Flemish Manuscript Painting in Context

Recent Research

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Edited by Elizabeth Morrison and Thomas Kren

A companion to the Getty's prize-winning exhibition catalogue *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, this volume contains thirteen selected papers presented at the two conferences held in conjunction with that exhibition. The first was organized by the Getty Museum, and the second was held at the Courtauld Institute of Art under the sponsorship of the Courtauld Institute and the Royal Academy of Arts. Added here is an essay by Margaret Scott on the role of dress during the reign of Charles the Bold.

Texts include Lorne Campbell's research into Rogier van der Weyden's work as an illuminator, Nancy Turner's investigation of materials and methods of painting in Flemish manuscripts, and trenchant commentary by Jonathan Alexander and James Marrow on the state of current research on Flemish illumination. A recurring theme is the structure of collaboration in manuscript production. The essays also reveal an important new patron of manuscript illumination and address the role of illuminated manuscripts at the Burgundian court. A series of biographies of Burgundian scribes is featured.

About the Editors
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with 106 color and 57 black-and-white illustrations

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Based on symposia held at

the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

(September 5–6, 2003), and at

the Courtauld Institute of Art, London

(February 21, 2004, under the

sponsorship of the Courtauld Institute

and the Royal Academy of Arts),

with an additional essay by Margaret Scott

Front cover
Simon Bening, *Saint Luke* (detail, fig. 6.1).

Back cover
Attributed to the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian (Alexander Bening?), painted border with dragonfly (detail, fig. 13.5).

Frontispiece
Clockwise from upper left: Master of Edward IV, *Mary Magdalene* (detail, fig. 2.12); Master of Fitzwilliam 268, *Herdsmen Tityrus and Melibeous* (detail, fig. 10.1); Ghent Associate of the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, *Virgin and Child with Jan van der Scaghe and Anne de Memere* (detail, fig. 1.1); Master of Antoine Rolin, painted border with crying eyes (detail, fig. 13.4); Master of James IV of Scotland, painted border with *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (fig. 5.22); Attributed to the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian (Alexander Bening?), painted border with dragonfly (detail, fig. 13.5); Master of Girart de Roussilon, *The Wedding of Girart de Roussilon and Berthe* (detail, fig. 4.9); Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, *Mary of Burgundy(?) Reading Her Devotions* (detail, fig. 4.5); *center*: Rogier van der Weyden, *Presentation of the Manuscript to Philip the Good* (detail, fig. 7.1).

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Master of James IV of Scotland, *The Tower of Babel*, in the Grimani Breviary (detail, fig. 13.6).

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Part 4: Directions for Further Research

Preface

While working on the catalogue for *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, we and our colleague Scot McKendrick, who coorganized the exhibition with Thomas Kren, were constantly reminded of the extraordinary vitality of research in the field of Flemish manuscript illumination. Even as entries and essays for the catalogue were being completed for editing, new articles, exhibition catalogues, and books were appearing that dealt with one aspect or another of the sprawling topic of Flemish book painting between 1470 and 1560. While there was clearly a need for a synthetic treatment of the subject in the form of an exhibition and a catalogue, the tremendous scope and richness of the literature that had preceded our endeavor, going back 150 years, often gave us pause. And there seemed to be noteworthy additions to the literature every month. Thus, when the opportunity arose to hold symposia in conjunction with both the Los Angeles and London presentations of the exhibition, significant scholarship was easy to identify, sometimes happily arising from the exhibition itself. If anything, the two conferences proved insufficient to feature all the new research. In the catalogue itself we had deliberately limited the number of contributors in order to give the volume as unified a scholarly perspective as possible. The conferences offered the opportunity for a broader range of voices, viewpoints, and methodologies to be heard.

This volume includes a selection of the papers that were presented at the two symposia. The first was held at the Getty Museum in Los Angeles on September 5–6, 2003, under the auspices of the museum, and the second took place at the Courtauld Institute in London on February 21, 2004, under the sponsorship of the Courtauld Institute and the Royal Academy of Art. We have also included a related paper, with changes, by Margaret Scott that was delivered in the *Illuminating the Renaissance* lecture series at the Getty on August 7, 2003. The papers encompass a variety of approaches to the material, including traditional studies in the form of essays on individual illuminators, their chronologies, and the definition of their production; cross-disciplinary research that takes into account cultural influences; examination of fashions in Flemish book design; analysis of manuscript illumination by a paintings specialist; and new methods of stylistic analysis abetted by scientific technology. One of the themes that recurs in many of the papers concerns the evidence of collaboration of different kinds within the production of a given manuscript or project. Some of the essays respond to particular issues raised in the catalogue, while others present entirely different themes and avenues of research.

We are grateful to Deborah Gribbon and William Griswold, former director and former acting director, respectively, of the Getty Museum, as well as our new director, Michael Brand, for supporting a program of scholarly symposia in conjunction with the museum's exhibition program. We also thank John Lowden and Scot McKendrick for organizing the Courtauld event. We are indebted to the contributors for their original talks and for their efforts in turning their papers into publishable essays, often by taking into account the lively discussion and debate that ensued at the symposia. Many were helpful in the

revision of their colleagues' papers. Maryan Ainsworth offered helpful counsel in the formulation of this volume and in the shaping of several papers. Finally, we would like to thank Scot McKendrick once again, for his characteristic thoughtfulness and generosity in serving as an adviser to this publication.

While this volume is intended as a companion to the exhibition catalogue for *Illuminating the Renaissance*, it is also a sequel to a previous symposium on Flemish manuscript illumination, "Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal," held at the Getty in 1990 and published in 1992. We are especially indebted to Richard Gay, Rita Keane, and Brandi Franzman, who assisted with the planning and expertly handled the administration of the symposium in Los Angeles. Mark Greenberg, editor in chief, and his fine staff in the Publications Department are responsible for the production of this handsome book. Dinah Berland, editor; Karen Jacobson, copy editor; Anita Keys, production coordinator; and Kurt Hauser, designer, were part of the same superb team that produced the catalogue for *Illuminating the Renaissance*.

Thomas Kren
Elizabeth Morrison

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CHAPTER I

Jan van der Scaghe and Anne de Memere, the First Owners of the Hours of 1480 in the Abbey Library at Nová Říše

Lorne Campbell

ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL REVELATIONS OF THE GETTY Museum's exhibition *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* was the book of hours from the Premonstratensian Abbey of Nová Říše in the Czech Republic. On display were folios 16v and 17 (figs. 1.1, 1.2).[1] The first owners, represented praying before the Virgin and Child on folio 16v, tried hard to ensure that they would be remembered. On the added folios 16 and 17,[2] they included their portraits; their coats of arms; their initials, *I* and *A*; their mottoes, "Je ne puis" and "Tous iours ioieuls";[3] the date 1480; and a prayer in Dutch to the Virgin and Child, in which the initial letters of the lines form acrostics of their names (figs. 1.2, 1.3). Because scholars had not noticed the acrostics, the couple remained unidentified. The acrostics name them IAN VAN DER SCAGHE and TANNEKIN SMEMTRS. The illuminator of the initials made a mistake in the thirteenth line on folio 17v, where he wrote *T* instead of *E* (see fig. 1.3). The line should read "*E*enpaerlic ghy draechd /[Raed. troost. ghestadich]," and the woman's surname should be SMEMERS, 's Memers or de Memere.[4] Tannekin is a diminutive form of Anne; her name is therefore Anne de Memere. It will be shown that Anne used the coat of arms represented in the Nová Říše manuscript, or else a chevron sable between three annulets(?) gules.[5] The van der Scaghe family of Ghent used the coat of arms shown for the man: argent a chevron gules between three molettes of eight points gules.[6] The man is Jan van der Scaghe, and the lady is his wife, Anne de Memere.

Anne de Memere and her sister were the last of a family that had prospered in Ypres (Ieper) between about 1375 and about 1445. Although no de Memere took an active part in the government of the town, they intermarried with its leading families.[7] Born in about 1439, Anne was one of the four children of Jan de Memere, who died in about 1445 and who owned two houses near the Menen Gate as well as land in the surrounding districts, at Zonnebeke, Geluveld, Wijtschate, Dikkebus, and Vlamertinge.[8] Anne's widowed mother, Anne de Brievere, married as her second husband Roeland Bryde, who in 1450 inherited the lordship of Boezinge and who died in or after 1461. He was frequently an alderman or councillor of Ypres, fought on the Burgundian side during the revolt of Ghent, and was described in 1455 by Philip the Good as "notre amez et feal escuier," who had served him in the Ghent war and in other ways.[9] With his parents, Joos Bryde and Yolande Belle, and with his siblings, Roeland was represented kneeling before the Virgin and Child in the memorial picture of Yolande Belle, who died on February 1, 1421.[10]

Figure 1.1
Ghent Associate of the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. *Virgin and Child with Jan van der Scaghe and Anne de Memere*, in the Hours of Jan van der Scaghe and Anne de Memere. Nová Říše, Premonstratensian Abbey of Nová Říše, Ms. 10, fol. 16v.

Figure 1.2
Prayer, in the Hours of Jan van der Scaghe and Anne de Memere. Nová Říše, Premonstratensian Abbey of Nová Říše, Ms. 10, fol. 17.

Figure 1.3
Prayer, in the Hours of Jan van der Scaghe and Anne de Memere. Nová Říše, Premonstratensian Abbey of Nová Říše, Ms. 10, fol. 17v.

Anne's brother, Adriaan de Memere, and their sister Catharina died young. Her other sister, Marie, married in about 1460 Christiaan de Wale, a rich widower who was frequently an alderman[11] and who went in 1468 to Bruges as one of the representatives of Ypres at the marriage festivities of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York.[12] In 1466 Christiaan had acted as procurator for Anne's first husband.[13]

Anne de Memere would have met her first husband, Guilbert de Ruple, in Ypres, where, between 1454 and 1463, he was an official of the Council of Flanders, then established in the town. He came from Poperinge and was Philip the Good's receiver general of all the finances between 1464 and 1467, Charles the Bold's *argentier* between 1468 and 1470, again receiver general between 1471 and 1472, treasurer of wars between 1472 and 1473, and master of Margaret of York's *chambre aux deniers* in 1474.[14] Anne and Guilbert were married at Ypres on April 26, 1457.[15] In 1471 they joined the Bruges Confraternity of the Dry Tree.[16] Guilbert died in 1474. Anne almost immediately became a burgess of Ypres. By 1476 she had married Jan van der Scaghe,[17] and their book of hours is dated 1480, when Anne would have been about forty.

The date of her death is not known; no references to any children have been found. Her coat of arms—impaled with that of her first husband, Guilbert de Ruple—appeared on his tomb in the Church of Saint Bertin at Poperinge. It was copied in a sixteenth-century collection of epitaphs in the University Library in Ghent (fig. 1.4). The same arms can still be seen carved into the stonework of the Sacrament Chapel there, formerly the Lady Chapel,[18] and correspond to the coat of arms represented in the Nová Říše manuscript.
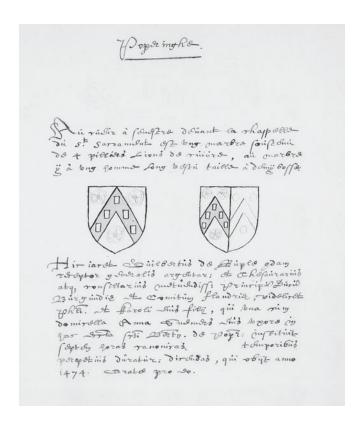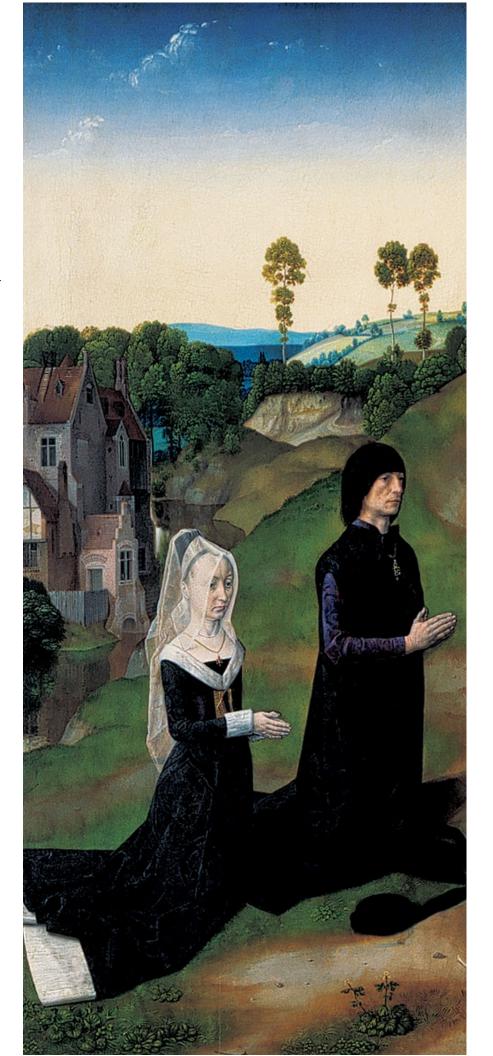

Figure 1.4
Epitaph of Guilbert de Ruple and Anne de Memere, from the *Epitaphier de Flandre*. Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. G. 12925, fol. 102.

Figure 1.5
Hugo van der Goes. *Hippolyte de Berthoz and Elisabeth Hugheyns*, from the Saint Hippolytus Triptych (left wing), ca. 1475. Oil on oak, 91 × 40 cm (35⅞ × 15¾ in.). Bruges, Cathedral of Saint Salvator.

Jan van der Scaghe came from a prominent Ghent family that inter-married with the Utenhoves and the Borluuts.[19] His father, another Jan van der Scaghe, was bailiff of the Abbey of Saint Peter in Ghent,[20] and they owned estates in the district south of Ghent.[21] Jan's mother was Jacqueline van de Wyncle, and he had four sisters, one of whom, Elisabeth, married Jacob de Gruutere and died, "venerable and distinguished," in 1516.[22] By 1464–65 Jan—his name frenchified as Haquinet de le Scaghe—was clerk to the receiver general Guilbert de Ruple (Anne de Memere's first husband),[23] and he remained in his service while he was *argentier*. In August 1469 "Jehanin" or "Jehan de Le Staghe," clerk to the *argentier*, was sent from The Hague to Bruges to collect, from the goldsmith Gérard Loyet, two collars of the Golden Fleece and, from a priest named Jehan d'Inghelsche, "ung ancien livret" that belonged to Charles the Bold.[24] The priest had copied into it several prayers and "choses salutaires" and had commissioned for it six "ymages."[25] Entrusted with large amounts of money, Jan also traveled to Burgundy and then, in the company of Guillaume de La Baume, to Bern.[26]

Between 1471 and 1473 Jan was *commis à la recette générale de Bourgogne*, in effect receiver of the duchy of Burgundy; his principal function at Dijon was to repay various debts owed by Charles the Bold in Basel and else-where.[27] In December 1473 he was made receiver of the taxes known as *aides* in Holland and Friesland.[28] By 1476 he had married Anne;[29] by 1477 he was counselor to Maximilian;[30] and between 1477 and 1479 he was receiver of the Bruges District of Flanders.[31] Because many of the receivers' accounts from this troubled time have been lost, it has not been possible to chart exactly his sub-sequent career, but he was described in October 1480 as receiver general of Flanders,[32] in September 1482 as receiver of the extraordinary revenues of Flanders,[33] and in August 1483[34] and October 1484[35] as receiver general of Flanders. In 1484 he was counselor to Maximilian.[36] In 1485[37] and April 1489[38] he was called receiver general of Flanders; in 1494 he was receiver of the extraordinary revenues of Flanders.[39] In 1504 and 1510 he was once again described as receiver general of Flanders.[40] Although he is said to have been buried with his father in the Dominican church in Ghent and to have died in 1483,[41] the epitaph collectors were not infallible, and the date of death is clearly mistaken. He appears to have died during the 1510s.[42] After the death of Anne, he married a second wife, Margaretha van Hemsbrouck.[43] It has not been possible to establish whether he had children.

The portraits of Jan and Anne in the Nová Říše Hours are reminiscent of the portraits of Hippolyte de Berthoz and his wife, Elisabeth Hugheyns, that were added by Hugo van der Goes to a triptych of the martyrdom of Saint Hippolytus begun by Dirk Bouts (fig. 1.5).[44] Like Jan van der Scaghe, Hippolyte de Berthoz had been, in 1472, in the service of Guilbert de Ruple.[45] He and Jan must have been acquainted; Jan probably knew about the works of art that Hippolyte commissioned.

The receivers general of all the finances, including Guilbert de Ruple, and the receivers general of rich counties and duchies like Flanders and Burgundy, including Jan van der Scaghe, were powerful and rich men whose receiverships usually enabled them to become still richer. Most came from relatively obscure backgrounds; several, like Jan van der Scaghe, started their careers as clerks. They were upwardly mobile men on the make who frequently managed to become landowners and to have themselves ennobled. They or their children often intermarried with noble families; many of their descendants were to be absorbed into the nobility.[46] The activities of these "new men" and their wives as patrons of the arts should be further investigated. That would make possible a reassessment of the relative significance of the ruling dynasty, the old nobility, and the "new men" in the development of the new style of illumination.

It would be interesting to identify the building in the lower-right corner of the Nová Říše miniature and to understand the importance that it held for the couple. More should be discovered about them, their residences, their devices, and their mottoes. In 1480, the date of the miniature, Jan was described as a parishioner of Saint Mary's and Saint Peter's in Ghent.[47] It may prove possible to identify the illuminator — one of the "Ghent Associates" of the Master of Mary of Burgundy[48] — and to make connections between Jan and Anne and the later owners of the book, who wrote on folio 1 names and passages in Latin and Italian.[49]

Notes

This essay could not have been written without the help of Albert Derolez, Jan Dumolyn, Jelle Haemers, Anne Korteweg, Thomas Kren, Scot McKendrick, Elizabeth Morrison, Kristof Papin, Catherine Reynolds, Nancy Turner, Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, and Lieve Watteeuw. To all of them I am exceedingly grateful.

1. Thomas Kren, in Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 180–81, no. 36. See also J. Cibulka and A. Matějček, "Francouzské a flámské iluminované rukopisy v knihovně Premonstrátské Kanonie v Nová Říši. (Soupisné pšíspěvky)," *Památky archeologické / Monuments archéologiques: Revue pour l'archéologie préhistorique et pour l'histoire des beaux-arts en Tchéco-Slovaquie* 34 (1924–25): 22–40, esp. 31–37 and pls. XVI–XIX; Bodo Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreiches: Der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 124–29, 393, color pls. 11–14, black-and-white pls. 107–10.
2. Folio 16 is pasted to folio 15, the last folio of one of the two ternions of the calendar; folio 17 is an insertion held by a stub and by sewing; the next gathering starts on folio 18. I am grateful to Elizabeth Morrison, who, on my behalf, examined the manuscript and checked its collation.
3. These are perhaps answering mottoes with the sense "Je ne puis [être] toujours joyeux" (I cannot be always joyful).
4. It was Albert Derolez who, in 2003, first pointed out to me the scribe's mistake and who, in consultation with Jan Dumolyn, first identified the lady.
5. The "annulets" appear in perspective.
6. The coat of arms appeared on the tomb of Jan and his father, once in the Dominican church at Ghent (*Graf- en gedenkschriften Oost Vlaanderen*, 2nd ser., *Kloosterkerken, Gent*, pt. 1 [Ghent, 1866], Predikheerenkerk, 24, no. 30); on various seals used by Jan (see J.-Th. De Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés des Pays-Bas et des pays avoisinants* [Brussels: Société belge de librairie, 1897–1901], vol. 3, 367; on a seal used in 1478 and 1479, before his father's death, a label differenced the arms); in various armorials (see, for instance, Paul Bergmans, *Armorial de Flandre du XVIe siècle, familles et communes flamandes—métiers gantois* [Brussels: G. van Oest, 1919], fol. 69, no. 737), and in Philippe de l'Espinoy,

Recherches des antiquitez et noblesse de Flandres (Douai, 1632), 648, 669, etc.
7. Kristof Papin most kindly sent information from the Merghelynck papers (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Section des Manuscrits, Fonds Merghelynck; copies in the Stadsarchief at Ypres), which contain information transcribed from records in the old Stadsarchief of Ypres, destroyed in 1914.
8. Information sent by Kristof Papin and taken from the Merghelynck transcripts, particularly that of the Weeskamer record of 1448 concerning the estate of Jan de Memere. Papin deduced Anne's date of birth from the fact that in 1457 she relieved her guardians of their responsibilities, presumably because, at eighteen, she had attained her majority.
9. Arthur Merghelynck, *Recueil de généalogies inédites de Flandre dressées sur titres et d'après d'anciens manuscrits* (Bruges, 1877), vol. 2, 454; Kristof Papin, "Een hertogelijk parvenu in het kluwen van de heersende machtsverhoudingen in de Ieperse stad en kasselrij omstreeks het midden van de 15de eeuw: De mislukte benoeming van Roeland Bryde tot ontvanger van de kasselrij Ieper," *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, n.s., 56 (2002): 93–109 (quotation on 102). Bryde had also served Philip's illegitimate son Cornelis, who had been killed during the Ghent war.
10. Ypres, Museum Godshuis Belle; reproduced in Margaret Scott, *Late Gothic Europe, 1400–1500* (London: Mills and Boon, 1980), 106. See also R. H. Marijnissen, *Schilderijen: Echt, fraude, vals: Moderne onderzoekingsmethoden van de schilderijenexpertise* (Brussels: Elsevier, 1985), 354–61, who suggested that the painting might be a seventeenth-century copy.
11. Once again, I must acknowledge the generous help of Kristof Papin, who provided this information; Christiaan's first wife and the mother of two of his children was Catharina Belle (Merghelynck, *Recueil de généalogies*, vol. 1, 121, 200).
12. Willem Pieter Blockmans, *Handelingen van de Leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen, 1467–1477* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1971), 28–29. Christiaan went with two horses and was away from Ypres for fourteen days.
13. De Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés*, vol. 4, 187.
14. Kristof Papin, "Guilbert de Ruple: Biografie van een topman uit de Bourgondische financiële administratie," *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor*

Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent, n.s., 52 (1999): 99–123.
15. Jan Dumolyn, *Staatsvorming en vorstelijke ambtenaren in het graafschap Vlaanderen (1419–1477)* (Antwerp and Apeldoorn: Garant, 2003, and Proso Data [CD-ROM], s.v. Guilbert de Ruple), has discovered an undated letter (Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, 12 G 29) in which Guilbert, clerk to Jan Wielant, *greffier* of the Council of Flanders, invited the Chapter of Saint Peter's in Lille to his forthcoming marriage at Ypres on Tuesday, April 26, to Anne, daughter of deceased Jehan de Memere. Dumolyn dated the letter 1440, but it is clearly from 1457, when April 26 again fell on a Tuesday.
16. Bruges, Stadsarchief, Gilde Droogenboom, Ledenlijst van de gilde, fol. 13.
17. Papin, "Guilbert de Ruple," 119, 121.
18. Papin, "Guilbert de Ruple," 117.
19. See, for example, Philippe de l'Espinoy, *Recherches*, 243; Stroobant, "Notice historique et généalogique sur les seigneurs d'Oisquercq et du Val," *Annales de l'Académie d'archéologie de Belgique* 5 (1848): 351–432, esp. 369; and particularly J. Wyseur, "De familie Utenhove en de Bourgondische staatsvorming (ca. 1384–ca. 1460)" (Ph.D. diss., licentiaatsverhandeling, Ghent, 2000), vol. 2, 101–5. Once again, I must acknowledge the generous help of Jelle Haemers, who brought this dissertation to my attention and sent notes on the relevant pages.
20. *Kloosterkerken, Gent*, pt. 1, Predikheerenkerk, 24, no. 30. According to his epitaph, he died on February 9, 1480–81.
21. At Melle and Wetteren, Moortzele and Lemberge: see Frans De Potter and Jan Broeckaert, *Geschiedenis van de gemeenten der provincie Oost-Vlaanderen*, 1st ser., *Arrondissement Gent* (Ghent, 1864–70), vol. 5, Moortzele, 4 n. 5; A. De Vos, *Inventaris der landbouwpachten in de Gentse Jaarregisters van de Keure: Verhandelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* (Ghent, 1958–60), vol. 1, 106, 129, 134, 161, 169, 172, and vol. 2, 11, 14, 20.
22. Wyseur, "De familie Utenhove" (see note 19); *Kloosterkerken, Gent*, pt. 1, Predikheerenkerk (see note 6), 38.
23. Papin, "Guilbert de Ruple," 119 n. 122.
24. Anke Greve, Emilie Lebailly, and Werner Paravicini, *Comptes de l'argentier de Charles le Téméraire, duc de Bourgogne*, vol. 2, *Année 1469* (Paris: Boccard, 2002), 146, no. 559, 148–49, no. 569. In the same month, Charles received his famous prayer book illuminated by Lieven van Lathem: see Kren, in Kren and

McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 128–31.

25. Greve et al., *Comptes de l'argentier*, vol. 2, 414, no. 1534.

26. Greve et al., *Comptes d l'argentier*, vol. 2, 205–6, no. 756, 212, no. 776.

27. John Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finances au XVe siècle: Les Conseillers des ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels: J. Duculot, 1955–57), 46 n. 2; Pierre Cockshaw, "La Comptabilité publique dans les états bourguignons: L'exemple des comptes généraux," in *Mélanges offertes à Claire Dickstein-Bernard*, ed. P. Bonenfant and P. Cockshaw (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique and Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, 1999), 37–106, esp. 83.

28. Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finances*, 46 n. 2; Papin, "Guilbert de Ruple," 119.

29. Papin, "Guilbert de Ruple," 119.

30. Papin, "Guilbert de Ruple," 119.

31. L.-P. Gachard, *Inventaire des archives des Chambres des comptes, précédé d'une notice historique sur ces anciennes institutions*, vols. 2–3 (Brussels: Hayez, 1845–51), vol. 2, 33, 145, 163, and vol. 3, 211, 215; H. Nélis, *Inventaire des archives des Chambres des comptes* (Brussels: Hayez, 1931), vol. 6, 146; De Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés*, vol. 3, 367.

32. Monique Vleeschouwers-van Melkebeek, *Compotus sigilliferi curie Tornacensis: Rekeningen van de officialiteit van Doornik 1429–1481* (Brussels: Commission royale d'histoire, 1995), vol. 2, 1183, no. 16409. Throughout the period 1480–97, Roland Le Fèvre, a loyal supporter of Maximilian of Austria, also held this title and office. See Nicolaes Despars, *Cronijcke van den lande ende graefscepe van Vlaenderen . . . van de jaeren 405 tot 1492 . . .* , ed. J. De Jonghe, 2nd ed. (Bruges; Rotterdam: W. Messchert, 1839–40), vol. 4, 237, 273, 288, 330, etc.; Gachard, *Inventaire*, vol. 2, 500, and vol. 3, 396; E. Feys and D. van de Casteele, *Histoire d'Oudenbourg* (Bruges: Imprimerie d'Aimé de Zuttere, 1873–78), vol. 2, 482; E. Feys, "Roland le Fèvre," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation pour l'Étude de l'Histoire et des Antiquités de la Flandre*, 5th ser., 4 (1891): 351–71; R. Wellens, "Fèvre (Roland Le)," in *Biographie nationale . . . de Belgique*, vol. 35, *Supplément*, vol. 7 (Brussels, 1970), cols. 260–62.

33. De Potter and Broeckaert, *Geschiedenis*, 4 n. 5.

34. A. Pinchart, *Inventaire des archives des Chambres des comptes* (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1879), vol. 5, 83.

35. A. Pinchart, *Inventaire des archives des Chambres des comptes* (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1865), vol. 4, 28.

36. C. Dehaisnes, *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Nord, Série B* (Lille, 1881), vol. 4, 264–65.

37. Feys and van de Casteele, *Histoire d'Oudenbourg*, 474; De Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés*, vol. 3, 367.

38. Feys and van de Casteele, *Histoire d'Oudenbourg*, 481.

39. Myriam Carlier, *Kinderen van de minne? Bastaarden in het vijftiende- eeuwse Vlaanderen* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 2001), 140 (Jan's name is misprinted here and on p. 161 as "van der Scraghe").

40. S. Th. E. Brekelmans, E. J. Schreuder, and C. L. Verkerk, *Chronologische lijsten van der geëxtendeerde sententiën berustende in het archief van de Grote Raad van Mechelen*, vol. 2, *1504–1531* (Brussels: Koninklijke Commissie voor de Uitgave der Oude Wetten en Verordeningen van Belgie, 1971), 14, 97.

41. *Kloosterkerken, Gent*, pt. 1 (Ghent, 1866), Predikheerenkerk, 24, no. 30: 'Sepulture van Jan Vander Schaeghen, 's voorseyts Jans sone, raedt ons gheduchts Heeren 's Hertoghen van Bourgoingnen, grave van Vlaendren, ende syne ontfangher generael van Vlaendren, die over-leet in 't jaer m. cccc. lxxxiij, den . . . " The church was destroyed in 1566.

42. De Vos, *Inventaris der landbouwpachten*, vol. 2, 11, 14, 20.

43. Wyseur, "De familie Utenhove" (see note 19).

44. Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, "Étude et datation du *Triptyque de Saint Hippolyte* (Cathédrale Saint-Sauveur à Bruges)," in *Bouts Studies: Proceedings of the International Colloquium (Leuven, 26–28 November 1998)*, ed. Bert Cardon et al. (Louvain: Peeters, 2001), 11–18.

45. For Hippolyte's career, see Mireille Jean, *La Chambre des Comptes de Lille (1477–1667): L'Institution et les hommes* (Paris: École des Chartes, 1992), 284–85.

46. Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finances*, passim; for lists of the receivers during the period 1372–1477, see Cockshaw, "La Comptabilité publique," 53–106.

47. Vleeschouwers-van Melkebeek, *Compotus sigilliferi curie Tornacensis*, vol. 2, 1183, no. 16409.

48. Kren, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 179–81.

49. Cibulka and Matějček, "Francouzské a flámské iluminované rukopisy," 32.

The Undecorated Margin:
The Fashion for Luxury Books without Borders

Catherine Reynolds

MANY ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS HAVE UNDECORATED MARGINS. This investigation concerns the convention, evident in the Netherlands from the mid-fifteenth century, of luxury books in which miniatures and initials in gold and fine colors make the total absence of borders noteworthy. The contrast between the opening pages of the first volume of the *Chroniques de Hainaut*, illuminated in the 1440s, and of the second volume, for which Willem Vrelant was paid in 1468, should make the point (fig. 2.1, and see fig. 7.1). In the same year Loyset Liédet was paid for illuminating the third volume, also without borders.[1] Since the three volumes were copied consecutively for Philip the Good between 1447 and 1453 to form a matching set, there can be little doubt that the second and third volumes were originally intended to follow the pattern of the first, with borders on the opening pages and on many of the following miniature pages. Between the late 1440s and the late 1460s, however, a shift in taste made it acceptable for such grand and profusely illustrated volumes to omit decorated borders altogether.[2]

Volumes that have escaped trimming suggest that generous margins were one of the features that elevated a book's status: the ostentatious wasting of parchment around text and miniatures had its own aesthetic appeal, sometimes directed by carefully planned proportions.[3] Few other art forms offered the same possibilities for blank surrounds. In windows, the isolating of stained panels within areas of clear glass had obvious practical advantages but also contributed to, or coincided with, a similar aesthetic.[4] Artistic conventions must be aesthetically pleasing to become conventional; to exist at all they must be possible and affordable. Clear glass or undecorated margins required less time and less money. Speed of completion, however, seems unconvincing as a primary motivation for borderless books, since unbound leaves allowed several illuminators to work simultaneously. Cost seems equally unsatisfactory as the essential factor. For copies of his household ordinances in 1469, Charles the Bold paid Nicolas Spierinc sixteen sous for a miniature, ten sous for a large border, and one sou for a small border.[5] For volumes with many miniatures, a border at the opening or a few small borders at the most significant divisions would have added proportionately little to the price.

The absence of borders is, of course, a characteristic of overtly cheaper manuscripts, particularly those on paper with color-washed drawings and flourished initials without gold. Such manuscripts have, and had, their own appeal, which outweighed their down-market image and perhaps encouraged the acceptance of the undecorated margin. Among other paper manuscripts,

Figure 2.1
Willem Vrelant. *Reading before Philip the Good*,
in Jacques de Guise, *Chroniques de Hainaut*, vol. 2.
H: 44 cm (17⅜ in.). Brussels, Bibliothèque royale
de Belgique, Ms. 9243, fol. 1.

Philip the Good owned at least eight romances illustrated by the Wavrin Master or his imitators.[6] Between the extremes of blatantly expensive, fully illuminated texts on parchment and "cheap and cheerful" paper manuscripts, however sophisticated, were parchment manuscripts, employing gold yet with comparatively thinly painted miniatures and often without borders. A prestigious example is Jean Miélot's *Vie et miracles de Saint Josse* (or "Vie de Saint Josse"), written for Philip the Good in 1449 (fig. 2.2), which is apparently derived from earlier books such as Philip's copy of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, made around 1400, with loosely painted miniatures, flourished initials, and no borders.[7] Among the older volumes in Philip's library were lavish books that predated the fashion for bordering full-page miniatures, like the thirteenth-century Picture Book of Madame Marie.[8] Older books that had not entered permanent collections continued to circulate in the book trade, since age did not necessarily lessen either a book's monetary value or its aesthetic appeal. Indeed, the borderless layouts of works with interdependent text and images, like the twelfth-century *Liber Floridus*, were sometimes carefully preserved in new copies.[9] Familiarity with earlier books surely encouraged the appreciation of empty margins in contemporary, assertively luxurious volumes.

Figure 2.2
Anonymous master. *Saint Josse Traveling with Pilgrims*, in Jean Miélot, *Vie et miracles de Saint Josse*. H: 29 cm (11 3/8 in.). Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 10958, fols. 3v–4.
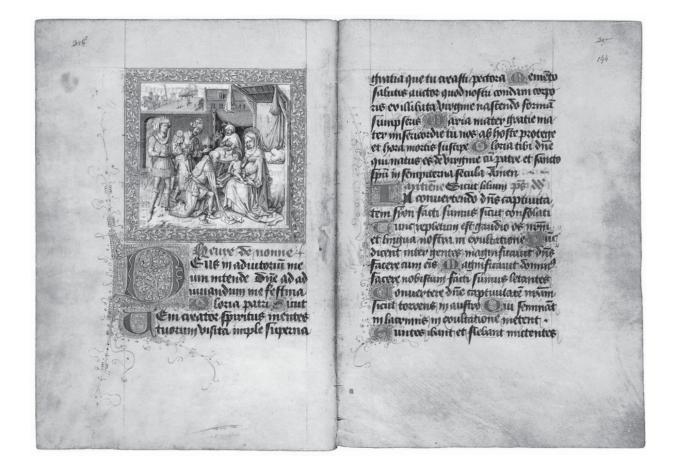
Figure 2.3
Anonymous master. *Abbot Leo; Abbot Godescalc, by the Bronze Fountain He Had Made for the Abbey of Saint-Bertin, Greeting Thomas à Becket*, in *Catalogus abbatum Bertiniensium*. H: 26.8 cm (10½ in.). Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l'Agglomération, Ms. 755, pp. 43–44.

Figure 2.4
Jean Tavernier. *Adoration of the Magi*, in the grisaille Book of Hours of Philip the Good. H: 26.8 cm (10½ in.). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 F 2, fols. 143v–144.

Tradition was perhaps deliberately evoked in books like the chronicles of the abbots of Saint-Bertin, created at or for the abbey: in copies of 1405 and 1437, full-page borderless miniatures fill the opening gathering, like the prefatory miniatures to an earlier psalter or book of hours. In a different version of the abbey's history from around 1405, each page is devoted to one abbot, with text below a miniature executed in pen and wash with touches of red (fig. 2.3).[10] Although on parchment, this Saint-Bertin codex of around 1405 is typical of the grisaille and semigrisaille manuscripts that followed the conventions of cheaper books by deploying flourished initials, without gold, and omitting borders. Cost might have influenced the choice of grisaille, yet its popularity, across many art forms and at varying levels of expense, demonstrates the impossibility of neatly dividing aesthetic and economic motivations. Although many grisaille or semigrisaille manuscripts have elaborate borders, it seems that blank margins were also thought particularly appropriate.[11] Most of the so-called Delft grisaille miniatures were left isolated, even in books in which text pages were bordered;[12] the Hours of Kaetzart van Zaers of about 1440 has colored miniatures with borders and grisaille miniatures without borders.[13] The convention was apparently recognized in Bruges: an Annunciation, seemingly imitating a Delft grisaille, is the only miniature left borderless in an hours attributed to Vrelant's workshop in the later 1450s.[14]

Grisaille apparently prompted some of the earliest elaborate borderless books commissioned by Philip the Good. In 1455 Jean Tavernier was paid for grisaille miniatures without borders in a book of hours, apparently lost, while Philip's surviving grisaille hours, with miniatures by Tavernier, is probably a little earlier (fig. 2.4).[15] There the decision to deploy flourished initials, without gold, is hierarchically appropriate to the grisaille miniatures and the empty margins. Gold initials and gold frames, however, enrich the grisaille miniatures in Philip's *Charlemagne*, with one bar and no borders, for which Tavernier was paid in 1460, and in his borderless *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, probably illuminated by Tavernier soon after its transcription in 1456.[16] The same pattern of semigrisaille or grisaille decoration, with gold but without borders, was followed by Vrelant for Philip's *Vie de Sainte Catherine*, written in 1457; his *Epitre d'Othéa*; his *Première Guerre punique*; Jean d'Auxy's *Légende dorée*;[17] and by the illuminator identified as Dreux Jean for Philip's *Ci nous dist*, transcribed in 1462.[18]

Inevitably the undecorated margin retained connotations of inferior status. The elaborate miniature frames of Philip's grisaille hours imply a need to compensate for the absence of borders in such an ambitious volume (see fig. 2.4). The Master of the Ghent Privileges equated large frames with borders in the fully colored Hours of Jan Eggert of around 1450, in which wide-framed miniatures face bordered text pages.[19] Philip's grisaille hours is one of comparatively few profusely illustrated yet completely borderless books of hours or liturgical books surviving from the southern Netherlands. Further examples in grisaille are two hours illuminated by Simon Marmion and a psalter for the English market illuminated by Vrelant.[20] While some borderless devotional books were illuminated in full color,[21] it seems to have been principally grisaille, with its connotations of restraint and abstinence, that made the convention appropriate for honoring the Almighty. When it was generally held that God should be worshiped with due splendor and richness, even grisaille could

Figure 2.5
Loyset Liédet. *Pepin Rescues Charles Martel and His Courtiers from an Escaped Lion*, in David Aubert, *Histoire de Charles Martel*, vol. 2. H: 41 cm (16⅛ in.). Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 7, fols. 59v–60.

not make the convention widespread for elaborate liturgical or quasiliturgical books. The undecorated margin in luxury volumes is predominantly a fashion of nonliturgical books.

The acceptability of undecorated margins for grisaille, even in books of hours, may have encouraged people to appreciate positive qualities in the absence of border decoration, an appreciation that they could then bring to manuscripts painted in full color. The appreciation is evident: all seven of Philip the Good's nonliturgical manuscripts illuminated by Vrelant are without borders, whether in grisaille or color (see fig. 2.1).[22] Liédet illustrated six and perhaps nine borderless manuscripts for Philip, of which only one is not fully colored,[23] in addition to the eleven that he completed for Charles the Bold (fig. 2.5).[24] Charles also commissioned entirely new manuscripts illuminated by Liédet without borders, notably Vasco da Lucena's *Alexander*;[25] the prestigious *Livre d'or* Charles presented to the Guild of Saint Sebastian at Linkebeek has empty margins.[26] Since the two dukes were the greatest commissioners of borderless books, Charles's military preoccupations and early death help to explain the apparent fall in production in the 1470s.[27] What is now apparent may be an inaccurate representation of what actually happened, since Liédet's undocumented work doubtless extended beyond 1472, when he last appears in the surviving ducal records, and the ducal example of borderless manuscripts did not lose its appeal: Jacques Donche, one of Charles's councillors, had Caesar's

Commentaries written on parchment and paper in 1476 with gold-ground initials, ten miniatures, and no borders.[28]

For specially commissioned volumes, patrons were likely to be involved in decisions about borders, and the taste of individual patrons does seem to be a significant factor. Other bibliophiles active from the 1470s apparently preferred decorated margins: of Margaret of York's surviving books, only one is borderless and was probably bought "ready-made."[29] Louis of Gruuthuse and Anthony of Burgundy overwhelmingly preferred borders; Edward IV apparently ordered exclusively books with borders.[30] A contributory motivation may have been the desire to incorporate marks of ownership, which would otherwise be isolated in the margins or restricted to large initials (see figs. 2.1, 2.12). Jean and Philippe de Croÿ in the 1460s and 1470s and Philip of Cleves from the 1480s were among the collectors acquiring some manuscripts without borders, but this may reflect their willingness to purchase whatever was available.[31] In the 1480s and 1490s Baudouin II de Lannoy demonstrated a distinct preference for borderless manuscripts, of a lavishness indicative of aesthetic, rather than financial, motivations (see fig. 2.12).[32]

The ultimate power of the patron does not negate the significance of the artist, who may have been selected for his appropriateness. The comparatively routine borders associated with Vrelant and Liédet were sufficiently pleasing to attract Philip the Good and others,[33] yet creators of innovatively beautiful borders were not usually wasted on borderless books. Lieven van Lathem (see fig. 2.10) was apparently so employed only once, when Vrelant was the principal illuminator.[34] Although Liédet is especially linked to the convention (see figs. 2.5, 2.7), the absence of certain dates makes it impossible to know who decorated the first nongrisaille example for Philip, possibly Liédet with the *Chroniques normandes*, copied in 1459, or Vrelant with the one miniature of the *Salutation angélique*, copied in 1461.[35] Certainly Liédet, who concentrated on vernacular texts, had more opportunity to produce borderless books than Vrelant, responsible for numerous books of hours. Subsequently the Master of 1482 and the Master of Edward IV were the chief illuminators of nondevotional books and so most associated with empty margins (see fig. 2.12).[36]

The fashion for luxurious but borderless books is particularly associated with a single-column layout, since single-column books predominated when the fashion arose. Not all borderless books, however, were single column, and the choice of one or two columns seems to coincide with the choices made for books with borders: single-column under Philip the Good, with a return of two-column layouts under Charles the Bold.[37] The coincidence of predominantly single-column layouts and the omission of borders may not be accidental, since the grand simplicity of a single text column, perhaps embracing miniatures and initials within its confines, is enhanced by wide, empty margins. Did some scribes see the provision of borders as a distraction from their work instead of a fitting embellishment? Borders were the one decorative element not preordained by the positioning of text. Whereas spaces left for miniatures or initials had to be filled to their predetermined dimensions to avoid obvious incompleteness, the size and positioning of the text block on the page did not necessitate the provision of a border; if a border was provided, its dimensions between the boundaries of text block and page remained flexible. Decisions

Figure 2.6
Anonymous master. *Paris and Helen; Cephalus and Procris*, in Christine de Pizan, *Epistre d'Othéa*. H: 42.3 cm (16 5/8 in.). Waddesdon Manor, James A. de Rothschild Collection, Ms. 8, fols. 41v–42.

about initials and miniatures had to be made before writing began; decisions about borders could wait until writing was complete.

Even though scribes were not necessarily involved in decisions about borders, a fashion popularized, perhaps originated, by Philip the Good's commissions from the 1450s surely involved the ducal scribes, Jean Miélot (see figs. 2.2, 2.4, 2.6, 2.7) and David Aubert (see fig. 2.5). Aubert—scribe of the *Charlemagne* of 1458, the *Chroniques normandes* of 1459, Miélot's *Salutation angélique* of 1461, and a series of borderless books mostly illuminated by Liédet—has been judged its originator.[38] He is generally credited with devising the borderless single-column layout, written in a large script that allows the eye to follow the line easily, even across a wide column like that of the *Charlemagne*, with a justification of 260 by 165 millimeters on a page of 420 by 290 millimeters. Miélot, however, apparently engaged earlier with the convention for omitting borders: author of the *Vie de Saint Josse* of 1449; scribe of Philip's grisaille hours; author of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of 1456, apparently copied by one of his collaborators with a justification of 275 by 172 millimeters on a page of 390 by 290 millimeters; and scribe and author of the *Vie de Sainte Catherine* of 1457, justification 222 by 140 millimeters on a page 370 by 250 millimeters.[39] Demonstrably concerned with the overall appearance of his books, Miélot was salaried as translator, scribe, and historiator but was probably more active with the pen as designer/draftsman than with the brush. His *minutes*, or trials, are draft layouts for his books—comprising text, miniatures, and decoration—in one case explicitly "historié, cadelé et escript" by his

own hand.[40] Aubert, despite his inevitable involvement in design, made only the
ambiguous claim of having organized, "ordonné," some texts. His one certain
minute of 1459–60, for text only, consigns illustration to the next stage of pro-
duction: *Perceforest* is "icy minuté en papier pour le faire grosser et historier en
beau vellin."[41]

Furthermore, as L. M. J. Delaissé remarked, Miélot is not noted for
"refined marginal decoration, which does not suit the style of his books."[42] His
dual role perhaps encouraged comparative neglect of borders. For a designer,
borders are the elements least satisfactorily rendered in ink; for a scribe, bor-
ders would cramp his elaborate cadels. For the 1469 ordinances, Spierinc was
specifically paid for penwork decorations "ou il n'a aucune enluminure."[43]
Towering cadels contribute to one of Miélot's least successful layouts, an
unusual solution to Christine de Pizan's *Epistre d'Othéa*, which was abandoned
without miniatures, perhaps because the experiment was judged a failure. It
was eventually completed for Philip of Cleves, perhaps not the most demand-
ing of patrons, around 1480 (see fig. 2.6).[44] Inspired by traditional glossed
books, Miélot arranged Christine's complex composition with each regular
section on an individually designed page on which, below a miniature, the four
lines of "text" are followed by the gloss and, down the right side, the allegory,
both of varying lengths.

In his presumably later reworking of the *Epistre* of 1460, successfully
completed with miniatures by Liédet, Miélot further revised Christine's text to
place form before content (see fig. 2.7).[45] At the end of this version, he explains

Figure 2.8
Anonymous master and Nicolas Spierinc.
Opening from the Hours of the Cross,
in the Vienna Hours of Mary of
Burgundy. H: 22.5 cm (8⅞ in.). Vienna,
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,
Ms. 1857, fols. 44v–45.

that he has altered the original text primarily for its appearance: "afin que les
cent gloses . . . soient egales les unes aux autres comme sont les quatre lignes de
texte . . . a este faitte et composee de nouvel une addition ou declaration. . . . Et
est tousiours ladite addition ou declaracion assise en la fin de la greigneur part
des plus briefves gloses . . . afin que tant seulement de rendre lesdittes gloses et
allegories de ce livre d'une mesme quantite d'escripture les unes aux autres."[46]
To match the regularity of the four-line "texts" with a consistent length for the
glosses and allegories, Miélot placed each "text" under a miniature on a verso
and then extended many of the glosses, and occasionally the allegories, to fill
the rest of the verso and the facing recto. Clarification of meaning is given as a
second reason for the changes, "pour ce que souvent briefvete rend les materes
obscures aux liseurs," although to achieve visual uniformity he actually short-
ened Christine's first, irregularly long "texts." Despite subordinating content to
appearance, Miélot still structured reading through illumination, giving each
"text" a gold-ground initial and the dependent gloss and allegory lower-status
gold-stave initials. No border decoration springs from the initials, an absence
that simplifies the layout and lessens the difference between verso and recto.

The desired effect is one of regularity, reminiscent of the *Vie de Saint Josse* (see fig. 2.2), although now governed not by the individual page, but by the opening across two pages.

It is an apparent paradox that borderless books were in demand just as borders were becoming ever more varied and more prominent. The freeing of initials from border decoration can be considered in reverse: as the liberation of borders from initials. Borders can then appear on every page, whether or not there are large initials or even, on one page in the Vienna Hours of Mary of Burgundy, any text at all.[47] The self-contained border, often framed, can move to the outer margin of the recto, to balance in width and position that on the verso (fig. 2.8). Sensitivity to the balance of the opening may underlie both the border's elimination and its growing importance as a decorative element in its own right, freed from dependence on text. The same feeling for symmetry perhaps prompted these apparently diametrically opposed systems of book design.

If the appeal of borderless books is to be credited, at least in part, to their potential for greater symmetry, then the fashion for symmetry needs to be considered. Obviously the impulse to greater symmetry has no simple cause or easily charted progression. In some of Miélot's manuscripts and *minutes* with drawn miniatures, in which his personal contribution was perhaps greatest, his concern for symmetry on the page resulted in inner and outer margins receiving borders of equal width.[48] This was unusual, although symmetrical border decoration was occasionally associated with drawings.[49] Otherwise, rolls were sometimes designed symmetrically, and independent illuminations were probably always presented symmetrically, appropriately conforming to the overall aesthetic of independent paintings.[50] What seems new in the fifteenth century is the extension of that aesthetic to illumination in books. The exhibition *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* demonstrated the significance of panel painting for the transformation of miniatures and borders, yet the dominance of painting was perhaps more pervasive, extending beyond the painted elements on the page to expectations of the whole visual experience.
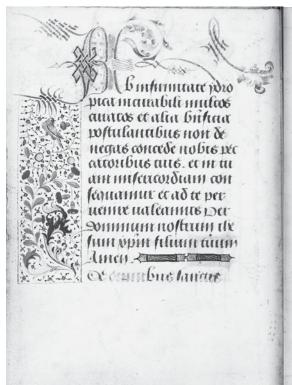
Size is the most obvious difference between the van Eycks' Ghent Altarpiece and its bravura compression in van Lathem's miniature in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bold (figs. 2.9, 2.10).[51] If the comparison is extended to the whole page, the most obvious difference, applicable on any scale, is one of symmetry in the assemblage of framed panels against the asymmetry traditional to page design. Arguably, symmetry applied to the page, as in the Italianate layouts of the Master of Charles V,[52] is inappropriate to book design, where symmetry is more successfully achieved across the opening (see fig. 2.8). This is most evident when equal lines of text are subordinated to paired miniatures within balanced borders, so that initials alone break the layout's symmetry—in the Soane Hours even the initials are balanced, if not symmetrical, with the first letter on the recto, irrespective of significance, arbitrarily matching the opening initial on the verso (fig. 2.11).[53] Although such balance was impossible with a miniature on just one page, borders could do much to coordinate the opening and equalize the pictorial content.[54] In nonliturgical manuscripts, seldom so densely decorated, an alternative was to eliminate the borders, leaving

Figure 2.9
Hubert and Jan van Eyck. The Ghent Altarpiece, oil on panel, 375 × 520 cm (147⅝ × 204¾ in.). Ghent, St-Baafskathedraal.

Figure 2.10
Lieven van Lathem. *All Saints*, in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bold. H: 12.4 cm (8 in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 37, fols. 42v–43.

Figure 2.11
Master of the Soane Hours. *Procession of Saint Gregory*, in the Soane Hours. H: 20.9 cm (8¼ in.). London, Sir John Soane's Museum, Ms. 4, fols. 136v–137.

the miniature to dominate and making the asymmetrical placement of the text on the page less obvious (fig. 2.12). Especially with a large volume on a lectern, the viewer could focus on the miniature, much as he might on a panel painting.

While the transfer of the aesthetic expectations of panel painting was doubtless only one factor in the new emphasis on symmetry in book design, it seems likely to have been a significant one, when the aims of book and panel painters increasingly coincided and fueled patrons' desires for books that matched the achievements of panels. It is also a factor that helps to explain both the taste for luxury books without borders, evident from the 1450s, and the later, but coexisting, taste for books with enticingly elaborate borders, evident from the 1460s. The difference in date between the beginnings of these developments may be connected with the Netherlandish convention for inserted single-leaf miniatures, which meant that designing across the opening became routine later in the Netherlands than in France.

When printed books reached the Netherlands in the 1450s, their purchasers faced the same choices over illumination that confronted the buyers of manuscripts. After some decades, competition from printing provided further encouragement for purchasers of illuminated manuscripts to shift their priorities from text to image and for illuminators to revivify their conventions through the aesthetics of independent paintings. It was through intensively decorated liturgical or quasi-liturgical books that illumination survived as a vital art form into the mid-sixteenth century. As printers exchanged varied colors for varied sizing and spacing, it would be the printing press that brought a whole new validity to the undecorated margin in luxury volumes.

Figure 2.12
Master of Edward IV. *Mary Magdalene, the Sinner, Is Brought to Repentance by an Angel and Fear of Death*, in Jean d'Eeckhoute, *Le Second Mariage et espousement entre Dieu le Filz et l'âme pécheresse en la personne de Marie Magdalene*. H: 38.8 cm (15 ¼ in.). Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 243, fol. 4.

Notes

1. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), no. 3.

2. Although undecorated margins in any context of elaborate illumination demonstrate the spread of the fashion and its acceptability, this essay does not discuss the many volumes with only one or a few borders, for example, Philip the Good's *Triomphe des dames*, in which the opening page with miniature and large initial is borderless and the one border opens the text proper (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 10778, fols. 1, 13; Bernard Bousmanne et al., *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 189–92; other categories not discussed include the omission of borders to establish a decorative hierarchy by marking the miniature at the opening or at major divisions with a border and leaving miniatures at lesser divisions unadorned; full-page miniatures that leave no space for borders; miniatures left unbordered because borders, reflecting their origin in letter extensions, are triggered only by large initials (conversely, the border can surround the miniature alone, excluding initial and text below, or, when initial and miniature are on different pages, the border may accompany the miniature as the summit of the decorative hierarchy); for examples, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, nos. 56, 96, 20, 32, 33, 44, 53, 114, 139, 14, 79, 112, respectively.

3. *Medieval Mastery: Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bold*, exh. cat. (Louvain: Stedelijk Museum Van der Kelen Mertens, 2002), 266; Claudine Lemaire, "Justifications remarquables dans les manuscrits à miniatures du XVe siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Royale à Bruxelles," in *"Als ich can": Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock, and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 795–813.

4. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 46.

5. Antoine de Schryver, "Nicolas Spierinc, calligraphe et enlumineur des Ordonnances des Etats de l'Hôtel de Charles le Téméraire," *Scriptorium* 23 (1969): 434–58; on costs, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 62–63.

6. Georges Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*

(Amsterdam: B. M. Israël, 1987), 91–92; Georges Dogaer and Marguerite Debae, *La Librairie de Philippe le Bon*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 1967), 158–59, 161–63.

7. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Mss. 10958, 10176–78; see Frédéric Lyna and Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, 1989), vol. 3, no. 309; Bernard Bousmanne and Celine van Hoorebeeck eds., *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* (Brussels: Brepols, 2000), vol. 1, 197–204.

8. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 16251 (*Medieval Mastery*, no. 44).

9. E.g., Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 724, for Philippe Courault, Abbot of Saint Peter's, Ghent, ca. 1470; for four further copies, see J. Gumbert, "Recherches sur le stemma des copies du *Liber Floridus*," in *Liber Floridus Colloquium: Papers Read at the International Meeting in the University Library, Ghent, on 3–5 September 1967*, ed. Albert Derolez (Ghent: E. Story-Scientia, 1973), 37–50.

10. Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l'Agglomération, Mss. 739, 740, 755; Marc Gil and Ludovic Nys, *Saint-Omer gothique: Les Arts figuratifs à Saint-Omer à la fin du Moyen Âge, 1250–1550* (Valenciennes: Presses universitaires de Valenciennes, 2004), 96–97, 212, figs. 74–78.

11. For examples, see Pierre Cockshaw, *Miniatures en grisaille*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 1986); Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, nos. 27, 28, 29, 43, 50, 85, 94.

12. E.g., Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 21696, of the 1440s, and Utrecht, Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent, Ms. BMH 55, of the 1460s; see Henri Defoer et al., *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, exh. cat. (New York: G. Braziller, 1989), nos. 53–54.

13. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. BPL 224; see Marta Osterstrom-Renger, "The Netherlandish Grisaille Miniatures: Some Unexplored Aspects," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 44 (1983): 145–73, figs. 1–2; of the fifteen Netherlandish manuscripts listed by Osterstrom-Renger (171 n. 5), only four have borders around miniatures: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.165; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS N. 3445 80 (with four detached miniatures, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, EG 1991, 5, 1–4;

Blicke in verborgene Schatzkammern, exh. cat. [Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1998], no. 35); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.349; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 248.

14. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.240, fol. 162v; see Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 3, *Belgium, 1250–1530* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Walters Art Gallery, 1997), no. 248; Bernard Bousmanne, *"Item a Guillaume Wyelant aussi enlumineur": Willem Vrelant, un aspect de l'enluminure dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux, sous le mécénat des ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 1997), 105, 219–21; *Medieval Mastery*, no. 82.

15. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 F 2; for it and the 1455 document, see Anne S. Korteweg, "The Book of Hours of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in The Hague and Its Later Adaptation," in Cardon et al., eds., *"Als ich can,"* 757–71.

16. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Mss. 9066–68 (Lyna and Pantens, *Principaux Manuscrits*, no. 315); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. fr. 9198, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 374 (L. M. J. Delaissé, *La Miniature flamande: Le Mécénat de Philippe le Bon*, exh. cat. [Brussels: Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1959], nos. 93–94).

17. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. fr. 6449; Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 2361; Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 10777 (not necessarily made for Philip); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Mss. M.672–75, and Mâcon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 3; see Bousmanne, *"Item a Guillaume Wyelant,"* 108, 296–97, 178, 249–50, 176, 233–34, 281–83, respectively.

18. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9017 (Lyna and Pantens, *Les Principaux manuscrits*, no. 282).

19. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.172; elsewhere the master gave borders to broad-framed miniatures; see Gregory T. Clark, *Made in Flanders: The Master of the Ghent Privileges and Manuscript Painting in the Southern Netherlands in the Time of Philip the Good* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), col. figs. 3, 10, 15, figs. 2, 21, 24, 36, 94–104.

20. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. Res. 149, Hours of Guillaume Rolin (Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, "Les Armoiries et devises des Rolin," in *Le Splendeur des Rolin: Un Mécénat privé à la cour de Bourgogne: Table*

ronde, 27–28 février 1995, ed. Brigitte Maurice-Chabard [Paris: Picard, 1999], 53–55); Turin, Museo Civico, Ms. 558, with possible Rolin arms (Giovanna Giacobello Bernard and Enrica Pagella eds., *Van Eyck, Antonello, Leonardo: Tre capolavori del Rinascimento*, exh. cat. [Turin: Museo Civico d'Arte Antica e Palazzo Madama, 2003], no. 7); Christie's, London, July 11, 2000, lot 34, Psalter of Lady Ingoldisthorpe, sister of Sir John Tiptoft.

21. E.g., Philip the Good's prayers of Saint Anselm, with two historiated initials, ca. 1450, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 11052 (Bousmanne and van Hoorebeeck, eds., *Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne*, 280–82); Bruges prayer book, ca. 1480, with historiated initials, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. IV 414 (Johan Oosterman, "Guilliame van Sconehove, *Scrivere* and *Scoelmeester*," in Cardon et al., eds., *"Als ich can,"* 1079–94); an hours by the Master of Antoine Rolin, Antwerp, private collection (Anne-Marie Legaré, "The Master of Antoine Rolin," in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal*, ed. Thomas Kren [Malibu, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992], 209–22, no. 5); an hours with colored and grisaille miniatures by the same master (Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 94).

22. See note 17 and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Mss. 9270, 9243; Paris, Petit Palais, Dutuit Ms. 456; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 240 (possibly that paid for in 1469); see Bousmanne, *"Item a Guillaume Wyelant,"* 227–30, 297–98, 302–3; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 340.

23. Completed for Philip: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Mss. 9967, IV 106 and probably 9392; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 F 10; and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Mss. 5067, 5089–90, 6328. Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9287–88, the one in semigrisaille, was apparently written for Philip in 1461 but possibly illuminated later; Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9303–4, was owned, not necessarily commissioned, by Philip; see Dogaer and Debae, *Librairie de Philippe le Bon*, 158–59, 161–63.

24. For a lost *Bible moralisée* and ten surviving works seemingly written for Philip and illuminated for Charles, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 230–31, no. 55.

25. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 54; also Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Mss. 9029 and possibly 10986 (Lyna and Pantens, *Les Principaux*

manuscrits, nos. 261, 270; Bousmanne et al., *Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne*, 206–9); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.68, with arms of Philip or Charles (Suzanne Lewis, "The Apocalypse of Margaret of York" in Kren, ed., *Visions of Tondal*, 79–80).

26. Linkebeek, Saint Sebastian; D. Coekelberghs, ed., "Catalogue de l'exposition *Trésors d'art des églises de Bruxelles*," *Annales de la Société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles* 56 (1979): no. 31.

27. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 66.

28. Yale University, Beinecke Ms. 226 (Barbara A. Shailor, *Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, vol. 1 [Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1984], 317–19); for two other borderless copies, London, British Library, Egerton Ms. 1065, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 208, by the Master of 1482, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 77 n. 67, 278.

29. Yale University, Beinecke Ms. 639, by the Master of Edward IV (Walter Cahn, "Margaret of York's Guide to the Pilgrimage Churches of Rome," in Kren, ed., *Visions of Tondal*, 89–102); she apparently owned Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 240 (see note 22).

30. For a rare instance for Gruuthuse without borders, see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. fr.1837, attributed to the Master of 1482 (M. Martens, ed., *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse*, exh. cat. [Bruges: Gruuthusemuseum, 1992], 178–81); Anthony's known borderless book, Biblioteca Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1995, was written by Aubert, 1467, and illuminated by a Vrelant follower for Guillaume Bourgeois (Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, "Héraldique et bibliophilie: Le Cas d'Antoine, Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne (1421–1504)," in *Miscellanea Martin Wittek: Album de codicologie et de paléographie offert à Martin Wittek*, ed. Anny Raman and Eugène Manning [Louvain: Peeters, 1993], 323–53, no. XLII).

31. Jean de Croÿ, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9014, 1462, in the style associated with Jean Pilavaine; Philippe de Croÿ, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 10943-97, 1460, in related style; Paris, Arsenal, Ms. 5028, with grisailles (Marguerite Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche: Essai de reconstitution d'après l'inventaire de 1523–1524* [Louvain: Peeters, 1995], nos. 97, 105, 11, respectively); Philip of Cleves, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Mss. 133 A 5, Master of 1482,

and 128 C 5 (paper), Master of Antoine Rolin (Anne S. Korteweg, *Boeken van Oranje-Nassau*, exh. cat. [The Hague: Museum van het Boek, 1998], 33–42, 48); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 2616 (Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 7, *Flämische Schule II* [Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990], 365–66); this treatise is also in Yale University, Beinecke Ms. 230, by the Master of 1482 without borders (Shailor, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 331–35).

32. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, nos. 95, 97; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, Mss. 209, 230, and 243 (A. Molinier, *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, XXV* [Paris, 1894], 279–80, 288–89, 298–99); he also owned Ms. 240 (see note 22).

33. For Liédet's bordered books for Philip, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 231 n. 8, and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9308 (Bousmanne et al., *Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne*, 88–92); for his borders for others, see Antoine de Schryver, Marc Dykmans, and José Ruysschaert, *Le Pontifical de Ferry de Clugny, cardinal et evêque de Tournai* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1989), 57–74; for Vrelant's vernacular bordered books for Philip: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Mss. 9469–70, 9545–46; for other, identified, patrons: Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 2; Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, R.F.1698; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Mss. fr. 308–11; see Bousmanne, *"Item a Guillaume Wyelant,"* 230, 232–33, 252–54, 290–96.

34. Paris, Petit Palais, Ms. Dutuit 456; see note 22.

35. Paris, Arsenal, Ms. 6328; Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9270; see notes 23, 22, respectively.

36. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 66, 295–96.

37. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 76 n. 40. A survey of borderless books, with no pretense to completeness, shows Philip to have commissioned no two-column examples: the *Chroniques de Hainaut* (Bibliothèque royale, Mss. 9243–44) was probably intended to have borders (see note 1 above); his richly illustrated *Roi Modus et reine Ratio* (Bibliothèque royale, Mss. 10218–19) is in two columns but has one border on a text page (Bousmanne et al., *Librairie*

des ducs de Bourgogne, 154–63); the Cité de Dieu of 1462, acquired by Jean de Croÿ (Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9014), is in two columns (see note 31 above). Charles the Bold, however, commissioned two borderless books in two columns: his *Alexander* (Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. fr. 22547; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 54) and his *Chroniques de Pise* (Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9029; Lyna and Pantens, *Principaux Manuscrits*, no. 261). At least six borderless manuscripts attributed to the Master of 1482 are in two columns: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 133 A 5; London, British Library, Add. Ms. 19720 and Egerton Ms. 1065; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 208; Yale University, Beinecke Mss. 228, 230 (Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 77 n. 67).

38. Delaissé, *Miniature flamande*, 101; see Richard E. F. Straub, *David Aubert, escripvain et clerc* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995); Pascale Charron and Marc Gil, "Les enlumineurs des manuscrits de David Aubert," in *Les Manuscrits de David Aubert*, ed. Danielle Quéruel (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 81–100.

39. For Miélot, see Bousmanne, "*Item a Guillaume Wyelant*," 167–68, with references.

40. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9249–50, fol. 2; also Ms. II 239 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. fr. 17001 (Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting*, 87–88).

41. Paris, Arsenal, Mss. 3483–94, red headings, flourished initials with Philip's arms opening the five original volumes; quotation from Ms. 3490, fol. 581, the five colophons varying slightly; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Mss. fr. 19173–77, could be the *minute*, text only, for Arsenal Mss. 5072–75 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. gall. 7, attributed to Aubert (Straub, *David Aubert*, 75–82, 120–27; for Aubert's self-descriptions, see 278–82).

42. L. M. J. Delaissé, James Marrow, and John de Wit, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Illuminated Manuscripts* (Fribourg: Published for the National Trust by Office du livre, 1977), 173.

43. De Schryver, "Nicolas Spierinc" (see note 5), pp. 456–57.

44. Waddesdon Manor, James A. de Rothschild Collection, Ms. 8, three pages with borders, completed for Philip of Cleves (Delaissé et al., *Rothschild Collection*, 154–80). Cambridge, Newnham College Library, Ms. 900 (5), of the early fifteenth century, has a similarly inspired but clearer layout (Sandra L. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre d'Othéa": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* [Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1986], 141, figs. 91–93).

45. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9392 (Lyna and Van den Bergen-Pantens, *Principaux Manuscrits*, no. 268; R. Brown-Grant, "Illumination as Reception: Jean Miélot's Reworking of the *Epistre d'Othea*," in *The City of Scholars: New Approaches to Christine de Pizan*, ed. Margarete Zimmermann and Dina De Rentiis [Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1994], 260–71).

46. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9392, fols. 104v–105.

47. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 19, fol. 83v.

48. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 1090, 4º; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, s.n. 2731, 1468–69; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. fr. 17001, 1468; Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II 239, 1463; see Otto Pächt et al., *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 6, *Flämische Schule I* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983), Abb. 134–37, figs. 90, 92; Cyriel Stroo, *Celebratie van de macht: Presentatieminiaturen en aanverwante voorstellingen in handschriften van Filips de Goede (1419–1467) en Karel de Stoute*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Werenschappen en Kunsten, nieuwe reeks, 7 (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 2002), pls. 46, 48–49, 59.

49. E.g., Princeton, University Library, Ms. 105, and Paris, Arsenal, Ms. 5199, late 1430s (Stroo, *Celebratie van de macht*, pls. 8–10).

50. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 24–30.

51. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 16, fol. 43; see also no. 17, fol.59v.

52. E.g., Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, nos. 166–67.

53. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 138, also nos. 109, 124.

54. E.g., Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, nos. 20, 32, 93, etc.

A Very Burgundian Hero:
The Figure of Alexander the Great under the Rule of Philip the Good

Chrystèle Blondeau

EVER SINCE THE GROUNDBREAKING BOOK BY JOHAN HUIZINGA, it has become customary to include Alexander the Great among the figures of reference for Philip the Good and Charles the Bold.[1] The possession of several works devoted to the Macedonian sovereign, including a number of major pieces executed by commission; the overt exploitation of the historical figure in the presentation of ducal power; and the parallels that were often pointed out (by both partisans and detractors) between the last two dukes of Burgundy and Alexander confirm that the latter played an important role in their politics of representation and in their imaginations. I intend to examine more specifically the process of appropriation of which Alexander was the object under the rule of Philip the Good by presenting the duke's major acquisitions of manuscripts and tapestries, and then by attempting to determine, through an analysis of the works themselves, as well as their reception and use, the issues and values with which the figure of the Macedonian conqueror was associated at the time.

Alexander in the Collections of Philip the Good

The manuscripts and tapestries acquired by Philip the Good are concrete testimony of his interest in the figure of Alexander. While the Macedonian sovereign held only a secondary place in the collections of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, he gained unquestionable favor during the rule of their successor. In the context of a considerable overall growth and, more specifically, of a spike in interest in materials concerning antiquities,[2] the ducal library at the time acquired nearly twenty-five texts (contained in forty-five copies) dealing, in one manner or another, with the ancient conqueror.[3] A number of these grant him only modest consideration, and their acquisition was certainly not motivated by the few anecdotes devoted to him therein. But the Macedonian does nevertheless play a key role in a half-dozen works,[4] four of which were written or revised by authors active at the court of Burgundy roughly between 1420 and 1460. According to the inventory taken after the death of Philip the Good, the latter works were divided among nine manuscripts, acquired for the most part after 1448.

The duke of Burgundy's interest in the genealogy of the great mythologized historical figures can be seen in his commissioning of manuscripts such as *L'Histoire de Charles Martel et de ses successeurs*,[5] devoted to Charlemagne's ancestors, or even *Perceforest*, a romance in prose aimed at rooting the Arthurian legend in the Macedonian *geste*. Despite the brevity of his appearance in the latter story, Alexander plays an essential role in it, since

he incarnates the founding hero par excellence. The author of this vast compo-
sition, compiled in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and dedicated
to Guillaume de Hainaut, credits the hero with the restoration of the English
monarchy, the establishment of the practice of the tournament—intended to
hone the skills and courage of knights—and even the founding of the line of
King Arthur, by virtue of his union with Sebilla.[6] Two copies of *Perceforest*
appear in the posthumous inventory of Philip the Good's library. Currently at
the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris,[7] one of these corresponds to the *minute*[8]
of a restored version of the text commissioned by the duke in 1459 from David
Aubert. The other copy, now lost, apparently contained an older version.[9]

Philip the Good also turned his attention to Alexander's dynastic ori-
gins, since he acquired a copy of the *Roman de Florimont*. Opening with the
marriage of Madien of Babylon with a Greek princess who brings him
Macedonia in her dowry, the text closes with the wedding feast of Philip II
of Macedon and Olympia, right before the birth of Alexander. Devoted for
the most part to the adventures of Florimont, Alexander's great-grandfather,
the work presents itself as a translation from a Latin original. In fact it is a
prose version derived from Aimon de Varennes's *Florimont*, composed during
the winter of 1418–19 by a Picard author who remains anonymous.[10] Philip
the Good's volume, copied onto paper and illustrated in the workshop of the
Master of Jean de Wavrin, was most likely executed in the second half of
the 1450s.[11] It is the only known copy of this version.

Even if Alexander is physically absent from the prose version of
Florimont, his conception represents the very justification and purpose of the
story. The opening rubric of the text makes this perfectly clear: "Cy commenche
l'istore de quelz gens et de quele nacion dessendy et party le tres hault empereur
Alixandre le Conquerant."[12] Compiled in the 1440s by Jean Wauquelin, the
Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre le Grand is an obvious continuation of the
Roman de Florimont, since the book begins with a presentation of Alexander's
parents and the story of his birth. The product of a complex labor of compila-
tion, translation, and revision of various romance sources, the work goes on to
retrace the Macedonian sovereign's biography and ends with the wars of suc-
cession that followed his poisoning and with his son Alior's revenge on his
father's murderers.[13] The romance, as Wauquelin himself asserts in his pro-
logues, was composed not for Philip the Good, but for his cousin and son-
in-law John of Burgundy, count of Etampes and lord of Dourdan.[14] The duke
became interested enough in the text to commission, sometime before April
1448, a deluxe copy decorated with eighty miniatures,[15] to recover the *minute*
from which it was transcribed,[16] and ultimately to acquire another, even more
sumptuously illustrated copy.[17] The first deluxe copy whose commissioning is
documented, executed between 1447 and 1450, was copied under the direct
supervision of the author and illuminated by the workshop of the Master of
Wauquelin's *Alexander*, who was certainly working at the time in Bruges.[18]
Certain of its features make it possible, moreover, to affirm that Wauquelin also
took part in the program of its illustration.[19] The second copy Philip the Good
subsequently acquired is not at all documented. The 204 miniatures therein—
attributed to Willem Vrelant (assisted by several collaborators), Lieven van
Lathem, and the Master of the *Livre du Roy Modus*[20]—nonetheless indicate
that it was most likely originally intended for the ducal library. Certain features,

as much stylistic as iconographic, further suggest that it was executed after Vrelant settled in Bruges in the early 1450s.[21]

Breaking with the romance genre to which the above-cited works belong, the *Desbat d'honneur entre trois chevaleureux princes* by Jean Miélot offers, in the form of a brief treatise in dialogue, a moral reflection on the foundations of true nobility.[22] Written in the 1440s, it constitutes a French translation of the *Contentio de presidentia*, which Giovanni Aurispa, an exponent of "civic humanism," had liberally adapted from Lucian of Samosata's twelfth *Dialogue of the Dead* around 1425–27. In it, Alexander, Hannibal, and Scipio debate their martial exploits in front of Minos, one of the judges of the underworld, so that the latter may determine "lequel d'eulx trois estoit de plus grant renom et le plus resplendissant en gloire."[23] If in Lucian's text Minos came down in Alexander's favor, pleading his superior skill in the military and political spheres, in Aurispa's version—and therefore in Miélot's as well—the preference goes to Scipio, whose temperance and concern for public welfare define "vray honneur . . . acquis par vertu."[24] Three copies of the *Desbat d'honneur* entered the library of Philip the Good starting in 1449–50, the date of the execution of the first of them. Copied onto parchment, then decorated and illustrated, the two volumes still in existence belong to the category of "deluxe" manuscripts.[25] Transcribed on paper, the third copy[26] might contain the *minute* of one of the other two codices.

Lastly, aside from the manuscripts, Philip the Good acquired at least one series of hangings on the theme of Alexander. In August 1459 he ordered the payment of five thousand gold crowns to the Tournai merchant Pasquier Grenier, who had delivered to him a "chambre de tapysserie de l'istoire d'Alixandre ouvrée à or et argent, soye et fille de laynne," made up of six wall hangings and a complete set of bed hangings.[27] Two hangings now in the Doria family's Palazzo del Principe in Genova,[28] which are related to Arras-Tournai productions of the years from 1450 to 1460,[29] have often been considered fragments of this series. More certainly, however, they initially belonged to the Sforza family rather than to Philip the Good. Documents now in the state archives in Milan reveal that the Greniers delivered tapestries to the dukes of Milan and, more explicitly, that a son and a nephew of Pasquier Grenier went to Francesco Sforza in January 1459 (n. s.) to show him "certum disegnum regis Alexandri et certas alias tapezzerias."[30] Even if the tapestries of the duke of Burgundy have definitively disappeared, it is nevertheless quite likely that they had strong thematic affinities with the Doria hangings. The two series were almost contemporaneous, and their acquisition can be traced back to the commercial activity of the Grenier family.

What emerges here is that the authors and artists of the Burgundian milieu, supported by the duke or members of his entourage, actively participated in perpetuating the myth of Alexander. The works thus produced, drawn mostly from the traditions of romance and legend, paint a detailed and, on the whole, largely laudatory portrait of the Macedonian sovereign. In developing themes that resonated with the concerns of Philip the Good, some of these works contributed more specifically to inscribing Alexander into the pantheon of ducal heroes. The attitude of the Valois prince also leads to the thought that, not content simply to consent to this, he encouraged the process aimed at identifying him with the Macedonian king.

Figure 3.1
Workshop of the Master of Wauquelin's
Alexander. *The Punishment of Pausanias*,
in Jean Wauquelin, *Faicts et conquestes
d'Alexandre*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Ms. fr. 9342, fol. 94v.

Figure 3.2
Willem Vrelant. *Alexander Helping
His Parents against Pausanias*, in
Jean Wauquelin, *Faicts et conquestes
d'Alexandre*. Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais,
Ms. Dutuit 456, fol. 135v.

Figure 3.3
Anonymous. *Alexander Helping His
Parents against Pausanias*, *The
Punishment of Pausanias*, and *The
Coronation of Alexander*, from a suite
of tapestries (detail). Genova, Palazzo
del Principe.

A Figure in the Service of Burgundian Ideology

The two illustrated copies of the *Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre*[31]
serve as the best witnesses to the concerns associated with the figure of the
Macedonian. Serving as the unifying thread of the romance, the notion of fam-
ily honor is by example broadly developed, and the punishment of parricide,
the literary and visual treatment of which broadens as the story progresses, con-
stitutes a recurrent theme: the brief confrontation between Alexander and
Pausanias, killer of Philip II of Macedon and illegitimate pretender to the hand
of Olympia (figs. 3.1, 3.2),[32] is covered in the last eleven chapters of the
romance, inspired by Jean le Nevelon's *Vengeance Alixandre*, in which Alior,
son of the Macedonian and Queen Candace, avenges his father's poisoning by
in turn exterminating Antipater, his line, and his allies.[33] As the punishment of
Pausanias (fig. 3.3) reappears in the first of the Doria hangings in the Palazzo
del Principe in Genova, which is devoted to various episodes from Alexander's
youth, it is not impossible that the suite of tapestries acquired by Philip the
Good in 1459 also included this episode. It is easy to imagine, in fact, the echo
that these acts of filial piety, aimed at avenging the death and honor of the
father, must have awakened in the mind of Philip the Good, whose own father
had been assassinated in September 1419 by the partisans of the dauphin. That
the murder of John the Fearless was never truly redressed must have made it all
the more compelling.

Burgundian authors and artists also did their best to root Alexander
in Burgundian territories. Between the subjugation of Persia and the explo-
ration of India, the second book of Wauquelin's romance begins, without any
apparent logic, with an enumeration of Alexander's Western conquests. Four
chapters are more specifically devoted to the gift he made to Liroppe of the
Forêt Carbonnière, the forest in which "sont maintenant constitués pluiseurs
paÿs comme Picardie, Artois et par especial Haynun, Flandre, Brabant, Liege,
Hasebain et plusieurs aultres paÿs adjacens ou voisins."[34] The author avows

that the episode is not of his own invention. Indeed Wauquelin borrowed it from Jacques de Guise's *Annales Hannoniae*, a text called to his attention by Simon Nockart, clerk of the bailiff's court of Hainaut. In 1446 Philip the Good commissioned Wauquelin to translate the *Annales Hanoniae* in full.[35] Already mentioned in *Perceforest*,[36] of which the duke, as we have seen, possessed several copies, the anecdote can also be found in Jean Mansel's *Fleur des histoires*, represented by a deluxe copy in the ducal library.[37]

The makers of the ducal manuscripts of the *Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre* sought to enhance the Macedonian's brief sojourn in the West. In the earlier copy, the scene of the gift of the Forêt Carbonnière (fig. 3.4) is especially emphasized: situated on the recto of a leaf, above the prologue to the second book, the image takes up three-quarters of the justified area and is accompanied by an ornate frame, qualities that it shares only with the dedicatory miniature at the start of the text (fig. 3.5). In the later copy, the illustration opening the second book more simply recalls Alexander's presence in the West by representing the battle between the Macedonians and the Albanians.[38] In contrast, the nonducal copies of Wauquelin's romance, in which the break between the first and second books is barely indicated,[39] provide no illustration whatsoever of the conqueror's "Western detour." These few chapters therefore

Figure 3.4
Workshop of the Master of Wauquelin's *Alexander. Alexander Offering the Forêt Carbonnière to Liroppe*, in Jean Wauquelin, *Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 9342, fol. 127.
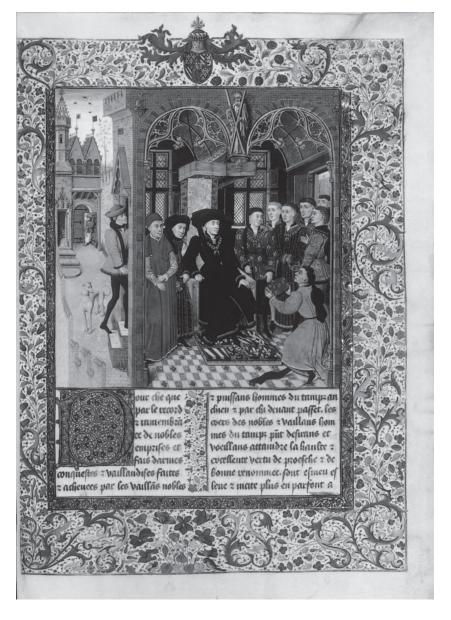
Figure 3.5
Workshop of the Master of Wauquelin's
*Alexander. Presentation of the
Manuscript to Philip the Good*, in
Jean Wauquelin, *Faicts et conquestes
d'Alexandre*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Ms. fr. 9342, fol. 5.

clearly played an ideological role: they established a spiritual connection
between Alexander and Philip the Good by attributing the possession of the
same lands to both and, at the same time, legitimated the Burgundian states'
annexation of a certain number of principalities.[40] More broadly, they aimed at
glorifying the duke of Burgundy's policy of territorial expansion by situating it
in the continuity of Alexander's own.

But it is above all the Macedonian's Eastern conquests that, seen
through the prism of Philip the Good's unwavering "desire for Crusade," were
exploited in favor of ducal power. In the *Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre*, the
subjugation of the East constitutes, of course, a political and military under-
taking. It does, however, have a spiritual dimension as well, which the cycle
of illustrations in the earlier of Philip's copies brings out quite clearly.
Concentrated in the second book, the many battles pitting the Macedonians

Figure 3.6
Workshop of the Master of Wauquelin's
*Alexander. Battle between the
Macedonians and Monsters*, in
Jean Wauquelin, *Faicts et conquestes
d'Alexandre*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Ms. fr. 9342, fol. 142.

Figure 3.7
Workshop of the Master of Wauquelin's
*Alexander. Imprisonment of Gog and
Magog*, in Jean Wauquelin, *Faicts et
conquestes d'Alexandre*. Paris,
Bibliothèque nationale de France,
Ms. fr. 9342, fol. 131v.

against monsters and wild beasts can thus be interpreted allegorically (fig. 3.6).[41] Alexander's and his companions' triumph over these creatures, whose extraordinary size and generally hybrid nature underscore their ferocity, symbolizes that of humanity over animalism. The subjugation of Eastern populations, described for the most part as primitive, likewise stands for the triumph of culture and civilization, embodied by technical skill and morality, over the natural state. Although merciful to people whose customs are inoffensive, Alexander considers it his duty to punish those whose practices seem "wicked" to him. When he learns of the existence of the people of Gog and Magog,[42] biblical personifications of the forces of evil, the Macedonian does not hesitate to stray from his planned route to capture and imprison them behind two mountains situated at the northern confines of the earth. Wauquelin specifies that the operation takes place with the help of "Dieu, qui vit [la] pensee [d'Alexandre] estre bonne."[43] Conforming closely to the text it illustrates, the miniature represents the conqueror kneeling in prayer as his men are busy closing up the narrow pass between the two mountains, while God looks down on the scene from a cloud (fig. 3.7).

The insistence on Alexander's gradual conversion to monotheism in fact constitutes one of the major features of this manuscript. Initially he is as pagan a character as one could imagine,[44] and it is at Jerusalem, where he worships God in the presence of representatives of the Jewish clergy, that his spiritual change is effected.[45] In the episode of the Val Périlleux,[46] he even takes on a quasi-Christlike dimension by deciding to sacrifice himself in order to save his men. Determined to remain in the valley so that his men may escape, he uses a typically Christian language, telling them: "Je ne seroie pas bon pasteur se mon corps je ne mectoie en adventure pour garder mes brebisetes."[47] The first of the two miniatures[48] accompanying the episode conveys in its own way the privileged bond that henceforth exists between Alexander and God. The text specifically says that, once left alone in the valley, the conqueror kneels down in prayer and witnesses throughout the night "une treshideuse bataille de malins esperis."[49] In the illustration, the demonic vision disappears, giving way to a divine apparition to which Wauquelin's story makes no reference whatsoever.

The commissioning of this manuscript corresponds exactly to a turning point in Philip the Good's Mediterranean policy, inaugurating a period that, according to Jacques Paviot, saw the imaginary realm begin to prevail over concrete plans for Crusade.[50] Aside from the fact that it attests to the fascination the East held for the court of Burgundy, the manuscript can be considered a kind of plea for the "holy journey." By extolling Alexander's qualities to the point of transforming him into a pre-Christian knight, the volume was aimed at making his Eastern exploit into a metaphor for the duke's plans to reconquer the Holy Land. The presence in the dedicatory miniature (fig. 3.5) of a statue of Saint Andrew, patron saint of the Burgundian dynasty and supposed Christianizer of Greece and the Balkans, situates the *Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre* in a militant Christian perspective from the very start.[51]

The fall of Constantinople on May 29, 1453, again revived Burgundian propaganda in favor of Crusade. At the Banquet of the Pheasant, which took place in Lille on February 17, 1454 (n. s.), Philip the Good and his courtiers made a vow to bring aid to a threatened Christendom. Without being
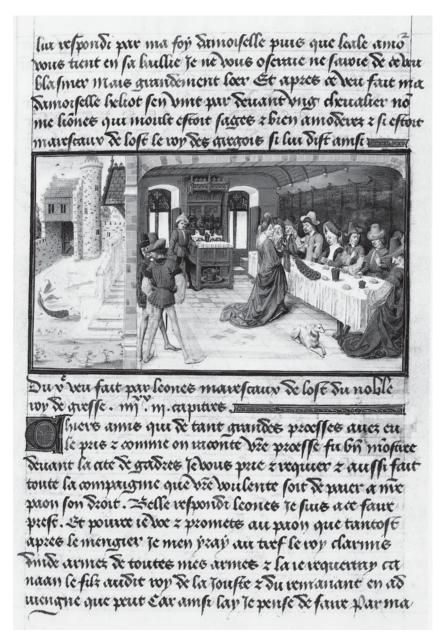
Figure 3.8
Workshop of the Master of Wauquelin's *Alexander. Porus Killing the Peacock, Banquet of the Peacock*, in Jean Wauquelin, *Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 9342, fol. 55v.

Figure 3.9
Associate of Willem Vrelant. *Presentation of the Peacock to the Guests*, in Jean Wauquelin, *Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre*. Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais, Ms. Dutuit 456, fol. 84.

Figure 3.10
Lieven van Lathem. *Leones Making a Vow over the Peacock*, in Jean Wauquelin, *Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre*. Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais, Ms. Dutuit 456, fol. 91.

an exact replica, this ceremony strongly recalls that over which Alexander presides in the *Voeux du Paon*, a text of which the duke had several copies in his library[52] and which also served as inspiration for Jean Wauquelin in the composition of his *Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre*.[53] And while the earlier of the two ducal copies of this text allocates only one miniature (fig. 3.8) to the Banquet of the Peacock,[54] the later copy devotes thirteen to the episode,[55] illustrating the presentation of the bird to the guests (fig. 3.9), then the taking of the twelve vows (fig. 3.10). This amplification no doubt reflects the considerable breadth of the program developed in this lavishly illustrated book, but it may well also contain an echo of the banquet held in Lille in 1454, since the manuscript certainly postdates that event.[56]

Figure 3.11
Anonymous. *Alexander Exploring the Air*, from a suite of tapestries (detail). Genova, Palazzo del Principe.

Devoted to Alexander's Eastern adventures, the second Doria tapestry in the Palazzo del Principe in Genova, like Wauquelin's romance, actually goes so far as to practically Christianize the hero. In the episode of the exploration of the air (fig. 3.11), which takes up the central part of the hanging, the emphasis is thus laid on the divine protection the Macedonian enjoys. In keeping with the illustration pattern traditionally used for the *Roman d'Alexandre* in prose,[57] the composition recalls representations of the Ascension: enthroned in a basket that is borne aloft by four griffins and whose upper part forms a canopy over his head, Alexander rises up to the sky. Left behind on earth, his companions watch him and show their astonishment by pointing their fingers at him. Completely transformed from his representations in the miniatures of the *Roman d'Alexandre* in prose, God the Father, a benevolent figure represented in half-length in a cloud, here intervenes, moreover, to protect the conqueror on his return to earth.[58]

In a similar spirit, the battle taking up the left side of the tapestry (fig. 3.12) tends to liken the conqueror and his men to Christian knights and the opposing troops to the Ottoman enemy. Endowed with military equipment directly borrowed from fifteenth-century reality, the Macedonians are indeed immediately distinguishable from their Eastern adversaries, whose

exotic attributes (scimitars; long, damasked tunics; turbaned headdresses) lead to their identification as "Saracens." The physiognomic contrast between the two camps of combatants further reinforces this interpretation.

It is impossible to affirm that these themes appeared in absolutely identical form in the tapestries of Philip the Good. Nevertheless, the perfect correspondence of the Doria hangings to Burgundian concerns and the spirit of the *Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre* makes it a more than plausible assumption. In 1461, on the occasion of the festivities for Louis XI's accession to the throne, the tapestry room of the *Histoire d'Alexandre* was exhibited in the place of honor in the Parisian *hôtel* of the dukes of Burgundy, across from the Gideon Room.[59] This juxtaposition tends to demonstrate that if Philip the Good invoked Gideon as the head of the Order of the Golden Fleece, he also just as openly laid claim to the spiritual paternity of Alexander in order to reconquer the East. No doubt overlapping here with the ideal of the Crusade was the will, on the duke's part, to reaffirm the legitimacy of his policy of territorial expansion and his autonomy with regard to the French crown.

This situation certainly explains why the inclusion in the Burgundian library of Miélot's *Desbat d'honneur*, in which Alexander's excessive pride was nevertheless severely criticized,[60] did not succeed in tarnishing the eminently positive reputation of the Macedonian conqueror during the rule of Philip the Good.

Figure 3.12
Anonymous. *Taking of a City by the Macedonians*, from a suite of tapestries (detail). Genova, Palazzo del Principe.

Notes

1. Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. F. Hopman (London: Penguin, 1955), 71–72. Among the many studies that echo this assertion, a few of the more important and recent ones include Yvon Lacaze, "Le Rôle des traditions dans la genèse d'un sentiment national au XVe siècle: La Bourgogne de Philippe le Bon," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 139 (1971): 358–59; Jeffrey C. Smith, "The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419–1467)" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1979), 91–94; Scot McKendrick, "Classical Mythology and Ancient History in Works of Art at the Courts of France, Burgundy, and England (1364–1500)" (Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute, 1988), 182–83, 197–98; Olivier Collet, "Alexandre: Recherche d'une identité," in *Splendeurs de la cour de Bourgogne: Récits et chroniques*, ed. Danielle Régnier-Bohler (Paris: R. Laffont, 1995), 483–85; Birgit Franke, "Herrscher über Himmel und Erde: Alexander der Grosse und die Herzöge von Burgund," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 27 (2000): 121–69; Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts across Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 71–72.

2. Georges Doutrepont, *La Littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Champion, 1909), esp. 125–30, 134–76.

3. For an exact breakdown of the texts relating to Alexander under the rule of each of the Valois dukes, see my doctoral thesis: "Un Conquérant pour quatre ducs: Présence et représentations d'Alexandre le Grand à la cour de Bourgogne sous le principat des ducs Valois (1363–1477)" (Université Paris X-Nanterre, 2003), vol. 1, 23–31, vol. 2, 42–71.

4. *Voeux du Paon*, by Jacques de Longuyon (before 1312); *Roman d'Alexandre*, by Alexandre de Bernay (twelfth century); *Perceforest*, anonymous version (second quarter of the fourteenth century), and adaptation by David Aubert (1459–1460); *Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre le Grand*, by Jean Wauquelin (before 1448); *Desbat d'honneur entre trois chevalereux princes*, translated by Jean Miélot after Giovanni Aurispa (before 1449); *Roman de Florimont*, anonymous adaptation of *Florimont* by Aimon de Varennes (1418–19). Even though they have not been identified, the titles of two works

cited in the posthumous inventory of Philip the Good's collection ("enseignements d'Aristote a Alexandre," "roman d'Alexandre") suggest that Alexander figured prominently therein. See Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique, ou Librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens* (Paris: Treuttel & Würtz, 1830), nos. 955, 956, 957, 1475.

5. Anonymous compilation from the mid-fifteenth century. The duke ordered a copy from David Aubert in 1463 (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Mss. 6–9).

6. Jane H. M. Taylor, ed., *Le Roman de Perceforest*, pt. 1 (Geneva: Droz, 1979), 15–22.

7. Mss. 3483–94. See Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, nos. 1253–58.

8. A *minute* corresponds, according to the term used by David Aubert at the beginning of several volumes of the Arsenal *Perceforest* (Mss. 3485 and 3487, fol. 5, for example), to a preliminary copy of the text, transcribed on paper and destined to serve as a model for the definitive copy on parchment.

9. See Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, nos. 1248–52. On the complex history of this text, see Gilles Roussineau, "David Aubert, copiste du roman de Perceforest," in *Les Manuscrits de David Aubert, "escripvain" bourguignon: Actes du colloque, Paris, 1993*, ed. Danielle Quéruel (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 35–51.

10. Charity C. Willard, "A Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Version of the *Roman de Florimont*," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 2 (1971): 21–46. Hélène Bidaux is currently preparing a critical edition of this text at the University of Lille-III, under the direction of Marie-Madeleine Castellani.

11. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12566; see Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, no. 1287. According to the inventories of Charles Briquet, the type of watermark visible in this volume appeared for the first time in Colmar in 1452 and was found in Douai in 1456–57 (*Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leurs apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* [Paris: A. Picard & Son; Geneva: A. Jullian, 1907], no. 8591). On the dating and illustration of the manuscript, see Pascal Schandel, "Le Maître de Wavrin et les miniaturistes lillois à l'époque de Philippe le Bon et de Charles le Téméraire" (Ph.D. diss., Université Strasbourg II, 1997), vol. 1, 176, 200–203, 240–42, vol. 2, 119–35.

12. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 2.

13. Jean Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre le Grand*, ed. Sandrine Hériché (Geneva: Droz, 2000), passim.

14. Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 3, 322.

15. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 9342; see Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, no. 1478. On the commissioning of the manuscript, see Pierre Cockshaw, "Jean Wauquelin—documents d'archives," in *"Les Chroniques de Hainaut," ou Les Ambitions d'un prince bourguignon*, exh. cat., ed. Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique; Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 45, no. 10.

16. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1419. Manuscript not listed in the inventory, but bearing the arms, the motto, and the emblem of Philip the Good (fol. 1v). See Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, ed. Hériché, 99, 51–56.

17. Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais, Ms. Dutuit 456; see Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, no. 1479.

18. On the transcription of the volume and the career of Wauquelin, see Cockshaw, "Jean Wauquelin," 37–38, 45, no. 10. Léon Delaissé was the first to identify the author of the miniatures under the name of "Maître de la Geste d'Alexandre"; Ms. fr. 9342 was at the time considered the painter's masterwork ("Les *Chroniques de Hainaut* et l'atelier de Jean Wauquelin à Mons dans l'histoire de la miniature flamande," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Bruxelles* 4 [1955]: 21–56, esp. 24–25, 34–36). See also Anne H. van Buren, "Jean Wauquelin de Mons et la production du livre aux Pays-Bas," *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Burgundo-médianes* 23 (1983): 53–74.

19. See Blondeau, "Un conquérant pour quatre ducs," vol. 1, 262–70, 285–86, and Blondeau, "Jean Wauquelin et l'illustration de ses textes," in *Jehan Wauquelin: De Mons à la cour de Bourgogne (1428–1452): Actes du colloque, Tours, 2004*, ed. Marie-Claude de Crécy, Sandrine Hériché, and Gabriella Parussa (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

20. Bernard Bousmanne, *"Item à Guillaume Wyelant aussi enlumineur": Willem Vrelant, un aspect de l'enluminure dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux sous le mécénat des ducs de Bourgogne Philippe de Bon et Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de

Belgique; Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 200–204, 297–99.

21. Bousmanne, *"Item à Guillaume Wyelant,"* 63–66. Based on Vrelant's intervention in the Book of Hours of Philip the Bold in 1451, Bernard Bousmanne suggests that the painter might have already been residing in Bruges at this date. No document confirms his presence before 1454, however, the date of his first mention in the archives of the guild of book craftsmen in Bruges.

22. Arie J. Vanderjagt, *Qui sa vertu anoblist: The Concepts of Noblesse and "Chose Publicque" in Burgundian Political Thought* (Groningen: J. Miélot and Co., 1981), passim; Vanderjagt, "Expropriating the Past: Tradition and Innovation in the Use of Texts in Fifteenth-Century Burgundy," in *Tradition and Innovation in an Era of Change*, ed. Rudolph Suntrup and Jan R. Veenstra (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001), 177–201, esp. 193–97.

23. See Vanderjagt, *Qui sa vertu anoblist*, 167, ll. 46–47, and 165, ll. 8–9.

24. Vanderjagt, *Qui sa vertu anoblist*, 171, ll. 248–49.

25. See Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, nos. 1006, 1010. These entries correspond, respectively, to Mss. 9278–80 (created in 1449–50) and 10977–79 of the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique in Brussels. The volumes are described in Vanderjagt, *Qui sa vertu anoblist*, 86–87, 110. See as well the entries in *La librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. 2 ("Testes didactiques"), ed. Bernard Bousmanne, Frédérique Johan, and Céline Van Hoorebeck (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique; Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

26. See Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, no. 1007. The manuscript is currently not identified.

27. Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B 2034, fols. 208–208v. Document published in Franke, "Herrscher über Himmel und Erde," 122–23.

28. The first illustrates episodes from Alexander's youth, and the second narrates some of his adventures in the East. They are both drawn from the anonymous *Roman d'Alexandre* in prose. For a recent analysis of these tapestries, see Anna Rapp Buri and Monica Stucky-Schürer, "Alexandre le Grand et l'art de la tapisserie du XVème siècle," *La Revue de l'art* 119 (1998): 21–32; Franke, "Herrscher über Himmel und Erde," 124–29, 134–38.

29. Fabienne Joubert, *La Tapisserie médiévale*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des

musées nationaux, 2002), 25–31. Joubert furthermore attributes the cartoons for the two Doria tapestries to Jacques Daret and Nicolas Froment; see "Jacques Daret et Nicolas Froment cartonniers de tapisseries," *La Revue de l'art* 88 (1990): 44–45; Fabienne Joubert and Philippe Lorentz, "Maître Jacques Daret, peintre, pour lors demourant a Arras…" in *Fragments d'une splendeur: Arras à la fin du moyen âge*, exh. cat. (Arras: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2000), 75–76.

30. On the business transactions between the Greniers and the dukes of Milan, see Jean Lestocquoy, *Deux Siècles de l'histoire de la tapisserie (1300–1500): Paris, Arras, Lille, Tournai, Bruxelles* (Arras: Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1978), 73–74, and Ernesto Sestan, ed., *Carteggi diplomatici fra Milano Sforzesca e la Borgogna* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea, 1987), vol. 2, no. 351, 63–64.

31. Ms. fr. 9342 and Dutuit 456 (see notes 15 and 17 above).

32. See Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 231–36. The episode is illustrated on fols. 92v ("Alexander helping his parents"), 94v in Ms. fr. 9342, and fol. 135v in Dutuit 456.

33. See Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 553–73. Ms. fr. 9342 devotes two miniatures to the "Siege of Rocheflor" (fols. 221, 223) and one to the "Torture of Antipater" (fol. 226). In Ms. Dutuit 456, all eleven chapters of the episode are illustrated, from Alior's raising an army and heading off to war (fols. 316v, 317v) to the torture of the vanquished after the fall of Rocheflor (fol. 326v), and they include the vicissitudes of the siege of the city (fols. 318v, 319v, 320v, 321v, 322v, 323v, 324v, and 325v).

34. See Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 327–33 (quotation on 323).

35. Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 322–23, 608. For an edition of the passage from the *Chroniques de Hainaut* (Wauquelin's version) that concerns Alexander, see Sandrine Hériché, "Édition critique et commentaire littéraire des 'Faicts et conquestes d'Alexandre le Grant' de Jehan Wauquelin (XVème siècle)" (Ph.D. diss., Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1997), vol. 1, 81–83. For more details on this text and the manuscripts that contain it, see as well Brussels, Turnhout 2000 (see note 15).

36. *Perceforest*, pt. 4, ed. Gilles Roussineau (Paris: Droz, 1987), 133–38.

37. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Mss. 9231–32. For an analysis of the text, part of which remains unpublished, see Guy de Poerck, *Introduction à la "Fleur des*

Histoires" de Jean Mansel (XVème siècle) (Ghent: E. Claeys-Verheughe, 1936), esp. 25.

38. Dutuit 456, fol. 185.

39. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ms. Membr. I 117, fol. 136v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 707, fol. 85.

40. On the politics of territorial expansion of Philip the Good, see, most recently, Bertrand Schnerb, *L'État bourguignon, 1363–1477* (Paris: Perrin, 1999), 201–27.

41. Six of these battles are illustrated in Ms. fr. 9342 (fols. 142, 149v, 154v, 175, 183, 184). For the corresponding text, see Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 364–65, 382–84, 394–95, 442–43, 458, 459–60.

42. Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 334–35. On the symbolic significance of the episode, see Andrew R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1932).

43. Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 334.

44. See, for example, Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 104–5, 237–39. These chapters are illustrated in Ms. fr. 9342 (fols. 41v, 96).

45. See Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 244–48. The episode is illustrated in Ms. fr. 9342 (fol. 98).

46. See Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 396–405.

47. Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 399. On this episode and its interpretation, see Emmanuelle Baumgartner, "L'Orient d'Alexandre," *Bien dire et bien aprandre* 6 (1988): 13–15.

48. Ms. fr. 9342 (fols. 157 "Alexander Praying in the Val Périlleux") and 158v ("Alexander Escapes from the Val Périlleux").

49. See Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 402–3.

50. Jacques Paviot, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient (fin XIVème siècle– XVème siècle)* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), 13–14; on Philip the Good and the Crusades see also 117–76 (quotation on 13).

51. The saint's presence is all the more significant because he is absent from the dedicatory miniatures opening the first volume of the *Chroniques de Hainaut* (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9242), and the copy of *Girart de Roussillon* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2549) commissioned by Philip the Good at the same time as Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 9342.

52. See Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypo-graphique*, nos. 1351, 1352, 1375, 1476.

53. See Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 99–227, and Hériché, "Édition critique," vol. 1, 61–64.

54. See Wauquelin, *Les Faicts et conquestes*, 137–54.

55. That is one miniature per chapter (fols. 84, 85v, 86, 86v, 87v, 88, 89, 89v, 90, 90v, 91, 91v, 92v).

56. Although the volume cannot be precisely dated, we recall that it was made after the installation of Willem Vrelant in Bruges, attested to after 1454 (see note 21).

57. Victor M. Schmidt, *A Legend and Its Image: The Aerial Flight of Alexander the Great in Medieval Art*, trans. Xandra Bardet (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1995), 105–7.

58. The figure of God is making an ambiguous gesture that looks like a benediction but is made with his left hand. As Chiara Settis-Frugoni and Victor Schmidt have pointed out, God's attitude toward Alexander nevertheless remains a benevolent one, in keeping with the text of the *Roman d'Alexandre* in prose, which is the inspiration for this representation; see Chiara Settis-Frugoni, *Historia Alexandri elevati per griphos ad aerem: Origine, icono-grafia e fortuna di un tema* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1973), 239–40, and n. 95; Schmidt, *A Legend and Its Image*, 123–24.

59. Jacques Du Clercq has left us a description of it, published in Jean-Alexandre Buchon, ed., *Choix de chroniques et mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, avec notices biographiques* (Orléans: Herluison, 1875), 185.

60. See Vanderjagt, *Qui sa vertu anoblist*, 171, l. 245, et seq.

The Role of Dress in the Image of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy

Margaret Scott
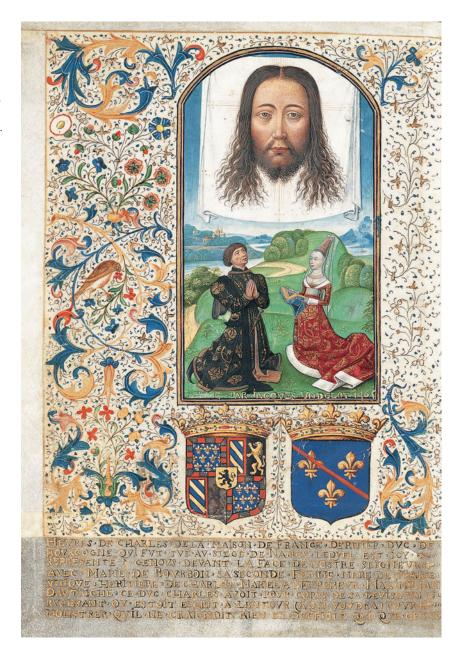
"HE WAS VERY OSTENTATIOUS IN HIS CLOTHING AND IN EVERYTHING else, a little too much so . . . he would indeed have liked to resemble those princes of antiquity about whom so much has been said since their deaths."[1] Thus wrote Philippe de Commynes toward the end of the fifteenth century in regard to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy (r. 1467–77). De Commynes spent eight years at the Burgundian court, defecting from the duke's service to that of the king of France in 1472.

One of the greatest (and perhaps also most ostentatious) eras of European fashion occurred during Charles the Bold's brief reign. Almost certainly the most conspicuous components of Charles's self-presentation and the presentation of his court lay in dress. This was the result not only of his great wealth and the prosperity that his Flemish territories had enjoyed for more than thirty years, but also of an economy at the center of international trade and of a ruler determined to make political statements through his dress.[2] A vivid impression of the clothes-conscious duke is conveyed in the rich body of manuscripts that he and his courtiers commissioned, many of which depict the duke and his court.[3] I will endeavor to describe a selection of these images in terms of their garments and fabrics, their political messages, and the relationship of the clothing portrayed in the images to those described in contemporary accounts and documents of payment (wardrobe accounts). Finally I will try to elucidate the value of the illuminations themselves in allowing us to create an accurate picture of the dress of Charles the Bold.

Wearing opulent attire seems to have been a way of life for Charles the Bold, with each splendid outfit perhaps making it more difficult to find another to outdo it. Textiles could cost so much that the money spent on his clothing would be difficult to match, or even to comprehend, today.[4] The reaction of the Englishman John Paston III to the court in 1468—he "herd neuer of none lyek to it saue Kyng Artourys cort"—would presumably have pleased Charles, who sought the rank of king assiduously, partly through messages inherent in his clothing.[5]

In discussing manuscript illuminations as a source for understanding the dress at the Burgundian court, we have to recognize that they may offer not just representations of fashionable dress, but exaggerations of it, in response to a fashionable ideal, such as very long, slender legs (see fig. 4.7). There is, however, clear evidence, both visual and documentary, that the general level of ostentation in dress increased dramatically under the dukedom of Charles the Bold. An early hint of this tendency may come in a miniature by Willem Vrelant

Figure 4.1
Willem Vrelant or workshop. *Charles the Bold and Isabella of Bourbon at Prayer*, detached miniature from a book of hours. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms. Gl. Kgl. 1612, 4°, fol. 1v.

or his workshop (fig. 4.1) that depicts Charles, while still count of Charolais, with his second wife, Isabella of Bourbon. The image echoes a Vrelant portrayal of Charles's parents yet differs in one significant respect: the older generation is content with plain fabrics, but Charles and Isabella wear patterned silks.[6]

In particular, the visual evidence suggests a marked increase in the amount of gold used in the fabrics from which clothes were made, and not just for Charles himself. Sometimes we have to ask whether the artist made aesthetic choices about the fabrics depicted, as opposed to the fabrics likely to have been worn in life by the individuals portrayed. One of the problems we encounter in the visual sources is the identification of some of those fabrics, as the general love of gold means that in art even the most unlikely figures can be

shown wearing fabrics shot through with gold. In *Le Jardin de vertueuse consolation*, Âme, dressed as a pilgrim, is presumably meant to be wearing humble, undyed, naturally brown wool, yet the fabric is highlighted in gold.[7] Much of this emphasis on gold-shot or even plain gold fabrics is to be found in illuminations from the circle of the Master of Margaret of York, in works made for the court circle.[8]

At the court of Charles the Bold, cloths made almost entirely of gold became quite usual for the ducal family, at least as shown in art, and they remained so for the clothing of some of their more immediate successors (see figs. 4.2, 4.3, 4.8, 4.10).[9] The most commonly seen golden fabrics, used for hangings or clothing, are those called cloths of gold, in which a gold-thread background supports a meandering pomegranate pattern, which is to be understood as being woven as velvet.[10] The *Chroniques de Hainaut* presentation scene, with Philip the Good in damask or patterned velvet and Charles the Bold in brocade (see fig. 7.2), provided the compositional basis for a scene in the *Enseignements paternels*, illuminated by Jean Hennecart between 1468 and 1470 for Charles the Bold (fig. 4.4).[11] In the latter scene both the princely father and son wear such cloths of gold, presumably reflecting the taste and the environment of the patron.

Figure 4.2
Lieven van Lathem. *Charles the Bold and Saint George*, in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bold. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 37, fol. 1v.

Figure 4.3
Follower of Dreux Jean. *Margaret of York and the Risen Christ*, in Nicolas Finet, *Le Dialogue de la duchesse de Bourgogne à Jésus Christ*. London, British Library, Add. Ms. 7970, fol. 1v.

Figure 4.4
Jean Hennecart. *A Prince before His Father*, in Guillebert de Lannoy, *Enseignements paternels*. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5104, fol. 66.

Figure 4.5
Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. *Mary of Burgundy(?) Reading Her Devotions*, in the Hours of Mary of Burgundy. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1857, fol. 14v.

The girl seated in the border space of a miniature from the Hours of Mary of Burgundy (fig. 4.5), dressed almost completely in shades of gold, is often identified as Charles's daughter, Mary of Burgundy.[12] Only the pinkish red of her collar and the green of her book cover provide relief from this golden coloring. But what is the main gold-colored fabric? Is it to be understood as velvet? Compared with the black velvet cloth of gold lying near her, it certainly has in its areas in shadow the more smudged quality that artists used to suggest velvet. (Representations of the robes of the Order of the Golden Fleece can be used as a "control" for checking the depiction of velvet, as in 1473 Charles the Bold changed the fabric from vermilion scarlet, a woolen cloth, to crimson velvet, a silk cloth [for the latter, see fig. 4.6].)[13] Perhaps the color of Mary's gown is not gold, but is rather to be equated with that occasionally referred to in the accounts as *tanné* (a yellowish brown), and the fabric is velvet.[14]
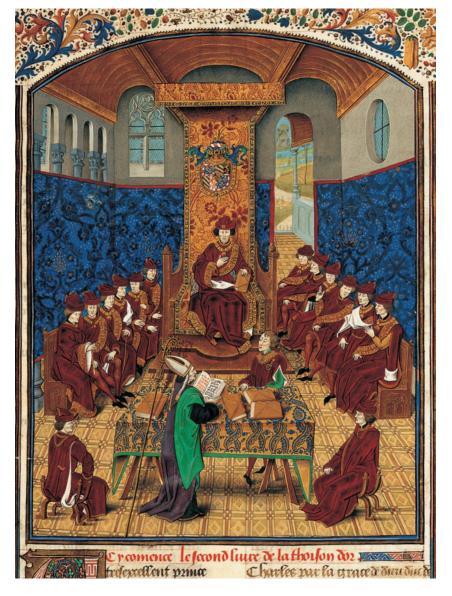
Figure 4.6
Master of the Golden Fleece. *Chapter of the Golden Fleece*, in Guillaume Fillastre, *Histoire de la Toison d'Or*, book 2. Vienna, Österreichisches Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Ordensarchiv vom Goldenen Vlies, Ms. 2, fol. 1.

In keeping with de Commynes's observation about Charles and the princes of antiquity, artists often showed Charles and Alexander the Great in fabrics that use a great deal of gold.[15] Probably in 1470 Charles the Bold received a copy of a translation of Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Livre des fais d'Alexandre le grant* (fig. 4.7).[16] In the presentation scene Loyset Liédet shows us the ideal of the fashionable appearance for men around 1470: very short gowns, very wide shoulders, and impossibly long and slender legs, which are extended even further by shoes with sharply pointed toes. At the other end of the body, tall bonnets perch on the figures' heads. Gown sleeves, and even doublet sleeves, are slit to reveal shirtsleeves beneath. Taken together, the men exemplify the elements recorded, rather sourly, as the latest fashions in 1467 in the memoirs of the Burgundian official Jacques du Clercq.[17] On the right, one courtier (a knight of the Golden Fleece) wears his short black cloak slung to one side, revealing a puffed upper sleeve on his doublet. This shows how at least a part of the wide-shouldered look was achieved.

Other elements of the dress of the courtiers are more unusual, but not completely without parallel. They perhaps reflect short-lived fashions for such things as striped doublet collars as well as cloth-of-gold hems (or else cloth of gold was used here as an alternative to the more usual fur lining and fur trimming, which are seen on several other figures).[18] Embroidered lettering is worn by no fewer than three of the courtiers, at a time when embroidery was almost nonexistent in northwestern European dress.[19] On the left a man wears a long blue velvet open-sided gown—Charles the Bold seems to have worn something of a similar cut in 1473, at a banquet in Trier (see below). Charles wears a modestly sized hat and a loose gown, which at first glance appears to be made from a plain red fabric. Closer examination, however, reveals that the fabric seems to be a red velvet shot through with gold.

Let us compare the presentation scene with the scene of Charles the Bold and his military commanders in 1475 (fig. 4.8). Much of the 1475 scene can be equated with reality: Olivier de La Marche described the ceremony as involving Charles sitting on a decorated chair, like a prince's, in the presence of the lords of the blood, his council, and nobles of the household. Richard Vaughan has noted that Charles militarized the court. This is reflected even in the civilian-looking dress of his commanders, who wear on their sleeves laces (points), which were needed to tie on armor to doublets. The doublets here, however, are fashionable and not the more serviceable doublets worn with armor.[20] The attendants at the doorway wear very short gowns, made in the dark colors that they usually wore: Charles's household servants wore black and violet in the procession of Margaret of York into Bruges in July 1468; in October, November, and December of that year, pages and some of the stablemen were dressed in black velvet and black cloth; and in April 1469 they wore black velvet and violet cloth gowns ("robes") and black satin doublets ("pourpoints").[21] The same two colors were worn by sixty court servants in the ducal procession at Trier in 1473.[22] At the front of the scene, one courtier wears a slit gown sleeve, wrapped up onto his shoulder (compare fig. 4.7). Many of the other figures wear long gowns, which show the hallmark smudginess that indicates velvet.

Figure 4.7
Loyset Liédet. *Presentation of the Book to Charles the Bold by Vasco da Lucena*, in Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Livre des fais d'Alexandre le grant*, translated by Vasco da Lucena. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 22547, fol. 1.

Figure 4.8
Master of Fitzwilliam 268. *Charles the Bold Receives His Military Captains*, in *Military Ordinance of Charles the Bold*. London, British Library, Add. Ms. 36619, fol. 5.

Charles's unbelted gown lacks the smudginess of velvet, and it appears to be entirely golden. But what is it made of? The published wardrobe accounts of Charles refer to many cloths of gold, but always with another color involved; in 1468 they were crimson, black, blue, green, and even *tanné*.[23] Perhaps crucially for the question of fabrics, the artist who painted the scene of Charles with his military commanders, the Master of Fitzwilliam 268, was an associate of the Master of Margaret of York, in whose circle gold-shot fabrics were common, as seen in *Le Jardin de vertueuse consolation*, discussed above.[24] It has to be recognized that in this instance art did not imitate life.

Clothing featured directly or indirectly as part of several of the twelve "magnificences" attributed to Charles the Bold by the official historiographers Georges Chastellain and Jean Molinet.[25] On the whole, however, manuscripts fail to convey the full splendor, not to say ostentation, of Charles's clothing, and they give very few signs of the games that he played through clothing in order

to manipulate his status. In large measure, this failure has to be attributed to the limited repertoire of scenes in which he is depicted: as devout man at prayer (fig. 4.2), as head of the Order of the Golden Fleece (fig. 4.6), as recipient of a book (fig. 4.7). The image size also may have made it difficult to include the jewels he loved sewn all over his clothes and even applied to his armor.[26]

The festivities surrounding Charles's wedding to Margaret of York in 1468 (the third "magnificence"), only a year after his elevation to the dukedom, provide the first major sign in the documentary sources of an increase in splendor. The result was the greatest extravaganza of the century, with at least 56,000 livres being spent on textiles bought from the Florentine Tommaso Portinari alone.[27] The standard price for the cloths of gold was 16 livres 16 sols an ell, almost a year's wages for a master mason (and between twenty-two and twenty-four ells were required for a man's long gown).[28] At the celebrations, the color scheme for the ducal family seems to have been dominated by gold, paired with crimson. The most expensive of the crimson cloth-of-gold gowns must have been that worn by Charles himself at the first tournament after the wedding banquet. The duke's gown was described in the wardrobe account as being made of a "very rich cloth of gold," which, at 48 livres an ell, cost nearly three times as much as standard cloth of gold.[29] An account in Flemish allows us to identify the fabric as the most elaborate type of cloth of gold, with the gold appearing not only in the background but also as loops at two heights on the surface ("goud vp goud," or gold on gold) and with the pattern in velvet of two heights ("vlu vp vlu," or velvet on velvet).[30] It was, because of its cost, often made to order.[31] In her discussion of court etiquette (written 1484–91), Aliénor de Poitiers, daughter of one of Charles's mother's ladies-in-waiting, was quite adamant that cloth of this type, which she called "drap d'or frisé" ("curly" cloth of gold), and very rich cloths of gold should be worn only by kings and other great persons (who, from her list, must include dukes), in order to maintain the distinctions of rank.[32] This is a vital clue to understanding the prominence of gold in the wardrobe of Charles the Bold.

Apart from its abnormal expense (the fabric alone cost 1,488 livres), Charles's gown for the tournament must have been an exceptional garment, as it required thirty-one ells of fabric, about a third more than his long gowns usually did.[33] Although the wedding took place in July, the gown was lined with sable. The final result was a garment that trailed on the ground and had large, open sleeves—and sleeves of this type certainly offered the maximum opportunity for display of fabric and of fur lining.[34] It was judged by Olivier de La Marche to be "most princely and rich"; its peculiar richness is hinted at in his description of it as goldsmiths' work.[35] The sleeves are described repeatedly, which suggests that they were not like those in everyday use, and indeed large, open sleeves ("grandes manches ouvertes") were not common in fashionable dress at this time. They belonged to the *houppelande* (gown) of the late fourteenth century and the first thirty years of the fifteenth century, which was revived in the late 1440s, at least in art, for the Vienna *Girart* (fig. 4.9).[36] Finally, it is enlightening to compare the cost of this extraordinary gown against the cost of Charles the Bold's copy of Quintus Curtius, which is said to have cost 5,382 Flemish groats, the equivalent of nearly 450 days' wages for a master mason.[37] The cost of only one ell of the fabric represents the wages of this master mason for 960 days.

What, therefore, are we looking at as Charles the Bold's dress in some manuscript illuminations? Sometimes he wears "normal" cloth of gold (compare fig. 4.2), but we have to consider whether the plain golden fabrics seen in illuminations may be an artistic conceit, designed to appeal to Charles's love of gold but not necessarily reflecting the realities of his wardrobe, or whether some fabrics could have been almost entirely of metal. The latter suggestion is not as unlikely as it may sound: there are extant fabrics that seem to be almost entirely of gold thread, and Charles did occasionally wear fabrics with a very high metal content.[38] At the banquet in Trier in 1473, ostensibly to honor the emperor Frederick III (part of the seventh "magnificence"), Charles appeared in a costly gown of gold and silver, glittering with jewels, and open at the sides to allow him to display the Garter (of the Order of the Garter), which he wore at his knee.[39] This gold and silver fabric may be the one described by the Milanese ambassador Johanne Pietro Panigarola in April 1475, on the occasion of the publication of an alliance among Burgundy, Savoy, and Milan. On the latter occasion Charles wore an extremely sumptuous long gown lined with sable and made of a fabric that it is difficult to imagine: it was made of gold thread, in loops, and with the silk threads (presumably those that would normally have formed the pattern around the gold threads) replaced by silver threads.[40] It was thus of Aliénor de Poitiers's "curly" variety and reflected Charles's sense of his extraordinarily high rank. It must have looked like pure metal, as does the clothing in some images of Charles.

In those images, however, it may simply be the case that artists shied away from the potential aesthetic mess of setting the duke, clad in a patterned cloth of gold, in front of a patterned hanging, and therefore developed an alternative, using a single strong color in the dress to help Charles stand out from his immediate surroundings. The dependence of the composition of the scene from the military ordinance, in which there are two patterned hangings behind Charles, on images of him as head of the Order of the Golden Fleece (compare figs. 4.8 and 4.6), in which he would have worn a strong, plain red, might also have helped the development of this strategy.[41]

Much of what we read of what Charles the Bold wore on really special occasions, as opposed to what we see him wearing as "everyday" dress in manuscripts, would seem to corroborate Philippe de Commynes's view of his ostentation. Charles was part of a world that regarded magnificence as a princely duty, as public displays of princely splendor would reassure the people that their prince was rich and powerful and, in Charles's case, fit to become a king. Manuscripts rarely show this side of Charles's use of dress, except perhaps for the strange hat in the scene of the duke with his military commanders (see fig. 4.8). Lavishly jeweled hats, whose implications of rank (ducal or regal?) bewildered contemporary observers, played an important role in Charles's quest for the title of king.[42] With these hats he wore gowns or armor encrusted with jewels and was liable to make speeches about reviving the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, absorbed by the ancestors of the French nine hundred years before.[43]

At Charles's meeting with the Emperor Frederick III in 1473 (the seventh "magnificence," for which Charles spent almost 39,000 livres on clothing for about one thousand people), the papal ambassador believed that Charles was declaring his rank(s) through three types of clothing: the first was a *mantelina*, showing that he was first of the twelve peers of France ("decanus XII

Figure 4.10
Ghent Associates. *Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian(?)*, in the Hours of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78 B 12, fol. 220v.

Parum Franciae"); the second was a mantle of gold, as in a ducal outfit ("in habito ducale"); and the third outfit was in regal style ("ad modo regale").[44] The ambiguity was continued at the eleventh "magnificence," his parliament at Malines in July 1474, when he entered the city in ducal attire, with a hat that many observers thought was a crown. The lost *argentier* accounts for that event seem to have referred to a rich ducal bonnet with the circlet of an archduke.[45]

Charles the Bold seems, in life, regularly to have outdone the dress in which he is depicted in manuscripts. He wore "straightforwardly" lavish clothes, as any great prince might have done, but he also played, as an actor would, on how they would be interpreted by observers. In this game, cloth rich with gold, on its own in manuscript illuminations and with added jewels in life, was his main prop, with the help of lavishly decorated hats of a marked hierarchical ambiguity. Yet of the splendors of his jewels and more amazing textiles and hats, we see very little in detail in illuminated manuscripts. Charles's political legacy was the absorption of his state into the Hapsburg Empire. It is arguable that his sartorial legacy meant that, for the next generation of manuscript illuminators, the great and the good, to be convincing, simply *had* to be shown dressed in cloth of gold (fig. 4.10).

Notes

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1. "Il estoit fort pompeux en habillemens et en toutes autres choses, et ung peu trop . . . eust bien voulu resembler à ces anciens princes dont il a tant esté parlé après leur mort" (Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires*, ed. Joseph Calmette and Georges Durville [Paris: H. Champion, 1924–25], vol. 2, 154–55). Some of the excesses are hinted at in the account of the new fashions of 1467 written by Jacques du Clercq, a Burgundian official and native of Arras; see *Mémoires de Jacques du Clercq (1448–1467)*, ed. Jean-Alexandre Buchon, *Collection des chroniques nationales françaises*, vol. 40 (Paris, 1826–28), 139–40.
2. On prosperity, see David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London: Longman, 1992), 376.
3. On the magnificence of the Burgundian dukes, and on the prohibitive costs of keeping up one's appearance at court, see Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts across Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 48–58, 64, 65. Richard Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (London: Allen Lane, 1975), 38, summarizes the problems of estimating the total annual expenditure on clothes.
4. See Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, 225, on the hierarchy of expenditure.
5. Norman Davis, ed., *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, pt. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 539. On Charles's ambitions, see Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 3.
6. The comparison is possible via Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "Margaret of York and the Burgundian Portrait Tradition," in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal*, ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), 49.
7. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1026, fol. 9v, illustrated in Maurits Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the Eighth to the Mid-Sixteenth Century: The Medieval World on Parchment* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1999), 412, no. 83; for fol. 28v, see Kren and

McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 248, no. 62.
8. On this group, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 217–18 and nos. 61–63.
9. Charles is shown in cloth of gold or fabrics shot through with gold in other images, such as the Master of the Ghent Life of Saint Colette's *Charles the Bold and Margaret of York with Saints Francis and Colette*, in Pierre de Vaux, *Vie de Sainte Colette* (Ghent, Convent of the Poor Clares, Ms. 8, fol. 40v), illustrated in Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures*, 381, no. 36; Lieven van Lathem's miniature in *Ordonnance touchant la conduite du premier écuyer d'écuyerie de monseigneur le duc de Bourgoigne* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. s.n. 2616, fol. 1v), illustrated ibid., 372, no. 25; and posthumously by the Master of Edward IV in Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Histoire d'Alexandre* (Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 76, fol. 1), illustrated ibid., 449, no. 50, and see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 295, for dating.
10. On the making of gold thread, and on this type of fabric, see Lisa Monnas, "Italian Silks (1300–1500)," in *Five Thousand Years of Textiles*, ed. Jennifer Harris (London: British Museum Press, 1993), 168, 169. Extant examples can be seen in Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), fig. 39; Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, eds., *Gothic: Art for England, 1400–1547*, exh. cat. (London: V & A Publications, 2003), no. 201, ill. 328.
11. Damask is a fabric in which the pattern is most commonly created by altering the structure of the weave, and hence the play of light, on threads of one color. Brocading involves the use of contrasting threads, often of metal, which are present in only the limited areas in which they contribute to the pattern of the textile. See Harris, ed., *Five Thousand Years of Textiles*, 20–21. For the *Chroniques*, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 3. For the *Enseignements*, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 56; Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures*, 364, no. 15; and *Meesterlijke Middeleuwen: Miniaturen van Karel de Grote tot Karel de Stoute, 800–1475*, exh. cat. (Zwolle: Waanders; Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2002), 312.
12. On women's clothing of this type in 1467, see du Clercq, *Mémoires*, 139, and Margaret Scott, *Late Gothic Europe, 1400–1500* (London: Mills & Boon, 1980), 176.

13. See Henri Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont, eds., *Mémoires d'Olivier de La Marche, maître d'hôtel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire* (Paris, 1883–88), vol. 1, 134 ("il fist chambier les robbes et manteaux des chevaliers de l'ordre, qui estoient d'escarlate vermeilz, à velours cramoisy"), and vol. 3, 203 n. 5. The 1473 statutes and armorial of the order in The Hague (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 E 10, fol. 5v) show scarlet; see Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures*, 366, no. 18.
14. In 1468 Charles bought *tanné* cloth of gold at 16 livres 16 sols an ell for himself. *Tanné* velvet for Mary of Burgundy's dwarf cost 72 sols an ell: see Anke Greve, Emilie Lebailly, and Werner Paravicini, *Comptes de l'argentier de Charles le Téméraire, duc de Bourgogne*, vol. 1, *Année 1468* (Paris: Boccard, 2001), nos. 2285, 2284. One ell of Bruges is equivalent to 27¾ English inches; see Jill Dunkerton et al., *Giotto to Dürer: Early Renaissance Painting in the National Gallery* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: National Gallery Publications, 1991), 390.
15. See Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 54, 229. Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, 81, notes that despite his passion for military matters, Charles (unlike Alexander) conquered far less territory than his father (another Philip) had done. See also Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy*, new ed. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2002), 181, on how everyone, including Charles himself, likened him to Alexander (and other ancient heroes). For depictions of Alexander in gold in Quintus Curtius Rufus manuscripts from the Master of Margaret of York group, see, for instance, the Master of Margaret of York's miniature in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2566, fol. 49, 1468–81, in Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures*, 380, no. 34; and Master of the *Jardin de vertueuse consolation*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 8, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 63.
16. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 54.
17. See du Clercq, *Mémoires*, 139–40, and Scott, *Late Gothic Europe*, 176. For an extant example of the long-toed shoes, see André Vandewalle, *Les marchands de la Hanse et la banque des Médicis: Bruges, marché d'échanges culturels en Europe* (Oostkamp: Stichting Kunstboek, 2002), 81.
18. Patterned fabric is used to edge the gown worn by the lady beside Jean de Montferrant

in *Les Douze Dames de rhétorique* (Cambridge University Library, Ms. Nn.3.2), illustrated in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 267.

19. Embroidery seems to have been retained on a regular basis only for the outfits of members of the ducal bodyguard and for outfits worn for the 1468 jousts. See Greve et al., *Comptes de l'argentier*, vol. 1, nos. 466, 1256, 1513: the *paletoz* of the archers were decorated with silver, and attendants at the jousts had "sanguine" satin "mantelines" (short cloaks?) embroidered with the letters *C* and *M* and with flames. (*Paletoz* seem to have been semi-military garments; see de La Marche, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, 272 n. 2.) Charles had a vermilion velvet gown embroidered on one side with a gold letter and on its folds with drops of gold, with large pearls and balas rubies added to the embroidery ("cyphre d'or et sur les ploix gouttes d'or, sur laquelle broudure et autour de ladicte robe furent mises pluseurs grosses perles et baillaizes"), as well as a long black satin gown, embroidered as richly as could be ("si richement que faire se povoit").

20. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 64. See de La Marche, *Mémoires*, vol. 4, 85–86: "siet en chayere parée, comme a prince appartient." On military elements, see Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 193, and Claude Blair, *European Armour, circa 1066 to circa 1700* (London: Batsford, 1958), 78.

21. De La Marche, *Mémoires*, vol. 3, 108ff.; and compare Greve et al., *Comptes de l'argentier*, vol. 1, nos. 2070–72. See also Anke Greve, Emilie Lebailly, and Werner Paravicini, *Comptes de l'argentier de Charles le Téméraire, duc de Bourgogne*, vol. 2, *Année 1469* (Paris: Boccard, 2002), nos. 1183–84.

22. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 143.

23. Greve et al., *Comptes de l'argentier*, vol. 1, nos. 2284–85.

24. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 218.

25. *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, ed. Jean-Alexandre Buchon, *Collection des chroniques nationales françaises*, vol. 43 (Paris, 1826–28), 240–42.

26. In 1471 Gérard Loyet was paid for making for Charles a hat of steel, covered with a ducal hat in gold and decorated with an elaborate jewel in the shape of three guns (cf. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 169). It sounds like a dual-purpose item—a helmet tricked out to look like a crown, if only, at this stage, a ducal crown.

27. On the wedding as the wedding of the century, see Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, 58. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 48–53, summarizes contemporary accounts of the event. See Greve et al., *Comptes de l'argentier*, vol. 1, nos. 2283, 2284, for the payments.

28. Greve et al., *Comptes de l'argentier*, vol. 1, nos. 2284, 2285.

29. Greve et al., *Comptes de l'argentier*, vol. 1, no. 2284.

30. A. J. Enschedé, "Huwelijksplechtigheden van Karel van Bourgondië en Margaretha van York," *Kronijk van het historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, 5th ser., 2 (1866): 39.

31. Monnas, "Italian Silks," 170.

32. Aliénor de Poitiers, *Les honneurs de la cour*, in *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie*, ed. Jean Baptiste De La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (Paris: Girard, 1826): vol. 2, 214. The more usual term for this "curly" fabric seems to have been *drap d'or tixu*; it was known more informatively in Italian as *riccio sopra riccio* (loop over loop). On the use of the word *tissue* in England to denote fabrics of this type, see Lisa Monnas, "'Tissues' in England during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens (CIETA) Bulletin* 75 (1998): 62–80. Consistent with Aliénor's view would be an English law of 1509/10, which was to prohibit the use of "clothe of golde tyssue" by anyone under the rank of duke (Monnas, "'Tissues' in England," 76). Possibly the finest surviving example of this type of textile is the crimson velvet *riccio sopra riccio* altar frontal given by Pope Sixtus IV (1471–84) to the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi (see Lisa Monnas, "The Artists and the Weavers: The Design of Woven Silks in Italy, 1350–1550," *Apollo* 125 [1987]: 416–24, figs. 10, 11, pls. v, vi).

33. Charles's long gowns made of silks, including cloths of gold, usually required between twenty-two and twenty-four ells of fabric. Two of those made for the wedding followed this pattern: a long *robe* of very rich gray velvet on a satin ground (twenty-two ells), and a *robe* of unspecified size (but presumably long), of twenty-four ells of very rich crimson velvet on velvet (Greve et al., *Comptes de l'argentier*, vol. 1, no. 2285).

34. The accounts describe it in terms such as "a grant manch ouverte," "longue robe traynant," and "traynant a terre" (see Greve et al., *Comptes de l'argentier*, vol. 1, nos. 1105, 1107, 2285). The *Traictié des nopces de Monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne et de Brabant*, in de La Marche, *Mémoires*, vol. 4,

108, describes it as a "robe à longues manches jusques en terre, de drap d'or fourre de très fines martres sabelines."

35. De La Marche, *Mémoires*, vol. 3, 122–23: "robe d'orfavrerie à grandes manches ouvertes ... moult princial et riche." He is alone in describing it as goldsmith's work.

36. See Margaret Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London: Batsford, 1986), pls. 38, 42, 45, 55, 63–65. For reproductions of the Girart illuminations, see Dagmar Thoss, *Das Epos der Burgunderreiches Girart de Roussillon: Mit der Wiedergabe aller 53 Miniaturseiten des Widmungsexemplars für Philipp den Guten, Herzog von Burgund, Codex 2549 der Österreichischen National-bibliothek in Wien* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1989).

37. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 63, no. 16.

38. Among the extant fabrics is that designed by Antonio Pollaiuolo for Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary (1458–90), now in the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest; illustrated in color in Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke, eds., *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450–1650* (London: German Historical Institute; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 12, pl. 4. Compare the mostly gold-thread fabric of the vestments woven in Florence to the order of Henry VII of England (Stonyhurst College, Lancashire; on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London). See Marks and Williamson, eds., *Gothic*, no. 31, 169, pl. 11.

39. In *Libellus de magnificentia ducis Burgundiae*, in *Basler Chroniken* 3 (1887): 361: "gehehabitueert ende ghecleet wesende met een wtermaten ende costelicken tabbaert van goude ende van siluer, met also vele wtter-maten precieuse ghesteenten, die als sterren stonden ende blincten ... desen tabbaert was aen beyden zijden open, dat men daer sien mocht die costelickheyt ende cierhyet zijner hosen, opten welcken hy draghende was die ordene des conincx Eduwaert van Enghelant." Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 146, mistakenly translates *tabbaert* as "tabard" (the open-sided garment still worn by heralds); had the garment actually been a tabard, there would have been no need to explain, for a fifteenth-century audience, that it was open on both sides. That *tabbaert* meant a gown at this period (and is often wrongly translated today) is shown in Marieke de Winkel, "Fashion and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings" (Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam, 2003), 6 n. 1.

40. Elia Colombo, "Iolanda Duchessa di Savoia (1465–1478): Studio storico corredato di documenti inediti," *Miscellanea di storia italiana* 31 (1894): 279–80: "vestito di una roba longa di drapo doro rizo richissimo: nel quale per scontro di setta era argento relevato fodrato [*sic*] de sebelline." *Rizo* may be a combination of dialect and careless layman's terminology, which would mean that the fabric was of the looped *riccio sopra riccio* type (see note 32 above). On the interchange-ability of *c*, *g*, and *z* in Italian dialects, see Jacqueline Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy, 1400–1500* (London: Bell & Hyman; Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1981), 209.

41. The dependence is noted in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 252.

42. Discussed in Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, 175, 183, and Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 168–70. The jeweled hat that Charles lost at the Battle of Grandson is illustrated in Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, 97.

43. See Joseph Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy: The Magnificent Dukes and Their Courts*, trans. Doreen Weightman (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), 172, on Charles's readiness to see a Burgundian king-dom established on the ruins of France.

44. Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, 123; Alfio Rosario Natale, "Il diario di Cicco Simonetta," *Archivio storico lombardo* 77 (1950): 171.

45. *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, 242: "en habit ducal . . . le chapel en teste, que multi-tude de gens jugeoient estre couronne." On the *argentier* reference ("un riche bonnet ducal avec un cercle d'archiduc"), see Werner Paravicini, "Die zwölf 'Magnificences' Karls des Kühnen," in *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, ed. Gerd Althoff (Stuttgart: J. Thorbeke, 2001), 269. In this discussion I ignore the bimorph image of a ruler, sometimes identified as Charles the Bold, in Montpellier, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds C. Cavalier, no. 216. Its appearance has nothing to do with the recorded appearances of Charles the Bold; indeed it, and the female personifications with it, seems to me to be theatrical. See Chipps Smith, "Margaret of York," 49–50. Illustrated in color in Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures*, 368.

CHAPTER 5

The Suggestive Brush: Painting Techniques in Flemish Manuscripts from the Collections of the J. Paul Getty Museum and the Huntington Library

Nancy K. Turner

FROM THE EARLIEST ART-HISTORICAL INQUIRIES INTO THE Flemish primitives, the subjects of paint media (oil versus tempera) and the visual effects achieved in oil have been central to the study of Flemish panel painting.[1] By contrast, for those investigating Flemish manuscript painting of the same period, identification of materials and methods of painting have received considerably less attention; only in the last few years have Flemish manuscript-painting materials been the subject of scientific inquiry.[2] The relationships between Flemish panel painting and manuscript illumination have been explored by art historians, mainly from an iconographic or stylistic point of view,[3] and the recent exhibition and catalogue *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* revealed even further specific links between media.[4] As that exhibition and publication made clear, illuminators and panel painters working in Flanders between 1440 and 1540 influenced each other in significant ways. Panel painters clearly took inspiration from their book-painting contemporaries, while visual effects being achieved by panel painters in oil undoubtedly inspired book painters to make innovative use of their traditional medium.

While this essay cannot add to the formidable scholarship that draws on archival or historical evidence to shed light on these relationships, I will attempt to offer an in-depth examination of manuscript-painting techniques as observed through the microscope. Looking at manuscripts from the collections of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, and the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, that include miniatures by five of the most compelling illuminators or workshops featured in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, I will explore manuscript illumination's technical relationship to paintings on panel. The attributions of the illuminations discussed here follow those given in the exhibition catalogue, namely, Jan van Eyck's workshop, Simon Marmion, Gerard David, the Master of James IV of Scotland, and Simon Bening. The close visual and technical analysis of Flemish illumination, along with the study of Flemish painting treatises of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, can further augment our understanding of surviving works by these artists. Although space does not allow for a discussion of Flemish painting treatises here,[5] what I hope to demonstrate in this essay is what I perceive as an apparent shift in the handling of manuscript-painting materials by these five artists or workshops across the period from around 1440 to 1540. While exploring the technical connections between manuscript illumination and panel painting over the course of this roughly one-hundred-year period, I will describe how painting

materials were employed by each artist, how each artist's work deviates from traditional practices, and how our understanding of the relationships between book and panel painting during this period might be refined by these technical observations.[6]

An Eyckian Illumination from the Turin-Milan Hours

Media have long been a central concern of researchers investigating the paintings of Jan van Eyck and his workshop.[7] In studying the Getty's leaf by the workshop of Jan van Eyck, *Christ Blessing* (ca. 1440–45) from the Turin-Milan Hours,[8] no sample of the paint layer could be taken for analysis due to the miniature's nearly pristine condition. Thus, we cannot say precisely which painting medium was used to bind the pigments for this miniature, other than that it was most likely a water-soluble medium. Observations of *Christ Blessing* at high magnification, however, combined with X-ray fluorescence analysis, begin to reveal a subtle layering of closely related hues (fig. 5.1) that is more typical of painting on panel. For instance, in the red robe of Christ, the illuminator interwove four different red pigments to paint the drapery: vermilion, red lead, red ocher, and an organic red glaze (fig. 5.2).[9] Starting with an underlayer of the orange-hued lead red mixed or layered with red ocher, the artist then modeled the drapery with the more brilliant true red of vermilion, defined highlights with a thinly applied lead white, and rendered deep shadows in a rich organic red glaze. The use of deep, rich glazes throughout the image and the highly refined painting technique of thin, parallel strokes create a blended effect and impart an enamel-like, reflective quality to the surface, evocative of oil painting on panel. Interestingly, a similar layering and combination of these specific pigments within passages of red appears to be fairly common in panel paintings from the workshops of Van Eyck and his contemporaries.[10]

Although the painter of *Christ Blessing* generally followed the traditional manuscript-painting technique of "raising" and "shading" for the rendering of drapery,[11] the end result is quite different from what is typically found in book painting. The painter started with a preliminary paint layer of a middle tone, which was subsequently "shaded" or deepened with a darker tone in areas of shadow and then "raised" or highlighted with white or a paler value of the same hue or a contrasting pale color. In this instance, however, the illuminator worked with tremendous refinement, employing four reds of differing value and saturation and contrasting warm against cool reds. Although an unblended technique was used, the fine strokes are so subtle in their gradation of tones that they visually blend together when the miniature is viewed from the distance at which the reader would hold the manuscript. This "visual blending"—along with the use of deep, rich organic glazes and the reflective surface they create—emulates in water-based medium on parchment the blended aesthetic of the oil medium seen in Van Eyck's panels.

The unblended technique found in the drapery of *Christ Blessing* can also be seen in the brown robes in the Eyckian *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, dating to the 1430s, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which was rendered in oil on parchment and mounted on wood panel.[12] Although there remains some disagreement over the attribution of the Philadelphia painting, it is noteworthy that it was painted at a similar scale to *Christ Blessing* and that it exhibits a comparable painting technique. Very fine strokes can be seen in the

Figure 5.1
Master of the Berlin Crucifixion or circle. *Christ Blessing*. Leaf from the Milan-Turin Hours. J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 67 (detail).

Figure 5.2
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 5.1), showing red robe.

Figure 5.3
Jan van Eyck. *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*. Oil on parchment mounted on panel, 12.4 × 14.6 cm (4⅞ × 5¾ in.). Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, cat. 314 (detail).

unblended highlights in white over the brown of the robe (fig. 5.3), akin to the blue and red drapery in the Getty leaf. Marigene Butler described the technique: "The form of the robes and rocks is modeled using very fine strokes of a shadow or highlight tone laid upon the surface of a base layer of paint. The use of this particular technique for modeling form may have been dictated by the small scale.... Only when one examines the... painting using magnification can the individual, minute, delicate strokes of paint be distinguished and fully appreciated."[13] Moreover, as with the Philadelphia *Saint Francis*,[14] a thin priming of lead white may have been used to prepare the parchment on which the *Christ Blessing* was painted: X-ray fluorescence analysis identified the presence of lead in all areas tested, including areas where lead-based pigments were presumably not used.[15] Thus, due to their similarly small scale and intended viewing distance and their unblended technique, presumably on a lead white ground, we see some correspondence in the painting techniques, particularly in the drapery, in both oil and tempera on parchment.
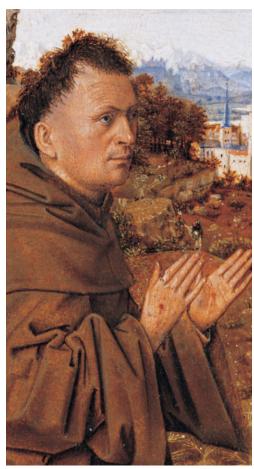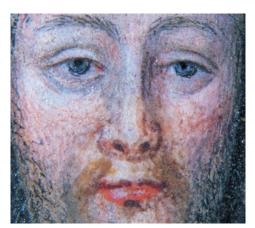
Figure 5.4
Jan van Eyck. *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (detail, fig. 5.3).

Figure 5.5
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 5.1), showing Christ's face.

A further type of "visual blending" can also be observed in the face of Christ (fig. 5.5). Modeling with multicolored daubs and strokes, the painter of *Christ Blessing* employed translucent glazes of pink and opaque touches of dilute white, with applications of reddish brown; gray-black; purplish gray for the nose, eyebrows, and beard; and touches of pale pink and red for the cheeks and lips. Even touches of yellow ocher were added to the beard and moustache to give texture to the facial hair. The loose, spontaneous handling of paint visible under magnification creates a sympathetic and enlivened description of Christ's countenance. A comparison of Christ's features in the Getty's Turin-Milan Hours leaf with those of Saint Francis in the Philadelphia painting (fig. 5.4) reveals a greater blending in the way Saint Francis's visage is painted. By contrast, the illuminator of *Christ Blessing* employed a wider color palette of opaque pigments and fine glazes to build up the face than his cohort working in oil, relying upon a comfortable viewing distance to achieve a "visual blending" that affects the three-dimensionality so characteristic of Eyckian illusionism.

A digital image taken in the infrared range (fig. 5.6) affords an opportunity to observe the underdrawing in the figure and compare it with surviving Eyckian workshop drawings as well as with the underdrawings discovered in the other surviving Eyckian miniatures from the Turin-Milan Hours.[16] In the infrared image of *Christ Blessing*, we recognize some of the stylistic characteristics of Eyckian workshop drawings: strong rectilinear lines delineating the drapery folds, scant use of parallel hatching along fold lines, and small terminus hooks to suggest the ends of two folds. These features are also typical of drawings attributed to Van Eyck's followers. For instance, a drawing of Saint Paul by a follower of Van Eyck (ca. 1430–40; fig. 5.7) from a series of twelve apostles now in the Albertina, Vienna, shares the use of abbreviated key strokes and strong vertical lines used to delineate the drapery folds, with parallel hatching and very few terminus hooks at the ends of the folds.[17] Taken to be model sheets or copies after Eyckian models, these drawings have a clear descriptive finish without internal modifications or hesitation with the pen, very like the underdrawing in *Christ Blessing*. Comparing the *Christ Blessing* infrared with underdrawings revealed in other Eyckian miniatures from the Turin-Milan Hours, similar strong, unbroken lines indicate the shadows and describe the folds.[18] Hatchings parallel to the linear fold lines are visible in the infrared of

Figure 5.6
Digital infrared scan of *Christ Blessing* (detail, fig. 5.1).

Figure 5.7
After Jan van Eyck. *Saint Paul*. Ink on paper. Vienna, Albertina, inv. 3032 (detail).

the Getty leaf, but no perpendicular hatchings in the deep shadows can be detected, nor can any pentimenti or corrections, suggesting the use of a pattern. The underdrawing's directness and clarity generally correspond to surviving drawings attributed to Van Eyck's followers dating to the third and fourth decades of the century, like the Albertina apostles. Thus, aspects of the painting technique and underdrawing found in the miniature *Christ Blessing*—including the highly refined additive strokes, the use of glazes, the even visual blending, and the bold underdrawing—share qualities with surviving Eyckian paintings in oil and with surviving Eyckian pattern drawings.[19]

Simon Marmion: Panel Painter and Illuminator

Simon Marmion was well known both as an illuminator and as a panel painter, and his work in both media is documented and can be directly compared.[20] His style in manuscripts is characterized by a highly economical painting technique as well as by a distinctive palette that includes a brilliant spring green, salmon pink, chartreuse, gray-blue, red, blue, and white. These

features can be found in one of Marmion's most original commissions, *Les Visions du chevalier Tondal* (1475), now in the Getty's collection.[21] Working with great economy on a small scale, Marmion painted drapery with a middle tone, applying quick, linear strokes in a dark organic glaze to define the folds, followed by fine hatching in gold or white to render highlights (fig. 5.8). In the faces, he employed a few linear parallel strokes in pale pink, white, and red, with daubs of gray in the shadow of the jaw, followed by dashes of brown to define the eyes, nose, and lips.

Marmion's work as a painter on panel has been described by Maryan Ainsworth, who has studied his oil paintings closely, as consisting of "disengaged brushstrokes" with a "relatively matte finish," not blended modeling as is typical for panel painting in oil. She argues that these qualities are evidence of his training first as a manuscript illuminator before he turned to painting on panel.[22] Yet Marmion did not just bring manuscript-painting techniques to oil on panel, he also brought panel-painting techniques to the page, as is evident in the Getty's *Tondal*. Comparing a detail from the *Tondal* (fig. 5.8) with the Metropolitan Museum of Art's *Lamentation* panel of around 1470 (fig. 5.10)[23] reveals that Marmion used the same technique for the flesh tones in both formats: starting with a broadly applied tan underpaint, he modeled with fine, additive strokes of reddish pink. But, more interestingly, he also employed scumbles of white paint over the tan underpaint. For instance, the nude figure

Figure 5.8
Simon Marmion. *The Knight Tondal with Angel*, in *Les Visions du chevalier Tondal*. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 30, fol. 37 (detail).

Figure 5.9
Simon Marmion. *The Lamentation*, oil on panel, 51.8 × 32.7 cm (20⁷/₁₆ × 12⁷/₈ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, inv. 1975.1.125.

Figure 5.10
Simon Marmion, *The Lamentation*
(detail, fig. 5.9).

Figure 5.11
Simon Marmion. *The Crucifixion*, in
the Berlaymont Hours. San Marino,
The Huntington Library, Ms. HM 1173,
fol. 24 (detail).

Figure 5.12
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 5.11), show-
ing Christ's torso.

of Tondal was rendered with the tan undertone, then modeled with a dry scumble of white paint dragged across the surface and shaded with slightly curved, additive strokes of brown ink. This use of a lighter-toned, opaque pigment that appears to have been dragged with the brush over a darker ground is similar to what we see in Marmion's technique in oil. Scumbles of white over a darker underpaint were used in his *Lamentation* panel, particularly in the flesh tones of the figures, as in Christ's arms, shoulders, and torso. Scumbling is a panel painter's technique, not one that was generally used by manuscript illuminators before this date; thus, its use in book painting is noteworthy.[24]

This combination of modeling techniques was done especially effectively in the body of Christ from Marmion's *Crucifixion* miniature in the Berlaymont Hours (ca. 1470–75; fig. 5.11) in the Huntington Library.[25] Again, the artist's repertoire of a white scumble over a brownish flesh tone underlayer, with additive parallel strokes and hatches in brownish gray ink to render shadow can be plainly seen (fig. 5.12). He made great use of translucent organic inks or colored glazes to render deep shadows, as in the brown glaze along the right edge of Christ's body and legs. Glazes are typically associated with oil-painting technique, although certain manuscript illuminators made use of them to great effect.[26] Like the Eyckian miniaturist, Marmion employed rich glazes throughout the Berlaymont Hours for linear details—for instance, to create deep shadows and a glossy surface within hair or beards, to delineate drapery, and to add depth to the flesh tones and facial details. Although Simon Marmion may be best known for his innovative Purgatory imagery, as found in *Tondal*, and for his effective use of half-length compositions later in his career, I find his economical painting style equally innovative for its combination of traditional rendering techniques, such as the additive parallel hatching strokes typical of the illuminator, with methods more closely associated with oil, such as scumbled highlights and glazed shadows.

Figure 5.13
Gerard David. *The Virgin and Child*, in the Hours of Margaretha van Bergen. San Marino, The Huntington Library, Ms. HM 1131, fol. 93.

Gerard David as Illuminator

One of the greatest Flemish panel painters of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was Gerard David. In contrast to Simon Marmion, David is best known for his works on panel, while his book-painting techniques have not yet been fully analyzed.[27] Recently attributed to David, *The Virgin and Child* from the Hours of Margaretha van Bergen in the collection of the Huntington Library is notable for its poignant and breathtakingly beautiful depiction of the subject (fig. 5.13).[28] In the draperies of the figures, the conventional illumination technique discussed earlier of "raising" and "shading" using hatched and crosshatched strokes to model form into relief and shadow was fully utilized. In the flesh tones, the figures were modeled with painstakingly fine, additive, disengaged strokes and stipples in light brown and gray over a pale pink flesh tone, with further shading in strokes of red and pink.

But significantly—and, I believe, rather atypically given the date of this miniature (said to be done shortly before 1500)—David also used a thin glaze of gray—like a veil over the flesh-colored ground—to add subtlety to the shadows and to give a blended, sfumato effect. For instance, the painter employed a delicate wash across the child's neck and hand (figs. 5.14, 5.15) and across the Virgin's neck and forehead (fig. 5.16). These deft and restrained dilute gray glazes give a rich, luminous quality to the areas of shadow, creating a remarkable three-dimensionality that is comparable only to effects achieved in David's oils. The small devotional image in oil of the Virgin and Child

Figure 5.14
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 5.13), showing child's neck.

Figure 5.15
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 5.13), showing child's hands.

Figure 5.16
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 5.13), showing Virgin's forehead.

attributed to Gerard David (ca. 1490; fig. 5.17), from a Spanish private collection, offers a direct comparison to the Huntington's David miniature.[29] In the oil painting, David glazed the same areas where the thin gray wash was used in the Huntington *Virgin and Child*, notably in the child's neck and hand and in the Virgin's neck and forehead.

Perhaps because David came to manuscript illumination after his training and success as a panel painter, he emulated in the water-based medium of the illuminator the effects he was so renowned for achieving in oil. The use of a more dilute medium became increasingly prevalent among manuscript illuminators as they moved into the sixteenth century: this development might be credited in part to David and his influence upon illuminators with whom he collaborated in the following decades.[30]

The Master of James IV of Scotland: A New Approach

The painting technique of the Master of James IV of Scotland heralds a strikingly new use of color and the brush, techniques that may betray influences from his associates and collaborators, such as Gerard David. Close examination

Figure 5.17
Gerard David. *Virgin and Child*. Oil on panel, 9 × 7 cm (3½ × 2¾ in.). Valencia, Spain, Serra Algaza collection.

Figure 5.18
Master of James IV of Scotland.
Abraham and the Three Angels, in the
Spinola Hours. J. Paul Getty Museum,
Ms. Ludwig IX 18, fol. 11v (detail).

Figure 5.19
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 5.18), show-
ing Abraham's face.

Figure 5.20
Master of James IV of Scotland.
Abraham and the Three Angels (detail,
fig. 5.18, with Abraham).

of illuminations from the Spinola Hours (ca. 1510–20) in the Getty's collec-
tion[31] reveals the Master of James IV of Scotland's fresh approach to the page
(fig. 5.18). For instance, in the face of Abraham (fol. 11v), a tan flesh-tone
underlayer was modeled with brown, pale pink, carmine red, pale yellow, and
even pale green in the shadows and through the hair (fig. 5.19). These hues
were applied as thin, dilute layers, which were painted quickly and dried rap-
idly on the page. His use of the brush is noteworthy, for it appears that he used
a brush with a larger belly, giving a more pronounced thick-to-thin stroke in
comparison with the even, parallel strokes we saw in the work of earlier illumi-
nators. Moreover, the Master of James IV's pastel palette and predilection for
secondary hues are particularly striking: for instance, in Abraham's hat an
organic pink outline was overlaid with a lavender (an admixture of organic
pink and mineral blue) and modeled with a thin wash of opaque pale green on
top. In Abraham's drapery the traditional "raising" and "shading" method of
hatched and crosshatched strokes was employed along with an innovative use
of a coarsely ground mineral blue scumbled over orange (its complement) for a
changeant lining to Abraham's robe (fig. 5.20). Notably, the dilution of the
mineral blue was varied, depending upon the value desired for the shadow, not
lightened by adding white. This practice of varying the grind of the pigment
might be something one finds in painting on panel, but as far as I am aware, it
is a technique not typically found in manuscript paintings before this date.

In landscape details, broad applications of thin washes were used to render rocky outcroppings and the water, for instance, in a border depiction of *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (fig. 5.21). What I find particularly remarkable is the reflection in the water, where I believe the artist first painted in the reflected colors in pink and orange, then intentionally removed color by blotting away a portion of these pigments, leaving just a trace of reflected color to capture the translucency of the reflection and suggest movement in the water's surface as the donkey takes its drink (figs. 5.22–23). As Thomas Kren has pointed out, the Master of James IV was especially interested in water and lighting effects,[32] and this is one of his most effective passages. In a panel painting in oil attributed to him, *Portrait of Livina de Steelant* (ca. 1500–1510; fig. 5.24), one again finds these interests in water effects and reflection within the background landscape of this group portrait.[33] Lorne Campbell has described how Jan van Eyck used his fingers to soften contours in the *Arnolfini Portrait*.[34] But this example from the Spinola Hours appears to be a rare instance of direct manipulation of the surface to achieve a specific effect—the moving reflection

Figures 5.21–22
Master of James IV of Scotland. Border with *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, in the Spinola Hours. J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX 18, fol. 140v (full page and detail).

Figure 5.23
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 5.21), showing reflection in water.

Figure 5.24
Master of James IV of Scotland. *Portrait of Livina de Steelant.* Oil on panel, 43 × 33.5 cm (16^{15}/$_{16}$ × 13^{3}/$_{16}$ in.). Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 1937-A.

on the water's surface—in a manuscript painting. Thus, the application of pigments in a highly diluted medium; a predilection for pastel and secondary hues; the building up of facial features with strokes of pure color in a quickly applied, even abstracted, way; the direct manipulation of the paint surface; the effective use of a variety of brush types; and an interest in ephemeral qualities of light and reflection are some of the innovations brought to book painting by the Master of James IV of Scotland in the first decades of the sixteenth century.

Simon Bening: A Technical Synthesis

Simon Bening, often considered the last great Flemish illuminator, synthesized in his work many of the traditional techniques of manuscript painting with techniques of oil painting and with a number of innovations introduced by such associates as Gerard David and the Master of James IV of Scotland. By the date of the Prayer Book of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg (ca. 1525–30)

in the collection of the Getty Museum, Bening was working at the height of his powers.[35] Even in the dramatically lit night scenes, which were his specialty, Bening proved himself a vivid colorist. For instance, in *The Betrayal of Christ* (fig. 5.25), he employed a varied and rich palette, playing upon striking color contrasts, such as the complementary orange and blue modeling on the garment of the soldier at Christ's right and the chartreuse-colored tunic at far right that is modeled in the folds with broad, downward strokes of a complementary purple glaze.[36] On this folio, Bening also made use of a variety of brush sizes, from a very fine brush point for shading in orange on blue in the soldier's garment with tiny additive strokes, to a broader brush for describing the purple drapery folds in the chartreuse tunic.

Bening's techniques share similarities with those of the Master of James IV of Scotland and Gerard David in a number of ways. In one instance, Bening directly manipulated the paint surface: in the *Arrest of Christ* (fol. 107v) from the Brandenburg Prayer Book, what first looked to me like damage to the paint surface (an offset loss within the hair of Christ) in fact was done intentionally. To depict the spittle flung by one of Christ's tormentors, Bening apparently painted the hair in brown, then applied water (or perhaps his own saliva) to the dried paint and subsequently blotted up the brown pigment to create an oval-shaped loss, which effectively describes the insult (fig. 5.26).[37]

Figure 5.25
Simon Bening. *The Betrayal of Christ*, in the Prayer Book of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX 19, fol. 102v (detail).

Figure 5.26
Simon Bening. *Arrest of Christ*, in the Prayer Book of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX 19, fol. 107v (photomicrograph, showing Christ's face).
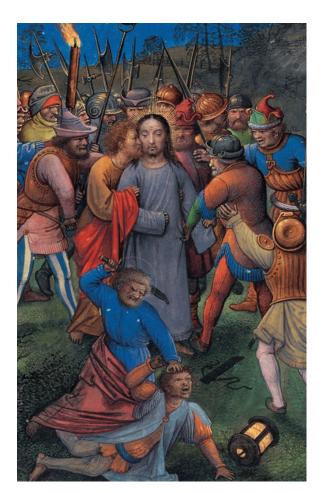
Figure 5.27
Simon Bening. *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, leaf from the Munich-Montserrat Hours. J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 3.

Figure 5.28
Simon Bening. *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (detail, fig. 5.27, with archers).

Figure 5.29
Simon Bening. *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (detail, fig. 5.27, with Saint Sebastian).

Figure 5.30
Simon Bening. *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (detail, fig. 5.27, background).

By a decade after the Brandenburg Prayer Book, Bening's techniques had completely synthesized the methods of his fellow painters. For instance, in the Getty's *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (fig. 5.27), a detached miniature from the Munich-Montserrat Hours (ca. 1535–40),[38] Bening used a coarsely ground mineral blue of varying dilution to throw the archer's sash into relief and shadow (see fig. 5.28), a technique similar to that used by the Master of James IV in the Spinola Hours. Faces like the archer's were built up with quick, simplified strokes and dilute daubs of color to enliven the flesh tones. There is a loose, animated quality to Bening's figures that reveals inspiration from the facial types of the Master of James IV of Scotland, a quality not seen again until the work of Pieter Bruegel decades later.[39] Furthermore, like Gerard David, Simon Bening employed a gray glaze over a tan flesh tone combined with additive hatching strokes. We see this technique quite clearly in Sebastian's torso, neck, and face, which were modeled with a gray wash over the flesh tone in areas of shadow and further rendered with fine, curved, additive strokes in two dilutions of brown (fig. 5.29). Finally, Bening employed the brush in a variety of ways. For instance, in the foliage of the trees, he applied a variety of strokes and stipples with both stiff and soft bristle brushes. By contrast, in the misty background behind the saint, thick applications of pigment were built up in rapid succession to create a wet-into-wet impasto (fig. 5.30). The variety of strokes and surprisingly loose and quick handling of the brush are similar to some of the landscape details in the only recognized painting in oil on panel attributed to Bening, the Metropolitan Museum's *Virgin and Child* (fig. 5.31).[40]

Figure 5.31
Attributed to Simon Bening. *The Virgin and Child*. Oil on panel, 25.4 × 21.5 cm (10 × 8¹/₂ in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931, 32.100.53.

Thus, by the second and third decades of the sixteenth century, we find in the work of the Master of James IV of Scotland and Simon Bening the techniques that might have been inspired by the effects they observed and even practiced in painting on panel. We find passages of enamel-like thickness alongside passages rendered in a dilute medium and even, in rare instances, the purposeful variation in the degree of grind of pigment. We suspect the use of a wider variety of brush types and, in a few examples, direct manipulation of the painted surface with the artist's fingers. Images were rendered using a much greater range of hues, intermediate tones, and values in an unblended fashion, sometimes in a surprisingly loose or abstract way. As in the work of the Eyckian miniaturist, "visual blending" was achieved by working at a small scale and relying upon the distance at which the reader would hold and view the painting on the page. But unlike the Eyckian illuminator, book painters of the first three decades of the sixteenth century — Gerard David, the Master of James IV of Scotland, and Simon Bening specifically — used a wider range of hues, dilutions, glazes, even blottings and daubs, from thick impasto to thin wash. They employed a more dilute medium than their predecessors and relied upon its quick-drying characteristics to work up the surface with a remarkable fluidity to achieve vivid yet ephemeral visual effects.

From the work of the Eyckian miniaturist to that of Simon Bening, transformations in painting techniques occurred in the art of manuscript illumination across the time period from about 1440 to 1540 due to the associations and influences among illuminators and panel painters. Particularly since illuminators were often themselves panel painters, it is not surprising to see book painters incorporate and emulate effects they achieved in oil. The conclusions that have been drawn regarding Flemish painting techniques by the five illuminators discussed here have been based upon only a small group of manuscripts from the Getty Museum and the Huntington Library. These conclusions can be added to and refined by a consideration of other works by Simon Marmion, Gerard David, the Master of James IV of Scotland, Simon Bening, and Van Eyck's followers to enlarge further our understanding of these connections, influences, and apparent changes in techniques.

While scientific analysis of illuminated manuscripts has made tremendous progress over the past twenty years, the analytical study of Flemish manuscripts in particular still lags behind the considerable technical work accomplished on contemporaneous Flemish panel paintings. The analytical study of Flemish painting on panel can be a model for the study of manuscripts. Only as this type of work continues to be done on manuscripts from collections all across the globe will a more fully realized understanding of the materials and techniques of Flemish illumination emerge and greater insight be brought to exploring relationships between Flemish panel painting and manuscript illumination. Pigment analysis alone can take us only so far. The study of surviving northern painting treatises of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries will further augment our understanding of these works as well. It is the need for close examination and precise observation of technique and handling by each artist — along with careful, in-depth pigment analysis — that will lead to a greater appreciation and understanding of the subtle and breathtaking achievements of the Flemish illuminator's suggestive brush.

Notes

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1. See Lorne Campbell et al., "Methods and Materials of Northern European Painting," in *Early Northern European Painting*, ed. Lorne Campbell, Susan Foister, and Ashok Roy, *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 18 (1997): 6–55. See also listings under "technique" in E. James Mundy, *Painting in Bruges, 1470–1550: An Annotated Bibliography* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1985); Micheline Comblen-Sonkes, *Bibliographic Guide for Early Netherlandish Painting* (Brussels: Centre National de Recherches "Primitifs Flamands," 1984); Hélène Mund and Cyriel Stroo, *Early Netherlandish Painting (1400–1500): A Bibliography (1984–1998)* (Brussels: Centre International d'Étude de la Peinture Médiévale des Bassins de l'Escaut et de la Meuse, 1998).
2. Recent technical studies of Flemish manuscripts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries include: Sophie Denoël et al., "Non-Destructive Analysis of a Sixteenth-Century Manuscript from the Gospel Book of Robert Quercentius," in *Conservation Science 2002: Papers from the Conference Held in Edinburgh, Scotland, 22–24 May 2002*, ed. Joyce H. Townsend, Katherine Eremin, and Annemie Adriaens (London: Archetype, 2003), 208–14; Lieve Watteeuw and Martina van Bos, "Chroniques de Hainaut: Observaties en resultaten van de analyses op zes miniaturen," in *Les Chroniques de Hainaut; ou, Les Ambitions d'un prince bourguignon*, ed. Christiane van den Bergen-Pantens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 157–66; Brigitte Dekeyzer

et al., "The Mayer van den Bergh Breviary (Ghent-Bruges, Early Sixteenth Century): Hands and Pigments," in *Le Dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture: Colloque XII*, ed. Hélène Verougstraete and Roger van Schoute (Louvain: Peeters, 1999), 303–16; for additional references, see Mark Clarke, "The Analysis of Medieval European Manuscripts," *Reviews in Conservation* 2 (2001): 3–17.
3. See, for instance, Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon, "Campin and Illumination," in *Robert Campin: New Directions in Scholarship*, ed. Susan Foister and Susie Nash (Belgium: Brepols, 1996), 159–69, esp. bibliography in 167 n. 1. Also see Maryan W. Ainsworth, "Was Simon Bening a Panel Painter?" in *"Als ich can": Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock, and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 1–25; and Ainsworth, "'Diverse Patterns Pertaining to the Crafts of Painters or Illuminators': Gerard David and the Bening Workshop," *Master Drawings* 41, no. 3 (2003): 241–65.
4. Thomas Kren and Maryan W. Ainsworth, "Illuminators and Painters: Artistic Exchanges and Interrelationships," in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat., by Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 81–82.
5. Surviving Netherlandish technical manuals include London, British Library, Sloane Ms. 345 (see M. M. Van Dantzig, "Een vijftiende eeuwsch receptenboek," *Oud Holland* 53, no. 5 [1936]: 207–18); Ghent University Library, Ms. 2141, by Christian van Varenbraken (see W. L. Braekman, *Middelnederlandse verfrecepten voor miniaturen en "alderhand substancien"* [Brussels: Omirel, UFSAL, 1986]); Cologne, Historisches Archiv, Ms. W 8° (see Arie Wallert, "Instructions for Manuscript Illumination in a Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Technical Treatise," in *Masters and Miniatures: Proceedings of the Congress on Medieval Manuscript Illumination in the Northern Netherlands (Utrecht, 10–13 December 1989)*, ed. Koert van der Horst and Johann-Christian Klamt [Doornspijk: Davaco, 1991], 447–56). For a survey of other relevant technical sources, see Campbell et al., "Methods and Materials," 14–16. Discussion of these technical sources in relation to painting techniques found in Flemish manuscripts will be the subject of a subsequent study.

6. Examination with the aid of a microscope was performed on the manuscripts discussed, and where opportunity allowed digital infrared photography, pigment analysis using X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF), and in one instance, media analysis using Fourier transform infrared reflectance (FTIR) and gas chromatography/mass spectroscopy (GC/MS) were performed.
7. See Ashok Roy and Raymond White, "Van Eyck's Technique: The Myth and the Reality, I, II," in *Investigating Jan van Eyck*, ed. Susan Foister, Sue Jones, and Delphine Cool (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 97–106.
8. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 85–87, no. 1.
9. The presence of lead, iron, and mercury detected by X-ray fluorescence led to the deduction that lead red, red ocher, and vermilion were present. The organic colorant has not as yet been identified with the analytical techniques available. A Kevex 0750A X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy system was used with a barium/strontium secondary target.
10. Campbell et al., "Methods and Materials," 38.
11. Wallert, "Instructions for Manuscript Illumination," 448. See also Braekman, *Middelnederlandse Verfrecepten*, 115–16.
12. For a full-scale color reproduction, see J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer et al., *Jan van Eyck: Two Paintings of Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1997), pl. 1.
13. Marigene Butler, "An Investigation of the Philadelphia *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*," in Van Asperen de Boer et al., 40, fig. 38. See also Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 41.
14. Butler concludes, based on the presence of a lead white priming, that "the Philadelphia picture is not painted by the conventions of manuscript illumination" ("Investigation," 42).
15. This finding must be confirmed by other scientific methods before being considered anything more than a preliminary hypothesis.
16. A PhaseOne FX scanning back with Sony Trilinear CCD 10500 (effective pixels) was used, capturing IR wavelengths between 850 and 1100 nanometers, using a Kodak Wratten 87C filter.
17. The full series of drawings is illustrated in Otto Benesch, *Die Zeichnungen der niederländischen Schulen des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1928), pls. 1–3. For a recent discussion of two of the drawings from the series, see Fritz Koreny, ed., *Early Netherlandish Drawings: From Van Eyck to Hieronymus Bosch*, exh. cat.

(Antwerp: Rubenshuis, 2002), 33–38, nos. 3, 4. See also a drawing in the Musée Bonnat (Bayonne, France) that James Marrow has likened to the Getty's *Christ Blessing* leaf: James H. Marrow, "Une Page inconnue des Heures de Turin," *Revue de l'art*, no. 135 (2002): 67–76, fig. 10.

18. For a detailed discussion of the infrareds from the Turin-Milan Hours, see Anne H. Van Buren, "Problems and Possibilities of the Reflectography of Manuscripts: The Case of the Turin-Milan Hours," in *Le Dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture: Colloque XI, 14–16 September 1995*, ed. Roger van Schoute and Hélène Verougstraete (Louvain: Collège Erasme, 1997), 19–28; Marigene H. Butler and J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, "The Examination of the Milan-Turin Hours with Infrared Reflectography: A Preliminary Report," in *Le Dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture: Colloque VII, 17–19 September 1987* (Louvain: Collège Erasme, 1989), 74–75.

19. For an additional comparison, see Stephanie Buck, "Petrus Christus's Berlin Wings and the Metropolitan Museum's Eyckian Diptych," in *Petrus Christus in Renaissance Bruges: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, ed. Maryan W. Ainsworth (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 67.

20. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 98–99.

21. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 112–16, no. 14.

22. Ainsworth, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 108, no. 11. See also Maryan W. Ainsworth, "New Observations on the Working Technique in Simon Marmion's Panel Paintings," in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the "Visions of Tondal,"* ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), 243–55.

23. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 107–8, no. 11. See also Maryan W. Ainsworth and Keith Christiansen, eds., *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 109.

24. See definition given in Dawson W. Carr and Mark Leonard, *Looking at Paintings: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Malibu, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum in association with British Museum Press, 1992), 60.

25. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 108–10, no. 12; see fig. 12b.

26. The use of translucent glazes in manuscript illumination has not been fully explored or documented. An example of an earlier use of glazes is found in the illuminations of the Boucicaut Master, working in the early decades of the fifteenth century in France. See Nancy Turner, "The Recipe Collection of Johannes Alcherius and the Painting Materials Used in Manuscript Illumination in France and Northern Italy, c. 1380–1420," and Bernard Guineau et al., "Painting Techniques in the Boucicaut Hours and in Jacques Coene's Colour Recipes as Found in Jean LeBègue's *Libri Colorum*," both in *Painting Techniques: History, Materials, and Studio Practice: Contributions to the Dublin Congress*, ed. Ashok Roy and Perry Smith (London: International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 1998), 46, 48, 53.

27. Cf. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 344–65; see 345 n. 3 for additional bibliography discussing Gerard David's illuminations. A full technical analysis of David's illuminations remains to be done. For this study, no pigment analysis was performed on the Huntington miniature; hence all remarks on David's manuscript-painting technique are based upon visual examination under binocular magnification only. *The Virgin and Child* was investigated with infrared reflectography by Yvonne Szafran and Maryan Ainsworth with the kind permission of Mary Robertson at the Huntington Library in May 2002, but no underdrawing could be detected at that time.

28. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 354–56, no. 103.

29. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 354, no. 102.

30. On David's collaborations with illuminators, see Ainsworth, "'Diverse Patterns,'" 241–65, and Ainsworth, "Was Simon Bening a Panel Painter?"

31. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 414–17, no. 124. At the time of this essay, pigment analysis had not been performed on the Spinola Hours. Thus, this discussion is based upon visual examination only, and a more complete technical analysis of palette and medium will be forthcoming.

32. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 42.

33. Discussed and reproduced Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 42, fig. 14.

34. Lorne Campbell, *The Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Paintings* (London: National Gallery, 1998), 31.

35. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 456–57, no. 145.

36. Analysis using X-ray fluorescence provisionally identified the following pigments in folio 102v: high concentration of copper suggesting azurite blue, though not fully eliminating ultramarine; high levels of lead, mercury, and tin in the orange, suggesting lead tin yellow, vermilion, and possibly red lead; copper, lead, and tin in the chartreuse tunic, suggesting an admixture of lead tin yellow and copper green.

37. This method would be possible with a water-soluble medium such as gum arabic. Gum arabic was identified as a medium in the Brandenburg Prayer Book from one sample taken from an offset loss (inner margin of fol. 77v) using FTIR and GC/MS analyses.

38. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 474–476, no. 154c.

39. For instance, see caricature faces of onlookers in the background of *The Adoration of the Kings* (1564) by Pieter Bruegel (London, National Gallery); reproduced in color in Bomford, ed., *Art in the Making*, 177.

40. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 453–54, no. 142; see also Ainsworth, "Was Simon Bening a Panel Painter?"

Flemish Manuscript Production, Care, and Repair: Fifteenth-Century Sources

Lieve Watteeuw

The history of medieval manuscript conservation is a young science. Our knowledge of the state of preservation of manuscripts today will inevitably be enriched by an understanding of the history of the conservation of these works. The primary materials for illuminations are often listed in museum catalogues, rather tersely, as "tempera on parchment." Such a description, however, does not fully reflect the complex use of raw materials by fifteenth-century Flemish painters of miniatures, an art that became increasingly complicated and ever more demanding of skill and craftsmanship in the course of that century. The imported raw materials—like pigments and dyes—were expensive, and the subtle colors took a lot of time and labor to prepare. By examining the evidence for the creation and historical preservation of Flemish manuscripts in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries—considering the primary materials used in producing an illuminated manuscript, parchment and paints, as well as the physical evidence and archival sources regarding the early restoration of parchment, illuminations, and bindings—we may gain a fuller understanding of these complex works.

Materials for Flemish Illuminators

Well-prepared and extremely fine parchment was in great demand by the Flemish artists' workshops of the late Middle Ages, and this need kept growing.[1] The production in the workshops around and in the urban centers was left mainly to expert parchment makers and, as far as the luxury breviaries and books of hours are concerned, definitely also to the polishers and finishers of the parchment. At first, the quality of vellum depended strongly on the condition of the thousands of skins the parchment maker received regularly from the large rural areas around the cities or through the international trade in Bruges. In Flanders, parchment for manuscript production was made mainly from skins of sheep, goat, and lamb, the most prevalent livestock in the Low Countries, reared primarily for their wool and meat.[2] Cows were reared too, but their large skins were more suitable for thick leather, produced by the *zwarte leertouwers* (black tanners), using vegetal tannins such as oak bark.[3] Raw skins of all kinds of animals were also brought in by ship from Navarre, Castile, Aragon, and Russia, along with parchment, probably from England and other northern countries. Untreated animal skins could be preserved by salting for several months and were sold to tanners, skinners, fur skinners, tawyers, white tawyers, and parchment makers. The trade in skins and hides in Bruges was organized by the guild of the *huidevetters* and the *warandeurs* (who controlled the quality of the skins), housed at the Huidevetters-plaats in Bruges.[4]

The hides used for the fine vellum leaves in Flemish breviaries and books of hours came from young male lambs, calves, or goats, only a few weeks old, as the female animals were used for breeding. The quality of these skins depended greatly on the season and climate, as well as on the health and eating habits of the young animals.[5] By an extensive treatment involving emulsions of chalk; crescent-shaped knives; pumice stones; pumice powder (a fine powdered mix of pumice, glass, and seashells); or pumice bread baked from wheat, chalk, and ground seashells, the small wet animal skins were made thin and smooth on the stretching frame.[6] It is clear that different grades of parchment were produced by the *francijnmaeckere* (or *pergamentmaeckere*), members of the guild of the *librariers* in Bruges, the corporation representing, from 1454 on, all book crafts within the city walls.[7] For example, the thickness of the vellum of the more than two hundred folios of the Hennessy Hours is consistently around 0.08 mm.[8] The vellum folios of the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary have the same thickness.[9] The full-page miniatures in these manuscripts, painted on single folios, are executed on slightly thicker material of about 0.10 mm and inserted by a glued hinge. Thus the parchment selected for folios that were to be illuminated in both these luxury manuscripts was intentionally thicker and more robust than the parchment used for text pages, providing a more stable support for painting.

After the parchment makers, a second group of craftsmen or apprentices in the illuminators' workshops carefully finished the material needed for luxury book production. These craftsmen worked in close collaboration with the miniaturists. In a process similar to the application of a ground for painting on a wooden support, the finisher would prepare the surface of the highly water-sensitive material under tension with a thin layer of gum arabic, egg white, gypsum, chalk, or lead white to fill the pores and to smooth the irregular structures. The surface was finished, polished, and prepared to obtain a smooth ground and finally degreased it so that the absorption of different paint preparations could be controlled.[10]

During recent conservation research on two Flemish manuscripts — the *Chroniques de Hainaut*[11] and the Hennessy Hours — analytical methods such as X-ray fluorescence did not allow identification of the added materials. The reasons are multiple: the added emulsions are partly absorbed by the porous structure of the parchment fibers on the flesh side, the same raw materials used in the sizing are used in the parchment-making process (notably chalk and lime), and in some cases, the added surface layers have a proteinous composition similar to that of parchment, like egg white.[12] The finishing and preparation of the parchment was definitely done in the illuminator's workshop itself, because the layout and underdrawing of the miniature were ultimately highly dependent on the sheet of parchment used.[13] Like painters working on wooden panels, illuminators used subtle techniques to refine the detailed composition of the successive brush strokes, which included letting the dominant pale opacity of the parchment itself come into play from the beginning.[14] The achievement of Simon Bening in the representations of the Evangelists in the Hennessy Hours, which are on extremely thin and smooth finished parchment, is illustrative for the mastering of the painting technique on vellum.[15] The skin, hair, and beard of Saint Luke were created by a succession of seven subtle layers on the thin parchment, the paint composed of white lead, mixed with a little

Figure 6.1
Simon Bening. *Saint Luke*, in the Hennessy Hours. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. II 158, fol. 17v.

vermilion, and further brightened with larger areas in paint composed of transparent brown and ocher, added to a base of vermilion and lead white. On top of this, three types of brush strokes were added, going from lighter to darker shades, again in a different concentration of the two pigments, vermilion and lead white. A subsequent layer was done in one shade of gray, on top of which the "finishing touch" was painted in an almost pure white lead mixed with a thicker gloss (figs. 6.1, 6.2).

The quality of the materials, pigments, and colors that miniature painters such as Bening bought on the Bruges market at the dawn of the sixteenth century — such as azurite, ocher, alum, minium, indigo, ultramarine, and orpiment[16] — depended on the ingredients that were available at the chemist's, who was, in Flemish cities, a member of the *meerseniers* (traders' guild).[17] A wide range of mineral and organic ingredients were imported mainly to Bruges

and Antwerp via the trade routes that crossed Europe, though before application they were further prepared by the chemist and by the apprentice illuminator.[18] In Bruges, one of the main trading cities in northern Europe for luxury goods, illuminators could readily find all kinds of spices, colors, and dye materials, brought by ship from the East via Venice, Genoa, and Lisbon.[19]

By carefully mixing the powdered pigments and colors with size, gum water, egg white, chalk, wine, honey, sugar, or lead white, the paints were rendered opaque, liquid, transparent, or lighter in shade. Recipe books for miniature painting—for example, the late fifteenth-century treatise from the southern Netherlands known as *Miscellanea Alchemica XII*—tell us that the preparation of the tempera paints was a very elaborate and complex affair. The exact hours of preparation time are mentioned, but only approximate measurements are given for quantities of liquids (for example, "the thickness of a finger").[20]

Surviving fifteenth-century references to the manufacturing and preparation methods for parchment and to the trade and making of painting materials used in illuminated manuscripts provide a deeper appreciation for the efforts artists made to obtain the highest-quality materials. These labors had a direct bearing upon a manuscript's state of preservation and how quickly an object might be in need of repair or restoration.

Evidence of Restoration of Flemish Manuscripts
in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

The outcome was always uncertain to some extent. Every painter-artist knows that the hardening of glues, gums, or egg white can diminish the quality of the color in a matter of hours. They had to reckon with the fact that pigment dissolved in egg white or gum remains liquid for only a short while. The knowledge of their materials, the method of instruction, the division of tasks, and time were very important from the organizational point of view in the illuminators' workshops and in the joint operations coordinated by the *librarier*.[21]

Although it is obvious that models, copies, and serial production were used for the images in breviaries and books of hours, the material condition of the pictorial layer of closely related miniatures is not necessarily as similar as their appearance would suggest. Even if we assume that the recipes that were passed on orally from one generation to the next were carefully followed, this still did not guarantee a similar state of preservation, not even in the early years after creation. Structural flaking problems in paint layers are obvious, for example, in *The Birth of the Virgin* (fol. 536v) and *Saint Michael* (fol. 552v), two miniatures attributed to a master active in the illustration of the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary.[22] Analysis of the paint composition confirmed the attribution to a single artist, and when one compares the condition of these two miniatures to that of the other full-page illuminations in the manuscript, created by a number of other artists, the instability in large zones of these specific gray-blue, deep blue, green, and purple paint layers is striking (figs. 6.3, 6.4).[23]

Although it may be assumed that all miniaturists endeavored to produce flawless works of art—after all, if their work was below par, they risked not being paid for it—they were also very familiar with the vulnerability of miniatures, manuscripts, and book covers and the consequences of the ravages of use and time. Indeed, miniaturists and *librariers* who organized the work of manuscript production at the end of the fifteenth century were also asked by wealthy owners to repair older damaged miniatures and manuscripts. Regilding or rebinding, which was what most of this work entailed, can definitely be seen as the main activity, but it was also common practice to bring valuable objects up to date using then-common techniques and materials, to modernize them and make them more attractive, to replace them in case of loss, and to repair them. These concepts of restoration are similar to those for the other crafts: silversmiths and goldsmiths, for example, were asked frequently by their patrons to repair precious-metal objects damaged by use.[24]

Based on the payments from the treasurer of the Burgundian court and the accounts of Church of Our Lady in Antwerp, one can say that restoration, in addition to painting and gilding, was an important task in the illuminators' workshops.[25] Among the documents concerning restoration of fourteenth- and early-fifteenth-century manuscripts in the *Librije* of the duke of Burgundy are records of payments made to Antoine de Gavere, a well-known bookbinder and *librarier* from Bruges.[26] He is mentioned in the accounts of the ducal court from 1495 until 1504. The titles of the most important manuscripts were mentioned in this administrative archive, which indicates that the work of de Gavere, at least in those cases, was more than just "binding." Indeed, around the turn of the century he bound and repaired some of the most valuable illuminated

Figure 6.3
Anonymous. *Saint Michael*, in the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary. Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. 946, fol. 552v.

manuscripts from the collection. Most probably, de Gavere accepted these jobs as *librarier* and left their execution to several craftsmen, illuminators as well as gilders and bookbinders. An invoice dating from 1498 refers to seven manuscripts that were rebound ("relyé"), regilded ("redoré"), and repaired ("remis à point"), and of which several pages were reilluminated ("en plusieurs lieux renluminé").[27] According to the same invoice, this was done because the manuscripts were badly damaged ("fort gaster"), broken ("rompuz"), and damp ("soilliez"). For this job, de Gavere received as much as twenty-four pounds. This means that substantial amounts were paid for manuscript restoration in 1495 and 1498.[28] Traces of restoration interventions on the illuminations and binding by de Gavere could be detected during the conservation in 2003 of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, a late fourteenth-century manuscript from the Burgundian library mentioned in the ducal accounts.[29] In this case the damaged areas in the miniatures were not truly regilded with gold leaf, but were instead painted over with a gold-colored paint composed of iron and lead, with smaller traces of silver, gold, and copper. This could have been done by de Gavere for both economic and practical reasons.[30]

Figure 6.4
Anonymous. *Saint Michael* (detail, fig. 6.3).

The archival sources are relevant because they refer to the damage caused by intensive use and transportation of valuable manuscripts in the late fifteenth century.[31] In 1501 Philippe Cotteron, the assistant of the ducal treasurer, was paid for cleaning, rebinding, and regilding the edges and the lead bosses of a rich missal.[32] In 1516 he is mentioned again in connection with the restoration of five manuscripts, all broken ("rompuz"), and with the covering in satin of a *Chroniques de Jérusalem*.[33] Payments for restoration of a Bible are found in the accounts of the Church of Saint James in Ghent. They were made to the bookbinder Lievin Stuyvaert in 1446.[34] On July 13 of that year, he was paid to clean ("schoon te maken"), to glue ("lymene") and to restore ("te repareren") the book, "wel and lovelic" (well and creditably), in one month's time.[35] The same close link between binding and repairing manuscripts is found in the registers of the archives of the Chapter of Our Lady in Antwerp.[36] The name of bookbinder "Cornelis de costere" is mentioned several times in 1433 and 1434 concerning the repair of manuscripts after fire damage,[37] and between 1472 and 1483, we find payments to "Peter Pots"[38] and "Henric Vanden Steene"[39] for "boeken te byndene ende te reparerene."

Technical, analytical, and archival sources illustrate the fragility of the painted media and the manuscripts produced in the Low Counties in the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. Prayer and devotional books were both functional and fashionable objects and required care and restoration. The painting, the gilding, the parchment and gatherings, and the sewing supports, as well as the metal fittings and the precious bindings, all tended to wear out and needed repairing. Close examination during conservation and comparison of damage, imperfections, and repairs can reveal information about techniques and about the historical preservation of Flemish manuscripts in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This information plays an important role in the history, especially the secret history, of every famous manuscript.

Notes

I would like to thank my colleague Nancy Turner of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, for sharing her observations on the Flemish illuminations in the museum's collection. My gratitude also to Thomas Kren, Scot McKendrick, Lorne Campbell, Elizabeth Morrison, Bernard Bousmanne, and Jan Van der Stock, all of whom supported this conservation research on Flemish manuscripts before and during the exhibition *Illuminating the Renaissance*.

1. In the late fifteenth century and the first part of the sixteenth century, economic life in Flanders was boosted by the revival of trade with south German merchants and the flourishing intercontinental trade with merchants from Genoa and the Iberian peninsula. Hugo Soly, "Economische en social-culturele structuren: Continuiteit en verandering," in *Stad in Vlaanderen: Cultuur en maatschappij, 1477–1787*, exh. cat., ed. Jan Van der Stock (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet, 1991), 33. For the social, economic, and guild context of manuscript illuminators in urban areas in Flanders, see P. Valvekens, "Het ambacht-swezen en de socio-economische aspecten van de boekverluchting in de Nederlanden, hoofdzakelijk tijdens de tweede helft der vijftiende eeuw," in *Ontsluiting van middeleeuwse handschriften in de Nederlanden: Verslag van studiedagen gehouden te Nijmegen, 30–31 maart 1984*, ed. A. J. Guerts (Nijmegen: Alfa, 1987), 207, and Catherine Reynolds, "Illuminators and the Painters Guild," in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat., by Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 15–34.
2. The words *vellum* and *parchment* are used interchangeably in this paper.
3. Thick parchment was needed for window and book covers.
4. Ronald Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments, and Leathers* (New York: Seminar Press, 1972); Roy Thomson, "The Leather Working Process," in *Leather and Fur: Aspects of Early Medieval Trade and Technology*, ed. Esther Cameron (London: Archetype Publications, 1988), 4; and J. Gaillard, *Ambachten en neringen van Brugge* (Bruges: Gaillard, 1854), 134–36.
5. In the fifteenth century the Ghent skinners' guild acted to prevent the spread of infectious diseases (such as foot-and-mouth disease and plague) among the animals whose skins were used. The prohibition on selling hides originating from sick animals was specified by an

ordinance: Ghent, Stadsarchief, *Bouck van Ordonnancien* (1506), series 192, no.1.1.7.: "dat niemandt gheen huudt coepen en sal op beesten die moort ghesteken sal hebben, op boete van V scell(ingen) parise" (that nobody should buy a skin from an animal that has died from a "natural" cause, on pain of a fine of V Paris shillings). Bacteria and viruses could survive for a long time in the salted skins. They could detract from the quality of the material and posed a risk of epidemics.
6. The preparation of the surface of the parchment with pumice and water (pouncing) is described in London, British Library, Harley Ms. 3915, *Theophili Monarchi, de Chemia, Medicis praeparationibus, Mineralibus, & plurimis raris inventionibus, libri. 3*. Pumice breads were baked with bread dough, glass splinters, and chalk. In the literature on parchment making, the recipe for pumice bread is not mentioned in any continental source. Its only occurrence in writing is in a fourteenth-century English treatise (London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 2584, fols. 5v–6): "Take glas and braie it in a mortar ryght small, the smaller the better. Then take that poudre of glas and quicke lyme and faire flour of whete, of the iche ofhem iliche muche and menge hem to gidre with the white ofheyrin and all ofiche eriche muche and Jete it stonde al a day and than temper hem to gidre as thou make past and put hem in an oven as thou dost brede and then drawe hem oute and late hem stonde." The addition of chalk to the pumice bread was intended to degrease the surface area and facilitate the adherence of the paint and ink. After the pumice treatment, the parchment was cleaned with damp tissue paper to smooth the surface again. Traces of the use of pumice stone or pumice bread can often be observed on the parchment surface as bundles of very thin parallel scraping lines, on one folio in different directions, each area between 20 and 50 millimeters. The transcription of the fourteenth-century recipe for pumice bread from Ms. Sloane 2584 is also mentioned in Hedwig Saxl, "An Investigation of the Qualities, the Methods of Manufacture, and the Preservation of Historic Parchment and Vellum with a View to Identifying the Species of Animal Used" (M.Sc. thesis, Leeds University, 1954), 55–57.
7. The guild of the *librarier* or *bookverkoper* was ordered in Bruges in 1454 by Philip the Good and founded in the Eeckhout Monastery. All the activities concerning book production were represented in this *neering*, or guild. See also note 21.

8. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. II 158, Bruges, c. 1520; see *Illuminating the Renaissance*, cat. no. 150, pp. 467–70.
9. Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. no. 946, Bruges and Ghent, around 1500; see *Illuminating the Renaissance*, cat. no. 92, pp. 324–29.
10. In my experience as a conservator-restorer, given the wide variation and repetition in forms and patterns of degradation of paint in illuminated manuscripts, the source of degradation must be the decomposition of the ground rather than slow abrasion, over centuries, of the surface layer. From the conservation point of view, negligent finishing of the surface can be the cause of problems with flaking ink and paint layers.
11. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9242; see *Illuminating the Renaissance*, cat. no. 3, pp. 91–92.
12. In X-ray fluorescence (XRF) the fluorescence signals remain uncalibrated, so that no real quantitative data can be obtained. Measurements by XRF done in 1999 at the Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique (KIKIRPA), Brussels, revealed on the blank parchment areas beside the miniature on the first folio of the *Chroniques de Hainaut* the presence of calcium, but also minimal signals for the elements iron and lead (ref. fol. 1r.1–140 and fol. 1v. 26–165). Possibly the parchment was treated with an emulsion of chalk and lead white to prepare and whiten the surface. The research data are recorded in: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Manuscript Department, Archive, Conservation Records, Lieve Watteeuw, "Onderzoeks- en conservatieverslag KBR 9242," 1995–2003.
13. For this aspect, see the research on the *Chroniques de Hainaut* cited in note 12.
14. Thanks to mutual influence and close collaboration between painters and illuminators, the methods of preparing parchment and the techniques for miniature painting reached a high degree of artistic and technical achievement in the late fifteenth century. The white parchment support—in contrast to the white ground preparation on the wooden panels—had some difficult properties: it stayed flexible, could slightly expand in dimensions, and was extremely hygroscopic, a feature that had to be controlled during application of the paint layers. For the artistic exchange between illuminators and painters, see Thomas Kren and Maryan Ainsworth, "Illuminators and Painters: Artistic Exchanges and Interrelationships," in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 37–38.

15. The thickness of a parchment leaf painted on one side from the Hennessy Hours is 0.08 mm. The dimension of each illumination is approximately 80 × 11 mm, with each folio weighing 2 grams. Main data and conservation treatment are described in: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Manuscript Department, Conservation Records, Archive, Lieve Watteeuw, "Onderzoek- en conservatieverslag 2001, Heures de Notre Dame, dites de Hennessy," started in 2001 (work in progress). With gratitude to Bernard Bousmanne, curator of the Manuscript Department, Bibliothèque royale, for his support in the archival and conservation research concerning the codices from the library discussed here.

16. The pigments mentioned here are found in the illuminations of the Hennessy Hours. Analysis was executed in collaboration with Bernard Gilbert and Sophie Denoël at the University of Liège in 2003. Analytical data concerning the nineteenth-century restorations are recorded in Brussels, KIKIRPA, dossier 2000.07179.

17. The *meerseniers* or *merceniers* were responsible for a large share of the retail sector in the Flemish cities. They sold spices, fabrics, textiles, and cord. After 1515 the *kruideniers*, or grocers, sold all kind of spices for consumption in the Saint-Amands Chapel in Bruges; see Gaillard, *Ambachten en neringen*, 181, 188–89.

18. See Peter Spufford, *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 309–16.

19. "European Trade in Painters' Materials to 1700," conference at the Courtauld Institute of Art and the National Gallery, London, February 11–12, 2005. Conference papers will be published in 2006.

20. London, Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine, Ms. 517. The treatise gives a recipe for the preparation of tempera paint: "Wilt u water maken alrehande verwe te temperen. Recipe gomme arabien .i. loet, ende anderhalf loet cerusa, ende gommi diagantum dat viiftendeel van .i. loet: stoet dese te samen, ende lect in een scoen scotel, ende ghiet dair water op so dat dit poeder .ij. vingher bedect is. Dan laet staen .24.uren: des morghens roert mitten vingher dat die gommen wel menghen . . . ende stopt al dicht dat niet wasemen en mach" (fol. 44v). A small part of the text refers to "floreren" of manuscripts and further to the preparations of dyes, paints, waxes, and gold and silver inks. See W. L. Braekman, *Middelnederlandse verfrecepten voor miniaturen en "alderhand substancien"*

(Brussels: Omirel, UFSAL, 1986); Braeckman, *Medische en technische Middennederlandse recepten: Een tweede bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de vakliteratuur in de Nederlanden* (Ghent: Secretariaat van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1975).

21. In the guild of the *librarier* or *book-verkoper* all the activities concerning book production were represented: booksellers (*librariers*), fine painters (*vinghettemakers*), scribes and book scribes (*scrivers, boucscrivere*), teachers (*scolemeestere*), print dealers (*verlichters*), printers (*printere*), bookbinders (*boucbindere*), makers of belts (*riemmakers*), parchment makers (*fransijnmakere*), letter cutters (*lettersnydere*), painters (*scildere*), and printmakers (*beeldekemakers*). The *librariers* had a function similar to that of the *librarii* in the medieval University of Paris, acting as commissioners and intermediaries for craftspersons. For the organization of *librariers* in Paris, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: H. Miller, 2000), and Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 52. In Bruges, members of the book trade belonged to the Guild of Saint John the Evangelist; for organization of guilds in fifteenth-century Bruges, see Gaillard, *Ambachten en neringen*, 134–36, C. Van den Haute, "Documents inédits concernant les libraeres et maîtres d'école de Bruges," *Handelingen van het genootschap voor geschiedenis te Brugge* 59 (1909): 18–21; André Vandewalle, "Het librariersgild te Brugge in zijn vroege periode," in *Vlaamse kunst op perkament: Handschriften en miniaturen te Brugge van de 12de tot de 16de eeuw*, exh. cat. (Bruges: Gruuthusemuseum; Stad Brugge, 1981), 41; Bernard Bousmanne, *"Item a Guillaume Wyelant aussi enlumineur": Willem Vrelant, un aspect de l'enluminure dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux, sous le mécénat des ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 1997), 49.

22. Brigitte Dekeyzer, *Layers of Illusion: The Mayer van den Bergh Breviary* (Ghent: Ludion, 2004), 101–103. In 1957 Friedrich Winkler attributed the illuminations to Jan Provoost ("Buchmalereien von Jan Provost," in *Miscellanea, Prof. Dr. D. Roggen* [Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1957], 285, 289). In her study of the manuscript, Dekeyzer ascribed the miniatures to Gerard Horenbout. See also

Illuminating the Renaissance, cat. no. 92, pp. 324–29.

23. Micro-raman spectroscopy and X-ray fluorescence (TXRF) were done on paint samples by Peter Vandenabeele (RUG, University of Ghent) and Brigitte Dekeyzer (Katholieke Universiteit, Louvain). The results are mentioned in Brigitte Dekeyzer, "Vorstelijke luxe en devotie: Het Breviarium Mayer van den Bergh in artistiek, religious en historisch perspectief" (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit, Louvain, 2002), chap. 1, 134–37, and Dekeyzer et al., "The Mayer van den Bergh Breviary (Ghent-Bruges, Early Sixteenth Century): Hands and Pigments," in *Le Dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture: Colloque XII*, ed. Hélène Verougstraete and Roger van Schoute (Louvain: Peeters, 1999), 303–16.

24. In the Antwerp cathedral archives from 1526, payments are mentioned to a silversmith to repair numerous objects belonging to the treasury: silver jewels, crucifixes, a precious binding for a gospel book, and relics: "Item betaelt Karolen Van Direndonck goudsmit van diversen reparacien gedaen inde garucamere van den hooren aen de silveren juweelen, cruyzen, ampullen, ewangelieboeck ende aen de reliquien stamen . . . VIII pond x s[ous]" (Antwerp, Cathedral Archives, Archieven van het Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Kapittel te Antwerpen [1124–1801], "Rekeningen van de Kerkfabriek," 1525–26, no. 13, accounts for Christmas 1525–Christmas 1526, fol. 21).

25. The library of Philip the Good included a number of manuscripts dating from the fourteenth century. In 1405, 235 manuscripts are mentioned in the inventory. The restoration or replacement of the bindings can be followed through the six inventories of the fifteenth century. The inventories describe the material properties of the bindings and the manuscripts in detail. The first two inventories were made in 1404 and 1405; the third in 1420, after the death of John the Fearless (1371–1420); the fourth in 1467/69, after the death of Philip the Good (1396–1467); the fifth in Ghent in 1485, after the death of Charles the Bold (1433–1477); and the sixth in Brussels in 1487. The descriptions confirm the changes in material and color of the bindings, also mentioned in the payments. On the early inventories of the library, see Georges Doutrepont, *Inventaire de la "librairie" de Philip le Bon (1420)* (Brussels: Kiesling, 1906; reprint, Geneva, 1977); Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique; ou, Librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri,*

Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens (Paris: Treuttel & Würtz, 1830); Claudine Lemaire, "Correspondances des inventaires," in *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000) 17–19; Hanno Wijsman, "Gebonden weelde: Productie van geïllustreerde handschriften en adelijk boekenbezit in de Bourgondische Nederlanden (1400–1550)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden, 2003), 121–25.

26. Antoine de Gavere was a Bruges bookbinder (1359–1505), son of the bookbinder Guillaume (Willem) de Gavere (1450–1471). W. H. James Weale identified three members of the van Gavere (or de Gavere) binders' family by means of their signed panel stamps with inscriptions (*Bookbindings and Rubbings of Bindings in the National Art Library, South Kensington Museum* [London: Printed for H. M. Stationery Off., by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898], vol. 1, iii; the bindings, signed by Antoine [or Antoon] van Gavere, are mentioned in vol. 2, nos. 310–13). Further references concerning Antoine de Gavere can be found in Léon Gruel, *Manuel historique et bibliographique de l'amateur de reliures* (Paris: Gruel & Engelmann, 1885–1905), vol. 1, 85–87; *Tentoonstelling van Oud-Vlaamse Kunst*, pt. 5, *Boekbanden*, exh. cat. (Antwerp, 1930), 111–12; Prosper Verheyden, "De boerendans op de Vlaamse boekbanden," *De Gulden Passer* 20 (1942): 221–22; Staffan Fogelmark, *Flemish and Related Panel-Stamped Bindings: Evidence and Principles* (New York: Bibliographic Society of America, 1990), 243; James R. Tanis, ed., *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2000), 106–8; *The History of Bookbinding, 525–1950 A.D.*, exh. cat. (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1957), 54–55.

27. The gilding of initials and the production of gilded book edges were activities that are explicitly mentioned in the payments of the ducal court and in the account books of Antwerp chapters. Besides bookbinding, both the production of clasps and metal fittings and regilding were mentioned separately. For example, Joos van Lee and Jan Gast, both Bruges natives who had moved to Antwerp, were mentioned in 1505 as "boeckbynd(er)" (bookbinders) as well as "boeckverguldere" (gilders of books) in the registers of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke (Antwerp, Stadsarchief, SR 141, fol. 320, and SR 147, fol. 405). See Jan van der Stock, *Printing*

Images in Antwerp: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City, Fifteenth Century to 1485, trans. Beverley Jackson (Antwerp: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1998), 258. For the work of Joos van Lee, see Weale, *Bookbindings and Rubbings*, vol. 1, lxii.

28. For references concerning monetary value in the fifteenth century in Flanders and Brabant, see Antoon Wyfels, "Maten en gewichten," in *Dokumenten voor de geschiedenis van prijzen en lonen in Vlaanderen en Brabant (XVe–XVIIIe eeuw)*, ed. Charles Verlinden, vol. 1 (Bruges: De Tempel, 1959), 1–15.

29. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 10176–78, Artois, ca. 1380–1400.

30. The interventions of Antoine de Gavere as a bookbinder and restorer of manuscripts for the dukes of Burgundy and the analyses (by X-ray fluorescence) of five illuminations in Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* are described in detail in Lieve Watteeuw, "'. . . Pour avoir nettoyé et relyé ij grans livres appartenant à Monseigneur . . .': Documentation Concerning the Fifteenth-Century Care of Manuscripts in the Burgundian Library," in *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Texts, and Images*, ed. Brigitte Dekeyzer and Jan Van der Stock (Louvain: Peeters, 2005), 241–51.

31. For instance, the uncompleted ("imparfait") books were transported by boat to the different ducal residences. The accounts mention the cost of the workers engaged to carry the book chests from land to the ship: "Item, à ung charton et plusieurs compaignons qui ont tiré hors de ladite chambre de joyaux à Lille, plusieurs autre coffres plains de livres et autre choses et les mener au rivage dudit Lille et les mettre au batteau, en tous—27 s" (Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, CC, no. 1923, fols. 171v–173v, 24). Mentioned in Antoine de Schryver, "Jacques de Brégille, responsable de la librairie des ducs de Bourgogne sous Charles le Témeraire," in *Les Chroniques de Hainaut; ou, Les Ambitions d'un prince bourguignon*, ed. Christiane van den Bergen-Pantens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 83–89.

32. In November 1501, "A Philippe Cotteron, aide du garde de joyaux, pour avoir fait nettoier et relier ung riche missal et le fait tout doré tout autour, comme pour la garniture de laitton dudit missal: iiij livres iij s[ous]," and "a luy, pour avoir fait couvrir deux missaux, ung evangelaire et ung épistolaire de velours noirs et doublé de satin, comme pour deux autres riches missaulx. L'un de velours noir

doublé de satin, l'autre de velours cramoisi de damast" (Lille, Archives du Département de Nord, Chambre de Comptes, Register no. F, 190). Mentioned in Alexandre Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres: Documents inédits et annotés* (Ghent, 1860), pt. 1, 62. The gilding or regilding of the (cut) edges of the book is described as "doré tout autour" (gilding all around). The punching with metal tools of the gilded edge, a luxurious feature of books of hours, is never explicitly mentioned in any payment recorded in the ducal accounts. In February 1470 Loyset Liédet, an illuminator working in Bruges for Charles the Bold, received payments for illumination, binding, and gilding edges, the last mentioned as "dorer les listes" (gilding the edges) (Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Rekenkamer, nr. 1925, "Uitreksel van rekeningen van de schatbewaarder van de Hertogen van Bourgondië voor het jaar 1470," fols. 188–89). This account is also mentioned in Antoine De Schryver, "Prix de l'enluminure et codicologie," in *Miscellanea Codicologica F. Masai dicata MCMLXXIX*, ed. Pierre Cockshaw, Monique-Cecile Garand, and Pierre Jodogne (Ghent: E. Story-Scientia, 1979), 478.

33. "A luy, pour avoir fait relier cinq livres, lesquels estoient tous rompuz, couvrir ung brévaire de velours, les chroniques de Jérusalem abrigés, de satin—lxviij s" (Lille, Archives du Département de Nord, Chambre de Comptes, Register no. F, 201 [1516]). Mentioned in Pinchart, *Archives*, pt. 1, 62.

34. Lievin (Livinus, Lyévin) Stuyvaert (d. 1477) was a bookbinder in Ghent and Bruges who worked for the municipal and clerical officials of Ghent and for the library of Philip the Good. About Stuyvaert, see Weale, *Bookbindings and Rubbings*, LIX, v; Victor Vander Haegen, in *Inventaire archéologique de Gand* (Ghent, 1898), 93; Luc Indesteghe, "Der Genter Buchbinder Livinus Stuyvaert," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1966): 336–39; Albert Derolez, "Lievin Stuyvaert," in *Gent: Duizend jaar kunst en kultuur*, exh. cat. (Ghent, 1975), vol. 2, 136–38.

35. "Schepenen wysenden Lieven Stuyvaert naer de kenisse die hy dede, te reparerere, schoon te makene, lymene ende bindene wel ende lovelic, al sulc een bouc gheeten de bibele. . . . . Als hem heer Micheel van de Hecke, presbyter, prochie-pape van Sente Jacobskerke te Ghent ghelevert heeft ter presentie van Schepene, ende dit te volcommene binnen de maand . . . 13 April 1446 (cited in P. De Keyser, "Het Renteboek van den 'helegehen gheest' van St-Jacobskerk te Gent [1436]," *Het Boek* 17 [1928]: 259–60, n. 4).

36. I would like to thank Jan Van der Stock, head of Illuminare, Study Centre for Illuminated Manuscripts, Katholieke Universiteit, Louvain, for sharing his enthusiasm and notes concerning bookbinders, recorded during his extensive research on fifteenth-century print production in Antwerp.

37. "Item Corneliis de costere van eenen zouter te binden ende van boeken te riemen, ende op de librie van boeken inden brand die ontreect waren. Coemt alte gadere—xi sc(elling) 1 d(enier) 1 ing" (Antwerp, Cathedral Archives, Archieven van het Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Kapittel te Antwerpen [1124–1801], "Rekeningen van de Kerkfabriek," 1430–68, no. 7, accounts for Christmas 1433–Christmas 1434, fol. 28v).

38. "Item tot Peter Pots hebben zij verdient aen boeken te verbynden ende te repereren tsamen—xxxvi sc[elling] vi d[enieren] (ibid., "Rekeningen van de Kerkfabriek," 1430–68, no. 8, accounts for Christmas 1472–Christmas 1474, fol. 14v).

39. "Item betaelt h[eer] Henric Vanden Steene van boeken te byndene ende te reparerene— xxxiiii sc[elling] ii d[enieren]" (ibid., "Rekeningen van de Kerkfabriek," 1430–68, no. 9, accounts for Christmas 1473–Christmas 1474, fol. 41).

Rogier van der Weyden and Manuscript Illumination

Lorne Campbell

CARDINAL JEAN JOUFFROY, AN IMPORTANT BIBLIOPHILE, DESCRIBED Rogier van der Weyden as one of his greatest friends,[1] and it seems very evident from Rogier's work that he too was profoundly fascinated by books, scripts, and alphabets. Inscriptions, always beautifully lettered and spaced, are of great aesthetic as well as literary significance in many of his paintings—for example, the Beaune *Last Judgment* and the Braque Triptych.[2] Books occur frequently, for instance, in the lost composition from which the London *Magdalene Reading* has been cut (figs. 7.19, 7.20). The Magdalene's book, which looks rather like a thirteenth-century French Bible, is lovingly observed. The stitches in its white cloth chemise are carefully recorded, and at its spine is a golden *pipe*, to which are tied four colored cords: two green, one red, and one blue. The page is ruled in red (although the ruling lines are now discernible only under magnification) and is lettered in red and black. The initials *D* and *A*, illuminated in blue and red, are legible; the rest of the text is fictive. Here, as in his other representations of manuscripts, Rogier has indicated writing by painting horizontals crossed at irregular intervals by short verticals and has then dragged the wet oil paint with a dry brush to achieve a deceptively convincing imitation of script.[3] As far as I know, Rogier never depicted a manuscript page illustrated with miniatures.

There can be no doubt, however, that Rogier knew how to paint miniatures. He worked in both Tournai and Brussels, where illuminators and painters were members of the same guilds.[4] Robert Campin, by whom he may have been trained and with whom he certainly collaborated, was paid in 1430–31 for having painted a Crucifixion in a missal for the Church of Sainte Marguerite in Tournai.[5] Jacques Daret, who worked with Rogier in Campin's studio, was to train an illuminator: Eleuthère du Pret, apprenticed to Daret in 1436 and a master illuminator in 1438. Similarly, at Tournai in about 1460, Rogier's nephew the painter Louis Le Duc, who had almost certainly been trained by his uncle, took an apprentice illuminator named Jean de le Rue.[6]

Rogier must certainly have known the Parisian illuminator Dreux Jean, who was employed by Philip the Good from 1448 and who was Rogier's neighbor in Brussels (see fig. 7.26).[7] In 1443–44 Rogier bought two adjoining properties near the Cantersteen.[8] By 1456 Dreux seems to have been installed in or near the Stuiverstraat, just around the corner, and to have remained there until 1466–67.[9] (The court painters Hue and Jean de Boulogne lived further up the hill in the Inghelantstraat, while many of the local painters had premises along the Steenweg.)[10] By 1462 Rogier and his wife and Dreux Jean were members of the Confraternity of the Holy Cross in the Church of Saint James on the

Figure 7.1
Rogier van der Weyden. *Presentation of the Manuscript to Philip the Good*, in the *Chroniques de Hainaut*, vol. 1. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9242, fol. 1.

Coudenberg. In the register of the confraternity, the members are listed in alphabetical order of Christian name. Both Dreux and Rogier, however, are under *M* for *Master*: "Meester Roeger van der Weyen, der stad scilder" (the town painter) and "Meester Drosys, verlichtere" (illuminator).[11]

If, as many have argued, Dreux Jean was indeed the Girart Master, that could explain the ready access that the Girart Master and his assistants evidently had to the archive of "patterns" in Rogier's workshop.[12] Two examples: in the miniature on folio 167 of the *Girart de Roussillon*, where, watched by Girart, Berthe and her companion build the Abbey of Vézélay, the two figures are based on the two Marys on our right of the center panel of Rogier's *Seven Sacraments*,[13] and in the miniature *Joscelin, Count of Edessa*, on folio 15 of the *Chroniques de Jérusalem abrégées*, the figure is taken from one of the weepers on the tomb of Louis of Male, count of Flanders, which were very probably designed by Rogier, while the interior corresponds rather closely to that in the Rogierian *Annunciation* in the Louvre.[14] I suppose that it would be possible to

Figure 7.2
Rogier van der Weyden. *Presentation of the Manuscript to Philip the Good* (detail, fig. 7.1).

propose an alternative theory: that the *Girart* and the *Chroniques de Jérusalem* were illustrated in Rogier's workshop by assistants who specialized in manuscript illumination.

Only one miniature has been attributed to Rogier himself, and that is of course the remarkable presentation miniature of the first volume of the *Chroniques de Hainaut* (fig. 7.1).[15] The attribution to Rogier, first proposed by Gustav Friedrich Waagen in 1847, has gained much support, and there is fairly general agreement that the miniature was at least designed by van der Weyden.[16] I will argue that it was both designed and painted by the great Rogier.

The miniature (fig. 7.2) measures, within the frame, 148 by 197 millimeters. It shows Philip the Good standing in front of a throne draped with figured cloth of gold and beneath a canopy of green satin(?) lined with the same cloth of gold and fringed with gold. Beside Philip stands his son Charles the Bold; on our left are an unidentified old man; Jean Chevrot, bishop of Tournai; and Nicolas Rolin, chancellor of Burgundy; on our right are eight knights of the Golden Fleece. A kneeling man offers to Philip a large book bound in brown leather (fig. 7.4): this cannot be a literal representation of the *Chroniques*, the original binding of which was of black figured satin.[17]

Figure 7.3
X-radiograph of *Presentation of the Manuscript to Philip the Good* (fig. 7.1).

Figure 7.4
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1), showing the book.

According to the text that begins below the miniature, Jean Wauquelin undertook in 1446, at the command of Philip the Good, to translate the text from Latin into French. Work on the translation and copying of the text continued in 1447 and was completed in 1448. It is not known when the book was illuminated or when it was delivered to Philip.[18] It is normally assumed that the miniatures were added while the text was being copied, but the presentation miniature could perhaps be earlier. The young Charles the Bold, who stands in the center of the composition and whose titles, count of Charolais and count of Boulogne, are referred to in two of the shields in the right border, was clearly a protagonist of great importance.[19] Born on November 11, 1433, he was fourteen or fifteen in 1448, but in the miniature he is much smaller than his father and could be younger than fourteen. If this miniature was painted in 1446, when the project was first undertaken, and if it was used to promote or sustain Philip's interest, then Charles would be shown at the age of twelve or thirteen, which is perhaps more plausible.

The miniature differs dramatically from all the others in the book not only because of its superlative quality but also because of its format. Only the presentation miniature fails to fit the justification of the text—the outer edge of its frame being aligned on the left but the inner edge being aligned on the right. Only the presentation miniature has a broad and carefully modeled frame, and it is also the only miniature with an asymmetrical frame—the lower part is considerably narrower than the other three sides because it lacks the recessed part of the molding. Obviously this folio neither set nor followed a layout for the rest of the book. The text nevertheless preceded the miniature,

Figure 7.5
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1), showing the heads of the knights on the left.

Figure 7.6
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1), showing the head of the white-haired knight.

Figure 7.7
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1), showing the head of the knight on left.

Figure 7.8
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1), showing the head of the knight second from right.

although the frame was painted after the miniature, and the text is laid out in sixteen lines, as is the text of folio 2ov, the first folio of the first book.[20] The painter of the miniature has chosen very deliberately to ignore the layout with which he was provided. As Claudine Lemaire has pointed out, the dimensions of the miniature that he painted are in the Pythagorean ratio of 3:4.[21]

The miniature, though relatively well preserved, does not look exactly as it did when this folio left the artist's workshop.[22] There are many small flake losses: the head of the knight of the Golden Fleece second from our left (fig. 7.5) is so damaged that it may not be immediately apparent that he is facing right; the head of the white-haired knight is also much injured (fig. 7.6). Some of the colors have darkened. The patterns on the gray and black damasks worn by Philip the Good and the knight on our left are barely visible. The shape of the windowpanes, covered in metal foil that has oxidized and darkened, was originally more assertive (see fig. 7.16).[23] Most seriously, the areas that now appear pink—the cloth of honor, Charles the Bold's robe, the scarf of the knight in blue, the long robe of the white-haired knight, and the collar and hose of the knight on our right—were probably once crimsons of deeper and richer tones. The pigments look like deteriorated red lakes, which can fade badly.[24] This lightening of tone affects very adversely the sense of recession in the group of knights. If the white-haired knight's robe were a deep crimson instead of a light pink, the artist could not be criticized for failing to control the recession of this group (see fig. 7.11). The knight in gray may be wearing a cloth of silver robe; the effects of texture may be obscured by the damage. Finally, it seems to me that the heads of the knights on our left (fig. 7.7) and second from our right (see fig. 7.8) differ slightly in color and in drawing from the others and that they could conceivably be late additions, possibly by an assistant of the master who painted the other heads.[25]

Many of the other alterations that have been noted—the slight thinning of Philip's and Charles's legs, the minuscule shifts in the placing of the toe of Charles's right shoe and patten (see fig. 7.17)—are indications that the painter was an exacting perfectionist.[26] A larger change involved the man presenting the book, whose robe was at first slit up the side to reveal his leg (fig. 7.9).[27] He would have looked a little like the Emperor Augustus in the left wing of Rogier's Bladelin Triptych.[28]

The fact that the dimensions of the miniature accord with the Pythagorean ratio of 3:4 is interesting in view of Rogier's interest in basic geometrical shapes and angles. Clearly a close friend of the architect Gillis Joes or van den Bossche,[29] Rogier may have known a great deal about the science of geometry as well as the art of design. Philip the Good stands in the center of the square on the left edge and at the side of the square on the right edge. The composition works against a grid of horizontals and verticals. The horizontals are provided by the canopy, the transoms of the windows, and the pattern of the floor; the verticals by the fold in Chevrot's robe, the cloth of honor and the throne, Philip's and Charles's right legs, the mullions of the windows, the left leg of the knight in silver, and the right leg of the knight in green. Rogier's taste for plotting compositions on grids is best demonstrated by the magnificent ruin that is the Escorial *Crucifixion* (fig. 7.18).[30]

The interior in the presentation miniature is very like that in Rogier's lost composition of the *Virgin and Child with Six Saints* (see fig. 7.25).[31] Indeed

Figure 7.9
X-radiograph (detail, fig. 7.3), showing leg of knight at the far right.

the same drawing might almost have been used for the window and shutters behind the knights and the window behind Saint Joseph. Like Rogier in the Prado *Descent from the Cross*, the painter of the presentation miniature was fascinated by the relationships between frame and image: here Chevrot and the knight in green are behind the frame, and the foot of the man presenting the book projects across the frame (see fig. 7.15), while the canopy appears to be suspended from the frame but in fact is not.

The portraits of Chevrot and Rolin (fig. 7.10) and Philip (fig. 7.12) may all be compared with portraits of the same subjects by or after Rogier.[32] The knight in green (fig. 7.13) adopts a pose that fascinated Rogier, who finally brought it to perfection in the youngest king of the Columba Triptych.[33] In the damask textiles the miniaturist employed the same system of counterpoint modeling used by Rogier, for example, in the Prado *Descent*.[34] The slight cast shadows, and even the fact that the principal light source is on our right, are in keeping with, say, the *Seven Sacraments*, the Prado *Descent*, and the Escorial *Crucifixion*.

Figure 7.10
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1), showing the figures of Chevrot and Rolin.

Figure 7.11
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1), showing the skirts of the robe of the white-haired knight.

Figure 7.12
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1),
showing the head of Philip.

Figure 7.13
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1),
showing the figure of the knight on
the right.

Figure 7.14
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1)
showing a dog.

Figure 7.15
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1),
showing the foot of the man presenting
the book.

Like Rogier, the miniaturist has been criticized for the inaccuracy of his perspective, the instability of some of his figures, and his crowding of some groups.[35] It is a mistake, however, to judge Rogier, or any northern artist of genius, by the prosaic standards of literal realism. There is no unified vanishing point here; the squares in the patterned floor are very different in shape; it may not be possible to pose eight men exactly as the knights are placed. That is of no great importance. As in Rogier's paintings, and given the alterations in tone and color, the result looks absolutely and immutably correct.

All these are arguments in favor of attributing the design of the presentation miniature to Rogier himself. In order to justify attributing its execution to him, it is necessary to deal with the vexed question of media. No one knows for sure which medium or media the miniaturist employed, but I would hazard that he may have been using both gums and egg white or glair. The ways in which he was trying to work these quick-drying media may indicate that he was more accustomed to slow-drying oils since, in order to achieve similar effects, he must have had to work with amazing speed and dexterity before his paint dried. For example, in the velvet skirt of the white-haired knight, he seems to have succeeded in dragging the wet paint with a dry brush to suggest the ways in which the textile catches the light (fig. 7.11). The result may be compared with the dragged and feathered oil paint of the London *Magdalene* (fig. 7.21).[36] The illuminator also layered his paint in a glazing technique similar to an oil painter's. In the green surround of the cloth of honor, damage reveals that he laid in an opaque layer of green mixed with white, perhaps in a glair medium; over that he applied a transparent green, possibly in a gum medium, and this "glaze" has in places flaked away from the underlayer (fig. 7.12). This is basically the same technique used in the shadowed areas of green drapery in the London *Magdalene*.[37] The illuminator put impasto to good effect in the white highlight on the dog's left ear (fig. 7.14), as in the cloth of gold in the London *Magdalene* (fig. 7.22), and used a *sgraffito* technique in the foot projecting from the frame, once covered by the gilding and then scraped to reveal again the point of the toe and patten (fig. 7.15).[38] There are similar passages in the London *Exhumation of Saint Hubert*.[39]

Again like Rogier, the illuminator lightly indented lines into his painted underlayers, for instance, in the cloth of honor and in Charles's robe, where the indented lines indicate the dispositions and shapes of the repeated motifs of the patterns.[40] Similar indented lines, this time ruled, mark the positions of the floorboards and the rows of nail heads in the London *Magdalene*.[41]

In fifteenth-century Netherlandish oil paintings, especially where heat-bodied oils have been used, the brush strokes tend to disappear.[42] Under the stereomicroscope, however, the brushwork can be admired. In manuscript illuminations, the brush strokes are more easily detected, and in the presentation miniature of the *Chroniques*, the brushwork is superb. Under strong magnification, which can reveal traces left by every individual hair of the brush, it is astonishing. The delicate but severely disciplined brush strokes create lines of hatching and cross-hatching; patterns of dots are applied with the points of very fine brushes. In gum and glair media, tonal transitions have to be abrupt, although they can be moderated by delicate hatching. These techniques are most easily observed in the heads and robes of Chevrot and Rolin (fig. 7.10). Some of the details, for example, the nails in the pattens or the hinges of the
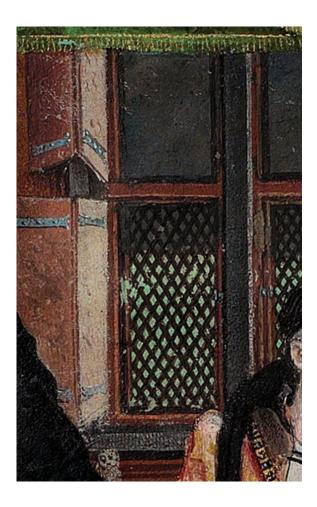
Figure 7.16
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1),
showing shutters and windows.

Figure 7.17
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.1),
showing Charles the Bold's right foot.

shutters, are virtually invisible to the naked eye (fig. 7.16). This is an artist who was so in love with his work that he lavished effort on details that few people would or could ever see.

We can once more make parallels with the London *Magdalene Reading*. I have already mentioned her book. In the landscape seen through the window, the woman walking by the river is about 15 millimeters (³⁄₅ in.) high. In her reflection, the red and white brush strokes can be seen (fig. 7.23). The artist's skill is no less astounding than his constant attention, even on this minute scale, to the patterns that he created.[43] Another instance is the mouth in the Washington *Portrait of a Lady*, where the beautiful patterns of disciplined lines in various hues and tones of red suggest both the form and the texture of the lips.[44]

If we compare the dog in the foreground of the presentation miniature (fig. 7.14) with some of the beads on the string behind the Magdalene (fig. 7.24), we can see similarities in the ways that hatching indicates shadow and that highlights are suggested by the impastoed touches of white on the dog's ear—already described—and on each of the beads.[45] In the miniature, marks left by single hairs in the painter's brush can be detected, even counted, in the shadows, and as we have seen, the artist worried over minute shifts in the outlines of Charles the Bold's shoe and patten. Similarly, in the painting of the

amber beads behind the Magdalene, the stronger highlights are circles of lead-tin yellow with points of lead white at their centers, whereas the secondary lights are orange with points of a weaker white. Even on this tiny scale, there is always an unfailing attention and sensitivity to the beauties of line and shape.

I hope that you will agree that we may see this miniature as the creation of both the mind and the hand of a great genius and that this genius must have been Rogier van der Weyden. At the Getty exhibition, a banner was displayed beside the *Chroniques* in which the figure of Philip the Good was hugely enlarged. I cannot think of any other artist who was capable of depicting commanding dignity both on the majestic scale of the life-size Escorial *Crucifixion* and on the very small scale of the *Chroniques*.
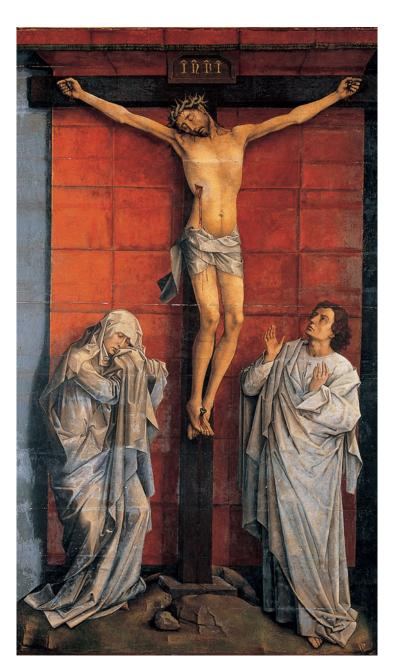
Figure 7.18
Rogier van der Weyden. *Crucifixion*, oil on panel, 325 × 192 cm (128 × 75 ⅝ in.). San Lorenzo de El Escorial. Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, inv. no. 10014602.
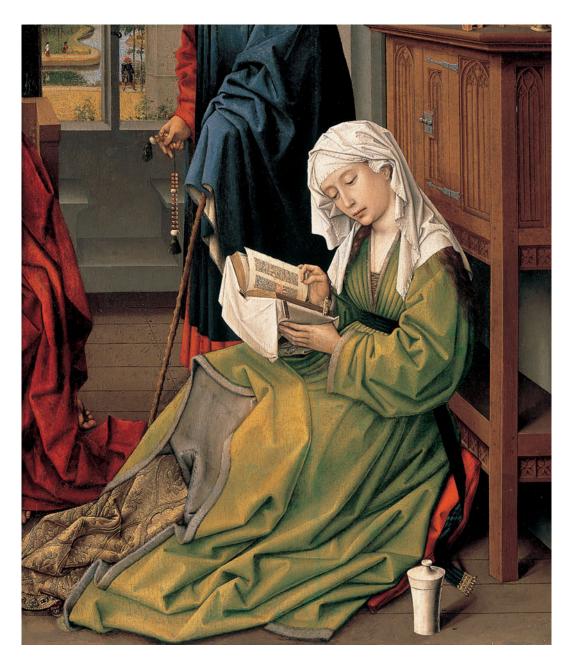
Figure 7.19
Rogier van der Weyden. *The Magdalene Reading* (fragment from an altarpiece), oil on panel, 62.2 × 54.4 cm (24$\frac{1}{2}$ × 21$\frac{3}{8}$ in.). London, National Gallery.

Figure 7.20
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.18), showing part of the book.
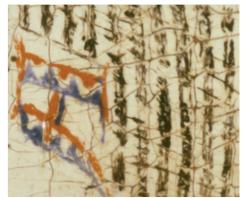
Figure 7.21
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.19), showing an area of fur.

Figure 7.22
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.19), showing an area of cloth of gold.

Figure 7.23
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.19), showing a reflection in the river.

Figure 7.24
Photomicrograph (detail, fig. 7.19), showing beads.
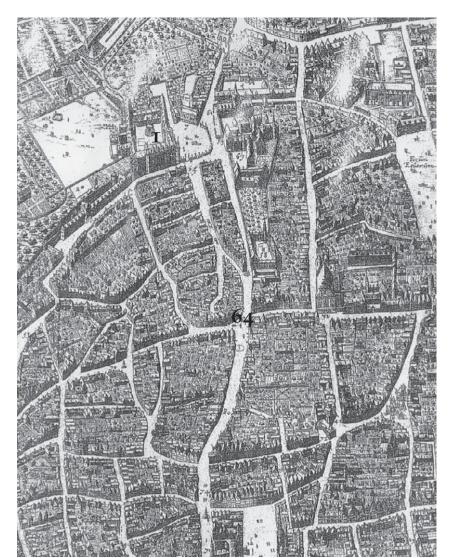
Figure 7.25
Reconstruction of Rogier van der
Weyden's lost *Virgin and Child with
Six Saints* © Jennifer Campbell.

Figure 7.26
Martin de Tailly. *Plan of Brussels*
(engraving, 1640), map of the area
around the Coudenberg; 1 marks the
palace, 64 (center) the Cantersteen.

Notes

This article could not have been written or illustrated without the help of Rachel Billinge, Jo Kirby, Thomas Kren, Elizabeth Morrison, Hélène Verougstraete, and Lieve Watteeuw, to all of whom I am exceedingly grateful.

1. In his treatise "De dignitate cardinalatus," written in 1468, Jouffroy mentioned "amicissimum mihi Brucellensem Rogerium cuius picturae omnium regum aulam collustrant": see Massimo Miglio, *Storiografia pontifica del quattrocento* (Bologna: Patron, 1975), 141 n. 31. On Jouffroy's library, see Ch. Kohler and L. Delisle, "A propos d'une lettre de Ferdinand Ier d'Aragon, roi de Naples, à Jean Jouffroi," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 57 (1896): 699–708; Giovanni Mercati, "Una lettera di Vespasiano da Bisticci a Jean Jouffroi," in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat* (Paris: Pecqueur-Grat, 1946–49), vol. 1, 357–66; Antonio Manfredi and Maria Elena Bertoldi, "San Lorenzo in Lucina, Jean Le Jeune, Jean Jouffroy and the Search for Manuscripts in France during the Papacy of Nicholas V (1447–1451)," *Opuscula Romana: Annual of the Swedish Institute in Rome* 28 (2003): 9–34.
2. For the Beaune inscriptions, see Nicole Veronée-Verhaegen, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Beaune* (Brussels: Centre national de recherches Primitifs flamands, 1973), 59–60; for the Braque inscriptions, see Philippe Lorentz and Micheline Comblen-Sonkes, *Musée du Louvre Paris III* (Brussels: Centre international d'étude de la peinture mediévale des bassins de l'Escaut et de la Meuse, 2001), 145-47.
3. Lorne Campbell, *The Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Schools* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1998), 392–406, esp. 397, fig. 6.
4. For Tournai, see Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, *"De fin or et d'azur": Les Commanditaires de livres et le métier de l'enluminure à Tournai à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIVᵉ–XVᵉ siècles)* (Louvain: Peeters, 2001); for Brussels, see the regulations of June 20, 1453, summarized by G. des Marez, *L'Organisation du travail à Bruxelles au XVᵉ siècle* (Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1904), 50–51; and Claire Dickstein-Bernard, "Roger van der Weyden, la ville de Bruxelles, et son métier des peintres," in *Rogier van der Weyden*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Musée Communal, 1979), 36–40.
5. Jean Dumoulin and Jacques Pycke, "Comptes de la paroisse Sainte-Marguerite de Tournai au 15ᵉ siècle," in *Les grands siècles de Tournai (12ᵉ–15ᵉ siècles)* (Tournai: Fabrique de l'Église Cathédrale de Tournai, 1993), 279–320, esp. 301.

6. Vanwijnsberghe, *"De fin or et d'azur,"* 131, 132, 298.
7. Anne Van Buren-Hagopian, "Dreux Jehan and the *Grandes Heures* of Philip the Bold," in *"Als ich can": Liber amicorum Professor Doctor Maurits Smeyers*, ed. Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock, and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 1377–1414. See also McKendrick's biography of Dreux in Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 212–13.
8. For Rogier's house, see Alexandre Pinchart, "Roger de le Pasture dit Van der Weyden," *Bulletin des Commissions Royales d'art et d'archéologie* 6 (1867): 408–94, esp. 472–74.
9. The documents concerning Dreux Jean's house, never fully published, are best summarized by Van Buren-Hagopian, "Dreux Jehan," 1380–81. For its situation, see Alexandre Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres* (Ghent, 1860–81), vol. 2, 191: "aux environs de la rue Cantersteen et de la rue Terarcken." The rue des Sols or Stuiverstraat runs between the rue Terarken and the Cantersteen. For the topography of the area, see G. des Marez, *Le Quartier Isabelle et Terarken* (Brussels, 1927), 47–48.
10. For Hue de Boulogne's house, see Jozef Duverger, *Brussel als kunstcentrum in de 14ᵉ en 15ᵉ eeuw* (Antwerp: De Sikkel; Ghent: Vyncke, 1935), 62. For the Steenweg premises, see Colette Mathieu, "Le métier des peintres à Bruxelles aux XIVᵐᵉ et XVᵐᵉ siècles," in *Bruxelles au XVᵉ siècle* (Brussels: Librairie encyclopédique, 1953), 219–35, esp. 235.
11. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 21779, fols. 23, 24; Pinchart, *Archives*, vol. 2, 156.
12. See Van Buren-Hagopian, "Dreux Jehan," for the fullest consideration of the evidence.
13. Dagmar Thoss, *Das Epos des Burgunderreiches, Girart de Roussillon* (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1989), 38, figs. 16, 18.
14. Campbell, *Netherlandish Schools*, 26–27; for an engraved copy of the *pleurant*, see Elisabeth Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1980), 129; on the tomb, see Lorne Campbell, "The Tomb of Joanna, Duchess of Brabant," *Renaissance Studies* 2 (1988): 163–72.
15. Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, ed., *Les Chroniques de Hainaut ou les Ambitions d'un prince bourguignon* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000). On the presentation miniature, see also Cyriel Stroo, *De celebratie van de macht: Presentatieminiaturen en aanverwante*

voorstellingen in handschriften van Philips de Goede (1419–1467) (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 2002).
16. Gustav F. Waagen, "Nachträge zur Kenntniss der altniederländischen Malerschulen des 15ten und 16ten Jahrhunderts (Forsetzung)," *Kunstblatt*, September 16, 1847, 177–78. His attribution was accepted by Johann D. Passavant, "Die Maler Rogier van der Weyden," *Zeitschrift für christliche Archäologie und Kunst* 2 (1858): 1–20, 120–30, 178–80, esp. 19; Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, vol. 2, *Rogier van der Weyden und der Meister von Flémalle* (Berlin: P. Cassirer, 1924), 39n; Friedrich Winkler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1925), 24; Georges Hulin, "Weyden (Rogier de le Pasture, alias Van der)," in *Biographie nationale*, vol. 27 (Brussels: H. Thiry-van Buggenhoudt, 1938), cols. 222–45, esp. col. 235; Albert Châtelet, *Rogier van der Weyden: Problèmes de la vie et de l'oeuvre* (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 1999), 154–55; Stephan Kemperdick, *Rogier van der Weyden, 1399/1400–1464* (Cologne: Könemann, 1999), 58; Dirk De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden: The Complete Works* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1999), 249–51. Waagen's attribution was rejected by Charles Ruelens, "La miniature initiale des Chroniques de Hainaut à la Bibliothèque de Bourgogne de Bruxelles," *Gazette archéologique* 8 (1883): 317–27; Paul Durrieu, *La Miniature flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne, 1415–1530*, 2nd ed. (Brussels: G. van Oest, 1927), 28, 64, cited Ruelens's article with evident approval. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 268 and 466 n. 3, thought that Rogier might have left the "manual execution of the page . . . to a professional illuminator." L. M. J. Delaissé, "Les 'Chroniques de Hainaut' et l'atelier de Jean Wauquelin à Mons dans l'histoire de la miniature flamande," in *Miscellanea Erwin Panofsky* (Brussels: Patrimoine des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, 1955), 21–56, quoted Panofsky's opinion with polite approval (21). Anne Van Buren-Hagopian, "Artists of Volume I," in Van den Bergen-Pantens, *Chroniques de Hainaut*, 65–74, considered that Rogier made a preliminary drawing "but left it to one of his close associates to transfer the design to the manuscript" (66). She did not mention the fairly radical alterations revealed in the X-radiograph (fig. 7.3), which were among

the reasons leading Kren to favor the attribution to Rogier; see Kren, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 91–93. Other authorities have not committed themselves to definite opinions, for example, Hélène Verougstraete and Roger Van Schoute, "Le Frontispice des *Chroniques de Hainaut*: Examen en laboratoire," in Van den Bergen-Pantens, *Chroniques de Hainaut*, 149–56.

17. Claudine Lemaire, "Les Pérégrinations des trois volumes des *Chroniques de Hainaut*," in Van den Bergen-Pantens, *Chroniques de Hainaut*, 29–32, esp. 30.

18. Ibid.; Pierre Cockshaw, "Jean Wauquelin — documents d'archives," in Van den Bergen-Pantens, *Chroniques de Hainaut*, 37–49; Anne Van Buren-Hagopian, "The Date of the Miniatures," in Van den Bergen-Pantens, *Chroniques de Hainaut*, 61–64.

19. Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, "Héraldique et symbolique dans la miniature de présentation," in Van den Bergen-Pantens, *Chroniques de Hainaut*, 125–31.

20. Verougstraete and Van Schoute, "Frontispice," 149, 151–52; for a reproduction of folio 20v, see Van den Bergen-Pantens, *Chroniques de Hainaut*, 259.

21. Lemaire, "Pérégrinations," 29.

22. On the condition of the miniature, see Lieve Watteeuw and Ann Peckstadt, "ᴋʙʀ, Hs 9242: Een conservatie in functie van het ontstaan, gebruik en de beschadiging van het manuscript," in Van den Bergen-Pantens, *Chroniques de Hainaut*, 133–39; Verougstraete and Van Schoute, "Frontispice," 149–50; Lieve Watteeuw and Marina Van Bos, "*Chroniques de Hainaut*: Observaties en resultaten van de analysis op zes miniaturen," ibid., 157–66, esp. 158–59; Anne Dubois, "Note sur l'état de conservation de la miniature de présentation du premier volume des *Chroniques de Hainaut* depuis la fin du 19ᵉ siècle," ibid., 167. A full-size lithographic reproduction by Jean-Baptiste Madou (1796–1877) and Jean-Baptiste-Ambroise-Marcelin Jobard (1792–1861) was published in Charles Lecocq and F. de Reiffenberg, *Fastes belgiques* (Brussels, 1822), unpaged, "Renaissance des lettres ᴍᴄᴄᴄᴄ," but is not entirely accurate; the full-size heliogravure published in 1883 by Ruelens, "Miniature initiale," may have been made from a retouched negative. Both reproductions appear to show the miniature in a less damaged state.

23. But compare the nineteenth-century reproductions cited in the previous note.

24. David Saunders and Jo Kirby, "Light-Induced Colour Changes in Red and Yellow Lake Pigments," *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 15 (1994): 79–97.

25. The X-radiograph (fig. 7.3), discussed by Verougstraete and Van Schoute, "Frontispice," 156, indicates that the legs of these two men are painted over the squares of the patterned floor, whereas the floor is painted up to and around the contours of all the other legs. The X-radiograph and the photograph in transmitted light (reproduced by Watteeuw and Van Bos, "*Chroniques de Hainaut*," 283) show that these two heads are less transparent than the others, with greater concentrations of lead white. Traces of lead-tin yellow have been found in the head on the left (Verougstraete and Van Schoute, "Frontispice," 159), though not in the other heads examined; the head on the right has not been investigated.

26. Verougstraete and Van Schoute, "Frontispice," 151.

27. Verougstraete and Van Schoute, "Frontispice," 151.

28. De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden*, 242.

29. Gillis was the architect of the Collegiate Church of Saint Gudula and died on February 10, 1460, apparently at a very advanced age. Both he and Rogier were generous benefactors of the charterhouse at Herne (Hérinnes), near Enghien; see Arnold Beeltsens and Jean Ammonius, *Chronique de la Chartreuse de la Chapelle à Hérinnes-lez-Enghien*, ed. Edmond Lamalle (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 1932), 62, 228. To the chapel of Saint Catherine there, consecrated on October 25, 1447, Gillis gave a stone statue of the saint *cum annexis*; it was polychromed by Rogier, who gave a picture — presumably the altarpiece of the chapel. Joes also gave the stone altar table, two windows, and all the white stone used in the building. Rogier would also have known Jan van Ruysbroeck, his colleague in the employ of the town of Brussels: see G. des Marez, "L'architecte Jean van Ruysbroeck et le xvᵉ siècle bruxellois," *Annales de la Société Royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles* 31 (1923), 81–105.

30. De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden*, 291–94; color reproductions in Albert Châtelet, *Rogier van der Weyden* (Paris: Gallimard; Milan: Electa, 1999), 121–23.

31. Campbell, *Netherlandish Schools*, 399.

32. The portraits of Chevrot, in the *Seven Sacraments*, and of Rolin, in the Beaune *Last Judgment*, are reproduced by De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden*, 132. For the early versions of the lost *Portrait of Philip the Good*, see Lorentz and Comblen-Sonkes, *Musée du Louvre Paris III*, 71–80, and references.

33. Compare, for example, the young men on the right of the *Exhumation of Saint Hubert*, in the left wing of the Bladelin Triptych and (reversed) in the scene of Baptism in the *Seven Sacraments*, as well as the youngest king of the Columba Triptych: Campbell, *Netherlandish Schools*, 422; De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden*, 412, 242, 219, 279.

34. Verougstraete and Van Schoute, "Frontispice," 151. In strongly illuminated areas, the patterns are dark on light; in shadowed areas, light on dark.

35. See, for instance, Van Buren, "Artists of Volume I," 65–66; Verougstraete and Van Schoute, "Frontispice," 149.

36. Lorne Campbell et al., "The Materials and Techniques of Five Paintings by Rogier van der Weyden and His Workshop," in *Early Northern European Painting*, ed. Lorne Campbell, Susan Foister, and Ashok Roy, *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 18 (1997): 68–86, esp. 81, pl. 53; Campbell, *Netherlandish Schools*, 402.

37. Campbell et al., "Materials and Techniques," 76, 79.

38. Verougstraete and Van Schoute, "Frontispice," 150, 152.

39. In the *Exhumation*, where the two boys were added at a late stage, the red collar and undersleeves, and perhaps areas of the face, of the older boy were created by leaving exposed parts of the red robe of the man behind and beneath; see Campbell, *Netherlandish Schools*, 425.

40. Verougstraete and Van Schoute, "Frontispice," 150.

41. Campbell et al., "Materials and Techniques," 73–74.

42. Jill Dunkerton, "Observations on the Handling Properties of Binding Media Identified in European Painting from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries," *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du patrimoine artistique* 27 (1996–98, published 2002): 287–92, esp. 292.

43. Campbell, *Netherlandish Schools*, 396–97.

44. Catherine A. Metzger and Michael Palmer, "The Washington Portrait of a Lady by Rogier van der Weyden Considered in Light of Recent Investigations," in *Painting Techniques: History, Materials, and Studio Practice: Contributions to the Dublin Congress, 7–11 September 1998*, ed. Ashok Roy and Perry Smith (London: International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 1998), ᴵᴵᴄ, 94–97.

45. Campbell et al., "Materials and Techniques," 82–83; Campbell, *Netherlandish Schools*, 396, fig. 4.

On Relationships between Netherlandish Drawing and Manuscript Illumination in the Fifteenth Century

Stephanie Buck

WHEN CONSIDERING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EARLY Netherlandish drawing and manuscript illumination, one has to face a well-known but nevertheless serious problem: the scarceness of drawings still preserved today.[1] In northern Europe, drawings do not seem to have been collected as works of art during the fifteenth century.[2] Thus, the large majority of them are lost. Most of the few hundred sheets from the fifteenth century that have been preserved[3]—works on paper or parchment, usually mounted on cardboard— are executed in a rather detailed manner, as they were used as workshop patterns and thus had to show clear, recognizable, and repeatable images. Among these only a small number can be linked to manuscript illumination in some manner, meaning that they were either created by illuminators or were used as patterns in illuminators' workshops and thus played a role within the production of miniatures.[4]

The term *drawing* may, however, refer not only to these individual objects but also to the manuscript illumination itself.[5] As I see it, three different aspects can be distinguished. First, in miniature painting, as in panel painting, drawing marked a specific step in the work process. This "underdrawing" was meant to be covered up with paint and was thus not expected to be visible. Second, drawing can be seen as an integral element of miniature painting in the sense that the linear structure, the modeling with hatches and so on, is a visible part of the illumination as it appears in its finished state. "Drawing" in this sense is understood as the graphic language that depends on line and linear structure, as distinguished from "painting," in which areas of color are blended in order to create the illusion of continuously modeled forms. Third, there are book illuminations that are actually finished drawings and do not differ from "individual" drawings. Their appearance is manifold. Jonathan Alexander refers to a variety of techniques of finished drawings in medieval manuscripts: colored ink drawings, illustrations with light washes, grisaille with color tinting, and even combinations of fully painted miniatures and drawings on a single page.[6]

No matter what type of drawing one refers to, there are essential characteristics shared by early Netherlandish drawing and manuscript illumination that establish a relationship that by nature is particularly close, closer than the one between drawing and contemporary panel or glass painting. These characteristics are the same support—parchment or paper—the same working tools—pen or brush and ink, sometimes colored[7]—as well as the small scale, and they have an important effect on the work's artistic character.

Figure 8.1
Master of the Dresden Prayer Book.
Virgin and Child Crowned by an Angel,
in a book of hours. Berlin, Staatliche
Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz,
Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78 B 14,
fol. 221v.

Figure 8.2
Infrared photograph of *Virgin and Child
Crowned by an Angel* (detail, fig. 8.1).

By looking closely at examples of these different types of drawing, we
can gain a better understanding of their respective relationships to book illumi-
nation. I will begin with an example of spontaneous underdrawing covered
with paint that was applied in a technique of an explicitly linear character, then
look at drawings as miniatures in manuscripts, followed by individual drawings
used as models for finished illuminations, and conclude with an example that
combines drawing and miniature painting in a single image.

As is well known, underdrawings can often be found in books with
unfinished illuminations.[8] Whereas these drawings are visible to the naked eye,
underdrawings covered with paint in finished miniatures may be detected with
the help of infrared photography and reflectography.[9] Their documentation can
be of considerable interest for research not only on book illumination but also
on individual drawings. For example, among the illuminations in a book of
hours in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett is a full-page miniature by the Master
of the Dresden Prayer Book from around 1485, representing the half-length
image of the Virgin and child crowned by an angel (fig. 8.1).[10] Typical for his
painting—or rather drawing—technique, this illuminator hardly blended the
colors but rather indicated outlines, drapery folds, facial features, as well as the
Virgin's hair with individual lines and then modeled with short hatches. These
are also dominant in the background. This "modeling drawing," which charac-
terizes the final painted image, is somewhat disorganized and lacks concentra-
tion; at the same time it covers the surface rather densely.

The underdrawing has a different appearance (fig. 8.2). The infrared photograph shows that the illuminator first planned two angels flanking the Virgin's head and holding the crown. Later in the work process these two were given up to make space for the one centrally located angel finally executed in paint. The underdrawing is limited to fluent brush lines that indicate the forms, such as the angels' wings and heads or some of the main drapery folds; the crown is merely roughly outlined as a rectangular form. It demonstrates the illuminator's creativity in blocking in the final composition and introduces another facet of his draftsmanship, which is not limited to the slightly shaggy, confused "modeling drawing" in paint visible on the miniature's surface. As most individual fifteenth-century Netherlandish drawings are more fully worked out copies, this sketchy underdrawing is welcome as another of the rare examples of fluent and spontaneous freehand drawing.[11] As such it suggests that the small-scale sketch on parchment or on paper was well known to Netherlandish artists.

In the case of drawings that are illuminations, or vice versa, works executed on colored grounds are especially interesting. Depending on their function, as either an end product or a work meant to help produce another one, and also depending on the particular department of the museum or library where the works are preserved today, these images are categorized either as drawings or as illuminations. Especially in the case of very early individual drawings dating from the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries, however, this categorization is rather artificial, as becomes evident when reading Cennino Cennini's *Libro dell'arte*. Although Italian, this manual gives important information on working procedures in the north as well.

In the very beginning Cennini emphasizes that drawing is the starting point of the artist's education: "As has been said, you begin with drawing."[12] After explaining how to prepare a small wooden panel with a ground and how to draw with a silverpoint on it, he describes in great detail how to draw on sheep parchment or on paper and shade with washes: "On the parchment you may draw or sketch with this style of yours. . . . If, after you have drawn with the style, you want to clear up the drawing further, fix it with ink at the points of accent and stress. And then shade the folds with washes of ink. . . . And you may likewise work and shade with colors and with clothlets such as the illuminators use."[13] He obviously distinguished between illumination and drawing, but the borderlines are fluid.

After practicing metalpoint drawing for a year, the young artist could work with the pen and finally start drawing on paper or parchment tinted in various colors in order "to start trying to discover the entrance and gateway to painting."[14] Early Italian examples of this type of drawing on a tinted ground are Giovanni da Milano's *Crucifixion* from around 1365/70[15] and Lorenzo Monaco's *Visitation* from the beginning of the fifteenth century (fig. 8.3).[16] Pen, brush, dark ink, some wash, and white gouache for the highlights are used. Monaco's drawing is fully worked out and presents itself as a complete image—the composition is even surrounded by a picture frame. Still Cennini certainly considered works like this as drawings, as we do today because of the obvious graphic qualities, evident when focusing on the elaborate system of hatching.[17]

Figure 8.3
Lorenzo Monaco. *The Visitation*. Pen and brush, brown and black ink heightened with white tinted with blue and yellow goache on paper, 25.7 × 18.9 cm (10 1/8 × 7 3/8 in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 608.

Figure 8.4
Jaques Daliwe. *Pilgrims by a Town*, in *Liber Picturatus*. Silverpoint, partly retouched with metalpoint and brush on white prepared boxwood, 8.8 × 13 cm (35 × 5 1/8 in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. A 74, 11b.
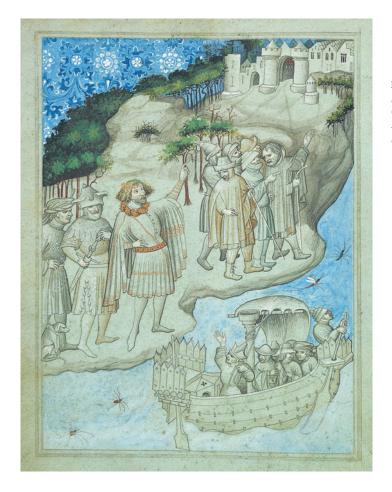
Figure 8.5
Anonymous. *John Mandeville Travels to Constantinople*, in *The Travels of John Mandeville*. London, British Library, Add Ms. 24189, fol. 4v.

Around 1400 northern artists worked in the same manner, evident in model books like the ones by Jacquemart de Hesdin[18] and Jaques Daliwe (fig. 8.4)[19] or the Bohemian *Vademecum*.[20] It is also manifest in manuscripts such as *The Travels of John Mandeville* (fig. 8.5).[21] In all of these cases the technique corresponds exactly to the one Cennini recommended for drawings on tinted paper or parchment, and the graphic structure is always manifest. Thus, not only the model book drawings executed on wood but also the illuminations in the manuscript may as well be considered drawings—that is, illuminations and drawings need not be distinguished.

In the period around 1400 contemporaries did not in fact necessarily distinguish between drawings and book illumination in regard to their "nature"—that is, their aesthetic value, function, appearance, and technique. This is demonstrated by a remarkable manuscript in the Wiesbaden Hauptstaatsarchiv dated in the colophon to 1410 and illustrated with about forty images.[22] Astonishingly, most of these works—executed by different artists—were produced in the late fourteenth century as individual drawings on paper and parchment. Only later, when the manuscript was put together as a miscellany of religious texts, were the already existing drawings glued in and thereby adapted as text illustrations. The drawings' function thus changed. As Marta Renger stated in 1987, they were understood as suitable devotional images that occasionally refer to the text.[23]

Figure 8.6
Anonymous. *Adoration of the Magi*, in a miscellany of religious texts. Wiesbaden, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Ms. 3004 B 10, fol. 24v.

A particularly interesting example is *The Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 8.6).[24] This scene was created by pasting together four drawings, all attributed by Renger to the André Beauneveu group.[25] The three drawings showing "Kaspar," "Balthasar," and the Virgin are silverpoint drawings heightened with white. The figures of the two kings were executed on green prepared paper, while the white ground of the drawing with the Virgin and child has a yellow tint. "Melchior" on the other side is not only slightly taller than the other two kings but is also executed in pen and ink on a white ground and is not heightened with white. After the pasting together, a draftsman who worked with brush, pen, watercolor, and ink tried to make the figures appear to belong to a homogeneous composition. Thus he enlarged the Virgin's throne bench to the left, added a continuous grassy ground, retouched the figures with red, and reinforced contours.[26]

Those early works executed on tinted paper, many of them heightened with white, show the closest possible relationship between drawing and illumination. The rise of the individual drawing on paper, as we think of that phenomenon today, can be observed over the course of the fifteenth century. The technique in which tinted grounds were used and white highlights were applied seems to have become less important for the production of early Netherlandish individual drawings in the second and third quarters of the fifteenth century, however, while book illuminators continued working in a similar technique when they executed grisaille miniatures.[27]

In the last quarter of the fifteenth century the technique appears to have again become popular in Netherlandish drawing. It is probably not by pure chance that a group of these small-scale individual drawings executed on gray tinted grounds are linked to manuscript illumination. Two fine examples are *The Holy Family at the Inn* (fig. 8.7)[28] and *Fourteen Male Heads* (fig. 8.10).[29] The format of the drawings, with borders indicated with straight lines, and the fact that the motifs coincide with miniatures in several Flemish manuscripts from the last quarter of the fifteenth century prove the connection to book illustrations. The drawings differ from the illuminations, however, in that the latter are fully painted miniatures while the drawings are executed with pen, brush, and black ink, heightened with white gouache. Questions of the

drawings' attribution, of their precise function, and of their status as original inventions or copies are still unsettled. It only seems clear that they were used as preparatory material for the production of miniatures.

A. E. Popham and Otto Pächt attributed the *Holy Family at the Inn* to the Master of Mary of Burgundy. Although G. I. Lieftinck and Anne H. Van Buren questioned that attribution,[30] Thomas Kren provisionally attributed the London drawing to the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy.[31] The image was obviously very successful; Kren states that at least eight Flemish manuscripts show the same or similar motifs. The earliest seems to be the miniature in the Voustre Demeure Hours (fig. 8.8), now attributed to an assistant of the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy and dated to about 1475–80.[32]

The attribution of the drawing to a particular book illuminator is a thorny question, as not a single sheet can be firmly attributed to one of the numerous illuminators from that group. Thus there is no starting point for a stylistic analysis. The drapery style is not of much help since the forms may have been copied after a model and thus resemble one another closely in the several manuscripts dating not only from the last quarter of the fifteenth but also from the early sixteenth century.[33] The drawing technique—with its reduction of color to black, gray, and white—gives the drawing an appearance that is completely different from that of the miniature, although there are possibilities for comparison with the Voustre Demeure Hours, as the illuminator of that manuscript relied heavily on a grayish tone for the city and landscape. This is particularly important, as the tiny size of the figures means that the heads are only about three millimeters high, making it difficult to recognize the hand of a specific master based on modeling, expression, and physiognomic features.

Despite such uncertainties, an attribution of the drawing to the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy seems most unlikely if we expect this illuminator to be the creative, innovative mind who ingeniously invented new compositions.[34] A copy should thus not be attributed to him but rather be interpreted as a work from his workshop or his circle.

This seems to be the case with the London sheet. Despite its abraded condition, there is enough detailed information that indicates clear misunderstandings of the original composition. The artist first drew the inner rectangular space reserved for the text block in a manuscript. Those straight lines were ruled imprecisely, however, as the draftsman corrected the right border line. The lower border of this inner frame was not drawn in black but only slightly indented. This might indicate that the artist did not really construct the border but copied its format from an existing image.

The draftsman did not clearly understand the system of light important for the miniatures of the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, as is obvious in the Voustre Demeure miniature (fig. 8.8). There are two light sources: the "natural light" falls from the left; in the bas-de-page it causes the figures and objects to cast strong, clear shadows, which are indicated with tiny strokes. Because of this light falling from the left, the figures are modeled with white on their left sides, both in the miniature and in the drawing. A second light source is the heavenly light that the angels emit as they announce Christ's birth to the shepherds (fig. 8.9). The stable on the right border is glowing because Christ was born there. The savior's heavenly light affects the surroundings—the two shepherds, seen from the back approaching the stable from the left, are thus

Figure 8.7
Workshop or circle of the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. *The Holy Family at the Inn*. Pen and brush and black ink heightened with white on gray prepared paper, 11 × 7.9 cm (4⅜ × 3⅛ in.). London, British Museum, inv. 1883.7.14.78.

lit only from the right in the miniature. Their backs are dark. In the drawing, however, the shepherd on the left is highlighted from the back—a clear misunderstanding of the original highly refined lighting system, manifest in the Voustre Demeure miniature. In this respect the composition of the upper border with the Annunciation to the Shepherds is even less convincing in the London drawing. In the miniature the annunciatory angel is all glowing because he is the one who announces the heavenly message. As in the case of the stable, this light affects the shepherds camping on the left side of the upper border. The draftsman thus highlights those figures with some white. The reason for the heavenly glow is not clearly indicated, however, as the annunciatory angel himself is hardly highlighted and does not glow at all.

Misunderstandings are also manifest in regard to the spatial construction of the houses of Bethlehem on the left border, where the gables are superimposed without much understanding of the houses' construction and their placement in the picture space. The same is true for the diagonally placed house behind the pregnant Mary, which seems to float in the air on the lower border.

All of these peculiarities distinguish the draftsman as a copyist who sometimes lost track of the composition, probably because he had to "translate" a colored miniature into a black-and-white image.[35] The identification of the London sheet as a copy helps us to better understand its most striking ele-

ment, that is, the exact repetition of the figures of Mary and Joseph in the space reserved for the text. If they had been drawn by the inventor of the figures, one might expect some variations in the drapery and posture. An artist who copied in order to practice, however, might well have repeated a model as exactly as possible. Thus it seems plausible that the two pairs of figures were executed by different hands,[36] and that the artist responsible for drawing the border copied the figures that another draftsman had drawn in the center of the sheet as a model. Although the differences between the figures are minor, they do in fact exist. Clearest might be the differently arranged beltlike strip of cloth around Joseph's waist, which is in fact the long tail—the *cornette*—of his hood: in the "model" that band falling from the neck to the hip is dynamically drawn, while it lacks an analogous tension in the border design (fig. 8.7). An identification of the two draftsmen is difficult to propose; we may only assume that the London sheet was produced in the workshop or the circle of the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy.

The Berlin *Fourteen Male Heads* (fig. 8.10) poses different problems when it comes to the question of attribution. There are no signs that indicate that the sheet is a copy, and here, in contrast to the London drawing, the heads do not appear in an identical manner in manuscript illuminations. The heads' intricate arrangement on the picture plane, the large variety of types, and the

Figure 8.8
Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy or assistant. *The Holy Family at the Inn* and *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, in the Voustre Demeure Hours. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. Vit. 25–5, fol. 68.

Figure 8.9
The Holy Family at the Inn (detail, fig. 8.7).

Figure 8.10
Master of the First Prayer Book of
Maximilian(?). *Fourteen Male Heads.*
Pen and brush and black ink heightened
with white, touched with red on gray
prepared paper, 7.4 × 11.1 cm
(2⁷⁄₈ × 4³⁄₈ in.). Berlin, Staatliche
Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz,
Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 12512.

subtlety of the different expressions noted by Kren vividly speak for the draw-
ing's high quality. Kren suggests an attribution to the Master of the Houghton
Miniatures, whose work is characterized by crisp, precise draftsmanship.[37] The
attribution is based on close parallels in type and particular facial features of
various heads on the drawing to those in several of the Houghton Master's
miniatures: similar mouths and noses, with lines that run from the nose to the
mouth, the suggestion of bags under the eyes, strong arches of the brows, and
hair drawn with individual wiry curls.

Despite these clear similarities, the proposed attribution seems prob-
lematic because of a crucial difference in modeling: the miniatures of the
Houghton Master appear to be executed in exquisitely thin layers of color and
resemble watercolors, even in places where much gray is used.[38] The illumina-
tor avoided strong, black contour lines but drew in extraordinary thin outlines.
The facial features were achieved in the same manner. The modeling was then
done with fine hatching and tiny parallel strokes. Highlighting with white,
strong daubs of white on foreheads, on the tips of noses, and so on seems to
be completely avoided. This, however, is characteristic for the Berlin heads—
a good example is the bald, bearded man farthest to the right in the middle
row. Considering the heads' small sizes, these daubs of white are deft and
thickly applied. This might be explained by the reduced color scheme, which
somehow forced the draftsman to work with white. There was no need to
reinforce the fine outlines of the busts and heads, however, as the draftsman
did, for example, in the case of the upper contour of the bald head referred to
above or the thick outline of the neck of the man turned to the left and placed
in the drawing's center. This initial fine drawing is very similar indeed to the
drawing of the Houghton Master. The "broad" brushstrokes that lend the
heads their final appearance, however, are different. To my eyes the drawing on
the Berlin sheet in its final appearance thus has a less subtle character than that
of the miniatures.

The modeling, however, seems to be typical for some miniatures by
the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian, to whom I attributed the
drawing in 2001:[39] heads like those of Saints Christopher and David of Wales

in the London Hastings Hours from before 1483[40] show not only the facial characteristics cited above as characteristic of the Houghton Master's figures — similar mouths and noses, strong arches of the brows, and beards drawn with individual wiry curls — but also the deft modeling with strong highlights and the reinforcement of outlines. As the judgment as to which similarities outweigh the others seems highly subjective, the attribution of the Berlin drawing is difficult to resolve purely on the basis of stylistic arguments.

Finally, I would like to focus briefly on an illumination that belongs to the group of works that combine fully painted miniatures and drawings on a single page. In the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau,[41] the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy depicted a grotesque tournament with animals fighting against wild men, a scene with an allegorical meaning (fig. 8.12).[42] This scene differs essentially from all the framed miniatures in that book, which depict biblical scenes or saints. In the latter miniatures the illuminator created homogeneous pictures in which the figures and their surroundings are painted in the same manner (fig. 8.11). Thus the illuminator interpreted the images as "real," authentic depictions of the story documented in the Bible. The mimetic painting that evokes figures and space defines the image clearly and thus pinpoints the representation as the one particular view that the illuminator chose to offer.

Figure 8.11
Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. *The Holy Family at the Inn*, in the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 219–20, fol. 115.

The allegorical tournament scene, in contrast, is not placed in such a setting. The figures are executed in paint, and despite being allegorical creatures, they are tangible, clearly defined figures. The setting, however, is limited to a group of leafless trees, not painted but drawn with pen and black ink. Because of its delicateness, this drawing mediates perfectly between the painted figures and the flat, light parchment that serves as a neutral ground.[43] On a purely aesthetic level this may explain the combination of drawing and painting. Moreover, the drawing—which is not mimetic, as the forms do not appear three-dimensional and lack the real color and material surface of trees (the trunks are structured with tiny parallel hatches)—enables the viewer to imagine the setting. The painted rooks that perch in these trees open up the possibility to interpret the trees as real. At the same time a brief look at the illumination on the adjacent page shows that birds may also sit on utterly abstract lines that are part of the manuscript writing and thus do not represent a natural form at all.

Because of its nature, drawing, as opposed to painting, has the ability to suggest reality without pinpointing it.[44] Because of this, it is capable of mediating between the two essential parts of an illuminated manuscript: the written text, which addresses itself to the reader's mind and spirit, and painting, which is experienced visually—that is, with the eye—and, particularly in the late fifteen century, aims to capture the natural world mimetically. On this intellectual level the relationship between drawing and manuscript illumination appears to be particularly interesting.

Figure 8.12
Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. *Grotesque Tournament*, in the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 219–20 (detail), fol. 132v.

Notes

1. The most recent introductions to early Netherlandish drawings are Stephanie Buck, *Die niederländischen Zeichnungen des 15. Jahrhunderts im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett: Kritischer Katalog* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), and Fritz Koreny, *Early Netherlandish Drawings from Jan van Eyck to Hieronymus Bosch*, exh. cat. (Antwerp: Rubenshuis, 2002) (with bibliographies). See also *Master Drawings* 41, no. 3 (2003), dedicated to early Netherlandish drawings.

2. Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514) is considered as one of the earliest collectors; see Beatrice Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel* (Munich: Prestel, 1990).

3. Koreny, *Early Netherlandish Drawings*, 12, speaks of barely six hundred preserved fifteenth-century Netherlandish drawings.

4. For the relationship between drawings and book illumination in general, see Marc W. Evans, *Medieval Drawings* (London: Hamlyn, 1969); Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Christopher de Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (London: British Museum Press, 1992); Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900– ca. 1470)*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995); Susie Nash, "Imitation, Invention, or Good Business Sense? The Use of Drawings in a Group of Fifteenth-Century French Books of Hours," in *Drawing, 1400–1600: Invention and Innovation*, ed. Stuart Currie (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 12–25; Eberhard König, "How Did Illuminators Draw? Some Fifteenth-Century Examples, Mostly Flemish," in *Master Drawings* 41, no. 3 (2003): 216–27.

5. See also König, "How Did Illuminators Draw?" 219.

6. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 39. Presumably the most intriguing example of a book illustrated with drawings is the Utrecht Psalter of around 820 (Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. 32, Script. Eccl. 484), discussed in surveys on early medieval drawings. See Evans, *Medieval Drawings*, 8; Koert van der Horst and Jacobus H. A. Engelbregt, *Utrecht-Psalter: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe*, trans. Johannes Rathofer (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1984).

7. Most fifteenth-century Netherlandish drawings are executed with pen and ink; metalpoint is another common medium; see Buck, *Niederländischen Zeichnungen*, 37–39;

Koreny, *Early Netherlandish Drawings*, 10–12.

8. For examples, see M. S. Frinta, "Underdrawings in the Few Late Bohemian Manuscript Illumination [*sic*]," in *Le Dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture: Colloque X, 5–7 septembre 1993: Le Dessin sous-jacent dans le processus de création*, ed. Hélène Verougstraete and Roger van Schoute (Louvain: Collège Erasme, 1995), 43–49; Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 35–51, 62–71; König, "How Did Illuminators Draw?" fig. 7, n. 21 (with a list of unfinished manuscript illuminations and bibliography).

9. One of the few campaigns devoted to the documentation of underdrawings in manuscripts was dedicated to the Turin-Milan Hours; see Anne H. Van Buren, James H. Marrow, and Silvana Pettenati, *Heures de Turin-Milan, Inv. No. 47, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Torino: Commentary* (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1996), 247–401; Anne H. Van Buren: "The First Campaign for Jean de Berry's Book of Hours, Prayers, and Masses," in *Le Dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture: Colloque XII, 11–13 septembre 1997: La Peinture dans les Pays-Bas au 16e siècle*, ed. Hélène Verougstraete and Roger van Schoute (Louvain: Collège Erasme, 1999), 317–30.

10. Ms. 78.B.14; see Bodo Brinkmann, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreichs: Der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 301–5.

11. Buck, *Niederländischen Zeichnungen*, 25–29, 34–36; Koreny, *Early Netherlandish Drawings*, 16–18.

12. Cennino Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook: The Italian "Il libro dell'arte,"* trans. Daniel V. Thompson Jr. (1933; New York: Dover, 1954), chap. 5.

13. Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, chap. 10. Thompson uses the word *style* for the more usual *stylus*. The term *clothlets* is the translation of the original Italian term *pezzuole* (i.e., little pieces of cloth); see Cennino Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte*, ed. Franco Brunello (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1971), 12 n. 5 with references to medieval sources such as the Theophilus from around 950 (*An Essay upon Various Arts by Theophilus . . . called also Rugerus*, trans. Umbruch R. Hendrie [London: John Murray, 1847]), in which the technique is described. These pieces of cloth were soaked with colors, which could be used by touching the cloth with a wet brush.

14. Cennini, *Craftsman's Handbook*, chap. 15.

15. Brush in brown heightened with white, on brown prepared paper, 28.4 × 22.2 cm ($11^1/8 \times 8^3/4$ in.), Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 4290; Hein-Th. Schulze Altcappenberg, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett: Kritischer Katalog* (Berlin: G & H Verlag, 1995), no. 61.

16. Schulze Altcappenberg (*Die italienischen Zeichnungen*, no. 80) suggests a date of around 1408/14.

17. Schulze Altcappenberg, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen*, no. 81, 42.

18. Metalpoint on boxwood, ca. 13 × 7 cm; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 346 and 346A: Scheller, *Exemplum*, no. 19, 218–25; Philippe Lorentz, "Les carnets de dessins, 'laboratoires' de la création artistique," in *Paris 1400: Les Arts sous Charles VI*, exh. cat. (Paris: Fayard; Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 304–6. The book was executed in a first campaign in France around the middle of the fourteenth century and in a second campaign around 1385–1400. For early modelbooks see also Ulrike Jenni, "The Phenomena of Change in the Modelbook Tradition around 1400," in *Drawings Defined*, ed. Konrad Oberhuber (New York, 1987), 35–47.

19. Scheller, *Exemplum*, no. 21, 233–40; Ulrike Jenni (*Das Skizzenbuch des Jaques Daliwe: Kommentar zur Faksimileausgabe des Liber picturatus A74 der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek Berlin/DDR* [Leipzig: VCH, 1987], 6) dates the drawings between 1400 and 1420, as Scheller does.

20. Silverpoint, pen, and brush, touches of red and heightened with white on green tinted paper, glued on maplewood, 9.5 × 9 cm ($3^3/4 \times 3^1/2$ in.), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 5003, 5004; Scheller (*Exemplum*, no. 20, 226–32) dates it around 1400–1410.

21. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville: A Manuscript in the British Library*, introduction by Josef Krása, trans. Peter Kussi (New York: G. Braziller, 1983), esp. 26–30 (technique and style).

22. Marta Renger, "The Wiesbaden Drawings," in *Master Drawings* 25, no. 4 (1987): 390–410; Maurits Smeyers, *L'Art de la miniature flamande du VIIIe au XVIe siècle*, trans. Monique Verboomen (Tournai: Renaissance du livre, 1998), 178, 209.

23. Renger, "Wiesbaden Drawings," 391. The reuse and reinterpretation of the drawings sometimes involved only the addition of text and a decorative frame to the existing drawing.

24. Virgin: 14 × 7.2 cm (5^1/2 × 2^7/8 in.); Melchior: 14 × 7.1 cm (5^1/2 × 2^3/4 in.); Balthasar: 12.8 × 8.4 cm (5 × 3^1/4 in.); Kaspar: 13.6 × 6.5 cm (5^3/8 × 2^1/2 in.). Renger, "Wiesbaden Drawings," no. 10, 400–401; Smeyers, *Art de la miniature flamande*, 209, color ill. 46.

25. Renger's attribution shall not be discussed here.

26. During this campaign not only were existing drawings retouched but new illustrations were also drawn directly onto the manuscript pages; see Renger, "Wiesbaden Drawings," nos. 27–37, 405–10.

27. For examples of grisaille miniatures, see Pierre Cockshaw, *Miniatures en grisaille: Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, 1986). For the phenomenon discussed here, see also Stephanie Buck, "The Impact of Hugo van der Goes as a Draftsman," in *Master Drawings* 41, no. 3 (2003): 233–35.

28. Thomas Kren, in Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), no. 21, 146–47, 524.

29. Buck, *Niederländischen Zeichnungen*, no. 1.21, 159–63; Kren, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 35, 178, 525.

30. A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, vol. 5 (London: British Museum, 1932), no. 13, 65–66, pl. XXIII; Otto Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy* (London: Faber & Faber, 1948), 70, no. 25, pl. 29a; G. I. Lieftinck, *Boekverluchters uit de omgeving van Maria van Bourgondië, c. 1475–c. 1485* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1969), fig. 132; Anne H. Van Buren, "Master of Mary of Burgundy," in *Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (New York: Grove, 1996), vol. 20, 727.

31. Today the oeuvre of the Master of Mary of Burgundy has been divided into several groups. Some of the most inventive miniatures are to be found in the Hours of Mary of Burgundy in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1857). Their illuminator is now called the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy; see Kren, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 126–27, no. 19.

32. Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, Ms. Vit. 25–5, fol. 68; Kren, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 142–46, no. 20, fig. 50.

33. For the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary, see Maurits Smeyers and Jan van der Stock, eds., *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts, 1475–1550*, exh. cat. (Ghent: Ludion Press, 1997), 80–81; Brigitte Dekeyzer, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 324–29, 528, no. 92; for the book of hours from the workshop of the Master of James IV of Scotland, Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire, fol. 39, see Kren, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 128, fig. 51.

34. For a discussion of his oeuvre and the history of attribution, see Anne H. Van Buren, "The Master of Mary of Burgundy and His Colleagues: The State of Research and Questions of Method," in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 38 (1975): 286–309; Eberhard König et al., *Das Berliner Stundenbuch der Maria von Burgund und Kaiser Maximilians: Handschrift 78 B 12 im Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1998); Kren, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 126–27.

35. Kren, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 147, points out that the measurements of the Voustre Demeure miniature are remarkably similar to those of the drawing. This certainly argues for a very close relationship. The drawing most probably did not function as the preparatory drawing for that particular miniature, however, as the illuminator did not duplicate mistakes made by the draftsman.

36. This was suggested to me by James Marrow. I thank him for sharing his observations with me.

37. The eponymous manuscript is the Emerson-White Hours in the Houghton Library (Cambridge, Mass., Typ. 443–443.1); Kren, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 168–78, no. 32.

38. See, for example, the rocks in the Saint Anthony miniature in the Emerson-White Hours (120, fig. 32a, detail).

39. See Buck, *Niederländischen Zeichnungen*, no. 1.21, with illustrations from the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian. For that master, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 190–98, 305–8, 316–29, no. 41.

40. London, British Library, Add. Ms. 54782, fol. 48v; Kren, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 41. For an illustration of the Saint Christopher and Saint David of Wales miniatures, see Janet Backhouse, *The Hastings Hours* (London: British Library, 1996), 6, frontispiece. For

a bare face, see Saint Jerome on fol. 278v (Backhouse, *The Hastings Hours*, 62).

41. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mss. Douce 219–20; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 18.

42. For an interpretation, see *Master of Mary of Burgundy: A Book of Hours for Engelbert of Nassau,* Oxford, Bodleian Library, introduction and legends by Jonathan J. G. Alexander (New York: G. Braziller, 1970), 18–20.

43. Alexander (*Master of Mary of Burgundy*, 19), refers to much earlier Anglo-Saxon and Byzantine psalters in which "the actors are portrayed on the blank space of the margins with no setting," and to the tradition of "the gothic marginal drollery" starting in the early thirteenth century.

44. By combining painting and drawing, the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy seems to have realized this. This view seems plausible, as the illuminator's fundamental reflection on the reality levels of the main miniatures, the border decoration, and the book as a physical object is manifest throughout the manuscript; see Alexander, in *Book of Hours for Engelbert of Nassau*, 14–18. As the trees are drawn in dark ink, it seems uncertain whether the illuminator or the scribe, Nicolas Spierinc, was responsible for them. That problem does not touch upon the core of the question discussed here, however, and thus shall be excluded.

Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts: Assessing Archival Evidence

Jan Van der Stock

At the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century the production of prestigious manuscripts was a highly complex business. We know that several illuminators would work together on one manuscript, either simultaneously or in consecutive stages, for the production of important manuscripts was an exceedingly capital- and labor-intensive enterprise. Moreover, only a limited number of specialized craftsmen were employed in this niche industry, and there was room for no more than a handful of top illuminators. Unquestionably this necessitated an ingenious division of labor and a prudent spreading of the risks. Unfortunately the actual technicalities of such cooperation and collaboration remain a mystery. The archives are silent on the matter. How the actual collaboration and specific labor relations worked remains unclear.

This article is organized around a compelling series of archival examples that are either being published here for the first time or being remarked upon for the first time. They offer us insights into the character of collaboration in manuscript production, the organization of production, the often-controversial scholarly practice of localization, and professional relationships. They encourage us to think harder about the subtle nature of collaboration within artistic production, the complexity of the organization of production, the mobility required in executing commissions for princely patrons, and the inevitable reality of conflict among members of the book trade.

Searching for "Hands"

We know, in fact, very little about the actual circumstances in which works of art came into being. We know even less about the exact working relationships and ambitions of the various producers. Art historians gladly make it a lifetime's work to classify and identify individual hands on the basis of stylistic or technical differences. Nonetheless, in a letter to Emperor Maximilian, dated October 27, 1512, the Antwerp block cutter Joost de Negker set out precisely how he intended to organize his collaboration with two other artists in order to accomplish a joint project. He guaranteed the emperor that he would personally oversee the project. He would give the instructions and prepare everything meticulously. Moreover, de Negker emphasized that he himself would complete everything and would add the finishing touch, so that, he stressed, "it would seem as if the work was realized by one and the same hand and nobody would be able to distinguish several hands."[1] Thus, the three artists agreed to work in a single style under the supervision of one contractor, in such

a way that nobody could spot the differences. In other words, if someone actually did detect a difference, the agreement would have been breached. Who are we then, five hundred years later, to make it the ultimate goal of our research to try to isolate individual hands? Is it impossible or useless to try to distinguish different artists? Not at all, but the quest for the hands becomes truly engrossing only if it can lead to a general picture: who worked with whom, when, how often, and, in the first place, why? Put another way, it becomes interesting only if our goal is the clarification of the global picture of the actual organization of production.

Searching for "Workshops"

When it comes to the matter of the "workshop," we are often presented with a picture of the master who, along with his pupils or less skilled assistants, accepted and executed a commission. This image is apparently confirmed by the letter from De Negker quoted above. But there is much more to it than that. Because of the very high level of specialization and the substantial risk-bearing capital involved, it is possible to compare the manuscript "workshop" with other highly specialized production centers, such as the "workshops" where altarpieces were made. In the latter case too we can speak of a highly complex labor organization, but in this instance we have a multitude of archival documents. If we take it as our basic assumption that the working methods in various types of artists workshops were similar, a whole string of much more complex collaborations become conceivable.[2]

Between 1475 and 1530 certain members of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke acted as contractors and intermediaries between customers and manufacturers. Digne Zierix, a fascinating woman of the late fifteenth century, was in charge of a studio in which a fellow or unfree master (also called a *knape*) looked after the execution of the commissions. Another guild member, Dierick Proudekin—who was, in my view, one of the greatest contractors of sculpture of that time—managed an exceptionally complex "workshop" that maintained relations with commercial contacts all over Europe. Proudekin no longer saw the workshop as the workplace in which he supervised a group of different "artists." His company instead embodied a form of cooperation based on service agreements that did not necessarily entail a fixed location or permanency. Here Proudekin serves as a model of a kind of decentralized but integrated production. This type of craftsman tended to run a larger, not necessarily permanent workshop within a town or a region. In certain cases an ad hoc atelier might even be put together.[3] The contractor was likely to control several stages of the art production: the need for joinery, carving, and painting was an invitation to the vertical integration of successive processes. The integration did not need to take place under the craftsman's own roof. But said craftsman could control the other processes very carefully, letting out to others the work that was not his own specialty; indeed, his role was comparable to that of a producer (or, in the case of books, a publisher). The system of subcontracting allowed the coordination of the manufacturing of export goods and made an increase in scale feasible; after all, with a credit loan a number of producers were made dependent, and the "producer" could then tie several smaller workshops into one hierarchical network. Thus, they created what we could term a "scattered manufacture": a combination of decentralized production and

centralized management. In any case, I have not found a single document that suggests that this form of organization of production would have been inimical to the guild spirit.[4]

That the operating procedure by which a certain master functioned as contractor for the job and as leader of a flexible studio, thus acting the part of "publisher," was also applied by producers of manuscripts is important to my argument. The late fifteenth century saw the emergence of booksellers (*librariers*), bookbinders, and scribes who took on the role of merchandisers, acting as middlemen between patrons and scribes, illuminators and book-binders, receiving commissions for manuscripts and then dealing with a variety of collaborators in order to piece together the finished product. Several documents show that the Antwerp bookbinder Goswin Bernardus, member of the Guild of Saint Luke in 1492/1493, operated as a kind of contractor and as an intermediary among writers, illuminators, and the customer. In a number of cases he was closely associated with orders from Averbode Abbey to unspecified Antwerp illuminators.[5] He also performed a similar function for the chapter of the Antwerp Church of Our Lady. In 1512/1513 the Brethren of the Common Life in Brussels were requested to write a missal. In the course of 1513/1514 the job was completed.[6] When it came to the illumination of the manuscript, Bernardus was called on. The accounts indicate that he acted as go-between and coordinator and that it was not he himself who created the illuminations. The phrases "int besteden,"[7] "voer den verlichtere,"[8] "inden naem vanden verlichtere,"[9] and "te doen verlichten"[10] make this clear. The manuscript, which has been lost, must have been of some importance, for the payments run from Christmas 1512 to Christmas 1516.[11]

In none of the cases that I have studied did the guild act as a self-supporting and self-controlled system aimed at preservation of the status quo. The guild system did not stand in the way of a flexible operating method and a complex organization of production. The corporatism of the guild by no means thwarted a concentration of production in the form of networks of small-scale "workshops" under a central, flexible coordinator. It did not hinder the expansion of subcontracting at all: many corporate statutes and regulations passed over the phenomenon in silence, and some even clearly consented to it.

The Scholarly Practice of "Localization" and the Evidence for Mobility

Other documents point to the enormous mobility of artists within the Low Countries—to mobility on even a European scale. In August 1490 the king of Portugal's factor, Rodriques Fernandes, engaged several Antwerp artists, cooks, and pastry cooks ("div[er]se personen van schilders, coken en pasteibakkers"). They were told they would be paid for the journey to and from Portugal and would enter the service of Crown Prince Afonso, King Joao II of Portugal's son, who was about to marry Isabella, daughter of the "Catholic Monarchs of Spain."[12] They were likewise informed that three of the painters ("drie vanden schilders")—so clearly there were more than three—would also receive remuneration in Portugal. The three were mentioned by name: the Antwerp painter and scribe Jan Casus; the painter Jacob van Lathem, who was the son of the illuminator Lieven van Lathem, became a member of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke's only in 1493/94, and was later court painter to Philip the

Fair and Charles V; and lastly the otherwise unknown Willem de Hollander (it is tempting to see him as related to the younger Antonio Hollanda).[13] Another document reveals the names of the pastry cooks: Guillaume Le Fran and Steven Janss.[14] Some eighteen months later Jan Casus was back in Antwerp, where he summoned the king of Portugal's factor before the courts because the agreements had not been fulfilled. The illuminator Lieven van Lathem, who was around fifty-four years old at that time ("out omtrent LIIII jaer"), appeared as a witness in the case.[15] This is not the place to go into every aspect of this fascinating group of documents.[16] It is certainly surprising, however, that at the end of the fifteenth century, Antwerp artists and pastry cooks were sent to Portugal, probably by ship, to carry out a limited commission connected with the marriage of the king's son. What did they take with them? Raw materials or half-finished products? How did they get on with one another? Were they "members" of an ad hoc atelier, or was each of these artists and artisans engaged individually? And what did they actually produce when they got there? These are questions that cannot be answered at present. We know, of course, that in the fifteenth century many artists were mobile and established themselves "elsewhere," but archival evidence that they traveled to the other side of the Continent to undertake a limited commission for a local customer is extremely rare.

Conflict (and Collaboration?)

There are, of course, the regulations of the various guilds that brought together the makers of illuminated manuscripts, yet these reveal only a small part of the story.[17] And there are also accounts and some contracts. But these documents too do not reveal what actually went on. This is why legal practice could become a fundamental resource. A number of problems arise here as well, however. The relative vagueness of the guilds' regulations and the considerable financial value of illuminated manuscripts must have led to not a few misunderstandings and heated debates between the makers of manuscripts themselves and between makers and customers or patrons. But because these conflicts had first to be dealt with by the guilds, only a limited number of documented quarrels have been preserved. The guild's officers usually settled disputes among craftsmen, between masters and servants, or between masters and apprentices. Only when the parties could not be reconciled or when the dispute crossed the boundaries of the guild or the city, was the municipal magistrate called upon the scene. Moreover, when dissension arose between members of the guild and their clientele, the magistrate sometimes referred the complaint back to the guild's jurisdiction. Like other artisans' organizations, the Guilds of Saint Luke—and in Bruges the Confraternity (Ghilde) of Saint John the Evangelist, founded by the book artisans—occupied a semiautonomous position with regard to the issuing of rules and the arbitration of disputes. The problem is further compounded by the fact that justice was usually dispensed verbally. Often only the verdict itself was recorded in writing, and sometimes not even that. So the grounds on which particular decisions were based have usually been lost. Occasionally an interim judgment has survived, but these are generally so abridged that their context remains shrouded in mystery.[18]

In this respect, I have found new evidence in the National Archives in Brussels (Brussels Algemeen Rijksarchief) to indicate that the book business in

the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century was in any case not always a model of cozy comradeship. In 1492/1493 the archives mention a certain "Simon the Illuminator" ("Simon de Verlichtere"), who was fined in Antwerp for trying to stab another illuminator with a dagger.[19] This could not have been Simon Bening, for he was only ten years old at the time. In the same year Damian the bookbinder was convicted for coming to blows with an illuminator by the name of Godevaard ("Godevaerde den colurier").[20] And in December 1492 Gheraert Leeu, the first Antwerp book printer, was murdered by the punch maker Hendrick van Symmen, who "gave master Gerard a 'slight stab' in the head" ("die meester Geraert een 'klein steekje' in zijn hoofd gaf").[21] As is typically the case, we have no idea of the circumstances of these disputes, though the archives contain sundry examples of these particularly aggressive forms of "collaboration." These shocking events remind us that ordinary human passions, undoubtedly including jealousies and rivalries, also informed, either directly or indirectly, the creation of artistic books from this era.

In my view these diverse examples from the archives should encourage us to approach matters of connoisseurship, the role of patronage, the nature of production, and the character of book producers a bit differently and in a more nuanced light. They constitute invaluable evidence that deserves to inform our analyses of book production more fully than it has up until now.

Notes

1. "So will ich daran und darob sein, den zwaien formschneidern alle sachen fürordnen, beraiten und zuletst mit meiner aigen hand aus- und abfertigen und rain machen, damit die arbait und stuckwerk alle ainander des schnitz gleich und zulezt von ainer hand ausgemacht werden auch niemand mer dann ain hand daran erkennen muge" (Adolf Buff, ed., "Rechnungsauszüge, Urkunden und Urkundenregesten aus dem Augsburger Stadtarchive: Erster Theil [von 1442–1519]," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 13 [1892]: XVII).

2. Jan Van der Stock, "Beeld in veelvoud te Antwerpen (15de eeuw–1585): Produktie—controle—consumptie: Vijf perspectieven, met speciale aandacht voor houtsnede en kopergravure" (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1995), 304–420 ("'Als een meester schuldig is te doene': Hiërarchie en traditie in de organisatie van het Antwerpse beeldbedrijf [1480–1530]"). For a summary of a part of this study, see Van der Stock, "De organisatie van het beeldsnijders- en schildersatelier te Antwerpen: Documenten, 1480–1530," in *Antwerpse retabels, 15de–16de eeuw*, exh. cat., ed. H. Nieuwdorp, vol. 2, *Essays* (Antwerp: Museum voor Religieuze Kunst, 1993), 47–53. See also Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: H. Miller, 2000).

3. As by the sculptor Cornelis de Gheet, for instance, who in 1502 hired five or six "gesellen consteneers" to produce new choir stalls for the charterhouse at Kiel in Antwerp. Whether these specialized fellows were independent masters working as subcontractors or unfree masters can't be established from the documents. See Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Schepenregisters 120, fols. 140v–141v. For detailed analyses of these kinds of documents, see Van der Stock, "Beeld in veelvoud te Antwerpen," 310–18.

4. Compare with C. Lis and H. Soly, "Corporatisme, onderaanneming en loonarbeid: Flexibilisering en deregulering van de arbeidsmarkt in Westeuropese steden (veertiende–achttiende eeuw)," *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* 20 (1994): 388.

5. Maurits Smeyers, "De liturgische handschriften der Abdij van Averbode: Een bijdrage tot de studie van de laat-middeleeuwse miniatuurkunst," *Arca Lovaniensis* 2 (1973): 91–131.

6. "Item betaelt eenen broeder van Bruesele die een missael doet scriven voer den hooghen koor op rekeninghe—II pond x sc[elling]. . . . // Item betaelt den broeder van Bruesel op rekeninge daermen dmissael vanden hoogen

choor scryft—VIII pond VIII sc[elling] IX d[eniers]" (Antwerp, Cathedral Archives, Archieven van het Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Kapittel te Antwerpen [1124–1801], "Rekeningen van de Kerkfabriek," no. 12, accounts for Christmas 1512–Christmas 1513, fols. 24, 26; "Item betaelt den fraters van Bruessel die dat nieu missael onderhanden hebben ende scriven voir den hooghen choor dat noch niet gelevert en is op rekeninghe—III pond x sc[elling] IX d[eniers]" (ibid., accounts from Christmas 1513–Christmas 1514, fol. 26v).

7. "Item betaelt den selven [=Goswin Bernardus] van dat hy verleyt heeft *int besteden* vanden missale dienende inden hooghen choor om dat te verlichten—VIII sc[elling]" (ibid., accounts from Christmas 1513–Christmas 1514, fol. 27).

8. "Item noch Goesen den boecbyndere voer den verlichtere vanden voirs[creven] missale inde choor dienende—XXIII sc[elling]. . . . Item betaelt den selven [=Goswin Bernardus] voir den verlichtere van allen den letteren te stofferene inden voirs[chreven] missale dienende inden hooghen choor—XXVIII sc[elling]" (ibid.).

9. "Item betaelt noch Goessen den boecbyndere *inden naem vanden verlichtere* die dat cruys gemaect heeft voer tcanon in dat voirs[creven] missael op rekeninge—XXXV sc[elling]" (ibid.).

10. "Item betaelt Goessen den boeckbyndere voir synen arbeyt dat hy der kercken behulpich geweest is om dit missael te *doen verlichten*—XVI sc[elling] VI d[eniers]" (ibid., fol. 27v).

11. "Item betaelt Goessen de boecbyndere van dat cruys te stofferene int missael voir tcanon inden hoogen choor—XV sc[elling]" (ibid., fol. 27; that this illumination was not made by Goswin is clear from note 9 above); "Item betaelt Goessen den boecbyndere de reste aengaende den verlichten vanden missale inden hoogen choor—III pond gr[ooten]" (ibid.). In 1514/1515 he received a further 31 shillings "vanden nieuwen missale te binden, te vergulden en[de] diverse sollicitacien die hy gehadt heeft int maken ende scrivenen vanden selven missale" (ibid., accounts for Christmas 1514–Christmas 1515, fol. 25v). In the accounts of 1515/16 there were two other payments in connection with the manuscript: "Item betaelt Jacop Vermylen[?] goutsmit van twee silveren slooten aent nieu missael wegende XII onchen II 1/2 Inglen, elc onse XXXI sc. f[aci]t—IIII pond XIIII sc[elling]. Item betaelt den selven voir dat fatsoen vanden voors[creven] slooten—XVIII sc[elling]" (ibid., accounts for Christmas 1515–Christmas 1516, fol. 21v).

12. Antwerp, Stadsarchief, Vierschaar 1231 (Vonnisboek 1488–1494), fol. 154, and

Antwerp, Stadsarchief, Certificatieboeken 2 (1488–1494), fol. 103v.

13. Cornelis de Hollandere was a scribe in Antwerp. It is not clear whether they were related to each other. See Antwerp, Stadsarchief, Schepenregisters 95, fol. 192v (1479); Schepenregisters 97, fol. 199v (1491); Schepenregisters 100, fol. 232v (1491); Schepenregisters 105, fol. 196; and Schepenregisters 108, fol. 208. Cornelis de Hollandere was inscribed into the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke in 1492/93.

14. Antwerp, Stadsarchief, Vierschaar 1231 (Vonnisboek 1488–1494), fol. 152v (January 13, 1492 [n.s.]).

15. This means he was born in 1438 or thereabouts.

16. See also J. A. Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (portugais, espagnols, italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, Uystpruyst, 1925), 281; L. Van Puyvelde, "Les primitives portugais et la peinture flamande," in *XVI Congrès International d'histoire de l'art: Rapports et communications*, vol. 1 (Lisbon, 1949), 32; Luis Reis-Santos, *Obras primas da pintura flamenga dos séculos XV e XVI en Portugal* (Lisbon, 1953), 41; E. Duverger, "Miscellanea," *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis en de oudheidkunde* 31 (1996): 291ff.

17. The documents concerning the Bruges Confraternity of Saint John have not yet been properly published, let alone studied. At present Illuminare–Centre for the Study of the Illuminated Manuscript (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven) is preparing a complete study of these archival materials. See also P. Valvekens, "Het ambachtswezen en de socio-economische aspecten van de boekverluchting in de Nederlanden, hoofdzakelijk tijdens de tweede helft der vijftiende eeuw," in *Ontsluiting van middeleeuwse handschriften in de Nederlanden: Verslag van studiedagen gehouden te Nijmegen, 30–31 maart 1984*, ed. A. J. Geurts (Nijmegen: Alfa, 1987), 207–14, and E. Cornelis, "De kunstenaar in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent," pts. 1 and 2 *Handelingen der maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent*, n.s., 41 (1987): 97–128; n.s., 42 (1988): 95–138.

18. See Van der Stock, "Beeld in veelvoud te Antwerpen," 19–20.

19. "Van Symon de Verlichtere van dat hy gesteken heft eenen ande[re]n verlichte[re] sond[er] te raken—xx sc[elling] gr." (Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief [Archives Générales du Royaume], Rekenkamers [Chambres des comptes], no. 12904, fol. 174 [1493]).

20. Ibid., fol. 267v.

21. Charles Ruelens, "La Mort de Gérard Leeu," *Annales du bibliophile belge et hollandais* 1 (1864–66): 5–7.

CHAPTER 10

The Master of Fitzwilliam 268:
New Discoveries and New and Revisited Hypotheses

Gregory T. Clark

IN ESSAYS PUBLISHED IN 1992 AND 1997, BODO BRINKMANN ascribed miniatures in seven manuscripts—three books of hours and four secular codices—to a very distinctive associate of the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book whom Brinkmann named after a book of hours, Ms. 268, in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.[1] As Brinkmann demonstrated, in two of those seven codices the Master of Fitzwilliam 268 collaborated with the presumed Simon Marmion and with Willem Vrelant as well as with the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book. All four of the secular manuscripts that Brinkmann attributed entirely or in part to the Fitzwilliam Master are dated or datable. One of the four, a collection of works by Virgil now at Holkham Hall in Leicestershire, was written in March of 1473. The other three, all copies of the ordinances of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, must have been made between 1473, when the ordinances were issued, and 1477, the year of the duke's death.
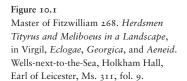
Four of Brinkmann's seven codices were included in the exhibition *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* in 2003.[2] The four were the eponymous manuscript (no. 52); the Holkham Hall Virgil (no. 118); the Ordinances of Charles the Bold in the British Library, London (no. 64); and the book of hours in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, known from its last private owner as the Salting Hours (no. 53). In the accompanying catalogue, Scot McKendrick seconded Brinkmann's ascriptions to the Fitzwilliam Master. Thomas Kren also added to the Fitzwilliam Master's oeuvre one of the five manuscripts that Brinkmann had situated in the circle of the artist, a copy of Petrus Crescentius's *Livre des proffits ruraux* in the Morgan Library in New York (no. 65).[3] Kren dated the Morgan book around 1470.

Whereas Brinkmann had placed the Salting Hours between about 1475 and 1480, Kren moved it back to between around 1470 and 1475, and McKendrick dated Fitzwilliam 268 to about 1475. McKendrick also believed that the London Ordinances should be identified with the copy made for Charles the Bold himself for which Philippe de Mazerolles, resident of Bruges and court painter and valet de chambre to the duke from 1467, was paid in August of 1475. As he still ascribed the frontispiece of the London Ordinances to the Fitzwilliam Master, however, it is clear that McKendrick agreed with catalogue cocontributor Catherine Reynolds that "payments do not prove authorship, only responsibility."[4]

Although the present writer seconds the ascriptions of Kren and McKendrick to the Fitzwilliam Master, at least three questions about the artist still remain unanswered. First, can the painter's style be shown to have developed over time and, if so, over the course of how many years? Second, can we better establish the connections among the Fitzwilliam Master, his collaborators, and the artists in his circle? Finally, can we pinpoint more precisely the nature of the relationship between the Fitzwilliam Master and Philippe de Mazerolles?

In an effort both to address these questions and to enlarge our picture of the artist and his achievements, I would like here to look closely at two books of hours by the Fitzwilliam Master that were not known to Brinkmann together with the eponymous manuscript and the Salting Hours. The more sumptuous of the two new *horae*, attributed to the painter by McKendrick in an endnote in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, is in the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian in Lisbon.[5] The more modest of the two, brought to my attention by Anne-Marie Legaré, was auctioned in Paris by the expert Christian Galantaris in 2003; it was purchased by the antiquarian bookseller Heribert Tenschert of Ramsen, Switzerland.[6]

As I believe that the Salting Hours predates Fitzwilliam 268, I will begin my consideration of the Fitzwilliam Master's development with the former codex.[7] Twelve of the eighteen original miniatures in the Salting Hours survive.[8] Nine of the twelve are the work of the presumed Simon Marmion, two are by the Fitzwilliam Master, and one is in the style of Willem Vrelant.[9] Figures by the Fitzwilliam Master, the Vrelant hand, and the Dresden Prayer Book Master also embellish the paired borders that surround both the illuminations and the text blocks on the facing rectos.

Figure 10.1
Master of Fitzwilliam 268. *Herdsmen Tityrus and Meliboeus in a Landscape*, in Virgil, *Eclogae*, *Georgica*, and *Aeneid*. Wells-next-to-the-Sea, Holkham Hall, Earl of Leicester, Ms. 311, fol. 9.

One of the two miniatures by the Fitzwilliam Master in the Salting Hours, the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fig. 10.2), invites comparison with the same painter's depiction of the herdsmen Tityrus and Meliboeus in the Virgil of 1473 (see fig. 10.1). The roughhewn male figures are characteristically small and spry, with rather overlarge heads and flushed cheeks. Knobby knees pull at leggings, and prominent heels and protruding ankles stretch leather boots, the toes of which are sharply pointed. The foregrounds of both illuminations are littered with scatterings of stones; cityscapes can just be seen over rises in the distance.

The Salting *Presentation in the Temple* takes place under an eye-catching gilded canopy composed of numerous Gothic pendentive arches (fig. 10.3). Equally striking here is the inclusion of a black man just behind the high priest. The handmaiden with the taper and basket of doves is typical of the Fitzwilliam Master's more refined characters. While the woman's cheeks, like those of the coarser men, are visibly rouged, her facial features are more delicately rendered. Her eyes, nose, and mouth are also set closer together to allow for a larger, more domed forehead, and her chin is brought to a marked point at the bottom of her wedge-shaped head.

The style of the miniatures in the Tenschert Hours resembles that of the two Salting miniatures by the Fitzwilliam Master but is drier and slightly less developed.[10] Thirteen of the original fifteen full-page miniatures survive; all are by the Fitzwilliam Master. While the figures in the Tenschert *Annunciation*

Figure 10.2
Master of Fitzwilliam 268. *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, in the Salting Hours. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, L.2384–1910 (Salting Ms. 1221), fol. 85v.

Figure 10.3
Master of Fitzwilliam 268. *Presentation in the Temple*, in the Salting Hours. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, L.2384–1910 (Salting Ms. 1221), fol. 97v.

to the Shepherds (fig. 10.4) appear to be the work of the same artist who produced the Salting miniature of the same subject (see fig. 10.2), this and the other twelve Tenschert miniatures are less richly detailed than the two by the Fitzwilliam Master in the Salting manuscript. Gold highlighting is used more stingily on the Tenschert townscapes and greenery, stones are scattered less generously in the landscapes, and most of the physiognomies in the thirteen miniatures are less markedly angular. This last tendency is especially apparent when one compares the Virgin in the Tenschert *Presentation in the Temple* (fig. 10.5) with the handmaiden in the Salting *Presentation* (fig. 10.3). And while the chalice-shaped altars in both miniatures are strikingly similar, the gilded architectural superstructure in the Tenschert *Presentation* lacks the numerous pendentives that enliven the Salting overhang.

If the Tenschert miniatures seem less mature than those in the Salting Hours, the illuminations by the Fitzwilliam Master in the Gulbenkian Hours are more than the equal of those in the Salting manuscript (figs. 10.6–10.8).[11] The Gulbenkian Hours was originally decorated with nineteen full-page miniatures and twenty-four small calendar illustrations. Of the eleven full-page miniatures that remain, one is by the Dresden Prayer Book Master, four are by the Fitzwilliam Master, and six are by the Vrelant hand who illustrated the calendar.[12] Each of the three painters was also responsible for the figures in the paired borders that enclosed his miniatures and the facing text blocks.

At the opening of the Hours of the Virgin at Matins, the Fitzwilliam Master has included the patroness in the outer corners at the bottom of the two facing borders, a detail not seen on any pages in the Tenschert or Salting Hours. On the verso, beneath the *Annunciation* (fig. 10.8), she reads an opened book of hours, which competes with a little dog for space on her lap; on the recto, she has closed the book on her lap and looks down at her pet, who now jumps up against her legs.

Figure 10.6
Master of Fitzwilliam 268. *Penitent Saint Jerome in a Landscape*, in a book of hours. Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Ms. LA 144, fol. 126v.

Figure 10.7
Master of Fitzwilliam 268. *Trinity Enthroned*, in a book of hours. Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Ms. LA 144, fol. 158v.

Figure 10.8
Master of Fitzwilliam 268. *Annunciation*, in a book of hours. Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Ms. LA 144, fol. 180v.

The patroness appears in the same location on five other miniature pages in the Gulbenkian manuscript. To the left of the *Trinity* (fig. 10.7), the Fitzwilliam Master used the design employed for the patroness next to the *Annunciation*; only the angle of her head and the positions of her forearms have been changed. On the page with the *Penitent Saint Jerome in a Landscape* (fig. 10.6), the sleeping dog has been removed to a fold of its mistress's dress to the right of her lap. For the depictions of the patroness next to *The Coronation of the Virgin* (fol. 15v) and *The Raising of Lazarus* (fol. 52v), the two responsible artists—the Vrelant painter and Dresden Prayer Book Master, respectively—employed the design pressed into service by the Fitzwilliam Master for his page with the *Trinity*. In contrast, the Vrelant hand used the model employed by the Fitzwilliam Master to the left of *Saint Jerome* (fig. 10.6) for his representation of the patroness on the page with *The Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* (fol. 147v).

These seven renditions of the book's original owner strongly recall the figure painted by the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy in the border on folio 14v of the celebrated Hours of Mary of Burgundy in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.[13] The seven Gulbenkian figures are especially remarkable in that no other copies or reflections of the Vienna patroness are known to me to exist. Not one of the seven Gulbenkian figures exactly matches the Vienna owner, however: did the three Gulbenkian artists employ other, related designs by the Vienna Mary of Burgundy Master, or vice versa?

The four miniatures by the Fitzwilliam Master in the Gulbenkian Hours are more lavishly detailed and refined than any we have considered thus far. For example, the citadels in the middle grounds beyond the Tenschert, Holkham Hall, and Salting herdsmen (figs. 10.1, 10.4, 10.2) seem rather modest when compared with the elaborately spired one behind the Gulbenkian *Saint Jerome* (fig. 10.6). A scattering of structures and outcrops further enlivens the Lisbon backdrop. The six gilded pendentive arches above the Salting *Presentation* (fig. 10.3) are no match for the nine that overhang the Gulbenkian *Trinity* (fig. 10.7). Finer bosses and a crowning thicket of finials further enrich the Gulbenkian canopy. The appropriately tripartite Flamboyant Gothic screen behind the three Gulbenkian figures also provides a more lavish complement to the superstructure than the sculpted Moses and two leaded-glass panes in the Salting illumination. Finally, no interior in the Tenschert or Salting Hours is as luxurious as the vaulted chapel in which the Gulbenkian *Annunciation* takes place (fig. 10.8).
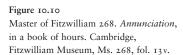
In *Illuminating the Renaissance*, McKendrick notes the Fitzwilliam Master's debt to Lieven van Lathem.[14] To introduce the Gulbenkian suffrage to Michael (fol. 119v), the artist rendered the archangel vanquishing the devil even as that demon and his fellow rebel angels fall from heaven and sink into the sea. This iconography for Michael had already been used by Van Lathem around 1470, when he completed the prayer book for Charles the Bold now in the Getty Museum.[15] But while Van Lathem circumscribed his body of water with rocky outcrops and a far shore, the lake or sea that swallows up the much larger swarm of rebel angels in the Fitzwilliam Master's rendition stretches all the way to the horizon.

Figure 10.9
Lieven van Lathem. *Trinity Enthroned*, in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bold. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 37, fol. 14.

The Fitzwilliam Master's debt to Van Lathem is also evident from the Gulbenkian *Trinity* (fig. 10.7). That miniature's iconography is unusual in that it shows Christ as the Man of Sorrows supported by an elderly God the Father wearing a papal tiara and the Holy Ghost in the form of a winged figure rather than a dove. Once again, the Fitzwilliam Master exploited an iconographic formula employed by Van Lathem for the Prayer Book of Charles the Bold (fig. 10.9). Because the Holy Ghost in both miniatures is unbearded, that character appears to be younger than God the Father and Christ. As a consequence, the Getty and Gulbenkian figures also represent the Three Ages of Man. Youth, embodied by God the Holy Spirit, occupies the sinister side from the perspective of the figures within the two miniatures; middle age, represented by God the Son, is at the center; and maturity, embodied by God the Father, takes the place of honor on the dexter side.

Turning to Fitzwilliam 268 itself, we find the Fitzwilliam Master collaborating with only one other painter, an artist working in the style of Vrelant, whose contribution was confined to the twenty-four calendar illustrations.[16] Fifteen of the eighteen original full-page miniatures are still in situ. The setting

Figure 10.10
Master of Fitzwilliam 268. *Annunciation*,
in a book of hours. Cambridge,
Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 268, fol. 13v.

of the Fitzwilliam 268 *Annunciation* (fig. 10.10) shares many points of similarity with that in the Gulbenkian Hours (fig. 10.8), even to such details as the fluted central column between the figures and the double-headed eagle on the vase of lilies in the immediate foreground. But while the opened rear door in the Gulbenkian structure reveals a shallow, uninhabited courtyard, the same embrasure in the Fitzwilliam image lets onto a deeper enclosure with a standing male figure.

A comparison between the *Penitent Saint Jeromes* in the two books (figs. 10.6, 10.12) demonstrates how the greater width of the Fitzwilliam illuminations allowed the artist to space his shrubbery, crags, habitations, and other props farther apart. When compared with the unprecedented panorama in which the Fitzwilliam *Annunciation to the Shepherds* is set (fig. 10.11), the landscape settings in the Holkham Hall, Tenschert, Salting, and Gulbenkian codices (figs. 10.1, 10.4, 10.2, 10.6, respectively) no longer seem especially expansive. There are also no analogs in those four manuscripts for the tiny figures that pepper the middle grounds of the Fitzwilliam *Annunciation to the Shepherds* and of five other miniatures in the same codex.[17]

If the Tenschert, Salting, Gulbenkian, and Fitzwilliam Hours were all indeed partly or entirely illuminated by the same artist, they suggest both that the Fitzwilliam Master's style matured over time and that dates for that development can be proposed. Given the close resemblance between the Salting *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fig. 10.2) and the depiction of the two herdsmen in the Virgil written in 1473 (fig. 10.1), a manufacture between about 1470 and 1475 for the Salting codex seems most likely.

If that dating is correct, then the slightly less mature Tenschert Hours should be situated toward 1470 (figs. 10.4, 10.5), and the more mature Gulbenkian Hours around 1475 (figs. 10.6–10.8). A date around 1475 for the Gulbenkian manuscript is further supported by the resemblance between the patronesses in seven of its borders and the same figure on folio 14v of the Vienna Hours of Mary of Burgundy, a book that Kren and McKendrick situated between about 1470 and 1475. Given this, a manufacture between about 1475 and 1480 for the more expansive Fitzwilliam Hours would seem most likely (figs. 10.10–10.12).[18]

These proposed dates are supported by the border styles in the Tenschert, Salting, Gulbenkian, and Fitzwilliam codices. All four were decorated in a manner that was routine for Bruges and Ghent *horae* of the 1470s and 1480s.[19] The full-page miniatures always appear on the versos of leaves with blank rectos.[20] Both the illuminations and the text blocks on the facing rectos are enclosed by matching floral borders.

Figure 10.11
Master of Fitzwilliam 268. *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, in a book of hours. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 268, fol. 40v.

Figure 10.12
Master of Fitzwilliam 268. *Penitent Saint Jerome in a Landscape*, in a book of hours. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 268, fol. 143v.

In fourteen of the fifteen illustrated Tenschert openings, the border flora and fauna were painted onto the traditional bare parchment; there are colored grounds in just the first opening, that for the Hours of the Virgin at Matins. In contrast, the marginal decoration was set against colored grounds in fifteen of the eighteen Salting openings; bare vellum appears only in the three that introduce the *Salva sancta facies*, the Mass of the Virgin, and the Office of the Virgin at Advent. The border flora and fauna in all nineteen Gulbenkian openings and in sixteen of the eighteen Fitzwilliam openings are painted on colored grounds; there are bare-parchment borders in just the openings at the Hours of the Cross and Seven Penitential Psalms in the latter manuscript. As bare-vellum floral borders fell out of fashion in the early 1480s, a date toward or after 1485 for the Fitzwilliam Hours seems unlikely.[21]

My proposed chronology for the four books of hours with miniatures by the Fitzwilliam Master thus suggests that the artist was active from about 1470 to about 1480. I have also shown that the Fitzwilliam Master collaborated at least twice with the Dresden Prayer Book Master and fully three times with artists working in the style of Willem Vrelant. Can more be said now about the working relationship between the Fitzwilliam Master and his collaborators?

In 1997 I speculated that the uneven quality of the illuminations of the 1460s and 1470s in the style of Willem Vrelant might be the consequence of Vrelant's having transformed himself by about 1460 into a middleman, or *libraire*, who sometimes subcontracted the painting of miniatures to others adept at approximating his "trademark" style.[22] Vrelant would have paid the subcontractors individually for their efforts, assembled their contributions, and then marketed the finished volumes. Thus we might surmise that he oversaw the production of the Salting Hours, Gulbenkian Hours, and Fitzwilliam 268.[23]

It is also possible, however, that the Master of Fitzwilliam 268 orchestrated the manufacture of those three books. The payment of 1475 for the aforementioned Ordinances of Charles the Bold makes it clear that Philippe de Mazerolles played the role of *libraire* on at least one occasion.[24] Did Mazerolles oversee the making of more manuscripts in the style of the Fitzwilliam Master than just the three surviving Ordinances? We know that Mazerolles joined the Bruges illuminators' guild in 1469 and died in 1479.[25] The established dates for the Holkham Hall Virgil and the London Ordinances and the proposed dates for the four Bruges books of hours ascribed here to the Fitzwilliam Master dovetail nicely with the documentary record for Mazerolles. Given the evidence, I believe that Mazerolles was both a *libraire* and an illuminator, and that he and the Fitzwilliam Master are one and the same.

While I have admittedly raised as many questions here as I have answered, I believe that I can state with confidence that many of the manuscripts produced in Bruges in the 1470s are the products of a complex system of manufacture that has yet to be fully understood. If I seem to stress commerce as much as connoisseurship, this should be considered a compliment, for the making of art is as much a business as it is a calling, and the artisans of 1470s Bruges were clearly and admirably adept at both.

Notes

1. Bodo Brinkmann, "The Contribution of Simon Marmion to Books of Hours from Ghent and Bruges," in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal*, ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), 184–86, 192 n. 17, fig. 145; Brinkmann, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreichs: Der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 164–69, 271–74, text figs. 46–49, 76.

2. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003).

3. For the five codices that Brinkmann placed in the circle of the Fitzwilliam Master, see Brinkmann, "Contribution of Simon Marmion," 192 n. 17, and Brinkmann, *Flämische Buchmalerei*, 168–69 nn. 66–69.

4. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 21.

5. Ms. LA 144; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 218 n. 15.

6. For a physical description of the Tenschert book of hours, see *Précieux manuscrits et livres XVᵉ–XXᵉ siècles*, sale cat., PIASA (Picard Audap Solanet Velliet), Hôtel Drouot-Richelieu, Paris, March 12, 2003, 24–27, lot 56, with six illustrations. A monograph on the manuscript by Mara Hofmann and Ina Nettekoven (*Philippe de Mazerolles: Ein unbekanntes Stundenbuch aus Brügge*) appeared in 2004 (after this paper was submitted for publication), published by Heribert Tenschert as his catalogue 51 and as number 5 in his Illuminationen series.

7. For the texts and miniatures in the Salting Hours, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 220–21, with references to earlier literature. Like those in the Tenschert and Gulbenkian Hours and in Fitzwilliam 268, the Hours of the Virgin and Office of the Dead in the Salting manuscript are written for the universal use of Rome. The Salting calendar does contain two red-letter feasts for Bruges, however, those of Donatian on October 14 and of Basil the Great on June 14.

8. Although now inserted in front of the Office of the Dead, Marmion's *Last Judgment* (fol. 152v) most likely was originally positioned before the Hours of the Holy Spirit, that is, between folios 26 and 27. While it is true that *The Last Judgment* does not usually introduce those hours, the subject does involve the weighing of souls and thus is a perfectly

appropriate introduction to that text. More compellingly, the green-ground borders with acanthus and figures by the Dresden Prayer Book Master on folios 27 and 152v perfectly match each other, even to the trumpeting angels on both pages.

9. Both Brinkmann ("Contribution of Simon Marmion," 185–86, and *Flämische Buchmalerei*, 159–64) and Kren (*Illuminating the Renaissance*, 220) also ascribe to the Fitzwilliam Master the *Hell and Paradise* in the Salting Hours (fol. 153). That painting is not enclosed by a floral border and is as large as the other twelve full-page Salting illuminations and their borders combined. In addition, *Hell and Paradise* is the only full-page miniature in the book to appear on a recto; Marmion's *Raising of Lazarus* (fol. 153v) occupies its verso. The breadth of its infernal and paradisiacal landscape panoramas, its more subtly graduated atmospheric perspective, its airborne flock of birds, and its cloud formations also separate *Hell and Paradise* from the rest of the Fitzwilliam Master's oeuvre. All of this suggests to this writer that *Hell and Paradise* was painted by another illuminator onto the blank recto of folio 153, most likely in the early sixteenth century. It was probably also at that time that *The Last Judgment* (fol. 152v) was relocated from its original position between folios 26 and 27 (see note 8 above).

10. For the physical makeup of the Tenschert Hours, see the bibliography in note 6 above. To judge from its calendar, the Tenschert manuscript was written to be usable by a Netherlandish, a German, or even an Italian client. Although the partial calendar contains no strictly local feasts written in red, a number of those written in black are peculiar to the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy. Thus there are two saints for Tournai (Eleutherius, February 20; Donatian, October 14); two for Utrecht (Firminus, April 6; Fausta, September 20, also celebrated in Mainz); four for Germany (Godehard, May 4; Ten Thousand Martyrs, June 22; Gall, October 16, also celebrated in Switzerland; and Victoria, December 23, also celebrated in Utrecht and Milan); and four feasts for Italy that range geographically from Verona and Brescia to Ostia (Proculus, March 23: Verona; Philastrius, July 17: feasted in Brescia on July 18; Aurea, August 31: octave of feast celebrated on August 24 in Ostia; and Venerius, September 13: Palmaria, near La Spezia).

11. Save the reference in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, the Gulbenkian Hours is

apparently unpublished. 274 vellum leaves (11.7 × 8.3 cm); 1 column, 15 lines (5.8 × 4 cm); Latin, in *textualis formata*; 11 full-page miniatures, 24 calendar illustrations; gold-tooled red morocco with black morocco inlays, marbled endpapers, probably nineteenth century.

While the Gulbenkian calendar suggests only a destination in the southern Netherlands, the indication in red of Donatian on October 14 and of Basil the Great on June 14 points more specifically in the direction of Bruges. The calendar also contains at least four other red-letter saints celebrated in northern France and Flanders (Eligius, June 25; Remigius, October 1; Bavo, October 1; and Nicasius, December 14).

The frequent use throughout the Gulbenkian text of the letter *c* with a cedilla rather than *z* raises the possibility that the book's scribe was Portuguese. (Three examples are *Laçarii* on folio 14, *eliçabeth* on folio 44, and *laçarum* on folio 70v.)

As the only suffrage in the manuscript is to Catherine (fols. 148–49), there is good reason to suspect that she was the owner's patron saint, if not her namesake. In the lower margin on folio 148 are painted the unidentified armorials of either that woman or a later owner (gules, between two lions rampant or a tower argent with a dome azure).

12. The four by the Fitzwilliam Master are *The Archangel Michael* (fol. 119v), *Saint Jerome* (fig. 10.6), *The Trinity* (fig. 10.7), and *The Annunciation* (fig. 10.8). The Dresden Prayer Book Master painted *The Raising of Lazarus* (fol. 52v); the Vrelant miniatures are *The Coronation of the Virgin* (fol. 15v), *The Last Judgment* (fol. 27v), *The Virgin among Virgins* (fol. 107v), *The Martyrdom of Catherine* (fol. 147v), *The Tree of Jesse* (fol. 166v), and *The Adoration of the Magi* (fol. 229v).

13. Ms. 1857; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 137–41, no. 19, and 229, fig. 65.

14. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 219.

15. Ms. 37, fol. 15v; for the Prayer Book of Charles the Bold, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 128–31, no. 16.

16. For a physical description of Fitzwilliam 268, see Francis Wormald and Phyllis M. Giles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum Acquired between 1895 and 1979* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 211–15. The inclusion of the

martyr Servatius in the litany and the entry in red of Remigius and Bavo on October 1 in the calendar suggest a southern Netherlandish destination for the codex. If the arms of Aragon in the window behind Saint Nicholas (fol. 138v) are original, then the book's Spanish or Italian commissioner was not bothered by, or perhaps did not even notice, the presence of those three northern saints.

17. The five other Fitzwilliam 268 landscapes with middle-ground figures are the *Visitation* (fol. 27v), *Nativity* (fol. 36v), *Adoration of the Magi* (fol. 44v), *Raising of Lazarus* (fol. 99v), and *Martyrdom of Catherine* (fol. 140v).

18. I would also locate in the second half of the 1470s a fifth book of hours by the Fitzwilliam Master, the codex identified by Wormald and Giles (*Descriptive Catalogue*, 213) with seven half-page miniatures formerly in the collection of René Héron de Villefosse (present whereabouts unknown; see René Héron de Villefosse, "En marge d'un rare livre d'heures," *Connaissance des arts* 87 [May 1959]: 56–59). The panoramic landscapes behind the Villefosse *David in Prayer* (Villefosse, "En marge d'un rare livre d'heures," p. 56) and *Meeting of the Three Living and Three Dead* (Villefosse, "En marge d'un rare livre d'heures," p. 59) are sprinkled with lilliputian middle-ground figures like those in Fitzwilliam 268.

19. Brinkmann, "Contribution of Simon Marmion," 181–91, and Brinkmann, *Flämische Buchmalerei*, 149–201.

20. McKendrick (*Illuminating the Renaissance*, 219), states that "unusually for Flemish books of hours, all the miniatures [in Fitzwilliam 268] are painted on integral leaves." All of the miniatures in the Cambridge manuscript are, however, on the versos of folios whose rectos are blank and unruled.

21. For the eclipse of the bare-vellum border in the first half of the 1480s, peruse Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, and see Gregory T. Clark, "The Chronology of the Louthe Master and His Identification with Simon Marmion," in Kren, ed., *Margaret of York*, 200, 208 n. 24.

22. Gregory T. Clark, *The Hours of Isabel la Católica: The Facsimile Edition—Commentary* (Madrid: Testimonio; Münster: Bibliotheca Rara, 1997), 107. For the role of the *libraire* in the contemporary Parisian book trade, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: H. Miller, 2000).

23. In this connection, it will be remembered that the Gulbenkian and Fitzwilliam 268 calendar illustrations were both painted in the style of Willem Vrelant. But while the two series of twenty-four images frequently employ the same or similar compositions, they are not by the same painter.

24. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 252.

25. For the biography of Mazerolles, see Brinkmann, *Flämische Buchmalerei*, 274.

Marketing Books for Burghers:
Jean Markant's Activity in Tournai, Lille, and Bruges

Dominique Vanwijnsberghe

ILLUMINATING THE RENAISSANCE WAS IN MANY WAYS A DREAM exhibition. Going from vitrine to vitrine, visitors may have had a feeling of exhilaration, as if they were hiking in high mountains. In this rarified atmosphere they were fascinated by an extraordinary landscape of solitary mountain peaks, rising from an immense sea of clouds. What happened under the white layer, in the real world, no longer mattered, so beautiful was this sublime vision. For many, this was a unique aesthetic and emotional experience.

The vast majority of them stopped at this point and retained the vista as a marvelous memory. Unfortunately scholars do not proceed in this manner. They react differently. They cannot resist lifting a corner of the veil. They want to gaze under the clouds, to understand how the isolated mountaintops relate to one another.

While looking at the most refined examples of Ghent-Bruges miniature painting, we may have sensed unbridgeable gaps among these peaks and felt at the same time that they had to be organically connected. In my view, the study of "second-tier" works can help us to bridge the gaps, to reconstruct important networks of connections among painters and painting styles, which can lead to a better understanding of the circulation of artistic ideas among the different illuminators and production centers of the southern Low Countries. I will illustrate this point by focusing on Jean Markant, a scribe-miniaturist active in Tournai, Lille, and Bruges at the turn of the sixteenth century.[1]

The "Le Sauvage" Hours

The reconstruction of Markant's oeuvre is based on a book of hours that was kindly brought to my attention by Anne Margreet As-Vijvers. Its whereabouts are currently unknown.[2] As far as can be judged from photographs, this manuscript represents a somewhat provincial version of styles associated with Bruges and Ghent. But the pictorial expression of the cycle illustrating the Hours of the Cross is compelling: in six of the seven illustrations of Christ's Passion, the scenes spill out over the frame into the border.[3] In the miniature *Christ Nailed to the Cross* (fig. 11.1), for example, the cross is portrayed in an emphatic diagonal that extends beyond the fictive space of the miniature and seemingly projects into the realm of the viewer; the treatment vividly enhances the dramatic and devotional impact of the illustration.

The manuscript contains two portraits (fig. 11.2), probably those of the original owners, painted by a different hand and added at the beginning of the codex. The coats of arms above the sitters are those of Jean le Sauvage, lord

Figure 11.1
Jean Markant. *Christ Nailed to the Cross*, in the Le Sauvage Hours. Whereabouts unknown.

Figure 11.2
Anonymous master. *Jean le Sauvage, Lord of Escobecques, and Jacqueline de Boulogne, Lady of Le Maisnil, Adoring the Virgin and Child*, in the Le Sauvage Hours. Whereabouts unknown.

of Escobecques, and Jacqueline de Boulogne, lady of Le Maisnil, two prominent citizens of the Flemish city of Lille around 1500. The sitters are presented to the Virgin and child by their respective patrons, Saints John the Baptist and James the Greater. Jean le Sauvage was to have an exceptionally successful career in the service of Philip the Fair and his son, the Holy Roman emperor Charles V. Le Sauvage was born in Lille in 1455 and received a law degree at Louvain.[4] In 1503 he was appointed president of the Council of Flanders and undertook several diplomatic missions for Philip the Fair. With Guillaume de Croÿ he soon became one of the most eminent power brokers of the Hapsburg state. In 1508 he was made head of the Great Council in Malines and in 1515 great chancellor of Burgundy. The same year, he left for Spain with Charles V and died in Saragossa in 1518.

At what stage of le Sauvage's brilliant career was the manuscript made? An original colophon furnishes us with the date of its completion and—this is quite exceptional—the name of the artist who wrote and illuminated the core of the book: "Ces heures furent escriptes et illuminés par moy a tous indigne serviteur Jennin Markant, l'an 1502, le premier jour de mars"—that is to say, on March 1, 1503 (n.s.), the same year that le Sauvage became president of the Council of Flanders.

The Markant Group

Thus far I have identified nine other prayer books that are related stylistically to the Le Sauvage Hours.[5] Most of them contain internal evidence pointing to Lille as the place of their origin. Since space does not permit me to examine the stylistic development of Jean Markant from his earliest works, such as the Hours of Marie Mussart (fig. 11.3), to those of the 1530s, such as the Huntington Hours (figs. 11.8, 11.11), I would like instead to focus briefly on one salient aspect of his production: the use and reuse of certain compositions.

One of the most striking examples is the Mass of Saint Gregory (figs. 11.3, 11.4), found in five manuscripts.[6] Very characteristic is the arrangement of the altar and its ornaments, with the missal on a lectern directed not to the priest but to the reader and placed at right angles to the front part of the altar; the flagellation column with the knotted rope; and the Man of Sorrows emerging from the tomb. The miniatures of David in prayer (figs. 11.5, 11.6) in seven of the books of hours[7] are derived from a common model, as are those of the Annunciation[8] and Saint John the Baptist.[9]

An analysis of details also reveals common sources: in the Brussels *Presentation* (fig. 11.7), for example, the twisted column supporting the central table appears to have been painted by the same craftsman who portrayed the

Figure 11.3
Jean Markant. *Mass of Saint Gregory*, in the Hours of Marie Mussart. Whereabouts unknown (London, Sotheby's, December 1, 1987, lot 58, fol. 23).

Figure 11.4
Jean Markant. *Mass of Saint Gregory*, in the Le Sauvage Hours. Whereabouts unknown.

Figure 11.5
Jean Markant. *David in Prayer*, in the Le
Sauvage Hours. Whereabouts unknown.

Figure 11.6
Jean Markant. *David in Prayer*, in a
book of hours. Baltimore, Walters Art
Museum, Ms. W. 435, fol. 107v.

An Illuminator in Tournai and Lille

The mention of the illuminator's name in the Le Sauvage Hours is
exceptional and important, not only because of the rarity of this kind of infor-
mation but also, and above all, because it allows us to identify Markant's style
and to reconstruct the activity of a group of illuminators who worked around
him in Lille, a city that has not previously been famous for its book painters.
Archival evidence recently collected and published by Marc Gil has docu-
mented the presence of a few book illuminators in Lille at the turn of the six-
teenth century,[10] but until now no extant works had been connected with
named painters there.

Figure 11.7
Jean Markant. *Presentation*, in a book
of hours. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale
de Belgique, Ms. II 7605, fol. 69 v.

Figure 11.8
Jean Markant. *Flight into Egypt*, in a
book of hours. San Marino, Calif.,
Huntington Library, Ms. 1149, fol. 72 v.

Figure 11.9
Jean Markant, *Presentation*, in a book
of hours. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional,
Ms. Res. 191, fol. 61 v.

No traces of Markant had previously been found in records from Lille,[11] although he was known to have worked in the neighboring towns of Tournai and Bruges. In 1489 he was mentioned as an apprentice of Jean César,[12] probably the most important Tournaisian illuminator of the last quarter of the fifteenth century, who trained no fewer than five pupils.[13] César's style has not been identified yet, but a manuscript illuminated by Arnould le Peletier, another of his apprentices,[14] still exists: a remarkable *Vie du Christ-Vengeance de Notre-Seigneur* painted in 1496.[15] My hope is that the study of the sources for both Markant and Le Peletier may eventually permit us to identify the most prolific Tournaisian workshop of its time.

Thanks to the colophon in the Le Sauvage Hours, we can suggest that by 1503 Markant had settled in Lille. He appears to have been resident there, since he worked for citizens or institutions in Lille during the first three decades of the sixteenth century. Among his patrons were persons connected to the local Franciscan community;[16] Marie Mussart, from a well-known Lille family;[17] Jeanne Martinache, prioress of the hospital at Seclin, south of Lille;[18] and Laurence Baillet, widow of François Van Hoyqueslot, a native of The Hague, who became a citizen of Lille in 1532.[19] From 1522 to 1531 Markant was paid for calligraphic work for the city council in Lille.[20] In 1532–34 he was still at work for the hospital of Saint Julian in Lille, from which he received payments for calligraphy and illuminations.[21] This is the last known record of his activity. He may also have trained illuminators, such as the somewhat crude painter of a book of hours made for a nun at the Hospice Comtesse,[22] who was clearly one of his followers.
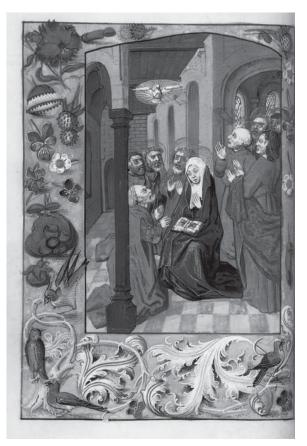
Markant and the Master of Edward IV

As early as 1512 Markant is mentioned in the accounts of the Confraternity of Saint John the Evangelist in Bruges as "scrivere te Ryssele" (scribe in Lille).[23] Markant paid his fees to the guild, not because he had moved to Flemish Flanders, but most probably because he wanted to have access to the flourishing Bruges market. The following year, he made a payment in kind: "Jan Marcquandt," now designated as "verlichter te Rysele," "heeft ghegeven der ghilde een bardeken van verlichterien van Sint-Anne."[24] He gave the guild a panel with a miniature of Saint Anne, probably an illumination on parchment glued to a wooden board, a type of devotional picture that was mass-produced in Lille by 1510 and sent by the dozen in baskets as far as Paris.[25]

Markant's enrollment in the Bruges confraternity was most probably a way to sanction a long-lasting relationship with the Flemish city. In view of his later achievements, it is tempting to suggest that, after an apprenticeship in Tournai, he probably worked under the supervision of a leading Bruges illuminator. Scholars who have discussed some of the works I attribute here to Markant—among them Lilian Randall, Bodo Brinkmann, and Roger Wieck—have noted strong relationships between Markant's style and compositions and those of the Master of Edward IV.[26] Randall, for example, points to striking similarities between the *Crowning of the Virgin* in the Baltimore Hours and a miniature by the Edward Master also in the Walters Art Museum.[27]

In this regard, I would like to stress briefly the pivotal role of a book of hours included in the Los Angeles–London exhibition: the Blackburn Hours, painted by the Master of Edward IV and datable to around 1480–90 on

stylistic grounds.[28] In some of the marginal illustrations, which extend the central scenes into the realm of the viewer, we find a direct source for Markant's impressive cycle in the Le Sauvage Hours. Some compositions reflect common sources, such as *Pentecost* (figs. 11.10, 11.11), which, as Scot McKendrick has shown, is ultimately derived from a model created by the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy.[29] In other instances, Markant seems to have made use of models by the Master of Edward IV, which he interpreted with his more limited talent: the Mass of Saint Gregory might be one of these, or the very distinctive Saint John the Baptist.[30]

The Master of Edward IV in Lille?

This brings us to a hypothesis put forward by Brinkmann in his monograph on the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book.[31] Could it be that, just like the Dresden Master, the Master of Edward IV was compelled to leave Bruges when supporters of the Hapsburgs — or at least artists who had worked for the court — encountered political difficulties in Flemish Flanders?[32]
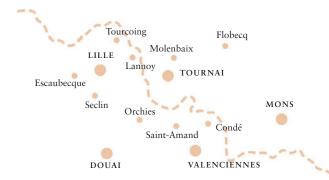
As Brinkmann and McKendrick have noted, the 1480s saw new developments in the style and clientele of the Edward Master.[33] In just this period, he worked extensively for patrons from northern France and Hainaut, most prominent among them Baudouin II of Lannoy and John II of Oettingen. Baudouin had several possessions in the Tournai-Lille region (fig. 11.12): he was lord of Molenbaix and Tourcoing and governor of the bailiwick of Lille, Douai,

Figure 11.10
Master of Edward IV. *Pentecost*, in the Blackburn Hours. Blackburn, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart Ms. 20884, fol. 40v.

Figure 11.11
Jean Markant. *Pentecost*, in a book of hours. San Marino, Huntington Library, Ms. 1149, fol. 23v.

Figure 11.12
Map of the Tournai-Lille region.

and Orchies. He owned at least six books by the Master of Edward IV.[34] As for John of Oettingen, lord of Flobecq, he was married to Isabeau de Condé and was based in Condé, midway between Tournai, Valenciennes, and Mons.[35] John certainly possessed five books illustrated by the Edward Master.[36] A psalter made for the Abbey of Saint-Amand, south of Tournai, dates to the same period.[37] The origin of the Blackburn Hours (fig. 11.10) is not known, but at the beginning of the seventeenth century it was owned by Eugène de Noyelles, a member of a prominent northern French family.[38] Last but not least, the Master of Edward IV was responsible for the illumination of a missal for the Collegiate Church of Saint Peter at Lille, now in Edinburgh (fig. 11.13).[39]

Viewed together, this evidence points to a sojourn of the Master of Edward IV in the southern part of Flanders, and Lille appears to be the most likely center where he would have resided. Lille was at that time a Flemish city, with privileged political and economic ties to the other towns of the county of Flanders.[40] Numerous expatriates from Lille are mentioned in the Bruges *poorterboeken* (lists of new citizens).[41] The Lille scribe Quentin Poulet, the future librarian of King Henry VII, is a good case in point. When he enrolled as an apprentice in the Confraternity of Saint John the Evangelist in Bruges in 1477,[42] Poulet could count on fellow citizens and most probably relatives who had settled in the city earlier: a Haquinet Poulet from Lille had become a burgher in 1467,[43] a Matheus and an Andries Poulet, respectively, in 1469[44] and 1470.[45] Moreover, unlike other Flemish cities, Lille chose to remain faithful to the Hapsburgs and was therefore a safe haven for their supporters.[46]

The two other cities where the Master of Edward IV might conceivably have settled—Tournai and Valenciennes—were not as favorable as Lille. The ordinances of 1480 promulgated in Tournai seem to correspond to a period of general decline in the city, affecting also the activity of the book trade. This set of strict rules was created primarily to protect declining métiers and their jeopardized members.[47] The document itself states that "les métiers étaient fort diminués et journellement se diminuaient en profit et en bons ouvriers, dont les autres villes s'augmentaient."[48] As for Valenciennes, Simon Marmion dominated manuscript illumination in the city until his death in 1489. He established a very distinctive tradition, epitomized by his follower the Master of Antoine Rolin,[49] and it would have been difficult for any illuminator to have escaped his influence. The situation differed in Lille, where a local tradition hardly existed until the 1470s.[50] The miniaturists there, unlike those in Tournai

Figure 11.13
Master of Edward IV. *Crucifixion*,
in a missal for the use of Saint Peter in
Lille. Edinburgh, University Library,
Ms. D. b. iii. ii, fol. 104v.

or Bruges, did not submit to any regulation until 1510, which enabled them to work without constraints.[51]
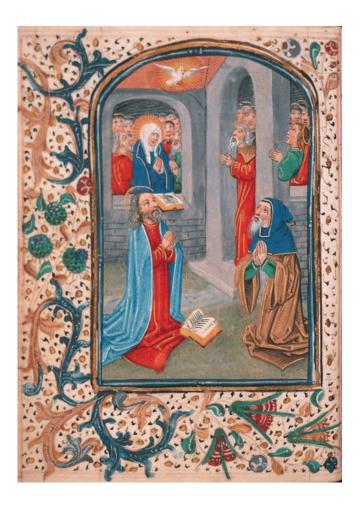
Whether or not the Master of Edward IV moved from Bruges to Lille, he would not have been the first to do so. A hitherto unremarked document indicates that at least one other major illuminator who worked for the dukes of Burgundy — one of the most prolific of his day — resided in Lille in 1483 and 1484. The city accounts of Valenciennes mention a life rent of 7 pounds paid "A Lois Liedet, enlumineur demourant a Lille, a se vie et de Huchon son frere."[52] Loyset Liédet disappeared from the accounts of the Confraternity of Saint John in Bruges after 1479,[53] not, as has been stated time and again, because he had died,[54] but rather because he chose to settle in Lille — possibly, considering contemporary political events in Flanders, in the interest of self-preservation.

This document sheds interesting light on Huchon Liédet, who is also mentioned in the accounts of the Bruges Confraternity from 1477 to 1484.[55] He was not, as McKendrick recently suggested,[56] the son of Loyset, but his brother. It is unclear whether, by 1484, Huchon had accompanied Loyset to Lille or whether he was still working in Bruges. Whatever the case may be, the brothers no doubt served as important conduits between the two Flemish cities, fostering contacts and bringing some of the artistic know-how of Bruges to

Lille. Huchon is first documented in Bruges in 1477. If by 1484 he had settled in Lille, this move to the south would correspond neatly to the route probably followed by the Master of Edward IV. Are Huchon and the Edward Master one and the same person? The evidence, which is as yet only circumstantial, is weak, but I think that Huchon Liédet should be seriously considered as a possible candidate. In any case, the relationship between Loyset Liédet and the Master of Edward IV should be explored further.[57]

A last observation in support of the presence of the Master of Edward IV in Lille is the lasting influence he had on other miniaturists active there. A book of hours for Tournai use (fig. 11.14), now preserved in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston,[58] appears to be one of these "made in Lille" manuscripts, as suggested by the type of border decoration and the generic Tournai calendar in French. The same hand painted another hours for Tournai use, now in the library of Tournai Cathedral.[59] Both reveal the strong influence of the Master of Edward IV. A book of hours for Rome use in the Philadelphia Free Library belongs to another group.[60] The influence of the Master of Edward IV is even more evident here.

Much work still has to be done in order to distinguish among these different hands, and the information that I briefly present here is only the preliminary result of research in progress.[61]

Figure 11.14
Anonymous master. *Pentecost*, in a book of hours. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Ms. 4, fol. 27v.

Another Market

Unlike the Master of Edward IV, who worked for prestigious courtiers, Jean Markant fashioned prayer books primarily for urban patrons — a clientele of wealthy burghers in a middle-size city of about ten to twenty thousand inhabitants. His manuscripts depend strongly on artistic ideas, textual features, and production methods practiced in Bruges, yet they are not entirely standardized products resulting from strict divisions of labor among different craftsmen. After all, Markant was not only a miniaturist but also sometimes transcribed the texts he illustrated. Among these are the Le Sauvage Hours and the various "ordinances" he produced for the city council of Lille.[62] A codicological analysis of his works shows that he practiced what we might term a "mixed" production method, which allowed him to exercise complete control of the design and appearance of his books. He often used full-page miniatures on separate folios inserted between quires of text, but not systematically. In some of his books, full-page miniatures are also parts of bifolios,[63] whereas in others they alternate with half-page illustrations integrated within the text. Even workshop models were not reproduced mechanically but were adapted, as we have seen, very freely.

All this shows that Markant had the production of his books well under control, practicing in some cases a form of "vertical concentration."[64] If he had assistants, they must have worked in close collaboration with him. He also sometimes sent miniatures to Bruges and perhaps even to Paris.[65] This combination of activities reflects the limited size of the local market. In large cities such as Bruges or Paris,[66] book production was organized by booksellers rather than scribes or illuminators. The fact that Markant was active both as a scribe and an illuminator and also exported his own miniatures is typical of a secondary center, where the scale of production was not sufficient to support specialists who practiced only one craft; in smaller centers, craftsmen frequently had to diversify their sources of income.

Jean Markant's oeuvre gives evidence of the diffusion outside Bruges of an influential mainstream style, centered on the anonymous Master of Edward IV. Markant's work helps us trace some of the pathways along which artistic practices and ideas moved from one production center to another. Lille absorbed impulses from the traditions of both Tournai and Bruges. It benefited from its neutral status and safe position in times of political upheaval in Flanders, as well as from the decline of its immediate neighbor and competitor, the French city of Tournai. Lille attracted a prominent miniaturist, Loyset Liédet, as early as 1483. Liédet's presence in the city may in turn have attracted other colleagues and stimulated a new local tradition, heavily dependent on Bruges. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the trade in miniatures in Lille was sufficiently strong as to have provoked a conflict with the painters: in 1510 they complained of unfair competition from the miniaturists and tried to compel them to join their guild if they were to continue producing illuminations that could be used as paintings.

Pascale Charron, who published the documents related to this conflict, aptly observed that the work of these illuminators in Lille still remained to be discovered.[67] Jean Markant is one of them — we may hope that others will also be identified.

Notes

1. A first biographical sketch was published in: Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, *"De fin or et d'azur": Les commanditaires de livres et le métier de l'enluminure à Tournai à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIVe–XVe siècles)* (Louvain: Peeters, 2001), 301–2. A provisional handlist of works attributed to Jean Markant includes: (1) Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W. 435 (see fig. 11.6); (2) Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. II 7605 (see fig. 11.7); (3) Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. A 91 (Hours of Jeanne Martinache); (4) location unknown, Sotheby's, December 1, 1987, lot 58 (Hours of Marie Mussart; see fig. 11.3); (5) London, British Library, Harley Ms. 2923; (6) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Res. 191 (the so-called Hours of the Queen of Sweden; see fig. 11.9); (7) New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M. 171; (8) New York, Columbia University, Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Western Ms. I; (9) San Marino, Huntington Library, Ms. 1149 (Hours of Laurence Baillet; see figs. 11.8, 11.11); (10) location unknown, Le Sauvage Hours (see figs. 11.1, 11.2, 11.4, 11.5).

2. In 1991 the book was owned by a Dutch collector. It was presented by B. Van Dyck, acting as an intermediary, to the city council of Grammont (Geraardsbergen). See: A[lbert] S[chrever], "Koopt Geraardsbergen 16de-eeuws manuscript?" *Het Volk*, March 1, 1991. The negotiations ultimately failed, and since

then it has not been possible to obtain information concerning the whereabouts of the book. Cf. Geert Van Bockstaele, *Het cultureel erfgoed van de Sint-Adriaansabdij van Geraardsbergen, 1096–2002* (Grammont: Stadsbestuur, 2002), 195.

3. On the implications of this formal device, see James H. Marrow, *The Hours of Margaret of Cleves* (Lisbon: Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, 1995), 31–37.

4. On Jean le Sauvage, see Herman Vander Linden, "Sauvage (Jean)," in *Biographie nationale*, vol. 21 (Brussels: É. Bruylant, 1911–13), cols. 441–44; Alida J. M. Kerckhoffs-de Heij, *De Grote Raad en zijn functionarissen, 1477–1531: Biografieën van de raadsheren* (Amsterdam, 1980), 133–36.

5. See handlist, note 1.

6. Hours of Marie Mussart (handlist no. 4), fol. 23; London Hours (handlist no. 5), fol. 30; Madrid Hours (handlist no. 6), fol. 152v; Morgan Hours (handlist no. 7), fol. 41; Le Sauvage Hours (handlist no. 10).

7. Baltimore Hours (handlist no. 1), fol. 107v; Martinache Hours (handlist no. 3), fol. 88v; Hours of Marie Mussart (handlist no. 4), fol. 73v; London Hours (handlist no. 5), fol. 90v; Madrid Hours (handlist no. 6), fol. 81v; Huntington Hours (handlist no. 9), fol. 103v; Le Sauvage Hours (handlist no. 10).

8. Baltimore Hours (handlist no. 1), fol. 43v; Hours of Marie Mussart (handlist no. 4), fol. 28v; London Hours (handlist no. 5), fol. 39v; Madrid hours (handlist no. 6), fol. 24v; Morgan Hours (handlist no. 7), fol. 30v; Huntington Hours (handlist no. 9), fol. 31v; Le Sauvage Hours (handlist no. 10).

9. Baltimore Hours (handlist no. 1), fol. 161v; Martinache Hours (handlist no. 3), fol. 33; Hours of Marie Mussart (handlist no. 4), fol. 19v; Madrid hours (handlist no. 6), fol. 130v; Huntington Hours (handlist no. 9), fol. 187v; Le Sauvage Hours (handlist no. 10).

10. Marc Gil, "Le métier de relieur à Lille (v. 1400–1550), suivi d'une prosopographie des artisans du livre lillois," *Bulletin du bibliophile*, no. 1 (2002): 7–46.

11. Markant is not mentioned in Gil's lists (Gil, "Le métier de relieur à Lille").

12. See Vanwijnsberghe, *"De fin or et d'azur,"* 279–80.

13. Jean César, documented from 1470 to 1498, had the following pupils: Jacques Cabry (apprentice in 1470), Simon Ore (apprentice in 1476), Arnould le Peletier (apprentice in 1480, master in 1485), Jean Capry (apprentice in 1483), and Jean Markant (apprentice in 1489).

14. Vanwijnsberghe, *"De fin or et d'azur,"* 297–98.

15. Ramegnies-Chin, Communauté des religieuses de Saint-André, Ms. 096/VII. For the work of Le Peletier in this manuscript, see Vanwijnsberghe, *"De fin or et d'azur,"* 17–18, 150, 297–98, ill. 121.

16. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M 171.

17. London, Sotheby's, December 1, 1987, lot 58. On the Mussart family, see Paul Denis du Péage, *Recueil de généalogies lilloises* (Lille: Impr. Lefebvre-Ducrocq, 1906–8), vol. 2, 780–800.

18. Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. A 91. On Jeanne Martinache, see Théodore Leuridan, *Histoire de Seclin*, vol. 4, *Histoire de l'hôpital Notre-Dame* (Roubaix, 1905), 54, 64.

19. San Marino, Huntington Library, Ms. 1149. On François Van Hoyqueslot and Laurence Baillet, see Denis du Péage, *Recueil de généalogies lilloises*, vol. 4, 1615.

20. "A Johannes Markant pour avoir grossé et escript en deux grandes peaux de vellin les ordonnances des cas privilegiez dont eschevins congnoissent . . . IIII livres," "Au dit Marliere qu'il a payé a Johannes Markant pour son sallaire d'avoir grossé les deux tableaux des ordonnances des services des curez de ceste ville de Lille . . . LIII sous" (Lille, Archives municipales, Registres aux comptes de l'éche-vinage, no. 16257 [1522], fol. 81v); "Au dit Marliere qu'il a payé a Johannes Marquand escripvent pour son sallaire d'avoir grossé en deux peaux de vellin les ordonnances et refor-macions des praticiens mises en ung tableau en le halle . . . LX sous" (ibid., no. 16258, fol. 94); "A Johannes Marcquand escripvent que accordé lui a esté par eschevins pour son sal-laire d'avoir faict et escript toutes les lettres de l'ABC d'or floretees d'asur mises aux layes de la nouvelle tresorerie . . . LXVI sous" (ibid., no. 16265, fol. 95v). Published by Alexandre de La Fons-Mélicocq, "Les tablettes de cire, les jetons, les poinçons, les marques, les enseignes et les mesures des échevins et des corps de métiers de la ville de Lille, aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles," *Bulletin du Comité de la Langue, de l'Histoire et des Arts de la France*, vol. 3, *1855–1856* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1857), 637. With special thanks to Pascal Schandel, who generously shared his original transcriptions.

21. Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, Archives hospitalières, XVIII E 28, fol. 73v. Published by Alexandre de La Fons-Mélicocq, "Orfèvres, brodeurs, architectes, tailleurs d'images, peintres, enlumineurs, etc., des XIVe et XVe siècles, qui ont orné et décoré les

chapelles des hospices de Lille," *Revue universelle des Arts* 13 (1861): 58.

22. Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. B. 13. 11. See Alain Arnould, in *Splendours of Flanders: Late Medieval Art in Cambridge Collections*, exh. cat. (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1993), no. 24, 82–83; Vanwijnsberghe, *"De fin or et d'azur,"* 19, nn. 120, 121, fig. 122.

23. Louis Gilliodts-Van Severen, "L'oeuvre de Jean Brito, prototypographe brugeois," *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges* 47 (1897): 284.

24. Gilliodts-Van Severen, "L'oeuvre de Jean Brito."

25. See Pascale Charron, "Les peintres, peintres verriers et enlumineurs lillois au début du XVIᵉ siècle d'après les statuts inédits de leur corporation," *Revue du Nord* 82 (2000: no. 37), 731–33, 738.

26. Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 3, *Belgium, 1250–1530* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Walters Art Gallery, 1997), 447–55; Bodo Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreichs: Der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), vol. 1, 374, 397; and Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller in association with the Walters Art Gallery, 1988), 132, 217.

27. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 453.

28. Blackburn, Museum and Art Gallery, Ms. Hart 20884. See Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), no. 98, 342–43.

29. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 26, 156–57.

30. Fols. 166 and 188, respectively, in Master of Edward IV, the Blackburn Hours (see fig. 11.10); see notes 6 and 9 above.

31. Brinkmann, *Flämische Buchmalerei*, 371, 374.

32. The death of Charles the Bold at Nancy on January 5, 1477, plunged the Low Countries into a time of turmoil. The power struggle among the cities of Flanders, backed by Louis XI and Maximilian of Austria, started soon after the latter's marriage to Mary of Burgundy (April 21, 1477). The conflict was sparked by Flanders's refusal to recognize the Hapsburg as regent of the Low Countries after Mary's death on March 27, 1482; it culminated in 1488, when the citizens of Bruges held Maximilian prisoner within their walls, with disastrous and bloody consequences. On this episode, see Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, vol. 3 (Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1907), 3–55.

33. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 295–96, esp. n. 13.

34. Hanno Wijsman, "Gebonden weelde: Productie van geïllustreerde handschriften en adellijk boekenbezit in de Bourgondische Nederlanden (1400–1550)" (Ph.D. diss., Universiteit Leiden, 2003), 292.

35. See Claudine Lemaire, "Les manuscrits de Jean II, comte d'Oettingen ou la fin d'une légende," in *Miscellanea Martin Wittek: Album de codicologie et de paléographie offert à Martin Wittek*, ed. Anny Raman and Eugène Manning (Louvain: Peeters, 1993), 243–53.

36. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 20096–97 (in two parts) and New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M. 894 (three parts of a *Vita Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony); Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 76 (Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Livre des Fais du grant Alexandre*); Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 11073 (Xenophon, *Cyropédie*).

37. New York, Collection Scott C. Schwartz, Ms. 24 (*olim*, London, Sotheby's, June 24, 1986, lot 97).

38. Eugène de Noyelles was probably related to Jean de Noyelles (d. 1580), lord of Marles and Rossignol, a member of a prominent Artois family. On Jean, see: Charles Piot, "Noyelles (Jean de)," in *Biographie nationale*, vol. 15 (Brussels: Bruylant, 1899), cols. 946–47.

39. Edinburgh, University Library, Ms. D. b. III. See Catherine R. Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediaeval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1916), no. 52, 94–96.

40. On the history of Lille in the late Middle Ages, see *Histoire de Lille*, vol. 1, *Des origines à l'avènement de Charles Quint*, ed. Louis Trenard and Guy Fourquin (Lille: Giard, 1969), 219–464.

41. Published by Remi A. Parmentier, *Indices op de Brugsche poorterboeken* (Bruges: Brouwer, 1938); Alfred Jamees, *Brugse poorters opgetekend uit de stadsrekeningen*, 4 vols. (Handzame: Familia et Patria, 1974–90).

42. William H. J. Weale, "Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi: Arts, héraldique, archéologie* 4 (1872–73): 297.

43. Parmentier, *Indices*, 652–53; Jamees, *Brugse poorters*, vol. 2.1, 335.

44. Jamees, *Brugse poorters*, vol. 2.1, 344.

45. Parmentier, *Indices*, 652–53; Jamees, *Brugse poorters*, vol. 2.1, 348.

46. Before the coming of the Hapsburgs, the city had submitted to the rule of the dukes of Burgundy. See Trenard and Fourquin, *Histoire de Lille*, 222–23, 265–66.

47. Vanwijnsberghe, *"De fin or et d'azur,"* 114–29.

48. We see the same phenomenon later in Tournai, among the tapestry weavers. In 1492 many withdrew to Amiens, where they were welcomed with open arms. The magistrate enacted regulations intended to assure tapestry workers a monopoly in their trade. The text explains that they fled "a cause de ce qu'ilz ne pooient bonnement gaigner les vie d'eulx, leurs femmes et enfants, de leurdit mestier"— terms strangely similar to those of the ordinances of 1480. For an edition of the text, see Alexandre Pinchart, *Histoire générale de la tapisserie*, vol. 3, *Pays-Bas* (Paris, 1884), 78. It must be noted that contemporary political conditions were hardly favorable to Tournai. See Gabriel Wymans, "Le déclin de Tournai au XVᵉ siècle," *Anciens pays et assemblées d'États* 22 (1961): 113–34.

49. Anne-Marie Legaré, "The Master of Antoine Rolin: A Hainaut Illuminator Working in the Orbit of Simon Marmion," in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the "Visions of Tondal,"* ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), 209–22.

50. The production of paper manuscripts with wash drawings has been studied by Pascale Charron and Pascal Schandel; see Pascale Charron, *Le Maître du Champion des dames* (Paris: CTHS, 2004); Pascal Schandel, "Le Maître de Wavrin et les miniaturistes lillois à l'époque de Philippe le Bon et de Charles le Téméraire" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Strasbourg, 1997). For a few examples of illuminated manuscripts on parchment, see Marc Gil, "Deux nouveaux manuscrits exécutés pour Jean, bâtard de Wavrin, chevalier et écrivain bourguignon, et la question de l'enluminure sur parchemin à Lille dans la seconde moitié du XVᵉ siècle," *Le Musée Condé* 58 (November 2001): 35–45.

51. Charron, "Peintres, peintres verriers et enlumineurs lillois."

52. Valenciennes, Archives municipales, Comptes de la ville, CC 747, fol. 57v. I would like to thank most warmly my friend Ludovic Nys for drawing my attention to this exceptional document, just a by-product of his tireless explorations in the Valenciennes archives.

53. For the last mention in 1479, see Weale, "Documents inédits," 301.

54. Alexandre Pinchart seems to have been the first to propose this idea, cautiously, in "Miniaturistes, enlumineurs et calligraphes employés par Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire et leurs oeuvres," *Bulletin des Commissions royales d'art et d'archéologie* 4 (1865): 481. Since then, most authors have treated the hypothesis as an established fact.

55. Weale, "Documents inédits," 292 (1477), 297 (1478), 299 (1479), 302 (1480), 306 (1482), 308 (1483), 310 (1484).

56. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 230.

57. See Hanno Wijsman, "William Lord Hastings, *Les faits de Jacques de Lalaing* et le Maître aux inscriptions blanches: À propos du manuscript français 16830 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France," in *"Als ich can": Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock, and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 1651–55. This continuity between the production of Loyset Liédet and the followers of the Master of Edward IV can perhaps be explained in part by a shared artistic base, in this case Bruges. It is interesting to note that the Master of Edward IV and a colleague completed a *Speculum humanae salvationis* that had been begun near the middle of the century by Jean le Tavernier (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 6275), a task that, for the "livres non parfaits" of the ducal library, usually fell to Liédet.

58. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Ms. 4. I would like to thank Jeffrey Hamburger for sending me slides of this manuscript.

59. Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale, Ms. A 19; reproduced in Vanwijnsberghe, *"De fin or et d'azur,"* 428, fig. 119 (erroneously referred to as Ms. A 20).

60. Philadelphia, Free Library, John Frederick Lewis Collection, Ms. 108; reproduced in James R. Tanis and Jennifer A. Thompson, eds., *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), 111–12, no. 35.

61. Another Lille group can be reconstructed around the Claremont Hours (Claremont, Calif., School of Theology, Ms. I [hours for Tournai use with original binding by Robiers Plourins]). It includes Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 540 (hours for Amiens use, only the pasted miniatures on fols. 33, 56, 56v, 74v, 106, 106v, 110v, 130v are by the Claremont Master); Brighton, Jubilee Library,

inv. no. R61718 (hours for Tournai use, kindly brought to my attention by Jim Marrow); Fécamp, Musée Bénédictine, without shelfmark; Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 705 (missal for the use of the Abbey of Loos); Trogen, Kantonsbibliothek, Cod. Membr. 264 (hours for Tournai use, with thanks to Susan Marti for providing me with digital photographs); New York, Grolier Club, Ms. 9 (hours for Tournai use, with thanks to Jim Marrow for providing me with slides). This last book has the Claremont borders, which are characteristic of other Lille hours produced for the Hospice Comtesse: Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 96 and Ms. 111 (original Plourins binding). Other Lille manuscripts with an original Plourins binding include two books of hours for Tournai use: Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Mss. 185, 189 (owned in the sixteenth century by a certain Louise Baillet "demourant au marchié de poisson a Lille"), as well as two hours illuminated around 1890 by the so-called Spanish forger (*Les Enluminures, Catalogue 9: Books of Hours*, no. 11, 66–69; *Livres anciens, manuscrits et livres d'heures*, sale, Drouot Richelieu, Paris, February 27, 2003, lot 347).

62. See note 20.

63. In the Baltimore Hours, for example, only six out of the twelve full-page miniatures are inserted. See Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 447.

64. Vertical concentration, an economic concept, occurs when a company is responsible for most of the stages of production along with distribution. This corresponds more or less with L. M. J. Delaissé's concept of "atelier" or "officine."

65. See note 25.

66. On the role of the Bruges *librariers*, see Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon, "Merktekens in de Brugse miniatuurkunst," in *Merken opmerken: Typologie en methode*, ed. Christine Van Vlierden et Maurits Smeyers (Louvain: Peeters, 1990), 45–70. On book production in Paris, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: H. Miller, 2000).

67. See note 25.

Iconographic Originality in the Oeuvre of the Master of the David Scenes

Elizabeth Morrison

BEGINNING IN THE LAST QUARTER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, the explosion of demand for Flemish paintings and manuscripts throughout Europe produced endless opportunities for narrative and compositional creativity among Flemish artists. A number of these artists turned for inspiration to the dramatic possibilities inherent in Old Testament stories, such as Bernard van Orley in his famous Job Altarpiece (Brussels, Musée d'Art ancien). In the realm of manuscripts, the Master of James IV of Scotland and his pupils were among the most active in incorporating Old Testament iconography into their works. Typological pairings abound in the works of the Master of James IV,[1] and one of his pupils, the Master of the Soane Hours, included two entire suites of illuminations drawn largely from the Old Testament in a single manuscript.[2] It is, however, another of the Master of James IV's students, the Master of the David Scenes, who exhibited the greatest penchant for Old Testament subject matter, a quality that sets him apart from his contemporaries and lends his work much of its special appeal. Indeed the artist's very name, which reads in full the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary, is based on a series of unusual miniatures concerning King David in one of the most admired of all Flemish manuscripts. Over the course of a career that probably spanned the thirty years from around 1490 to 1520, the Master of the David Scenes demonstrated an increasing interest in rarely depicted stories from the Old Testament and the *Golden Legend*. An examination of a series of books from the height of the artist's career that contain some of the most original imagery found in Flemish devotional manuscripts of the period makes it clear that the Master of the David Scenes found his niche in creating illustrations for elaborate narratives with few if any manuscript precedents in terms of subject matter or composition.

In the early part of his career, the Master of the David Scenes was associated with a workshop that specialized in very small prayer books whose imagery was drawn almost entirely from a series of patterns.[3] In general, these pattern-based miniatures are characterized by small, undistinctive figures and generic backgrounds. The manuscript that stands out from all the workshop productions of these early years is the Hours of Joanna of Castile (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18852). Although the artist, perhaps assisted by workshop members, relied on previously used models for a number of the miniatures, the manuscript also contains some unusual iconography that hints at the future direction of his work. A full-page miniature of the Temptation of
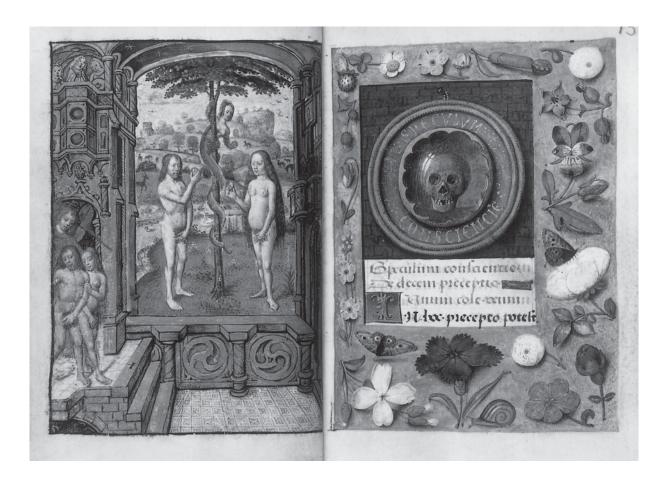
Figure 12.1
Master of the David Scenes in the
Grimani Breviary. *Adam and Eve;
Speculum Consciencie*, in the Hours of
Joanna of Castile. London, British
Library, Add. Ms. 18852, fols. 14v–15.

Adam and Eve is surrounded by a border into which the artist has cleverly
incorporated a version of the Expulsion.[4] The page faces a smaller miniature
depicting the rare subject of the *speculum consciencie*, portrayed as a skull
reflected in a mirror (fig. 12.1). As James H. Marrow has noted, this remark-
able miniature depicts the reflection in the mirror from the standpoint of the
viewer, forcing the young Joanna to contemplate her own mortality.[5] The fac-
ing miniatures acted as a reminder to Joanna that sin was inherited by all
humankind from Adam and Eve and that only constant vigilance and resistance
of temptation would prepare her soul for her inevitable demise. The images
appropriately introduce a list of the Ten Commandments, those basic laws that
Joanna was enjoined to follow to evade sin. Although the Fall of Adam and Eve
is based on a pattern seen elsewhere in the artist's work,[6] it is used here in a
highly original way and demonstrates the artist's emerging interest in Old
Testament subjects.

While the Hours of Joanna of Castile contains some iconographically
unusual miniatures, I would consider the so-called Brukenthal Breviary from
the middle part of the Master of the David Scenes's career as a turning point.[7]
The manuscript belongs to the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu, Romania, and
although it has long been known as the Brukenthal Breviary, it is really a lav-
ish book of hours.[8] This little-known manuscript provides important evidence
of the artist's penchant for rare Old Testament stories. The full-page miniature

that introduces vespers of the Hours of the Virgin faces a three-quarter-page illustration of the Massacre of the Innocents. It shows a little-known story from 1 Samuel 22, the slaying of the priests of Nob (fig. 12.2). The priests were ruthlessly murdered by order of Saul, who was punishing the servants of the Lord for having helped David. Saul appears at the right, personally overseeing the slayings, while the distant background shows the beginning of the story, with David running for protection to the Shrine of Nob. Although this appropriate Old Testament event appears as a typological pairing with the Massacre of the Innocents in the *Biblia Pauperum*,[9] neither the type nor the antitype was included in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, a more common source for typological imagery in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Flanders.[10] The scene is rarely represented in manuscript illumination.[11]

Several other unusual Old Testament types are also found in the Brukenthal cycle, such as the Annunciation to Abraham and Sarah, which is paired with the Annunciation to the Virgin, and the story of Esau and Jacob, paired with the Flight into Egypt.[12] The consistency of the cycle[13] and the fact that the New Testament scenes are often by a different artist suggest that the Master of the David Scenes had a personal interest in Old Testament iconography. He apparently recognized the obscurity of some of the scenes because titles were included beneath the Old Testament types along with citations of the biblical chapters and verses from which they are derived. Such uncommon Old Testament imagery would play an increasingly important role in the artist's work.

Figure 12.2
Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary. *The Slaying of the Priests of Nob*, in the Brukenthal Breviary. Sibiu, Romania, Museu Brukenthal, Ms. 761, p. 316.

Figure 12.3
Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary. *Saint Andrew* and border with *Scenes from the Life of Andrew*, in a book of hours. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 112, fol. 152.

Figure 12.4
Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary. *The Ark of the Covenant*, in a book of hours. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 112, fol. 51.

We may trace this development in three devotional manuscripts from the height of the painter's career: a book of hours (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 112), the Grimani Breviary (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I 99), and a prayer book (Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. Saml. 1605 4°). A number of suffrages in the Bodleian manuscript are illustrated with borders that take their imagery from rarely depicted events from the *Golden Legend*.[14] The border accompanying the suffrage for Saint Andrew (fig. 12.3) shows the little-known story of a bishop who venerated Saint Andrew above all others.[15] Because the devil's envy was aroused by such devotion, he took the form of a beautiful woman to deceive the bishop. While the two were at dinner, a pilgrim came to the door to beg entrance. Through a series of questions, the pilgrim revealed the true nature of the beautiful woman, whereupon she disappeared. The pilgrim was, of course, Saint Andrew, who is shown twice in the border wearing the same garb as in the miniature. The woman's real identity is suggested by the serpentine tail that peeks out beneath her skirt under the table; except for her costume, she is completely transformed as she flies away. The border image is not derived from familiar events of Saint Andrew's life but was instead taken directly from the text of the *Golden Legend*. This unusual visual narrative not only imparted a clear moral message but also encouraged the viewer to consider the saint's life anew.

For the Hours of the Virgin in the Bodleian manuscript, the Master of the David Scenes returned to Old Testament sources for his imagery. Although all of the full-page miniatures of the Hours of the Virgin are missing, the facing three-quarter-page miniatures and accompanying historiated borders are still extant.[16] The opening for the beginning of Lauds depicts the rarely illustrated event from 2 Samuel 6 of King David's servants placing the Ark of the Covenant temporarily in the house of Obededom (fig. 12.4). The upper part of the surrounding border shows Zacharius receiving word from an angel that his aged wife Elizabeth would give birth to John the Baptist, and the lower part shows the birth of the Baptist. The facing full-page miniature would have presumably depicted the Visitation.[17] According to the *Golden Legend*, the Virgin Mary had stayed with Elizabeth for the three months from the Visitation until the birth of John the Baptist.[18] In like manner, the Bible recounts that the ark had been safely stored in the home of Obededom for three months before its removal to Jerusalem. Since this story would probably have been unfamiliar to readers in the context of a book of hours, the Master of the David Scenes again supplied the biblical book and chapter beneath the image. This typological pairing appears neither in the *Biblia pauperum* nor in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and is extremely rare in manuscript illumination; I have yet to find another example in the work of any other artist of the period.[19]

The manuscript from around 1515–20 known as the Grimani Breviary, to which the artist owes his name, is considered by many as the greatest Flemish manuscript of the sixteenth century. Its ambitious program of illumination, consisting of almost one hundred miniatures, is a result of contributions by some of the leading artists of the day, including the Master of James IV of Scotland, Gerard David, the Maximilian Master, and Simon Bening. The very fact that the Master of the David Scenes was asked to participate in the illumination of the manuscript indicates the high regard in which his work must have been held at this time. The manuscript is of such complexity and the problems of attribution are so manifold that the miniatures are usually discussed individually rather than in the context of their place within the program of illumination of the manuscript.[20] The unusual iconography of the psalter illustrations by the Master of the David Scenes has never been treated systematically.[21] The artist supplied a full-page miniature for each of the first psalms commencing matins for each day of the week (psalms 1, 26, 38, 68, 80, 97), with an additional miniature to open the psalter as a whole.[22] Each full-page miniature is on a verso, with the recto blank, and faces a folio with a full border.[23] The miniatures fit into a cohesive, if not readily familiar, pattern. The Master of the David Scenes could have drawn on a traditional psalter program of iconography, but instead the illuminations are based on a psalter commentary written by Nicholas of Lyra (1270–1349) and related to a program of miniatures in the Pembroke Psalter-Hours, made in Flanders around 1465–70.[24]

In a recent article on the Pembroke Psalter-Hours, Marrow notes that its cycle of psalter illustrations was drawn from the accompanying *tituli*, written in red before each psalm. He posits that the *tituli* are based either directly or indirectly on Nicholas of Lyra's fourteenth-century psalter commentary.[25] In comparing the unusual full-page subjects of the Pembroke Psalter-Hours with those in the Grimani Breviary, it is evident that the two series are related in subject matter and, in some cases, also compositionally. Psalm 97 in the Grimani

Figure 12.5
Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary. *Advent*, in the Grimani Breviary. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I 99, fol. 357v.

Figure 12.6
Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary. *Advent*, in the Pembroke Psalter-Hours. Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. 45-65-2, fol. 171v.

Breviary is illustrated with a miniature of David and a group of others looking to a half-length figure of God above, with a cave containing naked figures to the right (fig. 12.5). The composition of the miniature introducing the same psalm in the Pembroke Psalter-Hours is closely related (fig. 12.6). The subject of both illustrations is Advent, based on the *titulus* in the Pembroke Psalter-Hours, "Psalmus David de adventus Christi primo in iuditio."[26] In several other cases—including the miniatures introducing psalms 26, 68, and 80—the subjects and compositions of the two manuscripts also align.[27] What is remarkable about the Grimani Breviary is that it contains no *tituli* that could have suggested the subjects to the Master of the David Scenes.[28] Furthermore, the Master of the David Scenes could not have personally known the Pembroke Psalter-Hours, for not only was it illuminated at a significantly earlier date but also, by 1515, the book had likely already been in England for nearly fifty years.[29] The probable conclusion is that there was an independent and rarely depicted cycle of illustrations based on Nicholas's text in Flemish psalter illumination, transmitted most likely through workshop drawings.[30] The Master of the David Scenes based some of his illuminations in the most celebrated manuscript of his time on this uncommon series.

The subject of the miniature accompanying psalm 38 in the Grimani Breviary has long proved puzzling (fig. 12.7).[31] Armed with knowledge of the *tituli* in the Pembroke Psalter-Hours and the predilection of the Master of the David Scenes for material from the *Golden Legend*, it becomes possible to identify the scene correctly for the first time. In the Pembroke Psalter-Hours, psalm 38 is illustrated with a miniature of the siege of Jerusalem, while psalm

Figure 12.7
Master of the David Scenes in the
Grimani Breviary. *Episodes from the Life
of David*, in the Grimani Breviary.
Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana,
Ms. Lat. I 99, fol. 321 v.

52 (the one missing a miniature in the Grimani Breviary) is accompanied by a
scene of David foreseeing the account in 2 Maccabees 5 and 7 of the taking of
Jerusalem and the torment of the seven Maccabee brothers and their mother by
Antiochus.³² The Master of the David Scenes has conflated the two events from
the Pembroke Psalter-Hours into one, showing the siege and taking of
Jerusalem in the background and the seven Maccabee brothers and their moth-
er in the foreground.³³ As in the illustration for psalm 38 in the Pembroke
Psalter-Hours, David is shown lamenting the siege with his eyes closed. The
figure commanding the arrests is familiar from the illustration of psalm 52 in
the Pembroke Psalter-Hours; he is the heathen easterner Antiochus, dressed
appropriately in turban and furs. In terms of its composition, the scene has only
a general resonance with the miniatures in the Pembroke Psalter-Hours, but the
similarity of subject matter is undeniable. It now remains only to find the source
of the secondary elements of the image.

   If the Pembroke Psalter-Hours provides the key for the main subject
of the miniature, the remaining iconography can be identified by looking to the
Golden Legend. The account of the siege of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus,
the same story that was portrayed in a border scene in the Oxford hours, is the
source for this iconography. During the siege, the *Golden Legend* recounts,
"the hunger was so acute that people chewed their shoes" and a woman "stran-
gled her child, cooked the body, and . . . robbers, smelling cooked meat, rushed
back into the house and threatened the woman with death unless she gave
up the food. She uncovered what was left of the infant."³⁴ Because it is known
that the Master of the David Scenes used the siege in a different context in

another manuscript (the Oxford hours) and because these elements are not seen in the Pembroke Psalter-Hours, it seems likely that Master of the David Scenes conceived the idea of incorporating them into the miniature.[35] Perhaps the artist was struck by the vividness of the details given in the *Golden Legend* and decided to incorporate those elements into his composition to add visual interest to the scene.

Other of the miniatures contributed by the Master of the David Scenes to the psalter of the Grimani Breviary are unrelated to Nicholas of Lyra's commentary. Psalm 1 in the Pembroke Psalter-Hours is accompanied by a depiction of Ezra renewing the law of the Lord, for Nicholas of Lyra had identified Ezra as the author of the first psalm.[36] In the Grimani Breviary, psalm 1 is instead introduced by one of the few traditional miniatures in the entire series: David's triumphant return with the head of Goliath. This scene, absent from the full-page miniatures of the Pembroke Psalter-Hours and the Nicholas of Lyra commentary, is one of the most commonly found openings to psalters in Flemish breviaries of the period and also often accompanied the Penitential Psalms in books of hours.[37] The miniature of the Temptation of Adam and Eve that precedes the prologue to the psalter in the Grimani Breviary, however, is a somewhat unorthodox choice (fig. 12.8). Although the Master of the David Scenes had an evident affinity for this scene, as shown by the numerous times it

Figure 12.8
Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary. *The Temptation of Adam and Eve*, in the Grimani Breviary. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I 99, fol. 286 v.

appears in his oeuvre,[38] this is the only case I know of either in his work or in that of any other illuminator of the period in which it is associated with the psalter. The Master of the David Scenes evidently chose this subject based on the text of the psalter prologue that it introduces. One of the repeated responsories in the prologue is "Adoremus dominum qui fecit nos" (Let us adore God, who has made us), and its first text is a hymn traditionally ascribed to Saint Gregory, beginning "Primo deirum omnium quo mundus extat conditus vel quo resurgens conditor nos morte victa liberet" (The first of all days, when the world was made or, more exactly, when the risen creator liberated us and conquered death).[39] In this context, a depiction of Adam and Eve no doubt appeared as quite an appropriate complement to the psalter prologue.

The Master of the David Scenes drew inspiration from a variety of sources in designing his series for the psalter of the Grimani Breviary: its rare iconographic cycle is based on Nicholas of Lyra's commentary, the *Golden Legend*, traditional psalter iconography, and elements of the text itself.[40] The psalter illuminations contain some of the most original contributions to the Grimani Breviary in terms of subject matter, a unique unit in an already remarkable manuscript.

The devotional book in Copenhagen dating from around 1515 to 1520 represents perhaps the most iconographically innovative work by the Master of the David Scenes. All of the miniatures are by his hand, and they include a series dedicated to the seven deadly sins whose iconography has few precedents in manuscript illumination.[41] Although Hieronymus Bosch treated the sins in his famous tabletop now in Madrid and there are tapestry and print series dedicated to the subject,[42] the series in the Copenhagen book is unrelated iconographically to the aforementioned sets, and I am aware of only one other comparable series of manuscript illuminations.[43]

The lively miniature that illustrates the sin of lust comes from the Old Testament story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (fig. 12.9). The Master of the David Scenes faithfully followed the biblical story, including elements such as the garment snatched off Joseph's back by Potiphar's wife, but also incorporated new details, such as Joseph wearing an outfit at the height of fashion, to enliven the narrative and to make the image a memorable complement to the text.[44] Like the illustration for lust, the image illustrating the sin of sloth also takes an Old Testament story and transforms it into a moral lesson (fig. 12.10). Unlike the relatively well-known tale of Joseph, however, the story here is obscure, taken from 1 Kings 21. According to this text, King Ahab had wanted the vineyard of a man named Naboth because it was near his house and he could conveniently make a vegetable garden out of it. When Naboth refused to part with the inheritance of his forefathers, Ahab's wife, Jezebel, arranged for false witness to be brought against Naboth, whereupon he was stoned to death and the property of the dead criminal was forfeited to the king. Once again, the artist seemed to realize that this scene would not be immediately recognizable to many viewers, so he labeled the body of Naboth, helping the viewer to make the connection between the sin of sloth and the scene.[45] Although the Master of the David Scenes chose the more familiar stories of Lazarus and Dives to illustrate the sin of gluttony (fol. 28) and Cain and Abel for jealousy (fol. 29), the artist did not derive all the subjects in this cycle from the Old Testament. The sin of pride is illustrated by a woman preening in front of a mirror (fol. 24),

Figure 12.9
Master of the David Scenes in the
Grimani Breviary. *Potiphar's Wife*, in a
psalter-hours. Copenhagen, Kongelige
Bibliotek, Ms. 1605 4°, fol. 26.

avarice takes the form of a man gloating at a table over a pile of money (fol.
25), and anger is portrayed through a scene of four men fighting over a game
of cards (fol. 27). The subjects, although clearly related to their corresponding
sins, have no biblical source.[46] Although the individual compositions have yet
to be identified elsewhere, the popularity of the seven deadly sins during the
later Middle Ages indicates that the series by the Master of the David Scenes
probably reflects an emerging pictorial tradition.

In the catalogue of *Illuminating the Renaissance*, I suggested that the
manuscript is missing an additional series of images for a now-missing Hours
of the Virgin and that the manuscript was in fact once a psalter-hours.[47]
Since the publication of the catalogue, I have been able to locate some of these
miniatures. Bodo Brinkmann had published that the Lindenau-Museum in
Altenburg, Germany, owns four miniatures by the Master of the David
Scenes.[48] Upon examining them, I realized that the leaves match the
Copenhagen manuscript not only in terms of style but also in dimensions.[49] In

Figure 12.10
Master of the David Scenes in the
Grimani Breviary. *The Death of Naboth*,
in a psalter-hours. Copenhagen,
Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms. 1605 4°, fol. 30.

addition, the secondary decoration of the leaves and the manuscript correspond
exactly: architectural borders painted to simulate wood, a border style used
consistently in the Copenhagen manuscript but not often seen in other works
by the Master of the David Scenes. The four miniatures depict Veronica's Veil,
the Annunciation, the Flight into Egypt, and the Massacre of the Innocents (fig.
12.11). The first probably originally accompanied the prayer to the Holy Face,
while the other three were almost certainly intended for a cycle of the Hours of
the Virgin. Therefore it seems likely that the Copenhagen manuscript was
indeed originally a psalter-hours and that it lost its Hours of the Virgin and its
Prayer to the Holy Face along with the accompanying miniatures. The psalter-
hours was probably intended for the young man depicted in prayer to his
guardian angel found in the suffrages (fol. 46). The unusual iconography
throughout the book, and especially in the catechismal texts intended to teach
the basic precepts of the faith, would no doubt have been forcefully impressed
on the young man's mind.

Figure 12.11
Master of the David Scenes in the
Grimani Breviary. *The Massacre of
the Innocents*. Altenburg, Germany,
Staatliches Lindenau-Museum,
inv. no. 186.

In this paper I have frequently invoked words such as *rare*, *obscure*,
and *unusual* in an attempt to characterize the work of the Master of the David
Scenes.[50] The fact that these uncommon scenes, from both the Bible and the
Golden Legend, repeatedly appear in the artist's mature works indicates that he
was attracted by the challenge inherent in developing unusual iconography. His
work was likely known for this quality and may have even been sought out for
it. The Grimani Breviary is a case in point. The series the artist contributed is
especially notable when compared with other pictorial cycles in the Grimani
Breviary, which, with few exceptions, are relatively conventional in their
iconography. In addition, whereas works by the other contributing artists
appear throughout the manuscript, the miniatures by the Master of the David
Scenes all occur within the space of the psalter. It seems likely, then, that the
artist known for his capabilities in depicting Old Testament subject matter
was asked to contribute a series to illustrate the psalms of King David.
Unfortunately, since almost nothing is known about the patrons of any of the
manuscripts under discussion, it is difficult to determine who decided the
specific narrative program of the illuminations. One wonders nevertheless how
the novel content of the illuminations was intended to contribute to the patrons'
understanding of and interaction with the text, and how it influenced their
decision to acquire a manuscript by this artist. It may be that the unusual
iconography that gives the manuscripts of the Master of the David Scenes much
of their allure also contributed to their popularity and became, in fact, the
artist's trademark.

Notes

I would like to thank Thomas Kren, Peter Kidd, Scot McKendrick, Jim Marrow, Roger Wieck, and Kate Challis for their thoughtful discussions with me about the iconography of the Master of the David Scenes.

1. See Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), nos. 108, 109, 124, 126.

2. See Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 138.

3. Bodo Brinkmann, *Offizium der Madonna: Vat. Lat. 10293* (Zurich: Belser, 1987).

4. For bibliography on the borders developed by the Master of the David Scenes and his workshop, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 383 n. 8.

5. James H. Marrow, "'In desen speigell': A New Form of 'Memento Mori' in Fifteenth-century Netherlandish Art," in *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1983), 156–58, 161.

6. For a list of later works in which the pattern appears, see note 38 below.

7. Sibiu, Romania, Museu Brukenthal, Ms. 761. Anne Margreet As-Vijvers has discovered that the Huth Hours (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 38126) served as the model for miniatures and borders in the Brukenthal manuscript, and further concluded that the latter predates the Hours of Joanna of Castile ["Recycling the *Huth Hours*: The Master of the David Scenes and the Making of the *Brukenthal Breviary*, or: The Ghent Associates and the Contribution of Simon Marmion to Ghent-Bruges Manuscript Painting," in Brigitte Dekeyzer and Jan Van der Stock, eds., *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Texts and Images* (Louvain: Peeters, 2005), 379–90]. Based on the Brukenthal manuscript's greater narrative ambition, level of artistic achievement, and complexity of production, I would place it after the Hours of Joanna of Castile.

8. For the contents of the Brukenthal Hours, see As-Vijvers, "Randversiering in Gents-Bruges Manuscripten: De Meester van de Davidscènes en andere Verluchters als Specialisten in Margedecoratie" [Ph.D. diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2002], 505–13.

9. Avril Henry found no precedent or patristic writing for the slaughter of the priests of Nob as a type for the massacre before the *Biblia pauperum* (Avril Henry, ed., *Biblia pauperum: A Facsimile and Edition* [Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell

University Press, 1987], 62, 134). Because the composition by the Master of the David Scenes bears no resemblance to those in the *Biblia pauperum*, it is difficult to determine whether the artist took the idea from the printed book or another unknown source.

10. Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson discuss the popularity of the *Speculum* in manuscript form and its relationship to the *Biblia pauperum*, in *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum humanae salvationis, 1324–1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 101–2. For a discussion of the *Speculum* in Flemish hours and breviaries of the period, see Kate Challis, "'Things of Inestimable Value': Deluxe Manuscript Production and the Marketing of Devotion in Late Southern Netherlandish Illumination" (Ph.D. diss., University of Melbourne, 2002), 167–82.

11. Although the scene is occasionally depicted in Romanesque Bibles and Gothic psalters (for psalm 51), I have yet to find the scene represented as part of a typological pairing in any other book of hours.

12. Other pairings in the series are more common, such as Sext, which features the visit of the Queen of Sheba and the Adoration of the Magi, and None, depicting the Presentation of Samuel and the Presentation of Christ.

13. Many of the most famous Flemish Hours of the Virgin cycles that contain typological scenes are inconsistent in their mixing of typological and strictly New Testament narratives (see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, nos. 33, 93, 109, 124, 138).

14. The Oxford book of hours also opens the Prayer to the Holy Face with border scenes featuring rarely depicted stories from the *Golden Legend* related to the subject of the main miniature, which depicts the Salvator Mundi (see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 441).

15. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 1, 18–20.

16. All the remaining full-page miniatures in this manuscript are painted on tipped-in leaves, blank on the back. Stubs are still visible at most of the openings for the Hours of the Virgin. This manuscript is also without a calendar, suggesting that it was taken at the same time as the full-page miniatures.

17. The Hours of the Virgin in the Oxford manuscript, like that in the Brukenthal Hours, was most likely composed of consistent typological pairings, and although some of the same Old Testament scenes appear in both

manuscripts, there are differences in subject matter as well as composition.

18. Voragine, *Golden Legend*, vol. 1, 330.

19. The Visitation in the Brukenthal Hours is also paired with a scene related to the ark (pp. 245–46 [the manuscript is paginated]). In a manuscript of the *Speculum humanae* in Chantilly by a follower of the Master of James IV (Musée Condé, Ms. 139, fol. 37v), the bringing of the ark into Jerusalem (as recounted in 1 Chronicles 15 and the portion of 2 Samuel 6 following the ark's presence in Obedodom's house) serves as a type for the Coronation of the Virgin, and its composition is not related to the Bodleian version.

20. For the extensive bibliography on the manuscript, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 33.

21. See Challis, "'Things of Inestimable Value,'" 114–16.

22. As in most breviaries of the period, the psalms are arranged according to the weekly ferial secular psalter (see Challis, "'Things of Inestimable Value,'" 38). Confusingly in the Grimani Breviary, the rubrics indicate that the psalms proceed numerically.

23. The first psalm recited at matins on Wednesday (psalm 52) has no corresponding full-page miniature. Folio 330 has a full border and begins with psalm 52, while folio 329 has the last text associated with Tuesday matins, and folio 329v is blank (see Challis, "'Things of Inestimable Value,'" 489–500). It seems probable that there is a missing full-page miniature by the artist that would have prefaced psalm 52.

24. Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. 45-65-2. I am indebted to Jim Marrow for bringing both the *tituli* based on Nicholas of Lyra's commentary and the manuscript to my attention. See James H. Marrow, "The Pembroke Psalter-Hours," in *"Als ich can": Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock, and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 861–99. There are also a number of illustrations related to Nicholas's commentary in the complex cycle devoted to the psalter in the Breviary of Isabella of Castile (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18851, fols. 111v–112, 124, 139, 155v). The actual compositions in the Isabella Breviary, however, are unrelated to those in either the Pembroke Psalter-Hours or the Grimani Breviary. For a discussion of the Nicholas commentary in relation to the Isabella Breviary, see James McKinnon, "The Fifteen Temple Steps and the Gradual Psalms," *Imago musicae* 1 (1984): 29–49.

25. Marrow, "Pembroke Psalter-Hours," 881–82. The text has never been edited, but a facsimile exists: Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla super totam bibliam* (Strasburg, 1492; facsimile, Frankfurt, 1971), 4 vols. The psalter commentary, which connects the psalms to both Old Testament and New Testament events, can be found in volume 3.

26. Marrow, "Pembroke Psalter-Hours," 867.

27. The images for psalm 26 in both manuscripts depict the anointing and crowning of David. Scenes from Christ's Passion illustrate psalm 68 in both, and the images for psalm 80 depict singing within a church and the harvesting of grapes without.

28. While it is possible that the artist had access to the commentary itself, there is no detailed information contained in the commentary that would make it likely that two artists working independently would design such similar compositions.

29. Marrow, "Pembroke Psalter-Hours," 897.

30. The fact that some images in the psalter of the Isabella Breviary (see note 24 above) also rely on the Nicholas commentary but are unrelated compositionally implies that perhaps the Nicholas commentary itself was also popular during the period.

31. The facsimile commentary of 1971 describes it as "a rather confused and crowded scene representing incidents from the second book of Samuel" (Gian Lorenzo Mellini, in *The Grimani Breviary* [London: Thames and Hudson, (1972)], pl. 49).

32. Marrow, "Pembroke Psalter-Hours," 867.

33. Since the illumination for psalm 38 combines the imagery for psalms 38 and 52 associated with the Nicholas of Lyra commentary, psalm 52 in the Grimani Breviary was probably illustrated with a scene unconnected to the commentary, as is the case with psalm 1 (see below). It is not clear why the artist combined the imagery from the two psalms. Perhaps confusion arose from the fact that there were no *tituli* to help guide the artist.

34. Voragine, *Golden Legend*, vol. 1, 276.

35. Nicholas of Lyra associated psalm 38 with the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem (Nicholas of Lyra, vol. 3, fol. T iii^v), while the details given in the *Golden Legend* relate to the later siege by Vespasian and Titus. The Babylonian siege, however, was also followed by famine (4 Kings 25.3). It is unknown whether the artist made the connection between the two sieges because they were both followed by famine or whether the artist was simply told to represent a siege of Jerusalem.

36. Marrow, "Pembroke Psalter-Hours," 881. This scene also occurs in the Isabella Breviary (fols. 111v–112).

37. Kate Challis has identified this pattern in seven contemporary Flemish manuscripts ("'Things of Inestimable Value,'" 116–17).

38. The Temptation of Adam and Eve appears in the Oxford hours (fol. 36), the Brukenthal Hours (p. 26), and the Hours of Joanna of Castile (fol. 14v).

39. Grimani Breviary, fol. 287.

40. The Pembroke Psalter-Hours also mixes traditional iconography with that inspired by Nicholas of Lyra (see Marrow, "Pembroke Psalter-Hours," 867–79). Even in the most luxurious manuscripts of the day, it was not unusual to see a mix of approaches in a given section of the manuscript (see note 13 above).

41. The Joanna Hours also contains an entire series of catechismal texts similar to those in the Copenhagen manuscript, including the seven deadly sins, but the Copenhagen series is illustrated throughout, while the Joanna Hours contains only an illumination for the Ten Commandments.

42. I thank Scot McKendrick for bringing to my attention tapestry sets of the vices. All of the series of tapestries and prints of which I am aware consist of allegorical figures representing the sins, often in conflict with the virtues. See Thomas Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 410–16, and *Tapisseries bruxelloises de la pré-Renaissance*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, 1976), 100–103. For the popularity of the seven deadly sins in the later Middle Ages, see William Voelke, "Morgan Manuscript M.1001: The Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Evil Ones," in *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: Papers Presented in Honor of Edith Porada*, ed. Ann E. Farkas, Prudence O. Harper, and Evelyn B. Harrison (Mainz on Rhine: P. von Zabern, 1987): 101–14.

43. I thank Thomas Kren for bringing to my attention a series of the deadly sins in a French book of hours, perhaps by Robinet Testard (New York, Morgan Library, Ms. 1001). Although the Testard miniatures are comparable to the Copenhagen images in that the figures act out scenes illustrating the sins, it seems the two series are related only distantly, if at all. See Voelke, "Morgan Manuscript M.1001," pls. xxxvii–xl.

44. A similar scene was represented by the Master of the Joseph Sequence in a design for a series of stained-glass roundels devoted to the life of Joseph, including the representation of Joseph in fashionable garb. The roundels are related to a series originally designed by Hugo van der Goes, some of which later

appeared in manuscript illumination (see Timothy Husband, *The Luminous Image: Painted Glass Roundels in the Lowlands, 1480–1569*, exh. cat. [New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995], 56–63). Although there was an increasing interest in rarely seen Old Testament stories in stained glass of the time, I have yet to find any direct correspondences between other media and the works of the Master of the David Scenes.

45. The stoning of Naboth makes an appearance in a *Biblia pauperum* produced in Germany around 1463 as a type for Christ Brought before Pilate. See Albert Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*, vol. 11 (Leipzig: Deutsches Museum für Buch und Schrift, 1922), no. 286. I know of no other *Biblia pauperum* in which it is included.

46. The Copenhagen prayer book contains other catechismal texts in addition to the seven deadly sins, and many of them are illustrated with equally novel images. The codicology of the manuscript also indicates that fifteen full-page illuminations would have divided the psalter portion of the book into sections of ten psalms each. Stubs of the tipped-in miniatures can be seen opposite full-page borders, and in some cases, cuts can be seen on nearby folios where the knife was applied.

47. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 440 n. 1.

48. Mark Evans and Bodo Brinkmann, *The Sforza Hours, Add. Ms. 34294 of the British Library* (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1995), 583.

49. The justification measurements in the Copenhagen manuscript are 11.9 × 7.4 cm. The Altenburg images are unfortunately glued down, so there is no way to measure the justification on their rectos, but the width of the painted area is 7.4 cm, and the measurement from the bottom of the image to the bottom of the arch is 11.6 cm. (There are no full-page images remaining in the Copenhagen manuscript to compare with the measurements of the Altenburg leaves.)

50. Even the Master of James IV of Scotland, whom we think of as an artist interested in narrative, usually limited himself to standard subjects and typology. On the relationship between the former and the Master of the David Scenes, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 383. The Soane Hours (London, Sir John Soane's Museum, Ms. 4) also makes great use of unusual iconography (both Old and New Testament), and it too was painted by a probable pupil of the Master of James IV (Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 444–46).

CHAPTER 13

Scholarship on Flemish Manuscript Illumination of the Renaissance: Remarks on Past, Present, and Future

James H. Marrow

IN THE CATALOGUE THAT ACCOMPANIES THE EXHIBITION *Illuminating the Renaissance*, Scot McKendrick introduces his informative essay "Illustrated Manuscripts of Secular Vernacular Texts, 1467–1500" by describing a well-documented manuscript that provides evidence of the complex processes involved in making an imposing copy of a major secular text.[1] The effort was time-consuming and expensive, involving the collaboration of a host of highly skilled craftsmen, each a master of his art and all working to the high standards expected by members of the discerning elite of the luxury book market. McKendrick's example strikes me as an apt analogy for *Illuminating the Renaissance*, which was years in the making, involved considerable personal and institutional investment, and was carried out by an extraordinary team of leading scholars, each working to the highest standards of contemporary scholarship.

The exhibition and its catalogue are milestones in the study of Flemish manuscript illumination, at once summarizing past scholarship in this field, refining our knowledge in innumerable areas, and expanding it considerably. The size and scope of the exhibition surpass all previous efforts with respect to the quantity and quality of the works brought together at its two venues, of which a considerable number were previously unknown or rarely seen by the public. This can be credited to the wide knowledge of the exhibition's two organizers, Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, and the high respect in which they are held by the many institutions and private owners who permitted their treasures to be studied and exhibited.

The catalogue for *Illuminating the Renaissance* also breaks new ground in at least two other ways. First, it is enriched by a series of essays and appendixes by the two organizers and a group of specialists that explore relevant historical and thematically defined topics. Second, the catalogue entries are exceptional in their scope and detail, brimming over with new information and hypotheses. The catalogue is a rarity in the genre, likely to serve as a touchstone for research for a generation or more as well as to expand the study of late medieval Flemish illumination in many directions.[2]

Notwithstanding all the welcome accomplishments of *Illuminating the Renaissance*, I want to focus these comments on broader questions of scholarship in the field and, in particular, on desiderata for future research. To begin, I am concerned by the persistence of approaches to the material centered, above all, on such basic and traditional matters as the discernment of different hands in illuminated manuscripts (whether of scribes, decorators, or the painters of

miniatures); the compilation of oeuvres; the patterns of collaboration among craftsmen; dating, chronology, and localization; and the tracing of compositional, iconographic, and stylistic links through and across the tradition. While no one should discount the importance of such matters, which provide foundations for all further research, they seem to me still rooted in the concerns of the founding generations of art history and to fall far short of our ultimate goals. I would argue that the hold these older approaches maintain on scholarship in the field has served as an impediment to the development of fresh and more expansive engagements with illuminated manuscripts.

Part of the problem lies in the sheer number and complexity of these demanding objects, for formidable energies are required merely to track down and describe the extant works and to analyze them along familiar guidelines. In her finely crafted comments on the different installations of *Illuminating the Renaissance* in Los Angeles and London, Catherine Reynolds alluded to these demands when she observed that manuscript scholars are distinguished from other practitioners of art history primarily through their compulsion to "count and measure."[3] The inclination of most practitioners of manuscript studies to take refuge in the relative certainties of positivistic, or quasipositivistic, research is evident from a number of recent tendencies. These include the popularity of codicological research, which is concerned with the physical makeup of medieval manuscripts; the continuing prominence of connoisseurship; renewed attention to the conditions of manuscript production, such as guild structures; and the growing interest in technical analyses, for example, those concerned with pigment studies, binding structures, and underdrawings. But are such approaches capable of doing justice to the objects of our study? Or do they rather, as I believe, deal only with basic issues and divert attention from many different types of historical and interpretive analysis, including those likely to contribute to better understanding of the essential character of illuminated manuscripts and the accomplishments of their leading creators?

It is high time, as we enter the twenty-first century, to move beyond preliminary levels of engagement with illuminated manuscripts — those based on material description, production techniques, the identification of hands, and the compilation of lists of presumed derivations and influences — to more sophisticated considerations of the complex design strategies that underlie many of their most audacious and influential developments. How else to deal adequately with late medieval Flemish manuscripts, some of the most creative and aesthetically exuberant books ever made, and to appreciate the novel ways these works elicit interest, structure understanding, and communicate meaning?

There are no simple or all-encompassing means of addressing such topics, nor is there a single theoretical key, and students of diverse backgrounds will interrogate the material differently. In the hope of stimulating further thought and discussion in this regard, I want to consider a few problems that seem to me either inadequately conceptualized and insufficiently studied or simply overlooked in scholarship on Flemish manuscript illumination of the Renaissance.

The first concerns important differences among certain types of manuscripts produced in the Low Countries during the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries — differences that were highlighted by the two installations of *Illuminating the Renaissance* in Los Angeles and London. I am thinking

about unexplained differences in the conceptions of some kinds of devotional books, such as books of hours (and occasionally liturgical books, such as breviaries), and many genres of historical or didactic works, such as chronicles, other histories, romances, and some allegorical works. While the devotional codices were most prominent in the Getty showing of the exhibition, the secular manuscripts were far better represented at the London venue. Why is it that works of the first type seem to have been the primary locus for the cultivation of virtuoso and sometimes extravagant pictorial effects (and other design innovations), while works of the second type are apparently much more conservative and restrained in their design? Patrons' tastes and budgetary constraints do not account for the differences, since single patrons sometimes commissioned books of both genres.

Without pretending to exhaust the possibilities, I would like to suggest some potential explanations for these differences in design. I stress that these are not mutually exclusive and that each would necessitate different types of research to be evaluated on its own terms or to be weighed for its relative significance. Among these I mention:

(1) The persistence of different modes for certain kinds of literature, such as a devotional mode, a liturgical mode, and secular modes for chronicles, histories, or romances. Distinguishing and defining these is further complicated by conventions, both artistic and literary, that attend Latin and vernacular literature.

(2) The books' audiences and the situations in which books belonging to these different genres were used. Most devotional books, for example, were read privately and handheld, whereas some large historical works were used in more public contexts, such as gatherings of members of the court, or were read aloud to one or more listeners.

(3) The specialization of different craftsmen in each of these branches of book production. Some illuminators, such as Simon Bening and the Master of Charles V, apparently worked virtually exclusively on devotional books, while others specialized in historical and didactic works. These kinds of divisions are mirrored frequently in modern scholarship, with some students specializing primarily in works of religious art and others in secular manuscripts. (Kren and McKendrick, co-organizers of *Illuminating the Renaissance*, are obvious examples of this kind of specialization in the study of different genres of manuscript books.)

(4) Different approaches to the marketing of various types of books. Were devotional works commissioned or sold differently than works of secular subject matter?

(5) The notion that the painters of familiar genres of texts, such as books of hours, may have felt a need to cultivate virtuoso pictorial effects to distinguish their products from earlier works of the same type (not to mention from printed books of hours, which came to be produced in large numbers during precisely the same period treated in *Illuminating the Renaissance*). In the case of many historical and didactic works, one assumes, the material was sufficiently unfamiliar that painters aimed for narrative and pictorial clarity rather than visual pyrotechnics.

(6) Essential differences in the character and function of religious and secular books. Religious works carry a different burden of meaning than works

Figure 13.1
Anonymous master. *The Crucifixion*, in a book of hours. San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library, Ms. HM 1174, fol. 14v.

of secular content, and accordingly, they elicited different design strategies. Whereas most genres of historical works and some didactic ones are rooted in worldly realities and follow linear patterns of narrative, works of sacred subject matter, such as books of hours and liturgical books, were intended to guide viewers beyond the here-and-now, to evoke multiple and alternative levels of truth, and to effect profound transformations of understanding. As a consequence, many of the novel juxtapositions of subject matter and scale, of viewpoint, and of different kinds of illusionism that we encounter in manuscripts of religious subject matter produced in Flanders during the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries may have been intended to defy customary expectations, contravene traditional pictorial conventions, and pose contradictions—all in the interest of guiding the users of these books to the leaps of thought and imagination deemed necessary to achieve a deepened appreciation of the character of the sacred and the mysteries of the faith.[4]

The different design characteristics of manuscripts with secular and religious content suggest important differences in the ways we ought to study them.[5] In the case of manuscripts of secular subject matter containing expository cycles of illustrations, we ought to consider how their picture cycles are geared to the linear and narrative structure of their texts.[6] While recent

attention has been directed to certain conventions of pictorial narrative in illuminated manuscripts, these efforts have been focused primarily on works of art from earlier periods.[7] Most such studies are centered either on standardized techniques through which painters establish and maintain narrative impulses in their picture cycles or on the ways they define and articulate particular kinds of meaning, which is to say, that they are interpreted primarily in relation to questions of iconography. What seems to me to be lacking from many studies are wider and more complex considerations of the shape and dynamics of expository cycles of illustration. We might better ask: How do the picture cycles complement and inflect the texts they accompany? How do they shape their content and reception, whether by focusing attention in particular ways, helping to pace the exposition, augmenting and releasing dramatic tension, or signaling other important moments or transformations in the story line? And where, how, and why do some picture cycles fashion discourses that differ in telling ways from those expounded in the texts they illustrate?[8] Although I know of many instances in which scholars have studied the shape and dynamics of picture cycles in works of religious illumination,[9] I don't recall a single example of a comparable analysis of a picture cycle in any secular manuscript from the late period of Flemish illumination.

Figure 13.2
Jean Bellegambe. *Fons pietatis* (central panel of a triptych), oil on panel, 81 × 58 cm (31⅞ × 22⅞ in.). Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Picture cycles accompanying religious texts of pronounced narrative character—such as lives of saints, Christ, and Mary, and some Bible histories—ought sometimes to be analyzed in similar fashion, although in late Flemish illumination, as I observed previously, many cycles of religious content are distinctly nonlinear in purpose and structure. As a result, some painters devised techniques of grafting antinarrative elements onto traditional subjects or cycles of illumination so as to guide viewers beyond familiar encounters with the historical dimensions of depicted events to fresh encounters with their deeper meanings. An example of this kind of impulse in late Flemish illumination can be found in a book of hours in the Huntington Library in which an illustration of the Crucifixion is situated within a marginal representation of a fountain (fig. 13.1).[10] The juxtaposition evokes the metaphorical association, commonplace at this time, that likened the crucified Christ to the Fountain of Life or Pity and that generated its own tradition of pictorial treatments.[11] One work from this tradition is a panel painting of the period by Jean Bellegambe that depicts Christ on the Cross emerging from an elaborate fountain in which souls desirous of salvation bathe themselves (fig. 13.2).[12] While Bellegambe's painting is purely allegorical in its subject matter, the miniature in the Huntington Hours seems to have it both ways, representing both the historical

Crucifixion on Calvary, complete with witnesses, *and* alluding to the allegorical meaning of the event.

The Passion cycle of the Boussu Hours in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris displays another means by which conventional narrative illustration might be interrupted and transformed by the interposition of depictions of a different pictorial order.[13] In two openings of the Hours of the Cross, which can serve to illustrate the design principle at work throughout this cycle, we find a full-page miniature of Christ praying in the Garden of Gethsemane facing a page whose border contains representations of drops of sweat and blood (fig. 13.3), and a large miniature of the Carrying of the Cross facing a border of crying eyes (fig. 13.4). These unusual marginal depictions are derived from the Gospel of Saint Luke, in which the account of Christ's prayer in the garden informs us, "And being in an agony, he prayed the longer, And his sweat became as drops of blood trickling down upon the ground" (Luke 22.43–44), and that of the Carrying of the Cross, in which Christ addresses the women who follow him, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not over me but weep for yourselves, and for your children" (Luke 23.28). Through their different scale, the different pictorial modes employed for their representation, and not least their strangeness, such marginal depictions disrupt the rhythm and sunder the narrative continuity of a traditional cycle of miniatures. They do so in order to capture our attention and draw us more fully into the subjects and meanings of the full-page illustrations with which they are paired.

As these two examples demonstrate, the makers of some late Flemish manuscripts showed considerable ingenuity in manipulating pictorial forms

Figure 13.3
Master of Antoine Rolin. *Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane* and facing text page, in the Boussu Hours. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 1185, fols. 186v–187.

and modes in order to invest depictions of sacred subjects with expanded frames of reference and to enhance the capacities of the book's "decoration" to engage viewers in imaginative explorations of subject matter and meaning. What especially distinguishes Flemish illumination of this period from works of earlier date and other regions is the range of pictorial stratagems their makers devised to these ends and their willingness to deploy them in seemingly limitless permutations and combinations, whether through cycles of illustration, across different zones of individual pages (miniatures, initials, margins), or within individual ones.

Given the variety and complexity of the pictorial forms and conceits found in works of late Flemish manuscript illumination, we need to develop more diverse and flexible conceptual frameworks and more precise ways to discuss works in this medium. Many scholars, for example, employ such terms as *pictorial realism*, *illusionism*, and *trompe l'oeil* virtually interchangeably in their discussions of works of Flemish illumination, without adequately distinguishing among them or recognizing that they are sometimes used side by side, variously complementing one another or, on the contrary, establishing alternative modes of pictorial expression.[14] Above all, we must realize that what we call pictorial styles, modes, or conceits are means, not ends. Thus, "pictorial realism" can be used to evoke our experience of the inhabited world, "illusionism" to alter our consciousness of the nature of works of art and of our relationships to them, and "trompe l'oeil" overtly to contradict our logic and experience, which, in turn, can provoke different orders of consciousness about the meanings of artworks and our attitudes toward them.

Figure 13.4
Master of Antoine Rolin. *Carrying of the Cross* and facing text page, in the Boussu Hours. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 1185, fols. 195v–196.

Until we are prepared to undertake closer studies of individual works of late Flemish illumination, to recognize and discriminate among the wide range of pictorial devices deployed by their makers, and to make the difficult effort to understand how all these various strategies were used to establish and communicate particular kinds of meaning, we shall not do justice to the essential character and achievements of these works, nor will we understand either their messages or the novel ways in which their makers delineated them. The tasks are formidable, if only because of the willingness of leading Flemish illuminators of the period continually to challenge their audiences. In contrast to the positivistic bent of research in our field that I commented on earlier, this effort will require us to look and think about works more expansively than has been customary and to acknowledge the full range of wit, playfulness, and invention demonstrated, sometimes page by page, by their makers. A few other examples will suggest something of the breadth of visual imagination manifested in major works of late Flemish illumination and the possible insights to be gained from considering the deeper purposes that underlay some of its virtuoso pictorial conceits.

I begin with two examples from the Grimani Breviary, one of the best-known and most sumptuous commissions of the period.[15] Many of its leaves display colored or gilt panel borders of the type that is a virtual hallmark of late Flemish illumination, in which painted objects such as flowers, jewels, animals, and insects seem to stand in relief, even casting shadows onto the panels. On one page of the manuscript the illuminator significantly amplified and played with this effect by painting a large, magnificent dragonfly in the lower margin and showing his transparent wings as if extending over the text, decorated panels, and parts of the lower margin (fig. 13.5). He thereby added a third "layer" of depth and illusion to the page, above those of the gilt panel and the still-life objects it supports. This exceptional display of painterly virtuosity honors Saint Luke, the patron saint of painters, shown working at his easel on the same page. While the column miniature at the upper left corner of the leaf refers in a conventional manner to Luke's status as an exemplary painter and functions implicitly as an emblem of its maker's profession, the bravura depiction of the dragonfly at the opposite corner of the same leaf provides another kind of paradigm of the craft of painting, this one informed by tropes of artistic prowess known from antiquity that celebrated artists' abilities to create illusion, including that of objects on or in front of paintings, and thereby fool the eye.[16]

Many other illustrated pages of the Grimani Breviary are enclosed in simulated wooden or gilt frames, complete with what appears to be carved tracery at the corners. The use of such frames allies the miniatures with monumental works of painting (an important source of influence on late Flemish illumination) as well as, in some instances, evoking the ecclesiastical settings and rituals in which many devotional books and paintings were used.[17] The miniature of the building of the Tower of Babel has an outer frame of this type but also incorporates a second framed element (fig. 13.6): here the miniaturist thought to integrate the text within the fictive world of the picture space by portraying it on what I take to be one of the first billboards in history, or at least in art. Is this striking manner of juxtaposing image and text an instance of mere aesthetic play, or might it not also allude wittily to the purport of the event depicted? In the context of an illustration of the event that, after all, ended the

Figure 13.5
Attributed to the Master of the First
Prayer Book of Maximilian (Alexander
Bening?). *Saint Luke* and painted border
with dragonfly, in the Grimani Breviary.
Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana,
Ms. Lat. I, 99, fol. 781v.

Figure 13.6
Master of James IV of Scotland. *The Tower of Babel*, in the Grimani Breviary. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I, 99, fol. 206.

universality of verbal communication, I am inclined to consider that this conspicuous display of texts on fictive structures located within the picture space comments ironically on the meaning of this story.[18]

Flemish illuminators experimented in numerous other ways with the interrelationship of text and images. Another arresting example occurs in the Spinola Hours, in which the miniaturist suggests that the text commencing the Sunday Hours of the Trinity is pinned to the page (fig. 13.7).[19] The portrayal, which is unlike any other in the same book, mixes elements of illusionism and trompe l'oeil in ways that contradict conventional spatial or pictorial logic. (Are we, for example, to believe that the text is pinned to the heavens?) How are we to understand a depiction like this, in which illusionistic devices are flaunted in ways that seem both to insist upon the veracity of what the miniaturist represents and to contradict our logic and experience—in which the paradoxes of illusion necessarily elicit from viewers a new range of thoughts and reactions? Jarred by the apparent claims of the image to represent real three-dimensional

Figure 13.7
Master of James IV of Scotland. *The Holy Trinity Enthroned*, in the Spinola Hours. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX 18, fol. 10v.

forms familiar from our world and by its no less conspicuous fictions, the beholder must reconsider not merely the subject matter of the image but also the implications of its effect—that is, the conflicting processes of thought and intuition that such a pointedly contradictory image unleashes. Is it coincidental that this striking pictorial conceit occurs in a depiction of the Trinity, one of the primary theological concepts of Catholic doctrine that also embodies conundrums of conventional logic and that served as one of the foundational mysteries of the faith? I am inclined to view the treatment of this page as an imaginative wedding of subject matter and visual language, in which a conspicuous disjunction between pictorial and textual imagery of the Trinity evokes something of the unfathomable nature of the Godhead and the inadequacy of conventional frameworks of experience and understanding to comprehend such an enigma.

As these and numerous other examples make clear, many of the painted conceits found in religious manuscripts produced in the Flemish Low Countries during the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries relate in complex, subtle, and sophisticated ways to the subject matter of the leaves on which they are deployed. They offer new points of entry into the meanings of depictions in hand-painted books and provoke new ways of thinking about them. The novel juxtapositions, transpositions, and other pictorial manipulations we encounter in these books do more than simply enrich the store of iconographic formulas available to painters of the day. Rather, they provide new ways of structuring pictorial meaning and of altering its reception. Innovations in pictorial syntax are, I believe, some of the most important achievements of Flemish illuminators of the late Middle Ages. I understand "pictorial syntax" here in its deepest sense, that is, as the ways in which the designers of illuminated books used contrasting forms and modes of pictorial representation to define and inflect the subjects treated in their works as well as to stimulate exploration of those subjects and facilitate understanding. By playing in many of their works with the inherent contradictions and the paradoxical implications of illusionism, the designers of these books were able to draw viewers into a lived experience of the uneasy juncture between the realities professed by artworks and their essential fictions, which is to say that they engaged their viewers' consciousness in order to press them into radically new relationships with pictorial imagery.[20]

It is to these and other underexplored topics that I hope future students of the material will turn with passion and energy to inaugurate a new stage in the study of late Flemish illumination. Happily, the achievements of *Illuminating the Renaissance* are sufficiently far-reaching as to prepare the way for new kinds and levels of sympathetic investigations of the material. How better to honor the extraordinary efforts and accomplishments of the organizers and authors of that exhibition and catalogue?

Notes

This paper is based on the brief commentary I offered at the conclusion of the one-day symposium on *Illuminating the Renaissance* held at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, in February 2004. By design, much of that commentary was delivered extemporaneously so that I might shape my comments in reaction to the contributions of other speakers. In preparing this paper for publication, I have refined and elaborated some of the ideas I discussed at the symposium, but I have resisted all temptations to change either its content or character. Then, as now, I have considered only a few, selected problems rather than pretending to offer a comprehensive view of scholarship on late Flemish illumination (a task that would require significantly more preparation and a very different forum). I have tried also to preserve something of the paper's original character as a spoken commentary, restricting both the number of examples I discuss and bibliographical references in footnotes. For additional examples of many of the topics I treat here and fuller bibliography, see James H. Marrow, *Pictorial Invention in Netherlandish Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages: The Play of Illusion and Meaning* (Louvain: Peeters, 2005). Jeffrey Hamburger posed some of the questions I treat in this paper in a discussion session at the earlier symposium accompanying *Illuminating the Renaissance*, held in September 2003 at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles; we pursued them in conversation there and have continued to do so in an ongoing dialogue. For an important and wide-ranging consideration of many areas of research and methodological issues that seem to have made little impact, as yet, in the study of Flemish manuscript illumination (such as questions of authorship, text–image studies, the history of reading, and others), see the discussion and bibliographical citations in Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Rewriting History: The Visual and the Vernacular in Late Medieval History Bibles," in *Retextualisierung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, ed. Ursula Peters and Joachim Bumke (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2005), 260–307. Along with Jeffrey Hamburger, Gregory Clark and Elizabeth Moodey kindly read a first draft of this essay and offered very useful suggestions for improvement.

1. Scot McKendrick, "Reviving the Past: Illustrated Manuscripts of Secular Vernacular Texts, 1467–1500," in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat.,

by Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 59.

2. Among the few exhibitions that have achieved comparable influence, I mention the monumental exhibition of French illumination by François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440–1520* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1993), and for Flemish illumination, that organized by L. M. J. Delaissé, *La Miniature flamande: Le Mécénat de Philippe le Bon* (Brussels: Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1959).

3. Catherine Reynolds, "The Exhibition at the J. Paul Getty Museum and at the Royal Academy of Arts" (paper presented at "Illuminating the Renaissance: The Colloquium," Courtauld Institute of Art, London, February 21, 2004).

4. For related considerations, see Michaela Krieger, "Zum Problem des Illusionismus im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Ein Deutungsversuch," *Pantheon* 54 (1996): 14–16.

5. In contrasting works of sacred and secular content for the purposes of this discussion, I do not mean to suggest that the genres are neatly or definitively distinguished from each other. There are also important areas of overlap between the two and instances of creative cross-fertilization between the traditions, all of which deserves to be studied in its own right. For a recent study of the intersection of scientific and biblical illustration, for example, see Bianca Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003).

6. There is a vast literature on the structure of different kinds of secular texts, many of which do not follow simple linear schemas of the type I refer to here, and on the complex ways ostensibly narrative texts can profitably be studied. For a representative sample of studies in these important areas, see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative," *History and Theory* 22 (1983): 43–53; Spiegel, "Theory into Practice: Reading Medieval Chronicles," in *The Medieval Chronicle: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 1–12; and Sylvia Huot, *The "Romance of the Rose" and Its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

7. See, for example, Kumiko Maekawa, *Narrative and Experience: Innovations in Thirteenth-Century Picture Books* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), or the contribu-

tions by C. Griffith Mann and Kelly M. Holbert to "The Morgan Picture Bible and the Art of Narrative," in *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Bible*, exh. cat., ed. William Noel and Daniel Weiss (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2002), 39–67, both with additional bibliography. For a brief discussion that focuses on general considerations rather than particular cycles of illustration, see Eberhard König, "Buchmalerei—eine narrative Kunst," in *Mittelalterliche Literatur und Kunst im Spannungsfeld von Hof und Kloster: Ergebnisse der Berliner Tagung, 9.–11. Oktober 1997*, ed. Nigel F. Palmer and Hans-Jochen Schiewer (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999), 141–48.

8. I employ this abbreviated formulation here to stand, *pars pro toto*, for the full range of frequently complicated relationships between cycles of images and the texts they illustrate. To cite only two studies that focus on aspects of these interpretive problems in French and German traditions, see Stephen G. Nichols, "Ekphrasis, Iconoclasm, and Desire," in *Rethinking the "Romance of the Rose": Text, Image, Reception*, ed. Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 133–66, and Horst Wenzel and Christina Lechtermann, eds., *Beweglichkeit der Bilder: Text und Imagination in den illustrierten Handschriften des "Welschen Gastes" von Thomasin von Zerclaere* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2002).

9. See, for example, the analyses of some of the picture cycles by the Limbourg brothers in the *Belles Heures* of Jean de Berry: Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, 2 vols. (New York: G. Braziller, 1974), 112–34.

10. San Marino, The Huntington Library, HM 1174, for which see C. W. Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, 2 vols. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1989), 526–28, fig. 143.

11. For the traditions of the *Fons pietatis* and the *Fons vitae*, see Maj-Brit Wadell, *Fons pietatis: Eine ikonographische Studie* (Göteborg: Elanders, 1969), and Ewald M. Vetter, *Die Kupferstiche zur Psalmodia Eucaristica des Melchor Prieto von 1622* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1972), 293–340.

12. Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. P 832; see Wadell, *Fons pietatis*, 49–51, 119, no. 76, pl. 41, and color reproduction in James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle*

Ages and Early Renaissance (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1979), 84, pl. v.

13. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 1185, for which see Henry Martin, "Les 'Heures de Boussu' et leurs bordures symboliques," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 52 (1910): 115–38; F. O. Büttner, "Ikonographisches Eigengut der Randzier in spätmittelalterlichen Handschriften: Inhalte und Programme," *Scriptorium* 39 (1985): 218–26, pl. 23; and Büttner, "Sehen–versehen–erleben: Besondere Redaktionen narrativer Ikonographie im Stundengebetbuch," in *Images of Cult and Devotion: Function and Reception of Christian Images in Medieval and Post-Medieval Europe*, ed. Søren Kaspersen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2004), 104–12, 127–28, figs. 10–21.

14. For the problem, see Krieger, "Zum Problem des Illusionismus."

15. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I, 99, for which see Mario Salmi and Gian Lorenzo Mellini, *The Grimani Breviary, Reproduced from the Illuminated Manuscript Belonging to the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972), and Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 420–24, no. 126.

16. Much of this lore was associated by tradition with such classical artists as Zeuxis, Apelles, and Pheideas and was transmitted by such writers as Pliny, Quintillian, and Plutarch. For a discussion of this topic focused on early Netherlandish painting, see Rudolf Preimesberger, "Zu Jan van Eyck's Diptychon der Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 54 (1991): 459–89. Elizabeth Moodey reminds me that this striking example of trompe l'oeil on the page with a portrayal of Saint Luke is the only instance of this kind of illusionism found in the Grimani Breviary. See also a small book of hours illustrated by Simon Bening and associates in Frankfurt, in which a dragonfly is similarly portrayed with transparent wings extending over text, decorated panel borders, and part of the outer margin (Frankfurt, Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Ms. LM 56, fol. 17). Significantly, this occurs once again on a page with a miniature of Saint Luke, and it is again the only instance of this kind of bravura trompe l'oeil involving text, decorated border, and margin in the manuscript in which it appears; see color reproduction in the catalogue of the exhibition at the Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt am Main: Jochen Sander, *Die Entdeckung der Kunst: Niederländische Kunst des 15. und 16.*

Jahrhunderts in Frankfurt (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1995), 172, fig. 164, 198, no. 25.

17. See the discussion of related notions by Robert G. Calkins, "Sacred Image and Illusion in Late Flemish Manuscripts," in *Essays in Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association* 6 (1989): 1–18, esp. 9–14.

18. For another example of play between text and image that draws on implicit contrasts between the two, see the miniature of the Ascension of Christ added around 1485 by Jean Colombe of Bourges to the *Très Riches Heures* of Jean de Berry (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 65 [1284], fol. 184): Jean Longnon, Raymond Cazelles, and Millard Meiss, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969), pl. 128. On this page, Colombe contrasted an image of Christ, hovering in the sky flanked by a choir of observing angels and above earthbound, kneeling apostles and other figures, with a depiction of the text describing the same event. In pointed contrast to Christ's figure, the text is portrayed not as self-supporting or miraculously contravening the laws of this-worldly realities, but as being held up by supporting figures in the manner of a banner. In other of the miniatures Colombe added to the same book (fols. 57, 126, 164, 201; *Les Très Riches Heures*, plates nos. 57, 102, 122, 139), he likewise depicted texts on banners superimposed on miniatures, but without supporting figures. Through the juxtaposition of visual and textual versions of the Ascension on this page, Colombe distinguished between the supernatural character of the event and the different order of reality embodied in its description in mere words. I cite this French parallel to developments in Flemish illumination to stress that the issues I discuss in this paper are not unique to the Low Countries. See also Calkins, "Sacred Image," 5, 9–10, fig. 9, who focuses on other aspects of Colombe's illusionism on this page.

19. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX 18, for which see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 414–17, no. 124, and Calkins, "Sacred Image," 2, 6, 12, 13, 14, fig. 12.

20. For related notions, see the important study of Victor I. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*, trans. Anne-Marie Glasheen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Stoichita touches on works of late Flemish illumination but traces developments of pictorial reflexivity and self-consciousness (what he terms the "self-aware image")

primarily in works of easel painting of the early modern era. His study makes the essential point that developments in Flemish manuscript illumination of the type I have discussed in this paper are not self-contained, but belong to broader currents in the history of art.

One Hundred Years of the Study of Netherlandish Manuscripts

Jonathan J. G. Alexander

WITHIN THE EXTRAORDINARY EXPANSION OF ART-HISTORICAL studies as a whole over the last fifty years, the growth in the specialized area of the study of illuminated manuscripts is especially remarkable. The huge critical and public success of the exhibition *Illuminating the Renaissance* at both its venues, the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles and the Royal Academy of Arts in London, and the scholarly achievement of its magnificent catalogue are clear evidence of this. When the Royal Academy put on its great exhibition *Flemish Art, 1300–1700* in the winter of 1953–54, in the gloomy and impoverished atmosphere of the aftermath of the Second World War, the manuscripts were no more than an appendix to the show.[1] They were chosen and described by Otto Pächt (1902–1988), and his extraordinary knowledge of collections in the British Isles, both public and private, resulted in the showing of many manuscripts publicly for the first time that had previously been unknown to scholarship.[2] But a typical entry, even for a manuscript as important as the Douce Hours of Engelbert of Nassau in the Bodleian Library, ran to only fifteen lines.

At that time Pächt had only one scholarly rival in the study of Netherlandish book illumination. That was Friedrich Winkler, whose *Flämische Buchmalerei* was published in 1925.[3] But Winkler was in the main a scholar of the monumental painting of the Netherlands and Germany. Pächt's knowledge was equally great in that area, but he chose in his long career to place the study of illuminated manuscripts at least on an equal footing. If you look at his bibliography, manuscript illumination, almost from the beginning, absorbed his main efforts.[4] He liked to point out that for the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages the history of painting could *only* be written by studying painting in books. Throughout his career he sought to demonstrate that in the later Middle Ages, too, illuminated manuscripts could help to fill the gaps caused by the non-survival of monumental artworks, enabling the reconstruction of lost masterpieces and contributing essential information to the study of iconography.[5] Erwin Panofsky was a pioneer in considering manuscript illumination as part of the broader field of painting, but in 1953 — when he published his Norton Lectures, delivered originally in 1947–48, as *Early Netherlandish Painting* — he nevertheless saw illumination only as a prelude — the soil, as it were, from which panel painting sprung.[6]

For the first half of the twentieth century the emphasis in manuscript studies had been on the early Middle Ages and on Byzantine manuscript illumination. The major scholars in the field — Kurt Weitzmann, Carl Nordenfalk, Hugo Buchthal, and Wilhelm Koehler — were all engaged in the main in study

of the early period.[7] With the expansion in manuscript studies, that too has changed. In fact, it is true of the study of medieval art and architecture as a whole that the main emphasis is now on later periods. In manuscript studies an especially influential figure in this development was L. M. J. Delaissé (1914–1972), a great scholar and charismatic teacher who brought his enthusiasm to the United States, as a visiting scholar, and to England, where he settled in Oxford as a fellow of All Souls College from 1964 to 1972.[8] Delaissé started as a textual scholar in the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique in Brussels, with his work on the manuscript tradition of Thomas à Kempis, and he contributed a highly salutary new direction to manuscript studies as he insisted on the necessity of studying the book as a whole.[9] His slogan "archéologie du livre" warned art historians of the dangers of treating miniatures as little panel paintings divorced from their physical and textual context. For Delaissé the careful description of the physical makeup of a book not only was the essential prelude to study but also contributed invaluable evidence to help decide problems of date, origin, and attribution. He also, in his famous critique of Millard Meiss's "aristocratic art history," warned of the dangers of neglecting manuscripts judged to be of lesser aesthetic quality.[10] There could be no peaks in the high mountains, as he liked to stress, unless there were lesser foothills to support them.

I think one could also use the slogan "archéologie du livre" in another sense. Manuscripts are hard to find and hard to access. They have to be, as it were, excavated from the shelves and sometimes, to be frank, wrested from the grasp of unwilling custodians. This task of physically finding the materials of our study has also made enormous progress in the last fifty years. The catalogue of the Bodleian collections, which Otto Pächt wrote in Oxford during the Second World War and for the publication of which I had the great good fortune to be employed, was one landmark in that progress. In the last fifty years the constantly increasing number of exhibitions has played a major part in this excavation of the unknown, as was clear in *Illuminating the Renaissance*. That is as important a role, in my view, as providing the public with a chance to see inaccessible masterpieces and scholars with the chance to compare originals at close quarters. Now the next generation of scholars can look forward to a brave new world of "virtual reality" as illuminated manuscripts spread out over the World Wide Web, thus offering access to all. Whether there may be dangers as well as benefits from this our successors will have to work out. One enormous plus is the possibility of color reproduction on a scale so far undreamt of, though that too, if reproductions are not checked against the originals, can be dangerously misleading.[11]

Pächt and the scholars on whose work he built and whom he admired, notably Hermann Julius Hermann in Vienna and Georges Hulin de Loo in Belgium, had the precious gift of "a good eye." It may be that that is a natural gift, just as some are better at sport than others. But without the training of the eye and without the discipline of historical study, the "good eye," invaluable as it may be, is limited in its reach. Delaissé was right, in other words, to insist that art historians of the medieval book must also be masters, or at least rely on the mastery of others, in a whole range of specialties, both the wider disciplines, such as medieval history and textual philology, and the more specialized ones, such as paleography, heraldry, and diplomatic and liturgical studies.

Illuminating the Renaissance has shown the necessity of that training of the eye. I think we might take up for our own special use the concept of "close looking." It would be analogous to the phrase "close reading" as used by our colleagues in literary studies. Pächt in fact liked to insist on the art historian's greater ability to define style and to date works of art, pointing to the literary critic's difficulty in establishing the canon of Shakespeare's works. But the two skills are very different, needing different training and expertise. Art historians are sometimes put on the defensive by their failures—for example, in the matter of fakes—or by their uncertainties and disagreements—for example, over the Hubert/Jan van Eyck problem. It may indeed be that certain, even many, art-historical problems are insoluble. Nevertheless we cannot doubt that we know more about Netherlandish book illumination than was known even fifty years ago, whatever problems remain.[12] That has been the result of fifty years of "close looking" by a whole army of researchers. The sense of camaraderie in our discipline, the willingness to share information, has been an essential ingredient in our progress. The catalogue of *Illuminating the Renaissance* was a tribute to as well as a justification of the value of "close looking." It is also admirable in its engagement with the kindred and equally difficult task of putting what the eye sees into words.

I would like to close with a few remarks on future directions, including what I see as some dangers. I want to stress that future work needs something more than a commitment to interdisciplinary studies, however essential that may be. It also needs to forge a theoretical basis for our studies in order to create what in 1933 Hans Sedlmayr called a "strenge Kunstwissenschaft," a rigorous art history, as Christopher Wood translates the phrase.[13] A resistance to theory—an unwillingness, for example, to engage the implications of postmodernism—can result only in our particular field being reduced to a provincial backwater. One danger of the emphasis on codicology, for example, is its positivist tendency to confuse counting and tabulation with analysis and interpretation. A noteworthy recent development has been the input of conservation in our field. Here I am struck by the way a new generation of conservators are fully involved as art historians in controversy and hypothesis and do not take refuge in a false appeal to science as a higher form of knowledge. Technical aids have indeed proved of enormous benefit to the task of "close looking," but the results still need interpretation.

Another danger that needs to be theorized is the pervasive legacy of nineteenth-century nationalism in our discipline. We have to be very careful about essentializing ethnic or racial difference in the past, not just because it is historically unjustified but also because that kind of language has played an important role in modern propaganda. A related danger is the commitment to teleological narratives, with their triumphalist bent, again something with clear connections to Western imperialism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Colleagues in other fields increasingly use the term *early modern*, while we art historians cling to the term *Renaissance*. The dreaded *R* word occurs in the title of the exhibition under discussion, but what is its meaning in the context of Netherlandish painting? It may have been thought useful in appealing to a general public, but that seems a patronizing and impoverished reason for using it in our context of manuscript studies.[14] Another inherited classification ripe for deconstruction is surely the distinction between fine and applied art. Many I

have spoken to found the exhibition at each venue totally overwhelming in the extraordinary level of aesthetic quality. In fact, one of the major achievements of the scholarship in the exhibition's catalogue has been to break down the barriers between the painters and the illuminators and show them as porous in both directions.[15]

Examining the relations of panel painters and illuminators brings together in an exemplary way two of the skills I have been trying to emphasize and shows how necessary they are in combination: the discipline of "close looking," which makes attribution possible, and the historical study of records, which gives us an insight into fifteenth-century social and economic organization. In this context theory also necessarily plays its part. Thanks to the feminist movement, with its sophisticated understanding of cultural politics, we have been forced to recognize our own neglect of women painters, even when the evidence was there right in front of our noses.[16]

My last plea is that the project of attribution and classification should not be allowed to take up all our energies and, in particular, that it should not get in the way of the study of content. It is not just that, as Delaissé stressed, these miniatures, borders, and initials embellish texts. That has clearly necessitated an openness to reception theory and an inquiry into how manuscripts and their illuminations function for the reader, which has been a most valuable aspect of recent manuscript studies. There is also the question of how images encapsulate ideologies and aid in the construction of reality for their makers and users. The task of interpretation is fraught with difficulty when we seek from our vantage point to disentangle the real from the represented, whether more generally — in terms of social or religious practices, for example — or more specifically—for instance, in the detailed examination of clothing and fashion. Even if such difficult and complex inquiries are, however, in the last resort, doomed to failure, I still believe they must be undertaken if our projects are not to become reductive and impoverished.

Notes

1. There were sixty-one manuscripts (nos. 555–626). The catalogue was an unassuming paperback without illustrations and without an index of the manuscripts. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), has 172 catalogue entries. The entry for the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau (no. 18) fills two pages and is accompanied by one black-and-white and four color illustrations.

2. Significant loans came from two private collectors: C. W. Dyson Perrins, with eight manuscripts, and Viscount Lee of Fareham, with one. The only lender outside England and Scotland was the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, which lent six manuscripts.

3. Friedrich Winkler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts: Künstler und Werke von den Brüdern van Eyck bis zu Simon Bening* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1925).

4. Jonathan J. G. Alexander, "Otto Pächt, 1902–1988," *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1991 Lectures and Memoirs) 80 (1993): 453–72. An incomplete bibliography of Pächt's writings can be found in his Festschrift: Artur Rosenauer and Gerold Weber, eds., *Kunsthistorische Forschungen: Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Salzburg: Residenz, 1972).

5. Otto Pächt, "Künstlerische Originalität und ikonographische Erneuerung," in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes* (Berlin: Mann, 1967), 262–71.

6. Panofsky and Pächt were friends and correspondents. I have no doubt that Panofsky saw the 1953–54 exhibition in London.

7. The two issues of the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 6ᵉ pér., 62 (1963), edited by Otto Pächt and Carl Nordenfalk in honor of Jean Porcher, provide in effect a roll call of major scholars working on manuscripts at the time. In addition to those already mentioned, it included Hans Swarzenski, Otto Homburger, Florentine Mütherich, Francis Wormald, and Millard Meiss.

8. Léon Gilissen, "In Memoriam L. M. J. Delaissé (1914–1972)," *Quaerendo* 2, no. 2 (1972): 82–86. Gloria K. Fiero, "L. M. J. Delaissé (1914–1972): An Appreciation," *Quaerendo* 9, no. 1 (1979): 69–78. Delaissé's exhibition *La Miniature flamande: Le Mécénat de Philippe le Bon: Exposition organisée à l'occasion du 400ᵉ anniversaire de la fondation de la Bibliothèque royale de Philipp II le 12 avril 1559* (Brussels, 1959) was another epoch-making show. It contained 274 manu-

scripts borrowed from libraries throughout Europe and the United States. It was crucial for its new geographical mapping of the manuscript production of the southern Netherlands and for its application of the term *officine* to producers of manuscripts of certain texts, for example, David Aubert. Delaissé's well-known insistence on the greater iconographical originality of illuminated manuscripts from the northern Netherlands came later; see L. M. J. Delaissé, *A Century of Dutch Manuscript Illumination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).
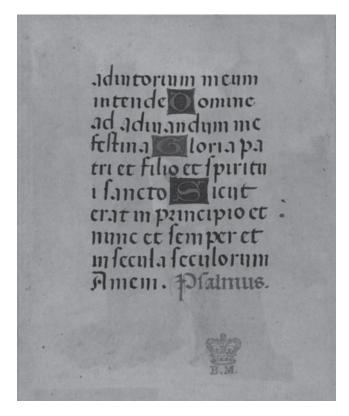
9. See L. M. J. Delaissé, James Marrow, and John de Wit, introduction to *Illuminated Manuscripts: The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor* (Fribourg: Published for the National Trust by Office du Livre, 1977), 13–20. L. M. J. Delaissé, "Towards a History of the Medieval Book," *Divinitas* 11 (1967): 423–36.

10. Review of Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, pt. 1, *The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London, 1967), in *Art Bulletin* 52 (1970): 206–12.

11. Some form of policing to ensure acceptable standards of color reproduction is highly desirable. Moreover, I do not see how a proper codicological examination will ever be possible without examining the manuscript itself. And I doubt that such recent crucial discoveries as those of John Lowden in the *Bibles moralisées* or Michelle Brown in the Lindisfarne Gospels could have been made through access to a Web site. See John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), and Michelle P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality, and the Scribe* (London: British Museum, 2003).

12. The extent of our progress in attribution was strikingly shown at the recent exhibition at the Musée du Louvre, Paris, *Primitifs français: Découvertes et redécouvertes* (2004).

13. Christopher Wood, *The Vienna School Reader: Politics and Art Historical Method in the 1930s* (New York: Zone Books, 2000), 132–79, reprints the text in English translation. Sedlmayr begins by noting that the "antitheoretical scholar . . . overlooks the fact that he too theorizes implicitly."

14. I plead guilty to a similar title in my exhibition *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450–1550* (Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1994). But in Italy the term has a meaning in terms of the recovery of the antique, which was clear in the contents of the exhibition and in the text of the

catalogue. For a defense of the use of the term *Renaissance* in the context of northern European art of the fifteenth century see Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts across Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). It is, however, not so much the problem of extending the term geographically that worries me. I have more in mind the problems of periodicity that have been raised again recently by Fredric Jameson, in *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present* (London: Verso, 2002), referring to the "dialectic of the break and the period" (33) and to the "historicizing, narrative trope of 'for the first time'" (35). Jameson retains the term *Renaissance*, however. I thank my colleague Jonathan Hay for referring me to Jameson's book.

15. See the articles in *Illuminating the Renaissance* by Thomas Kren and Maryan Ainsworth, "Artistic Exchanges and Interrelationships," and by Catherine Reynolds, "Illuminators and the Painters' Guilds." See also Maryan Ainsworth, "'Diverse Patterns Pertaining to the Crafts of Painters and Illuminators': Gerard David and the Bening Workshop," in *Master Drawings* 41, no. 3 (2003): 240–65.

16. Alain Arnould, *De la production de miniatures de Cornelia van Wulfschkercke au couvent des carmelites de Sion à Bruges* (Brussels: Vicariat Général des Dominicains, 1998). See also Jeffrey Hamburger's work in *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), and in *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern*, exh. cat. (Munich: Hirmer; Bonn: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland; Essen: Ruhrlandmuseum, 2005), which accompanied the pathbreaking exhibition organized by Hamburger and Robert Suckale.

Figure A.1
Thierion Anseau, scribe. *Vie, passion, et vengeance de nostre seigneur Jhesu Christ*, ca. 1486–93. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Ms. 5206), fol. 174.

Figure A.2
Etienne de Lale, scribe. Hours of Bona Sforza, leaves, Milan, ca. 1490, and Ghent, ca. 1517–21. London, British Library (Add. Ms. 34294), fol. 61v.

Scribe Biographies

Richard Gay

The biographies of Flemish scribes included here are meant to supplement those appearing in the appendix of *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*. It is hoped that this body of vitae will provide the impetus for a more systematic study of Flemish scribes of the period from around 1467 to 1560, leading in turn to a better understanding of their place in book production.

Thierion Anseau (active ca. 1486–93)

The only known manuscript by Thierion Anseau is a collection of religious texts commissioned by Baudouin II de Lannoy (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Mss. 5205, 5206). Illuminated by the Master of Edward IV in Bruges around 1486–93, the manuscript, which was rebound in two volumes in the eighteenth century, includes texts by Jacob van Gruytrode and Saint Bonaventure, as well as Jean Mansel's compilation based on the *Vita Christi*.[1]

The prologue of the manuscript states that Lannoy ordered the work and that "Thierion Anseau, son [Lannoy's] très humble et petit serviteur et escripvain, a dilliganment grossé ce présent livre, appellé Vita Christ, faicte et compillée par notable clerc nommé Jehan Mansel, homme lay, lors demourant a Hesdin en Artois."[2] It continues by explaining that other devotional texts were added.

Anseau's elegant *bastarda* is pleasing to the eye and contains some interesting characteristics (fig. A.1). The vertical strokes of his *s* and *f* that descend below the line are noticeably his broadest or thickest strokes. His letter *l* and the ascenders on his *b* and *h* frequently form distinct bows. The *h* ascender at times loops downward to the right and back upon itself, creating a bow that echoes the angle of the downward stoke of the letter's hump, which descends below the line and toward the left. Infrequently but distinctively when located at the beginning of a word, the bow of the letter *d* remains extremely open, the lower left stroke being nearly horizontal. Moreover, the addition of a hairline stroke extends the open bow below the line. Overall the precise use of lead-in and hairline strokes creates a regular appearance that remains legible without difficulty.

Etienne de Lale (active ca. 1517)

The household accounts of Margaret of Austria (1480–1530) record payment on July 14, 1517, to Etienne de Lale for having written several parchment leaves to complete an Italian book of hours once belonging to the late

Figure A.3
Gratianus, scribe. Book of Hours, 1533.
New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.491,
fol. 36.

"Bonne de Millan."[3] That book is now identified as the Hours of Bona Sforza.[4] Approximately two years later Gerard Horenbout was hired to complete the manuscript's decoration, and by 1521 he had engaged an unnamed scribe in Brussels to supplement the book further.[5]

From the household account we learn that de Lale was a servant to Jehan Lalemand, Margaret's secretary, and that he received 20 livres for his work, which included rewriting missing pages and perhaps collating the manuscript. He also received 3 livres 10 solz as reimbursement for parchment and other supplies. Bodo Brinkmann, in his discussion of the manuscript's campaigns, notes that de Lale's work appears to be that of a chancellery clerk struggling with the formal script.[6] Indeed, the texts on the reverse of miniatures by Horenbout often lack the rhythmic spacing and confident line expected of one proficient with the script (fig. A.2). These qualities might perhaps also be the result of the scribe striving to match the Italianate script already present in the manuscript.[7]

Gratian (Gratianus; active ca. 1533)

Inscriptional evidence indicates that F. Gratian of Brussels transcribed a book of hours for Emperor Charles V now in the Morgan Library: "F. Gratianus Brux: Cap[ellanus]: haec scripsit."[8] Illuminated by the Master of Morgan M.491 and the circle of the Master of Charles V, the manuscript is dated 1533[9] and perhaps was transcribed from the prayer book made for Charles V that is now in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1895). The manuscripts contain almost identical texts in a nearly identical sequence.[10] The even and somewhat rounded letterforms of the hybrida found in the Morgan manuscript provide a visually attractive yet easily readable script (fig. A.3). Notable is the rather small ascender of the letter *d*.

The manuscript includes an alleged portrait of Charles V's chaplain (fol. 35v).[11] It is assumed that Charles presented the manuscript to his chaplain as a gift and that his portrait, shown in devotion opposite an image of the Virgin and child enthroned, may have been added as an afterthought.[12] Since the inscription in M.491 uses an abbreviated form of the word *capellanus*, indicating that Gratian was a cleric working in the royal chapel in Brussels,[13] it seems possible that the depicted chaplain could actually be the book's scribe. Further examination of Charles's correspondence may allow for more precise identification of the scribe.[14]

Nothing further is known about Gratian. It is interesting, however, that Philip II (1527–1598), the son and heir of Charles V, had a secretary named Gracian. In a letter dated February 24, 1577, to Philip from Juan de Zuniga in Rome, Gracian is mentioned has having sent information to Zuniga.[15] One might conclude that Charles V's book of hours is an early work by the man who later became Philip's secretary or perhaps by one of his relatives.

Thin Descender Scribe (active ca. 1500–1520)

Named after a distinguishing element of his elegant *bastarda* script,[16] this anonymous scribe was active early in the sixteenth century. His work is identifiable by characteristic letterforms; his *v*, *d*, and *g* are distinctive (fig. A.4).[17] The first two have gracefully arching elements: the initial stoke of the letter *v* (particularly when it begins a word but inconsistently applied) and the somewhat pronounced and leftward-arching diagonal ascender of the *d*. The descender of the *g* provides the elegantly thin and somewhat horizontal and lengthy stroke for which the scribe is named. Of the three letters, the *g* most consistently displays its distinctive trait. It is the combination of the three letterforms, however, that signals the scribe's work, since these letterforms, especially the *v* and the *d*, appear in scripts by other sixteenth-century scribes.

The scribe's oeuvre consists of manuscripts associated with the script of a book of hours illuminated by the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary produced around 1515–20 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 112). Leslie Macfarlane attributed five other manuscripts to the scribe of that manuscript, and Brinkmann six, but they agree on only three: Ms. Douce 112; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78 B 15; and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 1058-1975.[18] These manuscripts are indeed by the same hand, and to them can be added, as rightly noted by Macfarlane,[19] the Hours of James the IV of Scotland (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1897).[20]

Current scholarship indicates that the scribe's actual name may soon be confirmed. Macfarlane identified him as Iohannes de Bomalia, the name written at the end of a prayer commemorating All Saints in the Hours of James IV of Scotland.[21] Confusion has arisen because of the existence of two individuals of that name: an inquisitor and Dominican professor in Louvain who died in 1477, well before the production of that manuscript around 1502–3,[22] and a Dominican priest active in Bruges between 1489 and 1499.[23] The latter is a possible candidate for the Thin Descender Scribe. Recently Lieve de Kesel proposed a different identification for the scribe in her work on Berlin Ms. 78 B 15, which MacFarlane, Brinkmann, and I attribute to the scribe under discussion here.[24] De Kesel implies that a Bruges scribe, Hanskin de Bomalia, a Dominican who signed two books of hours (The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Ms. 10 E 3, and another formerly in the Rodocanachi collection), might be the scribe of Berlin Ms. 78 B 15.[25] She recognizes small differences between the Berlin and Oxford manuscripts and acknowledges that further study may permit the identification of the scribe of Berlin Ms. 78 B 15 with greater certainty.[26]

A localization of the scribe also presents challenges, but he was most likely active in Ghent or Bruges, given that manuscripts by him were illuminated by artists linked with those cities. The Master of James IV, who illuminated the king's hours now in Vienna, is associated with Ghent. His likely pupil, the Master of the David Scenes, can be linked to both cities,[27] while the Master of the Prayer Books of around 1500, the artist of Berlin Ms. 78 B 15, is associated with Bruges. Bruges, however, seems the most likely locale given that both Jan de Bomalia and Hanskin de Bomalia have been localized to that city.[28]

Figure A.4
Thin Descender Scribe. Book of Hours. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett Ms. 78 B 15, fol. 77.

Figure A.5
Francis Weert, scribe. Psalter and
Antiphonary, 1522. London, British
Library, Add. Ms. 15426, fol. 53.

Francis Weert (active ca. 1520–39)

Active in Louvain, the professional scribe Francis Weert produced manuscripts for a number of influential patrons, including Marcus Cruyt, abbot of Saint-Bernard-sur-l'Escaut in Hemiksem, near Antwerp. Around 1524 he transcribed for Cruyt the luxurious Arenberg Missal, which is written in an elegant textura script and illuminated by an artist most likely active in Antwerp, the associate of the Master of Cardinal Wolsey (private collection).[29] Around the same time, Weert also produced a prayer book for the abbot's personal use, which includes a portrait of Cruyt and the abbot's coat of arms (Bornem, Sint-Bernardusabdij, Ms. 9). That prayer book, along with another manuscript, is mentioned in the abbey's chronicle as having been written by Franciscus van Weert of Louvain around 1524.[30]

Weert also worked for at least two Premonstratensian abbeys. For the first, the Abbey of Tongerloo in Brabant, he produced in 1522 a two-volume Latin psalter and antiphonary (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 15426–27; fig. A.5).[31] An inscription identifies the patron, Abbot Anthonius Tsgrooten de Oesterwÿck (d. 1530), and informs us that Weert resided in Louvain.[32] A few years later, in 1525, he transcribed and signed a processional for the Premonstratensian Abbey of Parc, near Louvain.[33] According to Jonathan Alexander and Elzbieta Temple, Weert also transcribed for the abbey an epistolary (Oxford, Ms. Douce 200) whose eighteenth-century binding displays the abbey's arms, albeit virtually erased.[34] For the abbey's twenty-fifth abbot, Ambrosius de Angelis, a native of Louvain, where Weert resided in 1522, the scribe produced at least three manuscripts: a missal dated 1521 (Oxford, Wadham College, Ms. A.7.8);[35] a psalter (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 11556);[36] and a missal dated 1539 that may have been produced in Brabant (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II 2347).[37]

The colophon of the 1539 missal gives the scribe's name as "Franciscum Montfordium a Weert."[38] Today Ambt Montfort is a town eighteen miles southeast of Weert, both located in Limburg province, the Netherlands. The scribe may have been from Montfort originally but relocated and adopted the name of the larger city. The reference to Montfort appears only in the 1539 inscription, however, suggesting that the scribe's association with that town may have occurred later in life, after he had lived in Louvain in 1522.[39]

His evenly spaced textura is easily readable, with distinct separation between words (see fig. A.5). The letterforms, however, retain rather Gothic characteristics, such as the rhythmic repetition of feet; broad, somewhat heavy strokes; and an angularity in the letters with bows. This conservatism applied to varying degrees seems appropriate given his clientele. It appears that Weert specialized in works for religious houses that turned to professional scribes; all of his identified manuscripts were produced for abbeys or for personal use by their abbots.

Notes

Since the publication of Nicolas Spierinc's biography in Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 520–21, another manuscript by his hand has been identified by Catherine Reynolds: a book of hours whose illumination was influenced by both Lieven van Lathem and Simon Marmion (Christie's, London, June 2, 2004, lot 14). The author would like to thank Scot McKendrick, Elizabeth Morrison, and Thomas Kren for their guidance and assistance with bibliography.

1. For more on the manuscript's contents, see Scot McKendrick, in Kren and McKendrick, Illuminating the Renaissance, 340–41, no. 97; Henry Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1889), 152–54.
2. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5205, fol. F, as cited in Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, vol. 5, 154.
3. "Maître Jehan de Marnix . . . nous vous ordonnons que payez . . . a Etienne de Lale, serviteur de nostre sécrétaire maistre Jehan Lalemand, la somme de xx livres . . . pour payement et récompense de sy payne et labeur d'avoir . . . escript plusieurs fuilletz en perchemin, servant à nos heures, faictes a la mode et a painctures ytaliques que avons eu de feue madame Bonne de Millan. . . . Et payez aussi au dict Estienne la somme de trois livres 10 solz qu'il nous a affermé avoir desboursé pour le parchemin servant ausdicts fuilletz, pour la reiglure et coppure d'iceulx comme appartenoit . . . Marguerite" (Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, série B 19617, nos. 44063–64). The transcription here is abridged from Mark L. Evans and Bodo Brinkmann, *The Sforza Hours, Add. Ms. 34294 of the British Library, London* (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1995), 834–35. An excerpt of the account was published by R. Flower, "Margaret of Austria and the Sforza Book," *British Museum Quarterly* 10 (1935–36): 100–102. Flower credits Paul Wescher with first noting the domestic accounts associated with the Sforza Hours.
4. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 129.
5. Brinkmann, in Evans and Brinkmann, *Sforza Hours*, 521–22, 836.
6. Brinkmann, in Evans and Brinkmann, *Sforza Hours*, 522.
7. I thank Scot McKendrick for this observation.

8. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.491, fol. 266v; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 166.
9. The manuscript is dated on folio 18v.
10. On the connections between the two manuscripts, see Elizabeth Morrison, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 495–98.
11. See Morrison, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 498 n. 9. The identification of the cleric with a member of the Pot family has been questioned.
12. Morrison, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 498.
13. See "Capellanus," in J. F. Niermayer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus: Abbreviationes et index fontium* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), 131–32.
14. Suggested by Scot McKendrick.
15. The link to the secretary Gracian is suggested in the notes on the manuscript held at the Morgan Library. In the letter, Juan de Zuniga mentions "Despues que el secretario Gracian me embio las cartas y papeles sobre lo del tabernaculo, que ciertos mercaderes aqui hizieron por un designo de Michael Angelo." For a complete transcription, see Rudolf Beer, "Äcten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem Archivo General zu Simancas," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 12 (1891): cxcvii.
16. Morrison, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 371.
17. Leslie Macfarlane, "The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor," *Innes Review* 11 (1960): 16; Bodo Brinkmann, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreichs: Der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 323. Neither Macfarlane nor Brinkmann identify the scribe as the Thin Descender Scribe.
18. Macfarlane, "Book of Hours," 16. Macfarlane attributed to the scribe: Hours of James IV of Scotland (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1897); four other books of hours (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 112; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78 B 15; Dyson Perrins Ms. 105 [now Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 1058-1975]; and another one formerly in the Durrieu collection [Paul Durrieu, *La Miniature flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne (1415–1530)*, 2nd ed. (Paris: G. van Oest, 1927), pl. LXXXVII]). Brinkmann, on the other hand, associates seven manuscripts with the scribe: three books of hours (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 112; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 78 B 15; and

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 1058-1975); the Prayer Book of Charles V (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1859); Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. IV 280; a manuscript that sold at Sotheby's in 1952; and Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. A.F.A.28 (Brinkmann, *Flämische Buchmalerei*, text vol., 323).
19. Macfarlane, "Book of Hours," 16.
20. Unfortunately I cannot make further assessments of MacFarlane's and Brinkmann's attributions, having no access to the manuscripts under discussion.
21. Macfarlane, "Book of Hours," 16. Otto Pächt and Jonathan J. G. Alexander (*Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966], vol. 1, no. 396) perpetuated this notion and identified the scribe of Douce 112 as Johannes de Bomalia as well.
22. Franz Unterkircher, *Das Gebetbuch Jakobs IV. von Schottland und seiner Gemahlin, Margaret Tudor: Vollständige Faksimile-ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex 1897 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien: Kommentarband* (Vienna: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1987), 25; and Lieve de Kesel, "Almost Restored: The Hours of Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 B 15," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 43 (2001): 114. I thank Scot McKendrick for informing me of de Kesel's work on Bomalia. Unterkircher was unaware that a second Bomalia was located in Bruges and refuted MacFarlane's attribution.
23. "Broeder Jan van Bomale," "Heer Ian Bommalia," and "Heer Ian Bomalia," are found in the Bruges records of 1489, 1492, and 1499 (see W. H. James Weale, "Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi* 4 [1872–73]: 318, 322, 329, 332). These records are cited in detail in de Kesel, "Almost Restored," 113, no. 28.
24. De Kesel, "Almost Restored," 113. De Kesel refers to the scribe not as the "Thin Descender Scribe," but as the scribe responsible for the group of manuscripts under discussion here.
25. De Kesel, "Almost Restored," 113. Alfons W. Biermann ("Die Miniaturen-Handscriften des Kardinals Albrecht von Brandenburg [1514–1545]," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 46 [1975]: 37, n. 147) identifies Hanskin de Bomalia as a Dominican located in Bruges.
26. De Kesel, "Almost Restored," 113. De Kesel also notes that similarities between the scripts of Berlin Ms. 78 B 15 and of Brussels Ms. IV 280 "are obvious and numerous."

I have not had the opportunity to study the Brussels manuscript.

27. See Thomas Kren, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 366–76, and Morrison, Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 383–84.

28. Biermann, "Miniaturen-Handscriften," 37, 268–69 n. 147. See also de Kesel, "Almost Restored," 113 n. 28.

29. See Morrison, in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 509–10, and *The Jaime Ortiz-Patiño Collection of Important Books and Manuscripts*, sale cat., Sotheby's, New York, April 21, 1998, lot 186.

30. Bornem, Archief van de Abdif, Ms. 228, p. 52, and Ms. 229, pp. 7–8. See M. Sabbe, M. Lamberigts, and F. Gistelinck, eds., *Bernardus en de Cisterciënzerfamilie in België, 1090–1990*, exh. cat. (Louvain: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, 1990), 460–62; Maurits Smeyers and Jan Van der Stock, eds., *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts, 1475–1550*, exh. cat. (Ghent: Ludion Press, 1996), no. 15; and *Jaime Ortiz-Patiño Collection*, lot 186.

31. I thank Scot McKendrick for bringing this manuscript to my attention. For an example of the book's illumination, see Scot McKendrick, *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts, 1400–1550* (London: British Library, 2003), 142–43. See also Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700–1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Museum* (London: British Library, 1979), vol. 1, 43, no. 130, vol. 2, pl. 907; John William Bradley, *Dictionary of Miniaturists, Illuminators, Calligraphers, and Copyists with References to Their Works and Notices of Their Patrons from the Establishment of Christianity to the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Franklin, 1958), vol. 3, 404–5; and the British Library Manuscript Catalogue at http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/HIT S0001.ASP?VPath=c!/inetpub/wwwroot/mss/data/msscat/html/12991.htm&Search=Add.+1 5426.&Highlight=F.

32. "…istud Psalterium scribi fecit Reverendus Pater Dns Anthonius Tsgrooten, de Oesterwyck Abbas modernus hijus monasterii Tongerlensis ordinis premonstratensis. Per franciscum weert scriptorem lovanii residentem. Anno verbi incarnate MCCCCC xxii. Mensis martii die xxii finit feliciter." As cited in Bradley, *Dictionary of Miniaturists*, vol. 3, 405.

33. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. IV 1253. See *Jaime Ortiz-Patiño Collection*, lot 186 (this manuscript was not part of the sale but is cited in the catalogue). The processional sold at Sotheby's, London, July 3, 1984, lot 53.

34. Jonathan J. G. Alexander and Elzbieta Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries, the University Archives, and the Taylor Institution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 82, no. 826. See also Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts, vol. 1, 29, no. 391. The erasure of the arms probably happened in 1829, when the abbey's library was sold in Louvain. See also E. Van Balberghe, "Les Critères de provenance des manuscrits de Parc," in *Contribution à l'histoire des bibliothèques et de la lecture aux Pays-Bas avant 1600* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale, 1974).

35. Alexander and Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 82, no. 826. There seems to be some confusion about the manuscript's shelf mark. It may be A.14.12 per files on record in the Manuscript Department, J. Paul Getty Museum.

36. Bernard Bousmanne, in Smeyers and Van der Stock, *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts*, 177.

37. Bousmanne, in Smeyers and Van der Stock, *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts*, 176–77, no. 27.

38. "Hanc missalis hiemalis partem scribi fecit reverendus pater dominus Ambrosius de Angelis, abbas huius monasterij Parchensis. Per Franciscum Montfordium a Weert. Anno XVC XXXIX" (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II 2347, fol. 1), as cited by Bousmanne, in Smeyers and Van der Stock, *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts*, 176. Bousmanne notes that the scribe's name also appears frequently in the archives.

39. Scot McKendrick kindly informed me that a Thomas à Kempis manuscript in the Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge sale catalogue of May 18, 1874 (lot 3153), associates Weert with Monfort: "Thomas a Kempis De Imitatione Christi: et S. Bonaventurae Liber Aureus De Vita Christi, Scripti per Franciscum Montfordiae de Weert, Lovanii, 1530–31—Devotissimus Libellus de Vita et Beneficiis Salvatoris Jesu Christi cum Meditationibus et Gratiarum Actione, completus per me Franciscum de Weert, 1555—De Modo preliandi contra octo Vicia principalia—Ars Moriendi—Carmen in Laudem gloriosae Virginis Mariae—Carmen de venerabili Sacramento. Manuscript with name of scribe and date, calf extra, g.e. in the old style. Small 4to. Saec. xvi (1530–55)." McKendrick suspects that the date 1555 was a misreading of 1535, but the manuscript's current location is unfortunately unknown.

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Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge: Figs. 10.10–10.12

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Fotografisk Atelier: figs. 4.1, 12.9, 12.10

Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library, Division of Special Collections: fig. 11.13

Ghent, Museum of Fine Arts: fig. 5.24: Saint-Baafs Cathedral. Photo Reproductiefonds Vlaamse Musea NV: fig. 2.9

Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum. Photo by Catarine G. Ferriere, 1999: figs. 10.6–10.8

London, The British Library: figs. 8.05, 12.1, A.2, A.5; The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum: fig. 2.11; Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art: fig. 11.3; Trustees of the Victoria & Albert Museum: figs. 10.2–10.5, © National Gallery: fig. 7.18

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum. Photos by Christopher Foster, 2002: figs. 2.10, 4.2, 5.18, 5.20–22, 5.25, 10.9, 13.7

Madrid, Laboratorio Fotografico de Biblioteca Nacional: figs. 8.8, 11.9; Patrimonio Nacional: fig. 7.18

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931: fig. 5.31. Photograph © 1988; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection. Photograph © 1982: fig. 5.9

Norfolk, Collection of the Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall, Norfolk: fig. 10.1

Oxford, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: figs. 8.11, 8.12, 12.3, 12.4

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France: figs. 3.1, 3.4–3.8, 4.7; Photothèque des musées de la ville: figs. 3.2, 3.9, 3.10

Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917. Photo by Lynn Rosenthal: figs. 5.3, 5.4; Philadelphia Museum of Art: The Philip S. Collins Collection. Gift of Mrs. Philip S. Collins in memory of her husband. Photo by Graydon Wood, 2000: fig. 12.6

Rome, Arti Doria Pamphilj SRL: figs. 3.11, 3.12

San Marino, Calif., Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery: figs. 5.11, 5.13, 11.8

Valenciennes, France, Bibliothèque municipale de Valenciennes. Photo by F. Leclercq: fig. 2.12

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana: fig. 12.5, 12.7, 12.8, 13.5, 13.6.

Vienna, Albertina: fig. 5.6; A.N.L., Picture Archives: figs. 4.5, 4.9

Waddesdon Manor, James A. de Rothschild Collection, The National Trust. Photo by Mike Fear: fig. 2.6