

# LA GABRIELLE *STUDIES*



THE GAZETTE OF LA GABRIELLE FINE ARTS SA  
2025 / 2 | DIJON 1500: ART & HISTORY







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# 1 WHAT'S IN

For this second issue of our Gazette, *La Gabrielle Studies*, we are delighted to focus on the art produced in the Burgundian capital, Dijon, between the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance – a place and time when artistic production was extremely rich and dynamic. Art in Burgundy at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance has survived in remarkable quantity and quality. It has sparked and continues to spark a great deal of research and exhibitions which in recent years, especially in the field of illumination, have led to several notable discoveries. “Dijon 1500: Art & History”, the title of this second issue of *La Gabrielle Studies*, refers to recent publications focusing on the artistic production of French cities during this period, and in particular the fifth volume in the series *Peindre en France à la Renaissance (Peindre à Dijon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. F. Elsig, Cinisello Balsamo, 2016), which resulted from the Geneva research program led by Professor Frédéric Elsig. “Dijon 1500: Art & History” also borrows its title from several exhibitions that have focused on the production of a specific city at a particular time, such as “France 1500: entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance” (Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, October 6, 2010–January 10, 2011), “Tours 1500: capitale des arts” (Tours, musée des Beaux-Arts, March 17–June 17, 2012), or “Lyon Renaissance: art & humanisme” (Lyon, musée des Beaux-Arts, October 23, 2015–January 25, 2016).

We also chose to dedicate this year’s issue of our Gazette to the Burgundian capital at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries because it allows us to present a new manuscript from our gallery: the *Saumaize Hours*. Produced in Dijon around 1490–1500 for an important family established in Dijon since the 13th century and illuminated by three artists all active in Dijon at the end of the century, it is a magnificent, richly illuminated Book of Hours that preserves the *livre de raison* of the Saumaize family, who commissioned the Book of Hours and piously kept it until the 18th century. A true artwork due to its twenty-four illuminations, but also a genuine archival document due to the *livre de raison*, the *Saumaize Hours* are therefore a very rare and particularly interesting manuscript that contains a unique distillation of the history and art of Dijon around 1500.

This issue of *La Gabrielle Studies* contains three articles which provide an overview of the pictorial production in Dijon around 1500. First, you will discover the article written by Professor Frédéric Elsig, “*Current research on painting in Dijon in the 15th and early 16th centuries*”, which traces the recent studies on painting in Dijon around 1500 and recalls some of the most important discoveries. Next, you will find our writing, “*The Saumaize Hours. Discovery of a manuscript from Dijon around 1500*” which presents the Saumaize family’s Book of Hours in detail and places it in its historical and artistic context. Finally, you will read the lines written by Marie Mazzone, “*The Jamot Mass of Saint Gregory: illumination in support of the study of panel painting*” which recounts the history of the study of a Dijon panel painting preserved in the Louvre and emphasizes the importance of illumination in the study of French art.

*We wish to express our most sincere thanks to Professor Frédéric Elsig and Marie Mazzone for their valuable contribution to this second issue of our Gazette.*

Dr. Constantin Favre





# 2

## ESSAY CURRENT RESEARCH ON PAINTING IN DIJON IN THE 15TH AND EARLY 16TH CENTURIES

FRÉDÉRIC ELSIG

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### INTRODUCTION

The study of painting produced in Dijon during the period when the *ars nova* developed — that is, the new illusionist language initiated by the Flemish painters Jan van Eyck and Robert Campin — roughly between 1430 and 1520, can be divided into three phases.

The first began with the *Exposition des Primitifs français* (1904), which sought to define the cultural identity of each region within French “civilization”. This is reflected in the work of art dealer and collector Jacques Bacri in the 1930s, and later that of Pierre Quarré in the 1950s. The second phase was launched by the exhibition *Les manuscrits à peintures en France du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1955), which demonstrated the need for a cross-disciplinary approach focused on illumination, a medium far better preserved than other techniques. Closely tied to this is Nicole Reynaud’s fundamental 1975 article, published in the *Mélanges* in honor of her mentor Charles Sterling (who himself would publish an article on Burgundian panels three years later), in which she reconstructed the identity of the so-called Master of the Burgundian Prelates. The third phase was triggered in 1993 by the exhibition *Quand la peinture était dans les livres*, curated by François Avril and Nicole Reynaud at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. This period is characterized by the exponential growth of the corpus (made possible by the digitization of illuminated manuscripts) and the refinement of knowledge regarding both artworks and archival documents — as illustrated by the doctoral theses of Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet on the 15th century (1996) and Catherine Chédeau on the 16th century (1999).

Over the past fifteen years, the Geneva-based program *Peindre en France à la Renaissance* has continued this momentum, aiming to bring to light new works and clarify the trajectories of individual artists. The fifth volume in the series devoted to artistic geography, *Peindre à Dijon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (2016), provided an opportunity to take stock of ongoing research and open new avenues of inquiry. Here, we present recent developments following a chronological order: first, the influence of the *ars nova* around 1430; then, the development of a local tradition; and finally, the artistic renewal around 1520 [1].

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE ARS NOVA

When Duke Philip the Good moved his capital from Dijon to Brussels (1430), he established a brilliant court dominated by musicians and men of letters (notably chroniclers), which included numerous artists and quickly became a model for all European courts — what we today call the “Burgundian model” [2]. As early as 1425, he secured the services of painter Jan van Eyck, who lived in Bruges (the duchy’s economic capital), participated in several ducal embassies, and received commissions for works destined for his former capital.

Among these was the *Annunciation* (Washington, National Gallery of Art; fig. 1), painted around 1430 as the left wing of a triptych for the Charterhouse of Champmol, the mausoleum of the Dukes of Burgundy. It demonstrates the painter’s incredible ability to reproduce the physical world with precision and delicacy, achieving shimmering effects of light. One can easily imagine

fig. 1. Jan van Eyck, *Annunciation*, circa 1430.  
Washington, National Gallery of Art.







fig. 2. Jan van Eyck,  
Annunciation, circa 1435. Madrid,  
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza.

Opposite  
fig. 3. Glass painter from Dijon,  
Annunciation (detail), circa 1450.  
Chambolle-Musigny, Sainte-Barbe  
Church, window 8.

the significant impact caused by such a stylistic revolution — a total break from the refined conventions of the International Gothic. Other artworks by Jan Van Eyck must also have reached Dijon early on. One such example is the Thyssen *Annunciation* diptych (circa 1435), a true *tour-de-force* of *trompe-l'œil* (fig. 2), whose figures — the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin — are directly quoted in a stained-glass window (fig. 3) made around the mid-15th century for the unfortunately now heavily restored window 8 of Sainte-Barbe Church in Chambolle-Musigny (Côte-d'Or).

At the same time, paintings by the Tournai artist Robert Campin, defined by a more sculptural and less meticulous style, were likely imported to Dijon in the 1430s. This may be the case for the remarkable *Nativity* (fig. 4), painted around 1430 and acquired in 1828 by the musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon — a work seemingly paraphrased around 1500 in a fragment (fig. 5) from that same window 8 at Chambolle-Musigny. Two works produced in Dijon clearly show Robert Campin's influence. The first, the *Presentation in the Temple with Two Donors*, painted around 1440, was linked by Pierre Quarré to the now-damaged mural paintings in Notre-Dame Church and associated with the Artois painter Jean de Maisoncelles (documented 1429–1439) [3]. The second, the *Mass of Saint Gregory*, painted around 1450 and bequeathed by Paul Jamot to the Louvre in 1941, derives from a lost prototype by Robert Campin known through other versions (Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts). Once thought to be Picard in origin, it was reassigned by François Avril (1993, 1996) [4] who, based on a suggested provenance from Champmol via a label on the reverse, demonstrated its subsequent influence in the region and linked it to manuscripts illuminated in Dijon in the mid-15th cen-

tury — notably the *Rational des divins offices* (Beaune, BM, ms. 21) and the *Histoire de la fondation de l'hôpital du Saint-Esprit de Dijon* (Dijon, Hôpital général, A H 4), commissioned by Pierre Crapillet, rector of the institution.

#### A TRADITION FROM DIJON

The *corpus* assembled by François Avril around the *Mass of Saint Gregory* was expanded in 1998 by Fabienne Joubert [5], who added to it a remnant of mural painting in the church of Savigny-lès-Beaune and the Campinian cartoons for the tapestry of the Virgin in the collegiate church of Beaune, which was commissioned to Pierre Spicre (documented from 1470 to 1474) in 1474 but executed in 1500. In 2004, we proposed associating the stylistic group of the *Mass of Saint Gregory* not with Pierre Spicre, but with his presumed father, Guillaume Spicre (documented from 1450 to 1476), who was perhaps originally from Tournai (rather than Holland as is generally assumed) and is attested as a painter and glass artist for the Sainte-Chapelle, and to attribute to Pierre Spicre the *Rabutin Portraits* (Dijon, musée des Beaux-Arts; fig. 6), which are stylistically linked to the mural paintings (around 1477) in the Saint-Maire Castle in Lausanne (fig. 7), whose bishop, Benoît de Montferrand, addressed the Spicre workshop in 1473 for the wings of the triptych intended for the high altar (destroyed by the Bernese in 1536) [6].

The workshop of Guillaume and Pierre Spicre thus marks the first stage of a Dijon tradition shaped by the Tournai model of Robert





fig. 4. Robert Campin, *Nativity* (detail), circa 1430. Dijon, musée des Beaux-Arts.



fig. 5. Glass painter from Dijon, *Nativity* (detail), circa 1450. Chambolle-Musigny, Sainte-Barbe Church, window 8.

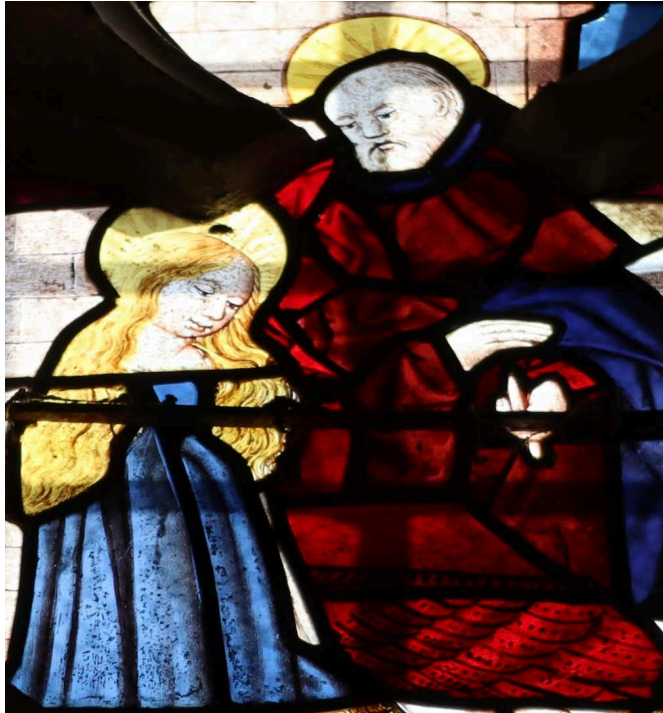


fig. 6. Pierre Spicre?, *Portrait* said to be of Hugues de Rabutin (detail), circa 1470-1475. Dijon, musée des Beaux-Arts.

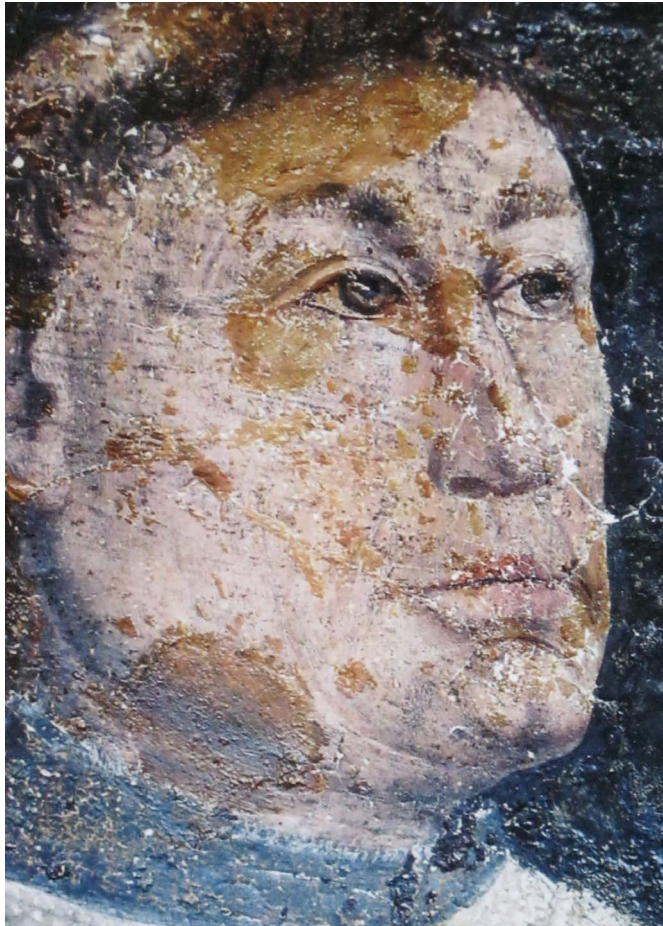


fig. 7. Pierre Spicre?, *Portrait* of Benoît de Montferrand (detail), circa 1477. Lausanne, castle Saint-Maire.



fig. 8. Thiébaut Laleurre?, *Crucifixion* of the *Chambre des Comptes*, circa 1475-1480. Dijon, musée des Beaux-Arts.

Campin. Also part of this group is Thiébaut Laleurre (active between 1468-1516/17), presumed author of the impressive *Crucifixion* of the *Chambre des Comptes* (Dijon, musée des Beaux-Arts; fig. 8), painted circa 1475-1480 [7]. A second stage of the Dijon tradition is embodied by the Changenet workshop, founded by Jean I Changenet (active 1449-1472/73) and continued by his sons Pierre Changenet (active 1477-1503/07) and Jean II Changenet (active not in Dijon but in Avignon, 1485-1495).

In 1975, art historian Nicole Reynaud grouped thirteen manuscripts and a fragmentary mural painting (the Golden Chapel of Autun Cathedral) around the *Missal of Richard Chambellan*

(Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 879). She noted that the miniature of the *Crucifixion* (fol. 105v) presents a composition similar to that of a large panel painting acquired by the Louvre in 1962 and attributed by Charles Sterling (1964) to Josse Lieferinxe (a Hainaut painter mainly active in Marseille, 1493-1505/08) [8].

Thus, Nicole Reynaud reconstructed a personality she named the Master of the Burgundian Prelates, whom she suggested might be identified with painter Pierre Changenet (one of whose nieces married Lieferinxe). In 1993, Nicole Reynaud added about fifteen more manuscripts to the *corpus* of this Master, interpreting their stylistic variety as the product of several hands of



differing quality within a single workshop. In 2016, two discoveries changed this picture. First, Carmen Decu Teodorescu demonstrated that the Louvre *Crucifixion*, far from having been painted by Lieferinxe in Marseille c. 1500–1505, was made for the Parlement of Burgundy in Dijon, probably after Josse Lieferinxe's death [9]. Second, we identified three panels from Gretz-Armainvilliers Church as the remnants of the triptych painted by Jean II Chagenet (c. 1490) and his associate Giovanni Grassi (c. 1500) for the high altar of Notre-Dame de Dijon [10]. Within this context, our 2020 monograph proposed the distinction of three separate Masters of the Burgundian Prelates, all linked by a fluid handling of paint [11].

The first Master of the Burgundian Prelates likely corresponds to Jean I Chagenet. He is characterized by a delicate line and pale palette, and he produced about fifteen illuminated manuscripts (fig. 9) as well as a panel painting once depicting a *Pietà*, commissioned by Cardinal Jean Rolin, of which only two fragments survive today (Avignon, musée du Petit Palais; Poitiers, musée Sainte-Croix).

The second Master of the Burgundian Prelates most likely corresponds to Pierre Chagenet. His style is rounder, his palette richer. He is credited with another fifteen manuscripts (fig. 10)



fig. 10. Second Master of the Burgundian Prelates (Pierre Chagenet?), *David the musician; David and Goliath*, circa 1500–1505. *Hours of Philibert de la Ferté*. Private collection.



fig. 11. Third Master of the Burgundian Prelates, *Saint John in Patmos*, circa 1495–1500. Book of Hours for the use of Rome. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 73.

and probably the panel painting of the *Ex-Voto of Philippe Pot* for Notre-Dame Church (private collection), as well as designs for stained glass (the *Assumption* in the Notre-Dame Church). The second Master of the Burgundian Prelates directly influenced the Master of Antoine de Roche, a highly gifted artist reconstructed by François Avril (1993, 2016), to whom are attributed about ten manuscripts and one panel painting (*Virgin of the Sword*, Pommard), executed around 1500–1515 [12].

As for the third Master of the Burgundian Prelates (fig. 11), he is closely connected with the artist Jean II Chagenet, to whom, based on the Gretz-Armainvilliers wings, we now attribute some artworks formerly assigned to Josse Lieferinxe. The third Master of the Burgundian Prelates is characterized by a more elegant

fig. 9. First Master of the Burgundian Prelates (Jean I Chagenet?), *Coronation of the Virgin*, circa 1470. *Vita Christi* and other texts. La Valette, Bibliothèque nationale de Malte, cod. II.

fig. 12. Master of the Fyot Hours, *Saint John in Patmos*, circa 1505–1510. Book of Hours for the use of Rome. Private collection.

fig. 13. Master of Bénigne Serre, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1524. *Hours of Bénigne Serre*. Ramsen, Heribert Tenschert.

fig. 14. Jean I Dorrain after Grégoire Guérard, *Virgin and the Child with Saint John Baptist between Saint Stephen and Saint Philip*, circa 1525–1530. Private collection.



and assertive style. He painted roughly ten manuscripts, and directly influenced the Master of the Fyot Hours (fig. 12), whose corpus was reconstructed in 2020 and who, in turn, influenced the Master of Jean des Bruyères, identified by François Avril (2011) as Odet Matuchet [13].

the hand of Jean I Dorrain, recognizable in the mineral light and specific details (such as Saint Stephen's swollen hands). Most certainly, the triptych was painted in Dijon around 1525–1530 for a cleric named Philip, probably associated with the Abbey Church of Saint-Étienne.

## CONTINUITY AND RENEWAL

In the early years of Francis I's reign, the Netherlandish current brought to Dijon new models — from both Antwerp Mannerism and Dutch Italianism. The local tradition resisted these new in-

fluences, while assimilating certain elements in a more or less integrated way. In the field of illuminated manuscripts, the Master of Bénigne Serre, named after a sumptuous Book of Hours commissioned by Bénigne Serre, dated 1524, followed directly in the line of the Master of Jean des Bruyères. Responsible for three other manuscripts, the Master of Bénigne Serre is distinguished by exuberant borders teeming with *putti* in every attitude (fig. 13).

In the field of panel paintings, the presumed Jean I Dorrain produced the wings of about half a dozen altarpieces whose fluid, rapid brushwork, rooted in local tradition, adapted to the new taste [14]. We propose attributing to him an interesting triptych that surfaced on the art market in 2022 (fig. 14) [15]. This triptych (oil on wood, 66 × 119 cm) shows, half-length behind a parapet, the *Virgin and Child* with the Infant Saint John the Baptist and a praying cleric, flanked by Saint Stephen (on the left side) and Saint Philip (on the right side). Its design clearly derives from the Dutch painter Grégoire Guérard's *Triptych Pani* (1524), which served as the model for the central group [16]. However, the execution of the panel sold in 2022 betrays

Frédéric Elsig





END NOTES

- [1] Complete bibliography in: *Peindre à Dijon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. F. Elsig, Cinisello Balsamo, 2016.
- [2] F. Elsig, *L'arte del Quattrocento a Nord delle Alpi. Da Jan van Eyck ad Albrecht Dürer*, Turin, 2011.
- [3] P. Quarré, "Du Maître de Flémalle à Jean de Maisoncelles", *Revue des Arts*, 6, 1958, p. 250-257.
- [4] F. Avril and N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520*, Paris, 1993, p. 193-197; F. Avril, "L'origine bourguignonne de la Messe de saint Grégoire Jamot", in *Hommage à Michel Laclotte: études sur la peinture du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*, ed. R. Bacou and P. Rosenberg, Milan, 1994, p. 152-163.
- [5] F. Joubert, "Nouvelles propositions sur la personnalité artistique de Pierre Spicre, peintre du cardinal Jean Rolin", in *La splendeur des Rolin*, ed. B. Maurice-Chabard, Paris-Autun, 1998, p. 169-191.
- [6] F. Elsig, *La peinture en France au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Milan, 2004, p. 30, pl. 22. The idea has already been put forward by J. Bacri, "Pierre Spicre, peintre bourguignon du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 13, 1935, p. 216-229.
- [7] C. Decu Teodorescu, "La Crucifixion de la Chambre des Comptes et son peintre", in *Peindre à Dijon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. F. Elsig, Cinisello Balsamo, 2016, p. 47-57.
- [8] Ch. Sterling, "Josse Lieferinx peintre provençal", *Revue du Louvre*, 14, 1964, 1, p. 1-22; N. Reynaud, "Un peintre français de la fin du quinzième siècle: le Maître des prélats bourguignons", in *Études d'art français offertes à Charles Sterling*, ed. A. Châtelet and N. Reynaud, Paris, 1975, p. 151-163.
- [9] C. Decu Teodorescu, "Une œuvre dijonnaise retrouvée: la Crucifixion du Parlement de Bourgogne", in *Peindre à Dijon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. F. Elsig, Cinisello Balsamo, 2016, p. 58-75.
- [10] C. Decu Teodorescu and F. Elsig, "Une proposition pour Jean Changenet", in *Peindre à Dijon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. F. Elsig, Cinisello Balsamo, 2016, p. 76-93.
- [11] C. Decu Teodorescu and F. Elsig, *Les Changenet*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2020. A recent update can be found in: F. Elsig, "La Bourgogne et la Franche-Comté", in *Peindre en France: trente ans de recherche sur les manuscrits à peintures (1440-1520)*, ed. F. Elsig, S. Gras and D. Vanwijnsberghe, Cinisello Balsamo, 2025, p. 322-333.
- [12] F. Avril, "Le Maître d'Antoine de Roche, italien ou bourguignon ?", in *Peindre à Dijon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. F. Elsig, Cinisello Balsamo, 2016, p. 109-129.
- [13] F. Avril, "Une personnalité inconnue de la Renaissance dijonnaise: l'enlumineur des Machéco (Oudot Matuchet ?)", in *Peindre en France à la Renaissance. I. Les courants stylistiques au temps de Louis XII et de François I<sup>er</sup>*, ed. F. Elsig, Cinisello Balsamo, 2011, p. 95-111.
- [14] F. Elsig, "Un peintre et sa clientèle: le Maître de Commarin (Jean I Dorrain)", in *Peindre à Dijon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. F. Elsig, Cinisello Balsamo, 2016, p. 173-185.
- [15] Genoa, Cambi, June 15, 2022, lot 305 (as "school of the 16th century") ; Vienna, Dorotheum, December 19, 2022, lot 13 (as "Valencia school").
- [16] F. Elsig, *Grégoire Guérard*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2017, p. 130-131, n° I.21.

The Saumaize Hours

Book of Hours for the use of Rome  
Illuminated manuscript on parchment, Latin and French  
Original binding, wooden boards covered in black velvet

PRICE UPON REQUEST



The Saumaize Hours.  
Discovery of a manuscript from Dijon around 1500



## INTRODUCTION

Coming from a Swiss private collection that had preserved this Book of Hours for nearly a century, the *Saumaize Hours* are an important discovery for both the art and the history of Dijon around 1500. Mentioned in the 18th century *Bibliothèque des auteurs de Bourgogne* written by Philibert Papillon (fig. 1) [1], canon of the Chapelle-au-Riche, but unnoticed and forgotten since, this magnificent manuscript is a perfect object of art history, combining history and art to exemplary effect.

This manuscript informs us not only about the artists active in Dijon around 1500 but also about the city's inhabitants — particularly the Saumaize family and its network. As far as the history of Dijon is concerned, this Book of Hours contains, at the end, the *livre de raison* (a record containing entries relating to the family's personal life) of the Saumaize, allowing us to identify the manuscript's first owner (and its commissioner) as well as the various family members who possessed the Book of Hours up to the first half of the 18th century. As far as the art of Dijon is concerned, the Book of Hours was painted by no fewer than three artists, all active in Dijon at the end of the 15th century — among them a member of the Changenet workshop — shedding light on the artistic relationships among illuminators working in the Burgundian capital at that time.

## HISTORY: THE SAUMAIZE FAMILY

From folios 101 to 104v the manuscript preserves the Saumaize family's *livre de raison*: four members of the family successively

recorded the important events of their lives, mainly births and deaths. Thus we gain access to the history of the family for whom this manuscript was intended, and more precisely to the person for whom the Book of Hours was produced: Jean de Saumaize. We then read entries by François I de Saumaize, Étienne de Saumaize, and François III de Saumaize, before the Book of Hours passed into the hands of the Millièr family, who were allied with the Saumaize [2].

Jean de Saumaize († 1526), son of Jérôme de Saumaize († 1480), was lord of Chassans and Chambœuf. In 1484 he became captain of Vergy and commissioner general for King Charles VIII in charge of fortifying the towns and castles of Burgundy; he also served as an architect for the castles of Dijon, Beaune, and Auxerre. In 1514 he obtained an important post at the Parliament of Dijon, as master in the Chamber of Accounts in Dijon. In 1491 Jean de Saumaize married Michelle De Scrottefert († 1525) and after her death, he married, in 1526, Michelle Contault. From his first marriage was born François I de Saumaize (1493–1568), who inherited the present Book of Hours and continued the entries in the family record.

François I de Saumaize, who inherited his father's titles, was likewise a master in the Chamber of Accounts, as well as treasurer of the "mortes-paies" of Burgundy, and, above all, counselor to the King of France. At the age of twenty-eight, François I de Saumaize married Étienne de Jacqueron († before 1580), whose father had been ennobled by Louis XII in 1501. Étienne de Saumaize bore seven children: Étienne (born in 1522 and grandfather of the celebrated humanist Claude de Saumaize, for whom a street in Dijon is named; fig. 2), Claudine (born in 1523), François II (born in 1524), Michelle (born in 1528), Guillemette (born in 1530), Jérôme (born in 1540), and Marie (born in 1541). After the death of François I de Saumaize, it was his widow Étienne, not



fig. 1. Portrait of Philibert Papillon, in the first volume of the *Bibliothèque des auteurs de Bourgogne*, Dijon, 1742.



fig. 2. Jonas Suyderhof after Nicolaes Van Negre, *Portrait of Claude de Saumaize*, 1641. London, British Museum.



one of their children, who took possession of the present Book of Hours. On folio 102v, Étienne de Saumaize records the sudden death of her son-in-law, Guillaume Rémond, husband of Michelle de Saumaize, whom some claim died by poisoning.

When Étienne de Saumaize passed away, her Book of Hours passed to one of her seven children; however, that person's entries in the *livre de raison* are missing because a page at that point was torn out. Nevertheless, the child who possessed the manuscript can be easily identified: it was Jérôme II de Saumaize, since the following lines are by the hand of "moy, François [III] de Saumaize, maître d'hôtel". This François III de Saumaize was the son of Jérôme II de Saumaize and Catherine de la Tour, whom François III refers to as his mother in the *livre de raison*.

The final handwritten annotations in the *livre de raison* of the *Saumaize Hours* are all written by this François III de Saumaize, who was also a master in the Chamber of Accounts in Dijon. He married Marguerite Jaquotot, who bore several children, among them those cited in the *livre de raison*: Catherine (born in 1618, died in 1641), Marc-Antoine (born in 1620), Marie-Marthe (born in 1622), Nicolle and Anne (born in 1623), and Marie (born in 1627).

This genealogical information is extremely valuable not only for establishing the original provenance of this Book of Hours but also for mapping the extensive network of the Saumaize family and their standing in the city of Dijon. Masters in the Chamber of Accounts from father to son, the members of the Saumaize family held an enviable status and belonged to a particularly important circle from the standpoint of book history. Indeed, several illuminated manuscripts made in the capital of Burgundy around 1500 that have survived to us were produced for figures connected to the Saumaize family.

For example, we should mention the Book of Hours of the Berbisey family — the family of François II de Saumaize's wife — a richly illuminated Book of Hours by the second Master of the Burgundian Prelates (Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 3765; **fig. 3**) [3]; the magnificent Book of Hours of the Tabourot family — the family of Jérôme de Saumaize's wife — which is illuminated by the first Master of the Burgundian Prelates (Montreal, McGill University, McGill 154; **fig. 4**) [4]; and the Book of Hours of the Fyot family, a family that is related to the family of François III de Saumaize's wife, fully illuminated by the Master of the Fyot Hours, named after that very manuscript (Germany, private collection; see fig. 12 in Frédéric Elsig's article in this publication, p. 15) [5]. Thus we can grasp not only the high social position of the Saumaize family in Dijon around 1500, but we can also understand the interesting networks of Dijon's illuminators at that time.



**fig. 3.** Second Master of the Burgundian Prelates (Pierre Changuet?), *Saint Matthew*, circa 1500. *Berbisey Hours*. Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 3765.

#### ART OF THE BOOK: THE ILLUMINATORS OF DIJON

The *Saumaize Hours* are richly illuminated with twenty-four paintings (six large and eighteen small) by three artists: the third Master of the Burgundian Prelates, the Master of the Fyot Hours, and the Master of the Saumaize Hours, whom we name after the present Book of Hours.

In the *Saumaize Hours*, the third Master of the Burgundian Prelates is responsible for the beautiful large opening miniature of *Saint John on Patmos* (**fig. 5**). This artist emerges from the circle of the illuminator whom Nicole Reynaud named the



**fig. 4.** First Master of the Burgundian Prelates (Jean I Changuet?), *Flight into Egypt*, circa 1465–1470. *Tabourot-Bernard Hours*. Montreal, McGill University, ms. 154.





fig. 5. Third Master of the Burgundian Prelates, *Saint John on Patmos*, circa 1490–1500. *The Saumaize Hours*.

Master of the Burgundian Prelates in 1975 and who, following the important study by Carmen Decu Teodorescu and Frédéric Elsig (2020) [6], is now divided into three distinct artists: the first Master of the Burgundian Prelates (Jean I Changenet?), the second Master of the Burgundian Prelates (Pierre Changenet?), and the third Master of the Burgundian Prelates (see Frédéric Elsig's article in this publication, p. 15). The third Master of the Burgundian Prelates "entretient un lien avec Jean II Changenet sans qu'il puisse être identifié clairement à lui" [7]. He is now recognized as the author of several Dijon illuminated manuscripts from the late 15th century, including the *Missal of Richard Chambellan* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 879), which contains the famous *Crucifixion* (fig. 6) compared as early as 1975 with the celebrated *Crucifixion* for the Parliament of Burgundy (see the opening image of the *Essay: Current research on painting in Dijon in the 15th and early 16th centuries*, p. 8), and which, according to Carmen Decu Teodorescu and Frédéric Elsig, may have been painted by Henri Changenet, son of Pierre and nephew of Jean II Changenet [8].

In the present Book of Hours, the Master of the Fyot Hours painted four small miniatures, all in the Suffrages, depicting *Saint Francis*, *Saint Anthony*, *Saint Bernardino*, and *Saint Andrew*. Named after the Fyot family's Book of Hours mentioned above, the Master of the Fyot Hours has recently been studied and his corpus reconstructed: this anonymous illuminator was an eminent disciple and collaborator of the third Master of the Burgundian Prelates (their relationship is further evidenced by their collaboration within the *Saumaize Hours* themselves) and he greatly influenced the Master of Jean des Bruyères (Odet Matuchet). The Master of the Fyot Hours, for example, is responsible for a very fine Book of Hours for the use of Langres, now preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris (ms. 1187), whose style closely matches the four small miniatures he executed in the present Book of Hours (fig. 7–8) [9].

Finally, the nineteen remaining miniatures are the work of the artist we designate as the Master of the Saumaize Hours. He is the author of the five large miniatures representing *Saint Luke*, the *Annunciation*, the *Crucifixion*, the *Pentecost*, and *King David*, as well as the fourteen small miniatures depicting the *Virgin and Child*, the *Visitation*, the *Nativity*, the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, the *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Presentation in the Temple*, the *Flight into Egypt*, the *Coronation of the Virgin*, *Saint John the Baptist*, *Saint John the Evangelist*, *Saint Lawrence*, *Saint Anne and the Virgin*, *Saint Mary Magdalene*, and *Saint Catherine*. Never studied before, this illuminator — of particularly interesting style — appears to have been active between Champagne and Burgundy circa 1470–1500 [10]. His brushwork is marked by strong expressivity and a swift, almost nervous brushstroke, with fine, lively hatching that models

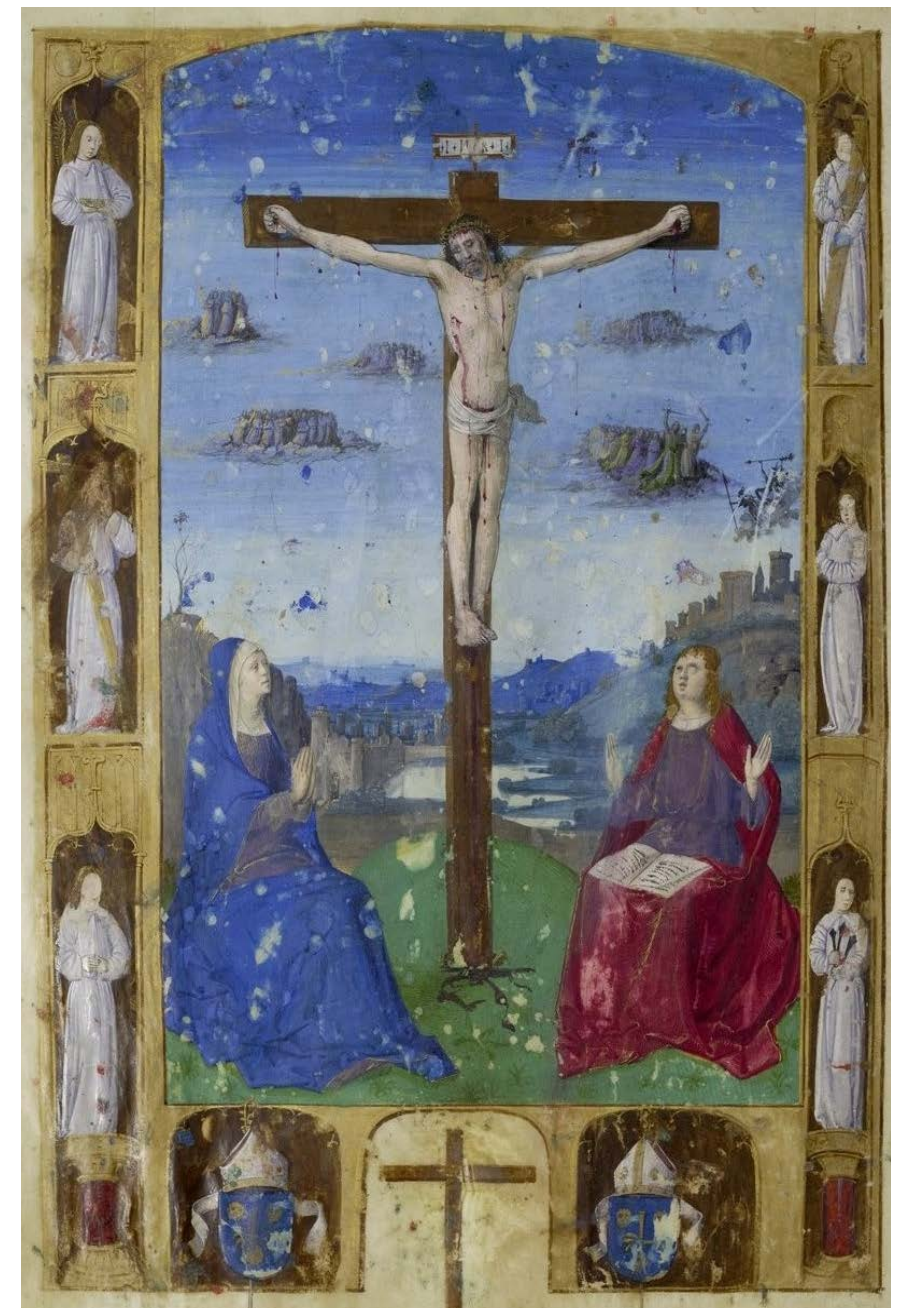


fig. 6. Third Master of the Burgundian Prelates, *Crucifixion*, circa 1480–1490. *Missal of Richard Chambellan*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 879.

the folds of the long, swirling draperies. The figures painted by the Master of the Saumaize Hours are lanky, with faces exhibiting striking morphological details that lend them an unusual expressiveness. Beyond the present Book of Hours, we find this illuminator's hand in nine other manuscripts and one single miniature, which can be arranged chronologically in two phases: first in Champagne, circa 1470–1485; then in Burgundy, circa 1485–1500.

The first phase of the Master of the Saumaize Hours' activity includes six manuscripts: two Books of Hours painted in collaboration with the Master of the Troyes Missal (Langres, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 360; and private collection — Sotheby's, November 29, 1990, lot 139); a Book of Hours owned in



fig. 7. Master of the Fyot Hours, *Saint Andrew*, circa 1490–1500. *The Saumaize Hours*.



fig. 8. Master of the Fyot Hours, *Saint James*, circa 1510. Book of Hours for the use of Langres. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1187.



fig. 9. Master of the Saumaize Hours, *Saint John on Patmos*, circa 1480. Book of Hours. Private collection.



fig. 10. Master of the Saumaize Hours, *King David*, circa 1480. Book of Hours. Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. Z 607.

the early 16th century by Philippe Languet, controller of the Grand Chancery of Burgundy (Binghamton University); a Book of Hours in private hands (Reiss & Sohn, October 29–30, 2019, lot 24; **fig. 9**); a Book of Hours recently acquired by the Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon (ms. Z 607; **fig. 10**), which bears added coat of arms as well as the initials “GG”; and a Book of Hours produced in collaboration with the Master of the Travailot Missal (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 426) [11].

The second phase of the Master’s career comprises a single miniature from a Book of Hours showing the *Virgin and Child* (private collection) and four manuscripts: a Book of Hours kept in Berkshire (University of Reading, ms 5650 43); a Book of Hours painted with the Master of the Fyot Hours (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 1187) [12]; a Breviary for the use of Saint-Étienne of Dijon, which in the 16th century belonged to Jean Tabourot, prior of Saint-Florent de Til-Châtel (Galerie Les Enluminures); and the present *Saumaize Hours*.

In the present *Saumaize Hours*, the eponymous master’s miniatures vividly display his very expressive style and brisk, almost ghostly brushwork, betraying familiarities with the models of the Master(s) of the Burgundian Prelates upon a likely Champagne substratum. Interestingly, to some extent, the Master of the Saumaize Hours’ style recalls the uncanny expressiveness and lively touch of the Master of Michel Jouvenel des Ursins (**fig. 11**), active in Champagne.

## CONCLUSION

Produced in the Burgundian capital around 1490–1500 for Jean de Saumaize, and illuminated by three artists all active in Dijon at the end of the 15th century, the *Saumaize Hours* is a purely Dijon creation that grants privileged access not only to the history of the original patron’s family and circle — thanks to the *livre de raison* — but also to the history of Dijon illumination, thanks to the presence of three distinct hands that nevertheless exhibit interesting and instructive stylistic connections. The third Master of the Burgundian Prelates is undoubtedly the best of the three illuminators; the Master of the Fyot Hours was evidently trained by him, while the Master of the Saumaize Hours was an associate of the Master of the Fyot Hours, with whom he collaborated at least twice, as well as an associate of the third Master of the Burgundian Prelates, which we did not know before the discovery of the present Book of Hours. The three illuminators were therefore certainly active within an interesting network of communicating workshops.

The *Saumaize Hours* are a major discovery that adds to the *corpus* of the third Master of the Burgundian Prelates and to the Master of the Fyot Hours, and that enables us to reconstruct

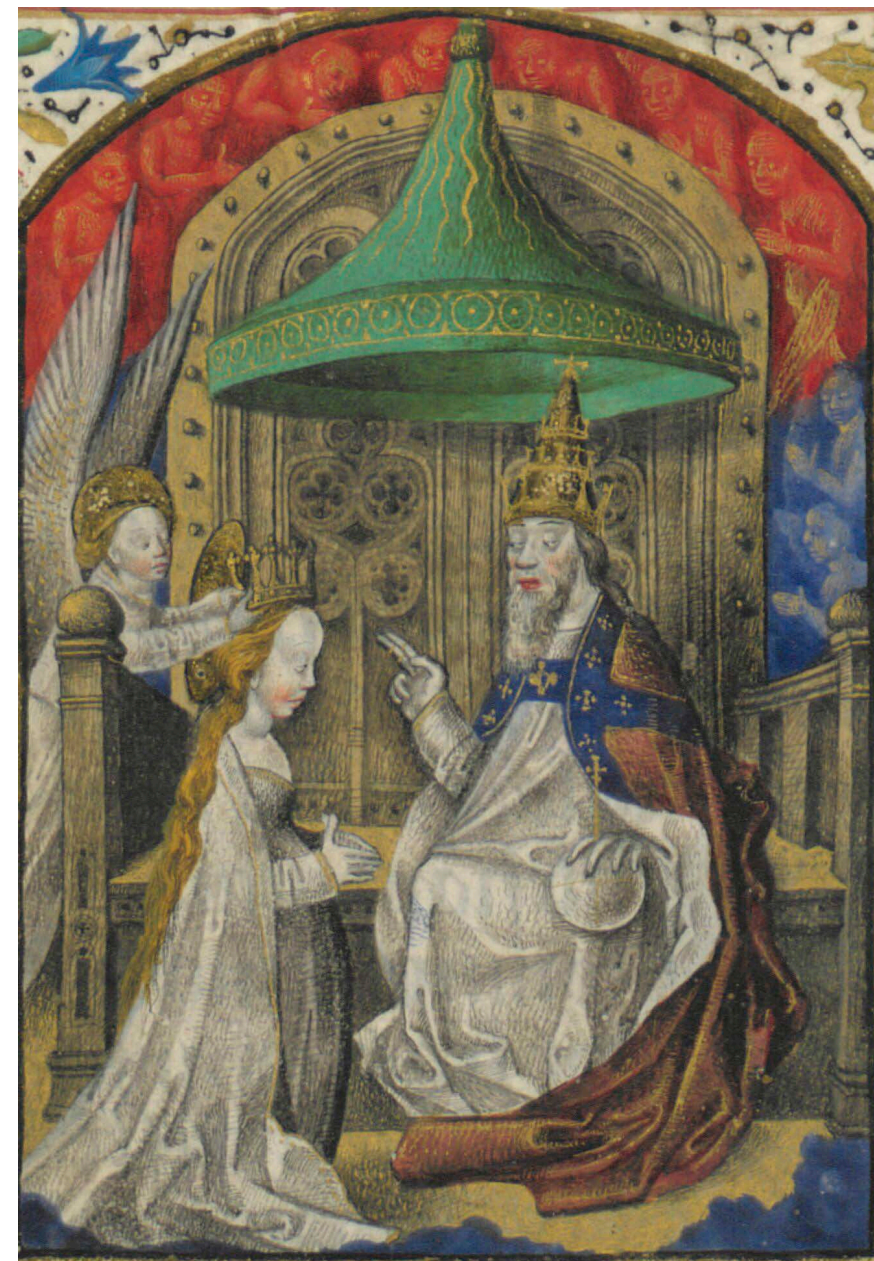


fig. 11. Master of Michel Jouvenel des Ursins, *Coronation of the Virgin*, circa 1465. *Hours of Michel Jouvenel des Ursins*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3113.

the *corpus d’œuvre* of a newly identified illuminator whom we have named the Master of the Saumaize Hours. Moreover, the *Saumaize Hours* serve as an especially valuable archival document for the Saumaize family and for the history of the city of Dijon.

Constantin Favre



END NOTES

[1] Ph. Papillon, *Bibliothèque des auteurs de Bourgogne*, Dijon, 1742, vol. II, p. 243: “Ce sont de vieilles Heures qui sont aujourd’hui entre les mains de M. Millière, seigneur d’Aiserey, et qui ont autrefois appartenu à Jean de Saumaize, dont il vient d’être parlé [...]”.

[2] On the Saumaize family, see notably: Ph. Papillon, *Bibliothèque des auteurs de Bourgogne*, Dijon, 1742, vol. II, p. 243–246; C.–X. Girault, *Essais historiques et biographiques sur Dijon*, Dijon, 1814; H. Beaune & J. d’Arbaumont, *La noblesse aux États de Bourgogne de 1350 à 1789*, Dijon, 1864; M. de La cuisine, *Le parlement de Bourgogne depuis son origine jusqu’à sa chute*, Paris & Dijon, 1864; Ch. Bigarne, “Les capitaines du château de Beaune”, *Société d’histoire, d’archéologie et de littérature de l’arrondissement de Beaune*, Beaune, 1885, p. 180; J. d’Arbaumont, *Armorial de la Chambre des Comptes de Dijon*, Dijon, 1881, p. 199; J. du Bard de Curley, *La Maison de Saumaize. Histoire généalogique*, Chalon-sur-Saône, 1894; K. Edwards, *Families and Frontiers. Re-creating Communities and Boundaries in the Early Modern Burgundies*, Boston & Leiden, 2002, p. 63; C. Chédeau, *Le palais des ducs et des états de Bourgogne*, Paris, 2007, p. 76; D. Dinet, “Les religieuses des diocèses d’Auxerre, Langres et Dijon: vie contemplative et action séculière (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)”, in: *Au cœur religieux de l’époque moderne*, ed. C. Désos & J.–P. Gay, Strasbourg, 2011, p. 474–485.

[3] M.–F. Damongeot-Bourdat, “Un livre d’heures inédit de la famille Berbissey”, *Art de l’Enluminure*, 2005 (13), p. 16–39; C. Decu Teodorescu & F. Elsig, *Les Changenet*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2020, p. 21.

[4] A. Bergeron-Foote, “Le livre de raison de Guillaume Tabourot et Jeanne Bernard, notables bourguignons (Heures à l’usage de Rome, Université McGill, MS 154)”, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 39 (4), Special issue: *Enquêtes sur les livres d’Heures conservés au Québec*, 2016, p. 169–198; C. Decu Teodorescu & F. Elsig, *Les Changenet*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2020, p. 18.

[5] E. König, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter. Neue Folge VI*, Heribert Tenschert, 2009, p. 275–289; C. Decu Teodorescu & F. Elsig, *Les Changenet*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2020, p. 88.

[6] N. Reynaud, “Un peintre français de la fin du quinzième siècle. Le Maître des prélats bourguignons”, in: *Études d’art français offertes à Charles Sterling*, ed. A. Châtelet & N. Reynaud, Paris, 1975, pp. 151–163; F. Avril & N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520*, Paris, 1993, p. 393–398; C. Decu Teodorescu & F. Elsig, *Les Changenet*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2020; F. Elsig, “La Bourgogne et la Franche-Comté”, in: *Peindre en France: trente ans de recherche sur les manuscrits à peintures (1440–1520)*, ed. F. Elsig, S. Gras & D. Vanwijnsberghe, Cinisello Balsamo, 2025, p. 322–333.

[7] C. Decu Teodorescu & F. Elsig, *Les Changenet*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2020, p. 132.

[8] C. Decu Teodorescu, “Une œuvre dijonnaise retrouvée: la Crucifixion du Parlement de Bourgogne”, in: *Peindre à Dijon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. F. Elsig, Cinisello Balsamo, 2016, p. 67–69; C. Decu Teodorescu & F. Elsig, *Les Changenet*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2020, p. 77–85.

[9] F. Avril, “Le Maître d’Antoine de Roche, italien ou bourguignon ?”, in: *Peindre à Dijon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. F. Elsig, Cinisello Balsamo, 2016, p. 109–129; C. Decu Teodorescu & F. Elsig, *Les Changenet*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2020, p. 88–95.

[10] On the Master of the Saumaize Hours and the *Saumaize Hours*, see our publication: *The Saumaize Hours*, La Gabrielle Fine Arts SA, C. Favre, Geneva, 2025.

[11] *Très riches heures de Champagne. L’enluminure en Champagne à la fin du Moyen Âge*, exhibition catalogue (Châlons-en-Champagne, Troyes & Reims, bibliothèques municipales, December 8, 2007– March 8, 2008), ed. F. Avril, M. Hermant & F. Bibolet, Paris & Châlons-en-Champagne, 2007, n° 36; *Langres à la Renaissance*, exhibition catalogue (Langres, musée d’Art et d’Histoire, May 19–October 7, 2018), dir. P. Caumont, Langres, 2018, p. 350; M. Hermant, “La Champagne”, in: *Peindre en France: trente ans de recherche sur les manuscrits à peintures (1440–1520)*, ed. F. Elsig, S. Gras & D. Vanwijnsberghe, Cinisello Balsamo, 2025, p. 296.

[12] C. Decu Teodorescu & F. Elsig, *Les Changenet*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2020, p. 88–93; F. Elsig, “La Bourgogne et la Franche-Comté”, in: *Peindre en France: trente ans de recherche sur les manuscrits à peintures (1440–1520)*, ed. F. Elsig, S. Gras & D. Vanwijnsberghe, Cinisello Balsamo, 2025, p. 322–333.

The Saumaize Hours

Book of Hours for the use of Rome  
Illuminated manuscript on parchment, Latin and French  
Original binding, wooden boards covered in black velvet

PRICE UPON REQUEST



The Saumaize Hours.  
Discovery of a manuscript from Dijon around 1500



## INTRODUCTION

Long reserved to a small circle of scholars and librarians, the study of illuminated manuscripts has expanded greatly since the 2000s, aided by the emergence and exponential growth of digitization of manuscripts. Among other fields of investigation, research on art in 15th-century France has been impacted by this phenomenon, even though illumination was the predominant art form of the period in question, and is by far the best preserved support. In 1993, 15th-century French manuscripts specialists François Avril and Nicole Reynaud responded to this research gap by publishing a voluminous catalog of illumination in France between 1440 and 1520, whose publication was accompanied by a memorable exhibition organized at the Bibliothèque nationale de France with the evocative title: *Quand la peinture était dans les livres* [1]. Certain regions of France in particular, where panel paintings are much rarer or have unfortunately largely disappeared, have found an artistic identity thanks to the study of illuminated manuscripts, whose artistic, liturgical, historical, and even linguistic elements have made it possible to locate them geographically.

Building on his numerous research and findings related to the publication of the 1993 Parisian catalogue, François Avril published an article the following year dedicated to an important panel painting preserved in the Musée du Louvre representing the *Mass of Saint Gregory* [2], which since the 1930s had been considered as a work executed in Amiens, Picardy (fig. 1). Despite the interest of great specialists, including Grete Ring and Charles Sterling [3], none had ever questioned the analysis — albeit thoroughly conducted — of Jacques Dupont in 1931 [4], when the panel had not yet entered the Louvre's collections. Moreover, Charles Sterling included it in 1979 in his vast and remarkable study devoted to Picardy panel painting — which he actually dedicated to Jacques Dupont — cautiously suggesting that the *Mass of Saint Gregory* might have been painted by Mille Marmion, Simon Marmion's younger brother who remained in Amiens until the mid-1460s [5]. The proposal seems all the more audacious given that the year before the publication, Jacques Thuillier had published a meticulous study on the provenance of the Louvre panel, brilliantly demonstrating its Burgundian origin — likely at the Chartreuse de Champmol — while also noting certain stylistic discrepancies with Picardy painting [6].

About fifteen years later, François Avril's discovery of a Book of Hours of Burgundian obedience — undoubtedly from Dijon — containing an illumination whose composition is directly bor-

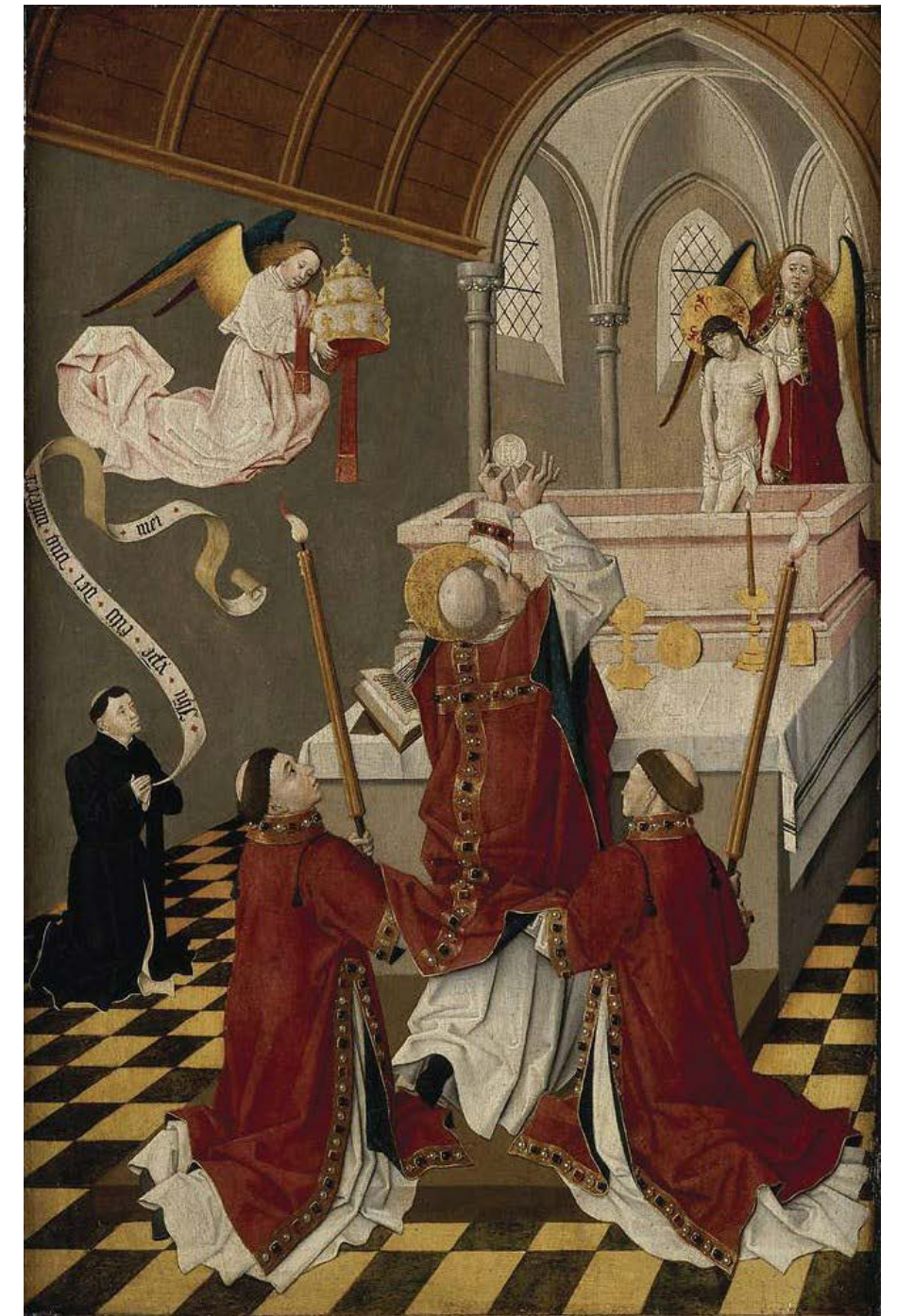


fig. 1. Painter active in Dijon (Guillaume Spicre?), *Mass of Saint Gregory* (called the *Jamot Mass of Saint Gregory*), circa 1450–1460. Paris, musée du Louvre, Dép. des Peintures, RF 1941 8.

rowed from the supposedly Picard painting allowed the specialist to confirm Jacques Thuillier's intuition and to restore the Burgundian identity to this rare and interesting painted panel. The investigation by the man who was still the curator of Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France constitutes an extremely interesting case study, which highlights the importance — and even the necessity — of studying illumination for a better understanding of the history of art in France in the 15th century. Although now perfectly integrated, the idea of studying different techniques in connection with each other remains relatively little practiced by specialists and deserves to be emphasized again.

# 4

## FROM OUR GUEST *THE JAMOT MASS OF SAINT GREGORY: ILLUMINATION IN SUPPORT OF THE STUDY OF PANEL PAINTING*

MARIE MAZZONE





fig. 2. Photographic portrait of Paul Jamot. Paris, musée national Eugène Delacroix.

#### THE PROVENANCE OF THE JAMOT MASS OF SAINT GREGORY

The *Mass of Saint Gregory*, known as the *Jamot Mass of Saint Gregory*, gets its nickname from its donor, Paul Jamot, who bequeathed the painting to the Musées de France upon his death in 1939, along with the rest of his impressive collection, after having promoted an acquisition policy in favor of French art at the Musée du Louvre for many years [7] (fig. 2). Sixty centimeters high and forty centimeters wide, the *Jamot Mass of Saint Gregory* is painted on an oak wood panel, the back of which bears the handwritten inscription “Chartreux de Dijon”, which Jacques Thuillier dates to between the very end of the 18th century and the early 19th century. Passed over in silence in previous studies, this important inscription regained all its credibility under the specialist’s pen, as he managed to trace the panel’s provenance back to two very notable Burgundian collections of the 19th century.

Undoubtedly taken from the Chartreuse de Champmol during the suppression of religious establishments in the Revolution, the panel painting passed into the hands of the collector Félix Baudot — or perhaps into those of his father, Louis-Bénigne Baudot — in the 1840s, after having long belonged to a private individual, whom Jacques Thuillier supposes to have been a former cleric of the Chartreuse de Champmol. Bequeathed about thirty years later by Félix Baudot to the Hospice de Beaune with the rest of his collection, the *Mass of Saint Gregory* was offered



fig. 3. Jules Chevrier, *Self-portrait*, 1878. Chalon-sur-Saône, Musée Vivant Denon.

at public auction on April 9, 1883, at the Beaune town hall. The work was presented under number 128 in the sale catalogue, which identified it as a 15th century painting “rehaussée de ton d’or, représentant la messe de saint Grégoire, pape”. It was on this occasion that it was acquired by another great Burgundian collector — also an artist — Jules Chevrier, who purchased it for only 865 francs (fig. 3). It should be noted here that the Dijon dealer responsible for the transaction in the 1840s had himself sold the painting to Félix Baudot for the much larger sum of 4,000 francs. Jules Chevrier had little time to enjoy his painting as he passed away only a few months after the sale, in October of the same year. Five years later, while the work was with his heirs, the Burgundian scholar Henri Batault — a friend of the deceased collector — published a small article describing the painting and its provenance in great detail. It is thanks to the rediscovery of this little-known booklet that, in 1978, Jacques Thuillier was able to reconstruct the panel’s provenance up to 1888.

The artwork reappeared on the art market about forty years later, at the sale of the Pelletier collection at the Hôtel Drouot on December 3, 1930. While the top-lot of this auction sale was undoubtedly a remarkable painting of the *Presentation in the Temple*, which Salomon Reinach had recently attributed to the “School of Tournai” which reached the substantial sum of 410,000 francs and which the Musée du Louvre preempted [8] (fig. 4), the *Mass of Saint Gregory*, presented under the label “Flemish school” was sold for 27,500 francs [9]. By chance, the *Presentation in the Temple*, which fascinated particularly by the



fig. 4. Painter active in Dijon (Jean de Maisoncelles?), *Presentation to the Temple*, circa 1440–1450. Dijon, musée des Beaux-Arts (depository from the musée du Louvre).



identification of the architecture represented as the nave of the Notre-Dame church in Dijon, also came from the Chartreuse de Champmol.

According to a press article, the *Mass of Saint Gregory* was acquired by a certain “M. Aubry” undoubtedly identifiable as the art collector and dealer Georges Aubry, who must nevertheless have quickly relinquished it in favour of Paul Jamot [10]. Be that as it may, the work was noticed during the sale by Jacques Dupont, who immediately afterwards published the first serious study of the *Mass of Saint Gregory*, firmly returning it to the French school and more cautiously proposing to locate its execution in Amiens around 1440.

## CONNECTION WITH DIJON ILLUMINATION

Vertical in format, the panel painting depicts the miraculous vision of Pope Gregory the Great, which is witnessed by a canon kneeling in prayer to the left of the composition. A phylactery elegantly unfurls above his joined hands, serving as a support for the invocation of divine mercy. In the center, Saint Gregory elevates the Host above an altar, behind which appears an angel supporting the heavy, bruised body of Christ, raised up in his tomb. In the foreground, two deacons support the rich red vestment of the officiant, while a second angel hovers above the scene, holding his papal tiara. The scene is arranged diagonally and viewed almost from the back, thus relying on a model probably established by Robert Campin, which has been transmitted to us through two old copies (fig. 5). As François Avril noted, the Louvre’s *Jamot Mass of Saint Gregory* distinguishes itself from the Campin prototype by the motif of the elevation of the Host — which he believes appeared in Picardy and Dijon in the 1430s — that of the angel bearing the tiara, as well as by the absence of *arma christi* (instruments of the Passion) around the Man of Sorrows, making the composition soberer and more grounded in reality.

In order to place the work within the artistic culture of Dijon in the mid-15th century, specialist François Avril draws parallels with a few manuscripts that were then too little studied and whose Dijon identity is attested. He thus highlights a collection of texts preserved in the hospital archives of the city (ms. A 4) decorated with a few ink drawings enhanced with more or less diluted paint, datable between around 1450 and 1460 based on reliable historical data (fig. 6-7). This manuscript relates to the history of the foundation of the Hôpital du Saint-Esprit (Hospital of the Holy Spirit) in Dijon and is therefore intimately linked to the city. The manuscripts specialist identifies the same conception of space in these illustrations, characterized by a certain simplicity and well-defined volumes, as well as the same taste for drapery with broken and sculptural folds.

François Avril also recognizes the sobriety of the Musée du Louvre panel’s composition in a copy of the *Rational des divins offices* (Rational of the Divine Offices) preserved in the Beauce library (ms. 21), which comes from the collection of the chapter of the collegiate church in the same city (fig. 8-9). Like the Dijon collection of texts, this manuscript includes a series of ink drawings of a particular type. These are *semi-grisaille* works, meaning that the figures and the main elements of the composition are painted with gray values, while certain areas — particularly the plain backgrounds, skies, or landscapes — are heightened with colors. The illuminator here shows an evident interest in perspective and the construction of space, conveyed by a series

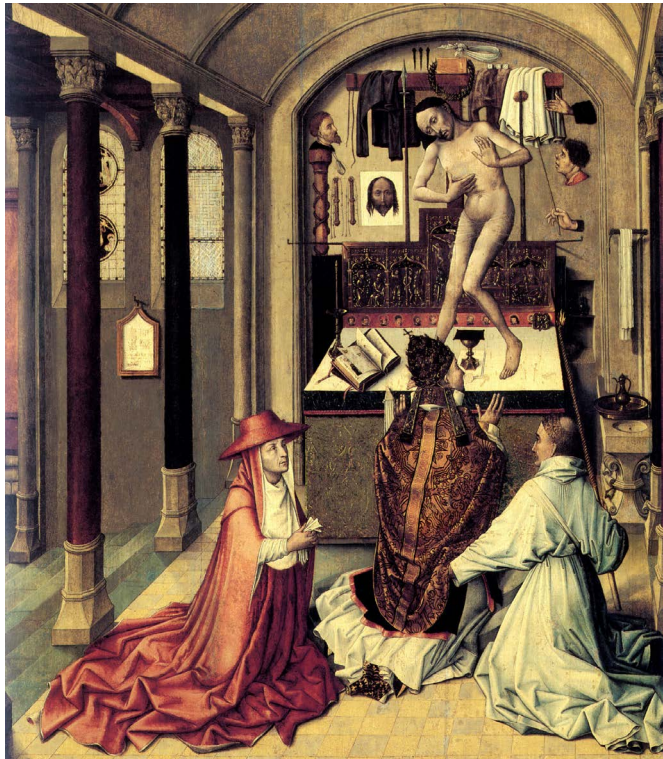


fig. 5. After Robert Campin?, *Mass of Saint Gregory*. Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, inv. 6298.

of solidly built “boxes” in which the figures move. He also plays with the space of representation and its boundaries by regularly allowing elements of the composition to encroach on the frame of his miniatures.

One illumination in particular catches the specialist’s attention. It is the representation on folio 101 of the *Rite of the Elevation of the Host during Mass* (fig. 9). Indeed, this composition contains several ingredients of the *Jamot Mass of Saint Gregory*, such as the imposing appearance of the altar, the type of perspective, the space in which the scene is set, as well as the arrangement of the group of the officiant and the two deacons. These similarities in arrangement, coupled with the angular appearance of the drapery and the graphic simplicity of the composition, are striking. Without formally attributing the two manuscripts and the painting to the same hand, François Avril nevertheless establishes a coherent group that guarantees, if not an individual style, at least a restricted collective style.

In 1999, art historian Fabienne Joubert firmly attributed the ensemble to the same artist, while proposing an identification with Pierre Spicre, a documented painter in Dijon in the 1470s and associated in 1474 with the commission for the patterns used only a quarter of a century later for the production of the *Tapistry of the Life of the Virgin* for the collegiate church of Notre-Dame in Beauce [11]. For chronological reasons, Frédéric Elsig, for his part, proposed the name of Guillaume Spicre, Pierre’s father, artist documented since the 1450s, among other things for his functions as a painter and glassmaker in the service of the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good [12]. The panel depicting the *Presentation in the Temple* sold in 1930 at the same time as the *Jamot Mass of Saint Gregory* painting also belongs to the same Dijon stylistic movement of the mid-15 century, although the former appears to be more directly indebted to the Robert Campin model.



fig. 6. Painter active in Dijon, *History of the Foundation of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit of Dijon*, circa 1450-1460. Dijon, Archives hospitalières, ms. A 4, fol. 15.



fig. 7. Painter active in Dijon, *History of the Foundation of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit of Dijon*, circa 1450-1460. Dijon, Archives hospitalières, ms. A 4, fol. 24.



fig. 8. Painter active in Dijon (Guillaume Spicre?), *Communion*, circa 1450-1460. Guillaume Durand, *Rational des divins offices*. Beauce, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 21, fol. 98v.





fig. 9. Painter active in Dijon (Guillaume Spicre?), *Rite of the Elevation of the Host during Mass*, circa 1450–1460. Guillaume Durand, *Rational des divins offices*. Beaune, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 21, fol. 101.



fig. 10. Illuminator active in Burgundy, *Mass of Saint Gregory*, circa 1460–1470. Book of Hours for the use of Paris. Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 141, fol. 66.



fig. 11. Jean de Montluçon, *Mass of Saint Gregory*, circa 1490–1494. Book of Hours for the use of Rome. Paris, BnF, Mss., Latin 1363, fol. 122.

#### ECHOES OF THE JAMOT MASS OF SAINT GREGORY

Finally, the cornerstone of François Avril's demonstration and the starting point of his investigation is naturally the Book of Hours reproducing the composition of the Musée du Louvre's panel that we mentioned in the introduction (Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 141). Although slightly later — the manuscript is datable to the years 1460–1470 — the illumination introducing the short office of the Holy Sacrament on folio 66 reproduces the main elements of the painted composition with astonishing precision, with the obvious exception of the donor, and with a few differences in the spatial arrangement (fig. 10). The more vigorous attitude of Christ in the illuminated version is also noted, with the artist here abandoning the Parisian tradition of the beginning of the century to correspond more closely to the model established by Campin.

The Burgundian — and most certainly Dijon — destination of the Book of Hours is attested by the composition of the text, whose litanies include very many names of Burgundian saints, including Saint Benignus and Saint Philibert, mentioned a second time in the suffrages. The local production of the manuscript is corroborated by the style of the illuminations which, despite their rather modest quality overall and the ten or fifteen year gap separating them from the panel, clearly belong to the same artistic trend developed in Dijon in the mid-15th century, which in this case is more marked by the model of Rogier van der Weyden.

Recently, another echo of the *Jamot Mass of Saint Gregory* has appeared to us. It is an illumination representing the same theme painted in a Book of Hours made at a noticeably later period, probably in the early 1490s (fig. 11). While the passage of time has led to profound transformations in the way space is conceived, the same motif is nevertheless recognizable. This is not the almost exact copy that François Avril identified in the

Besançon manuscript, but rather a free adaptation of the Dijon panel, which the illuminator certainly had the opportunity to admire in Dijon. We recognize this latter as Jean de Montluçon, a painter active in Bourges during the second half of the 15th century, whose style indeed suggests contacts with Burgundy. For his composition, he lowers the horizon line and drastically simplifies the space by blocking the perspective with a simple wall with pilasters. He also abandons the bi-chrome pavement, which highlighted and accentuated the effect of perspective in the original composition. Nevertheless, the relationship to the Musée du Louvre's panel is attested by the very particular way the saint holds the Host, spreading his cramped fingers out like a fan.

These examples show not only how much artists observe and draw inspiration from the works of art available to them, even several generations apart, but also the role of illumination in the reception and dissemination of these major models. The study of illumination — of which François Avril was one of the greatest advocates — has thus perfectly demonstrated its relevance and the role it had to play in research into the history of art in the 15th century.



END NOTES

[1] F. Avril, N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France. 1440–1520*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, October 16, 1993–January 16, 1994), Paris, 1993.

[2] Paris, musée du Louvre, Dép. des Peintures, RF 1941 8. F. Avril, “L’origine bourguignonne de la Messe de saint Grégoire Jamot, in *Hommage à Michel Laclotte: études sur la peinture du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, ed. R. Bacou and P. Rosenberg, Milan, 1994, p. 152–163.

[3] G. Ring, *La peinture française du quinzième siècle*, London, 1949, p. 220, n° 167; Ch. Sterling, *La peinture française. Les primitifs*, Paris, 1938, p. 136, 138.

[4] J. Dupont, “La Messe de saint Grégoire”, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th period, t. VI, 1931, p. 284–288.

[5] Ch. Sterling, “La peinture sur panneau picarde et son rayonnement dans le nord de la France au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art français*, 1979, p. 31, 34.

[6] J. Thuillier, “Un tableau de la Chartreuse de Champmol”, *À travers l’art français (du Moyen Âge au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris, 1978, p. 107–114.

[7] D. Jacquot, “Paul Jamot (1863–1939) et l’histoire “nationale” de l’art”, *Histoire de l’art*, 47, 2000, p. 29–41.

[8] The work is now on display at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon (inv. RF 3148).

[9] *Beaux-Arts. Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité*, January 1931, p. 9.

[10] In 1935, the work was already listed in Paul Jamot’s collection at the Brussels *Exposition Universelle*, where it was exhibited: *Cinq siècles d’art. Tome 1. Peintures. Art ancien bruxellois et sections étrangères*, exhibition catalogue (Brussels, May 24–October 13, 1935), Brussels, p. 208, n° 903.

[11] F. Joubert, “Nouvelles propositions sur la personnalité artistique de Pierre Spicre”, in *La Splendeur des Rolin. Un mécénat privé à la cour de Bourgogne*, B. Maurice-Chabard (dir.), 1999, p. 169–191.

[12] F. Elsig, *Peindre à Dijon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2016, p. 37.

The Saumaize Hours

Book of Hours for the use of Rome  
Illuminated manuscript on parchment, Latin and French  
Original binding, wooden boards covered in black velvet

PRICE UPON REQUEST



The Saumaize Hours.  
Discovery of a manuscript from Dijon around 1500





5

WHAT'S MORE

Master of Antiphonary Q in San Giorgio Maggiore



Discovery of a miniature from the Antiphonary of San Giorgio Maggiore



# THROW BACK



*REMARKABLE UNIQUENESS*

Between March 8 and April 12, 2025, our third exhibition, *REMARKABLE UNIQUENESS*, took place in our premises in Champel. The exhibition presented a selection of artworks spanning several centuries, from the dawn of the 12th century to the present day. As the title *REMARKABLE UNIQUENESS* suggests, the works were chosen for their remarkable singularity — particularly for their unique visual and aesthetic power. A perfect example of this was the German altarpiece fragment painted around 1460–1480 by a talented artist and depicting *Saint Valentine and Saint Giles*, which served as the centerpiece of the exhibition. This German painting was shown alongside two works by the artist Harald Erath (born in 1984 in Germany, lives and works in Zurich). The poignant stylistic and symbolic relationship between these paintings and the German altarpiece fragment formed the conceptual heart of our exhibition. The dialogue between the late medieval piece and the two contemporary works highlights an aspect especially dear to us: the timelessness of art and the influence of past artistic production on contemporary creation. By presenting side by side an altarpiece fragment from around 1460–1480 and two contemporary paintings, we sought to question our relationship with ancient art and its codes. Harald Erath’s art — steeped in a rich cultural and artistic heritage that draws from late medieval imagery — acts as a window opened onto art from the past. Several other works in the exhibition emphasized this same idea — among them, the initial “H” taken from an Atlantic Bible produced in Rome around 1100. The motifs, colors, design, and state of preservation of this initial give it a modern aesthetic that complements its eight hundred years of history. In other words, the exhibition *REMARKABLE UNIQUENESS* underscored the timelessness that characterizes great works of art, re-contextualizing centuries-old pieces within our modern world.

# THROW BACK



*THE GOLD LEAF NIGHT*

The year 2025 also marked the first edition of our new event, *THE GOLD LEAF NIGHT*, which was held on Saturday, May 24, 2025. This private event, designed for those curious to learn more about ancient art and the fascinating world of illuminated manuscripts and miniatures, combined art discovery and joyful celebration. *THE GOLD LEAF NIGHT* highlighted our deepest conviction: to integrate the art of the past into our modern world, enriching our daily lives with its unique beauty and rich history. The evening was organized not in our Champel premises but in a private villa on the shores of Lake Geneva, allowing our guests to experience artworks in a more lively and personal setting. *THE GOLD LEAF NIGHT* celebrates both the timelessness of treasures from the past as well as the curiosity that drives us to discover, learn and enjoy more — a curiosity that enriches our everyday lives. In that spirit, and to share our passion for medieval illuminated manuscripts and miniatures, we also organized an unusual surprise: one lucky guest left the event with their very own medieval illumination from a Book of Hours. *THE GOLD LEAF NIGHT* event runs alongside our new program *AREN'T YOU CURIOUS?*, a special program dedicated to those wishing to learn and discover more about the fascinating world of illuminated manuscripts and miniatures from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, as well as about building a collection of ancient artworks. This program offers a range of personalized services for new collectors and art enthusiasts, with particular attention to the key questions that arise when acquiring ancient artworks — from expertise, provenance, and conservation to insurance and transport, and more. *THE GOLD LEAF NIGHT* is then followed by *THE GOLD LEAF SHOW*, an exclusive exhibition open by appointment, offering to anyone whose curiosity was sparked the opportunity to view a selection of our artworks outside our main premises.



*Jean Hortart (the Master of the Vienna Roman de la Rose)*



*A miniature depicting Saint Luke writing the Gospel, from a Book of Hours*

*Catherine Saint-Ours (?)*



*Swiss art from the former collection of Hippolyte-Jean Gosse*



NOTABLE SALE

Discovery of two illuminated leaves from a Book of Hours illuminated by Jean de Montluçon, French artist active in Bourges, whose first monograph is currently being published

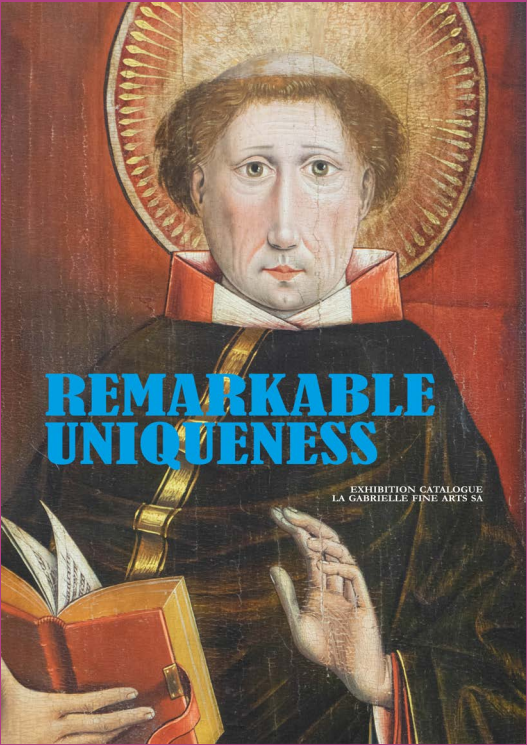
Both sold to a Swiss private collector, in 2025



JEAN DE MONTLUÇON

Active in Bourges (France), second half of the 15th century  
*Saint Luke painting the Virgin*, c. 1480. Illuminated leaf from a Book of Hours, 166 x 119 mm

Switzerland, private collection



DISCOVER OUR PUBLICATIONS





*Gaspare Venturini (?)*



*The Crucifixion, c. 1590-1600*

*Gaspare Venturini (?)*



*The Resurrection of Christ, c. 1590-1600*



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Essay | Current research on painting in Dijon in the 15th and early 16th centuries

Paris, Musée du Louvre (opening image); Washington, National Gallery of Art (fig. 1); Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza (fig. 2); Chambolle-Musigny (fig. 3 & 5); Dijon, musée des Beaux-Arts (fig. 4, 6 & 8); archives of the author (fig. 7, 10, 12, 13 & 14); La Valette, Bibliothèque nationale de Malte (fig. 9); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (fig. 11).

Focus on | The Saumaize Hours. Discovery of a Manuscript from Dijon around 1500

Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale (fig. 1 & 3) ; London, British Museum (fig. 2) ; Montreal, McGill University (fig. 4) ; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (fig. 6, 9 & 11) ; archives of the author (fig. 9) ; Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale (fig. 10) ; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (fig. 8).

From our guest | The Jamot Mass of Saint Gregory: illumination in support of the study of panel paintings

Paris, Musée du Louvre (opening image & fig. 1); Paris, musée national Eugène Delacroix (fig. 2); Chalon-sur-Saône, Musée Vivant Denon (fig. 3); Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (fig. 4); Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts (fig. 5); Dijon, Archives hospitalières (fig. 6 & 7); Beaune, Bibliothèque municipale (fig. 8 & 9); Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale (fig. 10); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (fig. 11).

All other photographs were taken by Nelson Iso and are property of La Gabrielle Fine Arts SA.

The so-called Wrest Park Hours. Bruges, c. 1460



Richly illuminated Book of Hours, with fourteen large paintings





**D**omine ne in furore tuo  
corripuas me neque in  
ira tua corripuas me  
Misere mei domine quoniam





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