given the opportunity to be ‘proviseurs’. The documented democratic nature of this communal planning is interesting in terms of assessing the complexity of church-sponsored patronage, further showing that some decisions concerning the building and embellishment of the site were not strictly planned by one individual or group. It was more so a concerted effort among all those involved in bringing together monetary means and physical labour. Although fascinating this type of strategy was not revolutionary. As discussed earlier such orchestration of communal involvement in the collection of funds occurred at Milan cathedral, where (like Troyes) officials in charge of the fabric harnessed responsibility in the area of obtaining new sources of patronage.

An example outside of the cathedral showing levels of organisation among patrons
and artists comes from documents relating to the making of the Magdalene tapestry at the church Sainte-Madeleine. The accounts show a progression of work over a five-year period (1425-1430) and provide perspective on the stages involved in the manufacture of tapestry. Such evidence reveals the complexity of relations in production and the multi-faceted role adopted by patrons. In the end, the ecclesiastical archives of Troyes show that these institutions as patrons held significant control in the arrangement of work and were proficient in overseeing the management of finances and labour. Through fulfilling such duty their core organisational efforts provided a canvas for the exchange of ideas among the artists and craftsmen employed in their service.

In turn, archival evidence for the organisation of patronage among members of the lay community is limited. Some documented information about these patrons emerges from fabric accounts and wills which show activity around the donation of goods to churches. These instances, however, fail to offer viable material concerning production arrangements. Therefore, surviving physical evidence offers the best indication of the organised efforts adopted by the lay class. The consumption of illuminated manuscripts is perhaps the richest area for exploration. Through the inclusion of visual devices of ownership (armorials, mottos, portraits etc.) this class coordinated a form of asserted control in the composition of books. It is unclear to what extent the patron oversaw the implementation of these devices, but with the debut of the libraire in the local book industry at the end of the century it can perhaps be assumed that such responsibility was outsourced. The role of the libraire represents the highly developed nature of the book industry and emphasises the abundant importance the lay class placed on formal organisation of artistic production.

For the artists and craftsmen involved in production the organisation of their trade is a curious subject. In terms of guild establishment it is safe to conclude that the city formed at least one for goldsmiths. This is not surprising considering the economic value of materials
and governmental regulations placed on the trade. Evidence for the guild is affirmed in the case of Thibaut Boulanger’s imprisonment for the purchase of illegal goods and the window donated in honour of the profession at Sainte-Madeleine. The fact that there are no records relating to any other professional guilds strongly indicates that these did not exist. It was not uncommon for late medieval cities to not participate in such practice. In the active artistic centre of Tours during this period there is no evidence for any guilds. This situation increased the artists entering the city and fuelled the demands of churches and individuals with expendable wealth.\textsuperscript{282} Moreover, guilds appeared in cities with high concentrations of artists and stiff competition. For example, in Bruges between 1454 and 1530 the image-maker’s guild registered 304 new masters and 374 new apprentices. In 1427 in Brussels the level of production in tapestry was so high that adequate quality inspection could not be maintained, it is estimated that nearly a third of the city’s population was involved in the industry.\textsuperscript{283} The implementation of guild systems in these cities were needed in order to maintain a balance between the allocation of work and materials traded among large numbers of artists in a complex market. In smaller municipalities like Tours and Troyes the number of professionals and competition in craft likely did not demand strict regulating. The artists and craftsmen working in this fluid environment were not bound to specific restrictions of material trade, work allocation and training.

Yet even without guild regulation artists in Troyes maintained some form of professional management. Scholars like Minois and Baudoin point out that evidence in the areas of stained glass and sculpture constitute localised ‘schools’, meaning that these bodies of work represent a collaborative effort in production and training. Along with this, some professionals gained these skills through family practice. This is evident in the area of metalwork where certain families served the profession over a period of several decades. In

\textsuperscript{282} Nash 1999, p. 182
\textsuperscript{283} Nash 2008, pp. 76-77
the area of manuscript illumination the association with the Grande Rue indicates that the book trade centred on a specific geographic area. This is similar to the organisation of the trade in Paris, which as the Rouse’s show in their research such trade-related neighbourhood development is symbolic of a close-knit community for work and training. Moreover, the stylistic affinities between the Master of Troyes and Rohan Master displays shared training and perhaps illustrate the early establishment of training in this community through means of a workshop. Although some of these ideas cannot be completely validated the physical and archival evidence from Troyes conveys a distinct sense a communal interaction and organisation among professionals.

How does understanding this system relate to the culture and practice surrounding the collection of goods?

The collection of goods is a significant factor in analysing aspects of culture and practice involved in acts of patronage. Both themes are contingent on each other to some degree: for established culture influences practice and vice versa. In terms of patronage the collection of goods by institutions and individuals was initiated through the commission (or in some instances purchase) of items for the purpose of donation or personal consumption. The act of donation was an integral part of late medieval church culture in Troyes. Individuals associated with churches (bishops, priests, canons etc.) and members of the lay community all participated in this process through offerings of funds and valued objects. For patrons in the first group their institutional roles provided motivation for the donation of specific projects that functioned to serve the religious community on various levels. Investment in the area of reliquary donation and upkeep provides the best example of this attitude. Individuals like bishop Louis Raguier and abbots Persin and Forjot recognised the multi-functional benefit of such practice. Through their donations they were able to promote
authoritative presence, provide objects for liturgical function and encourage further monetary funding from devout cult adherents. Furthermore, a significant number of these patrons made donation to the church through last wills and testaments. Evidence from the cathedral demonstrates that books, vestments and household goods were the types of property bequeathed in such circumstance. In the hands of the church the items were either sold for profit or retained in the collection. Comparatively, donations on behalf of the lay community materialised in the form of funding that was allocated by churches toward general expenses and building campaigns. Stained glass projects at the cathedral and Sainte-Madeleine constitute the richest example and show that the church ultimately judged the level of control granted to lay patrons. In turn, the situation at Saint Gilles offers a unique case in which lay patrons exhibited an interest in maintaining and building a collection. The communal initiative for the repatriation of goods from the old church and investment in panel paintings represents a significant lay attitude toward the idea of collecting; in the rejuvenation of the church community the practice of accumulating old items was balanced by the inclination to donate new.

On the other side of the spectrum the artists involved in the production of these goods and projects performed a type of ‘collecting’. This was done in the area of raw materials required for production. In the area of textiles and fabrics there is evidence that local production of these materials was aided by mills and the presence of merchant drapers that invested in the manufacture and trade of supplies. For sculpture and construction fabric records from the cathedral show that stone had been sourced from Tonnerre in Burgundy, a site that also conducted sale with the Chartreuse de Champmol. As for materials such as pigment, parchment, vellum and precious metal no information regarding their purchase or trade appears. Even in the detailed accounts of the Burgundian court information on the trade of these materials escape record. Moreover, these materials are speculated to have been
acquired through fairs in Champagne, ties with Italian merchants and contacts with Low countries.\textsuperscript{284} With this in mind, it may be safe to conclude that the trade of raw materials in Troyes had been sourced through similar practices.

\textit{In what way does artistic patronage in Troyes develop between 1380 and 1520?}

From a materialist perspective this research hopefully has provided a lens for tracing the development of artistic patronage through examining the production and documentation of art and architecture in Troyes. Over the fifteenth century patrons and artists in the city formed relationships with the intention of creating material objects for private and public purpose. Because these works relate to the community and the individuals living in it they represent the product of a complex relationship toward visual display. None of this appears to be particularly revolutionary, by the fifteenth century the union between patronage and visual display was firmly established. The interest in development, moreover, manifests in the changes and attitudes witnessed in the human component: patron and artist. Patrons gave rise to the preference for specific works and fulfilled the financial impetus for production. Artists and craftsmen contributed to this situation through the activity of ‘making’. In this role they claimed responsibility for the physical materialisation of a final product. The political, economic and social setting greatly impacted this process. In times of political unrest and economic hardship the output of artistic patronage dwindled. More pertinent are the effects of years with increased and excess wealth, which offer insight on the expanded interaction between the human component and the artistic environment it nurtured. With this, the increase of art production in prosperous times constitutes evidence for the amplified growth of patronage.

What attitudes ultimately formed developments in patronage? The complex

\textsuperscript{284} Nash 2010, p. 173
connection between art and society in Troyes was indeed embedded with ideologies, whether conscious or unconscious. These ideologies were broadly connected to excess and moveable wealth, ideas concerning private and public visual embellishment and notions of communal presence. The most potent force in constructing these attitudes emanated from patrons. This research has shown that between 1380 and 1520 the main agents who supplied the financial means to support local artists were ecclesiastical institutions, religious orders, clerical individuals and elite families. While the support of the ecclesiastical community was omnipresent the greatest development in this group was the rise of prominent families at the end of the century. The economic conditions following the Hundred Years War bred an upper class with an appetite for specific arts and at the same time intensified the demand of the religious community. This is witnessed in the increased trend in book collecting over the period. Limited physical evidence for the consumption of illuminated works in the first half of the fifteenth century indicates that collecting was relatively low. This is also verified by the fact that compared to Amiens the cathedral library in 1429 held only a quarter of the number of works. By the 1460s the excess finances of the churches and emerging elite lay class fuelled support for manuscript production. The high number of books mentioned in the wills of some church officials supports this idea. A further development in this situation was the lay community’s interest in the work of outside artists. This is witnessed in the patronage of aristocratic families (like the Le Peley’s and Molé’s) who collected books by Bourges-based illuminator Jean Colombe. The elite not only harnessed the funds to acquire Colombe’s highly valued services but they somehow managed to cultivate the connections needed for this business interaction. These connections were most likely fostered by each family’s involvement in trade. In particular, it appears the city of Lyon may have been the centre of this activity. Nonetheless, by the beginning of the sixteenth century the trend in seeking

\[285\] Nash 1999, p. 46.
books produced outside of Troyes resulted in patrons directing their collecting efforts toward cities with greater markets for production (Paris, Rouen, Lyon, etc.).

On the other hand the renewed economic prosperity among the ecclesiastical community led to initiatives in the renovation and completion of major building projects. A significant amount of this effort was geared toward production of sculpture. Development of this trade relied upon the availability of fabric funds. Murray’s archival research from the cathedral shows a halt in activity among sculptors and carvers around the events of the war that was only renewed through the availability of fabric funds at the end of the century. In this same period significant renovation campaigns were also witnessed at local parish churches and monastic institutions. Both invested in projects that aimed to enhance their own community. Evidence for individuals involved in institutional planning (e.g. Nicolas Guiotelli, Reginault de Marescot and Charles de Refuge) possessed great knowledge in the area of architecture and decoration. The appreciation of their authority in these areas dictated the style adopted at each site. Their contributions along with those of hired sculptors shaped the visual splendour of the city.

By the sixteenth century Troyes was becoming a centre for the production of late Gothic sculpture.\(^{286}\) This development was made possible through the efforts of well-known artists that either trained locally or came to the city for employment. The period of this achievement began with the famed sculptor Jacques Bachot, who emerged in the 1490s with his work on the Belle Croix. The grandiosity of this work gave rise to the cultivation of civic pride. Functioning as a civic reliquary the monument celebrated the unification of municipal and religious devotion. It was also in this period when Nicolas Halins and Jean Gailde completed the choir screen at Sainte-Madeleine, which became a highly praised work among the church community. This is evident in Gailde’s leadership, which was judged to be so

\(^{286}\) Chancel-Bardelot 2010, p. 194.
significant that upon his death the church allowed for his body to be buried beneath the structure. Overall, the development of sculptural patronage in Troyes elevated the final appreciation and evolution of late Gothic style.

What role did artists and craftsmen play in these developments? These professionals assumed responsibility as agents of production, and their place in the community was further characterised by the need for their talents. The production of late medieval art in Troyes therefore involved a synergy of collaboration among those with skills to produce art and those who could provide monetary support. The drive behind those with monetary means involved the notion of enhancement, whether individual or institutional, that required the need for visual display. With this, the social and economic conditions at the end of the century produced an intense moment of artistic activity. The role of the artists involved was an integral part of the performative process that shaped the development of artistic patronage and fulfilled the cultural impulse toward the pageantry of devotion, power and prestige.

_How does artistic patronage in Troyes fit in to the history of patronage in the late middle ages?_

Activity surrounding the development of artistic patronage in Troyes represents a microcosm of what was happening in France. Throughout the fifteenth century cities in the kingdom were witnessing an increase in groups of patrons and trained artists working toward creating a visual presence and identity for themselves, local churches and the municipal communities. The environment of artistic production and exchange was a part of the complex social situation that brought together the power of visual arts, religion and government. This study on patronage in Troyes has been an attempt to assess the gradual diversification of localised artistic patronage on a small scale. The research has shown that the general taste in objects and impulse to collect had greater connections to the cultural, social and economic
climate. The influence of the Valois courts played a vital role in the formative minds of lower-level French elites and ecclesiastic institutions that became patrons to art. Belozerskaya has pointed out that courts and cities became linked into a sense of ‘international’ community through mutual interests, alliances, enmities and economic ties. In this interrelated world princely and civic artistic endeavours shared a pregnant and programmatic ideology.\textsuperscript{287} The emulative practice of collection, consumption and production in Troyes was a part of this structure.

Similar to the situation in Troyes local activities around patronage that occurred in other French cities were dictated by the economy. The organisation practices witnessed in the building of Troyes cathedral followed patterns at other sites. In particular, the act of high authority given to cathedral canons in maintenance of fabric funds was practiced at the cathedrals in Milan, Beauvais and Amiens. During the building of the cathedral of Amiens the clergy were forced to make concessions to secure harmonious relations and continuous construction, allowing them the right to oversee the work. As a corporate venture this process was closely monitored by the canons elected provisionaries by the bishop.\textsuperscript{288} In effect, the economic situation was a factor deeply affecting many building sites. The recovery in the second half of the fifteenth century allowed for economic growth and urban expansion across France. Similar to Troyes work at the cathedral and parish churches in Tours gained momentum after 1450 through renewed fabric finances.\textsuperscript{289} Even in Rouen, which witnessed relative prosperity during English occupation, rates of construction at the cathedral were only financially feasible in the last third of the century.\textsuperscript{290} Like the economic situation in these cities that in Troyes was bound to fluctuations of economy.

\textsuperscript{287} Belozerskaya 2002, pp. 45-47.
\textsuperscript{288} Murray 1996, p. 80.
\textsuperscript{289} Chancel-Bardelot 2012, p. 180. Like sculptural production in Troyes the dominance of activity in Tours near the end of the fifteenth century focused on the cathedral. Similarly, Tours also witnessed renovation projects in the areas of public monuments, monastic institutions and city gates.
\textsuperscript{290} Wilson 1990, p. 248.
Moreover, development in the areas of industry and artistic technique represent a shared component among patrons based in Troyes and elsewhere. For example, the rise of the print industry was an innovation evolving in various cities throughout western Europe at the end of the fifteenth century. The success of these industries varied at individual local level, but for the most part the technology was available for consumption. In turn, general interest in certain visual trends and styles bonded communities. The idea of *en vogue* culture among lay classes promulgated the type of work that was coveted. For example, work by leading artists (like Jean Fouquet and Jean Colombe) was demanded by elite clients in many cities and represents a trend in shared taste with French aristocracy. This manifested in not only what objects they invested in but also in the way they represented themselves. Examples from Troyes in stained glass and painting highlight this idea and show that patrons possessed an acute awareness of how to represent their authority and devotion. These attitudes were the product of hierarchies of the familial unit, which constituted a network of competition among families at the civic and national level. For those without the privilege of financial excess and familial fortune participation in this culture was obtained through investment in moveable wealth. The wills of Troyens attest to this type of behaviour. In these the possession of clothing, illuminated manuscripts and household goods represent private association with material worth. The development of a class of individuals who relied on material wealth through possession of goods (opposed to land) developed as a common economic subculture throughout the west. This category of wealth denoted a kind of legal, economic, physical and cultural mobility in medieval practice and imagination.\(^2^9^1\)

With this in mind one may perhaps ask if artistic patronage in Troyes was distinct in any way? Although Troyes witnessed patterns of artistic organisation, production and consumption akin to other municipalities the evolution of these processes at the communal

\(^{2^9^1}\) Howell 2003, p. 38.
level represents something distinct. The means in which individuals and institutions used patronage, the objects that were designed with specific requirements and the overall arrangement and reception of these interactions differentiates this activity. In the end, the dissemination of patronage in Troyes denotes an increasing degree of organisation in the complexity of artistic practices at local level.
FIGURES

Fig. 1 Paris, BNF, ms. Lat. 962, f. 1, *Pontifical of bishop Etienne de Givry*, Preparation for the celebration of mass

Fig. 2 Paris, BNF, ms. Lat. 864, f. 89v., *Missal from the church of Saint Pierre*, Ervy-le-Chatel, Crucifixion scene
Fig. 3 San Marino, California, HM 1179, f. 166, *Book of Hours*, William, bishop of Bourges, before the kneeling patron

Fig. 4 Paris, BNF, ms. Lat. 924, f. 13v., *Book of Hours*, Berthier family members before Saint Michael and Saint Catherine
Fig. 5 Paris, SMAF, ms. 79-5, f. 19v., *Book of Hours*, Guyot Le Peley, his wife Nicole and their children before Saint Nicolas.

Fig. 6 Paris, BNF ms. Fr. 2598, f.131, *Chronique of Charles VI*, Arms of Jean Mole.
Fig. 7 Paris, BNF ms. Fr. 2598, f.1, *Chronique of Charles VI*, Le Jardin de France

Fig. 8 La Haye, Koninklijke Bibl., ms. 76, G 8, f. 93, *Hours of Simon Liboron and Henriette Mauroy*, Bathsheba bathing
Fig. 9 Paris, BNF ms. Lat. 920, f. 158, *Hours of Louis Laval*, Bathsheba Bathing

Fig. 10 Lille bibl. munc. ms. 5, f. 68, *Hours of Catherine Mauroy*, David and Goliath
Fig. 11 Les Enluminures, Paris, f. 117v., *Veauce Hours*, Tours, c. 1480, David and Goliath

Fig. 12 Troyes bibl. munc., ms. 3901. f. 42v.-43, *Hours of Guyot Le Peley*, Annunciation
Fig. 13 Florence Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, ms. Pal. 241, f. 174v., *Hours of Jean Le Peley*, Adam and Eve holding Le Peley Arms

Fig. 14 Paris, BNF Fr. 22540, *Faits de Romains*, Two Female figures with Le Peley Arms
Fig. 15 Paris, BNF Fr. 22540, *Faits de Romains*, Triumphal entrance of Caesar

Fig. 16 Rodez Soc. Des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l’Aveyron, ms. 1, *Hours of Jean II Molé*, Job and his Friends
Fig. 17 Rodez Soc. Des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l’Aveyron, ms. 1, *Hours of Jean II Molé*, Portrait of Jean Molé II

Fig. 18 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, m. 356, f. 58v-59, *Hours of Claude Molé*, Claude Molé before the Virgin
Fig. 19 Chimera gargoyle, Tower of Troyes Cathedral, late-15th to early 16th century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 20 Seated female gargoyle, Tower of Troyes cathedral, late-15th to early 16th century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 21 Seated winged gargoyle, Tower of Troyes cathedral, late-15th to early 16th century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes

Fig. 22 Choir screen, designed by Jean Gailde, Church of Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes 1508-1517
Fig. 23 Christ preaching to his followers, choir screen detail, carved by Nicolas le Flemand (Nicolas Halins), Church Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes, 1512

Fig. 24 Armorials and monogram, choir screen detail, carved by Simon Mauroy, Church Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes, 1515-16

Fig. 25 Trinity group, carved wood, Church of Saint-Urbaine, early 16th century
Fig. 26 Baptismal font, originally in the Church of Saint Jacques-aux-Nonnains, Troyes, 15th century
Figs. 27-33 Details from the baptismal font, originally in Saint Jacques-aux-Nonnains, Troyes, 15th century

Fig. 34 Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, constructed in the late 15th century, drawing produced by Max Berthelin (1811-1897), Musée de Troyes
Fig. 35 Chapel of the Passion and Library, Couvent des Cordeliers, drawing produced by Max Berthelin (1811-1897), Musée de Troyes

Fig. 36 Angels with Arms of Champagne, Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, late 15th century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 37 Le acrobate capital, signed 'Jubert', Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, late 15th century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes

Fig. 38 Le docteur capital, Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, late 15th century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 39 Angel with armorial console, Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, late 15th century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes

Fig. 40 Meeting of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony capital, Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, late 15th century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 41 Hommes sauvages keystone, Chapel of the Passion, Couvent des Cordeliers, late 15th century, Musée St-Loup, Troyes

Fig. 42 Architectural niche with the arms of Charles de Refuge, Abbey of Montier-la-Celle, Troyes, late 15th century, Musée St-Loup
Fig. 43 Portrait of Charles de Refuge, late 15th century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes

Fig. 44 Lavabo with the arms of Nicolas Forjot, Abbey of Saint Loup, 1485-1514, Musée St-Loup, Troyes
Fig. 45 Virgin and Child with Nicolas Forjot, originally in the Hotel-Dieu-le-Comte, 1510, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes

Fig. 46 Figure of Nicolas Fojot (detail), originally in the Hotel-Dieu-le-Comte, 1510, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Figs. 47-48 Kneeling donor fragments, produced in the late 15th century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes

Fig. 49 Roundel of Nicolas de Lyra, Troyes cathedral library, late 15th century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes

Fig. 50 Saint Francis, Troyes cathedral library, late 15th century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 51 Saint Roch, Troyes cathedral library, late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes

Fig. 52 Saint Anthony, Troyes cathedral library, early 16\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes

Fig. 53 Saint Catherine, Troyes cathedral library, early 16\textsuperscript{th} century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 54 Saint William of York and a male patron, Troyes cathedral library, early 16th century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes

Fig. 55 Nicolas La Muet and son before Saint Nicolas, Church of Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes, 1490

Fig. 56 Catherine Boucherat and daughters before Saint Catherine, Church of Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes, 1490
Fig. 57 Simon Liboron, Henriette Mauroy and children before saints Louis and Yves, Church of Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes, 1507

Fig. 58 Etienne Chevalier portrait, Jean Fouquet, from the Melun diptych, 1450, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp
Fig. 59 Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins portrait, Jean Fouquet, around 1460, Musée du Louvre, Paris

Fig. 60 Virgin of the Red Coat, anonymous artist, early 16th century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Fig. 61 Virgin and Child in a Landscape, Master of the Embroidered Foliage, 1492-1498, Minneapolis Institute of Arts

Fig. 62 Legend of Saint Anne, anonymous artist, early 16th century, Musée Vauluisant, Troyes
Primary Sources

Troyes, Archives de l’Aube

Comptes de la Cathédrale Saint-Pierre
G. 265, Register, ‘Receptes et mises’, 1382-1383
G. 308, Register, ‘Receptes et mises’, 1456-1457
G. 1277*, Register, ‘Délibérations capitulaires’, 1477-1484
G. 1561, Register, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1414-1424
G. 1562, Register, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1424-1445
G. 1563, Register, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1451-1456
G. 1564, Register, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1464
G. 1567, Register, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1476-1481
G. 1568, Register, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1485-1489
G. 1571, Register, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1499-1502
G. 1589, Register, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1520-1526
G. 1590, Register, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1528-1529
G. 1591, Register, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1530
G. 1592, Register, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1532-1539
G. 2288*, Register, ‘Compte de l’exécution testamentaire de Guillaume Galert, 1434
G. 2289*, Register, ‘Inventaire du mobilier de Jean Blanche, 1438
G. 2318, Register ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1460-1461
G. 2645* Liasse, ‘Testament et inventaire après décès d’Étienne de Givry, 1426
G. 2681, Liasse, ‘Donations et testaments’, 1446-1493
G. 4126, Liasse, ‘Donations et testament. Thierry de Neuchatel’, 1418
G. 4183, Register, ‘Registre de causes’, 1494-1495
G. 4186, Register, ‘Registrum causarum officii curie Trecensis’, 1501-1502

Comptes de la fabrique Sainte-Madeleine
16 G 7*, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1425-1430
16 G 29, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1461-1462
16 G 47*, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1511-1514
16 G 48*, ‘Comptes de la fabrique’, 1514-1517

Other related documents
4 bis H 35, Fonds de l'abbaye royale Saint-Loup de Troyes, ‘Quittance d’orfèvres’, 1411
13 H 6, Fonds du couvent des Cordeliers de Troyes, ‘Histoire de la fondation’, XVIII.
10 G 8*, Liasse, ‘Mobilier de l’église Saint-Urbain, Tapisseries’, XV.
10 G 66, ‘Compte de censives’, Fonds de la collégiale Saint-Urbain de Troyes, 1467-1468
‘Fiches de Natalis Rondot’, catalog box containing names of artists found in local record
complied by historian N. Rondot at the Archives de l’Aube, ca. 1880-1890

*Denotes those I have consulted through secondary bibliography. This is also referenced in
the appropriate footnotes.
Manuscripts
Pontifical of bishop Étienne de Givry, Use of Troyes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), Paris, ms. Lat. 962
Missal, Use of Saint Pierre in Ervy-le-Chatel, BNF, Paris, ms. Lat. 864
Book of Hours, Use of Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, Troyes, ms. 3713
Book of Hours, Use of Sens, Edinburgh University Special Collections, Edinburgh, ms. 44
Book of Hours, Use of Troyes, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, HM 1179
Berthier Hours, Use of Troyes, BNF, Paris, ms. Lat. 924
Hours of Guyot Le Peley and Nicole Hennequin, Use of Troyes, Société des manuscrits des assureurs français (SMAF), Paris, ms. 79-5
Book of Hours, Use of Châlons-sur-Marne, National Bibl., Vienna ms. Ser. nov. 2613
Chronique of Charles VI, BNF, Paris, ms. Fr. 2598
Book of Hours, La Haye, Koninklijke Bibl., La Haye, ms. 76
Hours of Louis Laval, BNF, Paris, ms. Lat. 920
Hours of Catherine Mauroy, Bibliothèque municipale, Lille, ms. 5
Veauce Hours, Les Enluminures, Paris
Hours of Guyot Le Peley, Bibliothèque municipale, Troyes, ms. 3901
Faits de Romain, BNF, Paris, Fr. 22540
Hours of Jean II Molé, Soc. Des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l’Aveyron, Rodez, ms. 1
Hours of Claude Molé, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, ms. 356

Secondary Sources
Antoine, E. 2004. Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, 1364-1419 Dijon: Musée des beaux-arts; Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art; Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.
Arnaud, A.F. 1822. Antiquités de la ville de Troyes Troyes.
de l'Aube Troyes: Bouqout.

Assier, A. 1855. ‘Comptes de la fabrique de l'église Saint-Jean de Troyes’ Bibl. Dép. Aube, IX.


Bober, H. 1953. ‘André Beauneveu and Mehun-sur-Yèvre’ *Speculum*, vol. 28, no. 4, Medieval Academy of America, pp. 741-753.

Booton, D. 2010. *Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in the Late Middle Ages* Burlington, VT: Ashgate.


Collet, B. 1987. ‘Jehan Gailde, maître d’oeuvre du jube de la Madeleine’ La Vie en


Delcourt, T. 2006. ‘Un livre d'heures a l'usage de Troyes peint par Jean Colombe’ Bulletin du Bibliophile, n. 2, pp. 221-44.

Demoy, P. and Mangue, E. 1976. La cathédrale de Troyes Colmar.


Denifle, P.H. 1897-1899. La désolation des églises, monasteres et hopitaux en France pendant la guerre de cent ans Paris, 2 vol.


Gavelle, E. 1925. ‘Le Maitre de la Sainte Marthe de Troyes ou le Maitre aux figures tristes' Lille: *Bulletin du Comité Flamand de France*.


Hamon, É. 2005. ‘Échanges artistiques entre paris et Troyes a la fin de l'époque gothique’ *La Vie en Champagne*, n. 43, pp. 44-54.


Leroquais, V. 1927. Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliotheques nationale, Macon.


Lossky, V., Ouspensky, L. 1982. The Meaning of Icons Crestwood, NY: St Vladamir
Seminary Press.

Loye, Abbé de. 1888. *Histoire du comté de La Roche et de Saint-Hippolyte, sa capitale*
Montbéliard: Impr. de P. Hoffmann.


Mauroy, A de. 1887. *Généalogie historique de la famille de Mauroy en Champagne* Fontainebleau: Impr. de E. Bourges


Quicherat, J. 1848. ‘Notice sur plusieurs registres de l'oeuvre de la cathédrale de Troyes’ Paris: Mémoires de la Société royale des antiquaires de France, XIX.


Rondot, N. 1887. Les sculptureurs de Troyes au XIVe. au XVe. siècle, Paris.


Dress, textiles, cloth work, and other cultural imaginings ed. by Jane Burns, E. New York, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stephenson, B. 2004 The Power and Patronage of Marguerite de Navarre Burlington: Ashgate.


